

The Ideal Woman and *Jogaku zasshi*: Translating Womanhood in Late 19th-Century Japan

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Introduction

In late 19th-century Japan, as the Meiji government strove to create a modern nation-state under the slogan of Civilization and Enlightenment, various issues surrounding women emerged as new important sites of discourse in the process of modernization. Progressive intellectuals such as Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901) and other members of the Meirokusha made extensive efforts in the early 1870s to advance women's social status as an important means to modernize Japan. Self-consciously breaking with the Edo period and aiming to revise what they saw as outmoded Confucian ideals of womanhood, these early educators advocated new images of Japanese women as citizens of the modern nation-state and a measure of civilization for the nation. Some of these discourses surrounding women and education developed in relation to changing practices of reading and writing, at a time when the notion of "literature" was undergoing transformation, and the growth of journalism was creating a new reading public in the 1880s.⁽¹⁾

This paper will focus on *Jogaku zasshi* (Women's Education Magazine, 1885.7-1904.2), an influential mass-circulated magazine founded upon the principle of the advancement of women's status in enlightened society. Through the years of its publication, the co-founder and chief editor Iwamoto Yoshiharu (1863-1942) emerged as a powerful voice in promoting new ideals of womanhood for Japanese women based on Christian thought, and in articulating the role of literature in modern women's education. As literature became a newly contested notion in the mid-1880s, *Jogaku zasshi* came to play an important part in introducing Western works to its readers, particularly in bringing to attention the wealth of European and American women's writing in recent history. Short literary quotations in English, many of which were of Victorian origin, were interspersed throughout the

issues to give poetic evidence to the new concepts being introduced. Serialized translations of longer poems and novels began to appear in the 1890s. The magazine became an important site for Japan's own literary production, publishing stories and essays as well as book reviews of recent publications.

The most extensive study of *Jogaku zasshi* in English to date is Rebecca Copeland's *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (2000), which situates *Jogaku zasshi* as an important journal that contributed to the development of women's writing in modern Japan.⁽²⁾ While there has been increasing attention paid to *Jogaku zasshi* by Japanese scholars in the recent decades, the scholarship in English has been limited.⁽³⁾ This paper builds on previous studies of *Jogaku zasshi* by giving a comparative study of Meiji Japan and mid to late 19th-century England, which saw a mass expansion of print culture and growing anxieties over shifting roles of women as the movement for women's rights and reforms began to take hold amidst social and economic changes. The paper focuses on the early years of the magazine as it gained a strong literary focus and looked towards Victorian England as the model. During this time, certain British women writers such as George Eliot and Charlotte Brontë became key figures in presenting a model for educated Japanese women, as their works were translated into Japanese and canonized as part of the wealth of women's writing. By examining a series of editorials attributed to Iwamoto Yoshiharu and other key essays from 1886 to 1890, the paper will show how *Jogaku zasshi* translated Victorian notions of womanhood to articulate its own version of the ideal modern woman and to advocate the reform of literature in the context of women's education in the mid-Meiji period.

What is *Jogaku*?

Three years into the magazine's publication, *Jogaku zasshi* reflected on its brief history and

explained the origin of the newly coined term “*jogaku*.” In an editorial piece titled “*Jogaku no kai*” (Understanding *Jogaku*, 1888.5.26, *Jogaku zasshi*), the term is presented as a neologism that has no roots in Sino-Japanese vocabulary (*kango*). Responding to critics who showed skepticism toward the magazine’s aim, the editorial clarifies that *jogaku* does not simply refer to “education for women” (*joshi no kyōiku*), but represents an entirely new discipline:

[*Jogaku* is] a discipline devoted to the study of myriad truths related to women: her mind and body, her past and future, her rights and social position, and various other matters relevant to her present state.⁽⁴⁾

Using a sweeping rhetoric that extends to the “past,” the “future,” and the “present,” the editorial clarifies that this new field of study concerns not only women but also the entire nation or the world. Because women have been excluded from various disciplines from psychology and arts, to business and politics, they have been unable to fulfill their innate potential in contributing to the development of civilization. This not only hinders women, but also limits the comprehensive development of knowledge itself. Thus, the new discipline is important not only for women but for all of humanity.

The new discipline of *jogaku* came into being, therefore, to correct the neglect of women in the social and intellectual advances of the past, and to restore her “natural power” (*tenpu no kenryoku*) in the present age by giving her a proper education. Using the rhetoric of evolutionism, the editorial explains the *jogaku* scholar’s mission as follows:

It is the *jogaku* scholar’s duty to discover ideal women [*kajin*] who are unknown or live in obscurity, and lead her into the natural path of evolution. Because women are by nature often looked down upon and treated poorly, regardless of the country or the era into which she is born, a *jogaku* scholar must take upon himself, regardless of the country or the era into which he is born, the role of an advocate, a supporter, a teacher and a guide – at times showing the way, at times restraining – sometimes petitioner, sometimes taking on a thankless role – thus being a brother, a friend and a family member, always aspiring for her happiness and convenience.⁽⁵⁾

It is evident from the tone of the passage that the

jogaku scholar is gendered male, and his role is to guide women to emerge out of their deprived states and to achieve their full potential. The repeated phrase “regardless of the country or the era” makes this a global and timeless mission, giving universality to the specific historical conditions of the rapidly modernizing Japan. By educating women to become “ideal women” through gentle guidance, the editorial suggests, the magazine would not only help the nation’s women but also bring forth a civilized “new Japan” (*shin Nihon*).

“*Jogaku no kai*” also gives testimony to how the magazine situates itself in the wave of enthusiasm for westernization in Meiji Japan by criticizing what they saw as frivolous importation of Western manners and fashion. Using English words like “kiss,” “engagement,” and “honeymoon” in *katakana* rendering, the editorial chides certain idle men and women of society and exempts the *jogaku* scholar from such temptations:

Balls have become all the rage at Rokumeikan. With so many opportunities for mixed-company gatherings in Japan today, things like western clothes, shoes, corsets, shaking hands, “kiss” [*kissu*], “engagement” [*engeejimento*], and “honeymoon” [*hanemuun*] have become all too trendy. We *jogaku* scholars will not succumb to these trends, but will stand firm at the bank and survey the spectacle. It is certainly enjoyable, as cultured and intelligent men, to entertain ladies at the dinner table with our charm and wit, or to reign as the sovereign of society by seeking the friendship of ladies. We shall not, however, throw ourselves into the noise of worldly affairs. Rather, it is our duty to sit in deep meditation behind our editorial desks.⁽⁶⁾

With a tone of moral superiority, the editorial dismisses what they see as superficial appropriation of western manners, and present their own mission with solemn dignity. This passage is reflective of the magazine’s stance to introduce progressive Western ideas while trying to preserve what were considered desirable aspects of traditional notions of Japanese femininity.

