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Ordering Spaces, Making Places: Women's Uses of Non-Domestic Spaces in Tokyo, Japan, 1868–1937

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ORDERING SPACES, MAKING PLACES:
WOMEN'S USES OF NON-DOMESTIC SPACES IN TOKYO, JAPAN, 1868–1937

by

Yuko Nakamura

A Dissertation Submitted in
Partial Fulfillment of the
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ABSTRACT

ORDERING SPACES, MAKING PLACES: WOMEN'S USES OF NON-DOMESTIC SPACES IN TOKYO, JAPAN, 1868–1937

by

Yuko Nakamura

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2018
Under the Supervision of Professor Arijit Sen

This dissertation explores Japanese women's uses of non-domestic spaces in the modern period (1868–1945), focusing on the transformations that were occurring in the new capital city of Tokyo. After the 1868 Meiji Restoration, a modern government took over in place of the Tokugawa shogunate, the feudal military government that had ruled Japan for nearly three centuries, based on a hereditary status-based system. The fall of Tokugawa social order liberated Japanese people from the principle that John W. Hall famously called “rule by status.” Yet, it also complicated the ways in which the society was organized. Because the status system had defined where people lived and visited on an everyday basis, the mechanisms for ordering spaces in cities also drastically transformed after the fall of the Tokugawa regime.

In this time of instability and negotiation, women began venturing outside of the familiar spaces of home. At the same time, various male stakeholders with social, political, and economic power – such as national government officials and corporate managers – employed multiple strategies to establish a new socio-spatial order across the city of Tokyo. It was men who, for the most part, designated which spaces were to be used and how, according to what they deemed appropriate. Yet, I argue that women played limited, but surprisingly active roles in contesting these mechanisms. Through three case studies of incidents that involved women venturing into

non-domestic spaces, I show how women worked with and against these forces, inventing alternative uses of non-domestic spaces of their own.

To examine some of the forces propelling women's increasing presence outside of the home, this dissertation builds on two methods for understanding cities and architecture: an approach that examines urbanity as a process and the ethnography of architecture. Using the urbanity-as-a-process approach, this dissertation interrogates modern Tokyo as an ongoing, complex project that was constructed by multiple stakeholders and forces, rather than designed merely by professionals, such as architects, planners, and policy makers. Drawing on the ethnography of architecture approach, the chapters also privilege interpretations that emphasize the uses and perceptions of specific spaces, rather than their forms and construction.

Each case study focuses on what was at the time a new kind of urban space, whose spatial mechanisms for gendering were still flexible and unstable. The first case study traces the development of the campus for Tsuda College – a women-only school in Tokyo – from 1900 to 1931. It shows how Tsuda College students, teachers, and administrators contested the exclusionary system of higher education in Japan by identifying and scraping up alternative resources. The second case study looks into the process by which two women's organizations – Tōyō Eiwa Girls' School Alumnae Association and Japan Women's Association for Education – expanded their spatial networks for socializing between 1873 and 1912, focusing on their uses of parks. The national government intended to push violent and noisy men, who met in the parks for political gatherings, out of the parks to achieve their purpose of having regular gatherings. This chapter demonstrates how socializing women took advantage of the national government's need to achieve their purpose of having regular gatherings. The third case study explores how managers at the flagship location of Mitsukoshi Department Store used female employees as

what I call “sensory capital” from 1900 to 1924. This chapter demonstrates that managers constantly manipulated the bodies of saleswomen, through complex strategies to ensure their coexistence with male employees at work and separation outside work. It also shows how saleswomen subverted the systematic management of their bodies.

Taking all these case studies together, I suggest that it was not only women who were gauging their changing place in the city and in Japanese society after the collapse of the Tokugawa social order; this process was also significant for the elite men who established most of the gendering systems. In doing so, this dissertation complicates traditional historical narratives of architecture and urban spaces in modern Tokyo; namely, it reconceptualizes the modernization of the built environment in Tokyo as an unstable, inconsistent process of exploration and negotiation, rather than a perfectly calculated process of progress and development. More broadly, by using materials that have not traditionally been deemed as architectural evidence, this dissertation offers a model for how to excavate the spatial interactions of under-documented, marginalized populations. By demonstrating that people can make architectural contributions even without engaging in the physical construction of buildings, the dissertation promotes a more democratic view of architecture and its significance in everyday life.

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Introduction

From Edo to Tokyo: Reordering Space and Society in Modern Japan

Women Outside the Home in Modern Japan

Around the turn of the twentieth century, women began venturing into non-domestic spaces in Tokyo – the new capital city of Japan. They left home for a significant stretch of time to learn, socialize, and work. For example, in April 1901, a woman named Kiyota Eiko took a rickshaw from a terminal station in Tokyo to matriculate at Tsuda College, a newly established women’s school.¹ About a year and a half later, members of the Tōyō Eiwa Girls’ School Alumnae Association [*Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai* 東洋英和女学校同窓会, TEGSAA] met at a tea shop in Ueno Park, one of the first public parks in Japan.² About half a year after Kiyota’s matriculation at Tsuda College, Furuya Tsuru was hired as one of the first saleswomen at Mitsui Kimono Textile Store [*Mitsui Gofuku Ten* 三井呉服店], which would later become Mitsukoshi Department Store, a leading department store in Japan.³ These three incidents of Japanese women going out into the world upset the prevailing gender ideology in modern Japan. Similar to the ideology of female domesticity in the West, modern Japanese women were most intensely associated with the space of the home. The well-known ideal of “good wife, wise mother [*ryōsai kenbo* 良妻賢母]” emerged at the turn of the twentieth century, right around the time when these

¹ Kiyota Eiko 清田栄子, “Motozono Chō Jidai No Omoide 元園町時代の思ひ出 [Memories of Motozono Chō],” *Kaihō* 会報 [*Alumnae Report*] 36 (November 1931): 10–14.

² Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai 東洋英和女学校同窓会, “Honkai Kiji 本会記事 [News of the Association],” *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai Hōkoku* 東洋英和女学校同窓会報告 [*Tōyō Eiwa Girls’ School Alumnae Association Bulletin*] (November 1902): 1–3.

³ Anon., “Ganso No Fujin 3: Sono Koro Misemono No Yōni Mezurashigarareta Joten’in 元祖の婦人 3: その頃見世物のように珍しがられた女店員 [Women Originator 3: Female Store Staff Who Were Considered Novel and as a Spectacle],” *Yomiuri Shinbun* 読売新聞, August 12, 1927, 7; Furuya Tsuru 古谷ツル, “Otoko Tenin Wa Nanjira No Teki to Omoe No Oshie 男店員は汝等の敵と思への訓へ [The Principle of Remember Male Store Staff Are Your Enemy],” *Shōten Kai* 商店界 [*World of Retailing*] 13, no. 7 (1933): 104.

these women were leaving the home.⁴ How can we make sense of these women's experiences at schools, public parks, and workplaces? To what extent was the ideology of female domesticity enforced in reality? What brought them outside of the home and kept them in these spaces for a significant amount of time? Who were the stakeholders who helped and/or hindered their activities? How did women interact with these various stakeholders, who often made efforts to control or limit their movements into these spaces?

