

Women's Education at Meiji Jogakkō and Martial Arts

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Abstract

The topic of *bushidō* in education has recently been explored by Gainty (2013), Benesch (2014), and several Japanese historians in Japan, such as Sōgawa (2017). However, martial arts and *bushidō*, as found in the education for women, remains a largely untreated issue, despite the great attention women and their physical education received in the discourses regarding the creation of a healthy modern nation that took place during and after the Meiji period (1868–1912).¹ By looking at numerous primary sources, this paper, building upon Lukminaitė (2018), focuses on Meiji Jogakkō's² instruction of *budō*³ as a modern means of physical education (PE). It aims to provide new insights into how *budō* was perceived, treated in writing, and functionally put into practice.

Keywords: Meiji Jogakkō, Iwamoto Yoshiharu, Hoshino Tenchi, *budō*, *ryōsai kenbo*.

Izobraževanje žensk v Mejdžijevski dekliški šoli in vloga borilnih veščin

Izveček

Bushidō v kontekstu izobraževanja so v svojih nedavnih delih obravnavali Gainty (2013), Benesch (2014) in nekateri japonski zgodovinarji, na primer Sōgawa (2017). Vendar je pomen borilnih veščin in *bushidōja* v izobraževanju deklet še vedno precej neraziskano področje, čeprav so ženskam in njihovi telesni vzgoji v diskurzih o ustvarjanju zdravega modernega naroda v obdobju Meiji (1868–1912) in po njem posvečali veliko pozornosti. Ta prispevek se na podlagi številnih primarnih virov, upoštevajoč Lukminaitė (2018), osredotoča na poučevanje *budōja* oziroma borilnih veščin kot sodobnega načina telesne vzgoje (PE) na Mejdžijevski dekliški šoli. S tem želi ponuditi nov vpogled v to, kako so borilne veščine zaznavali, o njih pisali in jih uporabljali v praksi.

Ključne besede: Meiji Jogakkō, Iwamoto Yoshiharu, Hoshino Tenchi, *budō*, *ryōsai kenbo*

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- 1 A valuable contribution has been made recently: Kakemizu Tōko 掛水 通子, *Nihon ni okeru Joshi Taiiku Kyōshishi Kenkyū* 日本における女子体育教師史研究 (Tokyo: Ozorasha 大空社, 2018). Kakemizu explores the history of modern physical education of women in Japan, yet mentions Meiji Jogakkō only in passing.
- 2 明治女学 (1885–1909). The English title used by the school was Meiji Girls' School.
- 3 武道, in the meaning of martial arts as modern physical education. *Budō* will be used interchangeably with martial arts within the text.

Introduction

With the Meiji Restoration (1868), the reforms that followed soon after, and the increased exposure to the cultural influence of foreign nations, various issues regarding girls and women gained urgency. To be recognised as an independent and advanced state, the government undertook many reforms under which the citizens of Japan were perceived as assets of the nation. The issue of females as cultural representatives of modern Japan was painfully perceived by various intellectuals, who, partially inspired by Spencer and the theories of eugenics, argued that women's education was one of the shaping-factors to the physical and mental development of future generations. Women thus required an upbringing that would address this issue. However, while the topic was deemed urgent, there were also the deeply-set customs, and thus there was very little consensus and very little action over words. By the 1890s, with the government settling on a *ryōsai kenbo* 良妻賢母 (good wife, wise mother) style model, efforts were finally made with regard to standardising the education of women.

This paper examines the activities of independent Japanese educators, who were willing to take the issue to hand and provided an example of an original interpretation of modern education for women parallel to government's efforts.

Meiji Jogakkō's Model of Education

After the legal ban on Christianity was lifted in 1873 and Christians, or Christian-inspired intelligentsia, became active during the years of early Meiji, they also started promoting modernisation/Westernisation through education. With primary education becoming compulsory for girls in 1872, the Christian involvement in female education gradually became a tangible presence, and by the end of 1880s numerous private academies were established. Meiji Jogakkō can be said to have been the first successful enterprise of the Japanese Protestant community (Kischka-Wellhäußer 2007, 132).

Meiji Jogakkō was a noteworthy institution for a variety of reasons. First, rather than trying to gain support by maintaining affiliations, it did not define itself by following a clear-cut model as other schools did (that could have been identified as missionary, government, or one-teacher private), and devised an original approach to education under an independent banner of a network of intellectuals who, reflecting their own education, combined in their practices various ideas stemming from within and outside of Japan. In addition, it attracted students with its flexibility and variety of higher-education courses, serving as a bridge between

classes and religious inclinations, and taking in students regardless of their social and religious backgrounds.

