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FROM HEROINE TO PATRIOTIC VOLUNTEER:  
WOMEN AND SOCIAL WORK IN JAPAN, 1900-1945

by

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Abstract: The introduction of Western notions of social work and philanthropy to Japan provided an arena in which able Japanese women could exercise their talents on behalf of the nation. In the Meiji Period (1868-1912), wealthy women patronized Western-style charities such as the Japan Red Cross. A few unusually able women followed the model of heroines such as Jane Addams of Hull House and founded orphanages and kindergartens for the poor. As social work expanded in the Taisho Period (1912-1926), a few well-educated women found employment as experts on women's and children's problems. Many more women became support staff for welfare facilities. The international crisis of the first decade of the Showa Period (1926- ) thrust Japanese women to assume the role of patriotic volunteer. Through social work, a wide variety of Japanese women became active in public affairs and a few women became known as public leaders. Because Japan experienced industrialization as a late-developing nation, the role of women in social work was somewhat different in Japan than in Great Britain or the United States. Women ventured only a limited social distance from their homes and the state played a major part in defining the proper place for women in social service. Nevertheless, the concept of social work provided a legitimate public role for women.

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FROM HEROINE TO PATRIOTIC VOLUNTEER:  
WOMEN AND SOCIAL WORK IN JAPAN, 1900-1945<sup>1</sup>

Western concepts of charity and social work have played a significant role in determining the way in which Japanese women participate in the social and political life of the nation. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the ideal role for Japanese women was that of wife and mother, charity and social work defined care for the poor, the sick, and the helpless as appropriate services for respectable women to perform outside their homes. The notion that healthcare and childcare provided a legitimate public sphere for women is one legacy of the prewar period to postwar Japan. It is no accident that, when, in 1960, a woman first served as a member of the Japanese cabinet, she did so as Health and Welfare Minister.<sup>2</sup> Ishimoto Shigeru, a current member of the Japanese cabinet, continues this tradition. Before her election to the House of Councillors in 1965, Ishimoto had worked as a military nurse, in the Health and Welfare Ministry, and as chief nurse in the national cancer hospital.<sup>3</sup> As head of the national environmental agency, she has pledged herself to create an environment "conducive to people's health."<sup>4</sup>

The profound effect in Japan of Western concepts of social policy and the proper role of women therein stems in part from Japan's experience as a "late developing nation." Ronald Dore has pointed out that both the material realities of industrialization and Western ideals about how to mitigate those effects arrived simultaneously in nations, such as Japan, that developed after Great Britain.<sup>5</sup> This was no less true for social policy and women's roles than for other aspects of Japanese modernization.

The process by which Western ideals were incorporated into Japan was complicated by the fact that the economic realities of Japan, the social realities of Japan, and the ideals of the West--itself at best a short-hand representation of a number of diverse societies--were all constantly in flux. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify a number of Western role models for women in social service that the Japanese adopted in the early twentieth century and modified to fit both the economic realities and the social ideals of their own nation. The Japanese accepted some Western customs and rejected others on the basis of which aspects of modernization they considered important and which elements of their own culture they felt it most essential to retain. Did philanthropy and social work serve the same functions for Japanese women as they did for women in the West? Can women in developing countries gain the same benefits from social work as did Japanese women? That is, what are the effects of late development on the relationship between women and social work? The reigns of the three Emperors since the Meiji Restoration of 1868 are arbitrary demarcations that often do not correspond to patterns of social change, but in this case they provide a useful framework.

Meiji: Patronesses and Heroines

The Meiji Period (1868-1912) began when a small number of samurai, acting in the name of the Emperor, overthrew the ruling Tokugawa Shogunate and set out to transform Japan into a strong and wealthy nation. The

efforts of the state to establish a strong military, modern industries, a powerful central government, and an educational system strained the resources of the nation to the utmost. Philanthropy remained almost entirely in private hands.

By the turn of the century, two models, both borrowed from the West, provided roles for Japanese women in philanthropic work. In the first model, that of patroness, the wives of wealthy men left their homes to participate in charity bazaars or to visit hospitals. In the second model, able and well-educated women became "heroines," lauded by the government and the press for their initiative in establishing institutions to care for the helpless.

For Japanese women, the role of philanthropic patroness evolved almost as an accessory to Western dress. The leaders of the new Japanese government expressed their determination to transform their country in their personal appearance; they cut off their topknots and donned Western attire. They encouraged their wives to adopt not only the bustles and flounces of Western women but their activities as well. They included their wives in their Western-style social lives for two reasons. Some of these men, as a result of study and travel in the West, believed that the Confucian tradition that incarcerated women within their own homes was wrong.<sup>6</sup> Other Japanese leaders no doubt set aside their attachment to traditional Japanese mores because they desired Japan to be recognized as a civilized nation in the eyes of the West; many Westerners regarded the participation of women in social life as a measure of the enlightenment of a people.

The symbol of such Western social ideals in Japan was the Rokumeikan, the state-owned building where Japanese high officials and their wives socialized with foreign dignitaries. Here husbands and wives came together to garden parties and dances.<sup>7</sup> Itō Umeko, wife of the government official Itō Hirobumi, personified the feminine ideal of Rokumeikan society. She ordered gowns from Europe and studied English with a tutor.<sup>8</sup>

It was in the context of Rokumeikan society that charitable work became one of the leisure activities of upperclass Japanese women. The Rokumeikan was the site of a huge charity bazaar in 1884. An imperial princess organized the affair at which the Japanese women raised ten thousand yen for their charities.<sup>9</sup> The Empress bestowed imperial approval on such activities by making a yearly donation to the Japan Red Cross Society and by delivering a message at the annual meeting. She also on occasion visited the Red Cross Hospital and gave presents to the patients.<sup>10</sup> The few women who had been abroad participated in the elite, Western-style social life of the capital. Such women returned to Japan well-aware that in the advanced nations women cared for the poor, the sick, and the helpless outside their own homes. Before her return to Japan and her marriage to a prominent admiral, Yamakawa Suteomatsu, a graduate of Vassar in 1881, aspired to be a physician. As a pale substitute, she took a three-month course in a hospital in the United States.<sup>11</sup>

What was revolutionary in these activities was not that Japanese women were caring for the poor, but that they were doing so outside their own homes. In Japan, beggars called upon the homes of the more fortunate. In his Autobiography, Fukuzawa Yukichi described vividly how, within the gate of his family home, his mother removed lice from a half-witted beggar woman.<sup>12</sup> Beggars came daily to call upon Katsu Kaishu, the Restoration hero.<sup>13</sup> What the Western example provided was the sanction for women to go to the Rokumeikan to raise money and to the Red Cross hospital to distribute gifts.

