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Women Novelists and Female Consciousness in Taishō Japan: The Cases of Tamura Toshiko and Miyamoto Yuriko

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I

In terms of the evolution of women's literature of Japan, the period surrounding the Taishō era (1912–1926) occupies a uniquely significant position in our history, for it was during this period that a host of brilliant women writers appeared, whose works were marked unmistakably with powerful feminist consciousness. Before the Taishō era, the only period in which a similar flowering of female creativity can be seen was the Heian era (794–926) when a group of highly talented courtly women produced a number of literary masterpieces including *The Tale of Genji* by Murasaki Shikibu.

The formidable length of time that passed between these two periods is a testimony to the centuries of dark ages during which Japanese women were subjugated to the strict control of the patriarchal feudalistic order, where their initiatives as individuals were wholly suppressed, let alone their creativity. Hence when the women of the Taishō era collectively began to break the long-kept silence, it is as though they suddenly succeeded in mustering all the pent-up creative energies of the preceding generations. In these efforts, they were undoubtedly assisted by the support and inspiration they received from the on-going feminist

movement which was becoming conspicuous for the first time in our history. Consequently their works reflected one desire held in common by all the newly-awakened women of the period—namely to reject the age-old stereotype of the Japanese women as emblem of submissiveness and obedience, and to search instead for new identities through which to fulfill their newly-sensed aspirations for freedom and self-assertion.

Among those women are the two novelists that I am chiefly concerned with in this paper, Tamura Toshiko and Miyamoto Yuriko. Although they represent two opposing types of women writers of the period, Toshiko the aesthetic school and Yuriko the more broadly socially-oriented school, they shared the same determination to shape their own lives independently and give truthful accounts of the courses of their struggles within the framework of their largely autobiographical works.

My object in this paper is to trace through their works and lives how each writer came to gain an awareness as a woman, an individual, and an artist, and how this was affected by their relationships with their parents, spouses and fellow women writers. I will also pay special attention to the atmosphere of the Taishō era which both encouraged and restricted their arduous pursuits. Besides adding to the growing body of knowledge concerning the Taishō women writers, I hope my endeavors will help clarify the link between these pioneering feminist writers of that era and those of our own time who are still treated more or less as an isolated phenomenon.

II

Before dealing with Toshiko and Yuriko, I want to make a few more remarks about the background factors of the Taishō era that seem to be useful for my purpose. A brief period between the Meiji era which began right after the collapse of the Tokugawa Shōgunate and the Shōwa era which enjoyed an unprecedented length of time up until 1989, the Taishō era should have been relatively an inconspicuous

period, had it not been a unique time of social turmoil.

Based upon the eager modernization efforts initially started by the preceding Meiji government, the Taishō era continued to witness rapid industrialization, resulting in the marked rise of the urban middle class which was in general more rational, more progressive and more open to new values. The young intellectuals of the period, in particular, tended to embrace ardently such Western ideals, as individualism, egalitarianism and humanism, becoming a major force in starting an array of social and political movements, collectively called the "Taishō Democracy", among whose achievements was the passage of the Universal Suffrage Act. Later, when the economic boom caused by the first world war came to a sudden end, and the social conditions became further aggravated by the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, more and more intellectuals began to turn to Marxism and other radical ideologies, causing in turn growing governmental pressure upon any kind of progressive ideas or movements, but as a whole it might be said that the characteristic mood of the Taishō era remained quite hopeful and idealistic as to the possibility of a new and a better society in the future.(2)

All those movements and activities were naturally male-centered, 'universal' suffrage meaning only 'male universal' suffrage,(3) for example, but the important thing was that women were not totally excluded from such an atmosphere. The rising middle class were generally eager to give their young daughters a good education and tried to send them to the best available higher institutions for women, a number of which had been established between the latter half of the Meiji era and the former half of the Taishō era, mostly modeled on the prestigious private women's colleges in the U.S. They included Tsuda Woman's College, Tokyo Woman's Christian University and Japan Women's College. Although their objectives were mostly limited to educating their students to become the so-called "ryōsai kenbo", or "good wives and wise mothers", the Japanese version of the Victorian women of high domestic virtues, the

emergence of college-educated women was a significant phenomennon, for it was among them that the pioneering feminist movement emerged.[4]

In 1911, just one year before the Taishō era began, a group of young women headed by Hiratsuka Raichō, a graduate from Japan Women's College, aged 25, started a magazine called *Seitō*, which became the nation's first feminist literary journal. "In the beginning women were the Sun-Goddess, genuine human beings, but now they have dwindled to the status of the pale-faced moon, living on the nourishment from the outside, shining by the light from the outside...."[5] Thus began Raichō's famous preface to the inaugural issue, which came to be considered as the first declaration of independence by Japanese women. Clearly implicit in this statement is the shared ambition of those *Seitō* women to be heirs to the long-neglected cultural heritage of Japanese women—most notably, of course, that of the Heian era. But an even greater inspiration came obviously from outside sources—those new ways of thought of feminism introduced from various Western countries at the time—as indicated in the fact that the name *Seitō* itself is the literal translation of the 'blue-stocking' of the 18th century England.[6] Thus, even though the initial purpose of *Seitō* was to foster the literary creativity of Japanese women, it became for the next five years a lively forum where all kinds of women's issues could be discussed —from the institution of marriage to women's labor, to women's sexuality.[7]

As the nation's first feminist group and the symbol of the new women in Japan, those *Seitō* women remained a rich source of inspiration to the aspiring female writers of the period. It should be noted at the same time that the *Seitō* group had its own limitations just as did all the other idealistic group of the Taishō era. As Miyamoto Yuriko was later to point out, those *Seitō* women represented only a limited number of select women, mostly from well-to-do middle or upper-middle class families. Hence, it was difficult for them to fully grasp the majority of Japanese women who had far fewer privileges and had no other choice

but to live in the shacles of older mores and assumptions.(8) After Raichō resigned her position as editor, her successor Itō Noe, turned more and more to radical political activism, and because of financial trouble as well as increasing pressure from the state authority, the magazine was obliged to be discontinued in 1916, sharing the destinies of all of similarly idealistic and hence too far-seeing movements of the time.

III

Tamura Toshiko (1884–1945), the first woman writer to be dealt with here, kept somewhat an ambivalent attitude towards the *Seitō* group. Being already a well-established popular writer at the time, she became one of the contributors to the first issue of *Seitō*, and retained close ties with it in the ensuing issues as well.(9) However, Toshiko seems to have avoided getting too involved in the movement itself, mainly because she put her dedication to her writing artistry above any direct involovement with political activism.(10) Nevertheless, it is evident that she gained a significant stimulus from the whole movement of the *Seitō* group from the fact that it was after her first contact with it that her works started explicitly to deal with the struggles of powerful female characters trying to gain selfhood and autonomy, the kind that were unprecedented in any of the fiction in Japan prior to hers.

