

Feminism and Nationalism in Japan, 1868–1945

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In this paper I intend to roughly describe the relationship between feminism and nationalism from 1868 to 1945 in Japan. Generally two aspects are involved. One is how the modern state integrates women both in the process of unifying nations and in the process of establishing the nation-state. The other is how women respond to such national policies as mother's role, as well as how women insist on their citizenship and their liberation in connection with the state.

The relationship between these two factors, therefore, presents different ways of building a modern state. In addition, the quality of nationalism is also different, because nationalism has three elements, that is, the stress on the power of the state, the stress on people's rights and the stress on the right to independence of the nation¹. From the standpoint of feminism, the relationship between feminism and nationalism has a fundamental effect on the quality of the nation.

In the 1850s–1860s around the end of the feudal period in Japan, “Tokugawa Bakufu”, the central government faced three main difficulties. One was the strong pressure from foreign powers to open the state, second was the wideranging people's movement for various kinds of demands, the third the conflicts among the “han”, the regional governments. In the process of dealing with the western powers several powerful “han”s

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(Choshu, Satsuma etc.) took over the leadership (1868, the Meiji Restoration) and carried out administrative unification. The most important task for the new government was to prevent Japan from becoming a semi-colonized country like China. By warding off powerful western countries, they aimed to attain an equal footing with them, and to transform Japan not only into an industrial, but also a great military power. The new political leaders intended to achieve these aims as rapidly as possible and to set up a constitution based on the sovereignty of the emperor. A series of reforms were carried out from above. The government stressed national power as well as the maintenance of the independence of the nation in the process of forming the modern state. It did not want government of the people, by the people, for the people.

Against the oligarchs of the government struggled the People's Rights (Freedom) Movement from the 1870s to 1880s. This movement was composed both of ex-samurai activists (shizoku) and the wealthy peasant class (gono) in the first half, to which lower-class farmers later joined. They organized the regional society and petitioned the government for the opening of the diet. In addition, their most valuable activity was the drawing up total of over forty drafts of the constitution, which included a republican form of government and the founding of the first political party in Japan. With their suppression, the government enacted, in the form of gift from the emperor, a Constitution (1889), which provided for the sovereignty of the emperor on the one hand and restriction of people's right. The elective national assembly opened in the following year. The government began to try to unify people's sense of values as well as national spirit (Imperial Rescript on Education, 1890) rather than cultivate individual qualities of independence and self-reliance. The main points of this uniform value system were loyalty to the emperor and filial piety to parents.

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Loyalty had the priority. These virtues were fostered through education and the following ideology; the state was like a family with the emperor as the father figure.

It is characteristic of Japanese nationalism that almost all the people had in common the drive for national equality and respect. This drive was realized and partially accelerated through two subsequent wars, the Sino-Japan War (1894-95) and the Russo-Japan War (1904-05). Japan thus joined the western imperial powers. After colonizing Taiwan and Korea, centralized national power and a sense of superiority to Asian countries became widespread. This condition was maintained at least till 1945. On the other hand progressive values such as individualism and liberalism were on the rise with the development of industrialization and the advance of education. They formed the tradition of democracy in pre-war Japan.

I want to focus on women who joined the People's Rights Movement and analyze the relationship between women's citizenship and national power. Not a few women including teen-age girls and married women or widows in their fifties joined the political meetings held in almost all districts in Japan, and gave speeches, and also organized political meetings and societies for women's right.² Their origins were mainly of the samurai class, while others' were from the merchant class and wealthy farmer or peasant class. A few women were imprisoned. At the same time the central government was establishing the Constitution, it was also prohibiting women's political activities including attendance at, or convening of political meetings (1890) and the right to vote at every level (1888, 1889).

I want to look at some women activists. Kusunose Kita, a widow in her forties in Tosa in Shikoku island, the district where the movement

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was the most active, appealed to the Home Office as well as the local government, insisting that if a woman, the head of household, had a duty as a land-tax payer, she should also have the right to vote in a local election and the right of guarantor in a contract (1878).³ Kishida Toshiko (1861-1901), who was married and divorced after serving as a court lady, gave fascinating speeches at a number of political meetings held in the western part of Japan. She was the first woman in Japan to speak out against inequality of the sexes. She insisted that women were not inferior to men, and that women's lack of confidence originated from the traditional education for females.⁴ She was imprisoned. Kageyama Hideko (1865-1927), a member of the society for women's rights founded in Okayama prefecture in 1882, was also imprisoned as a criminal of state affairs. She passionately insisted on equal diplomatic relationship with other powers.⁵ As a real patriot and nationalist she was called the Joan of Arc of the Orient.

