

Shimoda's Program for Japanese and Chinese Women's Education

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Abstract: In her article "Shimoda Program for Japanese and Chinese Women's Education" Mamiko Suzuki discusses Western developments as a facet of educational curricula in Japan in the early twentieth century. When in the early 1900s a number of elite Chinese women traveled to Tokyo — for most, their first time abroad — to receive a modern education, it was at Jissen Women's Academy, which was the first to enroll female Chinese students in Tokyo and thus a crucial site for the development of a modern pan-Asian female identity. A central figure in the popularization of women's education and household and hygiene management was Utako Shimoda (1854-1936), a leading figure of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Suzuki analyzes how Shimoda portrayed the role of the modern homemaker to elite Japanese and Chinese women and how her inclusion of Chinese women engaged with a discourse of empire and feminism. The new body of knowledge and curricular experience Shimoda provided for her students was then directed by them toward modern homemaking in Japan and revolutionary activities in China.

Mamiko SUZUKI

Shimoda's Program for Japanese and Chinese Women's Education

In the early 1900s a number of elite Chinese women traveled to Tokyo — for most, their first time abroad — to receive a modern education. Beginning in 1901, Jissen Women's Academy became one of the first schools to enroll female Chinese students and educate them in Tokyo. Utako Shimoda 下田歌子 (1854-1936), the founder of Jissen Women's Academy 実践女子学院, former headmistress of the girls' academy of the Peeresses' School 華族女学校, and a leading figure within a number of women's organizations including the Patriotic Women's Society (Aikoku Fujinkai 愛国婦人会) helped to transmit the ideas and practices of domestic science — or household management — to elite Chinese and Japanese women. Shimoda's embrace of Chinese women as students fits within a discourse of a pan-Asian empire and feminism and her efforts to expand women's education in both Japan and China through the popularization of household and hygiene management improved educational opportunities for women in the region. The identity referred to as "pan-Asian female identity" is useful here as a category of analysis that can help us understand Shimoda's students within an insular community that was influenced by larger political forces. Although Shimoda has often been viewed as instilling a conservative conception of domesticity in her students, her work and educational practice are more complex. With regard to Chinese students, the new body of knowledge, purpose, and curricular experience Shimoda's academy provided resulted in two different areas: modern homemaking and revolutionary activities in China. Among Shimoda's students were figures such as Yan'an Chen 陳彦安, whose "life trajectory could be neatly reconstructed as a linear progression ... from radicalized student to conservative good wife, kindergarten teacher, and a lifelong disciple of Shimoda Utako" (Judge 223). As Joan Judge writes in her *The Precious Raft of History*, Chen's life cannot be fully appreciated without the "rich paradoxes" which Shimoda's interventions embodied even when comparing Chen to Shimoda's most famous Chinese student, Jin Qiu 秋瑾 (1875-1907), the revolutionary martyr who was executed for planning an uprising against the Qing government.

In the article at hand I begin with an investigation of what Shimoda's Chinese and Japanese students shared and that contributed to a collective identity through experiences by addressing questions raised by recent scholarship on household management (家政学) and Chinese women's education. I then examine Shimoda's textbooks and how her students were aligned within a global movement of household management that incorporated, however contentiously and through Shimoda's mediation, existing Confucian traditions of women's education. I also explore the contradictions inherent in late nineteenth-century theory and practice which identified women's education as useful only for producing mothers and housekeepers by analyzing both the renown and lore surrounding Shimoda herself and the contrast between the messages about the modern housewife and the lives of the professional writers and educators who produced those messages.