In order to appreciate the truly revolutionary nature of Toshiko's female protagonists, we have only to compare them with those archetypal Meiji heroines created by Higuchi Ichiyō, a famous woman writer twelve years senior to Toshiko, in whom the latter could find the sole role-model for herself. In one of her well-known stories called "Jūsanya", or "The Thirteenth Night." (1895), for example, Ichiyō depicts a young wife named Seki who decides to leave her husband because of his extremely

harsh treatments of her, but is forced to change her mind, when she sees her own parents so secure and content with their daughter being married into a family well above their own means and status. An inhabitant of the world where the formidable family system based on the old Confucian ethics was still dominant, where a woman had to submit herself to "three kinds of obedience", first, to her father, second, to her husband, and third, to her son, Seki has no other choice but to hurry back to her husband's home. To be sure, we can feel anger that Ichiyō herself must have felt toward the cruel destiny of women of her time, but that anger is muted just like the beautiful moonlight falling quietly on the figure of Seki in the ending scene.(11) Seki is made such an impressive figure, for she embodies all those generations of Japanese women who appeared beautiful in their self-renunciation, but were wreteched inside, having had their voices silenced, often not even allowed to possess their own minds.

Toshiko's protagonists are completely opposite to such traditional types in many ways. They express their thoughts and feelings freely. They openly contradict or defy their male lovers or husbands when they feel their sense of self threatened. They even have recourse to physical attacks out of anger when their male partners seem too unreasonable or unjust. Among the most notable examples of such women is that of Seiko who declares to her overpossessive jealous husband in a story called "Seigon", or "Vow" (1912): "Whether it is disgusting or not, my attitude is mine. Whether it is repulsive or not, my personality is mine."(12) Here is the same ring of defiance that has been noted in Raichō's statement. In fact, written eight months after the first publication of *Seitō*, "Vow" can be regarded as Toshiko's own declaration of independence as a woman.

Besides this uninhibitedly open assertion of selfhood, an important factor that characterizes many of Toshiko's works is the fact that they were surprisingly loquacious about the matters of women's sexuality.

Her heroines are often sexually mature women who show little prudery in expressing their erotic desire. By common consent, Toshiko is considered the first Japanese woman writer to explicitly explore women's eroticism.(13)

However, it should be noted that Toshiko did not present her female characters merely as one-dimensional 'positive' types. As Tanaka Yukiko pointed out in her insightful introduction to the translated version of Toshiko's anthology, there is always a marked trait of daulity or ambivalence in all of her heroines.(14) In "Horaku no Kei", or "Burning at the Stake" (1914), for example, the heroine, who is a writer like the author herself, is caught in a dilemma torn between a wish to leave her husband and establish a new, separate life on the one hand, and on the other, an equally powerful desire to return to him and regain her old sense of closeness and security with him.

Such a daulity characterizing many of her other heorines as well, may have something to do with the fact that Toshiko herself was a product of dual cultures: she spent her earlier years in two distinctively different kinds of worlds—that of the "Shitamachi" area, or the old downtown section of Tokyo, whose residents were largely common working class people with a tendency to stick to older mores, and that of the "Yamanote" area, or the uptown section of Tokyo, whose residents were mostly middle-class people, more attuned to newer values and lifestyles. Toshiko's apparent reluctance to give up one culture for the other was to create within herself a painful dichotomy, which simultaneously became the rich soil for her development as a mature woman, individual and artist.

Toshiko was born with the maiden name of Satō near the area called Asakusa which was the bustling center of the old downtown section of Tokyo, generally called "Shitamachi".(15) It was indeed, a very special area where the old plebian culture from the Edo era still

persisted, with the famous *kabuki* theater district on the one hand and the largest gay quarter on the other. Although according to Setouchi Harumi, Toshiko's first definitive biographer, Toshiko remained rather reluctant to talk about her childhood there, it was quite erratic one, for Toshiko's mother was obviously a very unconventional sort of woman.(16) Originally the daugher of a wealthy rice merchant, she seems to have conducted a prologned affair with a much younger man, squandering a lot of money in the process. Eventually Toshiko's father deserted his family and thereafter her mother earned their living by giving their neighbors private lessons in Japanese dancing and *samisen*, a traditional musical instrument. The lifestyle of her mother as well as the whole atmosphere of the surrounding Shitamachi area must have played a significant role in cultivating Toshiko's surprisingly mature sense of sexuality which seems totally untainted by the general Confucian prudery. At the same time, however, her mother's unconventional life must have been a source of great consternation to Toshiko as a child. Later, in a story entitled "Eiga", or "Glory" (1916), Toshiko gives a poignant account of the downfall of a once-prosperous woman who neglects her small daughter because of her infatuation with a popular *kabuki* actor, showing Toshiko's own deep-seated ambivalence toward her mother and the kind of the world represented by her—a world, rich in sensuousness, more down-to-earth and more emotional in the sphere of human relationship.(17)

Then, at the age of 17, Toshiko entered an entirely new kind of world when she enrolled herself in Japan Women's College, a prestigious institution mainly for middle or upper-middle class daughters from the Yamanote area or the uptown section of Tokyo. (By a curious coincidence, Miyamoto Yuriko also entered the same college later on.) Although, because of ill health, Toshiko had to leave there within one year, it was an important phase of her life, for there she was exposed fully, for the first time, to a sort of culture entirely new to her—more

intellectual, more disciplined, more individualistic and more in step with the rapidly changing society.

When her health recovered, however, Toshiko did not return to her college but took a vital step to materialize her long-cherished dream to be a professional writer, by becoming a protege of Kōda Rohan, a famous writer of the time. Although a loving and indulgent teacher to Toshiko, Rohan obviously did not teach much to her except for advising her to read only classical literature. Thus more important perhaps than Rohan as a spiritual mentor to Toshiko was the already-mentioned Higuchi Ichiyō, the single most famous woman writer of the Meiji era. In fact, Toshiko's decision to be a writer itself could have been shaped to a large degree by the existence of Ichiyō's example (even though the two never met each other on account of the early death of the latter), for all of Toshiko's writings from her apprentice years show direct influence from Ichiyō. Being herself from the Shitamachi area, Ichiyō was indeed a fit model for Toshiko, who likewise wrote one story after another, which dealt with various Shitamachi women characteristically entangled with the suffocatingly close human relationsionships commonly found in that area.(18) Naturally those early writings done by Toshiko were still mere immature exercises with little sense of originality, but it was significant that, following the elder woman's examples, Toshiko could show from the start an inclination to write solely about female characters from a female point of view.(19)

Interestingly enough, Toshiko's emergence as a genuinely original writer came about with the help of two subsequent events that simultaneously helped her to grow as a woman and individual: the first was her marriage with her first husband Tamura Shōgyo in 1909, and the second was her encounter with the *Seitō* group on which I have already touched.