The exigencies of empire extended these types of activities to a broader spectrum of society through the Women's Patriotic Society (Aikoku fujinkai). The organization held its first formal meeting in Tokyo on March 30, 1902. The founder, Okumura Ioko, organized the society after she had visited a battle field in North China at the time of the Boxer Uprising of 1900 as part of a consolation delegation from the Otani Shinshu Sect of Buddhism. Members of the organization cared for wounded soldiers and did relief work for bereaved families. Women from the imperial family and the nobility and the wives of prefectural governors were enlisted as members; the Home and War Ministries became official supporters.<sup>14</sup> Yamakawa Sutomatsu, Vassar graduate and would-be physician, participated in this organization, as well as in the Red Cross Nurses' Association.<sup>15</sup>

The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 brought yet wider participation by women in patriotic philanthropy. For instance, in Kobe in 1904, the mayor of the city and the president of the Kobe Women's Club (Kobe fujinkai) organized the Kobe Women's Service League (Kobe fujin hōkōkai) as a branch of the Kobe Women's Club. Members of the league saw soldiers off and welcomed them when they returned. Concern for soldiers and their families led to a long-term social work project, a day-nursery for the children of soldiers.<sup>16</sup>

The second role in philanthropy for the women of Meiji Japan, that of "heroine," was open to only a few exceptional women. Such women were often from privileged backgrounds, but they contributed not their wealth but their administrative skills to society. What won them public appreciation was their ability to organize, in a society with limited resources, lasting institutions that provided care for the helpless. The term "heroine" refers not to their own intentions or ambitions but to the way the leaders of their society conceptualized their work. While the Japanese women undoubtedly had as their immediate models members of the foreign missionary community, the government treated the innovators as Japanese versions of Jane Addams or Florence Nightingale. Whether the Japanese women who founded the philanthropic institutions envisioned themselves as followers of reformers on distant continents or of the missionaries in their midst, the model was clearly Western.

The fact that many of the Japanese women who engaged in major philanthropic projects were unmarried Christians is consistent with the notion that the missionaries provided important role models. One-third of

the members of some Protestant missions were single women.<sup>17</sup> Nearly all of these were college-educated teachers, for the Japanese government granted resident status in the interior of Japan to single women only if they were qualified educators.<sup>18</sup> Some of these capable women earned renown in Japan for their work on behalf of the helpless and the unfortunate. One of the most famous of these was Hannah Riddell, an English woman who cared for lepers. The opening of Japan to Christianity also brought Orthodox and Roman Catholic nuns who provided an alternative model of single women serving society.

Kitagawa Hatsu, one of the first Japanese heroines of philanthropy, had been recently divorced after twenty years of marriage to a physician when she founded the Tokyo Orphanage (Tōkyō kojiin) in 1899 to care for children orphaned by a tidal wave in northeastern Japan in 1896. Through the Orthodox Church, she had heard of the financial difficulties of Tadashiki Otori, a man who had gathered twenty-six orphans from the disaster and brought them to Tokyo to educate them in trades. Kitagawa achieved financial stability for her orphanage by securing hundreds of regular contributors. The original orphans grew up and left the institution and other children, whose parents had died or who could not care for them because of illness or poverty, were taken in. Since it was no longer strictly an orphanage, in 1907 the name of the institution was changed to Tokyo Children's Home (Tōkyō ikuseien).<sup>19</sup>

The story of Hayashi Utako and her Hakuaiasha Orphanage in Osaka is remarkably similar to that of Kitagawa. Hayashi, too, was free from the responsibilities of marriage and motherhood, for her marriage had ended in divorce and her infant son had died. Through the Kanda Christian Church, she was acquainted with Kobashi Katsunosuke, a wealthy young man who gave up a life of drinking to turn to Christianity and dedicated his life to serving the poor and the weak. He founded the Hakuaiasha in 1890 to care for orphans and give them practical training. When Kobashi was ill, he called upon Hayashi for help. Kobashi died in 1893, only a few months later. Quarrels with Kobashi's relatives left the orphans homeless and hungry for a time, but Hayashi was able to secure donations to buy land and erect a building. Like many of the missionaries, Hayashi was a teacher. She had graduated from the Fukui Women's Normal College and taught elementary school until her marriage. After her divorce, she became a teacher at Tsukiji Rikkyō Girls' School. This professional training stood her in good stead in her work for the Hakuaiasha. For a time, she was able to supplement the income of the orphanage by teaching evening school. A talk that she gave at Rikkyō Girls' School, where she had been a teacher, inspired the father of one of the girls to donate the money for the land and Bishop Williams of the American Episcopal Church provided for the building. In 1899, the orphans were able to move into the new building.<sup>20</sup>

Having preserved the project through difficult times and secured funding, Hayashi completed her work for the Hakuaiasha by choosing a suitable bride for Kobashi's younger brother Jitsunosuke. It was no easy task to find a woman willing to assume upon marriage responsibility for a hundred

children. Hayashi's choice, Yamamoto Katsue, was a sewing teacher at Poole's Girls' School. The wedding took place April 7, 1904.<sup>21</sup> After Jitsunosuke died in 1933, Katsue ably succeeded him as head of the Hakuaisha and continued the work for many years.<sup>22</sup>

The government recognized the contributions that both Kitagawa and Hayashi had made to society when the Central Social Work Association (Chūō shakai jigyō kyōkai), a semi-official organization, included them both in a volume of biographies, published in 1929, of one hundred forty-two individuals who had been recognized by the government for their labor in social work. While the government was no doubt correct in its assessment that the women had contributed to society, the women had begun their work for the sake of the children. The same might be said for the work of a number of other women honored by the Central Social Work Association in its volume; Tsuda Nara, who founded a kindergarten in Kanazawa, and Matsuzawa Yasu, a Roman Catholic nun who worked with orphans, are examples. Shiro Nobu's Kobe Home for the Elderly and Otsuka Kane's work for lepers were similarly undertaken out of compassion for the unfortunate.<sup>23</sup>

One Meiji heroine who stands out for her conscious intention to reform society was Noguchi Yūka. Noguchi and her friend, Morishima Mine,<sup>24</sup> who cooperated with her in founding the Futaba Nursery School, were both kindergarten teachers with years of experience teaching the children of the wealthy. Together they founded an institution to bring the benefits of the kindergarten to the children of the poor. Kindergartens had existed in Japan since the early Meiji, but mainly as an enrichment of the education of the wealthy. After Noguchi had graduated from the higher normal school in 1890, she taught in its kindergarten. Later she taught at the kindergarten connected to the Peeresses' School where Morishima also taught. Noguchi was struck by the contrast between the lives of the children of the elite and those of the poor children she saw playing in the streets as she commuted to her job. She dreamed of gathering the poor children and educating them according to the principles of Froebel.<sup>25</sup>

With Morishima, she prepared a prospectus for a nursery school and used it to gather supporters who committed themselves to donate fifty sen per month.<sup>26</sup> The prospectus made very clear that Noguchi and Morishima intended to reform society itself and not merely the small number of children they could care for. After describing the cold, the hunger, and the lack of parental supervision experienced by the children of the poor, they suggested that, coming from such an environment, the children might fall into lives of crime and thus impede the progress of society and disturb the peace of the nation. It was imperative that these children be made into good citizens by having an educationally sound environment before the evil influences of the urban slums had penetrated their being. Such an education would benefit not only the children and their parents but all of society.

