TAKAMURE ITSUE: SOCIAL ACTIVIST AND FEMINIST THEORIST 1921-31

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B.A., The University of California, Riverside, 1974

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

Department of Asian Studies

We accept this thesis as conforming

to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

May 1982

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Date May 14, 1982

ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the decade of 1921-31 in the career of social activist-historian Takamure Itsue (1894-1964). It is important to examine the concepts which developed early in her career as they formed the foundation of her later research on Japanese marriage and women's history. Takamure emerged as a poet and a theorist for the Japanese women's movement in the 1920s amidst the growing labour, agrarian, and feminist movements fueled by the turbulent economic change experienced nationally and internationally. It is essential to understand the pivotal themes which emerged in Itsue's work and to place these concepts within the context of the contributions made by other female activists in the late-Taishō to early-Shōwa period, and moreover, within the context of the leftist movement in general.

During the first half of the 1920s Takamure had gained recognition as a poet and developed her four-stage theory of women's movements. In her poetry and articles she expressed her views on such matters as love, nature, and freedom. By the mid-1920s, Takamure had rejected the Western stage of women's movements and advocated a Japanese model of "New Feminism" which emphasized freedom, especially for women.

She advocated the elimination of political and social authoritarianism which was controlled by the male-centred bureaucracy. She urged a shift towards an Asian society of agrarian self-government which emphasized harmony with nature, freedom from bureaucratic oppression, and women and men sharing in the production of the essentials of life.

Through several debates in the late 1920s, including one with Marxist Yamakawa Kikue, Itsue further developed her views of anarchism. The publication of her women's anarchistic magazine, Fujin sensen (Women's front; March 1930-June 1931) allowed Itsue to focus her talents and express her position on issues such as urban versus rural economics and the feminist movement. Involvement with Fujin sensen also gave Takamure the opportunity to broaden her contacts with other anarchists, both male and female, and to expand her knowledge of farmers' issues.

When the periodical ceased publication, Itsue, at the age of thirty-seven, embarked on a research plan which would take the rest of her life. Intrigued by the work of the eighteenth-century scholar Motoori Norinaga, she decided first to investigate the history of marriage, which she felt played a major role in the long chronicle of women's oppression. Itsue's decision resulted from a gradual process strengthened by her activities in the 1920s.

Some writers disagree with this statement and argue

that Takamure's real contributions to Japanese history were made in the latter half of her life. Others contend that to ignore or negate the activities of the first half of her life presents an imbalanced view of her career. This thesis therefore uses a variety of "re-discovered" primary sources, including scholarly articles, periodicals and books, to raise several historiographical issues related to the above two streams of thought. They include the role of Itsue's husband, Kenzō, in the virtual elimination of her anarchistic thought and views on the wartime period from her collected works. Further, Takamure's intellectual development is discussed wtih respect to the following issues: (1) her alleged "ideological conversion" in 1940, (2) her agrarian concepts of the 1920s compared with those of the agrarian movement in the 1930s, and (3) her concepts of the Emperor and especially Shinto thought.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would first like to thank my supervisor, Professor William Wray, for his guidance and helpful suggestions in the preparation of this manuscript. Appreciation should also be given to Professor John Howes for his patience and assistance in the final stage of its completion. Sincere thanks are expressed to Gonnami Tsuneharu and Usawa Kozue of the Asian Studies Library, UBC, for all the time and effort it took to answer my frequent questions.

My thanks to Professor Kitahara Itoko of Nagano, Japan for her help in the early stages of this study. I would like to offer special thanks to Mishima Masayukii for his constant encouragement and effort in the acquisition of research materials from Japan. A two-year fellowship from the Japan Foundation is gratefully acknowleged, as it allowed me to focus full-time on my research.

I must thank my typist, Ruby Toren, for her patience and skills during the last hectic days of preparation of the final manuscript. And finally, I would like to thank my family and friends, especially my mother and H. B., for their kind understanding and constant support.

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations and interpretations of primary source materials are my own.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The decade of 1921-31 in Japanese history can be depicted as a period of unrest which added strength to the growing labour, agrarian, and feminist movements. Interest rose in the possibilities of political action through suffrage and organization of the proletariat. It was also an important period of changing social relations due to mass education, increasing government oppression, and turbulent economic change.[1]

This decade also formed an important developmental period in the career of social activist-historian Takamure Itsue (1894-1964). During the 1920s she became known as a poet and a theorist for the Japanese women's movement, and extended her ideas on women and society through various means of expression such as poetry, articles, and books. To attain a balanced perspective of Takamure and her prolific work on Japanese marriage and women's history, I believe it is important to begin with an examination of her early work from which her basic concepts germinated.

Within the last several years a variety of Japanese works concerning Itsue have emerged, and continue to develop into an ever-widening stream. The majority of them tend to

focus on the latter half of her career. Some works simply seem to "overlook" the first three and a half decades of her life. Other works consciously ignore this transitional stage, referring to it in negative terms like "an immature period" or "a barren era."[2]

The present discussion will focus on the decade of the 1920s in an attempt to show how certain pivotal themes developed in Itsue's thought. I think it is important to understand not only which themes appeared, but also to place Itsue's concepts within the context of her era. By 1930, facets of Itsue's thought such as rejection of Western urbanization and Japanese male-controlled bureaucracy had merged in her women's anarchist magazine, Fujin sensen (Women's front). In it, Takamure advocated development towards a rural-based society of self-government in which women and men could attain equality and respect.

The publication of Fujin sensen marked a transition in Itsue's career between her earlier activist years and the latter thirty years of her life which she devoted solely to scholarly research. In order to comprehend the contributions her later works make to Japanese history, it is important to understand the process through which her thought evolved. Murakami Nobuhiko, a student of the place of women in history, refers to the first half of Takamure's life as a "period of preparation" (junbiki) for the "crystallization" of her research in later works.[3]

A number of questions relevant to Itsue's early life come to mind. For example, what were the bases of Itsue's anarchistic thought and did they carry over into her later works? To what extent did Fujin sensen represent early Shōwa thought? Why have Itsue's anarchist activities been virtually ignored until recently? The following chapters expand on answers to such questions. In recent years a number of sources concerning Itsue's earlier years have been uncovered. This new material defines Takamure's position in the Japanese women's movement, and within the context of the leftist movement in general.

Itsue expressed her ideas on such matters as love, nature, and the rejection of bureaucracy in her earliest poetry. She continued to develop these themes throughout her career. She did not condone the Western utilitarian concept of love nor the Japanese patriarchal model. Instead, Takamure advocated free love and called for the elimination of the conventional marriage system. The European criteria of beauty associated with the acquisition of wealth and power were also rejected by Itsue. She felt such criteria of male-controlled bureaucracy oppressed women. Therefore, Takamure urged a shift towards an Asian society of agrarian self-government in which women and men could live in harmony free from bureaucratic oppression.

Itsue developed her anarchistic stance in several debates in the late 1920s, including one with Marxist

Yamakawa Kikue. The publication of Fujin sensen allowed Itsue to focus her talents as a poet, a writer, and an editor and express her position on issues such as urban versus rural economics and the women's movement. While involved in editing and writing Fujin sensen, Takamure had the opportunity to broaden her contacts with other anarchists, both male and female, and expand her knowledge of farmers' issues.

When the periodical ceased publication in June 1931, Takamure embarked on research which would take the rest of her life. Intrigued by the work of the eighteenth-century scholar Motoori Norinaga, she began her research by investigating the history of marriage which she felt played a major role in the long chronicle of women's oppression. Takamure did not decide to pioneer the field of women's history on a momentary whim. Her decision resulted from a gradual process strengthened by her activities in the 1920s. Through her experiences as a poet, a feminist theorist, and a social activist, Itsue had realized the bureaucratic, structured society of her era offered little hope for change in the position of women. Believing that women had commanded more power and respect in ancient Japanese society, she decided to prove through her research that there was another side of history virtually ignored by conventional academics.

Some writers contend that Takamure's real contributions to Japanese history were made in the latter half of her life. Others argue that overlooking or negating Itsue's

early literary achievements and activist involvement presents an unbalanced view of her career. I will raise several historiographical issues related to the above two streams of thought. They include the significance of Itsue's debates in the late 1920s and her Fujin sensen activities. They also touch upon the role of Itsue's husband, Kenzō, in the virtual elimination of her anarchistic thought and views on the wartime period from her collected works. Further, I will discuss Itsue's intellectual development with respect to the following issues: (1) her alleged "ideological conversion" in 1940, (2) her agrarian concepts of the 1920s compared with those of the agrarian movement in the 1930s, and (3) her concepts of the Emperor and especially Shinto thought.

It seems appropriate at this time to provide a brief synopsis of Takamure's early life. How was her upbringing related to her literary and academic pursuits? What role did Itsue's relationship with Kenzō play in the early years of her career? Such questions find answers in a glimpse of her life.

The Early Years

Takamure was born on January 18, 1894, in the small town of Toyokawa (now known as Matsubase), which is located between Kumamoto and Minamata on the western island of Kyushu. Her mother Toyo, the daughter of a Buddhist priest, and father Katsutarō, a bright primary school principal, were

overjoyed with the birth of their eldest daughter. They had suffered the deaths of three infant sons and believed Itsue was a godsend as they had prayed to Kannon, the Goddess of Mercy, for a healthy daughter. Itsue's birth on the festival day of Kannon further affirmed their belief. She was cherished by her parents as the child of Kannon, an experience which seems to have had a positive effect on the formation of her character. Even after Itsue was joined by two brothers and a sister, she still continued to receive special treatment.[4]

With the guidance of her schoolmaster father, Itsue's literary talent became evident even before she entered school. She contributed regularly to Shōnen no tomo (Youth's companion), a monthly children's magazine published by the Kyushu Daily Newspaper Company. Katsutarō continued to promote her talent as she grew up, encouraging her to write for prefectural educational magazines. In one instance, when Itsue felt too intimidated to receive an award which her essay had won, her father went to the district offices' awards ceremony on her behalf in the appropriate formal attire.[5]

Beginning in childhood and for the rest of her life, Itsue loved nature, felt the needs and misfortunes of others, and preferred to maintain a low profile. But she also had a more assertive side to her character with a very strong will. Once Takamure decided something she was involved in was right, she would totally commit herself to her goal. This sense of

passion was implied when she called herself the "woman from the land of fire" (hi no kuni no onna), a metaphor which also referred to the volcano Mount Aso near her home town.[6] Throughout her life Itsue maintained a naive belief in the goodness of people and a passionate commitment to the truth, as the following incidents in her youth illustrate.

After finishing primary school, at fifteen Itsue entered a normal school in Kumamoto, but was expelled shortly after when she virtually questioned the educational policies of the school's principal, unheard-of behaviour for a student of that era. Itsue went to a girls' private school for a while, then worked in a textile factory. She was fired after she wrote a letter to the management complaining about the company's emphasis on duty to the company, the nation, and the Emperor, as well as the unjustifiably low wages being paid to the female employees.[7] She was convinced that she was right and took appropriate action, ignoring the obvious consequences.

In 1914 at the age of twenty, Takamure became a substitute teacher and soon began to correspond with Hashimoto Kenzō, an intelligent young teacher three years her junior who was to become her spouse. Although they shared many intellectual interests, such as philosophy and literature, Kenzō's attraction to nihilist thought conflicted with the Confucian-Buddhist upbringing Itsue had received. Confused and disturbed by her difficult relationship with Kenzō, from

June to November 1918 Itsue went on a Buddhist-inspired pilgrimage to the many temples of Shikoku. She wrote about her experiences for a newspaper in her native prefecture in a series of articles which became quite popular, as it was unusual for a young woman to make such a pilgrimage.[8]

Following her journey, Kenzō and Itsue were engaged on April 14, 1919. They later called this date their wedding anniversary. Living together for a while where Kenzō was teaching, Itsue found the next few years quite unsettled, as she spent time in both Tokyo and her native prefecture. Itsue first departed from Kenzō in August 1920, when she went to Tokyo alone. While living there for a year, two books of her poetry were published on the strong recommendation of the influential literary critic Ikuta Chōkō (1881-1936). Takamure returned to Kumamoto with Kenzō, who had come to get her, in August 1921.

The following spring they had returned to Tokyo, where their first and only child Kempei arrived stillborn.[9] This great loss played a major role in Itsue's awareness of bosei (women's natural instincts), which became an essential element in the development of her anarchistic thought. This development will be discussed in Chapter 3.

In 1923 Kenzō and Itsue re-established their household in western Tokyo, only to have many of Kenzō's "kindred spirit" friends flock in. Itsue strained under the pressure created by the twin roles of traditional wife who should

cater to her husband and his guests, and the modern woman who should continue to pursue a writing career to earn their living. Exhausted by the struggle, Itsue left home. This second departure in 1925 resulted in reconciliation with Kenzō shortly thereafter, from which time they began a truly mutual relationship.[10]

This point marks the emergence of Takamure as a feminist. In 1926, within a year, she published her first book on women's issues called Ren'ai sōsei (Genesis of love). The following chapter examines some of the ideas Itsue expressed as a feminist and a poet in the early years of her career, with their many changing currents.

CHAPTER 2

RE-EVALUATING THE TRANSITIONAL EARLY YEARS: POET AND "NEW FEMINIST"

The decade of the 1920s in the life of Takamure has already been introduced. This chapter will evaluate Takamure's early works in these years while she emerged as a poet and a critic of Western women's movements who espoused her own concept of "New Feminism." Although it is beyond the limits of the present discussion to examine the literary aspect of Itsue's career in great detail, her poems cannot be ignored. Takamure voiced her ideas on such matters as love, nature, and modernity in her poetry as well as in other means of expression. Her essays and articles began to analyze how differently European and Japanese societies treated these topics and to develop her own theory which argued for a substantial connection between beauty and love. In an age when arranged marriage (omiai) was the rule, Takamure advocated freedom in love (ren'ai). While most Japanese were imbued with the Western standard of beauty as the norm, Itsue went against the main current to prefer a more natural Japanese model. Throughout the 1920s her anarchistic attitudes grew as she rejected the bureaucracy and modernity of both West and East.

Changing Roles as a Poet and Feminist Theorist

Takamure's first success was as a young poet. Although she had shown promise since childhood, Itsue's first poems were published in 1921 when she was twenty-seven. She continued to write poetry throughout her life, even following recognition as a theorist for the women's movement and later as a historian.[1] As a recent review article has suggested, rather than think of Takamure as an author who worked in numerous distinct media, poetry, essays, novels and history, one should be aware of treating the interaction of the many roles with more respect.[2]

In examining the period between 1921 and 1931, shades of anarchism become more pronounced in her role as a theorist for the Japanese women's movement. It is important to comprehend these changes, not only because they significantly affected Takamure's work, but also because, as Akiyama Kiyoshi points out, they were ". . . an expression of the social thought of the period."[3]

Simply summarized, the development and direction of Takamure's thought incorporated the following themes: (1) disagreement with theories of Western civilization which led Takamure to reject them, followed by advocacy of New Feminism and the unity of love and sexual desire; (2) re-examination of Japanese values like the concept of beauty after rejecting the bureaucratic state's criteria of beauty; and (3) advocacy

of a self-governing society focused on "nature" and the countryside.

In direct contrast to her criticism levelled at several aspects of Takamure's life, Itō Ryōko describes the significance of her poetry in the following manner:

> . . . the extraordinary receptivity and intuition she showed as a poet grew out of . . . her activities as a critic and as a researcher of women's history; they give her work strong distinctive features.

Itō also adds that many of Itsue's poems serve as a "piercing motif" of her life's work.[4]

Akiyama agrees, taking the point a step further:

> Takamure was a poet. Even more than a thinker or a researcher of women's history, she was a poet. . . . Her way of life and her work were synthesized. . . . That 'poetic' character in Takamure was inseparable from her femaleness; [herein] lies the balance.[5]

Itsue first appeared in the world of journalism in April 1921 with the publication of her long poem "Nichigetsu no ue ni" (Above the sun and moon) in the literary magazine Shin shosetsu (New novel). By June her poem was republished as a book by Sōbunkaku. Two days later, Shinchōsha released her collection of poems Hōrōsha no shi (Poems of a wanderer). Suddenly young Itsue had "arrived" as a woman poet.

Many of the themes in her poems have been compared to those in Chijō (On the ground), the best-seller of novelist Shimada Seijirō (1899-1930). Both of their works complained of incompatibility with society with which their youthful reading audience could identify. As a result, Shimada's and

Takamure's early work was widely read by young people and students.[6] Yet today Takamure's poems are virtually never quoted in the history of literature nor in collections of poems.[7] Why has the work of Itsue, the poet, largely been ignored? Since she gained distinction for her poetry, particularly in the first half of her life, one can assume that Itsue's poetry has been "overlooked" like most of her early work. It is hoped that future literary specialists will correct this oversight.

One noteworthy feature of Takamure's contributions as a Taishō poet is her "anti-modern" viewpoint. This became a common thread which ran throughout her later work.[8] The following poem, "Calling Young Japanese Women" (Oide yo, Nihon no musume tachi), serves as an illustration:

> Calling young Japanese women
> to light a fire on a winter's night.
>
> Your chests ache
> as you do not put on aprons.
> Donning aprons [going out]
> to spring fields,
> Picking herbs
> with baskets over your arms.
>
> Flee, young Japanese women
> from the rationale of modernity.
>
> When you come and see the valleys
> deep within the mountains,
> You will hear only the sounds of birds
> and trickling brooks
> And an old monk burning brushes
> in the garden of a temple.[9]

While Itsue's references to aprons are a bit obscure, her message which urges young women to flee from the rationale of

modernity and enjoy nature is very clear. This type of anti-modernity viewpoint played a major role in her grievances against Western civilization, which in turn led her to re-examine Japanese culture and values.

As we have noted, after Takamure emerged as a poet in the early 1920s, several personal difficulties arose to disturb the development of her career. These included the stillbirth of her baby and her temporary separation from Kenzō. As painful as the loss of her child was, Kempei's death increased Takamure's awareness of women's natural instincts, which became an important aspect of her anarchistic thought. This point will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

In April 1926, Ren'ai sōsei was published. In it Takamure criticized the women's movements of America and Europe, and advocated New Feminism as the next stage for Japanese women. She described women's movements in four stages beginning with jokenshugi (women's suffrage movement), which was based on the removal of all sexual discrimination in voting, and referred to leaders in the United States and to the British feminist Mary Wolstonecraft. The second stage was joseishugi (feminist movement), which advocated a woman's viewpoint of society, including reform of the marriage system, exemplified by the Swedish theorist Ellen Key in northern Europe. The next phase was shin jokenshugi (new women's suffrage movement), focused mainly on Russia, which argued that women's problems were a question of economics. The

final stage was shin joseishugi (New Feminism) initiated by Japanese women, of whom Takamure was the first, advocating abolition of both the marriage system and political and social authoritarianism (kyōken). The latter was related directly to her severe criticism of male-controlled modern society, which was based on maintenance of power and status. Ren'ai sōsei can be described as a multi-faceted work which emphasized the protection of the mother and child in a communal-care society and the freedom of love.[10]

In the context of New Feminism the ultimate love could be attained when male and female united according to the concept of ittaishugi (literally, "union-in-one-body"). In other words, Takamure argued that the foundation of a truly mutual relationship necessarily had to include emotional, physical, and spiritual aspects. One can see some similarities between Itsue's concept of ittaishugi and the unity-of-soul-and-body concept of Ellen Key.[11]

Takamure's Concept of Love

The concept of love occurs frequently in Takamure's early work. Many of her articles published in magazines like Fujin kōron (Women's forum), Nyonin geijutsu (Women and art), Kuroiro sensen (Black front), and Chūō kōron (Central forum) during the late 1920s, dealt with related themes. For example, in the January 1929 edition of Fujin kōron Itsue published "Ika ni ren'ai subeki ka: ren'ai to sonkei" (How

should [we] love?: love and respect).[12] Four months later in Kuroiro sensen she published "Ren'ai to kyōken" (Love and authoritarianism).[13] Through this process she clarified her own interpretations and became more critical of various Western views.

Takamure stressed going beyond the distinctions of male and female towards human love in which the elements of spiritual (love) and physical (sexual desire) were united. This type of universal thought opposed the concept put forward by the socialists which defined real love as a spiritual phenomenon that could be attained only by those members of the proletariat who had reached a certain level of culture and education. Until the proletariat acquired a high degree of culture they could achieve only pseudo-love. Itsue was very skeptical of the socialists' interpretation as it limited love to a type of cultural phenomenon which only certain people could acquire. Takamure believed love could not be limited by such class concepts.[14]

Itsue's interpretation of freedom in love seems similar to that of Key:

> . . . we must strive for the freedom of love . . . [which] must only mean freedom for a feeling which is worthy of the name of love.[15]

In spite of this similarity, Takamure opposed Key's "rights of motherhood." Claimed Key:

> The solution of the right of motherhood ought not to be the encouragement of the majority of unmarried women to . . . [bear] children without love. . . . But, on the other hand, the unmarried

> woman . . . has a right to motherhood, when she possesses so rich a human soul, so great a mother's heart . . . that she can bear an exceptional lot.[16]

In Takamure's eyes, women of the new era did not need to strive for such "rights," as they implied a class society. Child-raising was a natural phenomenon which was not the private responsibility of mothers but of society as a whole. Thus women did not have to prove they could endure "an exceptional lot" in order to become mothers.[17]

Although Itsue knew that the work on reproduction supremacy pioneered by Arthur Schopenhauer also contradicted the limited-class view, she rejected his interpretation of love. In his scheme, love was regarded as a refined version of sexual desire, the basis for restoring reproduction and the advancement of the race. The lack of a spiritual basis for love is evident in the following comment by Maurice Mandelbaum:

> . . . the brain, unlike the sexual organs, did not function under the direct and immediate needs of the organism as a whole. Thus we find Schopenhauer frequently contrasting the genitalia and the brain, as constituting the two poles of human activities. . . .[18]

As Takamure rejected the above modern interpretation because it was too physiologically oriented, she also opposed presentations which ostracized sentimental views of love like those of the petit bourgeois. To Itsue, to deny the value of such sentimental views of love mistakenly associated sentimentality with weakness. Takamure pointed to the past when love included "compassion," to view the weak as worthy

of pity, not to be ignored. Over time, she felt, the compassionate aspect of love was disregarded, so that only the strong who persevered were considered worthy of love.[19] Perhaps in part this was why Itsue did not support Darwin's concept of "natural selection" with its emphasis on the survival of the fittest.