Shimizu Toyoko (1868-1933) joined the movement after her divorce and appealed for women's right to observe the diet and attend political meetings. Her opinion was based on the idea that a constitutional government should be formed by the people regardless of sex.⁶ On the other hand she stressed woman's subjectivity as wife and mother rather than their political rights.⁷ Ogashiwa Dai, a poor peasant married woman, joined the movement as a messenger in Chichibu, a rural district in Saitama prefecture, fighting for the cancellation of tenants' debts (1884).⁸

In general, women's demands in the People's Rights Movement may be classified into two parts, the demand for political rights as well as citizenship and the demand for improvement of women's status at home. The demand for political rights involves two aspects. There were not a few women of samurai class or of the wealthy farmer class interested in

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politics during the period of radical change from the 1860s to the 1880s in Japan. Some of them took part in the anti-Bakufu movement. Not only girls, but married women, who were motivated at political meetings in the People's Rights Movement, had a strong desire to work for the sake of the nation. Kageyama, a teen-age giri, is typical of these women. Her concern was only about how Japan could maintain its independence as a nation. She did not claim women's right to attend, or convene political meetings until she published a weekly magazine titled *Women in the World* (Sekai Fujin 1. 1907-7. 1909),⁹ as she struggled to survive with four children (a child of her lover, a famous activist of the People's Rights Movement, three children of her dead husband), while some of her male colleagues from the movement had been elected as members of the parliament. After she became familiar with socialism, she wrote in 1912 that women could not be liberated without the elimination of class, though earlier women's movement aimed to make women's status equal to men.¹⁰ Although her main concern seems to remain national affairs, she was freed from patriotism. The contrast in aims of women activist are demonstrated by Kageyama, who founded woman's vocational school to enable woman to realize independence¹¹ and Kishida, who insisted on home education to produce good wives and mothers equal to their husbands.¹²

Shimizu Toyoko and another woman appealed for political rights from the point of view that a constitutional government should be composed by the people regardless of sex. But, according to her way of thinking it was more important for women to be independent from their husbands' control at home than getting political rights.¹³ When the government prohibited any political rights for woman, she finally understood it was simply on the basis of their being female. She refuted the government's policy, stating that woman demanded political rights in order to better

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help their husband and to bring up their children as good citizens.¹⁴ Four months later when women's political rights were discussed at the parliament (1891), one government official answered that women did not need political rights because they should live for domestic work.¹⁵ This is the first occasion that sexual division of labour was utilized as the reason of an exclusion for women from politics. Just prior to this, other reasons had been used. The demand for citizenship at this period resulted in two dimensions. While the demand for citizen's rights regardless of gender often led to a stress on national power (Kageyama's case), the demand for political rights as women in order to improve women's status often resulted in a stress on the image of wise mother and good wife (Shimizu's case). It was only in 1922 that women's right to attend or convene political meetings was realized by a couple of women's organizations.

As Shimizu and Kishida clearly pointed out, women's status at home as well as their social status was much lowered. Woman was considered to be completely subjected to man. Woman should selflessly devote herself to other members of the family. Therefore Kishida, Shimizu and other women thought that women should do domestic work as self-confident wives or mothers. They aimed to strengthen their status as wife or mother rather than as woman. Male reformists such as Fukuzawa Yukichi intended to establish monogamy in order to attain an equal footing with western culture. Christian Women's Society for Temperance also petitioned for monogamy. It seems that women's low status at home was basically derived from polygamy. Because the first criminal law enacted in 1872 provided that both wives and concubines were a relative in the second degree. Whether or not the word of "Concubine" should be included in the law was a great debate in the 1870s.¹⁶ Though the word of "Concubine" was deleted in the revised criminal law (1880), the penalty for adultery

remained to be imposed only on the wife.