The Futaba Nursery opened in a rented building in Koji-machi, Tokyo, in January 1900. In 1906, when the school moved to Yotsuya Samegabashi, one of the noted slum districts of Tokyo, it truly became an institution for poor

children. To accommodate the schedules of working mothers, the hours of the nursery, which had been from nine to four, were changed to seven in the morning until late in the evening. In the new location, other facilities, such as a girls' club, a Sunday school, a library, an evening sewing school, and a parents' meeting, were gradually added.<sup>27</sup>

In the age of philanthropy, the two Western models of patroness and heroine provided Japanese women with a legitimate public role. Women at charity bazaars and hospitals, and even in ballrooms, were contributing, outside the home, to the welfare of the nation. Women founded institutions that were recognized as socially valuable. Both types of activities would have been unthinkable in Tokugawa Japan where women, who sometimes influenced decisions made within powerful households, took virtually no part whatsoever in either the substance or the formalities of government. To be sure, only a few women consciously undertook their philanthropy to compensate for their exclusion from explicitly political activities;<sup>28</sup> the vast majority of the women acted from religious motives. Nevertheless, philanthropic and reform organizations provided one tiny arena in which women could act to change their own society. Western models brought, then, a small measure of liberation from incarceration within the home.

Philanthropy did not, however, provide Japanese women with the same range of responsibilities and experiences as it did Western women. Participation by the wives of the social and political elite in charitable activities remained formal and superficial. The Japanese women engaged in philanthropic activities ventured only a limited social distance outside their homes; they visited the Rokumeikan and hospitals, but never, as in the West, the homes of the poor. The Japanese government, far more than in Europe and the United States, deliberately influenced the direction of women's activities. Although some Japanese women founded more broadly based reform associations, the large, government-sponsored Women's Patriotic Association reached a far greater number of women. In government-sponsored activities, patriotic sentiment outweighed in significance either humanitarian service or social reform.

The Japanese heroines, for their part, soared above the realm of everyday Japanese life. Jane Addams daringly extended the activities of philanthropic women into new areas of modern life, but in American society she remained in some sense an extreme case of a general type, the female reformer. The single female missionaries in Japan, in their free time from teaching, carried out projects of reform similar to those of their married sisters in the United States. Japanese bureaucrats, in treating the founders of philanthropic institutions as Japanese versions of Jane Addams, transformed the Japanese women into heroines above the level of ordinary mortals. In so doing, the bureaucrats dismissed the possibility that outstanding women such as Kitagawa, Hayashi, and Noguchi could serve as general models for female behavior in Japan. Membership in the Women's Patriotic Association and founding an orphanage were not on the same continuum. By quarantining women's philanthropic achievements in the realm of the extraordinary, the bureaucrats could not, however, destroy completely the place women had won in public life.

These particular transformations of Western models in Japan reflected both what Dore calls "modernity factors" and what he terms "underdevelopment factors."<sup>29</sup> The prejudice in Japan against women participating in society outside their own homes is an example of a structural characteristic of the late developing country, that is, an underdevelopment factor. The influence of Western models for female philanthropy and the strong role of the state are modernity factors--the result of the fact that industrialization and ideals associated with it came to Japan from outside Japan. In the case of the introduction of Western philanthropic models into Japan, it was mainly modernity factors which contributed to the creation of embryonic political life for Japanese women.

#### Taishō: Experts and Support Staff

Whereas during the late nineteenth century, the Japanese government held the household responsible for the support of its members and depended upon private philanthropists for any necessary charitable institutions, during the Taishō Period (1912-1926), the Japanese government itself founded and operated social welfare facilities. The rapid growth of industry during World War I, an unusual number of strikes in the rapidly expanding heavy industries, the outbreak of rice riots throughout Japan in the summer of 1918, and the example of the Russian Revolution all convinced the leaders of Japan that if the government did not protect its subjects from economic hardship, Japan might face a revolution. In addition to establishing social work facilities of its own, the government encouraged private philanthropy and recruited volunteers to assist in the administration of public aid. Foreign models were very important for the Japanese, both in reaching the conclusion that they needed social welfare facilities and in the form the facilities took.

Government interest in public social policy did not enhance the role of women in philanthropy and social work in Japan. Whatever prestige and authority women had achieved by their leadership in private philanthropy was diminished as private philanthropy took a secondary role to state programs administered by members of the all-male civil service system. In the United States, women trained and paid as social workers gradually replaced the wealthy women who had once served as volunteer friendly visitors. Thus, even as social workers took the place of society matrons, social work developed as a largely female profession. That is, in the United States, the replacement of the volunteer by the professional did not necessarily mean the replacement of men by women.

In Japan, professional social work never became a major outlet for the talents and political activism of women. An American woman resident in Japan in the 1920s commented about a social work convention she observed,

One feature of all such assemblies in Japan which a foreigner notes is the absence of women. How strange it seems that though in the United States we are accustomed to seeing national and other social workers conferences perhaps two thirds feminine, in

Japan in a group of 200 there may be only twenty women, most of them matrons from orphanages, day-nurseries and factory dormitories, with some Buddhist nuns.<sup>30</sup>

The reasons for the limited role of Japanese women in social work are closely related to the consequences of late development. Meiji philanthropic work had not provided Japanese women with either the skills or the leverage to win them a significant role in social work. The charity work performed by society matrons and members of the Women's Patriotic Association had had symbolic significance but little practical importance. The heroines, those with actual experience, were very few in number.

In the United States, college women took part in new types of welfare projects such as settlements. When, on the basis of Western models of social policy, the Japanese state became involved in social work, education for women at the same level as that of the American women's colleges was almost unobtainable in Japan. Although the low educational level of Japanese elements of "backwardness," the efficiency with which the male-dominated civil service co-opted private philanthropy is a product of "modernity." Thanks to Western models of government, particularly those of France and Germany, Japan faced the social consequences of industrialization with a more efficient and powerful central bureaucracy than had the earlier modernizers.