Indeed, the magazine reflects this persona of the lofty *jogaku* scholar particularly in the early years. The staff and contributors were mostly men, and every issue opens with a philosophical editorial piece,

which, though unsigned, scholars have largely attributed to Iwamoto Yoshiharu.⁽⁷⁾ Iwamoto was also one of the founding members of Meiji Women's School (*Meiji jogakkô*), a non-denominational Christian school for women, which put into practice the educational ideas articulated in the magazine. The magazine offered a wide range of subjects, from practical domestic matters such as clothing and hairstyle, sleeping habits, pregnancy, and parenting, to social issues such as anti-prostitution and temperance. New western ideas and concepts were introduced and regularly discussed, as well as reports from overseas regarding recent developments in women's higher education. There were, however, a few exceptional female contributors, such as Nakajima Shôen (1863-1901) and Shimizu Shikin (1867-1933), who were activists for the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement and regularly wrote political essays and opinion pieces, and other women such as Miyake Kaho (1868-1944) and Wakamatsu Shizuko (1864-96) that contributed primarily fiction and translations.

Concept of "Home" and the Modern Ideal of Womanhood

Who, then, were these "ideal women" (*kajin*) that the *jogaku* scholars were to discover, study, and cultivate? One of the central philosophies of *Jogaku zasshi* was a new ideal of womanhood that was based on the Victorian notion of the Home, a newly imported concept that positioned women as an essential part of enlightened society. The term Home – translated as "katei" or more often transcribed in *katakana* as "hômû" – became an important keyword in Japan from the mid-1880s onwards in the newly emerging discourses of family, marriage, and the role of women.⁽⁸⁾ In contrast to the feudal system of *ie* (household) based on Confucian ideology where women were subordinate to men in a multi-generational household, Home was imagined as a place where the woman was the central figure, standing equal to her husband in her rule of the domestic space.

This vision of womanhood was voiced most eloquently by John Ruskin (1819-1900), a leading art and social critic in Victorian England who was one of the many writers that were introduced and translated in *Jogaku zasshi*. Of particular importance was the essay "Of Queens' Gardens" included in *Sesame and Lilies* (1865), which became a best-seller and a common gift

for girls in middle-class families in England.⁽⁹⁾ The essay was an influential treatise on women's education upholding the doctrine of the "separate spheres," in which a woman's true place and power lies in the domestic home where men can take shelter from the anxieties of modern life. In an exalted rhetoric that naturalizes the hierarchy of power, Ruskin presents an ideal vision of womanhood as eternal and enduring, extending from the past into the future, erasing class differences that would make this ideal impossible. He writes:

And wherever a true wife comes, this home is always round her. The stars only may be over her head; the glowworm in the night-cold grass may be the only fire at her foot: but home is yet wherever she is; and for a noble woman it stretches far round her, better than ceiled with cedar, or painted with vermilion, shedding its quiet light far, for those who else were homeless.⁽¹⁰⁾

The passage gives transcendence to the meaning of womanhood, where the home is not only a physical space but also an ideological one extending beyond the confines of the household. This ideological expansion of the domestic sphere translates into Ruskin's envisioning of women's roles in the realm of public life through social reform. Although the biological essentialism underlying his philosophy has been thoroughly criticized by later feminist critics, one could also recognize Ruskin's motivation in proposing a serious commitment to girl's education and the role of literature to that end, and this is what resonated with the philosophy of Meiji educators.

The Victorian notion of womanhood as the guardian of the Home is clearly reflected in the Christian context of the magazine, and this is evident in the essay "Kurisuchan hômu" (Christian Home, 1888.9.1, *Jogaku zasshi*) by the prominent Christian thinker Uchimura Kanzô (1861-1930). Uchimura explains the *katakana* rendering of the title by claiming that the English term "Home" is one of two unique terms that are untranslatable into any other language (the other untranslatable term is "Gentleman"). One can only truly understand the term, Uchimura claims, after one has experienced and has been influenced by the Home, which is a realm reigned by the queenly figure of the wife. The wife rules over the domestic affairs from cleaning to baking to handling servants, so that the Home is clean and frugal, and every family member

follows an orderly schedule in carrying out his or her assigned duties. A Home is also a place for children's education; the mother not only helps the children review what they have learned in school, but also teaches them to use proper language and to respect the elderly. Uchimura stresses that the Home cannot be acquired by wealth, but is rooted in the spirit of Christianity as embodied in the figure of the mother.

While Uchimura envisions an idealized yet practical figure of the wife and mother as the head of domestic management, Iwamoto articulates the Christian significance of the Home in more abstract terms in his essay "Kon'in ron" (Theory on Marriage, 1891.7-8, *Jogaku zasshi*), in which the Home is evoked as the modern incarnation of the Garden of Eden:

The Garden of Eden of old is still preserved in the Home today. The light of Heaven of the future already shines within the Home. Home is where the mother and the father reside; Home is where the "wife" (*tsuma*) resides. Home, Home – you are a blessed nursery that fosters humanity.⁽¹¹⁾

Echoing Ruskin's evocation of the Home as an ideological space, Iwamoto takes the Home out of the realm of domesticity and into the universal level of humanity, in which all humans are imagined as children to be nurtured. This idea of "nursery" (*yôjien*) is based on the newly imported Western concept of childhood as a vital moment in a person's life that requires particular attention and affection. In addition, while the notion of motherhood has deep roots in Confucian thought, the idea of "wife" (*tsuma*) as a romantic partner to the husband is also a new modern concept and thus presented in quotations. Whereas one's mother and father are predetermined by Heaven, Iwamoto writes, one has the responsibility and the right to choose one's wife. Imagined as an equal relationship, a husband and wife can enjoy "true friendship" (*shin no yûjô*) without hierarchy.

Despite their apparent championing of women's social status, both Iwamoto's and Ruskin's writings show anxiety over the changing roles of women and the growing agitation for women's rights and reform. In England, the Victorian discourse of domesticity was taking hold at a time of great social and economic change due to the Industrial Revolution, which brought forth new problems of labor and poverty with the increase of female workers. This backdrop is evi-

denced in Ruskin's words lamenting what he views as a misunderstanding of the natures of men and women by women activists who demand equal rights:

And there never was a time when wilder words were spoken, or more vain imagination permitted, respecting this question – quite vital to all social happiness. The relations of the womanly to the manly nature, their different capacities of intellect or of virtue, seem never to have been yet estimated with entire consent. We hear of the "mission" and of the "rights" of Woman, as if these could ever be separate from the mission and the rights of Man; – as if she and her lord were creatures of independent kind, and of irreconcilable claim.⁽¹²⁾

This passage makes evident that "social happiness" is possible only if a woman refrains from transgressing the boundaries of her proper feminine role, which must be complementary to her male counterpart. Ruskin's disapproval of women activists and their "wild words" and "vain imagination" are taken even further in Iwamoto's essay "Risô no kajin" (The Ideal Woman, 1888.4-5, *Jogaku zasshi*), which disqualifies women's rights activists from being ideal women. Mocking them as "daring women" (*jojôfu*), Iwamoto gives a caricature of their frightful and masculine appearances:

She swaggers about with her square shoulders against the wind, scattering a cloud of dust with her dancing feet, and speaking sonorously as if she were a great man or an orator. Her eyeglasses glisten in the sun, her mouth is shut tight, and the handkerchief around her neck remains tied except in front of His Majesty the Emperor. Her upright back will not bend forward for an average wage-earning man. Brimming with courage and majestic authority, these daring women are truly a frightful vision.⁽¹³⁾

While promoting the advancement of women's education and role within society, Iwamoto nonetheless presents a satirical view of actual women fighting for women's rights. The basis for his criticism is that these women are inappropriately aiming for the wrong goals, going against his belief in the two sexes as complementary opposites. This scathing portrait shows how much Iwamoto's own exalted position as the benevolent *jogaku* scholar is reliant on the women's submission to his authority.