In looking to the past, Itsue discovered the ren'ai theory of Masuho Zankō (1655-1742). Written in 1711, it ". . . expressed the harmful influences of systematic love and advocated the rightfulness of natural love." He felt that love shared with women the attributes of divine nature, sanctity (shinsei) itself, and both should be respected as such.[20] Masuho's thought on free love meshed well with Itsue's in its criticism of "systematic love," by which he meant omiai and the institution of marriage, which Itsue also opposed. Masuho's emphasis on natural love and women were important themes to be developed in Takamure's later works like Josei no rekishi (The History of Women).

In sharp contrast to the above was the utilitarian concept of love popular in the United States. Takamure cited a book written in 1919 by a young woman from Boston who defined love as "something to ease the tiredness of work" as an expression of the omnipotence of materialism in American thought (yuibutsu bannōshugi). But this type of self-centred thought was not new. Takamure added that in the feudal age love had been forced to surrender to those in positions of

power in political marriages; in modern times love gave way to the priority of the "almighty dollar." The solution was to deny control by power or money to achieve the essence of free love.[21] By this denial, Takamure's propensity for anarchistic values was reinforced and her re-examination of Japanese culture and thought was intensified. She believed in freedom in love, freedom from artificial restrictions imposed by institutions such as marriage and bureaucracy. Her interpretation of love grew more anarchistic as she searched for an alternative to the conservatism in her own society and time.

Thus far, after brief reference to the significance of Takamure, the poet, her grievances with various strands of Western thought have been discussed, particularly with respect to the concept of love. After examination of the bases for women's movements throughout Europe and the United States, she had decided that none were appropriate for Japanese women. Itsue thus advocated ittaishugi in the context of New Feminism and urged the abolition of both the established marriage system and authoritarianism.

Itsue also rejected views of love which focused only on sexual desire or reproduction or treated love as a phenomenon limited to certain classes of society. She opposed any thought which did not recognize the importance of physical and spiritual unity in love. In her search for the ideal society she necessarily began to re-examine her own values

and those of her country. Takamure believed in natural love, free from societal restrictions. Her concept of beauty similarly opposed the criteria defined by Western models as city-centred. In the next section, her concept of beauty will be analyzed as she increasingly favoured Japanese rural values, which she felt emphasized nature, freedom, and mutual aid. To Itsue the essence of beauty lay closer to such rural values, free from the artificial limitations imposed by urban-centred bureaucracy.

Takamure's Concept of Beauty

At the outset of an article dealing with urban-rural themes written in 1930, Takamure asked: what is the value in analyzing the concept of beauty? She pointed out that since society usually deprecated or ignored the concept of beauty entirely, this attitude in itself was a problem. Neglecting to analyze how the accepted concept of beauty developed would only perpetuate the problem. In Takamure's terms, modern society's criteria of beauty grew out of money, status, and power, all controlled by the male bureaucracy.

She cited the example of an urban individual who went to the countryside and could feel comfortable, possessing a type of class pride, whereas a rural person who went to the city walked humbly and felt somehow inferior.[22] This illustration can easily be applied to present-day Japanese society more than fifty years after Itsue wrote. It is not uncommon

to hear someone modestly refer to him/herself as a "country person" (inaka mono), the humble posture thinly disguising the "I am just a country bumpkin" attitude so evident beneath the surface. That is to say, the view of society in the 1980s is still predominantly city-centred.

To Itsue the contemporary view of beauty in Japan reflected the controlling criteria of the powerful European-American models. Focused on wealth and power, urban areas became the centres where rapid change and competition produced a city type of beauty which became the norm. In order to be beautiful one needed a certain standard of clothes and make-up. This implied the necessity of an adequate economic base to achieve this surface standard of beauty, one which was more accessible to urban women.[23]

Marxists viewed this confrontation between the city and the countryside as, in the main, a phenomenon of the capitalistic age. Takamure disagreed, seeing it rather as something that originated with and continued with authoritarian society. She cited an example of Tokugawa law which prohibited merchants from marrying farmers; if the latter saw the lifestyle of the former, a spirit of rebellion might arise.

Itsue pointed out how the problem had continued into her own time with government aid being given to the farmers. Economic assistance was given not to improve the farmers' conditions, but to entice the urban unemployed back to the

countryside to lighten the government's economic burden.[24]

Opposed to the type of exploitative society that would create this dichotomy between urban and rural areas, Takamure urged departure from European power-based criteria towards what she termed an "Asian self-governing society" in which a new sense of beauty would emerge for both sexes.[25] Unburdened by artificial, materialistic elements, beauty would naturally re-emerge in what Itsue called a "free alliance" (jiyū rengōshugi) society. Free from bureaucratic controls, people could attain freedom in love.[26]

Implied in this sense of freedom was a greater emphasis on the countryside, a return to "nature." Itō Ryōko describes Takamure's longing to return to the village:

> . . . when held in the heart of nature [she] became aware of a feeling of complete freedom, compared with the remarkable sense of incompatibility she could not forget when surrounded by city life. . .[27]

One can surmise that Takamure was only one of many of her generation to reject the city for the countryside. In contrast to this similarity of attitude, she set out on a distinct course of action.

According to Takamure's interpretation of beauty, Western criteria dictated that the modern concept be city-centred. In opposing this interpretation, she developed her view of a free-alliance society, one which emphasized nature and the agrarian village.

This point was an essential part of Takamure's

argument in an extensive debate which took place in 1928 between Takamure and Yamakawa Kikue, a noted leftist polemicist.[28] It is hard to imagine two more opposing viewpoints than those expressed in this debate. To Itsue the countryside embodied elements of nature, mutual co-operation, and freedom, the essence of anarchism. Yamakawa's argument focused upon the importance of production for the state. They argued from their respective anarchist and Marxist viewpoints on such issues as the role of love in (or out of) marriage, child care, and the direction future society would take. The next chapter will provide further details and an analysis of the Yamakawa-Takamure debate.

CHAPTER 3

MANIFESTATIONS OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT

Part One: Views in Opposition

Issues of Love and Marriage[1]

The nine-month debate (ronsō) between Yamakawa Kikue and Takamure Itsue began in January 1928 with an article by Yamakawa in Fujin kōron in which she referred to women as "bargain goods." In fact, to emphasize supporting points Yamakawa frequently employed the style of a newspaper classified advertisement to compare females to everyday commodities like telephones or furniture. Her views can be summarized as follows: women in traditional Japan lacked an economic foundation in their own right, and as such, could be taken cheaply into marriage as their only choice in life. But as some women became aware of their own value they refused to marry men whom they did not love. In Yamakawa's thinking, placing such importance on the role of love in marriage was out of place. To her, "traditional relations between the couple based on the male as the economic standard" were the foundation of the family. Pure simple love was just a "sweet recollection" which "garnished" the beginning of a couple's relationship.[2]

The following statement indicates how strongly Takamure criticized Yamakawa's use of "pure simple love." It also gives the reader a taste of her fiery writing style:

> As long as Yamakawa holds to Marxism these phrases will just be ignorant, groundless, blind, irresponsible empty words which, to awakening women, have no authority [and] should be laughed at. . . .[3]

She further questioned the peripheral role Yamakawa gave to love, which was unchanged through time and always in the context of the marriage institution. Itsue argued that the denial of conventional marriage gave birth to ren'ai, freedom in love.[4] As with pregnancy, it was a complex process. Takamure stressed that one important part of this process was to re-examine society's emphasis on the female body as a commodity which had to aspire to a certain sense of beauty in order to "lure" a man into marriage.[5] Itsue maintained her focus on freedom in love. Yamakawa did not believe that elements like free love existed in the bourgeois society of early Shōwa Japan; only in the post-revolutionary Marxist society could women achieve freedom in love. As Japanese society lacked both the prospect and the capability of such a revolution at that time, one critic has labelled such a view as "fatalistic pessimism."[6]

The future society Takamure envisioned was markedly different from that of the Marxists. The following quotation from her autobiography elucidates several key points in her concept of the emerging society, including bosei (women's natural instincts):

> . . . as the age of large industry has reached its summit, the appearance too of a simple free village age, closely resembling conditions in primeval times, is an inevitable process. Scientific society, and the simplification of society's lifestyle which is dependent on it, also concurs with the demands of each type of bosei, thus society absolutely does not have to go through the Marxist phase. By rejecting authoritarianism and constantly maintaining a grasp of the conviction to search for self-government, [I] know progress will continue directly towards a free-alliance society (jiyū rengo no shakai).[7]

Itsue opposed a society with a strong central government, urging instead one which was based on communal farming. Takamure's concept of future society focused on farmers as they had the ability to produce food, the roots of self-government.[8] Intertwined in this anarchistic viewpoint as well was an almost spiritual sense of the countryside as closest to the essence of beauty and love, important in her developing concept of boseishugi (literally, "mother-as-the-essence-ism"). While difficult to describe in precise terms, it included elements of Shinto spiritualism in a non-hierarchical society. Takamure had great respect for nature and saw women as the representatives of nature who also should be respected. Such respect could only be accomplished in a society in which women were free from oppressive government.

Takamure saw the important role of both men and women in farming, with women too working outdoors as their ancestors had for thousands of years. Yamakawa's contrasting view seemed quite narrow, neglecting even specific mention of farming. She delineated men's work as outside the home,

women's as inside with housework and child-care until the Industrial Revolution, when the spheres of both had been re-directed outside the home.[9]

The initial stage (January 1928) of the Yamakawa-Takamure debate lent itself to discussion of criteria like love and marriage, although definite elements of their respective Marxist and anarchist stances were evident in their interpretations of the issues. Takamure's views conflicted with those of Yamakawa on several points such as free love and future society. By the latter stage (June 1928) the controversy became much more caustic and personal. Each tended to use the essay form to attack the other's position, then expound on the bases for their own convictions. In fact, it was not uncommon for them to dwell on their own views rather than criticize the other's position. Personal issues aside, what follows is a discussion of their views of society from distinctly anarchistic and Marxist reference points.

Future Society: "Communal Self-Government" Versus "Powerful Communism"

In Takamure's communal self-governing society, the organs of production would return to the hands of the people. Living a simple lifestyle, their needs were minimal and accordingly required limited production. On the other hand, Marxism emphasized the means to multiply manufacturing

capacity so that "all the strength of wealth would overflow in society in an inexhaustible supply."[10] Simply stated, Takamure described anarchism as based on the "spirit of mutual aid" and "thought centred on people" as opposed to Marxism that was "thought which used economics as its standard."[11] Anarchism had the strength to embrace the gamut of social phenomena, both present and future, because it used a human standard.[12]

In Yamakawa's terms, with production as its goal, society necessarily and absolutely progressed by the evolutionary process from a "powerful capitalistic society" to a "powerful communist society." In her plan, only the latter type of society could free women via the socialization of child-care; that is, with children being cared for in government-run facilities, women would be free to work outside the home as producers. Itsue was against socialized child-care, in that children did not belong to society but to their mothers through their natural instinct of motherhood.[13]

Moreover, Itsue opposed the entire process which culminated in such a communist society as it relied on Marx's nineteenth-century materialistic conception of history in which society was city-centred. She preferred a more modern view which saw capitalism drawing to an end in this century. Increasing urban labour strife indicated the deterioration of the complex centres of the country. Gradually the

countryside would come to the fore with the development of the village manufacturing industry, the basis for village autonomy.[14]

Utilization of electricity played a key role in Takamure's ideas, as it encouraged the dispersion of industry, whereas the use of steam had tended to concentrate industry. It is ironic that in her anti-capitalistic view of society, Itsue cited the example of American industrial king Henry Ford as someone who had re-invested profits for dispersion from large urban factories to small rural industry. Another aspect of progress in favour of village industry was the development of aerial electricity (kūchū denryoku), by which she meant electricity taken from the air, which in consequence would require no distribution grid. This, she indicated, would allow the expansion of transportation facilities in rural areas, and the use of smaller more accessible machines. Kikue, by contrast, believed that society was still in the age of large machines and big industry and rejected the idea of a synthesized society.[15]

In what she realized were abstract terms, Takamure gave her own interpretation of the division of the proletarian class in an essay published in Fujin undō (Women's movement), also in 1928. She divided the proletariat into Marxist, advocates of "productionism" (seisanshugi), and anarchist, advocates of "consumptionism" (shōhishugi), and listed criteria exclusive to each. Those of Marxism included

materialism, concentration of power (shūkenshugi) and treatment of human instincts as insignificant. Anarchism she referred to in terms of humanism, solidarity (rengōshugi) and the reverential treatment of instincts, in particular mother's love and bosei.

Itsue saw Marxism as working towards a society with centralized power through eclecticism (setchūshugi). On the other hand, through anarchism she anticipated a society based on co-operation and freedom with the village community (jiyū kyōsan sonraku) as its unit. She stressed the strong unity of labourers and farmers in this new society in that both did not want to be ruled.[16]

The mission of the labour movement was to destroy the strongholds of capitalism, the cities and the central government, through strike action by federations of unions. When the urban areas fell to ruin, the proletariat would return to their own home towns and help in the gradual building of the new society. With self-government the farmers would abolish all laws and systems of inheritance, family and marriage.[17] In the type of society she described, women and men would be able to live simply in equilibrium, free from bureaucratic oppression and control.

The Roots of "an Anarchist with Superficial Knowledge"

By analyzing the above description of Takamure's

anarchistic society according to Irving Horowitz's negative and positive interpretations of anarchy, it is obvious that her view of anarchy was distinctly a positive one. To Itsue, anarchy was based on harmonious relations which would prosper once society's "superfluity of rules" was eliminated, a positive interpretation, contrasting with negative views which defined anarchism as a "condition of unruliness."[18] But was she, as Kikue referred to her, "an anarchist with superficial knowledge"?[19] One thinks not.

First, Itsue countered Yamakawa's women's theory, arguing that it lacked real content; first and foremost Yamakawa believed in Marxism, then attempted to force issues like the significance of love (to her, its insignificance) into such a framework.[20] Secondly, Takamure expressed her own interpretation of anarchism:

> Regardless of whether a person is uneducated or from the lowest strata of society, he/she too is suffering under the authoritarian state and can become a real, pure anarchist.[21]

Itsue had begun to interpret anarchism in her own terms early in life. She did not suddenly become an anarchist overnight in the turmoil of the Tokyo environment. According to her autobiography, her first exposure to anarchism was not through reading but rather via the 1910-11 High Treason Incident, in which Kōtoku Shūsui, Kanno Sugako, and twenty-two others were convicted. The fact that some of the "innocent scapegoats," in Takamure's words, were from her native area of Kumamoto contributed to the lasting impression

the event made on her.[22] Perhaps the young and impressionable Itsue remembered it also for personal reasons: the verdict was announced on her seventeenth birthday, January 18, 1911.

Some years later she again had contact with anarchism through her spouse Kenzō, who was employed by Heibonsha, a publishing company headed by Shimonaka Yasaburō.[23] Itō Ryōko thoroughly expanded on this point when she attributed much of Itsue's rural-based anarchistic thought to direct association with Shimonaka. One of Takamure's earlier collections of poems, Tokyo wa netsubyō ni kakatteru (Tokyo is suffering from a fever) had been published in 1925 by Manseikaku — Heibonsha under an earlier name. Shimonaka, along with Ishikawa Sanshirō (known for his translations of European anarchists like Kropotkin and Bakunin)[24] had led the Nōmin jichikai (Farmers' self-government association). It had been started in December 1925 by Nakanishi Inosuke and Shibuya Teisuke "with the purpose of political, economic and cultural liberation for farmers."

Special features of the Association included the contention that farmers rather than urban labourers formed the core of the proletarian class movement. The Association also concentrated on unions as the economic centre of the movement, while the formation of the Proletarian Party in May 1925 occupied the attention of most of the proletariat.[25]

The emphasis on farmers' self-government and unions in Itsue's thought indeed strongly resembles the above foci of

the Farmers' Self-Government Association. Her familiarity with farmers' issues was extended even further by 1930 through close interaction between her own Proletarian Women's Art League (Musan fujin geijutsu renmei) and the Farmer's Art League. This will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 4 when Fujin sensen is discussed.

Itsue's anarchistic propensities have been substantiated by her personal disclosures mentioned above as well as by other facts revealed by several authors. Both early experiences in life and contact with people involved in anarchistic activities helped to foster Itsue's rejection of male-dominated authoritarian institutions like modern government which oppressed women. Another essential element in the development of Takamure's anarchistic thought was her concept of boseishugi. According to her autobiography, the death of her infant Kempei in the spring of 1922 played a large part in opening her eyes to this concept.[26] Reflecting on her anarchism, Itsue recalled that, in turn, it was this self-awareness of bosei that caused her to feel antagonistic towards Marxism and thus led her to anarchism.[27]

As she lacked an awareness of bosei, Yamakawa treated the child-care issue entirely differently. Itsue pointed to the woman-centred society of primeval times in which women had freedom in child care with the co-operation of the village (buraku). Raising children was not looked upon as the private responsibility of the mother but rather as an

endeavour to be shared by the people of the village. Society recognized the special instincts and talents of motherhood and co-operated accordingly. But gradually, with the development of the family system, child-care came to be looked upon as exclusively "women's work." Then with the establishment of institutions of private property and legitimate heirs, the role of women was changed to bearers of legitimate children who could inherit the property of their fathers.

Takamure rejected the capitalistic economic system with its centralized power which caused women to abandon their children to work outside the home. She also could not accept this aspect of Marxism. In contrast to Yamakawa, who argued that if women were to take their place in Marxist society socialization of child-care was essential, Itsue held that women did not want to give their children to others to raise. Nor did they want child-care to be isolated within the home and deemed as their job. Mothers desired the freedom to raise their children in a manner somewhere between the two extremes.[28]

Although the main points of both theorists often have to be gleaned through clouds of rhetoric, the search in itself is a useful process. The choice of different criteria by the two adversaries was significant as was the manner in which they expressed themselves, in that both reflected the thought of the 1920s. Henry Smith points out that from the early 1920s the variety and availability of radical literature

increased greatly, including translations. By 1926 multi-volume collections of Marxist texts were obtainable. Such a broadening interest in radical issues reflected the social climate of the 1920s, which produced a diversification of labour, farmer, and women's movements. Suffrage issues for men and women were also the subject of much debate in that period.[29]

Part Two: Suffrage Issues

Initial Division of Women by Yamakawa Kikue

The antagonism Itsue expressed towards Yamakawa in her polemics also surfaced in articles she wrote at the same time concerning suffrage. She pointed out that issues like suffrage, the protection of motherhood and the care of children, unequal laws, and midnight labour were problems of all women, not only proletarian women or bourgeois women. Yet why were women discussed in sub-groups? One researcher writes:

> . . . female socialist intellectuals like Yamakawa Kikue were a divisive force in the fledgling women's movement because through the pages of magazines and from lecture platforms they denounced the activity of the women's organizations that claimed to work for the betterment of women but failed to commit themselves to . . . social revolution.[30]

Itsue's interpretation concurred with the above, in that she specifically attributed the initial concept of division of women to Yamakawa's proletarian women's consciousness.

In late 1919, Hiratsuka Raichō, Ichikawa Fusae, and Oku Mumeo had founded the New Women's Association (Shin fujin kyōkai) with the enfranchisement of women as one of its basic aims. Yamakawa retorted that political issues and acquisition of voting rights were issues of bourgeois women, of no concern to proletarian women like herself. In effect, women were divided into bourgeois and proletarian groups, each expressing hostility towards the other.[31] Before an examination of how Kikue developed that particular viewpoint, it is necessary to elaborate on the significance of the New Women's Association.

The New Women's Association

While the first advocate of female suffrage has been noted in sources dated as early as 1877,[32] and the Seitōsha (Bluestockings) raised the issue of women's political rights in 1913,[33] the New Women's Association is usually recognized as the first women's organization which actively pursued a plan to acquire female suffrage. The basic aims of their plan were as follows: (1) enfranchisement for women, (2) establishment of welfare measures for mother and child, and (3) regulation of marriage where the partner had venereal disease and recognition of divorce should the spouse become infected.

Though these were the long-term goals, the Association's immediate objective was to eliminate Article 5 of the Public

Peace Police Law of 1887, which excluded women from political activities. The membership visited Diet members and petitioned for "the revision of the obnoxious law." Kamichika Ichiko's description of the Diet reveals what a challenge they encountered:

> The majority of the Diet members of the time considered it most unmanly to be sympathetic with women, and their understanding never developed beyond their misgivings as to why women should abandon the home life which, in their opinion, was the only world where women belonged.