One of Toshiko's fellow would-be writers, Shōgyo was a complex personality with his own set of dilemmas, and hence their marriage turned out to be heavily conflict-ridden, but nevertheless extremely

fruitful for Toshiko's professional development. For one thing, since Shōgyo had stayed in America for seven years before their marriage, he could act as a teacher to her concerning new Western ways of thought and lifestyle there.[20] In fact, on a theoretical level, at least, Shōgyo seems to have had quite advanced ideas concerning women's position or male-female relationship, as shown in the fact that in "Kanojo no Seikatsu", or "Her Life", which Toshiko wrote eight years after their marriage, a man named Nitta who clearly reminds us of Shōgyo proposes to Yūko (Toshiko) as follows:

> "I will value your freedom more than any man could do in the past and will try to help you advance your way forward, for, to help you live freely means to help myself live freely. I am not expecting you to be a mere domestic woman."[21]

Ironically, Shōgyo himself proved to be a failure as a writer, and eventually dwindled into a parasitic existence dependent on Toshiko, but he believed in Toshiko's talent more than anybody else could do at the time, and it was under his encouragement or even enforcement that Toshiko could complete her first important work, entitled "Akirame" or "Resignation" (1915), the work which launched her into fame, by winning a major prize from a newspaper.

As is common with many first imporant works, "Resignation" is of particular interest to us because it includes all of the fundamental elements that characterize the author's later works. It is a story of three sisters of different natures: the eldest Tsumako, a conventional housewife married to a popular script-writer, the second, Tomie, a college student hoping to pursue her independent career as a scriptwriter,[22] and the third, Kie, a coquettish Shitamachi girl who tries to flirt with Tsumako's husband. Critics agree that those sisters represent three different facets of the author's own complex personality as woman,

Tsumako as a conventional type, Tomie as a "new woman", and Kie as a Shitamachi girl. But it is above all the character of Tomie who occupies the author's central concern. An awakened woman believing in the necessity to "establish a firm position of her own which will enable her to support herself", determined to "pursue her own way of life",(23) she keeps a detached attitude toward her surrounding world which is governed by shallow selfish men like Tsumako's husband, and hence can criticize and pity those thoughtless women like her own sisters who can indulge such men so willingly. Tomie is a liberated woman, not only spiritually but physically as well, as manifested in her uninhibited expression of erotic feeling toward a college friend of the same sex. In fact, as Setouchi points out, Toshiko seems to have had few scruples about her tendency for lesbian feeling in her real life as well.(24) To our dismay, however, the ending of "Resignation" is surprisingly weak and inconvincing, for Tomie, hitherto so courageous in pursuing her own way, ends up in deciding to return to her hometown to fulfill her filial duty to her old aunt living there. There may be many explanations for such an abrupt ending: one may be that Toshiko was not yet ready to be free from the powerful influence of Ichiyō (the ending of "Resignation" reminds us of that of "The Thirteenth Night" in its emphasis on a daughter's filial duty). Another might be that Toshiko in her efforts to please the judges of the contest tried to compromise herself with the kind of the ending that could be most easily accepted by them. Whatever the case, the significance of "Resignation" cannot be questioned, for in it Toshiko could find her own theme for the first time, namely, the struggle of "new women" in search of independence and a meaningful way of life. For Toshiko to be able to explore this theme in a more satisfactory manner, she had to wait for another significant event in her life—namely, her encounter with the women of *Seitō*, which must have led her to the welcome realization that she was no longer alone in her struggle: there were a number of other women who

were engaged in the same sort of endeavor, whatever temperemental differences there may have been between herself and them.

Thus, between 1912 and 1916, the years which coincided with the period of the publication of *Seitō*, Toshiko produced all of her finest works, including "Vow", "Onna Sakusha" or "Woman Writer" (1913), "Miira no Kuchibeni", or "Painted Lips of a Mummy" (1914), "Burning at the Stake" and "Glory" (1916). Above all, "The Painted Lips of a Mummy" and "Burning at the Stake" deserve our special attention, for, together, they can be reagarded as the finest examples of early feminist literature by a Japanese woman.

"The Painted Lips of a Mummy" is based upon the author's own experience around the time when she was writing "Resignation". As in many of her other works, a couple who are both struggling writers like Toshiko and Shōgyo appear in the story. In the beginning they are in a very evil mood toward each other because both are suffering from the worst kind of 'writer's block'. Pressed by poverty and driven to despair by the loss of confidence in their own talents, they spend much of their time hurting each other with sarcastic remarks. Then one day the husband Yoshio comes home with news about a new literary award to be given to a promising writer by a newspaper and urges his wife Minoru to try. Reluctantly Minoru agrees, and after days of struggles under Yoshio's constant reprimands and threats, she finally completes the manuscript, which, to their surprises, wins the prize. However, Minoru is not satisfied with the work itself, knowing that it has been completed under her husband's pressure, for the sake of money, and hence thereafter she starts to make conscious efforts to improve her ability by working furiously every day. The most impressive part of the story comes when Minoru, as a result of those efforts, comes to gain not only a firmer conviction in her own professional ability but also a newly awakened sense of autonomy as an individual.

> What mastered Minoru was no longer Yoshio. For the first time what mastered Minoru was her own ability. The arrogance that Yoshio often hated in Minoru came to be hidden where Yoshio could not see it. But in that hidden place Minoru's arrogance grew even stronger... The work Minoru had accomplished was unmistakably her own. Minoru's art was unmistakably her own. Minoru had earned her own ability independently and thus began to act on her own accord. Yoshio had no way to interfere.(25)

But characteristically the story does not end there. While Minoru revels in her new sense of independence, she is drawn simultaneously to the former sense of closeness and intimacy that Yoshio has been able to provide her with. She then has a strange dream in which two mummies, male and female, are making love in a glass box, while she herself stands watching it. Although Toshiko adds no further explanation, it obviously symbolizes Minoru's own relationship with Yoshio, or for that matter, the relationships of all couples similar to themselves, in which male and female forever confront each other, as long as each holds on to his or her own sense of selfhood, but are irresisitibly bound to each other by a force beyond any human reasoning.