Meiji Jogakkō's declared goal was to educate women in order to strengthen and improve the society at large. To achieve this, it took a twofold approach. First, it catered for a variety of educational needs and offered high-quality training to find employment, carry out research, or supervise a modern household as independent and confident modern women. This approach translated at the school into the encouragement of student autonomy, promotion of critical thinking, self-, peer-, and group-assessment, and the emphasis on extracurricular learning. The school also strove to enlighten the masses about the potential and needs of girls and women, subsequently aiming to create an environment in which they could function with more ease. This approach was enforced by publishing activities. Most importantly for the argument of this paper, however, it was a place where a variety of theories and schools of thought were melded together, resulting in a school for girls that intentionally went beyond being just Christian, encouraged students' own interpretation of religion and its values, placed great emphasis on literature as a means of education, and instructed girls in martial arts when very few other schools found PE appropriate or necessary.

In 1890, Meiji Jogakkō started instructing its students in martial arts. The physical and intellectual (*bunbu* 文武) training was carried out by Hoshino Tenchi 星野天知 (1862–1950), who combined Christian religion, literature, and ideas on psychology and martial arts in his practices as an educator. His course attracted 50 students. The martial arts education at the school experienced its ups and downs, especially after Hoshino left in 1897 in order to concentrate on his literary career, yet support for teaching martial arts to girls could still be seen in publications by the school until 1904, and was most likely being carried out on some level until its closure in 1909.

To promote martial arts by emphasising its benefits for female students, the school's staff used *Jogaku zasshi* 女学雑誌⁴ (1885–1904) and *Jogakusei* 女学生 (1890–92)—two magazines for girls and women with strong links to the school. Moreover, when the need was felt to represent the education carried out at the school to the public (when receiving visitors, participating in charity events, or hoping to publicise the school to attract more students), fierce *naginata* duels were chosen as most appropriately descriptive of the benefits to be obtained from the Meiji Jogakkō's special form of education.

4 The English title *The Women's Magazine* was applied by *Jogaku zasshi* itself, while *Jogakusei* can be translated as "The Girl Student".

Ryōsai Kenbo and PE: Meiji Jogakkō's Version

While there was at first much resistance to PE (*taisō*) for girls and women, as promoted by the government, after the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) the government tied the *ryōsai kenbo* ideal to sports to promote the strong physical bodies of women who could: 1) protect Japan when the husbands were away; 2) unify the mentalities of the women *vis-à-vis* the foreigners, whose presence in Japan was increasingly felt; and 3) create the skilled workers that were necessary in the developing economy, especially in factories (Tanigama 1989, 721–22). Exercising thus became a responsibility of girls and women to the nation. However, while *ryōsai kenbo*, or “good wife, wise mother”, thought is often believed to have started in Japan in the 1890s and has been created by the government⁵, as Koyama Shizuko (2013) and others have pointed out, it began with the influence from the West. Following the example of scholarship that accepts the divide between *ryōsai kenbo* as an “ideal of the ‘civilisation and enlightenment’ phase of the early Meiji period [...] and the ‘nationalistic,’ ‘patriarchal,’ ‘Confucian’ version at the turn of the twentieth century” (ibid., 1), this paper places Iwamoto Yoshiharu in the former category. Importantly, he was critical of the latter. Thus, just as the modern *bushidō* ideas were first popularised by the Christian intelligentsia, so was the *ryōsai kenbo* ideal.

The term *ryōsai kenbo* was not fixed, and had been in use in several versions before it was “standardised” in the 1890s. However, it was most likely coined by Nakamura Masanao 中村正直 (1832–91) who popularised it via *Meiroku zasshi*⁶ 明六雜誌 (1873–74), yet started using the word earlier, when he was serving as the principal of Tōkyō Joshi Shihan Gakkō (Patessio 2011, 27–30). Both Nakamura and the magazine influenced Meiji Jogakkō and its policies through the principal Iwamoto Yoshiharu 巖本善治 (1863–1942).

Iwamoto's understanding was that *ryōsai kenbo* had a dual implication: literal and metaphorical. He applied it to the actual families and women who wished to marry, in addition to women who sought to become professionals and carry out their roles as “mothers to the nation” or “mothers to the world”.

5 E.g., Horiguchi, *Women Adrift*; Pamonag, *Promoting Japanese Womanhood*, 6–7, points out that the previous study on *ryōsai kenbo* concentrated on “the role of the state as the major, if not the sole, formulator and implementor of this gender ideology”, marginalising the dissonant voices of non-state actors.