With the amendment of the Public Peace Police Law in April 1922, Article 5 was repealed at last, and women were granted the right to attend and sponsor political meetings.[34]

The New Women's Association can be called the forerunner of the Women's Suffrage Union (Fujin sanseiken kakutoku kisei dōmeikai) organized in late 1924 by Ichikawa Fusae and Yamataka Shigeri. This group, which lasted sixteen years, became later known as the Women's Suffrage Alliance (Fujin kakutoku dōmei). It should be noted that by the general election of 1928 the issue of female suffrage had become a practical issue for the political parties.[35] From foreign influences, as well as from the need to achieve solidarity in the ranks of the workers and tenant farmers, women's political, economic and social equality became part of the demands of the social democratic as well as the proletarian parties.[36]

Overlapping Ideas of Yamakawa Kikue and Hitoshi

Although both the established political parties and the proletarian parties believed political issues, including women's suffrage, were important for all females, why did Yamakawa Kikue divorce these issues from the scope of proletarian women's concern? Examination of her socialist husband Hitoshi's activities at the time reveals overlapping ideas between husband and wife on the suffrage issue. Hitoshi had studied suffrage issues since his involvement with one of the earliest socialist groups, the Heiminsha. He espoused Bolshevism and opposed anarchism after World War I, and become one of the founders of the Japan Socialist League in 1920 and the Japan Communist Party in 1922.[37]

In spite of growing popular interest in suffrage expressed by such actions as the postcard movement (hagaki undō) by 1918, the Hara Kei government seems to have been little affected. The postcard movement was symbolic of growing popular support for suffrage after World War I. Commoners from a large segment of the population appealed to their Diet representatives, adding fuel to the nation-wide suffrage movement, in spite of the government's attitude.[38]

By the early 1920s, Hitoshi increasingly felt that the best way to differentiate sharply between the proletariat and the democrats (minpon shugisha) was to reject the suffrage issue. Accordingly, in a February 1922 article in the

Communist Zen'ei (Vanguard) he urged a movement to discard voting rights (kiken undō), in the faith that this new emphasis would increase the proletarian consciousness of labour unions and other left-wing organizations.[39] Kikue seemed to have absorbed much of the above argument in her treatment of women's suffrage.

It is interesting to note that six months after he published the above article, Hitoshi modified his view by 180 degrees, with alleged "guidance" from the Comintern. By August 1922, as he then thought an excess of revolutionary fervour was the greatest threat to the proletarian movement, Hitoshi published another article in Zen'ei; this time he called for compromising ideological purity for the sake of identifying with the masses and their goals, even the short-ranged ones. The leftists interpreted this shift as support for the suffrage issue. By late 1922 Hitoshi knew it was only a matter of time before the masses began to create political parties, and he believed "there was hope for the development of the radical movement within the framework of the institutions of bourgeois democracy."[40] But the left had vacillated too long.

Takamure on Suffrage: A Decade of Ambivalence

In the attempt to assess Takamure's attitude towards suffrage in the 1920s, "vacillation" or "ambivalence" again

come to mind. While her views cannot be neatly analyzed in chronological order, there does seem to be a tendency for her to reject women's political participation in the early 1920s, then within a few years to view universal manhood suffrage as a premise of female suffrage. Her ambivalence grew as she urged women to unite in a movement against political parties, but then realized her "error" and rejected even the proletarian parties. By 1930, Itsue had decided all forms of statism were undesirable; the road to the ideal self-government society was through village communalism.

The following points illustrate this ambivalent attitude towards suffrage. As early as 1921, in Hōrōsha no shi, Itsue had referred to the "unusual women" (hibon na onna) of the New Women's Association with some degree of scorn because its members were "clamouring to participate in government."[41] Popular interest in suffrage rose in the early 1920s, especially among the farmers and labourers. In the spring of 1925 the Diet almost simultaneously passed the Peace Preservation Law and the Universal Manhood Suffrage Law, described by George M. Beckmann as "suppression and concession," or "whip and candy."[42]

The period which began the following year and continued to 1932 was one in which "organizational change was most kaleidoscopic" in the social democratic movement, with a myriad of leftist and rightist factions fighting for control.[43] During this period, in a February 1928 series of newspaper

articles, Itsue supported the Women's Suffrage League and noted that, although women were stirred by the first enactment of universal manhood suffrage, the "parasitic situation" continued. She referred to the women's alliances which were like parasites attached to each of the political parties, Seiyūkai, Minseitō, and Kakushin Kurabu — parasites because they did not further the causes of women.[44]

Takamure seemed to favour what she called the "alliance faction" (rengōha) of the proletarian parties as the only group that could free women in that it recognized women's consciousness. According to Itsue's characterization, most of the proletarian parties of the era were led by a "power faction" (shūkenha). Unfortunately, she did not give particular party names with respect to either faction.[45] Perhaps it was this latter type of proletarian parties she was referring to when she later called for women to unite against political parties (fujin hiseitō no undō). Takamure thought that the establishment of power and the forfeit of freedom in the formation of parties led to corruption and ruin.[46]

In the beginning of 1930 she re-assessed her position on suffrage once more in an article published in Fujin undō called "Fujin undō no jissen daimoku" (A practical discussion of the women's movement). Itsue stated that it was worthwhile for the proletariat to deepen their experience in politics, but should they welcome elections? If one believed that the proletariat would free women, should women help the

proletarian parties? How were they to choose, faced with decisions among the following: (1) Rōdō Nōmintō (Labour-Farmer Party); (2) Nihon Rōnōtō (Japan Labour-Farmer Party); (3) Shakai Minshūtō (Social Democratic Party); and (4) Nihon Nōmintō (Japan Farmers' Party)? If they were to consider the proletarian parties in the countryside as well, the list would swell to more than twenty![47]

In terms of logistics, some type of unification appeared necessary if all women were to achieve some "concentration of purpose." But was such an eclectic approach possible? Itsue thought it was not, in that corrupt leaders could very well invite the proletarian parties' downfall as they had ruined established political parties.[48]

Takamure concluded that the only "democratic system" resulted from a form of government which kept the fate of the people in their own hands, that is, jichi (self-autonomy). The means to achieve this new society was the "farmers' movement," which was concurrently a "people's movement," a "labour-union movement" and a "consumers'-union movement." By sharing common products, banking facilities and consumer unions, for example, society would switch from industry for profit to industry for simple survival. Each person, whether city labourer or farmer, female or male, had the same value as a "fighter" in the movement.[49]

The Next Step

Research sources available indicate that Takamure probably encountered anarchist thought for the first time as an adolescent through the publicity attendant upon the High Treason Incident of 1910-11. As she was the eldest daughter of an elementary school principal who was prone to frequent re-locations around Kyushu, one can surmise that these frequent moves helped to foster two basic elements of anarchistic thought: a deep respect for nature and an independent spirit. First, Itsue grew up in an era when she could still be surrounded by the splendour of unadulterated nature as she moved with her family from village to village. From an early age she learned to respect the natural order of life and natural values. Secondly, due to frequent moves, Itsue had less opportunity to establish group ties among her peers, ties which are an important part of growing up in any country, particularly in group-oriented Japan. Partially from necessity, Itsue learned young to be more independent.

Imbued with elements of anarchist thought, Takamure was further affected through direct contact with Shimonaka Yasaburō, who led the Farmers' Self-Government Association. The 1928 debate with Marxist Yamakawa Kikue allowed Itsue to clarify her anarchist thought for herself as well as for the reading public. Though she vacillated throughout the 1920s on suffrage issues, especially female suffrage, by the beginning of 1930 Takamure decided that the right to vote would

not bring on the best form of government. Neither the established political parties nor the emerging proletarian parties could provide the answer, as they tended to produce corrupt leaders and, by growing too large and bureaucratic, to alienate the people they purported to represent.

Itsue became convinced that only self-government could meet the needs of the people. Only in a society based on mutual aid and respect could women's natural instincts like bosei gain respect. She used the term jichi to describe this type of society. A term more commonly used by those who study her is museifu, "without government," or anarchism. By the spring of 1930, at the age of thirty-six, Itsue was ready to take the next step, to go beyond this anarchist thought to action.

In March 1930 Takamure became the leader of a group of women with similar literary and political interests called Musan Fujin Geijutsu Renmei. For the next sixteen months, one of their activities would be to publish a monthly magazine called Fujin sensen.

The background of the group and details of their magazine form the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

THE PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S ART LEAGUE AND FUJIN SENSEN: BEYOND THOUGHT TO ACTION

Significance of the Proletarian Women's Art League and Fujin Sensen

Itsue's reputation in the literary world as a poet and as a social commentator rested on her magazine and newspaper articles throughout the 1920s. They in turn resulted in her activity in the Proletarian Women's Art League (PWAL) and its monthly magazine Fujin sensen (FS) which began in 1930. This organization and its periodical played three significant roles in the career of Takamure. First, Fujin sensen gave Itsue the opportunity to focus her many talents as an editor, a poet, and a writer who made frequent contributions to the periodical, often under several pseudonyms. One author, a student of her work, has included compiler and publisher among Itsue's roles as well.[1] This multiplication of jobs seems entirely possible, as roles often overlap on small publications, especially for the person in charge with a small staff. Secondly, the PWAL provided a lecture platform for Itsue which enabled her to express her position on a variety of interrelated issues such as the family, urban

versus rural economics, and the women's movement. Moreover, the League made of its magazine a lecture platform by opening it to contributions from the general public, trying to enlarge its audience beyond simply the "enlightened people" to include the masses as well. For this purpose a special vocabulary was used which would be more easily understood by the average person.[2] Lastly, while dealing with the myriad of problems which emerged during the magazine's sixteen-month lifespan, Itsue had just about exhausted the possibilities for magazine material. According to her autobiography, criticism from within the ranks of Fujin sensen regarding weaknesses in her argument, New Feminism, for example, provided one incentive for her subsequent research to substantiate her arguments.[3]

The above discussion demonstrates that the publication of Fujin sensen marked a significant period in Takamure's career, a "turning point" of sorts between her active years as a feminist theorist-anarchist and the latter half of her life which she devoted to research on women's history and other unexplored fields. It is unfortunate that research on the FS years is greatly hampered by fragmentary source material. Sixteen issues of FS were published from March 1930 to June 1931, but a complete collection is not available in any library. The collected works of Takamure include some articles published in FS, but their scope in minimal.[4] The reasons why this situation exists will be discussed further

in connection with historiography in Chapter 5. Based on available resources, what follows concerns the format of Fujin sensen and its membership.

Format of Fujin Sensen

Fujin sensen began publication in March 1930 with a 5,000-copy run, which it maintained throughout its sixteen-month life.[5] By way of comparison, in September 1911 the women's literary magazine Seitō (Bluestockings) began with 1,000 copies, then soon expanded its circulation to 3,000 copies per issue. Partially responsible for the circulation differential was the fact that Seitō was initially funded by founder Hiratsuka Raichō's dowry,[6] whereas FS was financed by the publishing company Kaihōsha, through connections established by Itsue's husband, Kenzō. Each issue of FS contained sixty pages, with two to four essays per issue which dealt with a particular theme.[7] Other features included a consultation column in response to letters from the reading public, book reviews, short stories, and poetry. Takamure contributed to all areas of the format as needed.

Some of the main themes reflected interest in a woman's view of anarchism: Museifu ren'ai (Anarchistic love), Warera no fujin undō (Our women's movement), and Museifu jiden (Autobiographies of anarchy).[8] These and the other main themes of FS can be broken down into the following two general areas: (1) women's protest against theories which

define people only in terms of production (seisansha hon'i setsu), that is, protest against Marxist views of society, and (2) emphasis on the female role in the nature of reproduction (seishoku no shizen). The theme of the June 1930 issue, Buru maru otoko o utsu (Attack on bourgeois and Marxist men), illustrated the first area of concentration. Of its two themes FS dealt with the second more extensively. At least six of the sixteen themes specifically treated the nature of reproduction, as, for example, "Katei hiteiron" (Denial of the family; April 1930) and "Dansei busshoku" (Male selection; May 1931).[9]

Daring to challenge the traditional family required great courage in early Shōwa Japan; the feminine ideal still required a woman to be ryōsai kembo (good wife and wise mother), and so held her responsible for maintaining the unity and harmony of the traditional family. A more eloquent description of the woman's role within the family is provided by Margit Nagy in her study of the prewar family and feminism:

> The submissiveness of the wife that was enjoined by law helped ensure the smooth operation of the male-centered, authoritarian, traditional family and buttressed the authority of the household head whose authority imaged that of the emperor in relation to the family-state (kazoku kokka).[10]

While not as comprehensive as the above, Takamure's view of the family resembled it. She saw the wife and child exploited by the head of the traditional family system as if they were personal possessions. In preparation for rejection of the traditional family, Itsue urged women to look for

employment outside the family and not to have children until they could support themselves, which implied advocacy of birth control. The role in society Takamure envisioned for women was not one of "good wife and wise mother" but rather of equal partner based on mutual aid instincts (sōgo fujo honnō) which went beyond artificial systems like class or family.[11]

From illustrations of themes presented in FS, the discussion must now turn to another aspect of the magazine format: slogans. As still holds true for many Japanese periodicals, in particular for those with leftist leanings, slogans concisely set the tone for a publication as they usually appear in the inaugural issue. The March 1930 edition of FS set forth the following slogans: (1) the denial of bureaucratic power; (2) the elimination of male despotism; and (3) the rebirth of woman. The three points clearly indicate a female stance against authoritarian institutions. One critic has commented that while such slogans imply a certain degree of innocence, they also indicate a special freshness and spirit not found in other women's groups or among male anarchist groups.[12] Further discussion of the slogans of FS will be reserved for later in this chapter. Now that we have established the significance of Fujin sensen and its basic layout, it is time to look at the staff who worked each month to ensure that the publication continued.

Membership of the PWAL

According to Jō Natsuko, one of the founding members of the Proletarian Women's Art League, preparation for an anarchist women's thought group began around 1928, perhaps even earlier, by a group of six women which included the younger sister of noted anarchist Ōsugi Sakae, Ōsugi Ayame, Mochizuki Yuriko, and Takamure. Meeting in the Hongo area of Tokyo, they vowed to unite in solidarity as free individuals who respected each other's absolute freedom, thus sharply differentiating themselves from the Marxists. This initial group contributed two members, Mochizuki and Takamure, to the fifteen founding members of the PWAL.[13]

Another group which had some bearing on the founding of the PWAL was Nyonin geijutsu (Women and art), started by Kamichika Ichiko in the summer of 1928 as a stage for new women writers. By the following year it was swept up in a tide of Marxism, as a controversy between anarchist and Bolshevist factions ensued from July 1929 to January 1930.[14] Two members of Nyonin geijutsu, Yagi Akiko and Matsumoto Masae, went on to become active founding members of the PWAL.[15]

The Proletarian Women's Art League was established in March 1930 by fifteen women, five of whom have been mentioned. Other founding members included Kamiya Shizuko, Sumii Sue, and Hiratsuka Raichō. Within a short time the following four members joined the League as well: Inuzuka Setsuko, Shiraishi Kiyoko, Miyayama Fusako and Yamamoto Akiko.[16]

Fragmentary background information on many of the above women necessarily limits the discussion. For the present, some details concerning two of the more well-known members of Fujin sensen, Yagi Akiko and Hiratsuka Raichō, will be discussed.

Better-Known Members: Yagi Akiko and Hiratsuka Raichō

Yagi, who was also known in the 1920s as an anarchist like Takamure, has presently outlived her peer by eighteen years. Marrying at twenty-three, she had a child before realizing her thinking was incompatible with that of her husband. At the age of twenty-seven she divorced him and left her child. Under similar circumstances, a man might have left his wife, but women of that era almost never left their husbands. In an interview, the eighty-four-year-old Yagi reflected upon that period of her life as follows:

> Soon after getting married I realized I'd made a mistake. Our sensibilities were too different. . . . There was the family, the household, but no human beings, and there were so many attendant things I couldn't stand. . . . I have no regrets about my past life but that was hard to bear. For a woman to abandon her child in Japan at that time was practically unheard of. Divorce was just like suicide in those days.

Following her divorce she worked as a primary school teacher and as a reporter for the Nichinichi shimbun before becoming involved with Nyonin geijutsu and Fujin sensen.[17] Some of Yagi's representative articles included in FS were "Shakai

jihyō" (Social commentary; April 1930) and "Shihonshugi keizai to rōdō fujin" (The economics of capitalism and female labourers; May 1930).[18]

More well-known than Yagi Akiko among the FS members was Hiratsuka Raichō, best known today as "that famous woman who declared 'in the beginning woman was the sun.'" Besides initiating Seitō in 1911, Hiratsuka achieved recognition as a translator and a member of Fujin sensen. Through earlier translations of European works by male colleagues she learned of Swedish feminist Ellen Key and thought highly of her motherhood-centred ideology. In order to publicize Key's views, Hiratsuka translated several of her works including The Evolution of Love (trans. 1912) and The Right of Motherhood (trans. 1914).[19] Hiratsuka introduced the term fujin mondai (literally, "the woman question") through her translations, a term still used in Japan to refer to women's issues.

The importance of this concept as early as the Taishō era is placed in perspective by Margit Nagy. Rich in content, her interpretation will be quoted at some length:

> "Woman problem" or "woman question" was the term used by late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ideologues like the German socialist August Bebel, the Swedish feminist Ellen Key, and the Indian critic of feminism, A. R. Wadia, to refer to a much-debated issue of their time — the nature, status and proper sphere of women.
>
> The Japanese translators . . . (Kawata Shirō, Hiratsuka Raichō, Nagai Tōru) used the literal equivalent of . . . fujin mondai in their translations. Writers of scholarly treatises, opinion

> leaders, bureaucrats, and popular journalism in the Taishō era also used the term . . . in this sense of an inquiry about women's being and proper sphere that involved controversy and required a solution.[20]

After founding Seitō, "one small but significant organization in the development of Japanese feminism,"[21] and serving as its editor until January 1915, when the responsibility was passed on to Itō Noe, Hiratsuka remained active in women's issues by founding the New Women's Association in 1919.[22] This was discussed in Chapter 3, as was the role of Yamakawa Kikue in splitting the women's movement into bourgeois and proletarian factions. After joining Fujin sensen, Hiratsuka stated that as the New Women's Association had splintered she had been searching for a group that would meet with the criteria of the proletarian movement. She found this in Takamure's concept of "New Feminism."[23]

Hiratsuka seems to have written fewer articles for FS than other members, unless she used an unknown pseudonym. One of her articles which came out in the April 1930 issue of FS was "Fujin sensen ni sanka shite" (Participating in Women's front).[24] Perhaps Hiratsuka contributed more to FS through her psychological and spiritual support than by writing articles. Her personal commitment to FS is evident in her naming Takamure her "spiritual daughter" who had "made me discover the interest and response within myself to anarchistic social thought."[25] More of the similarities between Seitō and FS will be dealt with at the end of the this chapter.

Lesser-Known Contributors: Matsumoto Masae and Mochizuki Yuriko

Two other members of FS who were perhaps lesser known but nonetheless noteworthy contributors were Matsumoto Masae, whose role in the magazine was secondary only to that of Takamure, and who was married to anarchist Nobushima Eiichi; and Mochizuki Yuriko, who lived and worked with leftist Ishikawa Sanshirō. The background of each of the above individuals is briefly introduced to show that their effect on both Fujin sensen and Takamure was much greater than is usually recognized.

The paths followed by Matsumoto and Takamure prior to FS were often parallel, which in part contributed to some of their shared views on women's theories. Their backgrounds had the following three aspects in common: (1) involvement with the Nōmin jichikai (Farmers' self-government association), (2) contributions to Nyonin geijutsu, and (3) belief in the bond between economic theory and women's theory. First, encouraged by one of its founders, Shibuya Teisuke, Matsumoto participated in the Nōmin jichikai as the leader of the women's section. It will be remembered that Takamure's familiarity with farmers' movements stemmed in part from her contact with Shimonaka Yasaburō, one of the later leaders of the association. Secondly, as a member of Nyonin geijutsu, Matsumoto published more articles in the periodical than did Takamure. And thirdly, much of Takamure's awareness of

economic issues resulted from Matsumoto's introduction and development of women's theory from an economic perspective.[26]

Like Takamure, Matsumoto published at least one article in each issue of FS, with the exception of the April 1931 issue. While she gave a woman's point of view on communism, socialism, competition, and jealousy, many of her articles were from the viewpoint of economics. Some of the most intriguing titles included "Sei seikatsu no keizaigaku-teki kansatsu" (Economic observations on sexual life; January 1931), "Teisō no keizaigaku" (The economics of chastity; February 1931), and "Ninshin no keizaigaku" (The economics of pregnancy; June 1931).[27] Matsumoto's unique approach included an analytical framework for subjects which are usually considered more subjective and personal. She argued that, since income was the basis of family life, if society provided the freedom of production and consumption for everyone, there would no longer be any reason for the existence of the family.[28] As discussed earlier, Takamure too rejected the family institution along similar economic lines.

Important as Matsumoto's contributions were to FS in their own right, the role of her anarchist spouse Nobushima Eiichi should be mentioned. Becoming a disciple of Ōsugi Sakae early in life, Nobushima helped with the publication of his magazine Rōdō undō (Labour movement; 1920) and participated in various social and labour movements from an anarchist point of view. As FS neared its final issue, Nobushima was

preparing to become the editor of another anarchist periodical, Kaihō sensen (Liberation front), to which Takamure also contributed. With the assistance and suggestions from a spouse with such a broad background in the theory of anarchy, Matsumoto energetically published many articles in FS. In 1932 Nobushima assisted with Kurohata no shita ni (Under the black flag), the anarchist publication of Ishikawa Sanshirō,[29] who lived with Mochizuki Yuriko, the second lesser-known member of FS to be discussed.

Mochizuki published a few pieces in Fujin sensen, including an article called "Jiyū to katei" (Freedom and the family; April 1930) and a short novel entitled Ubau (Plunder; May 1930).[30] Whereas Matsumoto affected both Takamure and FS through her own work, which was in turn influenced by her spouse, Mochizuki's significance was probably felt to a greater extent through her relationship with Ishikawa. One of his earliest leftist activities was to write "Nihon shakaishugi" (Japanese socialism) with Kōtoku Shūsui in 1907; it was originally published in Heimin shimbun. After Kōtoku was hanged for his alleged involvement in the High Treason Incident, Ishikawa lived in European exile for seven years. While in Europe he learned about European anarchists whose works he later translated.[31]

One source states that it was through Ishikawa's pamphlets on noted anarchists like Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin that Takamure learned about European anarchism. The

anarchistic views of other members of FS were also affected by Ishikawa, as his works were quoted widely in FS. In addition, he published a magazine called Demokurashī (Democracy) with Mochizuki Yuriko.[32] Some of Takamure's emphasis on an emerging society based on communal farming derived from concepts Ishikawa expressed in Demokurashī, and Shimonaka Yasaburō's Mannin rōdō no tetsugaku (Philosophy of universal labour).[33]

In the above discussion on the Fujin sensen membership, I have emphasized the details of earlier groups and other persons who indirectly or directly influenced the development of FS or Takamure's thought. The contributions of members according to "better-known" or "lesser-known" categories have been examined. But in the course of the discussion, it became evident that members from both categories made significant, if different, contributions. Yagi brought personal experiences as a divorced, self-supporting woman to FS; Matsumoto focused on merging economic and women's theories in an analytical framework. The ideas of both were important elements in the development of the magazine.