Despite the lack of a role for women in the innovation and planning of social services, the notion that the state had responsibility for defenseless members of society, especially children, had a small positive effect on the opportunities of Japanese women for service and employment in the public sphere. First, the government itself, with its new responsibilities, hired educated women as experts. Second, the proliferation of social welfare facilities provided employment for women as teachers, kindergarten workers, midwives or nurses. Finally, the government called upon middle-class women to devote their leisure time to voluntary social work, thus involving a much greater number of women in public service.

One example of the government hiring women as experts was the Social Bureau of the Home Ministry. The head of the bureau felt it was necessary to employ two women to assist in supervising work involving children and the poor. Because women could not take the civil service examinations, the positions were classified as "temporary." Both appointees were graduates of American colleges. Amakasu Nabejo graduated from Vassar College in 1915 and was teaching at Miss Tsuda's school in Tokyo. She had also completed a lecture course on social policy offered by the Harmonization Society (Kyōchōkai). The second woman, Hayashi Fukuko, was a graduate of Dōshisha Girls' School. For two years she had taught in a Red Cross School for Nurses in Kyoto before travelling to the United States to study physics at Macalester College and nursing at the University of Minnesota. She graduated from Minnesota in 1917 and returned to Japan in 1919.<sup>31</sup>

As the state established its own facilities and encouraged private philanthropy, the proliferating institutions provided jobs for women as support staff. That is, social work in Japan, although directed by men, nevertheless provided socially acceptable employment for women. In providing daycare for children and advice on child-rearing, such institutions undertook tasks on which women, in their traditional role in the home, had some expertise. Thus, social work provided employment for women where, however low the status of their positions, their femininity made them in some respects more expert than men. Most women employed in institutions of social work served as support staff: matrons of orphanages, daycare workers, kindergarten teachers, or nurses. Many of those hired qualified for these jobs simply by virtue of the nurturing qualities generally associated with women. Some, however, had completed courses of instruction in teaching, childcare, or nursing.

By the Taishō Period, women's educational institutions in Japan had provided a small but potentially significant number of women with the vision and skills to contribute to public welfare. Most of the leading women's colleges in Japan, all of them private, that provided education equivalent to Japanese men's higher schools or a junior college degree in the United States, were founded in the Meiji Period. By Taishō, some of the graduates of these schools held positions as directors of institutions or officers of philanthropic societies.

Most of the educational institutions for women in Japan had as their primary purpose the preparation of women to be wives and mothers. In 1913, a professor at the female higher normal school, the only public institution of higher education readily accessible to Japanese women, wrote:

As to the matter of female education, Japan can never afford to depart from the old and well established principle of training the girls to be good wives and mothers above all else. So long as men cannot be their own wives and mothers, women will have to face this duty, not to say pleasure; and the good wife and mother is the nation's chief treasure.<sup>32</sup>

Japanese male educators of women acknowledged, however, that women could, while continuing to be good wives and mothers, extend their influence beyond the home. At the turn of the century, in their prospectus for Japan Women's University, Naruse Jinzō and Asō Shōzō wrote of women,

We hope to see their sphere of activities enlarged, not confined merely to parental homes and husband's households, but also extending to others outside the family life, even in the cause of the nation and humanity.<sup>33</sup>

The Christian women's colleges founded by missionaries encouraged service to society. Their faculty, most of them single female missionaries who had graduated from college, assumed that women, whether married or single, were capable of serving society and had an obligation to do so. An American observer said in 1899 of Kobe College for Women, founded in 1875 by Congregational missionaries,

The responsibility which rests upon the women of Japan for its Christianization has been so impressed upon the pupils that they have accepted Christian service as a personal duty and privilege. There is hardly a living graduate who has not entered upon Christian service either as a teacher or the wife of a Christian worker, or in some other sphere no less effective.<sup>34</sup>

The Japanese men in charge of social work recognized the potential value to society of educated women with leisure time and, after 1918, called repeatedly for Japanese women to become involved in social work. An article in the periodical Research on Relief (Kyūsai kenkyū) in 1919 expressed the hope that Japanese women's organizations would undertake more organized social work.<sup>35</sup> Maeda Tamon of the Home Ministry, speaking at a meeting of the Federation of Women's Clubs in Tokyo in May 1920, urged upper-class women in Japan to use their leisure hours in social work.<sup>36</sup>

These men urged Japanese women to become more involved in welfare activities because they knew from their study and travel in the West that women there had taken a great deal of initiative in social work and provided a large portion of the volunteer labor required in both public and private social work. Ogawa Shigejirō, an authority on social work in Japan, held up Jane Addams and Elizabeth Fry as examples of what women could do.<sup>37</sup> Another authority, Mizuno Wakazu, stressed the contributions of women in the West to the home front during World War I. He recognized that the wartime achievements were made possible by the experience women had gained in their peacetime efforts to secure pure food and milk, to protect women workers and children, to secure work insurance and better housing, and to have a voice in city planning. He acknowledged that women in foreign countries had been particularly effective in solving problems related to the sick, to working women, and to children and that Japanese women, too, could provide special knowledge in these areas. He urged Japanese women to involve themselves as individuals and as groups to educate workers, rescue the poor, improve working conditions for young people in the city, and protect children.<sup>38</sup>

As the bureaucrats hoped, women's organizations did become more active in social work during the Taishō Era. The Women's Patriotic Society began social work in 1917. It directed its efforts mainly toward women and children. For example, it established a settlement house in Sotode-cho, Honjo in Tokyo in 1924. The settlement provided an employment exchange for women, a lodging place for women, a kindergarten, a children's health consultation center, and a library. By 1934, the association had 159 social work facilities.<sup>39</sup> Women did not plan or do volunteer work at these facilities. They represented only the fact that the bureaucrats from the ministries that sponsored the society were now interested in spending money collected by and from women on women.

The Ōfūkai Nursery represents a case of social work by a women's organization in which the female members of the association took a direct role in planning, financing, and operating the welfare facility. The Ōfūkai

was made up of graduates of Japan Women's University. Inoue Hide, head of the Ōfūkai, toured the United States to observe social work and was particularly impressed by the settlement work being done by women's universities. By 1912, she and her associates in the Ōfūkai planned to establish a nursery school and were searching for someone to head it.<sup>40</sup>

Maruyama Chiyo, the woman whom they invited to assume responsibility for the nursery, was a fellow graduate of Japan Women's University. She had always had an interest in a life of service and as a child had dreamed of becoming another Florence Nightingale. Her particular specialty in serving society seemed predetermined for her by a misfortune that had befallen her family: two of her sisters were deaf. She enrolled at Japan Women's University to become a teacher of the deaf. While at college, her vision of society expanded and she became interested in kindergarten work as well as in education of the deaf. After graduation in 1908, she began work at a kindergarten, but she soon became ill and had to return to her father's home. By the time she was invited to become head of the Ōfūkai Nursery, her father had died and she felt required by the financial circumstances of the family to leave her deaf sisters and take a job.<sup>41</sup>