6 Issue 33 carried “Creating Good Mothers” by Nakamura Masanao, available in English in Meirokusha, *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1976), translated by William Reynolds Braisted, assisted by Adachi Yasushi and Kikuchi Yūji.

I do not educate women to get them ready for marriage. However, to get them ready as mothers and wives, I believe it is important to develop their “inner qualities” (*tensei* 天性). I do not believe that mothers and wives are to be limited to one household and one spouse—depending on how one realizes one’s talents (*sairyō* 才量), one can become a mother and a wife, or a mother to the whole nation. Queen Victoria is a mother to the whole of Britain, Ms Willard became a wife to the world, Hannah More became a mother to the poor, Héloïse became a beloved wife for a single man.

That is why, the curricula for women’s education, while covering all the various fields that today’s women should have a thorough understanding of, should emphasise the courses of arts (*bijutsu* 美術), professional training (*shokugyō* 職業), and morals (*dōtoku* 道德). However, the goal of such education should be not to become a wife in a household, but instead to become a true and an all-round woman.⁷ This way there will appear not only the women who will become good wives and wise mothers of single households, but those who will become mothers of millions.⁸

Along the same lines, Iwamoto argues the following in “A new plan to promote woman’s Education in Japan”⁹, where he reemphasised that educating girls to become *ryōsai kenbo* was but half of the picture.

There are two ways of action that need to be taken to facilitate the growth of female education currently. The first one is to provide universal education to the general population, and thus allow the girls to become cultured and to give them a chance to better fill the roles of modern wives and mothers; the second is to provide a yet higher level of education to the brightest, and thus boldly strengthen the basis on which the female education stands, in order to clear the path for further free development.

According to the text, the first method will create numerous *ryōsai kenbo*, who will change Japan one home at a time, make the husbands better (*ryōjin ga daijōbu to naru* 良人が大丈夫となる), raise wise children (*kenji* 賢児), and thus benefit the whole country. With the second method, the prodigies with the initiative to lead by

7 Iwamoto’s ideas here are close to those espoused by Tsuda Umeko 津田梅子 (1864–1929) and other female educators, such as Hani Motoko 羽仁もと子 (1873–1957), both having experienced Meiji Jogakkō’s educational model.

8 *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, “An Address to the Meiji Jogakkō Pupils. The Present Educational System”, 10.

9 *Wagatō no joshi kyōiku*, 207–8, based on *Jogaku zasshi* no. 280, July 29, 1891. “*Jogaku Fukyū no Keirin*” 女學普及の經緯.

example and educate (*yūdō keimō* 誘道啓蒙) their own sex would emerge, spreading throughout the country and becoming great teachers, invigorating *jogaku* 女学.¹⁰ The goal of education for women was thus to invest in individuals who could be cultivated, assuring the spread of knowledge in both public and private spheres. The impact of these efforts was perceived as shaping the present and future of the nation. If Iwamoto saw education as a means of enlightenment and social activism, what role was PE meant to play in it?

Iwamoto Yoshiharu's Understanding of Body and Mind

Iwamoto, who served as the principal of Meiji Jogakkō for seventeen years (1887–1904) and was involved in the running of the school in the years before and after that, was an active supporter of PE for women. Exposed to the Western understanding of physical training, and due to Japan's militarisation and national conscription (*chōheisei* 徴兵制, since 1873), the bodies of citizens became classifiable and comparable to each other (and foreigners) in terms of health, strength, and usability. Iwamoto, like many others, wrote about the differences between Western and Japanese women's physiques. In *Jogaku zasshi* no. 79¹¹, for example, by comparing Western ladies to their Japanese counterparts, Iwamoto drew attention to the stark contrast: to him, women in the West were out of the home and working, striving to receive an equal salary to that of men, while in Japan being sickly and weak was considered a sign of beauty.¹²

The martial arts, however, were more than physical exercise or Western PE; they were a means for training both body and mind.

“The Martial Arts of Old, *Taiiku* of Present—Reflections on the Current Discourse on *Taiiku* for Women”¹³ starts as a response to Spencer's “Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical” (1861), Iwamoto naming the three corresponding categories of education, *chiiku* 知育, *tokuiku* 徳育, and *taiiku* 體育,

10 According to *Jogaku zasshi* no. 111, “Jogaku (The Study of Women) Defined” 女学の解, May 1888: “[*Jogaku*] is an academic discipline that deals with the principles behind anything to do with women: their heart and soul, past, rights, position, and the various matters regarding what is necessary to them in the present.” For more information on Iwamoto Yoshiharu and his *jogaku* ideology, as well as his understanding of *ryōsai kenbo*, see Lukminaitė (2016).