Shimoda is a paradoxical figure: she had wielded great influence as the head of the Peeresses' Academy where most of the hereditary aristocracy sent their daughters, yet her passionate and almost aggressive expression of her ambitions and intellect upended the image of the type of woman her pedagogical views seemed to advance. As a public figure, Shimoda was a charismatic educator and gained celebrity through publication of numerous guidebooks for students and housewives. She fashioned herself into a standard bearer of women's intellectual and domestic practices for generations of educated young women. Born Seki Hirao (平尾鉞) to the lord of the Iwamura domain in present-day Tochigi Prefecture, she showed great promise as a poet in the classical Japanese tradition of *waka* 和歌. She entered the service of the Meiji empress in 1871 and was considered one of the latter's favorite courtiers and advisors and from whom she received the name Utako, with "uta" (歌) meaning poem. Shimoda served the empress for eight years until she married Takeo Shimoda, a member of the aristocratic class. Takeo was already ill at the time of their marriage and thus Shimoda taught students in her home while tending to her husband's care until his death in 1879. She continued to sustain herself financially through teaching and a year after his death with the recommendation of the Meiji Empress Shōken she joined the faculty at Peeresses' Academy. In 1893, Shimoda traveled to Europe and the U.S. to observe educational systems for women. Extending her stay from one to two years, upon her return she taught and then was a head administrator at the Peeresses' School,

developed the Patriotic Women's Society, and founded Jissen Women's Academy and Junshin Women's Academy. As an educator she placed emphasis on girls' bilingual education in Japanese and English, as well as on the cultivation of their patriotism and reverence for the imperial family (see Yamamoto 225). But Shimoda influenced more than her immediate students through her authorship of nearly eighty guides and textbooks for women, many of them on the responsibilities of housewives. In some of her texts such as *家事実修法: 衛生経済* (A Practical Guide to Household Chores: Hygiene and Economy) she addressed practical subjects while in others such as in *Ryōsai to kenbo 良妻と賢母* (Good Wives and Wise Mothers) she discussed more abstract topics including the suitable ways to interact with one's husband. She also published a number of guides on weaving, cooking, manners, and poetry.

The content of Shimoda's publications incorporated her familiarity with more traditional works on women's education and etiquette, for example her use of *女大学* (Greater Learning for Women) attributed to Ekiken Kaibara 貝原益軒 (1600-1668). Her exposure to mid-nineteenth-century U.S. and European educational practices for women during her two years abroad informed her pedagogical approaches in a significant measure. Shimoda's efforts were part of a larger movement "to enlighten" the Japanese public, coinciding with government attempts to create a stronger and healthy army and nation. Hence it is not surprising that as a leading women's educator, Shimoda promoted domestic science. It was a new, imported area of education and practice that had grown out of Western developments and then spread quickly as a facet of the Meiji period (1868-1912) in Japan and the late Qing period (1644-1912) of China women's educational curricula. The housekeeper and her responsibilities for a household's upkeep in domestic science guides not only gave purpose and meaning to tasks already carried out by women, but also equipped women with scientifically backed techniques and terms. These conditions helped raise women's work as relevant to issues of power and thus also raised women's social status because their success was seen to embody a civilized society as the West defined it.

How, then, did women's education and particularly domestic science weigh women down with new sets of restrictions and expectations, yet also empower them to challenge the social and political norms which sought power and prosperity only for the men of the nation? The activities of the Chinese women who studied in Japan before 1911 have been researched widely. Judge, in particular, details the influence Shimoda had on the promotion of women's education for the production of "mothers of citizens" (国民の母) in the 1900s and examines how motherhood, talent, and virtue functioned within the genre of female biography across competing historical schools of thought. Yet it is undeniable that Shimoda's Chinese and Japanese students shared some common temporal, spatial, and discursive circles. Despite differences in upbringing and culture, Chinese and Japanese students were dressed in the same kind clothing, lived in almost identical communal dormitories (although segregated by language), and used the same textbooks. To ignore whatever "inner communication" emerged from these encounters may be to lose sight of what women's education brought about. Scholarship on Shimoda's work in both Japan and China emphasizes the respective national histories of women's education in Tokyo of the 1900s viewing the Japanese and Chinese students as distinct, nonintegrated groups. Yet, the Jissen Academy served as a passageway for distinct lifestyles such as activism or teaching. The process by which individual students were transformed led its alumnae share discrete but simultaneous embodiments of the modern Asian schoolgirl experience, while also being exposed to distinct sides of various multicultural and gendered interactions.