Likewise, in "The Burning at the Stake," the same sort of ambivalence pervades throughout the story. Here, the heroine Tatsuko has a violent fight with her husband Keiji because of the alleged interest she has shown in one of her young admirers (she admits that she has had one kiss with him). In a fit of anger, Keiji leaves their house to stay in his remote hometown village, where she follows him. In spite of her desparate efforts, they cannot quite achieve reconciliation, for Tatsuko still believes in her freedom to "love anybody," even though she claims her love for Keiji is unsurpassed. Finally when Tatsuko's young admirer himself appears with a suggestion that he meet Keiji to gain a possible permission to marry her, Tatsuko laughs it away, considering that it is

ridiculously arrogant of him to think of such an arrangement. One might recall here a very similar situation which occurs in *The Awakening* by Kate Chopin, a pioneering woman writer of the turn-of-the-century America, who treated the same theme as Toshiko did in "The Burning at the Stake," namely, woman's desire and sexual freedom. In the *Awakening*, the heroine Edna eventually chooses suicide in an attempt to preserve her own self-pride, Toshiko's Tatsuko cries defiantly to the still boilingly-angry Keiji at the end: "Do me any violence, if you please! I will accept it with pleasure!"(26) Just with Edna, Tatsuko is willing to surrender herself physically, but she will never under any condition give up her own soul.

Thus Toshiko's altar-egos in her fiction seem forever to keep moving back and forth between two opposing worlds, namely, the new world of independence and separation from her husband, and the old world of closeness and intimacy with him. But in real life, Toshiko finally decided to break away from Shōgyo (in 1916), who by then had been wholly dependent on her earning for his everyday existence. Two years afterwards, she ventured a further step in going to Vancouver, to start a new life with Suzuki Etsu, an idealistic newsreporter two years junior to herself, who had suggested that she stop living in the former decadant manner altogether and live instead in a "purer", more "sincere" manner in the New Continent.(27) And thereafter, Toshiko continued to live in that country until 1936, mainly as the happily-married wife of Etsu, helping him to edit a progressive journal and to organize a workers' union for the Japanese community there. (Etsu died in 1933.)(28) In the meantime Toshiko obviously did not give up her desire to do more creative writing, possibly the kind that was more socially-oriented than her previous works, indicating that Toshiko was not blind to the latest trend among her fellow writers back home, namely, to be more committed to actual socio-political issues—a trend that had been brought about both as a result of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and their increasing

awareness with the discrepancies of the early capitalist economy in Japan. But the fact was Toshiko could not produce any works worth our attention again.

It is true that Toshiko's creative power was in marked decline by the time she separated from Shōgyo, but even so, it is curious that only with Shōgyo who could never be considered as a conventionally desirable husband, could she be really productive. Perhaps because Shōgyo was himself a mixed product of the old culture and the new (he later became a dealer in the statues of Buddha), he could understand or accept Toshiko's complexity as a woman and artist much better than Etsu, who obviously tended to place Toshiko on a pedestal by forming an ideal image of her as a pure Goddess in the Western tradition,(29) resulting in Toshiko's total loss of her most favored subject matter, namely, that of her inner-conflict between the old world and the new as well as that of the head-on clash between two equally strong egos of a male and a female like those of Shōgyo and herself.

It was partly because of such an air of duality or ambivalence felt in most of Toshiko's works that she was often slighted by her later critics. In fact, until Setouchi Harumi published her ground-breaking biography of Toshiko in 1956, had she been virtually forgotten in our official literary history. Even Toshiko's contemporary women writers like Nogami Yaeko and Hiratsuka Raichō herself were very severe in their comments on Toshiko, saying that Toshiko was after all "a conventional old-fashioned type of woman" often found in the Shitamachi area, lacking "intellectual philosophy" or any positive message.(30) However, as Tanaka Yukiko correctly observes, Toshiko at her best could present the dilemma that confronted independent struggling women of the period more honestly than any of her contemporary writers,(31) and precisely because the conflict between freedom and security, separation and intimacy, and intellect and emotion is becoming even more acutely felt by the present

generations of women, Toshiko's stories have not lost fresh appeal to us, present readers.

IV

Miyamoto Yuriko (1899–1951) the second writer I am concerned with, was a generation younger than Toshiko and continued to be a well-respected, prolific writer well into the Shōwa era. But since it was during the Taishō era that Yuriko came to maturity both as an individual and an artist, she can also be considered as a writer belonging to that era, particularly to the latter half of it. By the time Yuriko made her debut as a writer, Toshiko's professional career was nearing the end, so that these two writers had little contact with each other (except, after Toshiko's return to her home country many years later, when she sought a brief association with the younger writer who was by then at the height of her literary fame), but it is obvious that Yuriko held Toshiko in high esteem as a pioneering feminist writer before herself, in spite of the fact that Yuriko, too, like Yaeko and Raichō, was from a purely high-brow Yamanote background. Perhaps this was because Yuriko knew better than anybody else among her contemporary women writers the meaning of "Personal is Political".(32) As is mentioned in her own ground-breaking study of Japanese women writers called "Fujin to Bungaku", or "Women and Literature" (1948), Yuriko noted in Toshiko's works "the fierce power of a woman" who "dared to defy the old male authority", but regretted that Toshiko could not place her personal resistance in a larger social perspective.(33)

To be sure, Yuriko was far more successful than Toshiko in accomplishing the task of gaining a wide social perspective. Anyone tracing Yuriko's life history will be struck by the range of thoughts and activities which it could encompass, many of which she recorded faithfully in the body of her autobiographical works. Yuriko's world-views changed noticably in the course of her career, but, in her unfailing hopefulness and ever

posistive outlook towards life and society, Yuriko can be regarded as the genuine embodiment of the progressive spirit of the Taishō era itself.

It is possible to point out that Yuriko's thinking developed in three different stages; the first was what can be called her humanitarian stage, the second her feminist stage, and third her Marxist stage. Of these three, the one that is of greatest concern in this paper is, of course, the second, namely her feminist stage, but since these three stages were all intricately connected with each other, we should examine each one by tracing her life and works chronologically.

