

# LIFE HISTORY OF NAITO MASU: A FEMALE PIONEER OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN YAMANASHI PREFECTURE IN THE EARLY MEIJI PERIOD

■ ATSUKO KAWATA

<http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0953-9910>

Tokyo Kasei Gakuin University

■ TOKIO KATO

<http://orcid.org/0000-0002-1997-8864>

Chiba Prefectural Archives

## ABSTRACT

Naito Masu (1823-1901) was the first woman who advocated publicly the necessity of education for women; she did so in the early Meiji period (1870's) in Yamanashi Prefecture. In the Edo period, it was said that women did not need to history for a long time; therefore, her achievement of founding a women's private school and publishing a textbook regarding moral education for women were activities that were part of the time of women's education in Japan. This paper presents Masu's life history and the process of development, because she is considered a woman who was sensitive to the gap between the education for men and women in developing their own lives. Masu's activities following the Meiji Restoration are well-known; however, it is unknown how and where she had been educated prior to this time. There is a travel diary written by Masu, named as "Suruga-kiko" and owned by the Yamanashi Prefectural Museum. It is the appropriate source to know the first half of Masu's life as it is thought to be written before the Meiji Restoration. This text seeks to draw a clear picture of the unknown part of Masu's life, including her friends and acquaintances before Meiji Restoration, by citing it. She had grown her circle of acquaintances in the area along Fujigawa Highway and Fuji River. This area is associated with Japanese classic literature, as well as with most pupils of Professor Hirata, who lived in Kai no kuni. The author made investigations in the area and interviewed some people who live there now about Masu and the region's educational history. As the result of this original research, this paper presents that Masu must have developed her culture and education in that area.

**Keywords:** Women's Education. Life history. Travel diary. Edo period.

## RESUMEN **HISTORIA DE VIDA DE NAITO MASU: UNA PIONERA FEMENINA DE LA EDUCACIÓN DE LAS MUJERES EN LA PREFECTURA DE YAMANASHI EN EL PERÍODO TEMPRANO DE MEIJI**

Naito Masu (1823-1901) fue la primera mujer que defendió públicamente la necesidad de educación para las mujeres; lo hizo a principios del período Meiji (1870) en la Prefectura de Yamanashi. En el período Edo, se decía que las mujeres no necesitaban estudiar durante mucho tiempo; por lo tanto, su logro de fundar una escuela privada para mujeres y la publicación de un libro de texto sobre la educación moral de la mujer fueron actividades que marcaron una época en la educación de la mujer en el Japón. Este artículo presenta la historia de vida de Masu y el proceso de desarrollo, porque se la considera una mujer sensible a la brecha entre la educación para hombres y mujeres en el desarrollo de sus propias vidas. Las actividades de Masu después de la Restauración Meiji son bien conocidas; sin embargo, se desconoce cómo y dónde había sido educada antes de esa época. Hay un diario de viaje escrito por Masu, llamado «Suru-ga-kiko» y propiedad del Museo de la Prefectura de Yamanashi. Es la fuente apropiada para conocer la primera mitad de la vida de Masu porque se cree que fue escrita antes de la Restauración Meiji. Este documento trata de dibujar un cuadro claro de la parte desconocida de la vida de Masu, incluyendo a sus amigos y conocidos antes de la Restauración Meiji, citándola. Había crecido su círculo de conocidos en el área a lo largo de la carretera de Fujigawa y el río Fuji. Esta área está asociada con la literatura clásica japonesa, así como con la mayoría de los alumnos del Prof. Hirata, que vivían en Kai no kuni. El autor realizó investigaciones en la zona y entrevistó a algunas personas que ahora viven allí sobre Masu y la historia educativa de la región. Como resultado de esta investigación original, este artículo presenta que Masu debe desarrollar su cultura y educación allá.

**Palabras clave:** Educación de la mujer. Historia de vida. Diario de viaje. Período Edo.

## RESUMO **HISTÓRIA DE VIDA DE NAITO MASU: UMA PIONEIRA FEMININA DA EDUCAÇÃO DE MULHERES NA PREFEITURA DE YAMANASHI NO PERÍODO MEIJI**

Naito Masu (1823-1901) foi a primeira mulher a defender publicamente a necessidade de educação para as mulheres; ela o fez no início do período Meiji (1870) na província de Yamanashi. No período Edo, foi dito que as mulheres não precisavam estudar por muito tempo;

portanto, sua conquista de fundar uma escola privada para mulheres e publicar um livro sobre educação moral para as mulheres foram atividades que fizeram parte da época da educação das mulheres no Japão. Este artigo apresenta a história de vida de Masu e o processo de desenvolvimento, porque ela é considerada uma mulher sensível à lacuna entre a educação para homens e mulheres no desenvolvimento de suas próprias vidas. As atividades de Masu após a Restauração Meiji são bem conhecidas, porém não se sabe como e onde ela havia sido educada antes dessa época. Há um diário de viagem escrito por Masu, chamado «Suruga-kiko» e de propriedade do Museu da Província de Yamanashi. É a fonte apropriada para conhecer a primeira metade da vida de Masu, pois pensa-se que foi escrita antes da Restauração Meiji. Este documento procura desenhar uma imagem clara da parte desconhecida da vida de Masu, incluindo seus amigos e conhecidos antes da Restauração Meiji, citando-a. Ela havia crescido seu círculo de conhecidos na área ao longo da Rodovia Fujigawa e do Rio Fuji. Essa área está associada à literatura clássica japonesa, assim como à maioria dos alunos do Professor Hirata, residentes em Kai no kuni. O autor fez investigações na área e entrevistou algumas pessoas que vivem lá agora sobre Masu e a história educacional da região. Como resultado desta pesquisa original, este artigo apresenta que Masu deve ter desenvolvido sua cultura e educação naquela área.