Rejecting women's rights activists as unfeminine, Iwamoto articulates his vision of the enlightened ideal woman in the modern age based on the notion of the separate spheres, in which men are creatures of society and women are guardians of the exalted domestic space of the Home. He describes her as follows:

She need not be exceptionally beautiful. Yet she must have strong intellect, refined sensibilities, and far-reaching views. She must be thoroughly prepared for everything. She must be pure and virtuous, her appearance graceful and gentle. She need not excel in dancing or music, but must believe in God, rejoice in truth, be full of love, and have abundant self-respect. Her refined disposition will gently influence those around her. Her inner courage will guide her to be capable and cheerful, yet patient and unbending.⁽¹⁴⁾

This view of women as pure, chaste, and moral certainly resonates with the Victorian ideal of womanhood. Dismissing what he sees as superficial accomplishments, Iwamoto stresses not only gentleness and refinement, but also intellect (*zunō*), views (*shikiken*), and self-respect (*jison*), thus criticizing the prevalent view that women's education is merely a means to make her more marriageable (*okeshō gakumon*).⁽¹⁵⁾ This meant that physical beauty and artistic talent were irrelevant; instead, Iwamoto imagines the ideal woman to be an embodiment of "goodness," through whose moral realm of the Home men will be "influenced" (*zenryō no kanka*).

While Iwamoto clearly positioned the Confucian and Victorian ideals of womanhood as opposites, rejecting the former for the latter, this contrast was not as straightforward as he presented and requires further study. Even the term "*kajin*" has a long history within the Confucian context, and it is curious that Iwamoto chose this word to describe the ideal modern woman. Nonetheless, Iwamoto felt that women's position in the family and society could be improved through education, and argued that to earn the respect and love of these ideal women, men too must work hard to fulfill their duties as fathers and husbands. In mutually fulfilling these gender roles, there should be no hierarchy of power between man and woman but a loving relationship based on equality and harmony (*dōtō dōwa no ai*). An ideal marriage will thus be based on mutual respect (*sōkei*) and mutual love (*sōai*), where both sexes strictly abide by their gender roles.⁽¹⁶⁾ Iwa-

moto's belief that it is unnecessary to extend women's rights as long as they protect their virtue and self-respect is, of course, unrealistic and based on middle-class assumptions. Yet, his repeated use of terms such as "*kōtō*" (high-class), "*jōtō*" (first-class) or "*jōryū*" (higher order), and in opposition, "*katō*" (low-class), shows a society where people have the ability to move across social hierarchies according to one's efforts and qualifications. It is due to this possibility of social mobility that education becomes all the more important.

Reform of Fiction: Female Readers and Model Heroines

Iwamoto's philosophy on modern education in Meiji Japan stems from the underlying belief that the relationship between man and woman forms the fundamental basis of society, and that the aesthetic realm has an inextricable relation to the social. It is with this conviction that the newly contested notion of literature becomes inseparably linked to his ideas on women's education. In the essay "Shōsetsuron" (Theory of the Novel, 1887.10-11, *Jogaku Zasshi*), Iwamoto presents the reform of fiction as one of the most pressing concerns for modern Japan. Responding to critics who condemn the entire genre of the novel as immoral, Iwamoto defends the novel as highly beneficial to women, provided they know *how* and *what* to read. Because most readers of novels are of a susceptible age, either female students or unmarried girls still in their teens, it is of utmost importance to discuss the effect of novels onto their readers. Warning the reader against negative influences of frivolous works, Iwamoto claims that as long as girls acquire the ability to critically select the right kind of novels, they will benefit from them by "tasting the intricate mysteries of life and human character as early as the young, impressionable age of sixteen."⁽¹⁷⁾ What is important, in his view, is to have a proper "standard" (*hyōjun / meate*) in deciphering good and bad novels, and "determination" (*kakugo*) in approaching the texts.

Iwamoto's ideas regarding literature reflects the basic arguments of Tsubouchi Shōyō's influential literary treatise *Shōsetsu shinzui* (The Essence of the Novel, 1885-86), which positions modern Western novels as the most advanced form of literature. Like Shōyō, Iwamoto rejects fantastical stories that characterize Edo period fiction such as Kyokutei Bakin's

epic novel *Hakkenden* (Eight Dogs Chronicles, 1814-42), and advocates realistic novels that depict life “as it is” (*ari no mama*), or simple plots without exaggeration. While Iwamoto echoes Shôyô in his critique of the Confucian didactic model of “*kanzen chôaku*” (encouraging good and chastising evil), however, his ideological commitment to women’s education leads him to place utmost importance in the ethical dimensions of fiction, even while advocating realism. A good modern novel should depict society’s most refined, morally upright characters, and allow the reader to reflect upon similar circumstances and to learn from the characters’ actions and mistakes. Thus, Iwamoto criticizes Shôyô’s novel *Tôsei shosei katagi* (Manners and Lives of Contemporary Students, 1885-86) for choosing to depict “the most insignificant and lazy characters... vulgar and low-level students who simply indulge in carnal desires.”⁽¹⁸⁾ Iwamoto also views negatively Futabatei Shimei’s *Ukigumo* (Floating Clouds, 1887-89), often referred to as Japan’s first modern novel.⁽¹⁹⁾ “*Shôsetsuron*” ends with a warning towards female readers not to get caught up in these recently acclaimed novels, but to approach them with a critical mind.

Iwamoto’s belief in the ethical value of literature evolves out of the Victorian discourse on women and reading, where fictional characters are given life beyond the context of their setting. In the aforementioned essay “*Risô no kajin*” (The Ideal Woman, 1888.4-5), Iwamoto laments the lack of model characters in Japanese novels, arguing for the role of literature in providing ideal images of women suitable to each nation. Just as Ruskin had praised Shakespeare’s great heroines as incarnations of the “perfect woman” in his essay “Of Queens’ Gardens,”⁽²⁰⁾ Iwamoto names Shakespeare’s various heroines such as Rosalind, Cordelia, and Portia as noble examples of England’s national ideal, in addition to other modern heroines depicted by William Wordsworth, Lord Byron, Goethe, Samuel Richardson, Oliver Goldsmith, Sir Walter Scott, and Bulwer Lytton. Iwamoto’s isolation of fictional characters as the key aspect of a literary work reflects the trend in 19th-century England, where the life-writing genre became so popular that even biographies of fictional characters formed a minor genre.⁽²¹⁾ Iwamoto explains that because there is an abundance of ideal heroines depicted in Western novels and poetry, Western ladies are able to intuitively

and effortlessly seek them out as positive role models. While Japanese women have also turned to fiction for model figures, examples given by Bakin, Shunsui, and Chikamatsu, or more recently by Shôyô and Futabatei, are utterly unsuitable to women of modern Japan.