Yuriko was born with the maiden name of Chūjō at Koishikawa section of Tokyo, which was near the center of the Yamanote area. Her parents were in every way representative residents of the area, being respectable members of the rising middle or upper-middle class of the period, but it should be noted that they did not raise Yuriko as a future candidate for a "good wife and wise mother," as did the majority of parents in that class did. Her father was something of a British-style gentleman, being a successful architect educated both at Tokyo University and Cambridge University and hence seemed to have taken quite a liberal attitude toward his daughter's education, ready to give any possible assistance both financially and spiritually for her professional development. But it was her mother who played a major role in forming Yuriko's future direction. Born as the daughter of a prominent scholar, she had herself been possessed as a young girl with a highly ambitious dream of becoming a painter, but upon her discovery that no women could be admitted to the most prestigious Ueno National Art School, she had been forced to abandon the dream. Hence one can easily imagine how enthusisastic she must have been when she found out that her own daughter showed from early childhood a distinctive genius for creative writing, for whose development she

gave powerful support. Although later, Yuriko came to speak rather bitterly of her own bourgeois background, criticizing her mother in particular for having tried to use her daughter as a tool for her own misplaced ambition, it is clear that without her mother's tenacious encouragement, Yuriko would have had a far harder time establishing herself as a writer.[(34)]

Under such circumstances, Yuriko had very little reason to feel the ordinary sense of bondage which the majority of women of her time were imposed upon. Consequently, even though she was well aware of the emergence of the *Seitō* group which took place during her high school days, she tended to be more drawn to another idealistic literary movement of the period, that of the Shirakaba School, composed mainly of the young upper-middle class intellectual males, influenced by Western humanitarian writers like Tolstoi. *Mazushiki Hitobito no Mure,* or *The Flock of Poor People* (1916) which Yuriko published as her first work at the age of 17, and which brought her overnight fame, shows a clear sign of such an influence. Narrated from a viewpoint of a young girl, it is a fictionalized account of poor peasant people, whom Yuriko herself came to observe in a country village in the northern part of Japan, where Yuriko's grandmother was a landowner, and where Yuriko came to stay with her every summer. What was most admired about this work was the surprisingly realistic rendition of the everyday lives of the wretched people, with no trace of sentimentality nor romanticization. The deep sympathy for the oppressed people expressed throughout the work was a genuine one, however, and it was to characterize many of Yuriko's later works as well—although as the narrator herself admits with a sigh at the end, she is still a mere observer of those people, yet to feel their actual miseries as her own. Probably due in part to such a limitation, her subsequent works written in a similarly humanitarian vein, dealing with the various kinds of oppressed people (for example, the Ainus, the declining aboriginal race now living mostly in Hokkaido,

the northernmost island of the Japanese archipelago), turned out to be less successful.

A new important shift was to occur both in her life and works when in 1917 Yuriko accompanied her father on his business trip to New York and became an auditor at Columbia University. There she met Araki Shigeru, a fellow Japanese student, 15 years senior to herself, who was at the time a struggling Ph.D candidate in Near Eastern languages at Columbia: she fell in love with him and got married the following year. Although the marriage itself turned out to be a dissapointment to Yuriko, ending in a divorce after five years, through her own conflicts experienced with her husband as well as those sensed in herself, she for the first time gained an opportunity to go through the painful process of self-scrutiny, and this brought her to the realization that as a woman, she was bound to suffer essentially the same kind of plight as the majority of Japanese women did, however privileged or advanced she might have originally appeared. Thus when, soon after her divorce, she began to write an autobiographical novel based upon her own marriage experience, she did not write it out of sympathy for some other people outside of herself but out of her own inner necessity to search for and recover a new, stronger sense of herself as a woman and artist. The result was *Nobuko* (1928), her finest masterpiece, the work which marks the beginning of her feminist stage, and on which her literary reputation has been based up until now.

The book covers a period of seven years, from Nobuko's (Yuriko's) initial encounter with Tsukuda (Araki), followed by their marriage in New York, through their life back in Tokyo, to her final breaking away from him. Although it is often called the Japanese version of Ibsen's *A Doll House*, Yuriko's heroine Nobuko is from the beginning a far more liberated woman than Nora, having her own vocation as a professional writer and her own means for survival. In fact, even after she has

begun to be conscious of her own irresistible attachment to Tsukuda, she tends to be repulsed by the idea of marriage itself because she feels there is something "heavy", "narrow", and "mediocre" about it.[35]

Nevertheless, Nobuko decides to marry Tsukuda, partly because she expects that life with a poor struggling scholar like him will be wholly different from the kind she has had with her own family. It is interesting to note here that although ostensibly Nobuko thinks that Tsukuda will be the one to deliver her from her own bourgeois background with its styfling middle-class values, unconsciously she seems to be placing herself in the role of a savior to Tsukuda who has obviously been in a position far inferior to hers both in terms of class and social status. In fact, when one of her girl friends warns Nobuko that Tsukuda is possibly taking advantage of her, she answers her as follows: "I have a faith, you see,—I think love can change a human being."[36] Here, Nobuko is assuming almost a godly role toward Tsukuda, indicating that at this point Nobuko (=Yuriko) is still at her humanitarian stage, with Tsukuda as the oppressed and she herself as someone to sympathize with and save him. Besides this humanitarian impulse, Nobuko's decision to marry Tsukuda is further prompted by the fact that Tsukuda passionately assures Nobuko that he will do anything to promote her professional achievement. Thus, when Nobuko agrees to marry Tsukuda, she pictures in her mind a kind of Utopian vision, in which both spouses can constantly elevate each other, work, and grow together.

Once married, however, Nobuko feels increasingly bogged down in the ordinary trap of a drab married life, a thing she hated so much in the past. One obvious reason for this is rooted in the character of Tsukuda himself, who seems to be simply incapable of sharing Nobuko's passion for a richer, stimulating life: he has turned out to be just as middle-class and self-complacent as one can be, with narrow interests and concerns, and seemingly satisfied with his hard-earned status as a

married man and a college instructor. (Ironically it is Nobuko who has elevated Tsukuda to that level!) Another reason for her discontentment with her life with Tsukuda is more subtle, being less personal, and stemming from the conventional role of "wife" itself. Although Tsukuda originally told her that he had no intention of demanding that she be a common domestic wife, she finds herself inescapably trapped in that role. This is made clear in a remark she makes to an old friend she meets after her marriage: "It appears to me that while man can remain as he used to be even after he becomes a husband, a wife seems to be expected to acquire special wifely qualities."(37) In actuality, Nobuko, as a married woman, seems to enjoy a range of privileges inconceivable to the majority of Japanese wives of her time. But the fact that she has to feel indebted to her husband for each of these acts becomes a source of frustration to her:

> From a conventional standpoint, Nobuko could be regarded as a selfish wife. She traveled alone and overslept herself ... She felt lonely and depressed when she considered that even those common trivial acts should be ragarded as great privileges, if given to a wife ...(38)

Here, Nobuko is no longer a superior privileged person, but is herself the oppressed one, having to feel grateful for the various rights that she had taken so much for granted before marriage. Tsukuda, who thinks he is doing his best, even sacrificing himself for her, can show no understanding for her feeling. This is only natural, because what deeply troubles her is not merely Tsukuda as an individual but various societal assumptions about marriage itself, in which the husband is expected to be the master, the wife to serve his needs. As critic Komashaku Kimi observes,(39) it is doubtful that Yuriko had gained at this point the same degree of awareness as that of the present feminists who are radically opposed to the traditional division of labor between husband

and wife, but Yuriko could at least state as follows:

> Married life became distasteful to Nobuko not because she compared Tsukuda with someone else. It was partly because the wide gap between their own personalities seemed to create various inconveniences in their life and partly because there seemed to exist many elements that she could not accept in what one might call the common habit of married life–that there seemed to be different ways of feeling between male and female concerning it.(40)

Although Yuriko avoids making any direct statement, she obviously implies here the particular difficulty arising from the conflicting demands of work and domestic duties, which working wives like herself are invariably confronted with, one that is given a far more explicit expression in an unpublished note Yuriko wrote during her actual married life with Araki:

> I cannot work ... What I have found out is that in the present condition of Japanese society, women artists can never devote themselves to their work if they have to shoulder the full responsibilities as housewives ... One is inevitably possessed with a desire to be at the service of someone one loves, but when it comes to creative work, it demands total concentration and burning energy ..."(41)

Despite such a privately reached recognition, Yuriko did not emphasize in *Nobuko* the particular dilemma arising from simultaneously being a wife and an artist, and this was probably partly because she wanted to make the story a sort of everywoman's Buildungsroman, and not the life-story of a uniquiely gifted personage, and we must admit that Yuriko was completely successful in her attempt, for the book came to be read as a sort of the 'Bible for new women' among post World War II generations.(42)

Consequently when Nobuko declares her final determination to break away from Tsukuda at the end of the story, we see her not as a victim but as a newly-born woman, with a firmer sense of selfhood as well as with deeper empathy for her fellow Japanese women, with whom she comes to share a common bond of pain and suffering. Such emotions and beliefs continued to be an important basis for many of Yuriko's later works as well.

Thus, just with Toshiko, the experience of Yuriko's first marriage became an important step for her toward gaining a new awareness of herself as a woman. That Toshiko's female consciousness was further strengthened by her subsequent encounter with the *Seitō* group has already been pointed out. Likewise, Yuriko experienced a similarly blissful encounter—although in the latter case, it was not with a group of women but a single woman named Yuasa Yoshiko, who is presented in Nobuko as Motoko, a scholar of Russian literature whom Nobuko comes to meet through the introduction of their mutual friend Sahoko (Nogami Yaeko). Actually, when Yuriko met Yoshiko, she was in the midst of the dilemma of her increasingly unsatisfactory relationship with Araki; Yoshiko acted as a confiadante to her, and it was through Yoshiko's spiritual support that Yuriko could make the final decision to divorce Araki. Yoshiko was an avowed lesbian, a rare phenomenon in Japan at the time, and although it is not made quite clear what the nature of Yuriko's relationship was with her, the uniquely strong ties between the two women is evident from the fact that, following Yuriko's divorce, they continued to live together for as long as seven years, out of which *Nobuko* emerged as the most notable fruit of their life together. About her life with Yoshiko, Yuriko came to describe many years later in the two autobiographical novels entitled *Futatsu no Niwa* or *Two Gardens* (1949) and *Dōhyō*, or *Signpost* (1951).(43)

Thus Yuriko's friendship with Yoshiko became an important element in the formation of Yuriko's career as a feminist writer. Ironically it

was also Yoshiko who helped Yuriko to move into the third stage in her career, namely her stage as a Marxist writer–a change which actually brought great distress to Yoshiko, for it caused their breaking up a few years later.

In 1927, after five years of their life together, Yoshiko invited Yuriko to join her on a visit to Russia, something which had been Yoshiko's long-cherished dream as a devoted scholar of Russian literature. It became even a more memorable experience for Yuriko perhaps, for there she was to witness at first hand what was going on in post-revolutionary Russia. The impression Yuriko gained there was so great that when she returned to her home country two and a half years lalter, she was an avowed Marxist.

Some of Yuriko's fellow writers like Hirabayashi Taiko criticized her for this seemingly sudden shift, reproaching her for being opportunistic—for by then it was becoming a prevalent phenomenon among Japanese intellectuals to declare their allegiance to Marxism.(44) In retrospect, however, we see that in Yuriko's case the change was by no means an abrupt one, for in her eyes Marxism was able to combine all her previous attitudes and beliefs, namely, her sympathy for oppressed people as well as her belief in equality between both sexes, in addition to her newly acquired insight into the inherent evils of capitalistic society.

In 1932, Yuriko married Miyamoto Kenji, with whom she made aquaintance through her activities as a member of the Communist Party, for which Kenji was also working as a promising Marxist literary critic, eventually to become the chairman of the Party.(45) Thereafter with firm conviction that a Marxist revolution would put an end to all forms of oppression including that of women, Yuriko continued to produce her fiction and essays mainly for proletarian causes, resisting the continuous pressures and violence from authorities. After the second world war she was hailed as a heroic woman writer who held firm to her conviction with an undaunted courage.(46)

It is admirable that Yuriko could enlarge her world-views as she grew older, but it is a pity that with the growth of her class consciousness, her awareness of gender discrimination seems to have somewhat deteriorated. Of course, it is to her credit that even during her most difficult time before the war, she produced a memorable work of criticism such as "Women and Literature," which can be regarded as the first real work of feminist criticism ever written in Japan. As far as her proletarian fiction goes, however, there is hardly anything that seems to be worth our serious attention—with the only exception, perhaps, of "Chibusa", or "Breast" (1935), a story dealing with a female organizer working for a daycare center. Even this appears too constricted to be able to move present readers, for her emphasis on motherhood as a common ground to bind all women appears somewhat too sentimental, having little of the spontaniety noted in *Nobuko* or *Flock of Poor People.* Had Yuriko not weakened her female point of view and had she been more willing to question the male authority inherent in the Party itself, her proletarian novels might have been far more radical and persuasive.(47)

With such a reservation, Yuriko's entire career, as depicted in her voluminous autobiographical writings, which she continued to produce right up until her death, shows the rare example of a Japanese woman who not only succeeded in affirming a powerful sense of selfhood by getting out of a styfling marriage or family life, but also succeeded in working for broad public causes.

V

Toshiko and Yuriko represent two types of Taishō women writers who discovered their own unique voices as artists in their arduous pursuits of self awareness as women and individuals. Of course, there were a number of other contemporary women novelists who went through a similar process, depicting in their own autobiographical heroines'

life stories the new kinds of horizons they came to explore both as women and artists; thus Hayashi Fumiko presents her famous heroine in *Hōrōki*, or *Vagabond's Song* (1930) as a perennial wanderer, actively searching out her ideal lover—an existence which certainly defies all past stereotypes of Japanese women; Hirabayashi Taiko's audacious protagonist in "Seryōshitsu nite" or "In the Charity Ward (1927)", on the other hand, tries to explore her own sense of motherhood in its relationship with her radical political activities; while Okamoto Kanoko's protagonist in "Rōgi Shō", or "The Story of an Old Geisha Girl" (1937) reflects the author's own ambitious longing toward the role of the Buddhist Kannon Goddess who can be at the same time a muse for men's inspiration and a creator in her own right.