**Palavras-chave:** Educação de mulheres. História de vida. Diário de viagem. Período Edo.

## Introduction

Naito Masu<sup>1</sup> was born in 1823, in the Edo period, in “Kai no kuni” (or Kofu, which is presently part of Yamanashi Prefecture). She is known as a woman who spearheaded reformations vis-à-vis women’s education in early Meiji period, from 1873 to 1878, at Kofu. She wrote a textbook for women’s moral education entitled “On-

na-oshiegusa” which was published in 1873 by “Onko-do”, a bookshop managed by her son, Naito Denuemon 2<sup>nd</sup>. Furthermore, she founded a private school for girls called “Jogaku-kajuku”; it was located on the second floor of their office at the “Kyochu News paper”. Masu and Ono Izumi (a male doctor) are said to have brought about the publication of the monthly newspaper for women called “Otome Newspaper” published by Denuemon 2<sup>nd</sup> in 1878.

The development of women’s education in Meiji-period Japan is said to have been delayed. The average school attendance rate of girls in early Meiji period was about 15%.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this paper, the first name is written after last name in according to the Japanese way. This research was previously published as Life History of Naito Masu and Her Development Process –in Addition reprinting of “Suruga-kiko,” Her Travel Diary by Global COE of Ochanomizu University; it was originally published in March 2010 in Japanese. The content of the current paper is based, in part, on that book. I would like to extend my appreciation to the people of the Minami-Alps City who assisted in my research in Yamanashi Prefecture, as well as to Mr. Nitsu, and to Mr. and Mrs. Nakagomi.

<sup>2</sup> Annual Statistics Report by Educational Ministry, 1873

This low figure is due to the fact that education was thought to be unnecessary for women at that time. This paper examines why Naito Masu decided to develop women's capacity through education in Yamanashi Prefecture, and how she improved herself in spite of her lowly background. This paper is based on the information culled by her diary "Suruga-kiko," owned by Yamanashi Prefectural Museum. The reproduction of sections of this cursive-style diary into present-day Japanese characters was made possible by one of the authors (T.K.).

### An Earlier Study on This Subject Studies on women's education in early Meiji period

The women's education in Edo-period Japan, it has been said that "They (women) remained basically uneducated in order to be able to concentrate on obeying their husbands and tending to household duties. Such dicta were in keeping with the strict Neo-Confucian ethic." (KNAPP, 1992, p. 123) There were, however, some deviations from this path in women's education in the Edo period, by socioeconomic class. (KNAPP, 1992, p. 123-126) The women belonging to the upper class or samurai had been strictly confined to the inner quarter of their homes or palaces. On the other hand, the women belonging to farmer or merchant class had had more chances to learn music, painting, reading, writing, and arithmetic freely. Bernstein points out "Premodern (Japanese) customs militated against women's political participation but were not uniform across class or village boundaries." (SHARON, 1991, p. 153) Knapp suggests that the restriction of education for girls began to expand in Meiji period. (KNAPP, 1992, p. 155) During the period from 1890 to 1911, however, the Meiji government settled an educational policy, whereupon excluded women from political activities by using the ideology

"Good Wife, Wise Mother" (ryosai kenbo) was central to this policy (SHARON, 1991)<sup>3</sup>.

These images about the Japanese women and the women's education in Japan in Edo period have recently been disproved by Shiba Keiko, a specialist on Japanese women in Edo period. Shiba studied about the diaries written by Edo-period women and concluded they were more cultivated than they had previously been perceived. Shiba collected 133 travel diaries written by Edo-period women and proved their literacy and cultural levels were unexpectedly high (SHIBA, 1990-2000). Yabuta Kan points out that Shiba had established new view of Edo-period Japanese women, taking them from uneducated and subordinate to men, to more independent and self-directed. (YABUTA, 2008) The image surrounding Edo-period women has changed from 1990's as Yabuta mentions, and a study about Matsuo Taseko by Anne Walthall in 1998 likewise proves that Taseko, a woman born in 1811 who had endeavored to help the movement at the end of the Edo period, had led an active and self-directed life. (WALTHALL, 1998-2005)

With respect to Edo-period women's education, Amano Haruko's descriptions are based on her study of *Oraimono* (textbooks from Edo period) for women; her assertion is that there were more women in the Edo period who had studied writing, reading and manners than that had previously thought to have been the case. (AMANO, 2008)

Given the aforementioned studies, it is clear that some Edo-period women in Edo era had been well educated; there were also a few