Despite the particularly diverse paths later taken by the Academy's Chinese students, women students of domestic science, their teachers, and homebound housewives are often identified first by their intellectual proximity to the home and distance from the loci of political power. The narrative of domestic science therefore retains an image of conservatism as a discipline that directs women into the narrow world of household management. However, in my opinion such an assessment presents domestic science and women's education narrowly and in a reductive manner and reproduces the intentions of officials and educators who supported its distribution through the promotion of such notions as the "good wife, wise mother" ideal, Christian definitions of good homes, scientific instruction for use in household management alone, and nationalist agendas for healthy and prosperous citizens. Recently, more scholarship has emerged on the complex discourse of household management and the multilayered production of the housewife's role in shaping modern national identities (see, e.g., Sand; Schneider). In fact, those who populated the halls of women's schools were

not mothers but unmarried women, the students were not housewives but radical activists, and the authors of the textbooks were not symbols of national pride but of national scandal.

The contrasting choices between a housewife's domestic near-seclusion and an activist's political rebellion are symptomatic of the contradictions Shimoda's students faced at the turn of the twentieth century. While the introduction of domestic science as a form of women's education took place on a global scale, what made Shimoda's intervention as an educator important was how she educated Japanese and Chinese women together within the context of a shared legacy of Confucian women's education. The influence of multiple competing traditions on innovations in women's education openly rejected the old, yet could not fully remove itself from preexisting concepts and practices. Judge states, in relation to the influence of Confucian didactic texts on women's schools that "new schools did not necessarily produce new women ... didactic texts condemned as obsolete continued to serve even their harshest critics as crucial sites of meaning production" (7). But even as social definitions of educated women do not appear to venture far from traditional norms, the manner in which these schools altered their occupants' expectations is crucial to understanding this moment in modern education.

The particular distinctions that apparently differentiated Chinese and Japanese language literacy at the time allowed Shimoda to be perceived by her Japanese peers as suited to teaching Chinese women. Both Shimoda's relationship with Chinese students, as described in the school history, and the school and media's versions of their interaction are useful examples in evaluating how gender, education, and power function in the context of multinational and global women's identity. In fact, the transmission and execution of the domestic science discourse empowered Japanese and Chinese women to uphold and tackle simultaneously the social and political world that was taking shape beyond the school grounds and even across national boundaries. Thus we must break down the concept of early 1900s education into several less examined components which will help us identify how gender produced connections between otherwise differentiated groups. The role that Shimoda's classical education played in the development of her identity as an educator is described in visceral terms: Shimoda, according to her biographer, "from her skeleton (骨髓) was an Asian" and "Confucian studies ... had become one with her flesh" (Ko-Shimoda 395). In her physical being, Shimoda was at one with her Chinese students and because of this she sought China's rise from its weakened state.

Women's schools in 1900s Tokyo offered an unprecedented physical and perceptual transformation that might even be called liberation. Yet within Chinese and Japanese women's shared history, the respective nationalist agendas of China and Japan seem almost to negate the benefits that the expansion of education brought about for women. The conservatism of a discourse that directs women into homebound life and thus seemingly out of the public arena draws attention away from the view that this early discourse of women's education retained elements crucial to women achieving some degree of self-actualization. One main objection to recognizing this earlier era of women-centered discourse as part of the history of women's liberation is the idea that any discourses that did not explicitly demand women's political equality could not be considered feminist or in the interest of women. Even as late as 1957, women's rights scholars drew the line at "social movements." Hyōe Ōuchi 大内兵衛, one of the translators of J.S. Mills's *Subjection of Women*, writes that "in the beginning of the Meiji period (1868-1912), those who spoke of improving the status of women were first Yukichi Fukuzawa, then Arinori Mori, and then later Toshiko Kishida and Hideko Kageyama. But these were nothing more than the enlightening activities of intellectual pioneers and did not produce any sort of women's social movement" (193). I posit that the foundation for future movements was being built through educator's choices and those who did not necessarily contribute to organized social movements should be considered part of that movement's history and outcome. In the case of women's history, it is necessary to look to more indirect movements and the long trajectory of shifts that take place because of intellectual pioneers. This is not to say, however, that all students experienced the same school setting or that their interactions were without their own politics. For example, the influence of eugenics that informs the language of health and hygiene, particularly of the mother's body, cannot be denied, especially Shimoda's fundamental support of Japan's leadership over other Asian countries. This was made evident in some of the encounters described by the Chinese students themselves. Quoting Shimoda, Haiping Yan asserts that the Shimoda's views of motherhood were "race-based," "glossed over Japan's role in the international imperialist