Ties Between the PWAL and the Farmers' Art League

Another factor which had some influence on FS was the Nōmin geijutsu renmei (Farmers' Art League: FAL). Takamure's previous contact with the Farmers' Self-Government Association

had given her some familiarity with farmers' issues. Her awareness was further developed through the close relation between the PWAL and the FAL, which often jointly sponsored study groups. The joint meeting of the PWAL and the All-Japan Farmers' Art League (Zen Nihon nōmin geijutsu renmei gōdō kōenkai) in May 1931 was their last. In keeping with the jingoistic mood of the era, the speaker was suppressed by the police; the sixteenth and final issue of FS appeared the following month.[34]

The PWAL and the FAL were also linked through their publisher, Kaihōsha, who brought out both Nōmin (Farmer) and Fujin sensen.[35] Relations between the members also created some ties: Sumii Sue of the PWAL lived with Inuta Shigeru of the FAL; Matsumoto Masae was married to Nobushima Eiichi.[36]

In a slightly different sense, Itō also recognizes the influence of the farmers' movement on the PWAL. She describes the PWAL as more like an extension of the Nōmin jichikai rather than as purely an anarchistic organization like the All-Japan Labour Union Free Joint Alliance (Zenkoku rōdō kumiai jiyū rengōkai) or the Black Youth League (Kuroiro shōnen renmei) with which it was also associated.[37] Itō notes the important role Takamure gave to farming in her May 1930 FS article, "Museifu shugi no mokuhyō to senjutsu" (The goals and tactics of anarchism):

> To think of preparation and foundation for the revolution in terms of thought only is a dream. We must wait now for the complete denial of the

> present system which will give birth to the new system.

Takamure pointed to communal farming in the villages, which was already sharing the labour and the land. Such a system of farming was "an instrument in the large symphony of the revolution," as were disputes concerning factories, the family, and the colonies, and the union movement which directly conflicted with capitalism.[38]

Urban Versus Rural Issues

A brief look at some of the themes expressed in FS reveals a frequent focus on urban versus rural issues. One can consider such a focus as an indication of the FAL's influence on the thought of PWAL members. Takamure was not alone in her preference for the countryside over the cities. Other members painted Tokyo as a noisy, monstrous place to live, where all jobs for women were insecure. For example, Midori Shizue wrote articles on insurance canvassers and female tea and coffee house workers; Jō Natsuko wrote about (female) secretaries and women novelists. Women who were not members of FS, like critic Hirabayashi Taiko, also wrote on the difficult lives of urban women; it was a common theme among modern male intellectuals as well.[39]

Nishikawa offers two other interpretations of the frequent urban-rural themes in Fujin sensen. One view argues that, since many of the members of the PWAL were first-

generation city dwellers, they naturally rejected the urban lifestyle. Without real roots in the urban environment, when overcome by life in the city they knew they could return to a simpler lifestyle back home.

The second view interprets the rejection of the cities as part of the idealization of the villages and farming lifestyle. In reality, the members of FS were not ready to return to the countryside. For instance, Sumii Sue wrote a novel on the poor conditions of the village in which she had been raised. What she and some other members urged was a return to the "concept of the village" (mura no rinen) as the ideology of their anarchism, a return to a place where people helped each other and did not compete for power. Perhaps part of the appeal of the rural lifestyle was that farming required women and men to work together.[40]

In contrast, increased industrialization had effectively segregated the work force in the factories. Women were predominant in light industries such as silk production and cotton spinning, while men worked mainly in heavy industries like steel production and shipbuilding. More than fifty years later, by and large, the "appropriate spheres" of employment for men and women are considered distinct. For example, both males and females work in factories which produce computer software, but the assembly lines which require the most intricate work are still "manned" predominantly by young women. Females are considered to be more patient and

skillful at such tedious work, while males are seen as more capable of handling work which entails more managerial skills. But gradually attitudes towards what is appropriate work for women are changing. With higher inflation and lower birth rates, more women are joining the work force in Japan as they are in Europe and North America, and employees are re-assessing the issues of female employment. Perhaps in time women and men will be able to work together in society on a more equal basis in Japan as well as in the rest of the world.

This section has indicated three ways in which the Proletarian Women's Art League and Fujin sensen focused their anarchistic thought on rural issues: (1) through their connections with the Farmers' Art League and other rural-based groups, (2) as a natural reaction of people unable to cope with the new urban environment, and (3) as part of their response to industrialization and subsequent idealization of the simple life in the countryside. If one will recall the slogans of FS mentioned earlier, that is, the denial of bureaucratic power, the liquidation of male despotism, and the rebirth of woman, it is evident that what they advocated was the destruction of the urban-centred, male-dominated authoritarian state. In the new communal farming society women would be "reborn" as equal partners.

Comparison of Seitō and Fujin Sensen

Earlier reference has been made to the literary-feminist magazine Seitō in connection with its founder, Hiratsuka Raichō. While it is beyond our scope here to discuss this magazine in much detail, it is important to make some comparison between Seitō and Fujin sensen as both represented the thought of "new women" in the Taishō and Shōwa eras, respectively.

In a work written almost thirty years after Seitō was inaugurated, Takamure commented on this group as follows:

> This small gathering of woman writers . . . gave remarkable impetus to the society of the time, and exercised an epochal influence on its following generation. The naturalist literature following the Russo-Japanese War, the modern plays of Ibsen and the ideas of motherhood advocated by Ellen Kay [sic] all astonished the still sleeping feminine world.[41]

As Takamure indicated, Seitō dealt with fujin mondai (women's problems) through the literary expression of its members.

In the inaugural issue of FS, Takamure noted that, while Seitō was the first step in Japanese women's self-awakening in the individual sense, FS was the beginning of women's social awakening; and it too was "epoch-making." Other movements had urged the equality of the sexes, liberation from family bonds, or suffrage, but FS was the first group with the social self-awareness to advocate the denial of bureaucratic society and freedom from male-imposed

restrictions.[42] Another source describes Seitō and FS in terms of women's "old" and "new" awareness, respectively, referring to the jokenshugi (women's suffrage movement) and shin joseishugi (new feminism) stages of the feminist movement discussed in detail in Chapter 2.[43]

Recent research by other scholars indicates that at different stages in their development both Seitō and FS dealt with women's issues which entailed a degree of social awareness, although the anarchist stance of the latter necessitated a call for more radical change. As Nancy Andrew points out in her analysis of Seitō:

> Examining the contents of Seitō reveals that its basic nature underwent a profound change in less than a year and a half of publication. Instead of a purely literary magazine, it became one concerned with social questions, especially those affecting women.[44]

When Hiratsuka passed on her responsibilities to Itō Noe in January 1915, further changes occurred. With Itō as editor and publisher, Seitō became a true forum for debate. From February 1915 to the following February when it was discontinued, Seitō focused on the following three topics: (1) chastity, (2) abortion, and (3) abolishing the system of licensed prostitution.[45] Granted that some of the members may have had more personal concerns with some of the above topics than with others, all three topics were related to women in general, implying that the Seitō members may have had a stronger sense of social awareness than is usually recognized.

In the two decades that passed between the demise of Seitō and the inauguration of Fujin sensen, the social consciousness of some women was sharpened considerably, to the point where complete social change was thought to be the only alternative. One must ask: what aspect of the status quo society did the members of FS reject and why?

Takamure argued that the main problem with the male-controlled society was its sharp differentiation between public matters (kōji) and private matters (shiji). She defined public matters as labour which was useful for the ruling class, and private matters as individual appetites and desires. Society devalued the special traits of women, such as menstruation, pregnancy, and birth, as private matters, appraising women only on their public value.

In Itsue's words, women might be able to deny their personal feelings, but they could not deny their "physiological burden." Even if the female's load was lightened by birth and child-care facilities provided by society, her "special traits" would continue to be a minus to her public lifestyle. Therefore, unless society changed its basis for appraisal, a woman's position could not rise above a certain level. By according social status only through public matters, women's status would remain below that of males forever.[46]

Itsue cited a typical capitalist's response to the question of paying female labourers equal wages as a case in

point:

> As women have special weaknesses like menses and pregnancy, in terms of efficiency, one cannot look upon them in the same way as male labourers.[47]

Takamure and the other members of Fujin sensen were adamant in their denial of the type of society described above. Only by working towards a new society of self-government, they maintained, could women hope to attain equality and respect.

This chapter has dealt with the female anarchist group founded by Takamure, the Proletarian Women's Art League, and its monthly magazine, Fujin sensen (published March 1930 to June 1931). Included in the discussion were the following elements: (1) the significance of both FS and the PWAL; (2) the format and membership, respectively, including details of four noteworthy members; (3) ties between the PWAL and the Farmers' Art League; (4) a synopsis of some FS themes, including urban versus rural issues; and (5) a brief comparison of Seitō and FS.

The above analysis provides a perspective of Takamure's developing anarchistic thought. Fujin sensen deserves attention on two counts: (1) as a representative magazine of the era in its message of anarchism, particularly from a female perspective; and (2) as a turning point in the career of Takamure. As Akiyama points out:

> . . . Takamure's early Shōwa anarchistic activities — her actions and publications, are not to be negated; they are her history, and a record of women's social activities.[48]

In addition, it is evident that both the PWAL and FS were associated with a number of groups and publications which reflected the social turmoil of the era, those of women and men. Future research in this area holds forth the promise of a more accurate picture of these social movements in the early Shōwa period.

Numerous viewpoints reflect light on the anarchistic thought of Takamure Itsue. The various theories can be divided into the following two distinct streams: (1) those that predominantly recognize only the latter half of Itsue's life and try to discredit her earlier activities, such as Fujin sensen; and (2) those that emphasize the continuity of Itsue's earlier anarchistic thought because of the large contribution it made to her later pioneering research on Japanese marriage and women's history. The next chapter will deal with some of these historical controversies. It will also describe some recent historiographical issues. In the interests of future research on the scope of Takamure Itsue's thought, it is important to introduce such issues as ideological conversion (tenkō), and such concepts as nōhonshugi (literally, "agriculture-as-the-essence-ism") and Shinto. It it hoped that future work in these areas will expand the ties that link Takamure to the developing field of intellectual history.

CHAPTER 5

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ISSUES IN PERSPECTIVE

Part One: Viewpoints Through the Fujin Sensen Years

Evaluations of the Yamakawa Kikue-Takamure Itsue Controversy[1]

The significance of the 1928 Yamakawa Kikue-Takamure Itsue debate in Itsue's career will first be analyzed according to both streams of thought just described, that is, views that try to discredit Itsue's early years, and views that recognize the contribution of those years to her later thought. In their book on Takamure, Kanō Masanao and Horiba Kiyoko consider Itsue's life in great detail but tend to focus on its latter half.[2] Even though they document several previous little-known aspects of her early life, the care with which they detail this period sharply contradicts their flat dismissal of it as "unproductive" (fumō). One example is their description of the Yamakawa-Takamure debate, which they place in the historical context of the era as follows:

> Nineteen twenty-eight to 1929, even to a casual observer, was a season of especially brilliant controversies (hanabanashii ronsō).

They then list the succession of Takamure's debates with

Yamakawa Kikue in Fujin undō, Fujin kōron, and Nyonin geijutsu (January-September 1928); with Kamichika Ichiko in Tokyo asahi shimbun and Yomiuri shimbun (February 1928); with Hayashi Fusao on the Alexandra Kollontai controversy in Tokyo asahi shimbun and Chūō kōron (May-August 1928); and the anarchist-Bolshevist controversy in Nyonin geijutsu (July 1929-January 1920).[3] Although they include a two-page chart of factual information, they present virtually no analysis before their summary:

> . . . as a phenomenon, compared with how conspicuous they were, . . . the fruit of the debates was unproductive (fumō).[4]

To taste a bit of this "fruit" seems appropriate at this point. As the Yamakawa-Takamure debate was examined extensively in Chapter 3, it will not be discussed further here. However, two other debates should be mentioned, the first of which was the Takamure-Kamichika controversy of February 1928. In response to Takamure's four-part series of articles called "Fusen to fujin" (Universal manhood suffrage and women) published in the Tokyo asahi shimbun, Kamichika published a three-part series in the Yomiuri shimbun called "Seiji, tōsōteki fujin nado" (Politics, fighting women, and so forth). Included in Kamichika's series were discussions on the revolutionary "modern girl" and changing feelings about love, which read like precursors to the 1960s "women's libber" image in the West.

One may summarily dismiss these topics as

inconsequential in that society, but a 1926 nation-wide survey by the Ministry of Education provides strong evidence that they were very much on the minds of many young women receiving higher education at that time. Responses by students attending girls' higher schools and women's normal schools indicated that they considered two questions equally important: love and employment.

The second debate that should be mentioned was the anarchist-Bolshevist controversy conducted in Nyonin geijutsu in late 1929. Articles included were Yagi Akiko's "Bonjin no kōgi" (Protests of ordinary people; October 1929) and Matsumoto's "Burujoa ideorogī to puroretaria no jiyū" (Bourgeois ideology and proletarian freedom; December 1929).[7] Both Yagi and Matsumoto were soon to become members of Fujin sensen the following spring (1930). Furthermore, when the above articles are placed in an even wider frame of reference, they serve to illustrate two points: (1) heightened social interest in proletarian issues following the formation of the Proletarian Party in 1925 and its subsequent political activity, and (2) reactions to the world-wide depression of 1929, and intensifying domestic repression through the Peace Preservation Laws of 1925 and 1928, that is, natural responses to international and national instability which suggested alternatives to the established order.

The above two debates are indicative of the journalism of their era. Unfortunately, many of the publications of the

1920s through the Pacific War years dealt with rhetoric rather than with a clear presentation of the issues. The enthusiasm with which the above writers pursued timely social issues should be recognized, but one is also inclined to agree with Takamure's comment on the many controversies that raged in the late 1920s:

> It would have been better if [they had] grasped the focus of the problem and criticized, rather than [having engaged in] such abstract vilification.[8]

That is to say, had the polemicists of the late 1920s devoted more of their energy to the issues rather than to personal rhetoric, their contributions would have been more valuable.

Akiyama Kiyoshi's approach to the Yamakawa-Takamure debate is quite different from that of Kanō and Horiba. If the span of a discussion can serve as an indicator of depth of interest, the lengthy section of Akiyama's book which expands on this debate speaks for itself. He notes that in the first stage of their debate, the time reference of Yamakawa and Takamure was different: Yamakawa discussed problems of the present day, while Takamure talked of the future equality of the sexes in terms of free love and marriage. In the latter stage, both women wrote about concepts of social revolution, in accordance with arguments over what kind of society would follow the revolution, but they did not sufficiently develop the issues of either love or marriage.

In addition to his recognition of the above omission, Akiyama also indicates two other areas of the debate he

wishes had been developed. First, he suggests, Takamure and Yamakawa should have personally related to issues of love and marriage in more realistic terms. Secondly, he wishes that they had given further consideration to sexual issues. Yamakawa especially ignored both areas in her arguments. Akiyama acknowledges the difference in the way sexual issues were treated in the 1920s and nowadays, but suggests that if this point of view had been further developed, more depth and authenticity would have been added to the debate.[9] He criticizes it in a constructive manner which suggests ways it could have been improved, whereas Kanō and Horiba simply dismiss the entire exchange as unproductive.

Akiyama extends his discussion to include the role of critic Hirabayashi Taiko in the debate.[10] Following the two essays which Takamure and Yamakawa each wrote, Hirabayashi wrote an article called "Romanchishizumu to riarizumu: Yamakawa Kikue Takamure Itsue ryōshi no ronsō no hihan" (Romanticism and realism: a critique of the Yamakawa Kikue-Takamure Itsue debate), published in the September 1928 edition of Fujin kōron. Akiyama feels that this article was "redundant" (dasoku) as it made no attempt to gain any insight into Takamure's point of view. Instead, it pointed out the necessity of Marxism in a fatalistic type of conclusion. Further, Hirabayashi wrote from the point of view of a third person and as an editor who advised what the conclusion of the two writers' articles should be. Akiyama suggests that this

strange combination of roles in itself constituted a statement on the chaotic conditions of journalism in that era.

Akiyama's biggest complaint with regard to Hirabayashi's role in the debate is the conclusion she reached on Takamure's stance. Her interpretation of Yamakawa's and Takamure's viewpoints illustrates the crux of Akiyama's objection:

> Takamure and Yamakawa were both dissatisfied with the degree of self-awareness of today's women. However, Yamakawa tentatively acknowledged the degree of self-awareness . . . and from that individualistic self-awareness [she] demanded a step forward. In contrast, Takamure requested that women return once more to a feudalistic type of love relationship.* In that [sense], a conciliation could not possibly be reached. The mental state of each and every class, stratum, and group was different.

The petulant attitude of Akiyama towards the above misinterpretation of Takamure's position is clearly evident in his response:

> . . . this discrimination is easy. Hirabayashi read this debate as: the feudal age followed by the era of the bourgeoisie; then a period of socialism would necessarily follow, after which women would awaken, and steadily progress. This optimistic view saw individual self-awakening . . . under the flow of history, anticipated. . . . To say that Japanese women have self-awareness when the day of socialism has not yet come somehow opposes [Hirabayashi's view] . . . her discrimination regarding this debate is surprisingly unrealistic. [11]

Akiyama criticizes Hirabayashi's progressive view of history which argued that only socialism would necessarily lead to

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*Emphasis is that of Hirabayashi.

women's self-awakening. Even more so, he reproaches Hirabayashi's perspective on Takamure which implied that she advocated a regression of women to a feudalistic stage of love, rather than an evolution in a society which recognized the modern view of love.

Different Opinions on the Significance of FS

Another area of contention among researchers of Takamure's life is the significance in her work of the anarchist magazine Fujin sensen. Akiyama feels that it represents the anarchist train of thought which ran throughout her lifetime. He attributes one of her early anarchist exposures to Kenzō's employer, Heibonsha, which published magazines for teachers' union meetings, though her earliest impression of anarchism seems to have come from the Kōtoku Incident of 1910-11.[12] Another writer concurs that the young Itsue was shocked to hear that the two men involved in the incident from her home town had respectively received sentences of life imprisonment and death.[13]

Akiyama argues that following early experiences like these and much self-reflection, Itsue realized the important link between a research group and the revolutionary movement, and decided that she must be a revolutionary. She became so revolutionary that Kenzō ceased to support her radical activities, including Fujin sensen, leaving Itsue entirely in

charge of the group. Takamure also refers to this incident in her autobiography.[14]

Furthermore, Akiyama contends that even after FS ceased publication in June 1931, Takamure's subsequent work reflected anarchistic attitudes such as opposition to power and authority. He points out that Itsue emphasized the relationship between people and society in her historical research, which also formed a focal point of the social thought of anarchism.[15]

Akiyama sees an important link between Itsue's FS anarchist activities and her subsequent research. Therefore he strongly opposed Kenzō's decision to omit much of her FS work when he published Takamure's ten-volume zenshū in 1967, three years after her death. Akiyama notes that Takamure herself once said it was during the FS period that her "historical sense of love" (shiteki ren'aikan) developed, and soon materialized in works like Shōseikon no kenkyū (Research on uxorilocal marriage) and Nihon kon'inshi (The history of Japanese marriage).[16]

As an example of Kenzō's arbitrary exclusion of most of Itsue's anarchistic works, he listed eleven of her FS articles, of which only five have been included in the seventh volume of her zenshū.[17] Kenzō defended his exclusion of these essays by saying that Itsue's thinking had at that time "not fully developed yet" (miseijuku datta).[18] Rather than emphasize the underdevelopment of Takamure's thought, another

writer who has done extensive research on the life of Itsue and Kenzō indicates the decision to exclude most of her anarchistic work may be explained by Kenzō's disapproval of the way her thought developed. In his attempt to present a certain image of Itsue to her reading public, Kenzō may have consciously disregarded those of her works that did not fit into the mould he had created.

Setouchi Harumi illustrates several of the above points very well in her work "Nichigetsu futari" (Two people above the sun and moon):

> In the course of writing 'Nichigetsu futari' I came to understand that the image of Hashimoto Kenzō recorded by the public as the rare, commendable wife's helper hidden by the shadow of Itsue's genius was the realization of his lifetime Buddhist prayer (higan no jōju). In reality, he was not . . . such an amiable person; . . . he coloured and carved an immortal woman . . . [using] Itsue as raw material. I began to think [Hashimoto] was more like an ascetic monk (kugyōsō) who clung to a Buddhistic desire to leave behind such an image.
>
> Was an immortal woman the image of an immortal bodhisattva (bosatsuzō) [Buddhist saint] or the image of the Goddess of Mercy (Kannonzō)? . . . to Kenzō, wasn't Itsue, more than a wife or lover, sanctified as a revered god (agabotoke)?