3 "Various ministries articulated goals for women that included, but were not limited to, the twin ideals of "Good Wife, Wise Mother" (ryosai kenbo), popularized by the Education Ministry. State propaganda exhorted women to contribute to the nation through their hard work, their frugality, their efficient management, their care of the old, young, and ill, and their responsible upbringing of children. The significance of these functions did not entitle them to political rights, however". (SHARON, 1991, p. 152)

female teachers. However, to date, there had been no documented case found of a woman who had made plans to publicly educate women. (TAKANO, 2002) Even in educational areas such as sewing and housework, the founders or advocates were male. (TAKANO, 2002) The case study of Naito Masu was a rare one, in that she, as a woman herself, advocated that women should be educated. Most Meiji-period female educators were Christians who believed that women and men should be educated equally; the case of Masu is a little different. Furthermore, this study presents new information about the women's education, from the last days of the Tokugawa shogunate to the early days of Meiji period, given that Masu had lived through both the Edo and Meiji periods.

### Earlier studies about Naito Masu

Although there were a few studies that mention Naito Masu, only a few focus on Naito Masu; one exception is our previous study (i.e., *Life History of Naito Masu and Her Development Process –in addition of Reprinting of “Suru-ga-kiko”-*, *Her Travel Diary*). The other studies that mention about Naito Masu are as follows:

- ① Kiyokumo Shungen, “Naito Denuemon” *Kyodoshi ni Kagayaku Hitobito (The People Who Cut Conspicuous Figures in the History of Yamanashi Prefecture)* Shokokusha, 1974.
- ② “Notes about Naito Masu” *The History of Women in Yamanashi Prefecture* edited by Committee for Drawing up Notes about Women in Yamanashi Prefecture. 1974.
- ③ Inaoka Masaru, “The Exchange between Ernest Satow and Naito Denuemon,” edited by National Institute of Japanese Literature, in *The Culture of Publication in the Meiji Period*, Rinsenshobo, 2002.
- ④ Ozaki, Yasuhiro, “A Female Teacher on

the Documents of Tanaka Chinji Family in Early Meiji Period,” *Hanno City Kyodokan Kenkyu Kiyu* No.2, 2003.

- ⑤ Asami Norio, *Strong Women in Meiji Period: The Life of Tanaka Kaku*, Group Gurashi in Hanno City, 2009.

According to the description in “Naito Denuemon” by Kiyokumo, Masu was very clever in childhood and studied Japanese classical literature under Hori Hidenari and Konakamura Kiyonori, two famous Japanese classical scholars. One Hatamoto (direct retainer of the shogun) asked her parents if he could adopt Masu as his own daughter; they agreed, and Masu grew up as a daughter of the Hatamoto. (The name of the Hatamoto, however, is unknown.) When she was in the bloom of youth, her adopted father was deceived into either paying a large amount of money or to perform hara-kiri. The situation prompted Masu to sell herself into slavery in the red-light district, which was called “Daimonji-ro” in Edo. A few years after Masu became a prostitute, one Ohmi merchant sympathized Masu's situation so much that he bought her freedom. As the result, when she was 24 years old in 1847, Masu became a free person and was married to Denuemon 1<sup>st</sup>, who had managed book shop in Kofu. Denuemon and Masu could not have a baby of their own, so they adopted a boy and named Inosuke, and he later became Denuemon 2<sup>nd</sup>.

There are a few problems with this series of events involving Masu, as told by Kiyokumo, as follows.

(1) There are no authorities which can prove the above story to be true. I asked Kiyokumo what authorities he had used, but the sources are not clear.

(2) Konakamura Kiyonori was born in 1822 and Hori Hidenari was born in 1819 so they were almost as old as Masu. This fact makes it difficult to explain that the two scholars could have taught Masu in her childhood.

These problems suggest the importance of reconsidering what we “know” about the first half of Masu’s life history.

As for the other studies, ② “The notes of Naito Masu” is simply a chronological table detailing Naito Masu’s life-events following the Meiji Restoration. Studies ④ and ⑤ above are about Tanaka Kaku, a woman who was born in 1859 and lived in Hanno, Saitama Prefecture. She was much younger than Masu and lived through Meiji period. Kaku was very intimate with Ogi-no Ginko, a woman who became the first female doctor in Japan. She was born in Tawarase Village of Saitama Prefecture in 1851. Masu knew Kaku and Ginko, and asked both of them to come to Kofu to become matrons of her school. Studies ④ and ⑤ above include the letters exchanged among Masu, Kaku and Ginko during 1874~1879.