encroachments upon China since the 1890s," and that "as a breeding ground for 'strong nation,' her 'motherhood' functions as an operation of bioethnic politics that naturalizes the 'doom' of 'the nations of the poorly bred and the weakly built'" (17).

Chinese students felt inferiority, embarrassment, and even a "sense of degradation" when their own culture was admonished as "superstitious." The issue of footbinding was the greatest source of tension, as the Chinese women themselves were required to unbind their feet in order to enroll at Jissen Academy and were regularly identified in Japan by their "objectification" as "useless playthings" within their homeland (Judge 193). As a period that was of necessity tolerant of new beginnings, the early twentieth-century expansion of schools, curricula, and professions for women brought about numerous unintended outcomes. The kind of nationalist efforts spearheaded by Shimoda in which mothers of future citizens would cultivate and protect the health of the entire nation inevitably clashed with the expectations of young women who were encountering a new way of being not just in terms of the nation. Shimoda herself is a controversial figure: although Judge identifies her as "perhaps the most influential foreign woman in late Qing China" (184), the highs and lows of her reputation in Japanese society were extreme. She contributed to the images of the housewife as a modern caregiver through the language and concepts of domestic science, yet like other leading educators and writers of household guides she herself did not oversee a conventional household.

At a time prior to the widespread expansion of hospitals and professional nursing in Japan, Shimoda's writings appeared when the care of patients and the elderly were managed at home. Western practices of medicine had been imported to Japan in secret since the seventeenth century and until in the 1880s to the early 1900s medical practitioners who had been sent to Europe and the U.S. to glean Western medical practices returned to create professional training institutions in Japan. As Junko Ebara has shown, the introduction of the nursing profession had a direct influence on the responsibilities of women in a given household. Professional nurses existed in the 1880s, but only served the wealthiest of families. Until the wider expansion of hospitals, wives and mothers took on the role of managing hygiene and environment in order to maintain the health of their households. The household guides published in this period are similar to the moral texts of the Tokugawa period, which were based on Confucian teachings and widely used to prepare young women for marriage.

The term 家庭 (household) appears often within Shimoda's works and the term combined a mixture of Japanese views on the family and reflected a tightly bound, hierarchical unit modeled after the couple-centered family system imported from the West (see Takahashi 56). In her 1883 家政学 (Study of Household Management) Shimoda sought to educate women by incorporating modern medical practices into everyday domestic duties. Through this pioneering work and numerous others, she produced resources for women, as students and wives, to instruct them on the proper activities of a competent housewife, the central figure in any household. Her manuals asserted women's difference from and importance in relationship to men and helped articulate this new role. In the revised edition of Study of Household Management there is increased use of scientific procedures and evidence to support ideas (see Iizuka and Ōi 5). The shifting expectations for mothers and wives have specific ties to government efforts to educate the populace and raise Japan's status in the international community. Ebara, a scholar of social welfare and psychology, has found that nursing (看護) was presented as something women should adopt with a feeling of deep responsibility and care. Thus, guidelines for nursing were added first to the women's higher education ordinance of 1899 and then included in instructor manuals published by the Ministry of Education in 1903 (see Ebara 118).