In this dissertation, which focuses on Tokyo, I explore how women's uses of non-domestic spaces were transforming in the modern period (1868–1945). To explore some of the forces propelling women's increasing presence outside of the home, each chapter of this dissertation turns to one of the three incidents described above. Stakeholders with social, political, and economic power – such as national government officials and corporate managers – employed multiple strategies to establish social order on campuses and in parks and department stores. They designated which spaces were to be used and how, according to what they deemed appropriate. Yet, I argue that women played limited, but surprisingly active roles in contesting these mechanisms. Using case studies drawn from these three incidents, I show that by working with and against these forces, women invented alternative uses of non-domestic spaces. I discuss their emerging uses of the city in two major contexts: the global shift in the relationships between women and space, and the reordering of Japanese society and space, particularly in the new capital of Tokyo.

⁴ On the ideal of “good wife, wise mother, see Koyama Shizuko 小山静子, *Ryōsai Kenbo to Iu Kihan* 良妻賢母と
いう規範 [*The Norm of Good Wife, Wise Mother*] (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1991).

Women, Space, and Modernity

On the one hand, women's increasing use of public spaces for education, socializing, and work can be understood as part of a global phenomenon. However, as most of the scholarly work on women and space in Japan has traditionally focused on domestic spaces, women's presence in public spaces has been underexplored. In modern Japan, the ideal of "good wife, wise mother" expected them to be at home to take care of their family members, especially children. Because of the close association between home and modern Japanese women, home economists, geographers, and cultural historians have tended to focus on women's increasing contributions to changes in the domestic space during this period. For instance, using articles and floorplans published in women's magazines, home economist Kubo Katsuyo has investigated how housewives in the early twentieth century learned ways to improve their domestic environment through the media, demonstrating that women actively engaged in homemaking.⁵ Somewhat similarly, geographer Kageyama Honami illustrates how a women-only apartment helped professional women and single mothers secure autonomous residence in the city by segregating men from their domestic space.⁶ Meanwhile, the cultural historian Jordan Sand shows how houses and material culture, which used to be indicative of the owners' social status, became more tied to consumerism and understood as self-expression in the modern period.⁷ To varied extents, these scholars have revealed the domestic as a terrain where modern women could have

⁵ Kubo Katsuyo 久保加津代, *Josei Zasshi Ni Sumaidukuri Wo Manabu: Taishō Demokurashī-Ki Wo Chushin Ni 女性雑誌に住まいづくりを学ぶ: 大正デモクラシー期を中心に [Learning Home Making from Women's Magazines: Focusing on the Democracy Period of Taishō]* (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 2002).

⁶ Kageyama Honami 影山穂波, *Toshi Kūkan to Jendā 都市空間とジェンダー [Urban Space and Gender]* (Tokyo: Kokon Shoin, 2004).

⁷ Jordan Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space, and Bourgeois Culture, 1880–1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).

more freedom to express their own identities.⁸ This dissertation draws upon this body of literature, but, in contrast, focuses on women's uses of non-domestic spaces – an area that remains relatively underexplored by scholars.

While the “good wife, wise mother” continued to be the ideal throughout the period before World War II, historians have recently pointed to a shift *within* this ideal, especially in the mid-1910s onward. In other words, what constituted the ideal woman – and, by extension, the spaces she could be expected to enter – transformed over time, although the phrasing remained the same. For example, historian Koyama Shizuko has shown how expectations surrounding women's wage work to supplement family income were incorporated into the ideal, in part because of the expansion of girls' education in Japan, along with the influence of the global movement of women's liberation and the scientific management of everyday life.⁹ Similarly, historian Kimura Ryōko has demonstrated that housewives were expected to be active outside of the home as well, for self-cultivation, charity, and work, depending on changing societal norms.¹⁰ As these historians have contended, World War I (1914–18) was a watershed moment, when these new expectations surrounding women's roles began to be incorporated into the ideal. From the battlefields in Europe, reports on Western women's capabilities on the home front were constantly shared in the Japanese media, which generated similar expectations for Japanese women. Thus, as cultural historian Barbara Sato has illustrated in her book, Japanese women

⁸ For similar studies on women and home in the West, see, for example, Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981); Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981).

⁹ Koyama, *The Norm of Good Wife, Wise Mother*, 148–70.

¹⁰ Kimura Ryōko 木村涼子, “*Shufu*” *No Tanjō: Fujin Zasshi to Joseitachi No Kindai* 〈主婦〉の誕生: 婦人雑誌と女性たちの近代 [*The Birth of “Housewives”: Women's Magazines and Their Modern Era*] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2010).

with new identities, such as modern girls, professional women, and self-motivated housewives, emerged and flourished in the interwar period.¹¹

Aside from sporadic appearances in field survey reports from this period, however, the interactions between these new women and spaces in Tokyo have barely been explored in scholarship on modern Japan.¹² In order to address these questions, then, I take inspiration from recent studies on women in various cities in the West, which can hint at the significant role of these spaces, defined as public, played in the emergence of this new category of women, who were defying norms of female domesticity. Social, cultural, and architectural historians have uncovered how women gauged their places in other modern cities, such as in New York, Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco.¹³ Among them, architectural historian Jessica Sewell grapples with the interplay between the social and spatial structures of a city most explicitly in her study on women in the city of San Francisco around the turn of the twentieth century. Following women's everyday lives in the city, from transportation spaces to restaurants, cafes, theaters, and department stores, Sewell demonstrates the significance of the built environment as an instrument and product of changing gender structures in modern America.¹⁴ While the situation in Tokyo was not exactly the same as San Francisco or any other modern city in the West, it shared a similar context, as a city that was understood as part of global modernity. In particular,

¹¹ Barbara Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

¹² For example, in his 1925 field study, urban ethnographer Kon Wajirō counted the numbers of men and women in Ginza commercial district, where Mitsukoshi's branch was located. Kon's report indicates women's presence on the streets, while their number was only about half of their male counterparts. The numbers of pedestrians: men: women: students (male): workers (male): shop boys: others = 43: 24: 12: 8: 7: 6: 1. See Kon Wajirō 今和次郎, "Tokyo Ginza Gai Fūzoku Kiroku 東京銀座街風俗記録 [Recording Cultures of Ginza District in Tokyo]," in *Kogengaku Nyumon 考現学入門 [Introduction to Modernology]* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1987), 98–99.

¹³ Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860* (New York: Knopf, 1986); Sarah Deutsch, *Women and the City: Gender, Space, and Power in Boston, 1870–1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Jessica E. Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City: Public Space in San Francisco, 1890–1915* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); Emily Ann Remus, "The Making of the Consumer City: Gender, Space, and Class in Chicago, 1871–1914" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2014).

¹⁴ Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City: Public Space in San Francisco, 1890–1915*.

as the national government adopted the Westernization of lifestyles and cultures as a technology for modernizing Japanese society, Tokyo became the experimental ground for testing new ideas for a city of modernity.¹⁵ Could Japanese women like Kiyota, TEGSAA members, and Furuya use these spaces outside of the home to gauge their place in the city and in society more broadly, like San Franciscan women? If so, how?