11 Editorial “Woman and Literary Work: No. I.” 女子と文筆の業 (第一), October 8, 1887.

12 Around this period Iwamoto advocated for any type of PE, as long as women were allowed to exercise. Rather than delving into details, he wished to change the understanding that PE was unfeminine and unnecessary for women.

13 古の武育、今の體育 女子體育論を評す, *Jogaku zasshi* no. 497, October 10, 1899.

and admitting the influence Spencer's treatise had in Japan. While he agrees that there are lines of division between the categories of education, Iwamoto criticises those who see the three as independent from each other, and laments the fact that in recent years more people have started to think that it is possible to carry out education in only one direction. Iwamoto states that in a living human being it is impossible to treat intelligence or morality in a singular fashion. The body is also closely tied to the condition of the heart/soul (*kokoro* 心), and it is hard to tell what are the workings of the physical (*yūkei no kokoro no hataraki* 有形の身の働き) and what are the workings of the spiritual/emotional (*mukei no kokoro no hataraki* 無形の心の働). As this is the case, a person should be treated as a whole living being who needs to receive an education that is well balanced on both physical and spiritual levels.

Explaining the current state of affairs in Japan, Iwamoto mentions that there are people (*yakara* 族) who disregard this need for well-roundedness in education, and wish to spread a novel (Western) type of PE as they believe that none is to be found in Japan. While zealous, they run the risk of doing a poor job by failing to acknowledge the traditional values regarding *taiiku* extant in the country. Iwamoto admits that the ideals of physical education in Japan are not well-formed, pointing to the lack of organisation or standardisation in educational practices. At the same time, he wonders how it is at all possible to perceive Japan as a country with no *taiiku* when it is common knowledge that there were many people physically ready to resist the opening of the country. He claims that if there were no *taiiku* in Japan, no children would have been born or raised to adulthood, and Japan is well-known to have a growing population. To him, the Japanese are not physically weaker than Westerners.

Iwamoto goes on to lament that there are people who disregard the fact that *taiiku* for women already exists, and had existed in Japan before the Western concept of PE was introduced. From martial arts (*bugei* 武藝) to dances (*odori* 踊り) there is a great variety of examples of *taiiku* in Japan, yet the “female etiquette”—*jorei* 女禮—is the very embodiment of it. By not seeing it this way, teachers are risking corrupting the ideal already set in place. In explanation, the editorial continues by stating that as *chii-ku* develops intellect and *tokuiku* morality, *taiiku* is then responsible for completing the physical development of a human being. That is why *taiiku's* influence is primarily on the physical body; nevertheless, it reaches to the heart/soul. On the other hand, it is also necessary to involve the heart/soul into physical self-cultivation.

To Iwamoto, the body and soul/heart are like a married couple, i.e. complementary and having a great influence upon each other. He points out that it is common for a person to spoil their physique, however strong he or she is, due to emotional issues. In this case, they will probably get told that it is due to lack of proper

nutrition or exercise, poor circulation of the blood, or that they should look at the Westerners who are so tough and eat more meat, etc. Such current ideas regarding health (*eiseiron* 衛生論, lit. discourse on hygiene) are often causing people to grow weaker instead of becoming stronger. Just as the moral or intellectual education can backfire by making a person too much of an idealist because of standards which are too high or too doubtful due to having the horizons widened too far, the discourse regarding the physical education has made few people stronger permanently, as it has failed to find its foothold in the everyday lives of the people.

By referring to physiology, adequate diet, and over-exertion as detrimental to the physical state of the students, Iwamoto is on the same page as Spencer. However, Iwamoto takes the connection further by speaking about emotional stress and its effects on the body. His aim here is to pacify the conflict between two camps: those who are promoting native forms of PE and rejecting Western influences, and those who do the opposite.

Once more, bodies are compared: Japanese women's with men's, and then with Western women's. In terms of how frequently they get ill, their endurance, and the length of life, Japanese women are superior to Japanese men. When compared to Western women, they are not necessarily worse off either. The issue lies in comparing the women who come to Japan crossing the ocean to the women who lead peaceful lives in the inner chambers. If women of the same social standing were to be matched, he believes, it would become clear that there were not that many differences between them. Thus, it is misleading to make arguments regarding PE based on inadequate comparisons.