Additionally, the civil code provided for husband's right to recognize his illegitimate child without his wife's consent.

The period between the 1880s and 1890s was the first appearance of women's issue as well as women's emancipation. Women, including activists of the People's Rights Movement began to be more active, and various kinds of magazines for women were published. Faced with this uprising of woman power, the government started to stress the sexual division of labour as the innate, natural destiny of women. It also adopted this idea in order to build national authority. Mori Arinori, the first minister of education, who insisted on monogamy as a reformist in the 1870s., said that he did not demand equal rights of the sexes, but the equal relationship of the sexes and he required women to be good mothers who welcomed their children's death at the front.¹⁷

How did the government reconstruct the sexual division of labour and the traditional patriarchal idea in the process of establishing the modern state? As I mentioned earlier, the government enacted the Constitution based on the sovereignty of the emperor in 1889. Sovereignty of the emperor meant not only political or military leadership. It also meant an unbroken male line of descent forever, which was newly provided in the Royal Family Code (1889). Only male children should succeed the crown of the emperor. A male illegitimate child was required to succeed, should there be no legitimate male children of male lineage.¹⁸ Therefore, according to this provision the emperess system was abolished. The emperor should have several wives in order to maintain the permanent male line of descent. Thus it was closely connected with the provision both of the emperor's polygamy and the abolition of the emperess that both political rights and adultery were rejected for women. Sexuality was an integral part of

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the state structure of modern Japan. Women's low social status seemed to be accelerated by devalued female sexuality accompanied by a system of licensed prostitution.

This central relationship between politics and sexuality was not recognized by women at that time. Almost all the people including women respected the emperor. On the other hand, women tried to improve the disdained status of wife and mother. Moreover, the civil code enacted in 1898 provided for the rights of the head of the household (*koshuken*, in almost all cases the eldest male child) and deprived women of rights in civil affairs. (In fact, only ten years after the enactment of these provisions actual court cases were already negative to men's sexual rights.) Therefore women's issues in the period 1880s to 1890s tended to be more concentrated on women's status at home than related to nationalism.

In the process of two wars, the Sino-Japan War and the Russo-Japan War, not only patriotism, but also expansionism was invoked among the people in Japan. The opinion that national spirit should be cherished among women appeared here and there, although women's world and women's interest were restricted to the home. Mori had already insisted on this idea in the 1880s. Miwata Masako (1843-1927), an educator for women, who not only founded a middle school for women, but edited a magazine for women (*Jokan*, 8. 1891-3. 1903) wrote the following; since women should have an adequate education as mothers whose children would be soldiers, they had better be interested in national affairs and committed to social activities such as charitable work suitable for women.¹⁹

When Okumura Ioko (1845-1907), who took part in the anti-Bakufu movement, was sent to China and observed the miserable Japanese soldiers during armed intervention in the civil war in China by western

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powers and Japan (1900), she thought that women must do something in order to reward soldiers' hard experience. She established the Society of Women Patriots (Aikoku Fujinkai) in 1901, which aimed to help families of dead soldiers and help wounded and disabled soldiers.²⁰ In addition to this purpose, the society declared that they as women cherished the national spirit through bringing up children and saving for the sake of the nation.²¹ Both the Home Ministry and the army gave their help to enlarge the society.²² The members were upper or upper middle class women, who were expected to demonstrate the ideal of good mother to middle or lower class women.²³ The numbers of the society increased rapidly from 13,049 in 1902 to 806,887 in 1911. Different kinds of societies for serving soldiers and their families at the homefront were built everywhere in Japan.

The government demanded that women worked for the nation particularly after the Sino-Japan War. As the government's demand was contrary to its traditional policy for women, it was devised that women should work in the field in line with their innate role only as long as they could have enough time to do domestic work as before.²⁴ Okumura's sentiment of patriotism harmonized with the new policy for women. In this way feminism shook hands with nationalism, the power of the state to expand its territory overseas.

Kageyama criticized activists of the society for women patriots, pointing out that they worked for the nation without any political freedom given by the government. Socialists also claimed that their patriotic energy could be expended on peace.