Once she had accepted the position as head of the nursery, Maruyama applied the fruits of her college education to the task before her. She was determined that the nursery should not be simply a baby-sitting service but rather that she should give to the children entrusted to her care the same type of education given to wealthy children at kindergartens. At the kindergarten operated by Japan Women's University, she studied children's songs and origami. She visited existing nurseries such as the one established in Osaka by her classmate Tomita Ei. The Ōfūkai Nursery opened near a slum in Koishikawa Ward, Tokyo, in June 1913, with Maruyama Chiyo in charge and one matron assisting. Twenty children came daily to a rented building. By 1915, there were eighty children, and eventually the school had to move to new buildings.<sup>42</sup>

Foreign models were equally as important to the bureaucrats who administered scientific social work as they had been to the society matrons and Christian reformers who initiated philanthropic projects. Japanese social customs and Japanese reality, however, significantly modified some of the programs borrowed from abroad. In the 1920s, most of the major Japanese cities established district welfare committees. The distinguished citizens who served on the committees called upon the poor of their urban neighborhoods, investigated the condition of each impoverished household, and secured appropriate help. Whereas in the United States, male volunteers in such programs were the exception rather than the rule,<sup>43</sup> in Japan the committee members were all male. Ogawa Shigejirō, one of the foremost advocates of the system of district welfare committees, strongly argued the advantages of having women on these committees. Women, he said, were quicker than men to feel compassion for the weak. Further, women had expertise in domestic economy, exactly the type of wisdom needed by the heads of poor households who spent more than they had in income. In the United States and in Europe, over half of the members of such committees

were women and the first question foreigners asked about the Japanese district welfare committees, Ogawa complained, was why there were no women on these committees. In 1921, after two years of existence, the Osaka committees had no female members.<sup>44</sup> In Tokyo, it was not until 1938 that the number of female committee members increased from one to eight.<sup>45</sup> The exclusion of women from the district welfare committees undoubtedly stemmed from Japanese social custom; Japanese women could participate in charity bazaars, attend Red Cross meetings, visit hospitals, direct kindergartens, work in settlement houses, and even advise bureaucrats, but they could not visit the homes of strangers. Another point of interest is the fact that Japanese administrators organized their elaborate system of male volunteers at exactly the time at which, in New York and other American cities, professional case workers, many of them women, were replacing volunteers. The use of volunteers rather than paid workers reflected the scarcity of funds in Japan for public welfare programs.

In the Taishō Period, more women contributed less conspicuously to social work in Japan than they had in the Meiji Period. Although the women who were employed in public and private welfare facilities did not command the same public attention as had the wealthy patronesses and hard-working heroines of the past, they existed in greater numbers and they made a more professional contribution than had their predecessors. Women like Maruyama Chiyo headed facilities not because of their personal wealth or connections with the wealthy but because of their education and willingness to undertake specialized training. The phenomenon of late development created new roles for women as models from the West mandated welfare programs where women were valued for both their natural concern for children and their acquired training. Women's colleges, themselves a benefit of Japan's late development, prepared women for their new responsibilities in scientific social work. Certain constraints in Japan--social restrictions on women, economic underdevelopment, and continued limitations on higher education for women--prevented Japanese women from playing as large a role in social welfare as did women in the West. The restrictions on Japanese women came, however, not merely from lack of modernity. As noted above, the strong role of the state and its all-male bureaucracy was a product of modernity.

#### Shōwa: Public Leaders and Patriotic Volunteers

Soon after the Taishō Era was succeeded by Shōwa at the very end of 1926, Japan experienced an economic depression, and social services were more necessary than ever. As public and private welfare facilities expanded, educated women continued to find opportunities for employment. More important, concern for social welfare drew women into the political sphere and prepared them for positions of public responsibility. Further, after Japan became involved in military action on the continent in the Manchurian Incident of 1931, ordinary wives and mothers became increasingly involved as volunteers in social work connected with the war effort.

In the 1930s, the employment situation for women in social work was in fact better than it had been in earlier decades since there were more jobs.

To take one example, the social bureau of the city of Tokyo employed twelve women as heads of kindergartens in 1930, fifteen in 1933, and thirty in 1939. Undoubtedly each of these women supervised a number of other women.<sup>46</sup> Some of the women in government employ held positions of considerable responsibility. In 1936, Tanino Setsu was appointed inspector of living conditions of women working in factories. She had been employed by the Social Bureau of the Home Ministry since her graduation from Japan Women's University in 1926.<sup>47</sup> In 1939, the Welfare Ministry appointed Otsuki Terue, a graduate of Willamette College and Columbia University in the United States, a member of the staff of the newly created bureau for the investigation of population problems.<sup>48</sup> Hatta Atsuko, a graduate of Tsuda College and Waseda University, was appointed the only woman in the Cabinet Information Bureau in 1939. Prior to her appointment, she had been the only woman employed in the National Spiritual Mobilization Section of Tokyo City. Her work there was connected primarily with questions affecting women, nutrition, and economy in consumption.<sup>49</sup>

Social work emerged in this period as a separate profession. A number of women employed in private social work had degrees from American universities. The foreign circle of the Women's Christian Temperance Union sent Yoshimi Shizue to the United States for two years to prepare her for her responsibilities as the matron of the settlement house they had established.<sup>50</sup> When Asaga Fusa returned to Japan in 1929, after two years of study of social work at Simmons College in Boston, she was employed as a medical social worker at St. Luke's Hospital in Tokyo. She continued this work until her marriage in 1938.<sup>51</sup> St. Luke's employed a number of social workers. In 1939, Miss Helen K. Shipps of the United States presided over a staff of eight. Her first assistant was Kanda Tane, a graduate of Syracuse University, who had done two years of graduate work at the New York School of Social Service. Another member of the staff, Tamura Kimi, was in the United States in 1939 studying at the University of Pennsylvania Hospital and at the Pennsylvania School of Social Service.<sup>52</sup>

Parallel to this professionalization in employment was a new sophistication in advancing welfare issues in the political sphere. The women who met with government officials were generally not the same individuals who had been working in hospitals and kindergartens. In the 1930s, some of the small number of Japanese women who had been active in the movement for women's suffrage began to redirect their energies toward issues affecting women's daily lives. For instance, Ichikawa Fusae, head of the Women's Suffrage League, tried to involve ordinary housewives in the political process by campaigning for better sanitation and lower prices. In September 1934, when she joined with Yamada Waka and others to form a Motherhood Protection League, she became directly involved in social work.<sup>53</sup> In March 1937, the government passed the Bill for the Protection of Mothers and Children. The bill provided aid for poor women with children under their care.