Taking the readers back to Spencer's ideas, the editorial states that it is a good balance of hours spent on physical and intellectual education that is of utmost necessity, and that it is around such topics that the discourse regarding PE in Japan should revolve. The first issue that needs to be resolved is the insufficient time allocated to PE. In addition, "as long as the conditions and customs allow, step by step, *taiiku* should be improved by being taken outdoors, carried out in groups, and made fun/recreational. In Meiji Jogakkō, the most developed types of PE so far are the *jorei*, *jūdō* and labour." *Jorei*, *jūdō*, and labour are thus the types of PE that Meiji Jogakkō was proud to present as its most developed, "outdoor, grouped, and fun" forms of PE in 1899. While *jorei* seems to have been present at the school throughout most of Iwamoto's leadership, it is not known who and when instructed *jūdō*. Likewise, it is unclear what exactly was implied here by labour, but it is likely it meant manual tasks at the school: cleaning, preparing the food, working in the garden, etc., thus building upon Spencer's argument of promoting natural forms of movement, yet including a nuance of practical application rather than recreation. The aspect of PE

as accomplishment or means to socialize found in the Western pastimes is treated as a factor that the Japanese PE could benefit from, yet, while PE provides a way to escape mental strain, it should not be unorganised or unproductive.

The above quote is surprising in promoting *jūdō* and not *naginata*—a martial art that represented the martial instruction and PE at the school from 1890 to 1897, around the time Hoshino Tenchi, the mastermind behind the *naginata* classes, left Meiji Jogakkō. Fujita (1983, 8) writes how in addition to *naginata* and *jūdō*, the students were instructed in *kendō*, *bōjutsu*, and *kusarigama*, yet the exact periods are unclear. Kanō Jigorō's 嘉納 治五郎 (1860–1938) work to introduce his *Kōdōkan jūdō* to police and military training programs, and as an activity at various educational institutions, might have been at play in choosing it over other martial arts at the school.

The conclusion of the editorial summarises the stance of the school, providing an insight into how important PE was to Iwamoto.

What is truly important are the ideals behind the physical education. *Taiiku* is not a set of drills on the body that ignores the mind; it is not a playful pastime either. It is an indispensable part of comprehensive, high-level education that starts from the body. The ideal would be to have such PE that is capable of developing a human being fully just by itself. Intellectual education corresponds to *bun*—the civil arts, physical education corresponds to *bu*—the martial arts. Thus, the physical education of now is the martial education of old. As the two were taught as inseparable in the past (*bunbu funi, bunbu itto*), it is thus a retrogression and a loss in the progress of education to forget such experience from the past, instead of building up on it, and to concentrate only on the material aspects of PE and the body.

Iwamoto kept Meiji Jogakkō together and running according to his vision by concentrating his efforts on employing the right teachers. Having learned about Hoshino Tenchi and his ideas on martial arts in the education of women, Iwamoto invited him to become the instructor of these at the school.

Hoshino Tenchi's *Budō* and Literature

In 1890–97, Hoshino taught Martial Arts, Eastern Philosophy (*tōyō tetsugaku* 東洋哲学), Psychology, Western and Chinese Literature and ran a Christian Sunday class. All of these complemented each other in his writing, and were constituents of the mental training (*seishin shūyō* 精神修養) he saw himself employed to carry out

at the school. Combining his passion for literature and martial arts, Hoshino contributed a variety of texts aimed at girls and women that used the theme of martial arts. The examples can be found in a variety of forms. *Jogaku zasshi* ran his writing in the miscellaneous section (*zatsuroku* 雜録) that covered martial topics, such as “The Comments on the ‘The Art of Testing *Naginata*’”¹⁴ (October 1890), alongside his ideas on the study of Chinese Classics¹⁵ (February to March, 1891), which went beyond classical Chinese and referred to English literature as well. He also contributed to the leading articles (*ronsetsu* 論説) in the magazine, being given the honour of opening various issues. Examples of such writing are “The Origin of Military Spirit”¹⁶ (1892) and “*Joshikyōiku* to Budō”¹⁷, which could be rendered in English as “Education for Women and Martial Arts” (serialised from 1893 to 1894). While he reviewed the writing of others in a literary criticism section (*hibyō* 批評), such as in the article “Budō Hitsuketsu Aiki no Justu” 武道秘決合氣之術¹⁸ (1890) that discussed the underlying principle of negating or redirecting an opponent’s power (*aiki*), he also contributed his own original fiction (*shōsetsu* 小説). Hoshino’s “Musōken” 無想劍¹⁹ ran in 1891 in *Jogaku zasshi* no. 286–90, after it had been published in *Jogakusei* no. 16 in the same year, as an appendix, signed by Ankōko 暗光子 in both cases²⁰. It was around 20 pages long, which shows the considerable attention and effort were made. Another one of Hoshino’s attempts at female-student-oriented martial fiction is seen in *Jogakusei* no. 20.²¹ The work titled “Tachikizu” 太刀創, translatable as “Scars on the Sword” and also signed by Ankōko 暗光子 was approximately five pages in length, a special New Year addition to the magazine. As both of these work appeared in *Jogakusei* first, it is clear that they were aimed at female students as an audience.