In the more sophisticated eyes of present readers, these Taishō women's unabashedly naked assertion of selfhood may appear a bit overdone, but it should be noted that they were also aware of the *limitations inherent in the mere insistence on self and autonomy*: hence Toshiko's defiantly independent heroines keep reverting to the world of intimacy with their husbands, while Yuriko's protagonists perennially dream of the ideal human relationship, a kind that can be a part of the larger community beyond the narrow confines of self-interest. For just as much as they aspired to personal autonomy and achievement, they continued to crave a true sense of companionship with other human beings, and neither of these pursuits were they willing to abandon—however impossible it may have appeared at times. The strength and honesty that emanates from their writings, as full of turmoil and turbulence as they may be, makes one think that the struggles recorded in those writings were worthwhile.

In their undaunted fighting spirit, these Taishō women writers seem to stand in clear contrast to a number of major male novelists of the time, of whom Natsume Sōseki and Shiga Naoya can be cited as the most notable examples. Both of these male writers delineate in their

representative works similar searches of their male protagonists for a true sense of communication within the private sphere of the family and personal relationships. Each ends up, however, depicting the final defeat of his protagonists, and thereby stressing the impossibility of such attempts and the essential isolation of men in general. Such a recognizable difference between the male and female writers of the time may stand as another case supporting the argument presented by Carol Gilligan in her well-known book titled *In a Different Voice.*(48) Based on actual interviews as well as literary texts, Gilligan argues that, while men tend to stress individual achievement over recognition of and relationship with other people, women are apt to talk "in a different voice" from men, aspiring for both autonomy and companionship simultaneously.

This reminds us of another important fact about Taishō women writers—that there was a marked sense of alliance among them, a phenomenon unknown in previous Japanese history. Earlier in the period, there was a community of women writers centering around the magazine *Seitō,* and, later, those who turned to leftist ideologies formed various support systems through which they could help each other and gain empowerment when times were difficult.

Today as a result of the impact received from the second wane of the world-wide feminist movement, we seem to be witnessing a resurgence of interest in women writers in our country. If we compare the female characters in texts by post-World War II generatins of women writers with those of Taishō women writers, however, we cannot but be struck by the fact that the former are far less positive and rebellious than those of the latter. When one considers that the Taishō women writers with whom I have been dealing were greatly inspired by the feminist thinkers of the time as well as by their own friendships with other women, one cannot help wondering whether the negative impression one tends to receive from the protagonists in the texts by women writers of today is related in part to a lack of bond or of sense of solidarity

with other women on the part of these writers.

For a long period of time, there has existed in our country a marked trend to look down upon women writers by placing all of them in one category called "joryū sakka", or "writers of the female line"—a term that has understandably troubled the majority of our serious-minded women writers up to now. However, if we became more aware of the richness and vitality of Taishō women and their writings—just as those Taishō women were of the great heritage left by Heian women-, we might envision an admirable tradition of Japanese women writers as a whole. Then, even the term "joryū sakka" might start to be conceived in a positive sense. No longer implying a "minor school" of "the great" tradition of "the major" male writers, it can mean a powerful, independent tradition, with "a different voice." Until such a time as the Japanese women no longer need to worry about their inferior position in society, we should cherish our knowledge and vision of this tradition and should hand it down to future generations as well. Taishō women writers will always occupy a pivotal position in our overall perception of such a tradition.

Notes:

(1) This paper is based on "Women Novelists and Female Consciousness in Taishō Japan", a paper originally read on June 23, 1988, at the 1988 National Women's Studies Conference, held at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, in the session called "Forming Female Identity: 1900–1930" When I started to write this, I was in Cambridge, Mass, as a visiting scholar at Harvard University. I should like to express my heartfelt thanks to all those people who kindly welcomed me into their community and inspired me with their profound insight and valuable information during my stay in the States.

(2) Other forms of radical ideologies which became prevalent during the Taishō era included anarchism and syndicalism. For further details as to the radical movements in Taishō Japan, see Germaine A. Hoston's *Marxism and the Crisis of Development in Prewar Japan* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press, 1986)

(3) Women's suffrage was finally established in 1945 after the second world

war as a part of the U.S. General Headquarter's policy.

(4) According to Sharon L. Sievers who made an excellent study on the budding feminist consciousness in Meiji and Taishō eras, the term "ryōsai kenbo" or "good wife and wise mother" was first coined by Nakamura Masanao, a noted Meiji thinker, who had been greatly impressed with the classic model of Victorian femininity from the 19th century West. As Sievers reports, Nakamura suggested that women should provide the religious and moral foundation of the home, educating their children and acting as "the better half to their husbands." Sharon L. Sievers, *Flowers in Salt,* (Stanford, California: Standord Univ. Press, 1983), pp. 22–23

(5) Quoted in *Seitō no Jidai* or *Age of Seitō* by Horigome Kiyoko (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1988), p. 2

(6) The *Seitō* members admitted later that the British blue-stocking group was not as feminist as they had originally considered. *Seitō no Jidai,* p. 60. Other Western influences on the *Seitō* members included those of Ellen Key from Sweden, Henrik Ibsen from Norway, Bernard Shaw from England, and Emma Goldman from America. *Seitō no Jidai,* p. 59, pp. 89–83, p. 184

(7) Among the most heated controversies carried on in *Seitō* were concerned with the issues of women's chastity, abortion and prostitution. *Seitō no Jidai,* p. 247

(8) Miyamoto Yuriko, "Fujin to Bungaku" or "Women and Literature," *Miyamoto Yuriko Zenshu,* Vol. 8, (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo, 1952), p. 352

(9) The first story Toshiko contributed to *Seitō* is "Ikichi", or "Live Blood" (1911)

(10) Toshiko once mentioned that she had no intention to "sell herself as a new woman." Setouchi Harumi, *Tamura Toshiko,* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1987), p. 232

(11) Higuchi Ichiyō, "Jūsanya", or "Thirteenth Night", included in *Nigorie, Takekurabe* (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1981), pp. 51–52

(12) Tamura Toshiko, "Seigon" or "Vow", included in Vol. 2 of *Tamura Toshiko Sakuhinshu,* or *Collected Works of Tamura Toshiko* (hereafter, Collected Works) (Tokyo: Orijin Shuppan Center, 1987), p. 247

(13) Setouchi, *Tamura Toshiko,* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1987) p. 220

(14) See Tanaka Yukiko's introduction to her translation of Toshiko's short stories, *To Live and to Write: Selections by Japanese Women Writers 1913–1938* (Seattle, Washington, Seal Press, 1987), p. 6

(15) Edward Seidensticker uses the term "Low City" as a literal translation

of Shitamachi in his *Low City, High City* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co. Publishers, 1985)

(16) Setouchi, *Tamura Toshiko*, pp. 290–292. Another story that obviously portrays her own mother is "Haha no Shuppatsu" or "Mother's Departure" (1915).