In the process of creating guidelines and practices which fit into new national concerns for the hygiene and health of its citizens, the practices of ordinary women came to embody the specialized practices of a new profession. Key medical practices include checking the pulse and body temperature, maintaining a hygienic sickbed environment, and assisting the medical doctor, who conventionally made house calls. The housewife was expected to quarantine the sick from the elderly and from children. The management of hygiene and sanitized environments became her responsibility in the fight to quell contagious disease. Shimoda's guides advise on private, as well as public forms of hygiene management and depict a woman's commitment to such activities as a contribution toward her mental health, as well as to public order. Ebara notes that new practices of womanhood in the forms of home nursing and domestic management were influenced by the professionalization of nursing in the 1890s and early 1900s not the least owing to Shimoda's work.

The political and social effects of educational changes served opposing agendas for the individual, in terms of being self-made versus being part of a female collective. The quality of education improved for women on the whole, the possibilities for becoming self-made opened even for women, while the struggles on the side of educators to limit the degree of education's influence as a liberating tool, and of students to test the limits of their potential, were in full swing. On the basis primarily of gender rather than national identity, the two kinds of students who emerged from the small, but significant group of Chinese women who studied in Japan — for example figures such as Qiu and Chen — represent a polarity in the expected outcome of education and an argument for activism as a result of opportunity and not simply of ideology. Qiu criticized Shimoda to her Japanese liaison Shigeko Hattori, a former student at Jissen, even suggesting that Shimoda's acceptance of Chinese students was because of greed of money (Yan 55). Chen, in contrast, left behind an eloquent commencement speech in her fluent Japanese in 1904: "When I return to my home country, I will do my utmost to multiply the blades of knowledge sprouting blossoms and fruit that I gathered in your country, and hope to show my gratitude even just a little, by which to return this great blessing" (Chen qtd. in Ko-Shimoda 401; unless indicated otherwise, all translations are mine).

On a more mundane level, the transformation of disparate groups of Chinese students into members of Shimoda's Academy required a change in dress and the construction of suitable housing (Ko-Shimoda 400). The group included students such as a 53-year-old mother along with her daughter and young wives who had never lifted a finger to dust. Yet as Michiko Sakaki 坂木道子, their dorm instructor, wrote, all would learn to "open their eyes at the 5 a.m. bell, and move their wobbly feet, and clean the classrooms, hallways, and privies" (Sakaki qtd. in Ko-Shimoda 400). But most important to Shimoda, the students' graduation ceremonies were public events attended by dignitaries and elite educators who were eager to strengthen ties between Japan and China. Shimoda herself demonstrated how both her practice of and failure to practice what she taught were incorporated easily into the politics of Meiji women's education and was a crucial model for professional success for female students in the 1890s and early 1900s. In fact, as one of the shared narratives brought about through the collective experience of Jissen Academy, the influence of Shimoda's example through her writing, persona, and reputation helped enable women to make their own contributions to such public narratives of women's social and professional success. This is evident in the multiple publications emerging from Jissen Academy in honor of its founder (see Ko-Shimoda). The school was but one means by which Shimoda shaped a national standard for women's education, which then contributed to the spread of a modern women's education in China. By managing a successful institution, she maintained influence over elite social and political circles. She also provided a destination for Chinese women in search of a modern education through a foreign culture and language. That this opportunity led some of those women to participate in political activism was not a mere accident.

In household management and domestic ideals, the production of narratives defies the content of the narrative itself. For example, Catharine Esther Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote *The American Woman's Home* in 1869 from which Shimoda is thought to have drawn much of the content for her *Study of Household Management*. Nicole Tonkovich observes that this work was based on "skills perfected over decades of experience as successful writers" and that the sisters' "collaboration depended on the important but unremarked support of domestic workers" (xviii). In fact, Catharine Beecher was "entirely responsible for her own financial support, had no permanent home and continued to travel from place to place" (xviii). Shimoda herself was married for some years and tended personally to her husband who was bedridden for three years before dying of his ailments. Shimoda supported her household financially by running a school out of her home and this mirrors the necessity of such writers to be economically resourceful. As a former court lady, Shimoda had already achieved one of the highest levels of education and status that could be obtained by a woman in the mid-Meiji period.