The people's movement for a government based on political parties and for universal suffrage was rapidly growing in the 1910s. As a result, the first parliamentary election based on universal male suffrage was con-

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ducted in 1928. Women did not yet have the right to vote. Although the period of 1910s to 1920s was called a time of party government, the Taisho Democracy, a number of protest movements including working class, farmers class, white collar class and outcastes (Burakmin) were often suppressed.

Feminism including the working women's movement, the suffragette movement etc. was also growing and the second wave of feminism was born. It is remarkable that there appeared not only women who resisted the scorned situation of their sexuality, but also women who planned to assassinate the emperor.²⁵ In the former case Hiratsuka Haru (Raicho, 1886-1972) was very energetic. She dismantled the reconstructed traditional image of woman (a few feminists also took this view, which was very different from feminists in the nineteenth century) and took on the clothes of individualism. She declared that she was a new woman who was no more subject to old custom or the contemptuous idea of women.²⁶ After her marriage she wrote in *Seito* (9. 1911-2. 1916, a feminist magazine she published) about the process between the appearance of her sexual love, her thinking on use of contraception or abortion and giving birth to an illegitimate baby.²⁷ She insisted that women should have the right to choose an alternative on their own sexuality. Subsequently she set up a society in order to win political rights for women from this point of view in 1919, Shin Fujin Kyokai and she took part in the movement for abortion rights (1932).

She rightly stood against the modern state structure which was based on disdained sexuality of women. It can be concluded that feminism stood against the power of the state from 1910s to 1920s.

In the years from 1928 to 1936 Japan faced a variety of crises. The military was ambitious to strengthen Japan's control in north east China

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in order to deal with Russian forces. Kantogun (the army stationed in northeast China) occupied part of this area (1931, the Manchurian incident) and built a Japanese puppet state, Manshukoku. When the United Nations League rejected the Japanese occupation, Japan withdrew from the league. This meant a turning point for Japan, the point at which the general policy of cooperation with western powers, which had for the most part controlled its international behavior since 1868, was abandoned. The power of the military in politics was escalated by two incidents- the assassination of the prime minister, Inukai Tsuyoshi by some officials of the navy and ultranationalists (1932, party government from 1918 ended) and the assassination of very important politicians (a minister of finance etc.) by soldiers of the army (1936). Militarism accompanied by fascism thus became powerful in Japan. The military embarked on raising people's patriotic sentiment through grassroots organizations.

The great depression which started in the U. S. A. in 1929 had a multiple effect on Japan, accompanied by the transition to the gold standard. As America was a main exporting country for Japan, from 1929 to 1931 exports fell by 50 percent, with disastrous influence on both city workers and farmers. The number of disputes both of labourers and farmers increased in spite of government suppression connected with a complete control of the left-wing movement. In the face of social and economic crisis the government began to stress the traditional value of loyalty and emphasize that Japan as a state was like a harmonious family with the emperor as the father figure. On the other hand, the economy was not only restored, but grew more rapidly than other western countries by producing munitions based on the financial policy of issuing deficit covering bonds. Various inter-related aspects including the emergence of ultranationalism, motivated people to expansionism. After the occurrence of

the China-Japan War (1937), initiated by the government, both militarism and fascism came into a full sway.

The third wave of feminism emerged in the early 1930s. A suffragette movement was much advanced in collaboration with various kinds of women's organizations, at the center of which was the Suffragette League (Fusenkakutoku Domei) founded in 1924. The number of working women in heavy industry, especially career or professional women was increasing. The government wanted to make use of women's power in order to overcome economic and political crisis. This intention seemed to be realized in two ambivalent directions. One was to positively pull wives out from home onto a stage of social activity to carry out a belt tightening policy. The government, therefore, proposed the draft of women's right to vote bill for local elections to the Diet, to which was, however, attached some restrictions (1931). The draft was rejected in the Upper House subsequent to a draft in 1930. The other was to integrate married women into a new women's organization to cherish the traditional mother's moral for the sake of protecting children from the influence of socialism. The Allied Association of Japanese Women (Dainippon Rengo Fujinkai) was set up by the ministry of education (1931). At the same time Mother's Day was started in connection with the Empress's birthday. Photographs of ladies of the royal family began to be carried in every magazine for women, and lectures was began on the role of the mother.²⁸ An image of Mother was created from various viewpoints by the government. Especially from 1940 the image of the Mother of the militant state was emphasized. It meant a mother who raised children after her husband's death at the front and passed on the traditional culture (patriarchal family system) to them. For the government the image of the Mother was a crucial tool to integrate both men and women into the war effort.