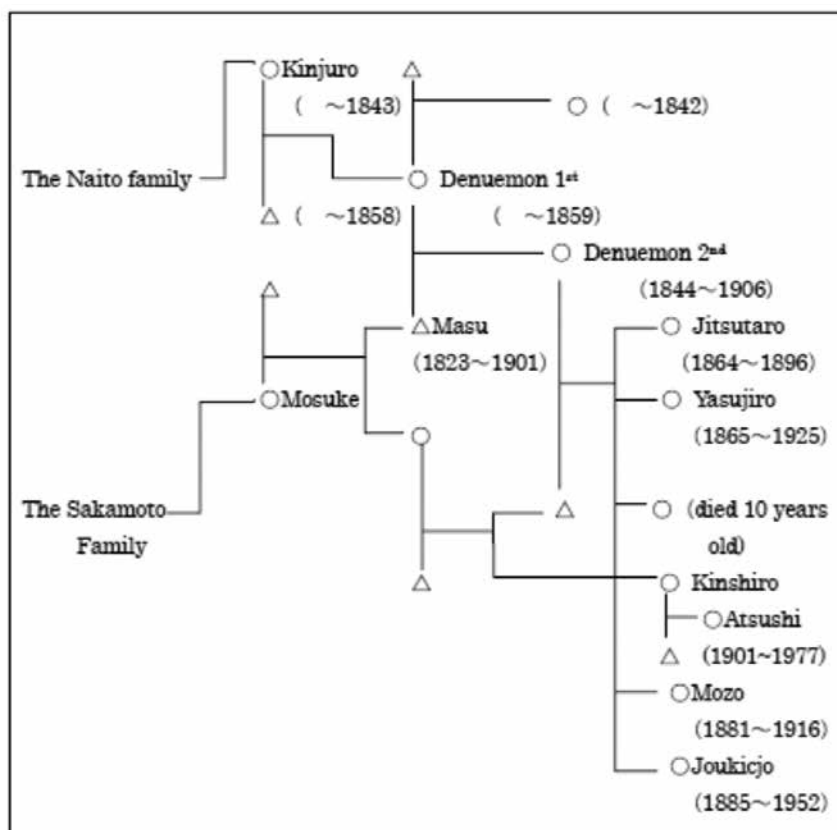
These studies provide some information about Masu’s life following the Meiji Restoration, but no information from before that time. It appears that her diary, “Suruga-kiko,” was written by Masu when she was about 44 years old in 1867. This source is definitive in understanding her situation and feeling at that time.

## Masu’s Background

### Masu’s family

Masu was born as the daughter of a merchant whose name was Sakamoto Mosuke in Kofu. I (one of the authors, A.K.) created a family tree of Naito family, based on the tombstone of the Naito family in Tokyo and the papers written by Atsushi Sakamoto, Masu’s great-grandson (SAKAMOTO, 1997).

Family Tree of Naito Masu ( ~ 1847)



Before marrying Masu, Denuemon 1<sup>st</sup> had married previously and lost his son in 1842 and his wife in 1847, Inosuke, Denuemon 2<sup>nd</sup> was

born in 1844, though it is not clear how old he was when he was adopted into Denuemon 1<sup>st</sup>. It is possible that Denuemon 1<sup>st</sup> had adopted



Inosuke while his first wife was alive and after her death he needed to remarry in order to provide Inosuke with a mother.

Denuemon 1<sup>st</sup> died in 1859, and Inosuke succeeded the name of Denuemon in 1860. Denuemon 2<sup>nd</sup> married a daughter of Sakamoto family, who was also the niece of Masu.

## “Suruga-kiko” (Masu’s travel diary to Suruga)

“Suruga-kiko” begins with the phrase, “Yesterday, Mr. Ono said to me that Mr. Shinkai was going on a trip to Suruga. I have been eager to go there for a long time. I asked my children if I might go on a trip to Suruga. Then, my son gave me the O.K. to go.”

Masu started to travel to Suruga from her house, with an attendant. She met Mr. and Mrs. Shinkai and embarked on the ship together at Ichikawadaimon, going down the Fuji River to Mihonomatsubara. They walked along the seashore of Izu and arrived at an Inn, Yanagiya in Shutenji (Shuzenji in correct). On March 1<sup>st</sup>, Mr. and Mrs. Shinkai went together to the hot-spring of Yoshina in Izu. Masu stayed alone until they returned on March 9. Mr. Shikai went to Atami with a dealer called Inanoya. Mrs. Shinkai, Naoko stayed with Masu until March 17, and all of them left for home on March 18.

From this diary, it can be said Masu was intimate with Mr. Ono and Mr. Shinkai. I made investigations into the people who appear in “Suruga-kiko”.

## The year in which “Suruga-kiko” was written

This travel diary began on the date of February 20 and ended on March 17, but the written year is unclear. The clues recorded in the diary to know the year in which this diary is written are as follows.

1) Masu went to this trip after the death of her husband, who died in 1859.

2) Masu started her travel to Suruga on the day after her son’s wedding ceremony.

3) Masu describes about her grandchild in “Suruga-kiko”. Masu’s first grand-son was born in 1864 or 1865.

4) Dr. Nakazawa (Kokugakuin University) advised me in our private communication, that “Suruga-kiko” was written around 1867 before the Meiji Restoration. This assertion is made, based on the idea that Masu had visited her old friend, named Shigee; however, she could not have met with Shigee, who had already been dead for four years. Although the last name of “Shigee” is not used in “Suruga-kiko,” Dr. Nakazawa points out that it seems to refer to Shigee Takemura, a famous Japanese classical scholar who died in 1864. “Suruga-kiko” seems to be written in 1868. Dr. Nakazawa asserts, however, that it could not have been written after Meiji Restoration, because Masu visited Kunozan Toshogu –a shrine, dedicated to Tokugawa Ieyasu, and it would not be easy to pay a visit to the shrine after the Meiji Restoration. (NAKAZAWA, 2010)

Considering all of aforementioned, it is believed that this diary was written in around 1867, when Masu was about 44 years old.