In the late 1930s, the government appointed a few women to commissions on war-time mobilization. All of these women had established themselves

either as experts in fields essential to social welfare work (medicine, for instance) or they were leaders in the efforts of women to work collectively to reform society. In 1937, the physician Yoshioka Yayoi was chosen as a member of the Education Board, a committee under the direct management of the cabinet.<sup>54</sup> Another physician, Takeuchi Shigeyo, was a member of the National General Mobilization Committee.<sup>55</sup> Ichikawa Fusae was a member of the same committee. The presence of these women on government-appointed committees, the result of the expertise of these women on social issues, validated the ability of women to serve society outside their own homes.

A less dramatic, but perhaps equally important, development in these years was the recruitment of a number of slightly less prominent women into routine but important volunteer positions. Not only did women begin to serve on district welfare committees, but in Tokyo they received twenty-five of the two hundred appointments to serve as mediators under the domestic affairs conciliation law which went into effect in 1939. Those appointed included Inoue Hide, who was president of the Ōfūkai when the nursery was established in 1913, and Yamamuro Tamiko of the Salvation Army.<sup>56</sup>

In the 1930s, patriotic social work became an acceptable activity for women of all classes. Social work grew in importance in wartime largely because military relief work in Japan was classified as a type of social work rather than as a distinct category.<sup>57</sup> In addition, the provision of social welfare facilities was a matter of national pride and prestige, more important than ever when the nation was under fire from abroad. In response to reports in American newspapers that the number of beggars in Japan had been increasing because of the hostilities in China, the Metropolitan Police Board of Tokyo undertook to remove all beggars from the streets. At the same time, Kusama Yasō, a consultant to the Tokyo municipal government, reported on research showing that the number of beggars in the city was actually declining.<sup>58</sup> In a more positive approach, the Welfare Ministry, assisted by the Foreign, Education, and Home Ministries, prepared a film to introduce social work in Japan to the world.<sup>59</sup> Finally, some aspects of social work flourished under the encouragement of a state willing to support services for children, the future soldiers of the empire. In 1939, the Welfare Ministry announced plans for the establishment of free maternity homes and nurseries for the children of working mothers.<sup>60</sup> At the prefectural governors' conference in 1942, the Welfare Minister, Koizumi, pointed out the need to improve the health of children who must become the soldiers and industrial workers of the future.<sup>61</sup>

Private facilities followed the same trend. Donations from the imperial family, as well as from companies such as Mitsui, Mitsubishi, and Sumitomo, made possible the opening in Azabu, Tokyo, in December 1938 of the Aiku kenkyūjo, an institute whose purpose was to study the mental and physical characteristics of primary age children and to determine the best method for their upbringing and education. Attached to the institute was a nursery for infants up to one year old from families where the mother was dead or the father was dead and the mother working.<sup>62</sup> In general, the exigencies of war underscored the corporate nature of society and stimulated the provision of social services for injured or weak members of the body.

Probably the most important instruments in stimulating women's war efforts outside their homes were the women's patriotic associations. By far the two largest of these were the Women's Patriotic Society (Aikoku fujinkai) and the Women's National Defense Society (Kokubō fujinkai). The Women's National Defense Society claimed for itself origins in the spontaneous compassion of Japanese women toward young men serving their country in the armed forces. Two women in Osaka, Mitani Aiko and Yasuda Seiko, both of whose husbands were engaged in the steel industry, noticed that at the time of the Manchurian Incident, the soldiers from poor families did not receive the same elaborate send-offs as those from wealthy families. The two began to organize women to see off soldiers, welcome soldiers on their return, visit the wounded in hospitals, and comfort bereaved families. In 1932, the Osaka leaders petitioned the War Ministry for aid to extend their organization to every corner of Japan. The first national meeting of the society was held in October 1934. At that time, the organization claimed 542,000 members.<sup>63</sup> In fact, the Army dominated the society at both the national and local level. The society existed as a women's arm of the Imperial Military Reserve Association, which had branches in every city, town, and village in Japan. With such connections, the organization grew to nearly eight million members by 1938.<sup>64</sup>

The founding of the Women's National Defense Society changed the nature of the Women's Patriotic Society. Threatened by a rival group, the Patriotic Society abandoned its elitist posture and began to organize local branches. By 1937, membership grew to almost three million members.<sup>65</sup>

Once war with China broke out in 1937, it was difficult for a woman not to belong to one society or the other. Members of the Patriotic Society wore khaki aprons while the members of the National Defense Society donned white aprons over their kimonos as they went about their various duties. Both organizations participated in public ceremonies such as memorial services for the war dead and Empire Foundation Day observances.<sup>66</sup> The Patriotic Society made particular use of mass meetings. In April 1938, 100,000 members staged a grand parade as the patriotic finale to a meeting at Korakuen Baseball Stadium at which the women observed the raising of the flag, sang the national anthem, bowed to the Imperial Palace, and joined in a silent prayer for victory in the war.<sup>67</sup> Eighty thousand members attended the annual meeting at the Meiji Shrine in 1939.<sup>68</sup> In addition to sponsoring public displays of patriotism and diligent efforts to save waste material, both organizations participated in other government campaigns such as Savings Week, when citizens were urged to donate or sell gold articles to the Bank of Japan,<sup>69</sup> and a five-day anti-tuberculosis campaign.<sup>70</sup>

The women's patriotic organizations also on occasion carried out social work. Among the types of social work facilities which the Welfare Ministry planned in this era were day nurseries and mothers' and children's homes, both intended to provide care for the children of the working wives and widows of soldiers.<sup>71</sup> The care of children was a task for which women were considered ideally suited, and with the nation involved in an extended and expensive war, volunteer labor was highly desirable. In 1939, the social

work section of the city of Kyoto added five day care centers (to the thirty they already operated) to care for the children of soldiers serving in China in cases where the mothers of the children were working, whether in firm, farm, or factory. Economy was the order of the day. Churches, temples, shrines, and public halls were used to house the centers; members of the women's patriotic associations, young women's associations and social work bodies cared for the children.<sup>72</sup> Women's organizations also aided the establishment of a mothers' and children's home in Nishinomiya.<sup>73</sup>

All of the activities of the women's patriotic associations mobilized ordinary housewives to attend activities outside their homes for the sake of the nation. These activities were not, of course, to take precedence over a woman's responsibilities as a wife and mother. In its publications, the Women's Patriotic Society stressed that a woman's proper place was in the home and her most important purpose to make it a pleasant, restful place for men and for the upbringing of children.<sup>74</sup> Even so, some authorities criticized women with children who participated in the activities of the patriotic women's associations. Yoshioka Yayoi, the prominent woman physician, admonished women in 1938 that they were neglecting their families in favor of activities outside the home without considering whether the activities were really necessary or helpful to society.<sup>75</sup> In September 1939, the Welfare Ministry ordered women with children to cease attending the events sponsored by the Women's Patriotic Society and the Women's National Defense Society on the grounds that the time that mothers were devoting to these activities was detracting from their efficacy as good mothers.<sup>76</sup>