Like her U.S. counterparts, Shimoda's ambitions seemed to push her out of the home in the name of national prosperity and to seek the same for other women. Several themes are obscured in the translation of the Beecher sisters' ideas from English to Japanese, specifically in *Study of Household Management* and in the revised 1990 新選家政学 (New Collection of the Study of Household Management). But most interesting is the fact that the entire opening chapter of *The American Woman's Home* — which focuses on the qualities of a Christian home and the role of god and

Christianity in the housekeeper's duties — is omitted from the Japanese version. In addition, there is no mention of the role of single women, who in the Beechers' book were encouraged to be self-sustaining and, "not content to become supernumerary," to see themselves "as professionals, stateswomen, and beacons of charitable practice and informed womanhood" (Tonkovich xx). Most curious about the last point is whether or not this approach of interpolating independent women was present in the Japanese version of this work. In fact, Masako Iwasawa argues that Qiu's revolutionary ideals were influenced by Shimoda, who had been reared to be a financial asset to her family, had traveled to the West and witnessed women educated in the same subjects as men, had envisioned education regardless of economic class, and had sought to improve the physical health and strength of the female body (32). According to Iwasawa, Shimoda had, by example and in her interactions with her students, promoted an improvement in Japanese lives that Qiu sought for Chinese women as well. It was at the peak of her influence that Shimoda was forced to fight public and scandalous rumors that threatened her renown and also to sully the emperor's name through connection to her. The source of the scandal — a month-long exposé printed by the socialist *Heimin shinbun* 平民新聞 (Commoners' Newspaper) — painted a lurid picture of Shimoda's dalliances with several high officials, including the former prime minister Hirobumi Itō 伊藤博文. The newspaper was considered a provocative, lowbrow daily that appealed to a mass readership through politically charged content, as well as sensational news. The paper was run by socialist activists, most notably the anarchist Shūsui Kōtoku 幸徳秋水 (1871-1911), who was executed by the Japanese government for allegedly plotting to assassinate the emperor. A number of issues were banned and deemed offensive to the government, including the series of articles printed about Shimoda. In fact, despite Shimoda's accomplishments as the founder of the Jissen Women's Academy, her revival in the twenty-first century has been through a work of popular fiction surrounding the drama of the *Heimin shinbun* smear campaign. In 1990, the Naoki Prize-winning popular author Mariko Hayashi 林真理子 published a best-selling biographical novel entitled *Mikado no onna* ミカドの淑女 (The Emperor's Woman): Hayashi's text is written from the perspective of those close with Shimoda, but never from her own view and only covers the period of the scandal when Shimoda, labeled a *yōfu* 妖婦 ("enchantress"), is forced to resign from her position as "the most powerful woman in Japan" in her role as headmistress of an academy tied to the aristocracy (Hayashi 23). Hayashi presents the complexity of Shimoda's position as Japan's "most powerful woman" and her downfall, the narrator suggests, was instigated by *Heimin shinbun*, but was enabled by discrimination toward women. Shimoda had to contend with the conditional support of powerful officials who found her talent and achievements useful for educating the elite wives of the future, but who would not defend her in the face of public censure. Hayashi's narrative also suggests that Shimoda was intimate with a number of these men thus presenting a kind of defense for Shimoda's sexual freedom.