The debate over the effects of literature on women readers was an important issue in mid-19th-century England, which saw a mass expansion of print culture.⁽²²⁾ Reflecting the anxieties over the proliferation of periodicals and inexpensive books, Ruskin warned against the ill effects of modern literature for young girls and guided her instead to read great books of the past.⁽²³⁾ While Iwamoto’s rhetoric on ideal womanhood and the efficacy of literature on women’s education resonates with Ruskin’s views, Japan’s own consciousness of the dawning of modern literature in the mid-1880s leads Iwamoto to take a different course that looks to the future. Iwamoto’s grand mission is to build a wealth of literature that is fit for new, enlightened citizens of Japan to read, which is yet nonexistent in Japan. Because literature has so much influence over people’s minds, the literary creation of a “new ideal Japanese woman” (*shin Nihon joryû no risô*) becomes an urgent national mission.⁽²⁴⁾ Rather than turning to books of the past, Iwamoto argues that novels, along with other arts, need to be reformed and created in order to help educate the minds and morals of women readers. Furthermore, he encourages women to take up the pen to produce their own versions of ideal heroines for the expanding female readership.

Women and the Literary Profession: Meiji Japan and Victorian England

One of the most fundamental and important aspects of *Jogaku zasshi* was the encouragement it gave women to write. As early as 1886, Iwamoto advocates the suitability and the need for women in the writing profession in the Meiji era. In the essay “*Joshi to shôsetsu*” (Women and Novels, 1886.6-8, *Jogaku zasshi*), Iwamoto calls out to women to write novels for the consumption of their own sex, rather than read inappropriate novels written by men extolling dubious morals. While there have been several acclaimed works by male writers such as Shôyô and Ryûkei, he argues, these are clearly intended for a male readership and the subjects of sexual indulgence and love are in fact harmful to women. Iwamoto, fur-

thermore, finds biological reasons for advocating women to write. Women innately possess an abundance of the three important criteria to become novelists – imagination (*sôzô*), observation (*kansatsu*), and sensitivity or perception (*kakuchi*) – for this reason, women are just as suited to write novels as men are, if not even better.⁽²⁵⁾

Rejecting the idea of women as passive readers, Iwamoto gives historical basis for encouraging women to produce works of literature that will have a moral influence upon their fellow women. Although men have dominated the fields of philosophy and science, he argues, literature has always been an exception. Iwamoto proceeds to give a list of famous women writers in both Japan and the West to give evidence to women's suitability to writing.

There is a surprising number of famous women novelists from the past to the present. There is Murasaki Shikibu who wrote *The Tale of Genji*; Sei Shônagon who wrote *The Pillow Book*; Ise who wrote *The Tales of Ise*; Nun Abutsu who wrote *The Diary of the Sixteenth Night Moon*; Akazome Emon who wrote *The Tale of Flowering Fortunes*; Ben no tsubone who wrote *Tale of Sagoromo*; Mother of Michitsuna who wrote *The Kagero Diary*; and Ono no Otsû who wrote *The Tale of Jôruri*. These ancient works have been passed down to the present day and are highly regarded to works of fiction. In the West, we have George Eliot, Mrs. Browning, Mrs. Beecher Stowe, Mrs. Oliphant, Hanna More, and George Sand. These women are all considered to surpass men as writers.⁽²⁶⁾

Iwamoto further elaborates on this list in “Joshi to bunnitsu no gyô” (Women and the Literary Profession, 1887.10, *Jogaku zasshi*), published a year later. He adds three Heian poets Ono no Komachi, Izumi Shikibu, and Koshikibu no Naishi, as well as the following Western names: Ann Radcliffe (1764-1823), Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797), Jane Austen (1775-1817), Charlotte Brontë (1816-55), Madame de Staël (1766-1817), Harriet Martineau (1802-76) and a few others.⁽²⁷⁾

In creating a transnational genealogy of women writers, Iwamoto makes the sweeping claim that it is in the realm of “fiction and poetry” (*bunshô shiika*) that women have universally contributed to the progress of civilization over the course of history. The

names of these women are, furthermore, mentioned again and again throughout the various issues of *Jogaku zasshi*, creating a sense of canonicity within the magazine. It is notable that most of the Japanese women mentioned here lived during the Heian period, which reflects the canonization of the Heian era as Japan's great literary past in the Meiji period. Iwamoto's assertion that these Japanese women writers of the past continue to exert influence over the literary world of the late 19th century illuminates the modern notion of “national literature” that was emerging alongside the publications of Japan's first modern literary histories and anthologies in the 1890s.⁽²⁸⁾

While Iwamoto's list of Japanese writers reach back to the Heian to Medieval periods, his main references for Western writers are from Victorian England, which was a period when women increasingly began to enjoy successful careers as professional writers.⁽²⁹⁾ As literature became a profession for the first time for both men and women in England, many women began to make a living by writing book reviews and essays for the periodical press. Harriet Martineau was the most prominent woman of letters of the 1830s, and became the model for subsequent writers, including the much-revered George Eliot.⁽³⁰⁾ According to Linda Peterson, the first use of the term “woman of letters” in the book title was Julia Kavanagh's two-volume study *English Women of Letters: Biographical Sketches* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1863), which created a genealogy for Victorian women writers by tracing back to a number of 18th century writers.⁽³¹⁾ The growing number of women writers in 19th-century England resulted in an intense interest in their lives, as witnessed by the profusion of collective biographies of women writers in the latter half of the century.⁽³²⁾ Biographies such as these may have been some of the sources that Iwamoto was drawing from, just as these women were being studied and canonized in England's own national literary histories. In the 1880s, furthermore, just as Iwamoto was embarking on the founding of *Jogaku zasshi*, J.H. Ingram began the Eminent Women's series featuring biographies of contemporary English women writers, as well as certain influential European figures.⁽³³⁾ Many of these writers overlap with Iwamoto's list, which gives witness to his enthusiasm for introducing the most up-to-date knowledge of the state of Western literature to his Japanese audience.

Among the women writers, George Eliot emerges as an interesting figure repeatedly introduced and discussed in *Jogaku zasshi*, not only as a great writer but also as an ideal woman figure. Directly following the serialization of Iwamoto's "Risô no kanjin" essay, a biography of George Eliot was spread over two installments signed by a female name Hirano Hamako. In the biography, Eliot is praised for her "profound learning" (*hakushiki*) and "literary talent" (*saihitsu*), and is celebrated alongside Thackeray and Dickens as one of the three greatest writers since Sir Walter Scott.⁽³⁴⁾ In presenting Eliot as an ideal woman figure, however, the biography characterizes her as lacking in outward beauty, echoing Iwamoto in his description of the ideal woman. Hirano paraphrases a well-known obituary article by F.W.H. Myers from *Century Magazine* (1881), mentioning her "deeply lined face, the too marked and massive features [which] were united with an air of delicate refinement," her "inward beauty [that] would sometimes quite transform the external harshness," and her gestures and gaze that suggested a "wise, benignant soul."⁽³⁵⁾ While Myers negates the possibility of casting her as "an ideal type" in the original essay, this passage remains untranslated.⁽³⁶⁾ The biography also glosses over Eliot's controversial relationship with George Henry Lewes, a married man with whom she had lived with for nearly twenty years. Because this extramarital relationship would go against the philosophy of *Jogaku zasshi*, Lewes is simply described here as an "eternal friend" (*eien no kayû*) with whom Eliot had exchanged "vows of life partnership" (*kairô no chigiri*). It is only with John Walter Cross, whom she eventually married eight months before her death and who wrote her biography, that there is any mention of "romance" (*ren'ai*) or "love" (*aijô*).