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In addition, a few ordinary wives, who energetically served soldiers dispatched to the front in China, established the Society of Women for National Defence (Kokubo Fujinkai) in Osaka in 1932. A nationwide society was set up with the full support of the ministry of the army in 1934.²⁹ This society numbered about nine million in 1941. Differences between the society of women patriots, the allied associations of Japanese women and the society of women for national defence was that the latter was established everywhere, both in rural and urban areas and in factories, department stores, and offices, and the society of women for national defence stressed more the traditional Japanese female virtue of selfless contribution than the others. Although Yasuda Sei, a founder of the society expressed the aim that they as half of the population should be responsible for the nation, one official in the army revised a prospectus written by her to stress female virtues.³⁰ The nature of stress on traditional Japanese female virtue is shown in the case of one of the active leaders who committed suicide because her husband condemned her for not working for her family. In 1934 there were three wideranging women's organizations working for the war effort. Active women leaders were preoccupied with militarism with half their body bound to the family.

Concerning the relationship between feminism and nationalism during wartime, it is most useful to focus on the suffragette movement, especially on the suffragette league activity, which demonstrated the way to a voluntary collaboration with the government war effort accompanied by fascism (militarism) in spite of the league's clear opposition to fascism until 1932.³¹ The enactment of universal male suffrage in 1928 urged women to win women's voting rights as fast as possible, because it demonstrated such sexism. Working class women also more strongly acknowledged sexism than class discrimination.³² Additionally, not only the

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growing movements to abolish the licensed prostitution system, but also an increasing number of petitions including a demand for the improvement of midwives law, the amendment of the civil code, penal law and lawyers law, showed the changes which women activists pressed to win the voting right.

In the period 1928 to 1933 a suffragette movement rapidly developed. Cooperation between the suffragette league and working class women was realized.³³ A nationwide conference on women's suffrage started in 1930. The number of local sections of the suffragette league increased from 7 or 8 in 1929 to 17 or 18 in 1931, leaders of which were mainly professional women including newspaper reporters and midwives. A series of meetings on women suffrage, which were held in many districts, gathered 20,000 attendants. It is fascinating that an old woman who had taken part in the People's Rights Movement joined a local section in Akita prefecture in the northeast of Japan. The league began to put stronger emphasis on local election rights and to stress the right for improvement of livelihood because the government proposed the draft of local election rights for women in 1931 and because movements connected with livelihood protection under the influence of the great depression arose.³⁵ Moreover, the third conference on women's suffrage in 1932 adopted a resolution involving an objection to fascism and a demand for women's political freedom. The chief leader of the league, Ichikawa Fusae (1893-1981) pointed out that fascism would reject women's voting rights.³⁶

The suffragette movement line changed in the years from 1933 to 1936. The league became confident that woman power had an effect on politics through following successful activities; demands for local governments to clean up bribes at municipal elections and to resolve rubbish problems etc., demands for the central government to establish a mother-

hood protection law and finally participation in a bribe clean-up campaign for a general election. As a result, the league adopted a movement line to take positively part in realizing national policies not only to demonstrate women's powers for winning the right to vote, but also to overcome national crisis.³⁷ With three big women organizations sponsored by the government or the military (mentioned earlier), the participation in a bribe clean-up campaign for the general election, which was initiated by the government and designed to weaken the power of political parties, was a critical turning point for suffragette movements. On the other hand a proposal for women's voting rights to the diet from political parties ended in 1936, public opinion in favour of woman suffrage was, however, on the rise.

In the year 1937 when the China-Japan war began, a nationwide conference on woman's right to vote came to the close of its history with government pressure, although the biggest number of women organizations joined it. Initiated by Ichikawa and other activists who considered no way left except co-working with the state, the society for research on national policies (Fujin Jikyoku Kenkyukai) started in the following year, with which the suffragette league merged after its voluntary dissolution in 1940. Suffragettes were appointed to administrative posts for war policies from 1938. They considered their appointment a good chance to achieve the demands for which they had fought so long.³⁸

The total war system established around the occurrence of the China-Japan War had a secondary critical effect on suffragette movements.