Reordering Society and Space in Modern Tokyo

At the same time, the processes by which these women ended up interacting with the new urban spaces in Tokyo, such as campuses for higher education, parks, and department stores, were specific to the changing social, cultural, political, and economic structures in the modern capital city of Japan. Political events that culminated with the 1868 Meiji Restoration brought an end to more than two centuries of the regime of the Tokugawa shogunate – the feudal military government of Japan. In the subsequent years, the nascent Meiji government, which eventually established Japan as a modern state, struggled to figure out how to govern a society whose status-based order had collapsed. Women’s place in society was also redefined in this process of establishing new socio-spatial orders.

The Fall of the Status System

For nearly three centuries prior to this political upheaval, Japan was an agricultural society ruled by the military government of the Tokugawa shogunate. Tokugawa is the name of the family that succeeded the hereditary commander-in-chief position, called the *shogun*, since the establishment of the military government in 1603. Using military power, the shogun and his

¹⁵ Architectural historian Suzuki Hiroyuki characterized Westernization as a technology for modernization. See Suzuki Hiroyuki 鈴木博之, “Kindai Toha Nanika 近代とは何か [What Is the Modern Period?],” in *Kindai Toha Nanika 近代とは何か [What Is the Modern Period?]*, ed. Yamagishi Tsuneto 山岸常人 Suzuki Hiroyuki 鈴木博之, Ishiyama Osamu 石山修武, Itō Takeshi 伊藤毅 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2005), 5.

retainer lords dominated land ownership and tenure across a wide territory. As the Japanese historian John Whitney Hall has famously summarized, the shogunate's fundamental principle was "rule by status."¹⁶ The population was roughly classified into two basic social statuses: *samurai* [also known as *bushi* 武士] and commoners [*heimin* 平民]. Samurai, the upper status, included the lords and the lords' retainers, as well as lower-ranking samurai. Those who ranked as commoners, on the other hand, included farmers, craftspeople, and merchants. As much as four-fifths of the Japanese population were farmers, who cultivated rural lands and collectively paid taxes to the government. Craftspeople and merchants, meanwhile, lived and worked in urban neighborhoods [*machi* 町] and served various roles within their communities in exchange for certain privileges. Samurai oversaw the operations of both rural farming communities and urban neighborhoods. Because these statuses were hereditary, there was little possibility of social mobility. Furthermore, in a culture based on Confucianism, accepting one's own status and behaving accordingly was considered virtuous. Japanese people enjoyed more than two hundred years of peace under the Tokugawa shogunate, without a major political upheaval.¹⁷

In Tokugawa Japan, the ordering of space played an active role in shaping this status-based society. A city was typically organized into three zones: the samurai zone [*buke chi* 武家地], the commoner zone [*chōnin chi* 町人地], and the religious zone [*jisha chi* 寺社地]. With this three-part zoning, samurai and commoners were designated separate spaces to live in from birth. In the capital of Edo, which would be renamed Tokyo after the 1868 restoration, spatial inequality was particularly obvious. More than two-thirds of the city's land was designated to samurai, leaving only scattered lands available for commoners. Urban commoners and samurai

¹⁶ John W. Hall, "Rule by Status in Tokugawa Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 1, no. 1 (1974): 39–49.

¹⁷ Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*, Third ed. (New York, Oxford, 2014), 10–46.

likely had some interactions, however, because some commoners, especially merchants, sold luxurious goods to high-ranking samurai. Samurai and commoners could also visit the same religious institutions, so they likely encountered each other at those places. Nevertheless, as urban historians have emphasized, the division between the samurai and commoner zones in Tokyo were powerful in predetermining where and how people could lead their everyday lives.¹⁸

While women's experiences varied across urban areas in Tokugawa Japan, their opportunities to interact with non-domestic spaces and with people outside of their families were particularly limited in Edo.¹⁹ Women customarily went out to visit their extended families, whose status was usually the same as theirs, and to places in the religious zone, where their social status was ambiguous. Both samurai and commoner women, in company with their female relatives, visited the homes of other relatives in Edo, in order to spend a few nights together. When they visited temples and temple precincts, they also tended to go in a group. Women-favored temples were often founded by or enshrined famous religious women, and/or they were places to worship deities that could ensure safe childbirth or good health. During these visits to temple precincts, women also engaged in sightseeing to beautiful landscapes; areas known for seasonal flowers were especially popular. However, other than these occasions, women in the upper social strata, such as samurai women and wives of wealthy merchants, did not have many opportunities to leave their families and homes. Samurai women, in particular, avoided going to

¹⁸ Yoshida Nobuyuki 吉田伸之, *Kyodai Jōkamachi Edo No Bunsetsu Kōzō 巨大城下町江戸の分節構造 [The Structure of Segregation in Edo, the Giant Castle City]* (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1999), 3–38; Edward Seidensticker, *Low City, High City: Tokyo from Edo to the Earthquake* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991); André Sorensen, *The Making of Urban Japan: Cities and Planning from Edo to the Twenty-First Century* (London: Routledge, 2002), 10–44. Yoshida details the segregated structure of Tokugawa times in this entire book, but the introduction is a concise, but still nuanced overview on this topic.

¹⁹ For example a traveler named Kimuro Bōun wrote that he was surprised to see how freely women roamed around Miyako (the old capital city in the east, today's Kyōto), in comparison to in Edo. See Timon Screech, "Comparison of Cities," in *An Edo Anthology: Literature from Japan's Mega-City, 1750–1850*, ed. Sumie Jones et al. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012), 443–444.

places in the commoner zone. When they needed to pass through or near this zone in order to visit the houses and estates of their extended family across the city, they traveled in a boat and/or a litter (similar to a palanquin) called a *kago* [駕籠]. When samurai women were required to engage with people in the commoner zone, they usually had their female maids run the necessary errands. Commoner women, by contrast, had more freedom of mobility; for instance, they could go out to watch theater and artistic performances, although they likely had to travel in a group. Unlike samurai women, they might have run some errands on their own, but the errands tended to be limited to their own neighborhoods.²⁰

By contrast, one category of people who were highly mobile in Edo were street and theater performers, as well as female entertainers called *geisha*. People in these occupation groups were considered the underclass, situated below the commoner status. Whether male or female, performers and entertainers had to constantly move around because Tokugawa and neighborhood authorities attempted to push them out of every corner of the city. They inhabited the less regulated areas at the borders of more established zones, such as bridges, temple entrances, and streets whose management responsibility was unclear.²¹ Sex workers and unlicensed female entertainers also used pleasure boats [*yusan bune* 遊山船] and temple precincts located in the peripheries in order to attract male customers.²² Thus, women who were

²⁰ It was also common to visit family temples, where their ancestors were enshrined. This is one of the practices that are still in place in Japanese society. On the daily life of Edo people, see Matsunosuke Nishiyama, *Edo Culture: Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600–1868* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 7–91.