Setouchi continues with a recognition that Itsue did possess some genius. But she also asks: if it had not been for Kenzō's action as a "pilot" of sorts, might not this genius have gone astray?[19]

Murakami Nobuhiko seems to answer Setouchi's question in the affirmative by making a similar interpretation of the role Kenzō played in Itsue's life. As Murakami concisely stated,

> . . . he discovered her hidden abilities, made her realize them, and guided her along the right direction. Without [Kenzō] Takamure Itsue's research on women's history would not exist, as is true for other of her immortal works.[20]

As both Setouchi and Murakami have indicated above in varying degrees, Kenzō performed an important role for Itsue. In the course of their lifetime, according to several contemporaries of Kenzō and Itsue, they were able to achieve the ultimate love embodied in Itsue's ideal of ittaishugi (see Chapter 2), rare among Japanese (and most Western) couples. Rather than give credit for her prolific career only to Itsue or to Kenzō, that is, to one or the other, it seems essential to recognize that it was their unity which contributed greatly to Itsue's career. Through a combination of Itsue's intelligence and insight and Kenzō's financial and emotional support, Itsue was able to devote herself completely to her research. Kenzō provided most of their financial base for many years and assumed all household responsibilities to free Itsue from any burden which would hinder her creative energy and abilities. His actions would be noteworthy even today, as in most Japanese (and many Western) families, responsibility for the smooth running of the household still belongs to the wife.

It is unfortunate that Kenzō took the liberty of editing much of Itsue's anarchistic thought from her collected works in his zeal to support her work and present a certain image of her research contributions to the reading public.

It is also ironic that he excluded most of the FS material when one recalls that it was through Kenzō's efforts that Kaihōsha decided to publish Fujin sensen.[21] As Kanō Mikiyo states:

> By excluding material dealing with [this area] from the collected works the general reader is prevented from following the course of Takamure's thought. This is a very lamentable situation indeed.[22]

Another writer refers more specifically to the development of Takamure's anarchism as "a social problem relating to women," which, as such, holds a place in the anarchist movement of Japan.[23]

The viewpoint of Kanō and Horiba sharply contrasts with the above interpretation, which argues that Takamure's anarchistic thought was of significance. They extend their negative attitude regarding the various controversies which erupted in the late 1920s to include Fujin sensen as well:

> Takamure did not discover anything from the debates, not did she realize any development in thought. This tendency did not improve during the . . . Fujin sensen years either.

In addition, Kanō and Horiba argue that in the FS years Itsue's creative powers faded (sōzōryoku ga shibonda) since some of her essays extracted or repeated the emphasis of previous articles.[24] Two points should be noted to place Kanō's and Horiba's views in proper perspective. First, the publication of FS served as an important stepping stone for Itsue in the development of the ideas on women's role in society which she pursued in subsequent research. How she

could "not discover anything" is hard to comprehend. Secondly, Itsue contributed at least one article to each of the sixteen issues of FS, but more often than not, she wrote several under a variety of pen-names when the publication was short on articles. Sometimes she developed points made in previous articles, a valuable learning process, as any writer will agree. Itsue regularly wrote poetry and book reviews, and responded to letters from the reading public. Rather than an indication that her creative powers were fading, her many contributions to FS indicate continual development and creativity.

Another aspect of Kanō's and Horiba's interpretation of FS is the emphasis they place on the male role, beginning with Kenzō. For instance, the plan to start FS was Kenzō's; for the first fifteen issues he did all the office work associated with editing, negotiating, and financing with Kaihōsha. They point out that, with the help of strong male supporters like Kenzō and Nobushima Eiichi, FS achieved recognition as "the second Seitō." Citing remarks made by Kenzō in Itsue's autobiography, and by FS member Sumii Sue in the December 1930 issue of FS, they contend that some of Matsumoto Masae's articles written under the pseudonym Kawai Kiwa actually came from the pen of her husband Nobushima.[25] The role of male supporters in FS deserves attention as it indicates the changing consciousness of some women and men of that era, as the present feminist movement is attracting

more and more men searching for viable alternatives to the roles that society has defined for them.

The most significant point Kanō and Horiba make is Itsue's later response to her FS involvement. About a year after Fujin sensen ended, Takamure wrote "Hitotsu no keiken — Fujin sensen no koto nado" (One experience — Women's front and so forth) in the September 1932 issue of Fujo shimbun (Women's newspaper), in which she commented:

> Using . . . that departure point as a stepping stone, my endeavours to become rational during that year and a half were . . . quite painful (kanari no kutsū).

Takamure also acknowledged that period to have been "anguish on the way to [my] own development" (tenkai e no nayami).[26] As frustrating as Itsue's work on FS may have been at times, it was an important transitional phase in which she developed her thoughts and decided on the focal point for her lifetime work upon which she consequently embarked.

Kanō's and Horiba's perspective on Takamure's life differs from that of Akiyama in most respects. However, one can see some similarities between Akiyama's recognition of Takamure's anarchism as "a social problem relating to women" and the manner in which Kanō and Horiba interpret Takamure's role in historical perspective:

> . . . the late Taishō to early Shōwa period (for the most part, the 1920s) was one in which women's problems erupted as problems. . . . political rights, economic independence, guarantees of motherhood, the nature of equality as a wife, these problems which recognized the liberation of women as human beings, often were raised in association

> with structural reform, and formed movements during this period.
>
> . . . one after another, women with distinct profiles appeared and developed the view of an heroic age of women's liberation. Takamure also extended herself in this trend; furthermore . . . the role she played is hard to erase. Only upon that was her resolution made [to establish an historical foundation for women's liberation].[27]

A number of controversial viewpoints concerning Takamure's activities in the late 1920s have been analyzed. Kanō and Horiba argued that all of her debates, including the one with Yamakawa Kikue, and her Fujin sensen involvement, produced nothing. As part of his positive view of Itsue's earlier years, Akiyama criticized Hirabayashi's critique of the Yamakawa-Takamure debate as redundant and regarded FS as representative of Itsue's lifelong train of thought. Setouchi and Murakami suggested that Kenzō's influence in Itsue's life was greater than is usually recognized. This may account for his editorial policy which eliminated much of Takamure's anarchistic works from her collected works.

Part Two: Viewpoints Through the Early 1940s

Issues of Ideological Conversion: Pro and Con

A second area of Takamure's works which is virtually ignored in her zenshū is her "historical view of the Japanese empire" during the fifteen-year war period.[28] Researchers'

heated debates over Itsue's anarchistic thought in the 1920s seem quite mild compared with the escalated controversies which have emerged over her wartime activities. Limited sources and space restriction prevent a lengthy analysis, but one can at least sketch a theory which argues that Itsue experienced ideological conversion, as well as several rebuttals which indicate why she could not possibly have "changed her mind" so completely.

The term translated here as "ideological conversion" is tenkō, a phrase widely used in Japan right after World War II. William Wray has categorized as follows the two ways historians usually use the term: (1) leftists, usually Communists, who recanted under police pressure,[29] and (2) in a wider application, those who "changed" their ideas to support the militarization of Japan.[30] The present discussion will address itself to the latter interpretation of tenkō.

Within this context, Miki Kiyoshi's intriguing interpretation of the conversion process should also be mentioned:

> Such ideological conversion is perhaps a phenomenon peculiar to Japan and something that cannot be comprehended by the individualist and rationalist occident. 'Conversion' connotates not a gradual, logical process of development but an act of suddenly turning away. As such, it can take place naturally, and not extraordinarily, to Japanese minds which are dialectical in their thinking and in which two things mutually contradictory can be synthesized into one.[31]

Through evidence presented concerning Itsue's alleged tenkō, one realizes that she did not "suddenly turn away" nor did she undergo any major moral or theoretical change during the

wartime years. In response to the extreme government oppression of the times, of necessity, she changed her tactics to survive and to continue her lifetime research goals.[32] This point will be expanded later in the chapter.

Hiyama Yukio takes a different approach in his brief Rekishi kōron (Historical review) article on Takamure, in which he contends that her "intensive ideological conversion" (shūyaku sareru shisō tenkō) was recorded in Itsue's Josei 2,600 nenshi (History of women through 2,600 years; published in 1940). As factors which contributed to her decision, he cites the following: (1) the foundation of loyalty and reverence for the Imperial household built under the influence of her father from an early age, and (2) the way she idolized the image (kyozōka) of her parents. Hiyama does not expand on these points, but one assumes he refers to values of loyalty to family and country instilled in Itsue early in life which later re-emerged, causing her to "convert." Hiyama completely ignores the development of her anti-establishment thought and activities of the decade of the 1920s. Instead, he refers to her response upon the news of Japan's defeat as an indication of her changed thought:

> The defeat of Japan, "the land of the gods," was a great shock to the fifty-one-year-old Itsue . . . her only means of expressing her response to the Imperial Rescript on the defeat of the war was 'I bowed and could only cry' (fu shite tada naki nageku).[33]

After they had endured the intensity of the wartime ordeal for many years, all Japanese felt completely drained

emotionally. One can argue with some assurance that Itsue's response to the traumatic news approximated, therefore, the reaction shared by virtually all Japanese at that time, not only those who had changed their thought.

Furthermore, a review of Itsue's Josei 2,600 nenshi mentions nothing about the alleged ideological conversion of Takamure. Rather, it suggests:

> The authoress of this book, in describing the character of Japanese women, their position and its changes throughout the ages, starting from the founding of the nation to the present era, has done her work in such a manner that subjective personal opinions have been almost entirely eliminated.[34]

Itsue's conclusion to this work indicates her standpoint on women's history as well as the tone of her personal concerns when she chose to interject them:

> In ancient times, when men and women co-operated closely with each other, not because they chose to, but because it was inevitable, we saw a number of very capable women make their appearance. As we came down through the ages, however, Japanese women lost their social standing, a decline brought about by various social phenomena, yet whenever the opportunity presented itself they revealed their traditional ability to deal capably with the situation.
>
> . . . In spite of the efforts of enlightened men and women, we have yet to see the inherent ability of womankind blossom forth. I earnestly hope that not only women but men throughout the country will understand and take an interest in the problems of our women as well as our history.[35]

As the above quotation from the conclusion of Josei 2,600 nenshi clearly indicates, Takamure's historical and personal interests focused on the location of women's experience within the general flow of history, not in espousing any

ideological conversion.

Nakayama Aiko concurs that Takamure did not commit tenkō, basing her position upon a new interpretation of the issue:

> A woman like her had no reason to make a sudden 180-degree conversion. That is, [she] often restrained the things she wanted to do . . . when she became aware of her husband's wishes. [Takamure] still retained enough of the thought patterns of a conventional woman which could not be transformed . . . but she did not want to admit it.

Nakayama then suggests that Takamure pursued her research to convince other women (and perhaps herself) that they should not be traditional.[36] As stirring as Nakayama's proposals are, they call for further investigation of Kenzō's role in his unique relationship with Itsue, and of the more conventional aspects of Takamure's thought before they can be accepted in their entirety. What is relevant at present is Nakayama's argument that Takamure was not the type of person who would suddenly change her mind.

Hiyama, in his contention that Takamure underwent tenkō in 1940, cites activities such as these:

> From January 1942 Takamure received monthly manuscript fees of 150 yen for 'Traditional Japanese women's history' published in Nihon fujin, the periodical publication of the Greater Japan Women's Association (Dai Nihon fujinkai), which was not a passive act.[37]

Perhaps Itsue's contributions to this nationalistic periodical can be described more accurately as an extension of her sometimes ambiguous stance during the war years. Kanō Mikiyo points out that Itsue contributed to the weekly

newspaper Fujo shimbun[38] from the time she began her full-time research in July 1931 until it stopped publication in 1942. The following two opposing postures seem to be evident in her contributions: (1) a request for absolute peace, and (2) a view of the Manchurian Incident as a chance to build a new world order.

Kanō traces the development of both postures through the first half of the 1930s, focusing most of his attention on the latter. In 1931 Itsue made ten contributions to Fujo but said nothing about the Manchurian Incident. By the following year she made a few comments about the incident from an aloof position which said that war is as necessary as peace. For example, in "Heiwa to fujin" (Peace and women), published in the 31 January and 7 February 1932 editions, Itsue criticized the vague attitude of women's groups and called for establishing a definite attitude towards war and violence in general.[39]

Within the next couple of months, Itsue seems to have indicated her stance on war issues more clearly by her favourable response to "Chūshakusho" (A commentary), written by Tadokoro Teruaki of the Japan Labour-Farmer Mass Party (Zenkoku rōnō taishūtō).[40] In April 1932 Takamure called Tadokoro's well-defined opposition to the Comintern ". . . one step in the advancement of Nihonshugi, or fascism as it is called."[41]

Kanō Mikiyo interprets Takamure's statement as a

"tendency towards fascism."[42] Rather than attach such a label to her criticism, one should examine her interpretation of Nihonshugi (literally, "Japan-ism"). This will be done in the latter part of this chapter within a discussion of Shinto elements in Itsue's thought. It should be noted here that to take a certain stance on the Manchurian Incident at the time did not necessarily mean the same view would be maintained throughout the war years. On the other hand, Itsue's anti-Marxist and anti-Soviet views of the 1920s should be recalled, as they were similar to her views which continued into the 1930s.

Kanō Mikiyo concurs that Itsue was "anti-Marxist" in the early 1930s, but goes on to say that she was "quite influenced" by the June 1933 conversion declarations (tenkō senmei) of Communist leaders Sano Manabu (1892-1953) and Nabeyama Sadachika (1901-?).[43] As he does not specify what he means by "influenced," perhaps a better choice of words would be that she "took notice of" the joint statement issued by Sano and Nabeyama, and the fact that within a month of their statement, 30 percent of the non-convicted and 36 percent of the convicted prisoners announced their decision to convert.[44] As such a phenomenon was undoubtedly covered extensively by the media of the day, it would have been difficult for anyone to ignore.[45]

Further source materials pertaining to Itsue's wartime stance may lead to a re-evaluation of this analysis. At this

point, one tends to agree with Akiyama that there was little conspicuous change of thought (kiwadatta tenkai wa nakatta) in Takamure from the Fujin sensen period (1930-31) until the end of the Pacific War.[46] Feelings of national isolation increased following Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations in March 1933, which spurred on the country's nationalism, and government oppression continually escalated. In these circumstances, Itsue of course could no longer continue to express her anarchistic views as openly as she had through the 1920s. However, by examining articles written by Takamure in July 1932 and April 1940, it is evident that she continued to scrutinize society from a woman's viewpoint and criticize those aspects she felt were not in the best interests of women. She was especially critical of the Japanese military's activities in Manchuria, referring to the "tyranny of the bandits" (hizoku no bōgyoku) which oppressed women, both local women and Japanese prostitutes. In a 3 July 1932 article called "Onozukara imashimu" (Self-admonishment), Itsue wrote:

> On a number of points, Japan has reached the stage when revolution is necessary. In spite of this, insensible emigrants, hiding behind national prestige, are carrying our tyranny beyond banditry. Though they are Japanese [I am] disgusted. Strictly speaking, the biggest fault of the Japanese is that they don't have their own attitude, that is, they don't try to develop their own attitude. Accordingly . . . it is necessary for men and women to look with introspection at themselves and their country.

With particular reference to the "tyranny of the bandits,"

Takamure pointed out that it was not a new phenomenon, referring to the following experiences:

> In the Meiji Restoration [of 1868] both the Imperial Army and the rebels without distinction raped women and looted the people's property.

She also gave as an example her native area of Kyushu, where ". . . because government forces (kampei) served there for ten years it is said that all the women of the surrounding villages were suffering from venereal disease."[47] Along similar lines to those drawn in her 1932 article of self-admonishment, in April 1940 she called for some self-control (jishuku) in "Shin shina kensetsu to Nihon no fujin" (The building of new China and Japanese women):

> [We] must withdraw Japanese prostitutes (shūgyōfu) from China. Because the Chinese have only this view of Japanese women, it is very low.[48]

By brief reference to two of Itsue's articles from the early 1930s and 1940s, one can thus see that she still maintained her role as a social critic from a female point of view. Although her criticism was somewhat subdued compared with that of the Fujin sensen years, Takamure still condemned the military's oppression of local women and Japanese prostitutes in Manchuria with surprising frankness. It is actually quite amazing when one considers the government oppression of such "dangerous thought" which escalated during the wartime years.

The question arises as to why Itsue could publish such "dangerous" articles. Kenzō's familiarity with the publishing

business may have been a factor. Morosawa suggests that Takamure was able to continue her full-time research throughout the war and publish her works (such as Bokeisei no kenkyū — Research on the matriarchal system; 1938) largely due to her spouse's advice, as he was "more familiar with the trend of the times." Another possibility is that Takamure wrote some articles which have been labelled as "tending towards fascism" in an attempt to placate the government authorities; she was thus able to continue her critiques and pioneering research.[49] As more sources from this period are uncovered, perhaps other answers will shed more light on this fascinating period of Takamure's life, and contribute a more general understanding of the chaotic wartime years.

Representative views of both sides of the tenkō issue have been examined with reference to the development of Takamure's thought through the early 1940s. As material related to her wartime views was virtually excluded from her collected works, historical controversies abound. Hiyama Yukio argued that Itsue underwent "intensive ideological conversion" in 1940, but offered insufficient evidence to convince other scholars. Nakayama Aiko pointed out that Itsue "had no reason to make a sudden 180-degree conversion." Kanō Mikiyo defined Itsue's ambiguous wartime stance in terms of two rival postures. One way of thinking wanted absolute peace, while the other favoured the establishment of a new world order by Japan. Kanō tended to dwell on the latter aspect

in his analysis. Finally, brief glimpses at two of Itsue's articles from 1932 and 1940 demonstrated how her role as a critic of women's oppression continued through the war years.

The next section will examine the agrarian aspect of Itsue's thought in the 1920s in the context of popular nōhonshugi which was most active in the 1930s. What kind of similarities were there between the two decades, and even more importantly, what were the differences?

Part Three: Fundamental Agrarianism: Takamure Itsue and Gondō Seikyō

In examining Takamure's anarchistic thought in the 1920s (see Chapters 3 and 4), one is struck by the numerous parallels between the many agrarian elements she espoused and the nōhonshugi thought of the 1930s, especially that of Gondō Seikyō (1868-1937). For example, both advocated village communalism and local self-rule, and argued that society's biggest problem was best exemplified by the gap between urban and rural issues. Before further comparison of Takamure's and Gondō's agrarianism can be made, one must define nōhonshugi and understand its development.

Interpretations and Development of Agrarian Thought

Ronald Dore interprets the meaning of nōhonshugi as:

> . . . an ideology bound up with Shinto nationalism and infused with a belief of the uniqueness of the Japanese people. . . . Physiocratic economic theories were largely subordinated in a mystic faith in the spiritual values of rural life.[50]

In addition, there was an almost axiomatic belief in the positive value of numerous tenant farmers.[51]

Thomas Havens points out that nōhonshugi was the principal form of agrarianism in Japan after 1868, although it became most influential between the 1890s and the 1930s. Over the span of its lifetime, the advocates of nōhonshugi included such various elements as radicals, pragmatists, and common rural people. Divided as these groups were in many ways, they were

> . . . linked by common exposure to the modernization process, a mutual concern for the nation's future, and a shared conviction that agriculture was crucial for creating a stable, harmonious Japan.[52]

The above interpretation holds true for Itsue's agrarianism in that her rejection of modern values led her to find an alternative in rural values. Further, although she focused on women, her ultimate goal was a more equitable society as a whole.

Three different stages in the development of Japanese agrarian thought demonstrate an overlap of values which span the time gap. Firstly, in an early twentieth-century critique on capitalism, Kawakami Hajime (1879-1946) argued that whereas a capitalist economy inculcated such false values as selfishness and greed for money, the countryside harboured

true values, like harmony, frugality, and co-operation, which emphasized working together to cut costs and to prevent the spread of selfish norms.[53] Kawakami's position contains ample evidence of the trend begun by bureaucratic agrarianists in the 1890s in which nōhonshugi became a form of counterthought to offset the effects of capitalism on the countryside.

Secondly, within the next two decades, as a result of the increased tenancy disputes of the 1910s and 1920s and the rice riots of 1918, the anti-capitalistic mood of society intensified, and popular agrarianism grew stronger.[54] For example, Yokota Hideo (1889-1926), who devoted the most important years of his short life to the tenant movement in northern and central Japan, urged tenants to bind together in self-defense to reduce rents. After World War I he concentrated more on legal guarantees of tenants' rights, but until his death he retained the same basic goals, which included the restoration of social harmony to the villages and the creation of a classless national society with agriculture at its core.[55]

Leaping almost another two decades, by the early 1930s nōhonshugi entered a third stage in which it took on even more importance, for two reasons: (1) the turbulent economic situation compounded by the great crash of 1929 produced another cycle of depression until the mid-1930s, and (2) the national controversy touched off by the signing of the London

Naval Disarmament Treaty of 1930. As evidence of the seriousness with which the police viewed agrarianists, they were included in a report as follows:

> . . . the right wing [of the Nippon shugisha, "the Japanists"] contains such diverse groups as the national socialists . . . and the agrarians, who demand reform of the current system, which they see as dominated by bureaucratic-industrial forces and thus advocate the construction of a new Japan based on the principles of agrarianism and rural autonomy.[56]

The agrarian demand for reforms arose from real need. Farm prices, which had been artificially inflated by the demands of World War I, fell 30 percent from 1919 to 1921. By 1925 prices had substantially recovered, only to drop again by 1931 to only two-fifths of their 1919 level.[57] As at least half of the Japanese population engaged in farming and fishing in 1930, sinking farm prices, combined with high taxes and the support of unemployed urban family members forced back home to live, created a burden too large for the rural sector to bear, and added fuel to the agrarian movement.[58]

It should also be noted that bureaucratic agrarianism re-appeared in the late 1920s when the rural community experienced these hardships. For example, government civil servants pressed for rural relief, and national ethics textbooks recognized agriculture as an important source of civic virtue. Further, bureaucratic nōhonshugi, like popular agrarian thought, supported overseas colonization.[59]

Gondō Seikyō

As the above discussion has located the development of nōhonshugi within the context of Japanese society up to the early 1930s, a brief description of probably the best-known agrarianist of the 1930s, Gondō Seikyō, is in order, for his thought compares in many respects with that of Takamure. Gondō has been described as a "political philosopher" who was also an "anti-capitalist."[60] Another historian points out that Gondō

> . . . felt that Japan had been founded on the spirit of autonomous living [and] . . . the small-scale groupings of society in primitive times were the only natural and desirable ones; . . . his writings show a profound distrust of big government and big army.[61]

Maruyama Masao concurs with the above viewpoints in his comment: ". . .[Gondō] upholds the conception of the 'community' (shashoku) against the 'nation' (kuni). One feels that there is even a tinge of agrarian anarchism here."[62] The issue of shashoku is especially important as it is one of the essential customs (seizoku) Gondō thought was necessary in order for Japanese society to transform itself.