The following is my conclusion on the relationship between nationalism and feminism in Japan. The modern state divided human society into two distinct parts, a public sphere and a private sphere. For women whose activity was constrained to the private sphere, the tool of the bridge

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to the public sphere was political and social activity. Strong desire for citizenship proceeded social activity in Japan. The quality of women's political and social activities formed the quality of the relationship between these two factors. In addition, the image of Mother was also a bridging tool between two spheres in Japan, which is, however, extremely ironical.

The modern state established in Japan was very centralized and a strong national power was based on the sovereignty of the emperor, which was considered to originate in an unbroken male line of descent. In order to maintain the permanent male line of descent, main laws in the modern Japanese state admitted men's sexual dissoluteness. Moreover, the government produced the idea that the state was a harmonious family with the emperor as the father. The state always stressed the mother's role in bringing up children as an ideology for control of the people and for maintenance of the family-state, while women as well as mothers were most disdained and given no political rights. The mother's role which supports and conveys the Japanese Imperial tradition was fanatically stressed as an ideology integrating women and men into the war effort at the period of 1937 to 1945.

Women demanded political rights in order to play the role of good mother and wise wife in the 1880s-1890s, which aimed to restore disdained women's status, or they demanded only to join political activity, which resulted in patriotism. In the 1910s-20s for women political rights was necessary to reform a male dominant society. On the other hand, suffragettes demanded only women's political rights on the basis of party government. In the years of the late 1920s to 1930s when the women's movement became powerful, women activists not only aspired to suffrage to realize their wideranging demands, but also wanted broader progress. Most of them were not involved with demands connected with the mother's

role. Women's later demands coincided with the government's intention to integrate women. In order to demonstrate women's power to the state, women activists worked for the war effort under the backdrop of fascism which appealed to the traditional and transcendental mother's image.

It could be concluded that the overwilling forces of nationalism expressed through sovereignty of the emperor, militarism and fascism swallowed feminism at the time when feminism was about to bridge the public sphere and the private sphere based on women's own demands for their liberation.

Notes

1. Maruyama Masao, Nationalism, Militarism and Fascism, 1954 in *Ideas and Activities on Contemporary Politics* (Gendaiseiji no Shiso to Kodo), Miraisha, 1964
2. The society of women was established in Miyagi, Kanagawa, Aichi and Okayama prefecture. The political meeting convened by women was held in Kyoto, Osaka and Okayama prefecture. Women gave a speech at the political meeting in Niigata, Oita and Kumamoto prefecture. Women attended the meeting in Kochi, Kumamoto, Osaka, Akita, Niigata prefecture etc.. Women in Saitama and Ibaragi prefecture uprose with men.
3. Newspaper, *Tokyo Nichinichi*, 31 January, 1789. *Nippon Fujinmondai Shiryo Shusei*, vol. 8, Domesu Shuppan, 1981
4. Stereotyped Girls (Hakoiri Musume) in *Selected Collection of Essays of Nakajima Shoen* (Kishida Toshiko), vol. 1, Fuji Shuppan, 1985.
5. Fukuda Hideko, *My Life* (Warawa no Hanseigai), 1904. reprinted edition 1937, 1949, 1958, Iwanami Shoten.
6. Why Does the Government Prohibit Women to Attend Political Meetings (Nazeni Joshi wa Seidanenzetsukai ni Sanshu suruwo Yurusarezaruka), *Jogaku Zasshi*, no 228, 1890. *A Collection of Essays of Shikin* (Shimizu Tokyo), Sodo Bunka Shuppan, 1983.
7. I strongly appeal to my sisters (Aete Doho Kyodai ni Nozomu), 1888, in her collection.
8. Inoue Koji, *Peasant Uprising in Chichibu District* (Chichibu Jiken), Chuo Koronsha, 1968. *Documents of People's Right Movement in Saitama District*,

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Daiwa Shobo, 1983.