Of what significance was the activity of millions of Japanese women in the Women's Patriotic Society and the Women's National Defense Society? It provided millions of women with the experience of attending public meetings, marching in parades, passing out pamphlets, giving and collecting donations, and donating their time, energy, and talents to the public good, all of which behavior would be equally appropriate in a political party. Ichikawa Fusae, whose goal was to bring ordinary women into the political realm, acknowledged that these two organizations did make it possible for women to participate in civic activities outside the home.<sup>77</sup> While visiting her childhood village she observed, "it is indeed a form of women's liberation when farm women, who previously had no spare time, are liberated from the home to attend a half-day lecture meeting."<sup>78</sup>

By the end of the war, many more women had participated in these two mass organizations than had ever taken part in the tiny prewar suffrage movement. They had time and time again seen in person or in newspapers the leaders of these organizations on public podiums. Should the opportunity arise, they were prepared to participate in politics and even to elect women to office.

The increased involvement of women in public life in early Shōwa was less the product of new foreign models than of further elaboration within Japan of earlier borrowings from abroad. Although a few women acquired

credentials at American educational institutions as professional social workers, most of the developments in welfare in the early Shōwa Period were reactions to the international situation following the Manchurian Incident of 1931. In this period of international crisis, when Japan was the object of foreign criticism, the government was anxious to co-opt various dissident movements such as that for women's rights. The same sense of crisis inspired independent protest groups to cooperate with rather than to oppose the existing regime. The chief limit on women's activities was the sense of conflict between patriotic work outside the home and the responsibilities of mothers for their children. The conflict arose not so much from the weight of tradition as from strong nationalism. By the 1930s, the problem was not that Japanese women lacked the opportunity or the education to serve society. Rather, idealization of the submissive wife and mother as one of the peculiar virtues of Japan left women activists open to the charge that they were not sufficiently Japanese if they in any way neglected their duties as mothers.

### Conclusion

Both American and Japanese women gained political experience and credibility from their work in social welfare, but women's participation in social and philanthropic work had a somewhat different impact in Japan, where various models were imported as the fruits of late development, than they did in the West where they were part of the indigenous cultural tradition. Charity bazaars and visits to hospitals, which in the West were ordinary female social activities, were innovative in Japan.

Western models of philanthropy and social work provided Japanese women with opportunities for public service. While the performance of public service is not in and of itself the exercise of political power, the roles of women in social service foreshadowed their postwar political activities. The war-time mobilization of women in patriotic associations taught every woman in Japan that she was a member of the polity with obligations to serve the state; it is thus not surprising that, when given the opportunity to vote, a high percentage of Japanese women exercised their franchise. Women with experience lobbying for laws on behalf of the weak were certainly ready to become legislators themselves. The practice of having women serve on national committees and make public appearances at home and abroad accustomed the population at large to the presence of women in public life. In addition to giving women the vote, the postwar reforms ended the exclusion of women from bureaucratic posts. What won women appointment to high position was their expertise on social problems.

The Japanese government did not, of course, import Western customs of philanthropy and social work indiscriminately. The bureaucrats in charge of social welfare introduced only those Western institutions which they considered consistent with Japanese customs of the past and needs of the present. In several instances, Japanese women were excluded from positions in social work held by women in other societies. The most outstanding achievements of women in social service were made in spite of the Japanese

government. The state, which provided only girls' higher schools (equivalent to men's middle schools) and normal school education for women beyond the elementary level, hired as experts women educated abroad or in the private women's colleges. Western models of philanthropy, then, were important because they provided a middle ground between the highest aspirations of Japanese women for social, political, and economic equality, on the one hand, and the desire of the government to maintain the social status quo on the other. The government authorities who were unwilling to grant women political rights accepted the participation of women in social service. The few outstanding Japanese women who were able to perform these services were able to do so because they had followed models from abroad which would not have been available to them had it not been for Japan's late development.

While philanthropy and social work played a significant role in the political apprenticeship of Japanese women, the experience of Japan cannot necessarily be duplicated in other, more recently developing countries. In the late nineteenth century, Japan was unusually open to the possibility of adopting foreign ways. Moreover, a wide variety of Western models were present within Japan. Under the unequal treaties, Japanese could not bar from their soil those Western models which they found less desirable; in order to maintain amicable relations with the Western powers, the Japanese had to allow missionaries and their philanthropies and educational institutions for women. Such institutions, while certainly foreign, did not bear the same taint of imperialism as they would in a country ruled as a colony. Dissident Japanese women thus had available to them alternative models to those provided by the state. They were able to make use of those models to break out of traditional roles. The chief products of modernity that limited women activists were the strength of the state and strong nationalism in a time of crisis. Authoritarian as the Japanese state was, there nevertheless existed in Japan a pluralism that was freedom itself in comparison to some developing countries today where, under strong and doctrinaire governments, women have few alternatives to the party line. While Japanese women could use philanthropy and social work as effective weapons against elements of underdevelopment in their culture, products of modernity such as the powerful state and strong nationalism, both of which presented some barriers for Japanese women, have become so strong as to require different weapons.

NOTES

1. Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the Midwest Japan Seminar, the Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs, the Chicago Area Women's History Colloquium, and the Women's Studies Research Colloquium at the University of Iowa. Of the many colleagues and friends who have commented on the manuscript, I would particularly like to thank Linda Kerber, Marlene Mayo, Susan Napier, Sharon Nolte, Susan Pharr, David Tucker, and Susan Weiner.
2. Nakamura Masa served from July to December. The second woman in the Japanese cabinet was Tsuruyo Kondo, Director General of the Science and Technology Agency from July 1962 to July 1963.
3. Jinji kōshinroku, 32nd ed.
4. Japan Times, November 2, 1984.
5. See for instance British Factory-Japanese Factory: The Origins of National Diversity in Industrial Relations (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), especially chapter 15 and "More about Late Development," The Journal of Japanese Studies, 5(1):137-152.
6. For instance Tsuda Mamichi in Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment, William R. Braisted, trans. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 277-279.
7. Edward Seidensticker, Low City, High City: Tokyo from Edo to the Earthquake (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), pp. 68-69, 99.
8. Sharon L. Sievers, Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1983), p. 93.
9. Seidensticker, Low City, High City, p. 99 and Clara A. N. Whitney, Clara's Diary: An American Girl in Meiji Japan, M. William Steele and Tamiko Ichimata, eds. (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1979), pp. 331-332.
10. Zennosuke Tsuji, Social Welfare Work by the Imperial Household of Japan (Tokyo: The Japan Red Cross Society, 1934), p. 49.
11. Whitney, Clara's Diary, p. 325.
12. The Autobiography of Yukichi Fukuzawa, rev. trans. Eiichi Kiyooka (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), p. 15.
13. Whitney, Clara's Diary, p. 126.