In Gondō's approach, the following two social elements had to resume natural development if society was to change: (1) shashoku, which he defined as the Japanese people collectively organized into self-governing units beneath the Imperial throne, and (2) jichi (self-rule).[63] Some of the necessary steps required to attain (1) were to depend on the

goodness of the earth, and to promote harmony among men, which resembled Confucian agrarianism in some respects,[64] though his assertion that the Japanese version had been decreed by Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, set his approach apart.[65]

The vital part of Gondō's plan for society was found in his concept of kokutai (national essence), which he considered intrinsic to the Japanese people as a national group. The national essence was inherent in the Japanese rural economy, their system of self-rule, their society, as well as their Emperor, who ruled jointly in co-operation with the people themselves.[66]

Takamure Versus Gondō

In Takamure's view of the emerging Japanese society (described in Chapters 3 and 4), several of her points resemble those of Gondō. For example, she too believed in a society arranged in natural, small-scale groupings, and self-government based on agriculture, which promoted harmonious relations. Like Gondō, Takamure distrusted institutions such as government, the military, and bureaucracy. Unlike Gondō, she did not place great importance on the national essence which united people through their joint rule with the Emperor. One does not find any specific mention of the Emperor in Takamure's works of the 1920s which have been examined. Rather, she tried to re-evaluate women's natural instincts like bosei and their role in an agrarian society free from bureaucratic

control. By the 1930s it seems that Itsue gradually became more aware of the Emperor concept in her developing belief in Shinto. Both of these areas will be examined later in this chapter.

If one applies Thomas Havens' terminology of the two ideological streams of nationalist thought to the viewpoints of Takamure and Gondō, both seem to fit his definition of kokuminshugi, an ethnic or cultural nationalism which stresses primary affinities for the Japanese as a people. Their demand for removal of government structure was in keeping with their priorities of freedom for the people. As Havens pointed out, kokuminshugi and kokkashugi, defined as nationalism focused on the state, were never functionally equal, nor were they entirely distinct. Thus, certain aspects of kokkashugi could also be applied to the views of Gondō. For example, he stressed belief in the national essence although he rejected the government of the Japanese state.[67]

As Havens concisely states, Gondō

> . . . construed a critique of modern centralized rule, capitalist production, and urban life which both rejected the main trends of modernization and reaffirmed the Japanese nation and kokutai.[68]

It was probably this combination of turning away from modernization associated with Westernization, and re-affirming the national essence, which caused social activists like Ishikawa Sanshirō, who is said to have familiarized Takamure with European anarchism, to turn to the nōhonshugi of Gondō.[69] Itō Ryōko presumes that similar factors, that is, the denial

of modernization and an emphasis on the supremacy of the Japanese culture, indicate how Takamure affirmed the national essence during the wartime years.[70] This line of thought will be extended in the last section of this chapter.

Part Three first defined nōhonshugi as an ideology which included aspects of Shinto and rural values, and then examined the development of such agrarian thought through the 1930s, when it reached its peak. The thought of well-known agrarianist Gondō Seikyō was considered with particular reference to his concept of the national essence. His interpretation of kokutai emphasized a rural economy based on self-rule with co-operation between the people and the Emperor. The thoughts of Takamure and Gondō agreed in several respects, for example, in their desire for an agrarian society arranged in small-scale groupings, and their distrust of institutions such as government and the military. Gondō emphasized the role of the Emperor in the national essence, while Takamure focused on a re-evaluation of women's role in a non-bureaucratic society. Finally, Thomas Havens' terminology of the two ideological streams of nationalist thought was applied to the viewpoints of Takamure and Gondō. As both of them denied the necessity of government structure and demanded the people's freedom, the views of Takamure and Gondō seemed closer to kokuminshugi, which focused on affinity with the people, than to kokkashugi, which focused on the state.

While the Emperor played an important role in Gondō's scheme to reaffirm the Japanese nation, Itsue was not a true supporter of the Emperor and did not include him in her plan for a new society. When Itsue's years of anarchist activism came to a close with the last issue of Fujin sensen in June 1931, she embarked on a pioneering effort of thirty years' research into Japanese women's history which was partially inspired by the Shinto scholar Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801). The last section of this chapter will touch on the minor role of the Emperor in the development of Itsue's Shinto thought from the 1930s to the early 1940s.

Part Four: Interpretations of the Emperor and Shinto Thought

Concept of the Emperor

At present, only tentative conclusions can be reached on Takamure's concept of the Emperor because of the fragmentary nature of the source material. One theory is presented by Itō Ryōko, who recognizes Dai Nihon josei jinmei jisho (The unabridged biographical dictionary of Japanese women; 1936) and Bokeisei no kenkyū (1938) as part of Itsue's contribution to women's history. Itō contends that the bases of her women's historical research, that is, a strong denial of Western modernity and an emphasis on the supremacy of Japanese culture, both supported Takamure's wartime attitudes (senji

taisei).[71] The implication is that, if Itsue favoured the war, she also affirmed the national essence of Japan, which was focused on the Emperor. At this stage of research, both aspects of this position are still too tentative to be accepted.

Sugada Masaaki takes a more direct stance on the role that the national essence played in Itsue's thought by recognizing ". . . through the roots of Takamure's thought continually ran [a stream of] Emperor-system consciousness." But he argues that

> . . . while the dissension of such consciousness [was] deeply hidden in a fold of her mind, Takamure did not become a true supporter of the Imperial system (tennōsei shugisha ni naranakatta).

Rather than affirm Takamure's ultra-nationalism, Sugada concurs with Kanō Masanao's view that much of the basis for her research emerged from her "deep fondness for 'the land of the gods'" ("shinkoku" shibo).[72] Kanō Masanaō's association of "the land of the gods" with Shinto, the way of the gods, is quite obvious. Kanō Mikiyo supports this view when he states that by the time Takamure began her new departure as a researcher in 1931 ". . . her inclination towards Shinto . . . was already decided," adding that there was little tint of any "historical view of the Emperor (kōkoku shikan) in Itsue's thought."[73] One is prone to ask: how was Takamure able to adopt values of Shinto, such as belief in agrarianism and nature, without also adopting the concept of the Emperor who ruled over the land of the gods?

Influence of Motoori Norinaga

Much of the answer can be found in Itsue's decision to begin her research with Kojikiden (Commentary on the Kojiki), written by Motoori Norinaga.[74] In her autobiography, Takamure explained:

> I began by considering the Kojikiden because for many years I had been cautious of the Japanese classical scholars' view of women's history. Another reason was the scholars' opposition to Confucianism and Buddhism, which led to the serious consideration [they gave] to Japanese characteristics (Nihon no tokushusei). Special features [of Motoori's research] were contrasting the male line (fukei) of China with the female line (bokei) of Japan, and his discovery of the existence of virilocal marriage (yometorikon) [there] in opposition to uxorilocal marriage (mukotorikon) [here]. Of course . . . such a fragmentary view without a historical system was . . . inconsistent; at any rate, I thought that through research I would try to grasp hold [of the above issues].[75]

The link between Takamure's belief in Japanese characteristics which were embodied in Shinto and her deep interest in redefining women's contributions to history is evident in her above explanation. She rejected foreign thought and turned to indigenous Japanese sources, which indicated that women had once occupied a more predominant position in society with the existence of uxorilocal marriage. This discovery contributed to her growing interest in women's history and her decision to initiate her research with Motoori's Kojikiden.

Kanō Mikiyo points out that Itsue had arrived at her decision to study Kojikiden as the starting point of her research over an extended period. Even as Takamure was active

with the publishing of Fujin sensen, she wrote "Nihon josei-ron" (A theory on Japanese women) in the May 1930 edition of Fujo shimbun, which demonstrated great interest in the type of world described in Kojiki.[76] Takamure's autobiography indicates that her research focus may have been decided even earlier:

> In my 1930 New Year's card, for the first time I announced a plan for a three-part women's theory . . . a theory on women, a theory on love, and the history of Japanese women. At that time I was thirty-six years old.[77]

At first she estimated that it would take ten years to complete her project, but she soon realized that thirty years would be a more realistic goal. Murakami suggests that Itsue revised her schedule after discovering that Motoori had spent thirty-five years on his commentary.[78]

Itsue also re-defined her plan by limiting it to

> . . . Japanese women's history. To be exact, the focus of [my] research was to establish a women's scientific view of history (josei shigaku), using Japanese history as the raw material.[79]

One of the first works Itsue produced as part of this new focus was Bokeisei no kenkyū, in which she re-discovered the existence of a woman-centred society which had continued to approximately the Taika period (645).[80] This work has been described as "a milestone for the freedom of women,"[81] and "a new study of the Japanese classics" (shin kokugaku).[82]

Motoori played an important role in Itsue's research on the matriarchal system. Not only did Motoori serve as a source of inspiration because of the long years he had

laboured to complete his research goal, but he also had considerable influence on Itsue's research methods. Motoori rejected the karagokoro (Confucian interpretation) of what was written in the Kojiki, and listened to the tones of the kataribe, who were employed by the Yamato Imperial court (310-710) on ceremonial occasions, to recite indigenous folklore and accounts of ancient events. Takamure in turn interpreted karagokoro as all non-Japanese thought, including "modern Western rationalism and Marxism" and rejected it accordingly.[83] She learned from Motoori that many of the kataribe (beginning with Hieda-no-are) in the Kojiki were female.[84] Motoori also pointed out that Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, was supreme among all the Japanese deities, which was the position Itsue had taken in Ren'ai sōsei. Takamure's respect for the Japanese value system grew, as did her interest in the role women occupied in ancient times.

Perhaps what appealed most to Itsue about Motoori's work was his view of human nature, which was very similar to hers. Motoori urged free expression of all human emotions because they were natural, and further argued that love held a superior position among the range of human feelings.[85] Takamure's viewpoint concurred completely.

Itsue's respect for natural values and human emotions, especially love, appeared in her earliest work. Her concept of shizenkyō (literally, "tenets of nature") seems best to describe her perception of Japanese society. Itsue envisioned

a society which accepted women as women and recognized them as the representatives of nature which should be respected accordingly. She expressed these views on society in Chugai nippō (National and international news) in a November 1931 article entitled "Shizenkyō hassei no kiun" (Opportunity for the creation of natural tenets).[86]

Throughout her career, regardless of how analytical she became, Itsue always treated issues related to love with high regard. As mentioned in Chapter 4, she opposed a society that valued public matters over private matters. In her search for a focus to begin her lifetime research, she turned to such Tokugawa thinkers as Motoori Norinaga, and Hiraga Gennai (1726-1779) who was known as a writer and a botanist.[87] They too believed Shinto was easily understood as "the beginning" (genshi) or "nature" (shizen). Itsue described Hiraga and Motoori as "Shintoists . . . [who] were extremely free thinkers, and thought artificial morals were . . . sacrilege."[88]

Itsue also discovered the free love theory of Masuho Zankō,[89] as mentioned in Chapter 2. According to Takamure, Masuho's literary work of 1711 on free love could be compared to the most progressive love of her era. Masuho emphasized the "rightfulness of natural love" and the negative effects of conventional love. He believed that love and women were sanctified, and should both be respected as such: ". . . equality between the sexes was the right path for Japan, the

land of the gods, to follow." Itsue supported views like those of Masuho, which related equality for women to such Shinto concepts:

> It is not necessary for us to envy the West indiscriminately. If one researches Japan itself, the road to freedom can be found.[90]

A brief examination of two of Itsue's articles from 1934 and 1944 indicates that her connection between Shinto values and the image of women grew stronger over the years. In an August 1934 article called "Gekka ni — shi, shūkyō, sono hoka o omou" (In the moonlight, thinking about death, religion, and other things), Takamure made these comments about Shinto:

> There are no doctrines (kyōgi) in Shinto, but instead there is understanding (etoku), that is understanding of life, in other words subjectivity towards life. . . . Shinto believes to the utmost in immortality (eisei), in the tradition of the primeval spirit.[91]

Within the next decade Itsue seemed to draw more parallels between the spirit and understanding of life within Shinto and the life-giving, almost spiritual role of women as mothers. In an August 1944 magazine article entitled "Kamigokoro" (literally, "the heart of gods"), Itsue stated:

> In a word, the foundation of womanhood in ancient times was hahagokoro ("the heart of mothers") . . . which is now synonymous with kamigokoro.[92]

The above-mentioned two articles also reflect the essence of Takamure's journey through history to prove that Japanese women had not always been oppressed. Beginning with the Kojikiden, Itsue thoroughly examined virtually all the

existing historical and literary works to establish a foundation for her own research. It is important to note Sugada's comment regarding Itsue's research on the Japanese classics:

> Takamure was not tainted with narrow-minded Emperor-centred thought like other classical scholars who followed the scholastic teachings of Motoori Norinaga. This was partially because Takamure was a woman, and partially due to her clear distinction between the later historical Emperor system and . . . the Emperor of the age of the gods (kamiyo no tennō).[93]

As a female living in a male-controlled bureaucratic society, Itsue believed that study of the classics was an important initial step to discover what women's position had been in ancient society. Dissatisfied with the society of her era, Takamure devoted the next three decades of her life to show historically that women had once enjoyed great power and respect, and had the potential to achieve such a position again. She conceived of a new agrarian, self-governing society in which men and women shared the labour and enjoyed equal respect. As desirable as her model society of the future may have seemed, one must recognize it as an ideal. One presumes that Takamure also realized that the society she envisioned was an ideal. Nonetheless, she spent the rest of her life in seclusion uncovering evidence which would demonstrate the long history of women's oppression. Her prolific career included such works as Bokeisei no kenkyū (1938), Shōseikon no kenkyū (Research on uxorilocal marriage; 1953), and the four-volume work Josei no rekishi (The history of women; 1954-58). One can only hope that these rich

contributions to Japanese history will continue to be "re-discovered" along with so many other of Takamure's earlier works. By some understanding of the development of Itsue's thought from the first half of her life, one can better comprehend her decision to devote the latter half of her life to the establishment of the groundwork for women's history.

The last section of this chapter briefly discussed the role of the Emperor in Itsue's Shinto thought. Itō Ryōko's theory implied that Takamure affirmed the national essence; this is still a tentative conclusion. Sugada argued that Itsue knew the Emperor system but not to the extent that she truly supported the system and its policies. Elements of Shinto, like an affinity with nature and belief in agrarianism, were constant threads throughout Itsue's works. Through her discovery of the works of Motoori Norinaga and Masuho Zankō, for example, she learned that they shared similar views of human nature, especially the importance of love. Moreover, Motoori's Kojikiden served as an initial guide to Bokeisei no kenkyū, one of Itsue's earliest works in her thirty years of research to uncover the history of women's oppression. Some of the above issues will be expanded on in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This thesis has attempted to demonstrate that the development of Takamure's anarchistic thought was significant in two respects. First, it is essential to comprehend the bases of Itsue's earlier thought which laid the foundation for her later research on Japanese marriage and women's history. Her early rejection of institutions such as marriage and male-controlled bureaucracy contributed to her later decision to prove, with reference to history, how such systems had built the framework for women's oppression. Secondly, by examining Itsue's anarchistic thought and activities within the context of her era, available sources have provided the initial groundwork for placing her contributions within the flow of modern Japanese history.

Takamure did not live in a historical vacuum. Through contact with peers and adversaries, such as Hiratsuka Raichō and Yamakawa Kikue, respectively, Itsue dealt with important political and socio-economic issues of her era like women's suffrage and the 1920s anarchist movement. It is important to place her role within the context of the contributions made by other female activists of the late-Taishō to early-Shōwa period, and moreover, within the context of the leftist

movement in general.

During the first half of the 1920s Takamure had gained recognition as a poet and developed her four-stage theory of women's movements. But even today her poetry in particular is usually neglected by scholars. It too is an important research area, as she expressed her views on such matters as love, nature, and freedom in her poems as well as in her articles. By the mid-1920s, Takamure had rejected the Western stage of women's movements and advocated a Japanese model of "New Feminism" which emphasized freedom especially for women.

Itsue urged the abolition of omiai, which emphasized the unity of the couple's families. Instead, she stressed the importance of ren'ai, which focused on the couple's relationship. Within the context of New Feminism, the ultimate love could be attained according to the emotional, physical, and spiritual unity of male and female.

Takamure also advocated the elimination of political and social authoritarianism which was controlled by the male-centred bureaucracy. The bureaucracy defined the limits for both concepts of free love and beauty, concepts which Itsue's anarchistic thought emphasized. Takamure argued that the modern view of beauty was city-centred according to Western criteria, and focused on wealth and power with the bureaucracy in control. She rejected this city-centred concept of beauty and urged movement towards what she termed an "Asian self-

governing society" which focused on the countryside. The society she envisioned emphasized harmony with nature, mutual co-operation, and men and women sharing in the production of the essentials of life.

Itsue utilized her 1928 debate with Marxist Yamakawa Kikue as a forum to express the anarchist viewpoint which she had developed on such issues as bureaucratic control and urban versus agrarian society. Takamure and Yamakawa could not have expressed more conflicting viewpoints. For example, Itsue continued to express the importance of free love within the context of the emerging rural self-governing society. Yamakawa, on the other hand, gave only a peripheral role to love, and argued that if women were to acquire freedom in love, it could only be attained in the post-revolutionary Marxist society.

Another illustration of the contrasting viewpoints of Takamure and Yamakawa is their description of future society. Takamure argued that the countryside would come to the fore by the end of this century; increasing urban labour strife signified the deterioration of the cities. With self-government the farmers would abolish all laws and systems of inheritance, family, and marriage, and create an egalitarian society in which men and women would be free from bureaucratic oppression. Yamakawa presented quite a different view of the future. In her terms, through the evolutionary process, society necessarily progressed from a "powerful capitalistic

society" to a "powerful communist society" with production as its goal.

Although Itsue used her debate with Yamakawa to clarify her anarchistic stance, Itsue had been exposed to anarchist thought from adolescence. She had more direct contact with anarchist thought several years later through Kenzō's employer, Shimonaka Yasaburō, one of the founders of the Farmers' Self-Government Association and the head of Heibonsha.

As an anarchist Itsue believed that such issues as unequal laws and suffrage were problems of all women, not only proletarian women or bourgeois women. But Yamakawa Kikue felt that voting issues were of no concern to proletarian women like herself. Kikue seems to have absorbed much of her husband Hitoshi's argument to discard voting rights, which he felt was necessary to create a gulf between the proletariat and the democrats. By August 1922 he vacillated again, with alleged "guidance" from the Comintern, but the leftists' support of the suffrage issue came too late.

Takamure's attitude towards the 1920s suffrage issue can also be described as one of "ambivalence." In the early 1920s she rejected women's political participation, but within a few years associated the acquisition of universal manhood suffrage with female suffrage. She then supported what she called the "alliance faction" of the proletarian parties, as this group was aware of women's consciousness. But, by the

late 1920s, Itsue urged women to unite in a movement against political parties; she soon realized her "mistake" and rejected even the proletarian parties. By 1930 she rejected all forms of established government and advocated a society of self-government. She was convinced that women's natural instincts like bosei could be equally respected only in a society based on mutual aid and freedom from bureaucratic oppression.

Takamure took the next step beyond thought to action through the establishment of the Proletarian Women's Art League and its monthly magazine Fujin sensen in March 1930. The publication of FS was a "turning point" in Takamure's career between her activist years as a feminist theorist-anarchist and the latter half of her life when she pioneered such fields as Japanese women's history.

Ties between the PWAL and the Farmers' Art League deepened Itsue's awareness of farmers' issues, which had been initiated through her contact with the Farmers' Self-Governing Association. One indication of this link was the frequent focus on urban versus rural issues in FS. Several FS members besides Itsue also described Tokyo in dismal terms, and advocated a return to the "concept of the village" as the ideology of their anarchism.

A brief comparison has been made between Seitō and Fujin sensen, as both represented the thought of "new women" in the Taishō and Shōwa periods, respectively. The former is

usually described as marking the beginning of Japanese women's individual awakening, and the latter as the first step in women's social awakening. Recent research seems to challenge this belief by indication that at different stages in their development both Seitō and FS examined women's issues which entailed a degree of social awareness, such as abortion and abolishing the system of licensed prostitution.

In the two decades between the publication of Seitō and FS, the social consciousness of some women was raised to the point where rejection of the status quo society was their last alternative. The crux of the problem, Takamure argued, lay in society's sharp differentiation between public and private matters. As long as society devalued the special traits of women, such as pregnancy and birth, and appraised women only on their public value, women's status would remain forever below that of males. The PWAL thus worked towards the establishment of a more equitable society which would treat private matters of women and men with more respect.

A number of historiographical viewpoints have been presented to place earlier-raised issues in perspective. Arguments from both streams of thought with regard to the anarchistic thought of Takamure were discussed. Kanō and Horiba evaluated the 1928 Yamakawa-Takamure debate by placing it within the context of other intellectual controversies in which Itsue was involved in the late 1920s. With little analysis, Kanō and Horiba dismissed all of the controversies

as unproductive. On the other hand, Akiyama Kiyoshi focused on Itsue's debate with Yamakawa and offered constructive criticism of both parties' views. He suggested that if Itsue and Kikue had expanded their arguments related to sexual issues, more authenticity would have been added to their debate. Further, Akiyama criticized Hirabayashi Taiko's dual role in the debate as third party-editor, especially since she misinterpreted Takamure's position. Itsue did not advocate that women regress to a feudalistic type of love, as Hirabayashi argued, but rather evolve in a society which recognized the value of free love.