Jogakusei, which Hoshino was the main editor of, must have been to him a perfect means to relate the contents of his lessons at Meiji Jogakkō to audiences beyond the school. He established a section titled *kōburan* 講武欄 which dealt

14 “*Naginatajutsu*’ wo yomu” 「薙刀術」 を読む, signed by Hoshino Shin 星野慎 in *Jogaku zasshi* no. 233.

15 *Jogaku zasshi* no. 253–55, “Kangakuben” 漢学弁, signed as Tenchiko 天知子, one of Hoshino’s pennames.

16 “Budō no Hatsugen” 武道の発源 in *Jogaku zasshi* no. 331–33, published from November to December, and signed by Tenchiko.

17 女子教育と武道, *Jogaku zasshi* no. 359–61, signed by Hoshino Shinnosuke 星野慎之輔.

18 *Jogaku zasshi* no. 239, signed as Hoshino Shinnosuke.

19 The title is hard to render into English and was left as “Musōken” in the English list of contents.

20 For a list of Hoshino’s pennames and contributions, refer to Noheji and Matsubara (1970). The reason behind such a variety of names was possibly twofold: to mask the fact that the magazine was run by mostly Hoshino alone, and to provide a certain freedom of expression, by signing under a name that would suggest that the author is a female, and, most likely, of similar age and status to the reader.

21 Dated January 23, 1892.

with detailed instructions on how to carry out practical and theoretical part of *budō*, such as in his “Jokai no Budō” 女界の武道,²² “Budō no Shinka” 武道の眞價, “Bugi no Kōen” 武技講演 and “Naginata Jutsu” 薙刀術.²³ “Naginata Jutsu” included images and continued into no. 6.²⁴ No. 6 carried a new column titled *burinrin* 武凜々 that changed into no. 7–8’s²⁵ *burindan* 武凜談, and depicted brave male and female characters. For instance, there were such titles as “Miyamoto Mushashi no Kettō” 宮本武蔵の決闘, “Tanryoku wo fukikomu” 胆力を吹込む in no. 6. No. 7 had “Monzen no Kawara” 門前の瓦 and “Matsukaze no Kiai” 松風の気合ひ, while no. 8 carried “Budō wa Shinkō nari” 武道は信仰なり.²⁶

Jogakusei no. 14²⁷ carried “Budō no Kaiku” 武道の化育, “Bushi no Kifū” 武士の気風, “Bunbu itto” 文武一途 and “Tokuseijō no Budō” 特性上の武道.²⁸ All were written with a direct link to Meiji Jogakkō, a fact illustrated by the presence of a short reflection regarding the *naginata* performance by the school’s students in the same issue, titled “Meiji Jogakkō Ongakukai ni Naginatajutsu wo mite” 明治女学校音楽会に薙刀術を見て²⁹, signed by Nobu のぶ, yet was possibly written by Hoshino himself.

Predating similar columns in magazines like *Butokushi* 武徳詩 (1906–09) that serialised “Bushidō Jokunmyō” 武士道女訓妙 and “Bushidō Kakunmyō” 武士道家訓妙, or Bushidō Teachings for Women and Home, *Jogakusei* no. 17 carried “Budōkakun” 武道家訓³⁰, or the martial teachings for the home, that raised such topics as determination (*kakugo* 覚悟), being on guard (*muyudan* 無油断), emotional strength (*shinkiryoku* 心気力), and observation skills (*kansatsuryoku* 観察力) to be learned by the women of the household. No. 18 carried “Gisonben” 義

22 An equivalent in English would be along the lines of “Martial Arts in the Lives of Women”. No 1., May 21, 1890, signed as Tenchiko.

23 All from no. 2, June 23, 1890, signed as Tenchiō 天知翁. Since no. 3., a new penname, Fūryūsai 風流齋, becomes visible. The titles could be translated as “The True Value of Martial Arts”, “Performing Martial Arts”, and “Naginata Techniques”.