²¹ On street and theater performers, see *Ibid.*, 181–249; Gerald Groemer, *Street Performers and Society in Urban Japan, 1600–1900: The Beggar's Gift* (New York: Routledge, 2016). On other people in the underclass, who inhabited streets and other urban spaces, see Tsukada Takashi 塚田孝, *Kinsei Nihon Mibunsei No Kenkyū* 近世日本身分制の研究 [A Study on the Statys System in Premodern Japan] (Kōbe: Hyōgo Buraku Mondai Kenkyūjo, 1987), 205–337; Tsukada Takashi 塚田孝, ed., *Mibunteki Shūen to Kinsei Shakai 4: Toshi No Shūen Ni Ikiru* 身分的周縁と近世社会4：都市の周縁に生きる [Marginalized Social Groups and the Early Modern Society 4: Inhabiting the Peripheries of Cities] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2006). This nine-volume series *Marginalized Social Groups and the Early Modern Society* provides nuanced glimpses into a wide variety of lives of such populations.

²² On prostitution in Tokugawa Japan, see Amy Stanley, *Selling Women: Prostitution, Markets, and the Household in Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

considered reputable only appeared outside of the home when they were in transit to another destination, and their presence in these non-domestic spaces was limited to short periods of time.²³

In the course of modernizing institutions and systems during the Meiji period, the national government incrementally eliminated this bounded hereditary status system. In 1871, the state created a national family register [*koseki* 戸籍], which did not list individuals by their status, but instead established the household as the new unit by which to directly monitor and manage the entire nation. The previous status distinctions did not disappear overnight, as we will see, they exerted less influence and took different forms over time. But technically, the elimination of status from the family register allowed all citizens to choose their own occupations and where to live, regardless of which family they were born into. Given the intense link that had been established between social and spatial structures in the Edo period, the abolishment of the status system during the Meiji period also unsettled the ways in which spaces in the city were managed and organized. Most notably, the lords, including the Shogun, were required to return their tenure of vast lands to the national government. These lands were then

²³ As feminist historians have recently revealed, women started appearing in outdoor spaces for longer travels especially in the late Edo period, when the restrictive structures and rules were becoming easier to circumvent on a case-by-case basis. While these case studies indicate the increasing power of Tokugawa women in this period, the fact that women had to subvert the system just to move their bodies through different spaces suggests the level of restrictions placed on women's everyday mobility. See, for example, Laura Nenzi, *Excursions in Identity: Travel and the Intersection of Place, Gender, and Status in Edo Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008); Marcia Yonemoto, "Outside the Inner Quarters: Sociability, Mobility and Narration in Early Edo-Period Women's Diaries," *Japan Forum* 21, no. 3 (2010): 389–401; Yamamoto Shino 山本志乃, "Tabi Nikki Ni Miru Kinsei Makki No Josei No Tabi: Tabi No Taishūka Eno Ichiduke Wo Meguru Ichikousatsu 旅日記にみる近世末期の女性の旅: 「旅の大衆化」への位置づけをめぐる一考察 [Travel of Women in the Late Early Modern Period Observed in Travel Diaries: A Study on Its Positioning Relative to the *Popularization of Traveling*]," *Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan Kenkyū Hōkoku* 国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告 [Bulletin of the National Museum of Japanese History] 155 (2010): 1–19; Marcia Yonemoto, *The Problem of Women in Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016). Social historian Bébio Amaro distinguishes modern Japanese women's presence in outdoor spaces by using the concept of "prolonged presence" as opposed to "transient presence" of premodern women. See Bébio Amaro, "Gender and Urban Space in Edo" (paper, European Social Science History Conference, Belfast, UK, April 2018), 8.

redeveloped and redistributed by the state. Furthermore, the 1873 Land Tax Reform [*Chiso Kaisei* 地租改正] established a new system of land property administration. The government conducted a nationwide land survey and issued deeds to the identified landowners. By doing so, most of the lands in Japan were reclassified into two categories, depending on the owner type: governmental [*kanyū chi* 官有地] or private lands [*minyū chi* 民有地]. The resulting land register, where the specifications and owners of the lands were recorded, allowed for land properties to be taxed and traded. Regardless of their former status, then, any citizen could own a piece of land.²⁴

New Mechanisms for Ordering Society and Space

Under this new system, people began reinterpreting, rearranging, and redeveloping spaces on these recently commodified lands in Japanese cities. In comparison to the Tokugawa capital of Edo, the modern capital city of Tokyo was often characterized as a more democratic space, where people from different walks of life could interact with each other. Tokyo also took on a new symbolic significance after the Meiji Restoration, as it became the center for imperial power; it was here that the Emperor – whose political power was neglected during the Tokugawa military reign – re-established himself as the leader of the nation.²⁵ In his book *A Guide to Greater Tokyo*, which was written to introduce the histories and cultures of the expanding metropolitan area to the audience in the 1920s, urban ethnographer Kon Wajirō summarizes the breadth of these changes:

²⁴ On Land Tax Reform, see Takishima Isao 滝島功, *Toshi to Chiso Kaisei 都市と地租改正 [Cities and Land Tax Reform]* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003); Yokoyama Yuriko 横山百合子, *Meiji Ishin to Kinsei Mibunsei No Kaitai 明治維新と近世身分制の解体 [Meiji Restoration and the Fall of Early Modern Status System]* (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2005).

²⁵ On how the Emperor restored his power, see Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*, 60–180.

The scene has been changed. The great restoration has been completed. Also, Edo has been reconceptualized as Tokyo, the new imperial capital. A new order has been born, and the city, which was once weakened, has been restored. In the secluded, feudal era, it used to be a military castle city ruled by the Shogun. But it is now an imperial capital that has incorporated Western-style cultures and parliament. Lords have returned the lands to the government. The government has been centralized in Tokyo. The city has the honor of being the new center of the nation for the first time.²⁶

Kon's repeated use of "new" in this narrative communicates the heightened sense of change and novelty of the period. "All the old things were replaced by new ones," continues Kon.²⁷

Notably, however, this narrative of modern Tokyo as a story of unidirectional progress focuses on the fall of traditional systems, while ignoring the emergence of new kinds of divisions between people with different backgrounds. While it was true that social status was no longer the sole characteristic used to define one's relationship with spaces in the city, social categories did not simply disappear upon the abolishment of the status system; instead, other characteristics, such as a person's economic status and other socio-cultural distinctions, including gender, started

²⁶ Kon, *Shinban Dai Tokyo Annai* 新版 大東京案内 [New Edition, A Guide to Greater Tokyo] (Tokyo: Chuo Kōron Sha, 1929), 25. Unless otherwise noted, I translate all Japanese sentences into English in this dissertation.

Original: 舞台は転換する。維新の大業が成った。そして新たに帝都として、舷に江戸が東京に改められた。新しい秩序が成つて、一時の衰弱が回復された。鎖国封建時代の將軍の大城下だつたのに対して、今や西欧文化をとり入れた皇政の首都となつた。諸侯はその封土を奉還し、東京に置かれた中央政府が全国の政治をやることになつた。中央集権の組織であるが、その全国の中心の都市としての新たな榮譽を初めて荷つたわけである。

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 29.