Akiyama similarly described the role of FS in Itsue's career in positive terms, emphasizing that Itsue's work during that period represented the anarchist train of thought which ran throughout her life. Therefore, he strongly opposed Kenzō's omission of Itsue's anarchistic work from her collected works in the belief that her concepts were still underdeveloped at that point in her career. Setouchi Harumi and Murakami Nobuhiko offered considerable evidence to indicate that Kenzō may have "overlooked" areas of Takamure's work which did not fit into the almost god-like image he had created of her. Several contemporaries of Kenzō and Itsue have acknowledged the great contribution their unique relationship made to Itsue's prolific career. It is unfortunate that Kenzō's subjective editorial policy on Itsue's collected

works has resulted in a limited presentation of the scope of Takamure's thought.

Unlike Akiyama, Kanō and Horiba described the FS years in negative terms, just as they had Itsue's earlier debates, and claimed that she "did not realize any development in thought" in either period. They neglected the following two important points: (1) FS served as a gestation period for much of Itsue's subsequent research on women, and (2) Itsue continued to develop her creativity and writing ability through involvement with FS. The above points indicate the positive aspect of the FS years in Itsue's intellectual development, rather than the reverse. A claim made by Kanō and Horiba which can be interpeted in a favourable sense was that several men like Kenzō and Nobushima also supported FS. I think that it is important to note such male support of a feminist publication as it shows the changing social awareness of some women and men in the early-Shōwa period.

Another positive aspect of Kanō's and Horiba's approach was their description of Itsue's later response to the FS years. In Takamure's terms, her work at Fujin sensen was "anguish on the way to [my] own development," that is, a necessary phase she had to undergo to develop the focus of her lifetime research. Kanō and Horiba recognized in historical perspective that Itsue's role in the early-Shōwa women's movements was "hard to erase," similar to Akiyama's description of Itsue's anarchism as a "social problem relating to

women."

A second area which has virtually been eliminated from Takamure's collected works is her thought during the fifteen-year war period. Hiyama Yukio contended that her ideological conversion was recorded in her 1940 work, Josei 2,600 nenshi, in which she "changed" her ideas to support the militarization of Japan. There seems to be no evidence to support Hiyama's claim. Nakayama Aiko concurred that Takamure was not the type of person to make a sudden 180-degree conversion.

Others writers such as Kanō Mikiyo pointed out Itsue's somewhat ambiguous stance during the wartime years and cited her contributions to Fujo shimbun from July 1930 to 1942. There were indications that by 1932 she supported the Manchurian Incident, but specific grounds for her decision were not given. Moreover, taking a clear stance on the Manchurian issue did not necessarily determine one's position throughout the wartime period. As further sources on Itsue's posture are uncovered, a more extensive analysis of her wartime views can be made by historians.

One point which is clear is Itsue's continuing role of critic who scrutinized society from a woman's point of view. In spite of the escalation of government oppression, an examination of articles written by Takamure in 1932 and 1940 revealed sharp criticism of the Japanese military's activities in Manchuria, especially of their treatment of local women and the Japanese prostitutes the military had taken

with them. There are two possible answers as to why Itsue was allowed to publish articles that contained such "dangerous thoughts." Morosawa Yōko suggested that the censors permitted it because Kenzō, more aware of the changing social climate due to his experience in the publishing business, advised Itsue skillfully on just what she could say. Another answer is that Itsue may have written some so-called "fascistic" articles to placate government authorities in order to continue publishing her research and critiques. This intriguing concept of ideological conversion will continue to challenge future researchers for many years.

Another aspect of Itsue's thought during the interwar years was the parallel drawn between the agrarian elements of her 1920s thought and the nōhonshugi thought of the 1930s. In particular, Itsue's thought was compared with that of Gondō Seikyō in regard to their strong belief in village communalism and local self-government. Agrarian thought grew more active from the 1890s but reached its peak in the 1930s. Over the span of its lifetime, the various elements in society who believed in nōhonshugi were linked by their conviction that agriculture played a key role in the unification of the country.

Throughout the development of agrarian thought there was an overlap of values, such as the view of the countryside as the repository of harmony and co-operation. Even as popular agrarianism grew stronger by the 1920s due to the

heightened tenancy disputes and the rice riots of 1918, leaders like Yokota Hideo still sought to create a classless agrarian society. Bureaucratic agrarianism, which was associated in the 1890s with resistance to Japanese modernization, re-emerged in the late 1920s in an attempt to instill values of civic virtue through agriculture. By the 1930s, nōhonshugi took on added importance to even more people affected by the dismal economic environment and the complex foreign situation.

The above discussion set the stage for the thought of well-known agrarianist Gondō Seikyō. He emphasized that the Japanese people had to organize collectively into self-governing units below the Imperial throne and establish self-rule as decreed by Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, if society was to change. The key to Gondō's plan was his concept of the national essence, intrinsic to the Japanese as a people who ruled jointly with the Emperor.

Takamure had several points in common with Gondō. They shared a belief in a society of natural, small-scale groupings, and self-government based on an agrarian lifestyle. Itsue also distrusted institutions such as the government and the military, but the Emperor did not occupy a major role in her concept of future society. Rather, she concentrated on re-evaluating women's natural instincts and their role in a more equitable agrarian society. The views of Gondō and Takamure can be related to the concept of kokuminshugi, as

they both maintained their priority of freedom for the people, an important aspect of this idea.

Itō Ryōko contended that one aspect of Itsue's research on women's history such as her emphasis on the supremacy of Japanese culture was a contributing factor to her support of the Pacific War. Itō's contention implied that Itsue affirmed the national essence as well. Further research is necessary before her claim can be accepted.

Sugada Masaaki and Kanō Masanao argued that Takamure had some consciousness of the Emperor system but "did not become a true supporter of the Imperial system." Rather, they associated the basis for her research more closely with her tendency towards Shinto. This tendency seems to have been part of a process which was intensified by her activist involvement in the 1920s. Itsue rejected Western modernization as well as aspects of male-controlled Japanese society such as government structure which oppressed women. By searching in her own culture, Takamure incorporated Shinto values, such as an affinity with nature and belief in an agrarian lifestyle, into her concept of a society which would respect women and men equally. Unsatisfied with the views of Japanese classical scholars on women's role in history, Itsue decided to devote the rest of her life to pioneer the field of women's history. The work of Motoori Norinaga influenced Takamure's research methods as he rejected the Confucian interpretation and emphasized the female role in the Kojiki,

points which Itsue expanded upon in her own works.

The above discoveries were in complete harmony with Takamure's view of society, as were Motoori's emphasis on human emotions, especially love, which he felt occupied a superior position in the range of human feelings. Itsue also discovered the free love theory of Masuho Zankō, who emphasized that love and women were sanctified and therefore should both be respected. Further, he urged "equality between the sexes" in Japan, "the land of the gods." One can see tints of Masuho's theory reflected in Itsue's article "Kamigokoro," written in 1944, in which she referred to hahagokoro as synonymous with kamigokoro.

Through the next thirty years of laborious research, Takamure produced such monumental works as Bokeisei no kenkyū and Josei no rekishi. Both works are rich historical sources in terms of women's history and placing the established field of Japanese history in broader perspective. But I believe that the full significance of Takamure's contributions to Japanese history can be comprehended only when one has studied some of her earlier thought, especially her works of the 1920s in which she developed her views on Japanese feminism and future society.

CHAPTER 1 — NOTES

[1]George O. Totten, The Social and Democratic Movement in Prewar Japan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 4, 31-38 passim, 49-58 passim.

[2]Nishikawa Yūko, "Takamure Itsue to Fujin sensen" [Takamure Itsue and Women's front], Shisō [Thought] (March 1975), p. 81.

[3]Murakami Nobuhiko, "Nihon kon'inshi ni mitō no kyōchi o hiraita: Takamure Itsue" [The unexplored sphere of Japanese marriage history opened by Takamure Itsue], Kindaishi no onna [Women of modern history] (Tokyo: Daiwa shobō, 1980), p. 176. This source will hereafter be referred to as Murakami, Kindaishi.

[4]Setouchi Harumi, "Nichigetsu futari" [Two people above the sun and moon], Bungei tembō [View of literature], no. 2 (Summer 1973), p. 411. This series of articles by Setouchi on the life of Itsue and Kenzō was published in Bungei tembō as follows: no. 2 (Summer 1973), pp. 408-23; no. 3 (Autumn 1973), pp. 448-69; no. 5 (Spring 1974), pp. 405-27; no. 7 (Autumn 1974), pp. 410-25; and no. 8 (Winter 1975), pp. 420-37.

[5]Morosawa Yōko, Kindai Nihon no joseishi 2 [Modern Japanese women's history], ed. Enchi Fusako (Tokyo: Shueisha, 1980), pp. 220-21.

[6]See Takamure Itsue, Takamure Itsue zenshū [The collected works of Takamure Itsue], ed. Hashimoto Kenzō, vol. 10: Hi no kuni no onna no nikki [Diary of a woman from the land of fire] (Tokyo: Rironsha, 1967).

[7]Murakami Nobuhiko, "Takamure Itsue to 'josei shigaku'" [Takamure Itsue and "women's scientific view of history"], Asahi shimbun (Tokyo), 11 June 1973, p. 12. Murakami published four articles on Takamure in the series "Shisōshi o aruku" [A walk through intellectual history], on 4, 11, 18, and 25 June 1973, page 12 in each edition. This source shall hereafter be referred to as Murakami, Asahi.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Hashimoto Kenzō and Horiba Kiyoko, Waga Takamure Itsue [Our Takamure Itsue] (Tokyo: Asahi shimbunsha, 1981), 2:367.

[10]Murakami, Asahi, 11 June 1973, p. 12.

CHAPTER 2 — NOTES

[1]Nishikawa, p. 81.

[2]Nakajima Kazuo, "Joseishi kenkyū no shinō o kaiji" [A presentation of the hidden mystery of women's history research], Shūkan dokushojin [Weekly book review] (Tokyo), 2 November 1981, p. 3.

[3]Akiyama Kiyoshi, Jiyū onna ronsō: Takamure Itsue no anakizumu [Discussion of a free woman: The anarchism of Takamure Itsue] (Tokyo: Shisō no kagakusha, 1973), p. 153.

[4]Itō Ryōko, "Takamure Itsue: bosei no hakken" [Takamure Itsue: The discovery of maternal instincts], in Sen kyūhyaku sanjū nendai mondai no shosō [Various aspects of the 1930s' problems], ed. Miyakawa Tōru (Tokyo: Nōson gyoson bunka kyōkai, 1979), p. 150.

[5]Akiyama, p. 191.

[6]Itō R., pp. 150-53.

[7]Nishikawa, p. 80.

[8]Itō R., p. 158.

[9]Takamure, Takamure zenshū, vol. 8: Zen shishū, nichigetsu no ue ni [Collected poems, above the sun and moon), p. 159. I am indebted to Hagiwara Takao for his assistance in translation.

[10]Nishikawa, p. 82. Also see Itō R., pp. 166-67. Koto Kanno, Ph.D. student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Toronto, analyzes these concepts thoroughly in "Takamure Itsue and Her Decision to Embark Upon the Matriarchal Systems Research," paper presented at the Canadian Asian Studies Association Conference, Halifax, N. S., May 1981, pp. 4-5, 8-9, 15.

[11]Takamure, Takamure zenshū, vol. 7: Hyōronshū: ren'ai sōsei [Collection of critiques: Genesis of love], p. 10.

[12]Idem, "Ika ni ai subeki ka: ren'ai to sonkei" [How should [we] love?: love and respect], in Fujin undō no jissen daimoku [A practical discussion of the women's movement], ed. Joseishi kenkyūkai (Tokyo: Joseishi kenkyūkai, 1974), pp.

1-10. This article was originally published in the January 1929 edition of Fujin kōron [Women's forum]. It has been included in Takamure zenshū 7:320-24. This source will hereafter be referred to as Fujin undō no jissen. I am indebted to E. Patricia Tsurumi for making this valuable source accessible to me.

[13]Idem, "Ren'ai to kyōken" [Love and authoritarianism], Fujin undō no jissen, pp. 38-43. This article was originally published in the May 1929 edition of Kuroiro sensen [Black front].

[14]Idem, "Ren'ai to seiyoku" [Love and sexual desire], Takamure zenshū, 7:283. The original publication date is given as 1931.

[15]Ellen Key, Love and Marriage, trans. Arthur G. Chater (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1911), p. 129.

[16]Ellen Key, "The Right of Motherhood," in The Woman Question, ed. T. R. Smith (New York: Modern Library, 1919), p. 130.

[17]Takamure, "Ren'ai to seiyoku," Takamure zenshū, 7:286.

[18]Maurice Mandelbaum, History, Man and Reason (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), p. 320.

[19]Takamure, "Nihon no fujin to ai no kokoro" [Japanese women and the heart of love], Takamure zenshū, 7:337. The original publication date is given as "approximately 1927."

[20]Idem, "Shintō to jiyū ren'ai" [Shinto and free love], Takamure Itsue ronshū [Collection of essays on Takamure Itsue], ed. Takamure Itsue ronshū henshū iinkai (Tokyo: Takamure Itsue ronshū henshū iinkai, 1979), p. 192. (Distributed by J. C. A. shuppan.) This article was originally published in the 6 December 1931 edition of Fujo shimbun [Women's newspaper]. The essay collection will hereafter be referred to as T. ronshū.

[21]Idem, "Ika ni," Fujin undō no jissen, pp. 3-6.

[22]Idem, "Bijinron: tokai hiteiron no ichi" [The theory of human beauty: denial of the city theory, part one], Takamure zenshū, 7:288-89. The original publication date is given as 1930.

[23]Ibid., p. 294.

[24]Ibid., pp. 288-89.

[25]Idem, "Yo no buotoko jūjo ni ataeo: bishū ronsōron" [Impact on the ugly men and women of the world: theory on beauty], Fujin undō no jissen, p. 23. This article was originally published in the April 1929 edition of Fujin kōron.

[26]Idem, "Ren'ai to kyōken," Fujin undō no jissen, pp. 42-43.

[27]Itō R., p. 160.

[28]Yamakawa Kikue was married to leftist leader Yamakawa Hitoshi. He was the editor of many radical journals, including Shakaishugi kenkyū [Study of socialism], the unofficial organ of leftwing socialism in the post-World War I period. Included in Hitoshi's many leftist activities was his instrumental role in forming the Japan Socialist League in 1920, and in 1922 the Japanese Communist Party, which he directed for two years.

CHAPTER 3 — NOTES

[1]To accustom the reader to differentiate between Yamakawa Kikue and Yamakawa Hitoshi, the noted leftist leader who was also her husband, she will sometimes be referred to as Kikue in the following discussion of the debate with Takamure Itsue.

Much of the material concerning the Yamakawa Kikue-Takamure Itsue debate is based on the following:

(1) Takamure Itsue, "Musan kaikyū to fujin: tsutsushinde Yamakawa Kikue joshi ni tatematsuru" [The proletarian class and women: respectfully addressing Ms. Yamakawa Kikue] in Fujin undō no tan'itsu taikei [A simple system for the women's movement], ed. Joseishi kenkyūkai (Tokyo: Joseishi kenkyūkai, 1975), pp. 51-69. This will hereafter be cited as "Musan kaikyū," Fujin undō no tan'itsu. This article was originally published in the March 1928 edition of Fujin undō [Women's movement]. I am indebted to E. Patricia Tsurumi for making this valuable source accessible to me.

(2) Idem, "Yamakawa Kikue shi no ren'aikan o nanzu" [A critique of Yamakawa Kikue's concept of love], Fujin undō no tan'itsu, pp. 70-84. This will hereafter be cited as "Yamakawa no ren'aikan," Fujin undō no tan'itsu. This article was originally published in the May 1928 edition of Fujin kōron.

(3) Idem, "Fumareta inu ga hoeru: futatabi Yamakawa Kikue ni" [The trampled dog howls: addressing Yamakawa Kikue once again], Fujin undō no tan'itsu, pp. 85-100. Hereafter

it will be cited as "Fumareta," Fujin undō no tan'itsu. This article was originally published in the July 1928 edition of Fujin kōron.

The above three, plus six other Takamure articles dealing with politically related themes, were published primarily in magazines in the late 1920s. These periodicals included Nyonin geijutsu [Women and art], Chūō kōron [Central forum], and Tokyo asahi shimbun, a Tokyo daily newspaper.

Also see Akiyama Kiyoshi, pp. 44-82. In addition to outlining and analyzing (2) and (3) listed above, he goes through a similar process for Yamakawa's "Keihintsuki tokkahin toshite no onna" [Women as bargain goods with a premium] and "Doguma kara deta yūrei: Takamure Itsue shi shin hakken no marukusu shugi shakai ni tsuite" [An apparition emerged from dogma: concerning the new discovery of Takamure Itsue, Marxist society], published in the January and June 1928 editions, respectively, of Fujin kōron. Akiyama also discusses the article (published in Fujin kōron, September 1928) and role of critic Hirabayashi Taiko in the debate.

For further discussion of the debate see Oka Mitsuo, Fujin zasshi jānarizumu [The journalism of women's magazines] (Tokyo: Gendai jānarizumu shuppankai, 1981), pp. 114-18. Oka lists Takamure's Fujin undō no jissen daimoku and Fujin undō no tan'itsu taikei among his sources on page 240.

Finally, see Itō Ryōko, pp. 170-72.

[2]Akiyama, pp. 48-50.

[3]Oka, p. 115.

[4]Takamure, "Yamakawa no ren'aikan," Fujin undō no tan'itsu, p. 81.

[5]Akiyama, p. 62.

[6]Ibid., p. 75.

[7]Ibid., p. 77. Akiyama took this quote from Hi no kuni no onna no nikki [Diary of a woman from the land of fire], Takamure zenshū, vol. 10; unfortunately, he does not include the page number.

[8]Takamure, "Fumareta," Fujin undō no tan'itsu, p. 90.

[9]Ibid., p. 94.

[10]Ibid., p. 97.

[11]Idem, Takamure zenshū, 7:127-28.

[12]Idem, "Shin joseishugi no teishō: kekkon seido to kyōken kyōka" [The advocacy of new feminism: The institution of marriage and authoritarian culture], in Taishō shisōshū, ed. Kanō Masanao, Kindai Nihon shisō taikei 34 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1977), 2:371. This essay was originally published in the June 1926 edition of Kaihō [Emancipation]. This new magazine, along with Kaizō [Reconstruction], both of which began in 1919, is usually associated with the spread of Marxist ideas.

[13]Idem, "Musan kaikyū," Fujin undō no tan'itsu, pp. 51-52.

[14]Ibid., pp. 59-60.

[15]Idem, "Fumareta," Fujin undō no tan'itsu, p. 91.

[16]Idem, "Fujin undō no tan'itsu taikei no shin teishō" [New advocacy of a simple system for the women's movement], Fujin undō no tan'itsu, pp. 28-30. It will hereafter be referred to as "Fujin shin teishō," Fujin undō no tan'itsu. This article was originally published in the January 1929 edition of Fujin undō.

[17]Idem, "Musan kaikyū," Fujin undō no tan'itsu, p. 62.

[18]Irving L. Horowitz, ed., The Anarchists (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1964), p. 15.

[19]Takamure, "Fumareta," Fujin undō no tan'itsu, p. 89.

[20]Ibid., p. 87.

[21]Ibid., p. 89.

[22]Takamure zenshū, 10:236.

[23]Akiyama, pp. 164-65.

[24]See Nishikawa, p. 92. For details on anarchists Michael Bakunin (1814-1876) and Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921), see Horowitz, pp. 120-21, 145.

[25]Itō, R., pp. 173-75.

[26]Takamure zenshū, 10:196.

[27]Idem, "Fumareta," Fujin undō no tan'itsu, p. 87. The concept of boseishugi was very important in Takamure's later research as well. It was a rich concept, the development of which became apparent in the 600-page first volume of her collected works, Bokeisei no kenkyū, originally published in 1938.

[28]Idem, "Fujin shin teishō," Fujin undō no tan'itsu, pp. 26-27. For a historiographical discussion of buraku, see Irokawa Daikichi, "The Survival Struggle of the Japanese Community," Japan Interpreter 9 (Spring 1975): 466-94.

[29]Henry DeWitt Smith II, Japan's First Student Radicals (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), pp. 83-84 passim, 133-34.

[30]Margit M. Nagy, "'How Shall We Live?': Social Change, the Family Institution and Feminism in Prewar Japan" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1981), p. 62.

[31]Takamure, "Fujin shin teishō," Fujin undō no tan'itsu, pp. 21-22.

[32]Hani Setsuko, The Japanese Family System as Seen from the Standpoint of Japanese Women (Tokyo: International Publishing Co., 1948), p. 5.

For a re-examination of the People's Rights Movement (jiyū minken undō) of the 1870s-1880s, which stresses its endorsement of active political participation by women through the efforts of Ueki Emori, political adviser to oligarch Itagaki Taisuke, and Nakajima Toshiko, "who embodied the government's worst fears about women in politics," see Nagy, pp. 19-25.

[33]Dee Ann Vavich, "The Japanese Woman's Movement: Ichikawa Fusae, a Pioneer in Woman's Suffrage," Monumenta Nipponica 22 (1967): 408-10. Seitō, the literary-feminist group, will be discussed at the end of Chapter 4. For further discussion of suffrage issues among others by Yamakawa Kikue, Hiratsuka Raichō, Atsuno Akiko and Yamada Waka, see Kōuchi Nobuko, "Bosei hogo ronsō" [Controversy over the protection of motherhood], Rekishi hyōron [Historical review] (November 1966), cited in Maruoka Hideko, Fujin shisō keisei shi noto [Notes on the history of the formation of women's thought] (Tokyo: Kabushiki gaisha domesu shuppan, 1975), pp. 106-8.

[34]Kamichika Ichiko, "Japanese Women Enfranchised," Contemporary Japan 24 (1956): 104-5. See also Nagy, pp. 68-69, 113.