In addition to presenting George Eliot as a celebrated novelist and an ideal woman, *Jogaku zasshi* introduces her work of literary criticism. Iwamoto, under one of his many pseudonyms Momiji, introduces Eliot's landmark critical essay "Silly Novels by Lady Novelists" (1856.10, *Westminster Review*) under the title "Onna shôsetsuka" (Lady Novelists, 1889.3.9, *Jogaku zasshi*). Written before Eliot began to write fiction, the essay gives a sharp critique of women writers and the institution of literary criticism at a time when women's writing was first beginning to be professionalized. Locating fiction as one of the few areas

where women can equal men in profession, Eliot chastises the current state of literary criticism that employs a double standard for women's writing, and calls for the necessity for fair criticism to improve the quality of women's writing. Iwamoto paraphrases two sections from the essay: where Eliot condemns bourgeois women who write without consideration for the lower classes, and where she calls for critics to be more judicious when reviewing trivial writing by women. While the essay was originally published when George Eliot's identity was unknown and was written assuming a distinct masculine authorship, Iwamoto introduces the essay from the later knowledge of Eliot as a woman writer. He ends the essay with a quasi-apologetic statement pointing out the essay's female authorship: "Be not angry women writers, for this is the argument of a woman."⁽³⁷⁾

It is curious, however, that this critical essay was not properly attributed to George Eliot, who is otherwise featured repeatedly throughout the issues of *Jogaku zasshi*. Eliot's name is not written in the title column, but is instead mentioned briefly in the opening paragraph. The essay is, furthermore, categorized under "Miscellaneous" rather than "Leading Articles" or "Critical Notes," which are more prominently featured in the opening pages of the magazine. It is possible to speculate that *Jogaku zasshi* wished to downplay Eliot's role as a literary critic, as the image of a scathing critic would be contradictory to the magazine's vision of the ideal woman.

In addition to George Eliot, Charlotte Brontë also comes to embody the ideal woman figure, plain-faced and virtuous, in *Jogaku zasshi* and beyond. Her novel *Jane Eyre* (1847), featuring a plain-faced heroine, is celebrated in the March 12, 1887 issue of *Jogaku zasshi* as one of the three greatest works by women, along with Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) and George Eliot's *Adam Bede* (1859).⁽³⁸⁾ When Mizutani Futô (1858-1943) partially translated the novel, he gave the title *Risô no kajin* (Ideal Woman, 1896.7-12, *Bungei kurabu*), echoing Iwamoto's phrase. In the preface to the translation, Futô explains that he chose the title not for the heroine's outward beauty or inherent virtue, but because Jane is presented as Charlotte Brontë's vision of the ideal woman that is suitable to Mr. Rochester in temperament (*kishitsu*) and taste (*kôshô*). Futô then goes on to conflate the heroine with the author herself, emphasize

ing her plain yet elegant appearance: “While [Brontë] has innate genius, her appearance is ordinary and far from beautiful. Yet, she is delicately built and refined, possessing a certain charm about her eyes.”⁽³⁹⁾ According to Linda Peterson, Brontë came to be mythologized as the female version of Samuel Smiles’ *Self-Help* (1859), and became a model for women writers as a literary genius that rose to fame from an ordinary parsonage in an isolated Yorkshire village.⁽⁴⁰⁾ When we consider that *Self-Help* became a bestseller when published in Tokyo as Nakamura Masanao’s translation *Saigoku risshihen* (1871), we may find further explanation as to why Charlotte Brontë came to embody an ideal woman figure in the popular imagination.⁽⁴¹⁾

Women’s Writing in *Jogaku Zasshi*

Writing became one of the few professions open to middle-class Victorian women partly because it could be carried out in the domestic home. This logic is reflected in “Joshi to bunpitsu no gyô,” where Iwamoto claims that writing is a suitable and an easily attainable profession for women in present day Japan: “With just a brush and an ink stone, a woman can jot down her thoughts in the kitchen or in the corner of the bedroom whenever she has a moment free from housework.”⁽⁴²⁾ While Iwamoto’s reasoning for women’s aptitude for writing seems like a chauvinistic view that confines women in the domestic realm, his argument can also be read as circumstantial rather than essential. This view is apparent in the second installment of “Joshi to bunpitsu no gyô,” where Iwamoto writes that among the various genres, women are in fact quite suited to becoming journalists for newspapers and magazines. While journalism requires qualities such as quick wit, judgment, scholarship, and perseverance, the most important aspect is speed, which is compatible with women who must find time between housework. Considering the state of women today, Iwamoto argues, it is easier for women to produce short journalistic writings concerned with various facets of present affairs, rather than devoting years of research on a singular topic.

Not only are women suited to journalistic writing, Iwamoto continues, there is a void in present day journalism for women’s viewpoints. Iwamoto assesses that much of the discourse supporting women’s rights by male intellectuals is just a veiled form of misogyny,

and argues for the need for women to voice their own perspectives and opinions on women’s rights and education. For this purpose, Iwamoto turns to the United States as the model, and gives a list of American journals that employ female journalists and editors: *Harper’s Bazaar* (Mary Booth), *St. Nicholas* (Mary Mapes Dodge), *Wide Awake* (Ella Farman Pratt), *Woman’s Journal* (Lucy Stone and Alice Stone Blackwell), *The Critic* (Jeannette Leonard Gilder), *Good Cheer Magazine* (Kate Upson Clark), *Boston Globe* (マリーハッチ), *Boston Advertiser* (Sallie Joy White), *Christian Intelligencer New York* (Margaret Sangster), *Inquirer* (Rebecca Harding Davis), *Demorest’s Monthly Magazine* (Jane C. Croly “Jennie June”), *New York Tribune* (Ellen Hutchinson) and *The Union Signal* (members of the Christian Woman’s Temperance Union).⁽⁴³⁾ Expressing awe at the number of women actively working in American journalism, Iwamoto condemns the Japanese law that prohibits women from entering the profession as editors and publishers.

The essay “Risô no shinshi” (Ideal Gentleman, 1888.9, *Jogaku zasshi*), then, is perhaps the sort of woman’s-view journalism that Iwamoto was looking for. Signed by a female name Sakurada Yukari, the essay responds to the magazine’s campaign for the ideal woman by describing her male counterpart. The “ideal gentleman” is described, perhaps not without amusement, through a series of Chinese compound words: He must be robust and strong (*shintai kyôsô*), have strength of spirit (*kikotsu rintatsu*), have flawless frame (*kokkaku kanbi*), have rare courage (*tanryoku hibon*), have firmness of character (*gôki shicchoku*), be tolerant and gentle (*kandai onryô*), excel in both literary and military arts (*bunbu ryôtoku*), and so on.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Having given a long list of qualities, Yukari then follows Iwamoto’s logic and turns to Western women writers for depicting ideal male characters: Madame de Staël’s *Delphine* (1802), Dinah Craik’s (or Miss Mulock’s) *John Halifax, Gentleman* (1856), George Eliot’s *Adam Bede* (1859) and *Felix Holt, the Radical* (1866), Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s *Aurora Leigh* (1864), and Frances Willard’s *How to Win: A Book For Girls* (1886). Giving credit to these Western women for providing ideal images of manhood, Yukari ends the essay by calling out to her “fellow sisters” (*dôhō shimai*) of Japan to imagine these ideals to make these men appear in reality, so that they can together build a country of true gentlemen (*shinsei no*