すべての旧いものは新らしきにかへられた。

While Kon was not a historian specialized in Meiji Restoration per se, other historians of Meiji Restorations have written extensively about such drastic social, political, cultural, and spatial changes in Tokyo, which were prompted by Meiji Restoration. See, for example, Tamaki Hajime 玉木肇, *Meiji Ishin No Shohenkaku Ga Seikatsu Yōshiki Ni Oyoboshita Shoeikyō* 明治維新の諸變革が生活様式に及ぼした諸影響 [Influences of Changes after Meiji Restoration on the Lifestyles] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1932); Imanishi Hajime 今西一, "Bunmei Kaika Seisaku No Tenkai 文明開化政策の展開 [Development of Cultural Enlightenment]," in *Kōza Meiji Ishin 4: Kindai Kokka No Keisei* 講座明治維新4: 近代国家の形成 [Lectures on Meiji Restoration 4: The Construction of the Modern Nation State], ed. Meiji Ishin Shigakkai 明治維新史学会 (Tokyo: Yūshisha, 2012), 21–55; Sasaki Suguru 佐々木克, *Edo Ga Tokyo Ni Natta Hi: Meiji Ninen No Tokyo Sento* 江戸が東京になった日: 明治二年の東京遷都 [Edo Became Tokyo: Establishing the New Capital of Tokyo in 1869] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2001). The works of Tamaki and Imanishi are part of the book series that exclusively focus on the histories of Meiji Restoration.

to define one's life opportunities.²⁸ Importantly, because the new family register embraced the ideal of the patriarchal family, biological sex was officially incorporated as one primary factor that defined one's place in modern society. This way of ordering the family and household had previously made sense only in higher social status households. As social historian Yokoyama Yuriko argues, in the Edo period, micro-social orders were maintained and contained within small groups, which were organized by the members' statuses and occupations. People needed to comply with laws and ordinances, but these pertained only to their own social group. However, the 1896 Meiji Civil Code – a nationwide body of laws governing private life – legalized the principle of male heads of the household. Unless there was an inevitable reason for a female family member to head the household, the first son was designated the heir of the family. Female members, on the other hand, were placed in a subordinate position, typically supervised and supported by their fathers, husbands, or sons. A woman's life thus came to depend heavily on how the head of the household decided to manage her.²⁹ By extending these principles to all households across the nation, the Civil Code also created a uniformity in regulating gendered roles that that had not existed previously.

When the national government started enforcing ideals that came from the upper social strata across all groups, the preexisting micro-social orders – as well as the organization of domestic and public spaces – were upset, overwhelmed, and contested. Historians of late

²⁸ On the early reorganization of the city and how the social categories were embedded in it, see Matsuyama Megumi 松山恵, *Edo, Tokyo No Toshishi: Kindai Ikōki No Toshi, Kenchiku, Shakai* 江戸・東京の都市史: 近代移行期の都市・建築・社会 [An Urban History of Edo-Tokyo: City, Architecture, and Society in the Changing Capital of Japan, 1850–1920] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2014).

²⁹ On the significance of Meiji Civil Code, see Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan*, 20, 37–38. Especially, Chapter I of Book I, “Persons,” and Chapter II of Book IV, “The Head and Members of a House,” pertain to the restrictions on women's official capacity. For the original civil code, see Japan Ministry of Justice, “Minpō 民法 (明治二十九年法律第八十九号) [The Civil Code (Act No. 89 of 1896)],” <http://www.japaneselawtranslation.go.jp/law/detail/?id=2057&vm=04&re=01&new=1>, accessed November 18, 2018.

nineteenth-century Japan have recently started to recognize that the collapse of the Tokugawa social order led to a shared sense of ambiguity across all new classes and groups.³⁰ The ways in which the national government and eventually Japanese people at large treated women in modern Tokyo, as well as the ways in which women contested their treatment, exemplified this broader reorganization of society.³¹ This dissertation interrogates these interrelationships between space and society and how they changed in the process of establishing modernity in Japan.

Urbanity as a Process

Once “rule by status” was no longer the sole principle, how was space reordered in relation to gender? In particular, how did women contest and thwart expectations by leaving the home and entering these new public spaces in Tokyo? To address these questions, I build on two methods for understanding cities and architecture: first, an approach that examines urbanity as a process, and second, the ethnography of architecture. Using the urbanity-as-a-process approach, I examine modern Tokyo as an ongoing project that was constructed by multiple stakeholders and forces, rather than designed merely by professionals, such as architects, planners, and policy makers. In the words of social historian Patrick Joyce, I focus on the “social *ordering*” of the city “as a fluid, open and many-stranded activity,” rather than assuming “a static and monolithic social *order*.”³² As such, this dissertation is not a study of how planned neighborhoods and

³⁰ The relationships between social group, status, and occupation in the Edo period was extremely complex. But the gist is that the small social groups were fairly self-contained and autonomous. Unlike Meiji government, Tokugawa shogunate did not often enforce the same principle on the entire nation. Yokoyama discusses how the constellation of multiple social orders collapsed when Meiji government started treating the entire population in a monolithic way. See Yokoyama, *Edo-Tokyo No Meiji Ishin 江戸東京の明治維新 [Meiji Restoration in Edo-Tokyo]* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2018), esp.172.

³¹ Such constant categorization of people was inevitable part of modernity in general. As sociologist Anthony Giddens has contended, in the post-traditional period when uncertainty and anxiety runs high due to increased possibilities for individuals, people constantly gauge their place in the society. Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

³² Using this approach, Joyce argues that the seeming freedom was the principle that defined and governed people’s lives in modern London and Manchester. See Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London: Verso, 2003), 6.

infrastructure, as well as signature buildings in Tokyo, represented modernity and the new order of Japanese society. Rather, it is a study of the processes by which people from different backgrounds invested the city with various social meanings to produce complex socio-spatial orders.

One seminal study of modern cities that employs this framework is *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840–1930* by geographer Richard Dennis. Using cases from London, New York, Chicago, and Toronto, Dennis takes up Joyce’s idea of spatial ordering, along with other theories about the production of space, to demonstrate ways of seeing modern cities from above and below. He understands modern urbanity as a process that embodies both top-down design and people’s everyday spatial practices. Notably, Dennis relies on the notion of “spatial trialectics,” developed by the social theorist Henri Lefebvre, as well as the concepts of spatial “strategies” and “tactics” developed by Michel de Certeau. Lefebvre conceptualizes space as a product of negotiations between “representational space,” such as ideologies and imagination, “representations of space,” such as designed buildings and infrastructure, and “spatial practices,” or how people use spaces on an everyday basis. Similarly illuminating the agency of people who are traditionally deemed irrelevant to how a city is produced, de Certeau refers to the work of professional city planning and design as “strategies” and to ordinary people’s uses of space as “tactics.” Although Dennis’s analysis concentrates more on representations of space and strategies than on these other aspects, he also illustrates “the messiness” of modern cities, or, as he puts it, “the paradoxes of order and diversity, rationalism and pluralism, modernisation and modernism, representations of space and spatial practice.”³³

³³ Richard Dennis, *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840-1930*, Repr. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 26, 349. On the theories Dennis relies on, see Henri Lefebvre, *The*