## Mr. and Mrs. Shinkai: The traveling companions

Shinkai Yoshiya was born in Ryuo village in 1835, as a son of a wealthy farmer. The Shinkai clan comprising seven Shinkai families had come from Shinshu (present-day Nagano Prefecture) and made a fortune in the area around Ryuo village.

Shinkai Yoshiya had related to Ochiai Naozumi, one of the pupils of Horii Hidenari, a famous Japanese classic scholar described previously. Yoshiya was known for building the park in the

Yamagata Shrine which had been dedicated to the memory of Yamagata Daini – an individual who had been advocator of reverence for the Emperor in Edo period and had been killed by the Tokugawa shogunate in 1767. Shinkai Naoko was Yoshiya's wife. In "Suruga-kiko", it is read that Masu had deep affection for Naoko. When Yoshiya had left to the other place, Masu and Naoko ate breakfast together, and Naoko cooked castella for Masu. Masu was very pleased by Naoko's kindness. (KAWATA, 2010)

### The people whom Masu met on her travel

On her travel to Suruga, Masu met not a few people who seemed to live in near Masu's home town. As mentioned, Masu was born in Kofu, but it is not clear where Masu had lived her younger days. The places in which Masu met people, en route to Izu, can be derived from clues that become more obvious, if one knows where Masu lived and had developed her human relations. In "Suruga-kiko", Masu met persons from Hatta (March 4<sup>th</sup>), Ryuo (March 6<sup>th</sup>), Yamura (March 7<sup>th</sup> /8<sup>th</sup>), Ochiai village of Nishinogori (West county) (March 7<sup>th</sup> /8<sup>th</sup>) and Kofu (March 7<sup>th</sup> /8<sup>th</sup>). Above places locate in the area which was called Nakakoma County or Nishinogori at that time (present-day Minami-Alps City).

### Poetry party at Nozo-ji (temple)

Masu says in her diary that, when she visited the Nozo Temple to enjoy cherry blossoms, the priest was so unfriendly that the place had lost popularity compared to the past. Many people had come to the small island on the pond near the Nozo Temple for the poetry party in spring, when cherry blossoms were most beautiful. This suggests that Masu had seen a lot of people gathering at the Nozo Temple to take part in the poetry party, at some point of her child-

hood or youth. She seemed to live near Nozo Temple or be taken there as a companion.

The Nozo Temple was in Yagoshima Village, of Nakakoma County (see Map) where one Hatamoto named Shichinai Saegusa had lived. Shichinai was the succeeded name by the leader of Saegusa family. One of Shichinai (1838~1911) became a leader of Nakakoma County in 1878 and was an intimate friend of Masu. He was said to invest large amount of money to Onkodo. (INAOKA, 2002) It is not impossible to think that his ancestor was the Hatamoto who adopted Masu, because a few Hatamotos who lived in Kai no kuni in Edo period. I suppose that he compensated Masu for selling herself into slavery to help the crisis of his forefathers. But it can not be determined.

### Ochiai in Nishinogori

It is presumed that Masu met a person who is from Ochiai in Nishinogori. In the area near Ochiai, there were many après death pupils of Hirata Atsutane (1776~1843), a famous Japanese classic scholar in Edo period. In Barasawa Village near Ochiai village, there lived Tanaka Toshitane (Sekitei), who studied Japanese classic literature under Hirata Kanetane, the son adopted by Atsutane. Toshitane opened a private school named Senshusha, where not a few neighbors came to study. One of the pupils was Nitsu Saitaro (1834~1890) who lived in Ochiai Village and whose father, Nitsu Jusuke (?~1844), was friends with Kamono Mabuchi (1697~1769) and Motoori Norinaga (1730~1801), two very famous Japanese classic scholars. Saitaro himself was a famous Shinto Priest in Kai no Kuni. I interviewed Mr. Nitsu Hitoshi, the grandson of Saitaro. At Nitsu's home, he showed me the letters from Kamono Mabuchi and Motoori Norinaga to Jusuke. Saitaro often been to Kyoto to study Japanese classic literature; he not only invited his colleagues from Kyoto but also held a poetry party at his



home. At Nitsu's home, he also showed me the tools for tea ceremony, and several tanzakus (i.e., strips of fancy paper on which one writes tanka; a traditional Japanese poem containing five lines of 5,7,5,7 and 7 syllables, respectively).