24 Dated October 21, 1890.

25 November 21, 1890 and December 21, 1890 respectively.

26 Running the risk of oversimplification, the translations for the titles would be “Miyamoto Musashi’s Final Battle/Duel”, “Inspiring with Courage”, “The Tile in front of the Gate”, “The Spirit of the Wind in the Pines”, and “Martial Arts as a System of Beliefs”.

27 June 23, 1891, all signed as Hoshino Shin, his professional name.

28 Again, simplified translations: “The Transforming Power of Martial Arts Education”, “The Character of the Samurai”, “The Harmony between Martial and Civil Arts”, and “Characteristics of Martial Arts”.

29 “Impressions from the *Naginata* Performance at the Recital at Meiji Jogakkō”, signifying the fact that the authorities of the school were open to displaying martial arts to the public.

30 October 21, 1891, signed by Tenchiko.

損辨,³¹ or the ideas on sacrifice, along with “Neo no Tani ni Bu wo Arasou” 根尾の谷に武を争う, or “A Fight at the Valley of Neo”, while no. 19 included³² “Gōtō ni Aishi Yo” 強盜に遇ひし夜, or “The Night We Were Robbed”. In the leading article of no. 21 that spoke of Sen no Rikyū and the tea ceremony, appeared a section on “Bunbu oyobi Zendō no Tanren” 文武及び禅道の鍛錬, or “The Training in *Bun*, *Bu*, and *Zen*” making the connections among martiality, Zen Buddhism, and literature/art apparent in Hoshino’s thought and, consequently, in his practices at Meiji Jogakkō, which can be exemplified by the fact that he signed these texts using his professional name, Hoshino Shin. Likewise, under this name he continues to write on education in no. 22³³, running such articles as “Gunji oyobi Heisho” 軍師及び兵書, “Sengoku no Kyōikuka” 戦国の教育科, and “Jinbutsu Shūyō” 人物修養, speaking of soldiers, military treatises, education in the Warring States period, and how to cultivate an individual. All these were written with a bend towards the practical nuances in education. No. 24³⁴ carried a passage on chivalry, “Kyōki” 俠気, again signed by Hoshino Shin, and no. 27³⁵ had “Fugū no Eiyū wo Kyūjo seyo” 不遇の英雄を救助せよ by Tenchiko, asking to save the hero in trouble.

Comparison with the Western Understanding of PE and Martiality

In his memoirs Hoshino reflected how the *naginata* performances were received around 1891.

Presentation at the Imperial Hotel

Once, we had a performance at Shiba no Yayoi (芝の彌生館). At the time, the students were all beginners and we had no issues. However, when the *Aikoku Fujinkai* 愛国婦人会 sponsored an event at the Imperial Hotel in Tsukiji, we saw some reaction. The newspaper reviews still lacked reference to the connection between education and martial arts, and only seemed to have spared us the openly harsh criticism. The foreign journalists still spoke of magic tricks. [...] The match was quite fierce.³⁶

31 November 30, 1891. The former by Hoshino Shin, the latter by Ankōko 暗光子.

32 December 26, 1891, by Ankōko.

33 March 22, 1892.

34 May 21, 1892.

35 September 22, 1892.

36 Hoshino, 201. The performance at the Imperial Hotel must have taken place on June 20, 1891. It is the same one that was observed by Nobu in *Jogakusei*.