While Dennis focuses on British and North American cities, a similar approach has also emerged among scholars who study Tokyo. Since the 1980s, planning and architectural historians have emphasized the challenges and quirks evident in the modernization practices of planners in Tokyo.³⁴ For example, the architectural historian Fujimori Terunobu highlights the struggles of planners and architects who were in charge of designing structures to fill the vacant lands that were returned to the government after the end of the Tokugawa regime. While focusing on major governmental projects of urban planning, Fujimori's study sheds light on the difficulty of implementing new designs on the spatial legacy of Edo, rather than assuming the success of modern urban planning in Japan.³⁵ In fact, as other scholars have noted, planners developed unique tactics to tackle the challenges of implementing planning projects in Japanese cities. For instance, the planning historian Ishida Yorifusa delves into the process of executing planned developments. In so doing, he reveals how such projects in Japan depended on small land readjustments for the purpose of making way for infrastructure, instead of sweeping expropriation. This tactic was a product of negotiations that unfolded between the city's existing stakeholders, including, notably, different types of landowners. Ishida's study is innovative in suggesting the fragility of planning and the power of everyday practices in shaping modern urban spaces in Japan.³⁶ In addition to governmental plans, scholars have explored the ways that private real estate developers also gained influence on the city's transformation in the twentieth

Production of Space (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1991); Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

³⁴ This trend was particularly called Tokyo Studies [*Tokyo Ron* 東京論]. On the genealogy and discussion of Tokyo Studies, see Kenchiku Shi Gakkai 建築史学会, "Tokyo Ron Sono Go 東京論その後 [After Tokyo Studies]," *Kenchiku Shi Gaku* 建築史学 [*Architectural History*] 47 (2006): 103–35.

³⁵ Fujimori Terunobu 藤森照信, *Meiji No Tokyo Keikaku* 明治の東京計画 [*Tokyo Plan in the Meiji Period*] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2004).

³⁶ Ishida Yorifusa 石田頼房, *Nihon Kingendai Toshi Keikaku No Tenkai: 1868–2003* 日本近現代都市計画の展開: 1868–2003 [*Development of Urban Planning in Modern and Contemporary Japan, 1868–2003*] (Tokyo: Jichitai Kenkyūsha, 2004).

century. In his edited volume, for instance, housing historian Yamaguchi Hiroshi and other authors demonstrate how developers converted former vacant urban lands and rural agricultural fields to residential neighborhoods, inviting commercial and educational institutions to the developing districts.³⁷ These various studies highlight relatively powerful professionals in architecture and urban planning, such as lesser-known governmental officials, architects, planners, and real estate developers. Yet collectively, these scholars have incorporated a sensibility to spatial practices that paves the way toward understanding the transformation of Tokyo as a complex process.

A focus on the messiness, paradoxes, and complexity of the process of city making is especially useful for this dissertation. Indeed, women would not appear in these stories at all, if we traced the production of the city only through signature planning and building projects, which depended on decision-making by architects, planners, and government officials – professions that generally required university-level specialized education. As I will discuss in the first case study in Chapter 1, women did not have access to university-level education and training in pre-WWII Japan.³⁸ As women were systematically excluded from these positions that had direct control over the organization of space, it was through their spatial practices that women were able to be engaged in the transformation of the city. In this dissertation, I include female users of

³⁷ Yamaguchi Hiroshi 山口廣, “Tōkyō No Kōgai Jūtakuchi 東京の郊外住宅地 [Suburban Residential Developments in Tokyo],” in *Kōgai Jūtakuchi No Keifu: Tokyo No Denen Yutopia 郊外住宅地の系譜: 東京の田園ユートピア [Genealogy of Suburban Developments: Garden Utopia in Tokyo]*, ed. Yamaguchi Hiroshi 山口廣 (Tokyo: Kajima Shuppankai, 1987), 6–42.

³⁸ While a few female architects trained overseas started their careers before WWII, most emerged after the war. On the pioneers of female architectural professionals, see Matsukawa Junko 松川淳子 et al., “Nihon Ni Okeru Senzen Sengo No Sōsōki No Josei Kenchikuka 日本における戦前戦後の草創期の女性建築家・技術者 [Female Architects and Technicians in Japan before and after WWII],” *Jūtaku Sōgō Kenkyū Zaidan Nenpō 住宅総合研究財団研究年報 [Annals of Housing Research Foundation]* 30 (2004): 251–62.

urban spaces as stakeholders in the making of the city, in part by identifying the uneven and contingent nature of the process itself.

In the following chapters, I investigate some of the unstable and at times contradictory forces that contributed to the spatial ordering of Tokyo during this period, by looking closely at three cases based on the incidents mentioned earlier. This approach, which uses specific encounters in places to understand the ordering of a city, is inspired by the work of architectural historian Suzuki Hiroyuki.³⁹ Suzuki depicts Tokyo as “a city that was constructed as a sum of actions for various possibilities, by people who lived and owned part of it,” through stories of twelve different places in the city. His approach, in turn, was inspired by *Georgian London*, a study on Georgian estates and their relationships with the transformation of London, by British architectural historian John Summerson.⁴⁰ Foregrounding urban sites as the terrain where political, economic, social, and cultural contexts converged to define people’s activities therein, Suzuki demonstrates how various types of landowners, who gained power due to the new system of property administration, became catalysts for transformation in their surrounding landscapes. In the stories he tells, a single site sometimes affects the broader transformation of the city. Other times, social, cultural, economic, and ideological forces bring people and things to particular places. In other words, Suzuki shows the active roles of specific places themselves in the transformation of the city’s entire structure.

Much like Suzuki, I explore the transformation of Tokyo through the histories of particular places in the city. I focus on a campus for higher education (Tsuda College), a public park (Ueno Park), and a department store (Mitsukoshi), in order to shed light on female spatial

³⁹ Suzuki Hiroyuki, *Tokyo No Genius Loci 東京の地霊 [Genius Loci of Tokyo]*, Paperback (Tokyo: Chikuma Gakugei Bunko, 2009).

⁴⁰ John Summerson, *Georgian London*, Revised ed (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1962).

users as contributors to changing urban spaces. In deciding to focus my attention on these particular spaces, I followed several main criteria. First, all three of these spaces were new types of urban spaces that were established after the collapse of the status system. The national government established systems for education and for public parks in the 1870s, while retailers started experimenting with the department store model in the 1890s. Moreover, within these new types of spaces, the mechanisms for spatial ordering were relatively flexible and unstable. As I will discuss in the case studies, while the stakeholders in power attempted to articulate gendered ideals through their spatial ordering, they were not always sure of how they should position and treat women. The undecided nature of these projects offers an opportunity to illuminate how women users contributed to the ongoing, dynamic formation of spatial mechanisms. Second, focusing on these three kinds of spaces allows me to directly challenge existing studies, by scholars who have tended to highlight only the contributions of male government officials, architects, and corporate managers in the designs of campuses, parks, and department stores. This dissertation is a strategic effort to revisit these spaces through the lens of women's spatial uses and perceptions, thereby complicating more familiar narratives that focus on male expertise.⁴¹

Ethnography of Architecture

To understand women's interactions with non-domestic spaces, I use an approach that is known as the ethnography of architecture, which has been developed primarily by folklorists studying material culture. This approach draws on work by folklorist Dell Hymes, whose framework of "the ethnography of speaking" interprets uses of language in socio-cultural contexts. Expanding on Hymes' approach, the ethnography of architecture privileges uses and

⁴¹ Detailed discussions on existing studies can be found at the beginning of each chapter.

perceptions of specific spaces, rather than their forms and construction.⁴² For example, folklorist Michel Ann Williams demonstrates that changes in social uses of architecture can occur even when formal elements of houses remain intact; in turn, physical changes, she argues, do not necessarily entail immediate changes in social behaviors.⁴³ Similarly, another folklorist Gerald L. Pocius shows that Newfoundland's traditions remain embedded in human relationships and in people's uses of space, even as the place itself is considered to be modernized or even invaded by modern and global consumer culture.⁴⁴ Both Williams and Pocius highlight the discrepancies between designated spatial functions and actual spatial practices. I use this approach as a strategy to think explicitly about women's interactions with non-domestic spaces; women in Meiji Japan had few opportunities to make physical modifications to non-domestic spaces, but they were inventive in *how* they used these spaces.