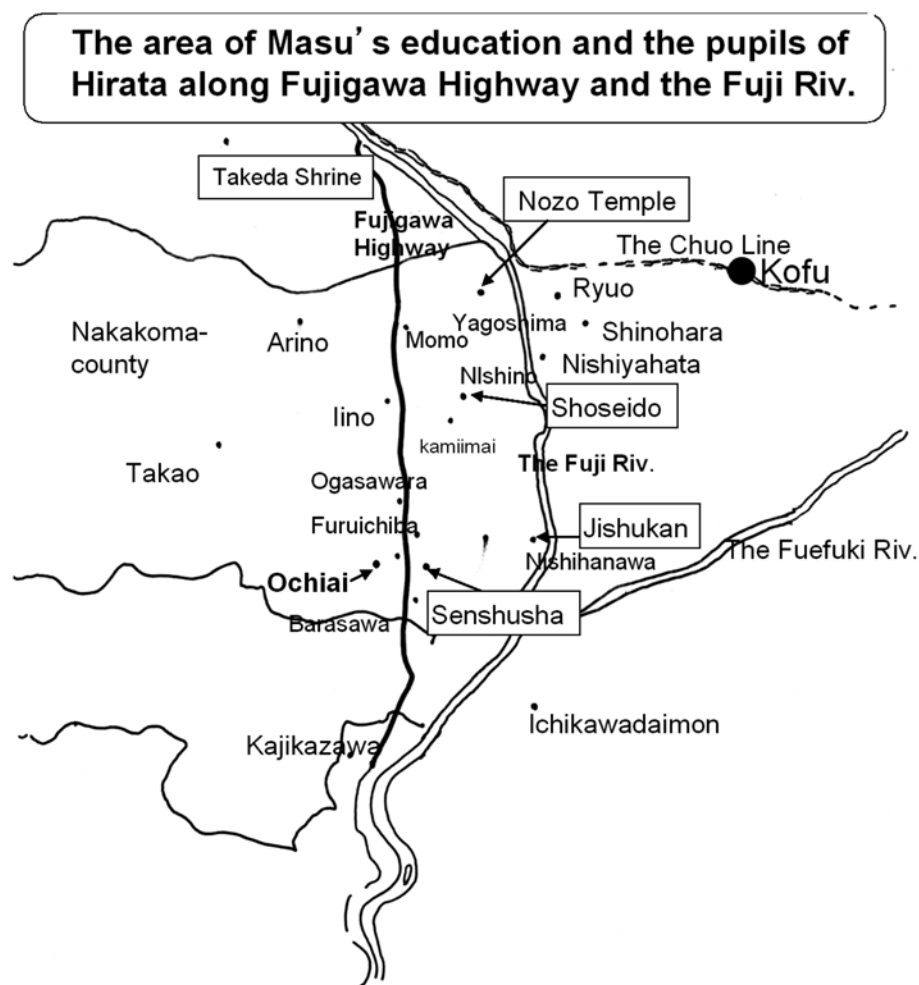
## The Masu's Cultural and Educational Background

### Masu and Japanese classic literature of Hirata

Masu composed many Japanese poems. There are some in which she divulged her feelings of respect for Motoori Norinaga and she was the vice-teacher of Shintoism when she wrote "On-na-oshie gusa" in 1873. It can be said that Masu had been affected and cultivated by Japanese classic literature, however, I prescribed that it was impossible that Masu had studied under

Konakamura Kiyonori and Hori Hidenari before 1850, because both of them were too young at that time to have taught Japanese classic literature. How, then, had Masu been taught and educated?

Masu and Inoue Yorikuni (1839-1914) knew each other. Yorikuni was one of the Japanese classic scholars, and a pupil under Gonda Naosuke, one of the famous Japanese classic scholars who had studied under Hirata Atsutane. As discussed previously, Masu became intimate with two women--pupils of Inoue who had told Masu about them. Toshitane who lived in Barasawa Village was one of the pupils, of not only Hirata Kanetane but also Gonda Naosuke. Toshitane introduced many pupils under Prof. Hirata's tuition, and also several pupils under Prof. Gonda's tuition. If Masu had some connection with Toshitane or other pupils of Gonda's tuition it is possible that she knew Inoue.



There were a lot of pupils under Prof. Hirata's tuition along the Fujigawa Highway and Fuji River. According to our research on "Hirata mon-jincho" (the Notebook Recording the Names of Pupils under Hirata Tuition), there were 75 pupils who lived in Kai no kuni; 49 of them were lived along the Fujigawa Highway. (I have plotted on the map the location of where the 49 pupils lived.) Eleven of the 49 pupils were introduced by Toshitane and 6 out of 49 pupils were introduced by Shichinai. Both of them were the leaders of the culture and education with respect to Japanese classic literature in the area along the Fujigawa Highway. If Masu was adopted by a person who lived in the area along the Fujigawa Highway and was a pupil under Hirata's and Gonda's tuitions, it is easily understood how she could have developed her culture about Japanese classic literature and developed her friendship with the people who lived in the area.

I researched the family trees of the Nitsu's and the Saegusa's families. (The Tanaka family has since lost its family tree.) However, I could not find the name "Masu" in either. It is difficult to find Masu's name in any family tree, because in family trees in Edo period, it was ruled that only the names of males who died in the house (*ie*) were recorded. In many cases, women who died in the *ie* were recorded only as genetic "women" (*onna*).

The other hand, if Masu had been adopted by the Hatamoto who lived in Edo, she could develop her culture after the marriage to Denuemon 1<sup>st</sup>.