9. In 1907 Fukuda Hideko (she changed her surname after her marriage) started to amend the social security law which prohibit women's political activities. *Sekai Fujin*, reprinted edition, Ryukeisha, 1980.
10. Solution on Women's Issues (Fujin Mondai no Kaiketsu), *Seito*, vol. 2, no. 2. *Seito*, reprinted edition, Fuji Schuppan, 1982.
11. Kageyama, *My Life*.
12. *Incomplete Marriage* (Konin no Hukanzen), in her sellected collection, vol. 1.
13. I strongly appeal to my sisters.
14. Why Does the Government Prohibit Women to Attend Political Meetings.
15. Minutes of the Parliament, 1891
16. Koyama Shizuko, Discussion on Concubine at the Period of Enlightenment in the Meiji Era (Meiji Keimoki niokeru Haishorongi to sono Jitsugen), *Kikan Nippon Shisoshi*, no. 26, 1986. Sotozaki Mitsuhiro, *History of Women's Issue in Japan* (Nippon Fujinronshi) I, Domesu Shuppan, 1986. Proceedings of the House of Senior of Statesmen, 1881
17. Mori's Talk, *Collection of Essays of Mori Arinori*, vol. 1, Senbundo Shoten, 1972.
18. Article 4, Royal Family Code.
19. Women and Responsibility (Fujin to Kokyoshin), *Dainippon Enjin Kyoikukai Zasshi*, no. 146, 1902. What Women's Society Should Do (Fujinkai no Jigyo), *ibid*, no 149, 1902.
20. The Aims of Aikoku Fujinkai, March 1901, in *Forty Years' History of Aikoku Fujinkai*.
21. A Speech of Hatoyama Haruko, *Aikoku Fujin*, May, 1902.
22. Forty Years' History of Aikoku Fujin.
23. Oki Motoko, Equality and Difference in Meiji Era (Meijiki ni okeru Jokenron to Tenshokuron), *Shakai Shiso* vol. 2 no. 4, 1973.
24. Konoe Atsumaro, the President of the House of Councillors, Women's Image in Future (Fujin shorai no kakugo), *Dainippon Fujin Kyoikukai Zasshi*, no. 101, 102, 103, 1898.
25. Kanno Suga took part in the group for assasinatig the emperor (Taigyaku jiken, 1911). Kaneko Fumiko also had the will to do it (1926).
26. I am a new Woman (Watashi ha Atarashii Onna de aru), *Chuo Koron*, January 1913.
27. My torn Life between Private and Public Sphere (Kojin toshiteno Seikatsu to

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- Sei toshiten no Seikatsu no aida no Soto ni tsuite), *Seito*, vol. 5, no. 8, 1915.
28. Yamamura Yoshiko, The Change of Mother's Idea in the Process to Wartime (Senji Ikokini okeru Hahaoyazo no Hensen ni tuite), Noriyo Hayakawa ed., *Onna to Senso*, Showa Shuppan, 1991.
 29. *Ten Years' History of Dainippon Kokubo Fujinkai*. Hujii Tadatoshii, *Kokubou Fujinkai*, Iwanami Shoten, 1985.
 30. Hujii, *Kokubo Fujinkai*.
 31. Resolutions of the Third Nationwide Conference on Women's Suffrage, in *Fusen* (a journal of the Suffragette League-Fusen Kakutoku Domei) June, 1932.
 32. Declaration of Kanto Fujin Domei, in Ohara Shakaimondai Kenkyujo ed., *Documents of Women's Movement* (1), 1926-28, 1955.
 33. Joint Committee of Women's Suffrage (Fusen Kakutokukyodoinkai) was established in March 1928.
 34. Togashi Tsuru participated in the Akita branch of Fusen Kakutoku Domei in 1930. *Fusen*, January 1931.
 35. The Women's League for Motherhood Protection Law started in 1934.
 36. *Fusen*, September 1931.
 37. *Fusen*, March 1934.
 38. *Josei Domei* (*Fusen* changed its title to *Josei Domei* in Jan. 1936) September 1940.

追記

本稿は、1993年10月3日―5日にメルボルン大学で開催された第4回アジア女性会議の「フェミニズムとナショナリズム」という分科会で報告したものです。

拙稿を掲載して下さった紀要編集委員会の諸先生に心からお礼申しあげます。

早川紀代