shinshi-koku) in the Orient.⁽⁴⁵⁾

True to Iwamoto's advocacy for women's writing, *Jogaku zasshi* increasingly becomes a venue for women's cultural production, particularly from 1890 when eight women were invited to join the staff. The New Year issue of 1890 also included a special supplement featuring five women, Nakajima Shōen (1863-1901), Shimoda Utako (1854-1936), Miyake Kaho (1868-1944), Wakamatsu Shizuko (1864-96), and Atomi Kakei (1840-1926). The supplement showcased an array of genres, from poetry to fiction to visual arts. Nakajima Shōen, a pioneering women's rights activist, presented a series of Sino-Japanese poetry (*kanshi*), while Shimoda Utako, a leading educator and founder of several women's higher schools, presented a series of Japanese poetry (*waka*). These were followed by two types of prose: Miyake Kaho's short story, and Wakamatsu Shizuko's adapted translation of Adelaide Anne Procter's poem *The Sailor Boy* in prose narrative form. Atomi Kakei, who is a calligrapher, painter, and founder of the Atomi Women's School (founded in 1875), graced the inside cover with a drawing of a young woman dressed in kimono and holding a *hagoita* paddle, marking a celebratory image of the New Year. That this special supplementary issue was Iwamoto's brainchild is evident from Utako's statement that Iwamoto had solicited her work for the New Year issue.

The lives and literary careers of the women who contributed to *Jogaku zasshi* are well-documented in Rebecca Copeland's *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (2000). I will end the paper by mentioning another one of Iwamoto's notable ventures to showcase women writers during this period, a series of questionnaires in March and April of 1890. Featuring Koganei Kimiko, Kimura Akebono, Wakamatsu Shizuko, Sasaki Masako, and Miyake Kaho, Iwamoto posed the following questions:

1. How did you come to write novels, and what was your experience in doing so?
2. What are your ideals, wishes, or opinions concerning novels?
3. What are your favorite novels?
4. What are your views on the novels or the literature of the present day?⁽⁴⁶⁾

Out of the five women, Wakamatsu Shizuko's response (1890.4.5) was the most substantial and articulated her philosophy on the relationship between

women and literary production. Shizuko, who married Iwamoto in 1889, blossomed as a writer and a prominent translator in the magazine in the 1890s.⁽⁴⁷⁾ By the time Iwamoto conducted the survey, she had contributed several short fiction and English poems, and had just finished serializing Alfred Tennyson's *Enoch Arden* (1890.1-3, *Jogaku zasshi*). Shizuko also figured as the authority on Western literature, introducing writers and works that were deemed suitable for women's reading, particularly of female authorship.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Echoing Iwamoto's philosophy on women and novels, Shizuko states in response to the questions that literature should have a higher moral purpose, and that women can contribute to literature by imbuing it with a sense of justice and nobility. Rather than simply depicting things as they are, the author must take a clear stance and guide the reader to distinguish between good and bad, so that the work can help "clean the air of society" (*shakai no kûki no sôji*).⁽⁴⁹⁾ It is in this sense, she argues, that women can contribute to social progress. Her hope, then, is to write an ideal type of novel that benefits the younger generation of women, whom she calls her "sisters" (*imouto*). While Shizuko's rhetoric fully resonates with Iwamoto's, she also takes her own angle in highlighting the dimension of children's education. She likens literature to children's toys; while toys have no value in themselves, they are extremely beneficial in educating children, even beyond the formal education that schools can offer. It was four months later that Shizuko began serializing her translation of Frances Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1890.8-1892.1, *Jogaku zasshi*), which played a pioneering role in the flourishing of children's literature as a separate literary genre in Japan.

Conclusion

As this paper has shown, *Jogaku zasshi* played an important role in articulating new ideals of womanhood in the mid-Meiji period when women's roles and status were being seriously debated as a measure of civilization for the modern nation-state. Advocating the role of literature in women's education, the magazine introduced a wealth of Western authors and literary works to its readers, and encouraged and provided space for the women of Japan to contribute to society as writers and journalists. As one of the founders and chief editor of the magazine, Iwamoto Yoshiharu emerged as an important figure and powerful voice

advocating for women as educated and moral beings, reflecting the educational philosophy of the Meiji Women's School. While Iwamoto's view of womanhood was confined to Victorian morality, his practical vision encouraged and helped open doors for women to participate in the building of national literature and journalism in Meiji Japan, where literature had gained newly found seriousness as a national concern. These early efforts of the magazine helped ignite an enthusiasm for women's writing in the 1890s, which eventually led to the hugely successful Lady Writers issue (*Keishū sakka go*, 1895.12) of the literary journal *Bungei kurabu* (Literary Arts Club, 1895.1-1933.1) that featured several women including Higuchi Ichiyō (1872-96). These women writers grappled with the image of the ideal woman enshrined in the Home, which functioned as a powerful ideology even as it elevated their status as enlightened citizens. It was not until the 1910s, as the journalistic category of "women's literature" (*joryū bungaku*) began to emerge, that women began to shatter the ideal to seek self-fulfillment outside of the home.