## Ono Izumi, another leader of women's education in Yamanashi Prefecture

Ono Izumi (1830-1884) was a doctor who studied in Shoseido which was a school founded by the

4 Shinshu Hirata Atsutane zenshu bekkann (Renewal of Hirata Atsutane's complete works supplementary volume) (in Japanese)

peasants of Nishino village in Nakakoma County. After graduating from Shoseido, Ono studied in Kyoto to become a doctor. Upon returning to Yamanashi Prefecture, he became a head of the Central Hospital in Kofu. He later became one of the members of the educational affairs section of Yamanashi Prefecture. On October 3, 1873, he lectured the importance of women's education at the opening ceremony of Nishino School as a member of the prefectural educational affairs section. This lecture was published in the same month from "Onko-do" by Denuemon 1<sup>st</sup> in the name of "Gakumon no Motosue" ("The beginning and end of learning").

In his lecture, Ono admonished the parents of the Nishino School, stating that it was more important that women study reading, writing and calculating (on a soroban) than for them to study dancing, singing and handicrafts. At that time, there were not a few girls who were allowed to learn singing and dancing, only to be sold into bondage. He insisted that the custom that women needed not to be educated was so disgusting and should be broken. As mentioned previously, Masu wrote "Onna-oshiegusa" in the September 1873, one month before when Ono Izumi published "Gakumon no motosue." In "Onna oshiegusa," Masu asserts that women should subordinate to their parents and husbands, but also criticized the parents who allow their daughters to learn only dancing, singing and playing a *koto* or a *samisen* without teaching them morals. Both works contain similar sentiments, and both taught the importance of women's education, even if Masu and Ono each suggested that "moral education" should involve women's subordination to their parents and husbands.

## Shoseido: a school founded by farmers

Ono Izumi graduated from Shoseido, which was founded in 1835 by farmers in Nishio Village.

There is record of an application for foundation of a school, from 1834; it was written by two farmers and contains the signature of Tezuka Kozo and Nakagomi Sajibe. In the application, it is described that they need a school, to help keep villagers from “straying from the right path.” I interviewed Mr. Nakagomi--who is not a descendant of Sajibe Nakagomi--whose father had preserved many old documents about Nishino Village. In Nishino Village, it was not rare that the villagers to lose money in gambling and sell their daughters to acquire money for gambling. In Mr. Nakagomi’s home, I found an old document written in 1754 that contracted to prohibit of gambling and selling of daughters.

At that time, it was rare for farmers to found a school by themselves. In Yamanashi Prefecture, Shoseido was the first school to be founded by farmers. Some villagers who lived in Nishino village paid some money to found Shoseido; they also invited a teacher, Matsui Kansai who was well-known as a Japanese classic scholar. In those days, the study of not only writing, reading and calculating, but also of morals were considered to be related directly to the economic success of villagers and the continuing success of their family businesses. This is considered that it is clear that the Nishino villagers founded Shoseido based on self-interest. It is possible that these self-directed demands for learning planted in Ono the seed of the idea of basic education, and that his idea had an effect on Masu.

### Masu and Women’s Education in Yamanashi Prefecture

#### Women’s education in Yamanashi Prefecture

In “History of Yamanashi Prefecture 13 Archives 6,” there are records of “Research of Kajuku and Terakoya, by county in Yamanashi Pre-

fecture”. Although this data were collected in 1886, the years in which Kajuku and Terakoya had undertaken their respective studies varied. Nonetheless, it is known that the research took place between 1831 and the 1870s. The table shows the number of male and female pupils, by year, from 1831 to 1871. On the basis of the research, the total number of male pupils was recorded 15,495, and the number of female pupils was 3,625. As such, female pupils accounted for about 19% of all students during that period (The average rate of school attendance of female pupils in the early Meiji period was 15%); this means that in Yamanashi Prefecture, more women studied in the Edo period than in the Meiji period.

| year of reseach | male | female | total | number of school | female rate |
|-----------------|------|--------|-------|------------------|-------------|
| 1831            | 0    | 0      | 0     | 0                |             |
| 1832            | 100  | 50     | 150   | 1                | 33.3        |
| 1833            | 0    | 0      | 0     | 0                |             |
| 1834            | 0    | 0      | 0     | 0                |             |
| 1835            | 0    | 0      | 0     | 0                |             |
| 1836            | 0    | 0      | 0     | 0                |             |
| 1837            | 0    | 0      | 0     | 0                |             |
| 1838            | 0    | 0      | 0     | 0                |             |
| 1839            | 150  | 0      | 150   | 1                | 0.0         |
| 1840            | 0    | 0      | 0     | 0                |             |
| 1841            | 0    | 0      | 0     | 0                |             |
| 1842            | 0    | 0      | 0     | 0                |             |
| 1843            | 0    | 0      | 0     | 0                |             |
| 1844            | 271  | 37     | 308   | 3                | 12.0        |
| 1845            | 0    | 0      | 0     | 0                |             |
| 1846            | 0    | 0      | 0     | 0                |             |
| 1847            | 0    | 0      | 0     | 0                |             |
| 1848            | 32   | 0      | 32    | 1                | 0.0         |
| 1849            | 35   | 10     | 45    | 1                | 22.2        |
| 1850            | 0    | 0      | 0     | 0                |             |
| 1851            | 72   | 0      | 72    | 1                | 0.0         |
| 1852            | 131  | 12     | 143   | 3                | 8.4         |
| 1853            | 0    | 0      | 0     | 0                |             |
| 1854            | 242  | 30     | 272   | 3                | 11.0        |
| 1855            | 55   | 2      | 57    | 1                | 3.5         |
| 1856            | 260  | 37     | 297   | 3                | 12.5        |
| 1857            | 26   | 1      | 27    | 1                | 3.7         |