In the ethnography of architecture, uses of the physical spaces are interpreted vis-à-vis immediate and broader contexts through first-hand accounts, such as oral testimonials and other textual documents that detail social situations. Because the cases that I use in this dissertation date back to the late nineteenth century, more than a hundred years ago, oral histories of women who actually used these spaces are hard to come by. Intimate unpublished records of ordinary people, such as personal diaries and oral histories, tend not to be systematically archived in Japan.⁴⁵ Therefore, in order to make contextual interpretations of the built environment, I rely

⁴² On the ethnography of architecture approach and critiques of material culture studies focusing on forms, see Michael Ann Williams and M. Jane Young, "Grammar, Codes, and Performance: Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Models in the Study of Vernacular Architecture," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 5 (1995): 40–51. On Hymes's theory of speaking, see Dell Hymes, "The Ethnography of Speaking," *Anthropology and Human Behavior* 13, no. 53 (1962): 11–74.

⁴³ Michael Ann Williams, *Homeplace: The Social Use and Meaning of the Folk Dwelling in Southwestern North Carolina* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991).

⁴⁴ Gerald L. Pocius, *A Place to Belong: Community Order and Everyday Space in Calvert, Newfoundland* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991).

⁴⁵ On the scattered personal records and unavailability of intimate records of ordinary people, see Rui Kohiyama, "Women's History at the Cutting Edge in Japan," *Women's History Review* 27, no. 1 (2018): 58–70.

upon and synthesize two main types of evidence. The first is spatial evidence, including maps, architectural drawings, photographs, illustrations, and documents on spatial regulations. These sources vary, and they include pieces taken from professional journals, public records of laws and regulations, and archives of relevant organizations. The other is ethnographic evidence, including some rare published and unpublished diaries, as well as first-hand accounts and expressions in magazines, newspapers, and publications of relevant organizations. By “relevant organizations,” I refer to groups and places with which women were affiliated outside of the home, such as schools, workplaces, and organizations for other activities, such as charity work, self-cultivation, and socializing. Here, I rely primarily on archives and internal publications, often called bulletins. In any scale of organization in modern Japan, internal bulletins were a primary means of communication, much like blogs or social media platforms today. Because these bulletins were published and distributed in multiple places, research libraries have collected and archived them more systematically than personal diaries. While these sources still tend to be scattered around different libraries, other historians have also found bulletins to be useful sources for exploring women’s political and non-political group activities.⁴⁶

I synthesize these two kinds of evidence – spatial and ethnographic – to varied degrees across each of the three case studies, largely because the types of archival evidence available

⁴⁶ Studies relying on internal bulletins of women’s organizations include: Ishiduki Shizue 石月静恵, *Senkanki No Josei Undō 戦間期の女性運動 [Women’s Movements in the Interwar Period]* (Osaka: Tōhō Shuppan, 1996); Sheldon Garon, “Women’s Groups and the Japanese State: Contending Approaches to Political Integration, 1890–1945,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 19, no. 1 (1993): 5–41; Matsumoto Keiko 松本佳子, “Taishō-Shōwa Shoki No Hanshinkan Kōgai Jūtakuchi Ni Okeru Josei No Gaishutsu-Kōsai Ni Kansuru Kenkyu 大正・昭和初期の阪神間郊外住宅地における女性の外出・交際に関する研究 [Women’s Going Out and Socializing in the Hanshinkan Residential Suburbs in the Taishō and Early Shōwa Periods]” (Doctor of Home Economics diss., Mukogawa Women’s University, 2000); Kondō Mikako 近藤未佳子, “Nihon Ni Okeru Josei No Toshi-Kankyō Kaizen-Katsudō No Tenkai: 1920–70 Nendai: Tōkyō-to Kubu No Jirei Wo Chushin To Shite 日本における都市環境改善活動の展開, 1920–70年代: 東京都区部の事例を中心として [Women in the Movement for Improving the Urban Environment in Japan, the 1920s–70s: Focusing on the Case of the Tokyo Wards]” (Doctor of Engineering diss., University of Tokyo, 2009).

varies considerably. For example, in the first case study, I use maps, architectural drawings, and photos, as well as testimonials from school bulletins, to explore campuses for women's higher education. In the second case study, my interpretation of an urban park revolves more around park regulations, as found in public records, as well as women's social gathering venues, as identified through bulletins of women's organizations. In the third chapter, I synthesize schematic plans of a department store with employee directories and first-hand accounts by managers and female workers. I discuss the evidence I use in more detail at the beginning of each chapter.

Because the evidence is fragmentary and diverse, my interpretations in each case study also span different scales and address distinct aspects of social life. In each case, however, I begin by asking what brought women to spaces outside of the home. While my interpretative emphases vary, the analysis of each case is thus guided by a set of similar questions. Who were the stakeholders in power? Who initiated these mechanisms for gendering space? What did women want to achieve by visiting these places? How did women interact with the social and spatial ordering mechanisms that were in play? What were the meanings of these places for women, as well as for the stakeholders in power? How and when did these different meanings become contested – or work in sync? Taken together, the three case studies offer ways of understanding how the spatial mechanisms that regulated gender mattered across different scales, from the national level, as manifested in policies like the Civil Code, to the ways that women were able to study, walk around, or work to earn wages in the city. By doing so, I offer nuanced, detailed glimpses into everyday life, instead of a comprehensive view of women's spatial uses of modern Tokyo.

Structure of the Work

The following chapters include three case studies and an overall conclusion. The first case study traces the development of the campus for Tsuda College – the women’s school that Kiyota attended – from 1900 to 1931. Although the national government excluded women from the system of higher education through a set of ordinances, the students, teachers, and administrators at Tsuda College still managed to expand the school incrementally. Working independently, they contested the exclusionary educational system by identifying and scraping together alternative funding sources in order to accommodate the growing need for women’s higher education. After moving around the city twice to find an ideal place, the school finally established their first purpose-built campus in 1931 in Kodaira Village, a former agricultural village and later a suburb on the outskirts of Tokyo. As I discuss, achieving independence from governmental and corporate resources gave Tsuda College students and staff a sense of pride and empowerment. This chapter shows that one unexpected consequence of the exclusion from the educational system was the expansion – not the decline – of women’s higher education, contrary to the government’s intentions.