[35]Vavich, pp. 415-18.

[36]George O. Totten, "Labor and Agrarian Disputes in Japan Following World War I," Economic Development and Cultural Change 9 supp. (October 1960): 188.

[37]Idem, The Social and Democratic Movement in Prewar Japan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 155-56.

[38]For further details see John H. Boyle, "The Role of the Radical Left Wing in the Japanese Suffrage Movement," Studies on Asia (1965): 85-86.

[39]Ibid.: 86-88.

[40]Ibid.: 92-93.

[41]Itō, R., p. 163.

[42]George M. Beckmann, "The Radical Left and the Failure of Communism," in Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan, ed. James W. Morley (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 150.

[43]Totten, The Social and Democratic, pp. 54-62 passim, 63.

[44]Takamure, "Fusen to fujin: hitotsu no tachiba kara no kenkai" [Suffrage and women: one viewpoint], Fujin undō no tan'itsu, pp. 38-40. This article was originally published in Tokyo asahi shimbun, 7-10 February 1928. For further discussion of women and suffrage see Totten, The Social and Democratic, pp. 360-63.

[45]Ibid., p. 42.

[46]Ibid., pp. 48-49.

[47]Takamure, "Fujin undō no jissen daimoku," [A practical discussion of the women's movement], Fujin undō no jissen, pp. 120-21. This article was originally published in the January 1930 edition of Fujin undō. It will hereafter be cited as "Fujin undō no jissen," Fujin undō no jissen. I am indebted to E. Patricia Tsurumi for making this valuable source accessible to me.

Stuart Dowsey describes the four main proletarian parties in 1925 as: (1) the right-wing Shakai Minshutō [Social Democratic Party], including a Sōdōmei [Japanese Federation of Labor] union representative; (2) Nihon Nōmintō [Japan Farmers' Party], with rural support, of necessity conservative; (3) Nihon Rōnotō [Japan Labor Farmer Party], in the center, including labor leaders and intellectuals; and (4) Rōdō Nōmintō [Labor-Farmer Party] under Communist control. See Stuart J. Dowsey, ed., Zengakuren: Japan's Revolutionary Students (Berkeley: Ishi Press, 1970), p. 25.

[48]Idem,"Fujin undō no jissen," Fujin undō no jissen, pp. 125-26.

[49]Ibid., pp. 129-33.

CHAPTER 4 — NOTES

[1]Nishikawa, p. 80.

[2]Ibid., pp. 87-88.

[3]Itō R., pp. 176-77.

[4]Nishikawa, p. 80. She lists the following references which note the existence of Fujin sensen: (1) the collected works of Takamure Itsue, volumes 7 [pp. 281-344] and 10 [occasional references]; (2) the autobiography of Hiratuka Raichō; and (3) Akiyama Kiyoshi's Jiyū onna ronsō (see Ch. 3, note 1).

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ken Miyamoto, "Itō Noe and the Bluestockings," Japan Interpreter 9 (Autumn 1975), p. 192.

[7]Akiyama, p. 160.

[8]Nishikawa, pp. 86-87.

[9]Ibid., pp. 94-95.

[10]Nagy, pp. 41-43.

[11]Takamure, Takamure zenshū, "Katei hiteiron" [Theory on the denial of the family], 7:297-99.

[12]Akiyama, p. 173.

[13]Jō Natsuko, "Fujin sensen no hitobito" [The members of Women's front], in Uzumoreta josei anakisuto: Takamure Itsue to Fujin sensen [Buried female anarchists: Takamure Itsue and Women's front] (Tokyo: Shisō no kagakusha, 1976), p. 5. This publication will hereafter be cited as Uzumoreta josei. The other members of this initial group are cited as: Nakamura Shizuko, Kawaguchi Harue, and Akizuki Shizuko.

[14]Ibid., p. 4.

[15]Akiyama, p. 159.

[16]Nishikawa, p. 85. She lists the remaining seven founding members of the PWAL: Ifukube Keiko, Nomura Takako, Futagami Eiko, Yarita Sadako, Takeuchi Teruyo, Nozoe Masuguri, and Midori Shizue.

[17]Kakinuma Miyuki, "Yaki Akiko: Japanese Anarchist,"

Feminist International, no. 2 (1980), pp. 35-36.

[18]Uzumoreta josei, pp. 48-49. Also see an article by Akiyama Kiyoshi in which he reminisces about Yagi, pp. 37-46.

[19]Nagy, p. 60.

[20]Ibid., p. 54.

[21]Nancy Andrew, "The Seitōsha: An Early Japanese Women's Organization, 1911-16," Harvard University East Asian Research Center, Papers on Japan (1972), p. 45.

[22]Ibid., p. 53.

[23]Nishikawa, pp. 84-85.

[24]Uzumoreta josei, p. 48.

[25]Maruoka, 1:169.

[26]Nihon shakai undō jinmei jiten [Biographical dictionary of Japanese social movements], 1979 ed., s.v. "Matsumoto, Masae." This will hereafter be cited as Nihon shakai.

[27]Uzumoreta josei, pp. 57, 58, 62. See pp. 47-62 for the complete 16-issue table of contents of Fujin sensen.

[28]Ibid., p. 6.

[29]Nihon shakai, s.v. "Nobushima, Eiichi."

[30]Uzumoreta josei, pp. 48, 49.

[31]Nihon shakai, s.v. "Ishikawa, Sanshirō." Also see Leftwing Social Movements in Japan (An Annotated Bibliography), 1959 ed., s.v. "Shiryō Nihon shakai undō shisōshi."

[32]Nishikawa, p. 92.

[33]Itō, R., p. 175.

[34]Akiyama, p. 172.

[35]From the end of 1930, Kaihōsha also published Kaihō sensen [Liberation front], edited by Nobushima Eiichi, referred to earlier. See Uzumoreta josei, pp. 63-67, for the table of contents of this magazine, which was published from October 1930 to February 1931.

[36]Nishikawa, p. 91.

[37]Itō, R., pp. 175-76.

[38]Takamure Itsue, "Fujin sensen ni tatsu" [Upon the foundation of Women's front] (Tokyo, Joseishi kenkyukai, n.d.), pp. 78-79, cited in Itō, R., p. 176.

[39]Nishikawa, pp. 89-90.

[40]Ibid., p. 90.

[41]Review of Josei 2,600 nenshi [History of women through 2,600 years], by Itsuyé Takamura [sic], in Contemporary Japan 9, April 1940, p. 489.

[42]Takamure, "Fujin sensen ni tatsu," cited in Akiyama, pp. 173-74.

[43]Nishikawa, p. 83-84.

[44]Andrew, p. 55.

[45]Miyamoto, pp. 196-98.

[46]Akiyama, pp. 175-76.

[47]Takamure, "Fujin sensen ni tatsu," in Onna no eros [Woman's erotica] (Tokyo: Shakai hyōronsha, 1973), p. 144.

[48]Akiyama, p. 78.

CHAPTER 5 — NOTES

[1]For a detailed discussion of the Yamakawa-Takamure debate see Chapter 3, pp. 24-36.

[2]Kanō Masanao and Horiba Kiyoko, Takamure Itsue, Asahi hyōdensen, no. 15 (Tokyo: Asahi shimbunsha, 1977) will hereafter be referred to as Kanō and Horiba when abbreviated. As I had the opportunity to meet this husband-and-wife team at Waseda University in the spring of 1980, I was left with the distinct impression that their work, Takamure Itsue, was a joint effort, and accordingly should be recognized as such. Referring to Kanō and Horiba in this manner will also distinguish them from both Koto Kanno and Kanō Mikiyo.

[3]Ibid., pp. 157, 160. A detailed chart of the works and original publication information covering all of these controversies is provided by Kanō and Horiba on pp. 158-59.

[pp. 68-72]

Kamichika Ichiko (1888-?) was one of the founders of Nyonin geijutsu (see Ch. 4, p. 50). In 1935, with her husband Suzuki Atsushi, she published another women's magazine, Fujin bungei (Women's literature). Later known as a social critic, Kamichika became a member of the House of Representatives from April 1953. For further details see Nihon shakai, s.v. "Kamichika, Ichiko."

Hayashi Fusao (1903-1975) was one of the founders of Gakuren (The students' federation) in 1924. At approximately the same time he published a magazine called Marxism. He later wrote for Bungei sensen (Literary front) and was associated with several literary, proletarian, and communist groups throughout the 1920s; he was sometimes imprisoned for his activities. In 1936 Hayashi is said to have become an ultra-nationalist. For further details see Nihon shakai, s.v. "Hayashi, Fusao," and Smith, pp. 247, 255-57.

For details on Alexandra Kollontai see Nagy, p. 84. Nagy describes Kollontai (1872-1952) as "a Russian feminist, writer, and the first female Soviet diplomat to become an accredited minister to a foreign country. Her novel Love of the worker bees (translated into English as Free love and into Japanese as Red love) was very popular in late Taishō-early Shōwa Japan. . . . see Alix Holt, trans., Selected Writings of Alexandra Kollontai (Westport, Conn.: Lawrence Hill and Co., 1971)." Kollontai's Japanese translator was Yamakawa Kikue, who in 1925 completed work on Women and the family system (see Nagy, p. 61.)

[4]Kanō and Horiba, p. 160.

[5]Ibid., p. 159.

[6]San-in shimbun, 22 October 1926, Shimbun shūroku Taishōshi, 14: 373, cited in Nagy, p. 170.

[7]Kanō and Horiba, p. 158.

[8]Takamure, "Fumareta," (see Ch. 3, note 1, part 3), cited in Kanō and Horiba, p. 160.

[9]Akiyama, p. 80.

[10]Hirabayashi Taiko (1905-1972) made her writing debut in 1927 with a short story in a magazine of proletarian literature called Bungei sensen. As a member of the Labour-Farmer Alliance, she was imprisoned in connection with the Popular Front case of 1938. She was married to writer Kobori Jinji.

[11]Akiyama, pp. 81-82.

[12]Ibid., pp. 164-65.

[13]Morosawa, p. 241.

[14]Akiyama, p. 165. Also see Takamure zenshū, 10:236-37.

[15]Ibid., p. 162.

[16]Ibid., p. 161.

[17]Ibid., pp. 165-66.

[18]Ibid., p. 158.

[19]Setouchi, "Nichigetsu futari," Bungei tembō, no. 7 (Autumn 1974), p. 425.

[20]Murakami, Kindaishi, p. 191.

[21]Akiyama, p. 162.

[22]Kanō Mikiyo, "Takamure Itsue to kōkoku shikan" (Takamure Itsue and her historical view of the Japanese empire), T. ronshū, p. 181.

[23]Ibid, p. 187.

[24]Kanō and Horiba, p. 160.

[25]Ibid., pp. 161-62.

[26]Ibid., p. 169.

[27]Ibid., pp. 171-72.

[28]Kanō Mikiyo, pp. 181.

[29]Toyama Shigeki and others, Shōwashi (History of the Shōwa period), rev. ed. (Tokyo, 1959), pp. 110-11, cited in William D. Wray, "Asō Hisashi and the Search for Renovations in the 1930s," Harvard University East Asian Research Center, Papers on Japan (1970), p. 56.

[30]Wray, p. 56.

[31]Miki Kiyoshi, "The China Affair and Japanese Thought," Contemporary Japan 6 (March 1938), p. 602.

[32]For further details on issues of "ideological conversion" see Richard H. Mitchell, Thought Control in Prewar Japan (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1976) for a useful account of the legal and administrative techniques of

thought control, and Tsurumi Kazuko, Social Change and the Individual: Japan Before and After Defeat in World War II (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1970). An excellent Japanese source is Shisō no kagaku kenkyūkai, ed., Tenkō (Ideological conversion), 3 vols. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1959).

[33]Hiyama Yukio, "Takamure Itsue," Rekishi kōron [Historical review] (December 1979), p. 116.

[34]Josei nisen, p. 488.

[35]Ibid., p. 490.

[36]Nakayama Aiko, "Tensai onna shijin to naijo no otto no ai ga uchitateta joseishi no kagayaku kinjitō" [The brilliant monumental work on women's history created by the love between a genius female poet and her helpmate husband], in Jiritsu shita onna no eiko [The glory of independent women] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1980), p. 133.

[37]Hiyama, p. 116. When the Greater Japan Women's Association was organized in June 1941, all married women of twenty or over were automatically made members. Publication of Nihon fujin was initiated five months later. Within a year of the association's establishment, it is said to have had about two million members, organized into neighbourhood associations (tonari gumi). Dai Nihon fujinkai worked for service to the Japanese empire, society and the family. Kanō Mikiyo points out that until the end of the Pacific War, Nihon fujin [Japanese women] was one of only four women's magazines which were allowed to continue publication. For further details see Kanō Mikiyo, p. 190.

[38]Fujo shimbun will hereafter be referred to as Fujo when abbreviated.

[39]Kanō Mikiyo, pp. 183-84. For an invaluable source of information on Takamure's thought during the wartime years, see the twenty rediscovered shiryō [source materials] written by Takamure at the back of this essay collection, Takamure Itsue ronshū. For "Peace and women" see pp. 196-99. It was originally published in the 31 January and 7 February 1932 editions of Fujo shimbun.

[40]Tadokoro Teruaki (1900-1934), an earlier disciple of leftist Yamakawa Hitoshi, helped him set up Zen'eisha (Vanguard society), which established a Marxist guiding principle for the proletarian movement to distinguish it from anarchism. He was arrested in the first mass Communist arrest (1923) and imprisoned for two years. In 1926, he participated in the Japan Labour-Farmer Party organized by

Asō Hisashi. When the proletarian parties were amalgamated into the Social Mass Party (1932) he became one of its leaders. For further details see Japan Biographical Encyclopedia and Who's Who, 2 vols., 3d ed., 1964-65, s.v. "Tadokoro, Teruaki." This work will hereafter be abbreviated as Japan Biographical.

[41]Kanō Mikiyo, p. 184. Also see "Fasshoka no keikō o kō miru" [Views on the trend towards fascistization], in T. ronshū, p. 199. It was originally published in the May 1932 edition of Hito no uwasa [People's rumours].

[42]Ibid., pp. 184-85.

[43]Ibid., p. 185. Both Sano and Nabeyama were appointed by the Comintern in 1927 to the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party. They were arrested in April 1929 and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1932. After an exchange of ideas while in prison, they issued a joint statement of their "ideological conversion" in June 1933. In 1934 their sentences were reduced to fifteen years. For details see Tsurumi Kazuko, pp. 46-52, and George M. Beckmann and Okubo Genji, The Japanese Communist Party 1922-1945 (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press, 1969), pp. 245-50.

[44]Takabatake Michitoshi, "Ikkoku shakai shugisha — Sano Manabu, Nabeyama Sadachika" [One-state socialists: Sano Manabu and Nabeyama Sadachika], in Tenkō, 1:164-65.

[45]For further examples of Takamure's wartime stance see her following articles in T. ronshū: "Nemmatsu no shukufuku" [The year-end blessing], pp. 194-95 (originally published in the 24 December 1931 edition of Fujo) and "Nihon seishin ni tsuite" [Concerning the spirit of Japan], pp. 205-8 (originally published in the 12 August 1934 edition of Fujo). Also see Morosawa, pp. 242-43.

[46]Akiyama, p. 168.

[47]Takamure, "Onozukara imashimu" [Self-admonishment], in T. ronshū, pp. 200-201. It was originally published in the 3 July 1932 edition of Fujo shimbun.

[48]Idem, "Shin shina kensetsu to Nihon no fujin" [The building of new China and Japanese women] in T. ronshū, p. 218. It was originally published in the April 1940 edition of Josei tenbō [Women's viewpoint]. For a discussion of the problem of overseas prostitutes from approximately the middle of the nineteenth century, including the Japanese and Korean women the Japanese troops took with them as "R-and-R girls" (ianfu), see Yamazaki Tomoko, "Sandakan No. 8 Brothel,"

Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars (October-December 1975), pp. 52-60.

[49]Morosawa, p. 242. For a discussion of why some Japanese writers were allowed to publish critical work in the 1930s, see Ben-ami Shillony, Politics and Culture in Wartime Japan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

[50]R. P. Dore, Land Reform in Japan (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 56-57.

[51]Ibid., p. 61.

[52]Thomas R. H. Havens, Farm and Nation in Modern Japan: Agrarian Nationalism, 1870-1940 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), p. 7.

[53]Kawakami Hajime, "Nihon sonnōron [Respecting Japanese agriculture], Kyoyūken bunko, ed. Yokoi Tokiyoshi (June 1904), p. 166; cited in Havens, p. 119. For a detailed biographical sketch of Kawakami, see Beckmann and Okubo, p. 369.

[54]Havens, pp. 9-10.

[55]Ibid., pp. 129-31. For further details on Yokota's life, see Havens, p. 121.

[56]Naimushō keihokyoku [Ministry of home affairs, Police bureau], comp., Shakai undō no jokyo [The current state of social movements, 1934], p. 323; cited in Itō Takashi, "The Role of Right-Wing Organizations in Japan, in Pearl Harbor as History, ed. Dorothy Borg and Okamoto Shumpei, trans. Okamoto Shumpei (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), p. 490.

[57]Takekazu Ogura, ed., Agricultural Development in Modern Japan, 2d ed. (Tokyo: Fuji Publishing Co., 1968), p. 28; cited in Havens, pp. 135-36.

[58]Havens, pp. 138-39.

[59]Ibid., p. 11.

[60]Dore, p. 91.

[61]William T. de Bary, Tsunoda Ryūsuke, and Donald Keene, eds., Sources of the Japanese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 769.

[62]Maruyama Masao, "The Ideology and Dynamics of Japanese Fascism," in Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese

Politics, ed. Ivan Morris, trans. Andrew Fraser (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 40. Maruyama also points out Gondō's role as an adviser (along with Kanokogi Kazunobu), to Shimonaka Yasaburō, who set up the New Japan National League in 1932. Much of Itsue's early anarchistic thought has been attributed to her association with Shimonaka. For further details see p. 31. (One wonders if Gondō and Takamure ever had the opportunity to meet through their mutual acquaintance, Shimonaka.)

[63]Havens, pp. 194-95.

[64]Gondō Seikei, Jichi minpan [People's guide to self-rule], 2d ed. (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1932), p. 4; cited in Havens, p. 195.

[65]Ibid., p. 195; cited in Havens, p. 195.

[66]Havens, p. 200.

[67]Ibid., pp. 184-87.

[68]Ibid., p. 228.

[69]Nishikawa, p. 92.

[70]Itō R., pp. 148-49.

[71]Ibid.

[72]Sugada Masaaki, "Bokeisei to kyōdōtai," [The matriarchal system and communities], T. ronshū, p. 132.

[73]Kanō Mikiyo, pp. 185-86.

[74]The Kojiki [Chronicle of ancient times] is considered to be the oldest existing history of Japan, compiled in 712 by Ono Yasumaro by order of Empress Regent Gemmei. The Kojiki covers the period from creation to the reign of Empress Regent Suiko (r. 592-628). The Kojikiden [Commentary on the Kojiki] is an annotated edition of the Kojiki, which the scholar Motoori Norinaga worked on for thirty-five years. It is said to contain "all his thoughts, views, and doctrines," including evidence of the uxorilocal marriage system in ancient Japan compared with the virilocal marriage system in China. For further details see Japan Biographical, s.v. "Kojiki," "Kojikiden." Motoori Norinaga was a scholar who also was known by the psudonym Suzunoya. As his father went bankrupt, he was educated by his mother, who made arrangements for him to study Confucianism and medicine. He later became interested in Japanese classics. and with great determination published his Kojikiden. For further details, see Japan

Biographical, s.v. "Motoori, Norinaga," and Matsumoto Shigeru, Motoori Norinaga (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 2-5, 63-67, 186-88.

[75]Takamure zenshū, vol. 10, page number not cited in Sugada, pp. 132-33.

[76]Kanō Mikiyo, p. 186.

[77]Takamure zenshū, 10:245.

[78]Murakami, Kindaishi, p. 187.

[79]Takamure zenshū, 10:245.

[80]Murakami, Asahi, 18 June 1973, p. 12.

[81]Sugada, p. 109.

[82]Comment of Kanō Masanao in Ibid., p. 132.

[83]Kanō Mikiyo, p. 186.

[84]Sugada, p. 133. Hieda-no-are was the first contributor of Japanese folklore; her work later became the text of the Kojiki, which is believed to have been compiled in 712.

[85]Haga Noboru, Motoori Norinaga (Tokyo: Maki shoten, 1965), p. 13; cited in Kanno Koto, p. 11.

[86]Kanō Mikiyo, p. 186.

[87]Hiraga Gennai has been described as a "prolific mind" who was known for his "critical way of thinking which was still unacceptable in the secluded Japanese society of his time." He was known also as the first Japanese to experiment with electricity. Other pursuits included mining in Chichibu (Saitama prefecture) and operating a shipping line on the Arakawa River. For further details see Japan Encyclopedia, s.v. "Hiraga, Gennai."

[88]Takamure, "Shintō to jiyū," T. ronshū, p. 192.

[89]Masuho Zankō (1655-1742) was a Shinto priest who originally served the Konoe family in Kyoto but late in life became the head priest of the Asahimyōjin Shrine in Kyoto. Through a unique synthesis of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, he found a new way to preach the tenets of Shinto to the common people. For further details see Japan Biographical, s.v. "Masuho, Zankō."

[90]Takamure, "Shintō to jiyū," T. ronshū, pp. 192-93.

[91]Idem, "Gekka ni — shi, shūkyō, sono hoka o omou" [In the moonlight, thinking about death, religion, and other things], T. ronshū, pp. 203-4. This was originally published in the 5 August 1934 edition of Fujo shimbun.

[92]Idem, "Kamigokoro" [The heart of gods], T. ronshū, p. 254. This was originally published in the August 1944 edition of Nihon fujin.

[93]Sugada, p. 133.

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