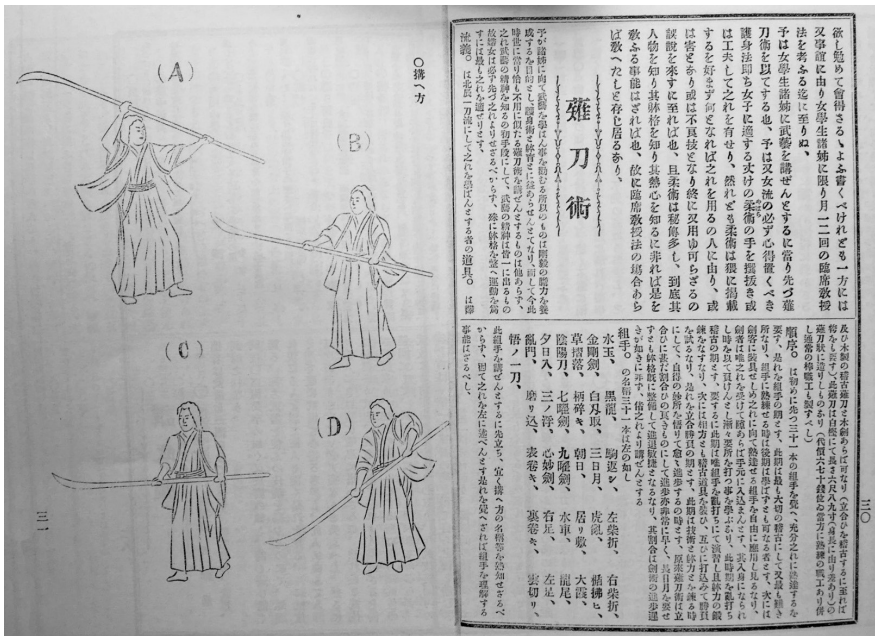


Figure 1 “Naginatajutsu”, Jogakusei no. 2.

Few seem to have been praising the performances, yet it was still seen as worth sponsoring and thus the situation may not have been as bad as Hoshino portrays it. However, Hoshino’s writing that the Western journalists saw the students’ performances as tricks and magic can be backed up by how martial arts, such as *jūjutsu* 柔術, were being experienced abroad.

Kanō Jigorō brought *jūdo* 柔道 to the U.S. for men, while his student’s wife, Yamashita Fude (c.1878–?), instructed women (Rouse and Slutsky, 2014). The British suffragettes employed *jūjutsu* as a method of self-defence (Hashimoto 2011), and in New Zealand it was used as a performative art, in a more of an entertaining, yet still gender-boundary challenging way (Looser 2010). Rouse (2015) points out how it was easier for women to turn to such imported and exotic methods to educate themselves physically. According to her, the Japanese martial arts, the appeal of which was found in the concept of *aiki*, or a person of lesser build overthrowing a larger opponent with apparent ease, was a threat to sports, especially boxing and wrestling, and the ideals of Western masculinity, physical superiority, and race. And thus, while partially appropriated in Western physical culture, martial arts were simultaneously discredited as unchivalrous trickery, performance, and, subsequently, feminine. It is thought provoking that martial arts, that were mostly not permitted

to Japanese women until decades later,³⁷ were being practiced by Western women since around 1900 via the leadership of Japanese women themselves. Martial arts, thus served as a way to express and defend one's femininity, in addition to forging international bonds among women practitioners.

Conclusions

To Iwamoto, who was developing his arguments from the position of education as a means of enlightenment and social activism, PE was a means to, first of all, liberate women's bodies by allowing them physical and mental expression and confidence, in addition to assuring their health and thus the ability to contribute to society. At the same time, it was understood as a means for moral and mental training that would ensure a good character, especially in the case of martial arts that were seen as capable of balancing the overemphasis of Western learning in the education of women.

Hoshino's writings in girls' magazines comes as surprising in its choice of martial topics, which were backed up by discussions on Chinese Classics, Zen Buddhism, and Christianity. However, these topics found their way into the magazines with such ease due to the fact that they did constitute a part of the education of women provided at Meiji Jogakkō.

In their writing and teaching methods, both of the educators seem to have been seeking a balance among the 1) traditional and modern, 2) intellectual, moral, and physical, and 3) feminine and masculine aspects of education. The understanding of education as multilateral and necessary to mould an individual on a variety of levels, allowing free expression of thought and in movement, is also an idea that underlined the education provided for girls and women at the school. It is this idea that might have seen the instruction in martial arts as liberating, while also protecting the students, both physically and against criticism directed at students receiving Christian and Western education.

37 In order to exemplify how ahead of time Meiji Jogakkō was, let us look at the historical developments of martial arts in education. In 1898, the Ministry of Education permitted martial arts as extra-curricular activities. In 1910, a national meeting of normal school principals agreed for *kenjutsu* and *jūjutsu* to become regular school subjects, while female participation in *naginata* and *kyūdō* was encouraged. I.e., martial arts became an elective course, yet the area of instruction was restricted. In 1911, the Ministry of Education officially authorized *kenjutsu* and *jūjutsu* in schools, although in actuality martial arts (*bujutsu*) remained elective for a few more years. In 1912, males were officially permitted to study *kenjutsu* or *jūjutsu*. In 1923 Kodōkan started *judō* classes for women and children. In 1931, reflecting the change of educational climate in pre-war Japan, *kendō* and *judō* became compulsory subjects at normal and middle schools for boys. Finally, in 1936, boys were permitted to study *kyūdō*, and girls became authorized to study *kyūdō* and *naginata* at schools. (Benett, 2011, 296-300) The early example of Meiji Jogakkō thus provides an important glimpse into the early development of physical and martial arts education.

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