| year of reseach | male | female | total | number of school | female rate |
|-----------------|------|--------|-------|------------------|-------------|
| 1858            | 55   | 7      | 62    | 1                | 11.3        |
| 1859            | 70   | 16     | 86    | 2                | 18.6        |
| 1860            | 40   | 11     | 51    | 1                | 21.6        |
| 1861            | 258  | 20     | 278   | 2                | 7.2         |
| 1862            | 81   | 7      | 88    | 2                | 8.0         |
| 1863            | 150  | 70     | 220   | 1                | 31.8        |
| 1864            | 70   | 8      | 78    | 1                | 10.3        |
| 1865            | 827  | 315    | 1142  | 19               | 27.6        |
| 1866            | 561  | 181    | 742   | 18               | 24.4        |
| 1867            | 251  | 76     | 327   | 7                | 23.2        |
| 1868            | 1970 | 231    | 2201  | 18               | 10.5        |
| 1869            | 1502 | 82     | 1584  | 14               | 5.2         |
| 1870            | 2412 | 244    | 2656  | 30               | 9.2         |
| 1871            | 7356 | 921    | 8277  | 66               | 11.1        |
| 1872            | 7724 | 1062   | 8786  | 57               | 12.1        |
| 1873            | 607  | 83     | 690   | 7                | 12.0        |

## The application to establish a private school for women

On March 12, 1875, Masu submitted “an application to found a private school for women” to Fujimura Shiro, the Yamanashi Prefectural governor, to receive permission. In that application paper, she says that it was the second time that she submitted such an application. Masu had asked Ogino Ginko and Tanaka Kaku to come to Kofu to become matrons of the dormitory, but they did not come at once; without their immediate support, she had no choice by to withdraw her first application. Inoue Yorikuni, their teacher, opposed their going to Kofu, because he looked down on Masu. He wrote a letter to Kaku in which he describes Masu as being worthless that Kaku and Ginko did not need to care for her. (OZAKI, 2003)

In spite of Yorikuni's warning, Ginko had come to Kofu. As the result, Masu got the permission to found the women's private school on the same day. According to the “Jogaku Kajuku Kisoku” (Rules for Women's Private School), moral education (*shushin*), physics, geography, history, economics, reading, arithmetic, sewing, childrearing should be taught in

the school, for five years.<sup>5</sup> In 1876, when Aioi Primary School for girls was built, Masu made all the students in her private school go to Aioi Primary School. In 1879, she became a teacher in the school for the prostitutes working in Shinyanagi red-light district.

## Conclusion

This paper discussed why Masu advocated the necessity of women's education and how she developed her culture as a teacher.

First, she must have thought that women needed education to live as humans, and avoid becoming prostitutes to mitigate their families' economic difficulties. Furthermore, regardless of why they become prostitutes, if they were educated, they could come back to a “moral” life, just as Masu could.

Second, this paper shows that Masu might have learned Japanese classic literature from persons in the cultural sphere along the Fujigawa Highway and Fuji River, at least after she had married in 1847. She had intimate relationship with the people who lived along the area, including Saegusa Shichinai, Ono Izumi and Shinkai Yoshiya. In the area, there were at least two different cultural trends of education; one was the culture led by pupils under Prof. Hirata tuition, and the other was the culture led by the gradulators from Shoseido. I think that Masu learned Japanese classic literature and learned about the self-directed spirit for women's education by subscribing to both of these two trends.

It can be said that opportunities for learning opened for women in the Edo period, especially with respect to Japanese classic literature. Matsuo Taseko, Ogino Ginko, Tanaka Kaku and Masu each learned Japanese classic literature, and the percentage of female pupil

<sup>5</sup> Kofu News Paper 1875, April 7<sup>th</sup> Yamanashi Prefectural Library (in Japanese)

attendance was higher in the Edo period than in the Meiji period. Masu didn't advocate the necessity of female education as a result of modern or Christian ideas; she thought that women should receive an education, so that they could spend more self-directed lives. This ideology is derived from her own experiences. Her life history is the story of the personal development of a woman who was sensitive to the gender gap through the end of Edo period to the early Meiji period.

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**Atsuko Kawata** Dr. of Social Science. Prof. of Tokyo Kasei Gakuin University. The Director of Regional Collaboration Research Center (Machida). Email: [kawata@kasei-gakuin.ac.jp](mailto:kawata@kasei-gakuin.ac.jp)

**Tokio Kato** Research Member of Chiba Prefectural Archives.