(17) It was generally agreed that the Yamanote was progressive, while the Shitamachi was backward, but it should be noted that the distinction cannot be so clear-cut. Probably like a downtown area of any major city, the Shitamachi of Tokyo was simultaneously confining and liberating to its residents. It was confining in that people tended to be bound by old mores which made much of filial duty and sense of obligation arising out of close human relationship within neighborhood communities. It was liberating in that people were generally free from the "uptightness" that often characterized the mentality of the Yamanote area which had been formerly inhabited by the *samurai* class and was hence the center for its Confucian morality.

(18) The best-known work during Toshiko's apprentice period is "Tsuyuwake Goromo" (1903) which is written in a classical style reminiscent of Ichiyō.

(19) Although each of Ichiyō's protagonists is depicted as a victim of the patriarchal Meiji Japan, Ichiyō herself retained a defiant attitude against prevailing assumptions about women's inferiority. In her famous diary, she complained that people tend to make too much fuss about her being a female writer, an existence very rare in her period. Yet at the same time, she seems to have had almost a missionary sense to record truthful accounts of women's experience from a female point of view, as she repeatedly declares "I am a woman" in the same diary. Although not yet a consciously "feminist" writer, Ichiyō was a pioneering Japanese woman writer to write from a distinctively female point of view, foreshadowing those Taishō women who came to form the first generation of feminist writers in Japan. Ichiyō's diary is included in *Gendaibun* or *Modern Literature* ed. by Yoshida Seiichi and Ohno Shin (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1986) pp. 230–237

(20) According to Setouchi, right after their marriage, Shōgyo helped Toshiko read the English version of D'Annuncio's *Triumph of Death.* Setouchi, *Tamura Toshiko,* p. 187

(21) Tamura, "Kanojo no Seikatsu" or "Her Life", *Collected Works,* Vol. 2, p. 240

(22) Although Toshiko did not write scripts herself, she aspired to be an actress, and appeared on stage several times.

(23) Tamura, "Akirame" or "Resignation", *Collected Works,* Vol. 1, p. 19

(24) Setouchi, *Tamura Toshiko,* p. 220

(25) Tamura, "Miira no Kuchibeni", or "Painted Lips of a Mummy", *Collected Works,* Vol. 1, p. 370

(26) Tamura, "Horaku no Kei", or "Burning at the Stake", *Collected Works,* Vol. 2, p. 83

(27) Suzuki Etsu, "Etsu's Diary", *Collected Works,* Vol. 3, pp. 275–276

(28) After Etsu's death, Toshiko returned to Japan but left again for Shanghai and became the editor of a journal called "Women's Voice." She died there of heart attack. Regarding Toshiko in Vancouver, see Kudo Miyoko and S. Philips, *Vankuva no Ai or Love in Vancouver,* (Tokyo: Domes Shuppan, 1982). For Toshiko in Shanghai, see Setouchi's *Tamura Toshiko,* pp. 297–329

(29) Suzuki, "Diary of Suzuki Etsu", *Collected Works,* Vol. 3, pp. 256–257

(30) Quoted in Setouchi's *Tamura Toshiko,* p. 276

(31) Tanaka, *To Live and to Write,* p. 10

(32) It is a basic recognition held in common by all feminists who joined the U.S. feminist movement of 1960's–1970's.

(33) Miyamoto Yuriko, "Fujin to Bungaku" or "Women and Literature", *Miyamoto Yuriko Zenshu* or *Complete works of Miyamoto Yuriko* (hereafter, *Complete Works*), Vol. 8, p. 379, p. 426

(34) Eventually Yuriko talked of her mother as follows: "Although I was obliged to fail my mother's expectations in a variety of major decisions which I made, in a larger historical perspective, I am hoping that I am the most authentic inheritor as well as developer of her whole life." "Haha" or "Mother" (written soon after her mother's death) *Complete Works,* pp. 173–180. Yuriko's essay "My Father" is included in the same volume of her *Complete Works* pp. 198–207

(35) Miyamoto, *Nobuko, Complete Works,* Vol. 3, p. 45

(36) *Ibid,* p. 63

(37) *Ibid,* p. 151

(38) *Ibid,* p. 159

(39) Komashaku Kimi, *Majoteki Bungakuron,* (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobo, 1982) pp. 207–209

(40) Miyamoto, *Nobuko,* included in *Complete Works,* Vol. 3, pp. 181–182

(41) Miyamoto, *Complete Works,* Vol. 15, pp. 39–40

(42) Miyamoto, *Ibid,* pp. 400–401

(43) Yoshiko was a very close friend of Toshiko, too. When Toshiko learned that Yoshiko and Yuriko had started to live together, she wrote to Yoshiko

as follows: "It is rather strange that you have become a lover to Miss Chūjō (Yuriko), but you certainly deserve my congratulations. Try to live harmoniously with each other." "Yuasa Yoshiko *e no* Tegami" or "Letter to Yuasa Yoshiko,", *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 416

(44) Hirabayashi Taiko, another famous woman writer of the Taishō era who involved herself with radical political activism, thought that Yuriko was too bourgeois to be really able to understand the plight of the proletariat. See her *Miyamoto Yuriko*, (Tokyo: Bungeishunju, 1972)

(45) After Yuriko's death, Miyamoto Kenji wrote a detailed explication of each of the 15 volumes of her *Complete Works*, from which all the quotations of Yuriko's writings in this paper are derived.

(46) Because of the notorious Peace Preservation Act, Miyamoto Kenji was put in jail for 12 years, during which he and Yuriko exchanged voluminous letters, which were published in a book form, entitled *Juninen to Tegami*, or *Letters of Twelve Years*. (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1965). Yuriko herself was put in jail several times on account of her allegedly illegal political activities.

(47) In an insightful essay about Yuriko's relationship with the Party, critic Honda Shūgo criticized that Yuriko never questioned the supreme authority of the Party nor its top leaders who tended to be elevated to the status of divinities. Honda Shūgo, "Fuyu o Kosu Tsubomi no Jidai", *Miyamoto Yuriko Kenkyu*, (Tokyo: Tsujin Shobo, 1958) p, 67

(48) Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice*, (Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1986)