Note

- (1) For a general overview of this period, see Tomi Suzuki's "Introduction: Nation Building, Literary Culture, and Language." *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature*, edited by Haruo Shirane et al., Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 551-552. For a discussion of Meirokusha (Meiji Six Society) and the early Meiji debate on women, see Sharon L. Sievers' *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan*. Stanford University Press, 1983, pp.10-25.
- (2) Rebecca Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan*. University of Hawai'i Press, 2000. For an earlier study which gives a broad overview of the magazine, see Michael C. Brownstein, "Jogaku Zasshi and the Founding of Bungakukai." *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 35, no. 3, 1980, pp. 319-336.
- (3) For a recent book-length study in Japanese, see Okada Akiko, *Jogaku zasshi to ōka: Kirisutokyō chishikijin to jogakusei no media kūkan* (*Jogaku zasshi* and Westernization: The Media Space of Christian Intellectuals and Female Students). Shin'washa, 2013.
- (4) "Jogaku no kai," *Jogaku zasshi* (1888.5.26). Reprinted in *Meiji bungaku zenshū 32: Jogaku zasshi, Bungakukai shū*, edited by Sasabuchi Tomoichi. Chikuma shobō, 1973, p.20.
- (5) "Jogaku no kai," *Jogaku zasshi* (1888.5.26). Reprinted in *Meiji bungaku zenshū 32: Jogaku zasshi, Bungakukai shū* (1973), p.21.
- (6) "Jogaku no kai," *Jogaku zasshi* (1888.5.26). Reprinted in *Meiji bungaku zenshū 32: Jogaku zasshi, Bungakukai shū* (1973), p.22.
- (7) The unsigned editorials are clearly attributed to Iwamoto's authorship in *Meiji bungaku zenshu 32: Jogaku zasshi, Bungakukai shū*, edited by Sasabuchi Tomoichi. Chikuma shobō, 1973. In addition, Iwamoto used various pseudonyms throughout the magazine, some of which were gender ambiguous.
- (8) See Jordan Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space, and Bourgeois Culture, 1880-1930*. Harvard University Asia Center, 2003.
- (9) *Sesame and Lilies* by John Ruskin, edited by Deborah Epstein Nord, Yale University Press, 2002, p.xiv. The book is based on two lectures delivered to a mixed audience of middle-class men and women in December 1864 in Manchester, England. The first lecture "Of Kings' Treasuries" was given on December 6th in aid of a library fund for the Rusholme Institute, and the second lecture "Of Queens' Gardens" was delivered on December 14th at the Town Hall in aid of the St. Andrew's Schools. *Sesame and Lilies* was fully translated into Japanese by Kurihara Kojō as *Goma to Yuri* (1918), based on the 1871 edition of the book, which included the author's new preface.
- (10) *Sesame and Lilies* by John Ruskin, edited by Deborah Epstein Nord, Yale University Press, 2002, p.78.
- (11) "Kon'in ron," *Jogaku zasshi* (1891.7.25). Reprinted in *Meiji bungaku zenshū 32: Jogaku zasshi, Bungakukai shū* (1973), p.36.
- (12) *Sesame and Lilies* by John Ruskin, edited by Deborah Epstein Nord, Yale University Press, 2002, p.69-70.
- (13) "Risō no kajin," *Jogaku zasshi* (1888.4.21). Reprinted in *Meiji bungaku zenshū 32: Jogaku zasshi, Bungakukai shū* (1973), p.14.
- (14) "Risō no kajin," *Jogaku zasshi* (1888.4.28). Reprinted in *Meiji bungaku zenshū 32: Jogaku zasshi, Bungakukai shū* (1973), p.16.
- (15) Iwamoto elaborates on this critique of education as superficial window dressing in one of his earlier editorials, "Tōkon jogakusei no kokorozashi wa ikan" (What Are the Aspirations of Women Students?, 1887.9.10, *Jogaku zasshi*). Quoting a long passage from *Onna daigaku* (The Great Learning for Women, 1672), a widely-circulated manual of ethics and proper behavior for women of the samurai class, Iwamoto argues that this narrow view of women's education as mere preparation for marriage is no different from the old Confucian views of womanhood that discouraged education for women. Iwamoto questions the misguided aspirations of certain family members and teachers in promoting women's higher education, and argues that female students should have the proper aspirations for their education.
- (16) "Shōsetsuron," *Jogaku zasshi* (1887.10.29). Reprinted in *Meiji bungaku zenshū 32: Jogaku zasshi, Bungakukai shū* (1973), p.17.
- (17) "Shōsetsuron," *Jogaku zasshi* (1887.11.12). Reprinted in *Meiji bungaku zenshū 32: Jogaku zasshi, Bungakukai shū* (1973), p.7.
- (18) "Shōsetsuron," *Jogaku zasshi* (1887.11.12). Reprinted in *Meiji bungaku zenshū 32: Jogaku zasshi, Bungakukai shū* (1973), p.6.
- (19) In a later essay "Shōsetsuka no chakugan" (Viewpoint of

- the Novelist, 1889.3.23), Iwamoto develops his theory on the realistic novel and argues that in addition to portraying the society in a realistic fashion, what is important is the novelist's "viewpoint" (*chakugan*). The novelist is not only a "depicter of reality" (*shashinshi*) or "painter" (*ekaki*), but also a "lecturer" (*kôshakushi*) or "philosopher" (*tetsugakusha*). From this standpoint, Iwamoto gives a revised positive assessment of Futabatei Shimei's *Ukigumo*. Reprinted in *Meiji bungaku zenshû 32: Jogaku zasshi, Bungakukai shû* (1973), p.22-25.
- (20) *Sesame and Lilies* by John Ruskin, edited by Deborah Epstein Nord, Yale University Press, 2002, p.70-71. "Shakespeare has no heroes: - he has only heroines... there is hardly a play that has not a perfect woman in it, steadfast in grave hope and errorless purpose: Cordelia, Desdemona, Isabella, Hermione, Imogen, Queen Katherine, Perdita, Silvia, Viola, Rosalind, Helena, and last, and perhaps loveliest, Virgilia, are all faultless: conceived in the highest heroic type of humanity."
- (21) As an example of a biography of fictional characters, Alison Booth discusses Anna Jameson's *Characteristics of Women*, which was issued in later editions as *Shakespeare's Heroines* (1832). See Alison Booth's "Life Writing." *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1830-1914*, edited by Joanne Shattock, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p.65.
- (22) See Jennifer Phegley, *Educating the Proper Woman Reader: Victorian Family Literary Magazines and the Cultural Health of the Nation*. Ohio State University Press, 2004.
- (23) *Sesame and Lilies* by John Ruskin, edited by Deborah Epstein Nord, Yale University Press, 2002, p. 82. "let us be sure that her books are not heaped up in her lap as they fall out of the package of the circulating library, wet with the last and lightest spray of the fountain of folly... Keep the modern magazine and novel out of your girl's way; turn her loose into the old library every wet day, and let her alone."
- (24) "Risô no kajin," *Jogaku zasshi* (1888.4.14). Reprinted in *Meiji bungaku zenshû 32: Jogaku zasshi, Bungakukai shû* (1973.9), p.13.
- (25) "Joshi to shôsetsu," *Jogaku zasshi* (1886.7.15).
- (26) "Joshi to shôsetsu," *Jogaku zasshi* (1886.8.15). The authorship of *Ise*, *Sagoromo*, and *Jôruri* are contested, but I have left them as is.
- (27) "Joshi to bunpitsu no gyô," *Jogaku zasshi* (1887.10.8).
- (28) See Tomi Suzuki, "The Tale of Genji, National Literature, Language, and Modernism." *Envisioning the Tale of Genji: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production* edited by Haruo Shirane, Columbia University Press, 2008, pp.243-287. As Suzuki argues, Heian works written in *kana* were given central importance in Japan's first modern full-length literary history, the two-volume *Nihon bungakushi* (History of Japanese Literature, 1890) by Mikami Sanji and Takatsu Kuwasaburô.
- (29) The two French writers mentioned, Madame de Staël and George Sand, were both major figures in nineteenth century England. See Linda M. Lewis's *Germaine de Staël, George Sand, and the Victorian Woman Artist*. University of Missouri Press, 2003; Patricia Thomson's *George Sand and the Victorians: Her Influence and Reputation in Nineteenth-Century England*. Columbia University Press, 1977; and Paul G. Blount's *George Sand and the Victorian World*. University of Georgia Press, 1979. The American novelist Harriet Beecher Stowe became an international celebrity with the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852).
- (30) Linda Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters: Myths of Authorship and Facts of the Victorian Market*. Princeton University Press, 2009, p.7. Peterson quotes G.H. Lewes's seminal article "The Condition of Authors in England, Germany, and France," published in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1847: "Literature has become a profession. It is a means of subsistence almost as certain as the bar or the church" (p.34).
- (31) Linda Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters: Myths of Authorship and Facts of the Victorian Market*. Princeton University Press, 2009, p.4
- (32) Joanne Shattock, "The Construction of the Woman Writer." *Women and Literature in Britain 1800-1900*, edited by Joanne Shattock, Cambridge University Press, 2001, p.11. Shattock writes: "Works such as Anna Katherine Elwood's *Memoirs of the Literary Ladies of England* (1843), Jane Williams's *The Literary Women of England* (1861), Julia Kavanagh's *English Women of Letters* (1863) recycled biographical information and offered some critical assessment of mainly novelists and prose writers. Frederick Rowton's *The Female Poets of Great Britain* (1848) and Eric S. Robertson's *English Poetesses* (1883) did the same for women poets. The impact of a magazine culture and the emergence of the personal interview were reflected in Helen C. Black's *Notable Women Authors of the Day* (1893), based on interviews conducted for the *Lady's Pictorial*. At the end of the century fiction publishers Hurst and Blackett produced *Women Novelists of Queen Victoria's Reign* (1897) in which living women novelists offered retrospective assessments of their elder and now deceased sisters."
- (33) According to Shattock, the Eminent Women's series featured Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1883), George Eliot (1883), George Sand (1883), Margaret Fuller (1883), Maria Edgeworth (1883), Mary Lamb (1883), Harriet Martineau (1884), Countess of Albany (1884), Mary Wollstonecraft (1885), Rachel (1885), Susanna Wesley (1886), Madame Roland (1886), Madame de Staël (1887), Hanna More (1888), Jane Austen (1889), and Mary Shelley (1890). The series, published by W.H. Allen, began in the wake of John Morley's biographical project English Men of Letters, which featured no women in the first series. Joanne Shattock, "The Construction of the Woman Writer," p.11.
- (34) "Jôji Eriotto joshi shôden," *Jogaku zasshi* (1888.5.12 & 1888.5.19). There is a brief note that this short biography was based on Eliot's husband John Walter Cross's three-volume *Life* (1885), and the recognition of her earlier works – *Scenes of Clerical Life*, *Adam Bede*, *The Mill on the Floss* and *Silas Marner* – reflects the contemporary assessment in England. The prominent literary critic Leslie Stephen had also praised "the works of her first period" in his obituary article for Eliot: "There is no danger in arousing any controversy in saying that the works of her first period, the *Scenes of Clerical Life*,