What emerge from the actual smear campaign and from its fictionalization are the competing interests within the conflict: the socialists who sought to undermine the prime minister, his cabinet, and the emperor system *in toto*, the oligarchs who sought to colonize Korea, and Shimoda's many women rivals within the Meiji empress's court, who watched her unparalleled rise to success and who were pleased by her public shaming. While the empress and emperor are included as narrators in Hayashi's story, they maintain a regal distance from the sheer vulgarity of the accusations through the use of honorifics used only for the imperial family. And although the emperor is raised above the gossip published in mass-audience newspapers, the emperor's and empress's respective loyalties to their favorite attendants put them at odds with each other. Hayashi seems to emphasize near the end of the story that Shimoda was motivated by her devotion not to the empress but to the emperor and by her passionate love affair with the controversial Kichisaburō Iino 飯野吉三郎 (1867-1944), a practitioner of a new school of Shinto and self-styled spiritual advisor who, through his powers of foresight, aided generals in Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War. Hayashi addresses the matter of Shimoda's sexual relations with multiple men at a time when only men were permitted multiple partners. In Shimoda's case, rumor alone was enough to threaten her professional status: repeated discussion of her sex life in print exacerbated the suspicions of her rivals and destroyed her legitimacy as a pristine women's educator. Christine Marran observes that "the allure of the poison woman (*dokufu* 毒婦) as an object of study resides in her capacity to illuminate not only the emerging social, sexual, and political mores but also the fundamental drive to read and consume the other in order to

define the self" (xix). While the *dokufu* were often illiterate criminals, Shimoda, whose sexuality was presented in *Heimin shinbun* as a kind of deviance, shares with the *dokufu* the role of the other being consumed by a mass readership.

In Hayashi's version, which presents multiple readings of these news articles, the narrative gaze shifts back onto the reader whose changing view of Shimoda is never confirmed or denied by the object herself. That Hayashi does not venture to speak from Shimoda's position leaves open the possibility and likelihood that Shimoda was often the object of the public gaze whether in her professional or her private life. The idea of privacy emerges here because certain moral works aimed to dictate private life so that the private life of the author would open to public adjudication. The Shimoda in Hayashi's text is tried on the pages of a leftist newspaper and the professional repercussions were heavy for Shimoda. For it was the newspaper that led to Shimoda's resignation from her post as principle of the Peeress' Academy and the exposé of the alleged affair of Shimoda. Within Hayashi's narrative, one chapter is devoted to a former student of Shimoda, Mutsuko Sarubashi 猿橋睦子, who recalls the sickly husband who lay helpless in the other room as she and her fellow students were instructed by Shimoda (42). This chapter reveals how Shimoda may have been perceived by her students, for the power of suggestion, and the mention of alleged affairs, and how this led former students not only to redouble their accusations, but to go on the attack sending anonymous letters to the newspaper to confirm or supplement the rumors. The narrative is also written from the fictional perspective of Itō, the Meiji emperor, which provides interesting angles on the scandal. With Itō, Hayashi seems to confirm that some extended relationship existed between the emperor and Shimoda. The emperor, although detached from the deep tensions the scandal creates, is still presented subtly as Shimoda's romantic ideal — a sexualizing of the emperor that still courts controversy. The presentation of Shimoda's allies and critics depicts the many sides of Shimoda and the resentment she invited with her ambitions. Hayashi's depiction of Shimoda is ultimately sympathetic, for her ambition is displayed through the envy or displeasure of her acquaintances and portrays her, at the close of this scandal, as betrayed and shunned. It is after this that she is forced to resign as head of the Gakushūin Women's Academy in 1906 yielding control of the women's division to the headmaster of the men's division of Gakushūin, General Marusuke Nogi 乃木希典 (1849-1912), a hero of the Russo-Japanese War.

The betrayal — in which few if any of Shimoda's powerful admirers stepped up to defend her — is a reminder of the paradoxical roles women found themselves in as they achieved more rights and opportunities. The specific commonalities within the curricula and the language of domestic science, as the *raison d'être* of women's education, also produced unintended results which motivated women outward into society, rather than inward into domestic seclusion as is often assumed. Shimoda prepared her students to articulate their views publicly and thus gave her students the legitimacy of a unique responsibility: to enforce their newly acquired scientific and moral knowledge for shaping households and future students. In Shimoda's own case, her biography as much as her pedagogical work informed both the mechanisms of women's education and the social perceptions which shifted constantly. It is because of these shifts that individual women found multiple uses for the knowledge they received and for the opportunity either to travel across oceans or to enter into a community populated only of women.

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