14. Soda Koichi, "Jinbutsu no koden: Okumura Ioko," in Shin jidai no chisei to kōdō, Vol. 10 of Jinbutsu no joseishi, ed. Soga Tetsuo (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1980), p. 154 and Sievers, Flowers in Salt, pp. 114-115.
15. Daijin meijiten 1:535.
16. Hyōgo-ken shakai fukushi kyōgikai, Fukushi no tomoshibi, p. 220.
17. Approximately two-thirds of the 346 missionaries whom the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions sent to Japan between 1810 and 1957 were women. Sandra C. Taylor, "Abby M. Colby: The Christian Response to a Sexist Society," The New England Quarterly 52 (1979):72. Since the men in the mission were invariably married and their wives were counted as missionaries, about one-third of the missionaries must have been single women.
18. James H. Pettee, A Chapter of Mission History in Modern Japan 1869-1895 (Tokyo: Seibunsha, 1895), p. 121.
19. Nino Kikuo, "Kitagawa Hatsu," in Shakai jigyo ni ikita joseitachi--sono shōgai to shigoto, ed. Gomi Yuriko (Tokyo: Domesu, 1973), pp. 80-88.
20. Otani Ritsuko, "Hayashi Utako," in Shakai jigyo ni ikita joseitachi--sono shōgai to shigoto, ed. Gomi Yuriko (Tokyo: Domesu, 1973), pp. 93-97.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.
22. Uda Kikue, "Kobashi Katsue," in Shakai jigyo ni ikita joseitachi--sono shōgai to shigoto, ed. Gomi Yuriko (Tokyo: Domesu, 1973), p. 159.
23. Chūō shakai jigyo kyokai, Shakai jigyo kōrōsha jiseki, pp. 45-48, 85-86, 205, and 256-257.
24. K. O. Sakauye, "Social Movements in Tokyo," Japan Magazine, June 1922, p. 110 gives her family name as Saitō.
25. Chokushi Chitsuru, "Noguchi Yūka," in Shakai jigyo ni ikita joseitachi--sono shōgai to shigoto, ed. Gomi Yuriko (Tokyo: Domesu, 1973), p. 120.
26. Yoshida Kyūichi et al., Jinbutsu de tsuzuru kindai shakai jigyo no ayumi (Tokyo: Zenkoku shakai fukushi kyōgikai, 1971), p. 77. Pp. 77-79 quote the whole prospectus.
27. Chokushi, "Noguchi Yūka," pp. 120, 122, 124.
28. Sievers, Flowers in Salt, discusses this phenomenon in chapter 5.
29. Dore, "More about Late Development," p. 150.

30. Isabelle McCausland, "The Present Status of Social Work in Japan," The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea, Formosa, 1923, p. 249.
31. Japan Magazine, October 1920, pp. 299-300.
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33. Japan Magazine, May 1911, p. 3.
34. James L. Barton, "Kobe College for Girls, Kobe, Japan," Missionary Herald, 95 (1899):321.
35. Mizuno Wakazu, "Shakai jigyo ni tai suru fujin no katsudo ni tsuite," Kyūsai kenkyū, 7 (1919):222-226.
36. Japan Times & Mail, May 13, 1920.
37. Ogawa Shigejirō, "Shakai jigyo ni tai suru fujin no shimei," Kyūsai kenkyū, 9 (1921):420, 502.
38. Mizuno, "Shakai jigyo," pp. 222-226.
39. Mitsui Kunitarō, Aikoku fujinkai tokuhon (Tokyo: Aikoku fujinkai, 1935), pp. 98-100 and Nihon shakai jigyo nenkan, 1925, p. 22.
40. Kyochi Nisanko, "Maruyama Chiyo," in Shakai jigyo ni ikita joseitachi--sono shōgai to shigoto, ed. Gomi Yuriko (Tokyo: Domesu, 1973), p. 198.
41. Ibid., pp. 196-198.
42. Ibid., p. 199.
43. Dorothy G. Becker, "Exit Lady Bountiful: The Volunteer and the Professional Social Worker," Social Service Review, 38 (March 1964):57-72.
44. Ogawa, "Shakai jigyo fujin," pp. 504-506.
45. Japanese Women 1(2), March 1938:4.
46. Shokuin roku, 1930, 1933, 1936.
47. Japan Times & Mail, February 8, 1936.
48. Japanese Women, 3(1), January 1940:4.
49. Japan Times & Mail, October 9, 1939.

50. Ibid., September 21, 1929.
51. Sakakami Yuko, "Asaga Fusa," in Shakai jigyo ni ikita joseitachi--sono shogai to shigoto, ed. Gomi Yuriko (Tokyo: Domesu, 1973), pp. 245-246.
52. Japan Times & Mail, May 1, 1939.
53. Kathleen Susan Molony, "One Woman Who Dared: Ichikawa Fusae and the Japanese Women's Suffrage Movement," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1980, pp. 255, 288-293.
54. Japan Times & Mail, January 23, 1938.
55. Ibid., October 2, 1939.
56. Ibid., June 15 and July 2, 1939.
57. Prior to 1938, the Japan Social Work Yearbook (Nihon shakai jigyo nenkan) had a subsection on the military under the general section on relief work. Beginning in 1938, the yearbook contained an entire section on military relief work.
58. Japan Times & Mail, January 13, 1939. Reports on the decreasing number of beggars in Tokyo continued to appear. Ibid., June 25 and July 22, 1939.
59. The film was produced to be sent to an international meeting on social work to be held in 1940 in Brussels. Ibid., July 19, 1939.
60. Ibid., February 24, 1939.
61. Japan Times & Advertiser, March 7, 1942.
62. Japan Times & Mail, January 9, 1939.
63. Ibid., July 10, 1939.
64. Richard J. Smethurst, A Social Basis for Prewar Japanese Militarism: The Army and the Rural Community (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 44-46.
65. Ibid., p. 47.
66. Japan Times & Mail, November 21, 1937 and February 2, 1939.
67. Ibid., March 29 and April 6, 1938.
68. Ibid., May 5, 1939.

69. Ibid., June 12, 1939.
70. Ibid., November 14, 1939.
71. Ibid., February 24, 1939.
72. Ibid., April 9, 1939.
73. Ibid., August 23, 1939.
74. Mitsui, Aikoku fujinkai tokuhon, pp. 11, 13.
75. Japan Times & Mail, February 2, 1938.
76. Ibid., September 16, 1939.
77. Molony, "One Woman Who Dared," p. 329.
78. Ibid., p. 330.

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