- Adam Bede*, *Silas Marner* and the *Mill on the Floss*, have the unmistakable mark of high genius.” Leslie Stephen, *Cornhill Magazine* 43 (February 1881), reprinted in *George Eliot: the Critical Heritage*, edited by David Carroll, Barnes & Noble, 1971, pp.468-69.
- (35) From “Criticisms and Interpretations By Frederic W. H. Myers” in George Eliot. *The Mill on the Floss*. Vol. IX. Harvard Classics Shelf of Fiction. P.F. Collier & Son, 1917; Bartleby.com, 2000. <http://www.bartleby.com/309/1001.html>. [August 25, 2017].
- (36) The original essay continues: “The subject of these pages would not tolerate any words which seemed to present her as an ideal type. For, as her aspect had greatness, but not beauty, so too her spirit had moral dignity but not saintly holiness.” From “Criticisms and Interpretations By Frederic W. H. Myers.”
- (37) “Jōji Eriotto joshi shōden,” *Jogaku zasshi* (1888.5.19).
- (38) All three works were hugely popular at the time. Eliot had achieved critical and popular success with her first full-length novel *Adam Bede*, which marked the height of her career as a novelist. Stowe became an international celebrity with the publication of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, and was enthusiastically welcomed by the British and European reading public particularly after her transatlantic tour in 1853.
- (39) *Meiji hon’yaku bungaku zenshū: Shinbun zasshi-hen*, vol.5, edited by Kawado Michiaki and Sakakibara Takayoshi. Ozorasha, 1999, p.128.
- (40) Linda Peterson, *Becoming a Woman of Letters: Myths of Authorship and Facts of the Victorian Market*. Princeton University Press, 2009, p.149.
- (41) Elizabeth Gaskell’s biography *Life of Charlotte Brontë* (1857) had an immense impact on the reception of Charlotte after her death, presenting her as a tragic woman who devoted herself both to literary pursuits and to domestic life as a daughter and sister. See Joanne Wilkes, “Remaking the Canon.” *Women and Literature in Britain 1800-1900*, edited by Joanne Shattock, Cambridge University Press, 2001, p.42-3. *Jane Eyre* remained popular throughout nineteenth century England through multiple editions and stage adaptations, overshadowing her sister Emily Brontë, who later became one of Virginia Woolf’s three noted women writers in *A Room of One’s Own* (1929).
- (42) “Joshi to bunpitsu no gyō,” *Jogaku zasshi* (1887.10.8).
- (43) “Joshi to bunpitsu no gyō,” *Jogaku zasshi* (1887.10.15).
- (44) “Risō no shinshi,” *Jogaku zasshi* (1888.9.22). The essay continues that the ideal gentleman must feel indignant lamentation over evils (*kōgai hisō*), be thoroughly prepared (*yōi shinmitsu*), consider matters carefully (*chinshi jukuryō*), be a hero (*ei’yū*) in wartime and build and maintain (*shusei*) during times of peace, be taciturn (*chinmoku kagen*) and artless (*bokutotsu*) yet eloquent (*utsubotsu no ben*) when necessary, be contemplative and prudent (*shinchin jichō*), be decisive and resolute (*kadan kekkō*), be persevering and daring (*nintai kan’i*), be upright with a clean conscience (*keppaku seiren*), be both a saint (*seijin*) and a loyal retainer (*gishi*), and a wise man of virtue (*kunshi*) and a heroic warrior (*ei’yū*).
- (45) “Risō no shinshi,” *Jogaku zasshi* (1888.9.22).
- (46) “Joryū shōsetsuka no tōsho,” *Jogaku zasshi* (1890.3.15).
- (47) Wakamatsu Shizuko’s translations and adaptations include works by Frances Burnett (1849-1924), Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892), Adelaide Anne Procter (1825-1864), and Jean Ingelow (1820-1897). Her poems in English are written in the style of Victorian poetry, such as her poem titled “In Memoriam” after Tennyson.
- (48) As early as October 1886, Shizuko presented the following list of literary works by women and men: (I have corrected the obvious spelling mistakes)
1. *Felix Holt; Scenes of Clerical Life; Silas Marner; Adam Bede*. By George Eliot
 2. *Ivanhoe; Kenilworth; Monastery; Abbot*. By Walter Scott
 3. *A Brave Lady; King Arthur; A Noble Life; My Mother and I*. By Miss Mulock
 4. *Little Women; Little Men; Shiloh*. By Miss Alcott
 5. *The Flowers of the Family; Stepping Heavenward*. By Mrs. Prentiss
 6. *The Wide, Wide World; Queechy*. By Miss Wetherell
 7. *All Sorts and Conditions of Men*. Besant & Rice
 8. *Blue Beard’s Keys; Old Kensington; Da capo*. By Miss Thackeray
 9. *Christmas Stories; Bleak House; Dombey and Son; The Old Curiosity Shop*. Dickens
 10. *The Last Days of Pompeii*. Bulwer
 11. *Strange Adventures of a Phaeton*. Black
 12. *Little Classics* (6 volumes); *St. Nicholas*
- Aside from George Eliot, all of the women – Miss Mulock (Dinah Maria Craik), Miss Alcott (Louisa May Alcott), Mrs. Prentiss (Elizabeth Prentiss), Miss Wetherell (Susan Warner) and Miss Thackeray (Anne Thackeray Ritchie) – are known for works written for young adults or children.
- (49) “Keishū shōsetsuka tō: Dai 3 Wakamatsu Shizuko,” *Jogaku zasshi* (1890.4.5).