The second case study interrogates women’s spatial uses for *shakō* [社交], or systematized activities for socializing. From the 1880s on, the national government and male intellectuals started encouraging women to become more comfortable outside of the home and to socialize. While such encouragement might seem incongruent with the ideal of female domesticity, it actually aligned with these values; women were expected to socialize for the purpose of better serving their families and the nation. This chapter traces the gathering places of two of the earliest women’s organizations that emerged in the Meiji period for *shakō* – TEGSAA and Japan Women’s Association for Education [*Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōiku Kai* 大日本婦人教育

会, or JWAE]. Because women neither owned nor had access to dedicated spaces for their *shakō*, they repurposed homes, places that they already frequented or were familiar with, and public parks, and started using them for gatherings. Interpreting these creative spatial uses for gatherings vis-a-vis the social context, this chapter illustrates, in particular, the significance of public parks, which were established by the national government in 1873.⁴⁷ Unlike the case of higher education, the government regulated parks to include and even encourage women users. As we will see, part of the government's intention in deploying women to these spaces was to serve as an antidote to the problem of violent and noisy men, who met in the parks for political gatherings. This plan, however, had unintended consequences. This chapter illustrates how women took advantage of this opportunity to use parks in order to achieve their purpose of having regular gatherings.

The third case study focuses on the flagship store of Mitsukoshi Department Store, a popular workplace for women, where Furuya started as one of the first saleswomen in 1901. As part of the reconfiguration of Japanese society around the turn of the twentieth century, kimono textile stores transformed into department stores. As their clientele expanded to include not only the upper classes but the emerging middle class, these stores became a place where people from different economic and social backgrounds interacted with each other. At the same time, as a commercial institution that embraced the modern value of constant change, department store managers employed female store staff in locations where they expected high traffic and exposure. Women were expected to use what I call “sensory capital,” or the visual, auditory, olfactory, and tactile experiences that women workers provided. Yet, managers relied upon

⁴⁷ For JWAE, see Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōiku Kai 大日本婦人教育会, ed., *Zaidan Hōjin Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōiku Kai 50 Shūnen Kiroku 財団法人日本婦人教育会五十周年記録 [A Fifty-Year Record of Japan Women's Association for Education]* (Tokyo: Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōiku Kai, 1937). I elaborate on this organization in the second chapter.

women workers only to the extent that they offered something new and exotic; they could not be too obtrusive to consumers, either. Sensitive to what visitors would experience in the store and concerned with maintaining a sense of morality and propriety, managers constantly manipulated the bodies of saleswomen, through complex strategies that were based on the principle of separating men and women outside of work. By doing so, Mitsukoshi and other commercial institutions devised a technology of gendered coexistence that selectively showed and hid women's presence in the store. This chapter demonstrates how the spatial management of the store and the regulations on women's bodies shifted between 1900 and 1927.

Finally, the conclusion steps back from the specifics of these case studies to consider the broader spatial mechanisms for gendering across the three kinds of spaces. Most importantly, I discuss what the case studies, which highlight the messy and contradictory nature of socio-spatial ordering in modern Tokyo, can tell us. In doing so, I suggest that it was not only women who were gauging their changing place in the city and in society after the collapse of the Tokugawa social order; this process was also significant for the elite men who established most of the gendering systems. I also discuss the methodological limitations, contributions, and implications of this dissertation to the history of modern Japanese architecture and spatial studies of the socially underrepresented more broadly.

Chapter 1: Spaces for Learning

Gender and the Making of a Campus for Higher Education, 1872–1931

It was April of 1901 when Kiyota took a rickshaw from Shinbashi Station to Tsuda College in Tokyo. Shinbashi Station had been built in the eastern part of Tokyo in 1872, as the terminal train station of the city.⁴⁸ Tsuda College, one of the first institutions that focused on women's higher education in Japan, had opened several decades later, in September of 1900.⁴⁹ In search of better educational opportunities, Kiyota had traveled all the way from the northwestern rural region of Hokuriku to be enrolled at Tsuda College as a freshman. Kiyota describes the confusion she felt on her way from the station to the school on her first day:

It was my first time in Tokyo, so I had little idea and was just excited. I could not wait to see [the school] and my eyes were darting around restlessly. Eventually, I started seeing brick buildings lined up [along the street]. I was thinking, “This might be [my school],” but the driver was passing them and continuing to go straight. While I was perplexed by that, my sight caught the castle moat, which was recognizable to the eyes of provincials like me. I was looking at the buildings on my left, thinking, “That might be [my school].” But the driver passed them again. As I kept looking around, the driver finally stopped and said, “Well, [we’ve] arrived.” It was a mansion with *nagaya mon* and *shikidai*, which looked similar to what I could find in my hometown. I thought, “The driver must have stopped at the wrong place.” But the sign stated, “Joshi Eigaku Juku [lit. House School of English Studies for Girls].” I was startled and nervously rang the doorbell.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ On the inception of Shinbashi Station, see Harada Katsumasa 原田勝正, *Eki No Shakaishi 駅の社会史 [A Social History of Train Stations]* (Tokyo: Chuō Kōron Shinsha, 2015), 52–59.

⁴⁹ Throughout this dissertation, I use “Tsuda College” to refer to the school that is now called “Tsudajuku Daigaku 津田塾大学” in Japanese. Umeko (a.k.a. Ume) Tsuda founded this school as “Joshi Eigaku Juku (lit. House School of English for Girls)” in 1900. While it changed its name twice before World War II ended, it has been referred as “Miss Tsuda’s School” or “Tsuda College” in English since the planning phase in the late nineteenth century. On the early history of the school, see Tsuda Eigaku Juku 津田英学塾, ed., *Tsuda Eigaku Juku Shijūnenshi 津田英学塾四十年史 [Forty-Year History of Tsuda College]* (Kodaira: Tsuda Eigaku Juku, 1941), 44–53. On the English names of the school, see Tsudajuku Daigaku Hyakunenshi Hensan Inkai 津田塾大学百年史編纂委員会, ed., *Tsudajuku Daigaku Hyakunenshi 津田塾大学百年史 [A Hundred-Year History of Tsuda College]* (Kodaira: Tsudajuku Daigaku, 2003), 143.

⁵⁰ Kiyota, “Memories of Motozono Chō,” 10.

Original: (今から三十年前丁度目白の女子大学が出来た年でありました。一緒に北陸道から出て来た女子大学行きの四五名の学生と新橋で別れて只一人一番行李を前に車に揺られ揺られ元園町指して[ママ]まゐりました。) 初めての [ママ] 上京ではあり見当もつかず、只わくわくと胸を騒がせながら今か今かと左右を見廻はしてまゐりました。すると煉瓦の建築の並んだのが見えて来ました。此処かなと見てゐる

Kiyota's narrative indicates the route the rickshaw took. The driver went west, then south, then around the eastern side of the Imperial Palace, passing through the districts where the Western-style buildings were constructed for the use of the new national government. These modern buildings must have looked unfamiliar to Kiyota, compared to the wood-frame, Japanese-style houses and shops in her hometown. She had a "bizarre image of the school as a Western-style institution," most likely because the very idea of higher education for women seemed modern and foreign.⁵¹ As an institution that embodied this novel concept, Kiyota presupposed a novel type of architecture. Contrary to her imagination, however, what she found was a timber-frame house with a tall wooden gate called a *nagaya mon*, along with an elaborate entrance with a step called a *shikidai*. Both features were typical of traditional Japanese mansions called *yashiki* [屋敷].⁵² Indeed, the only feature by which she could identify this building as her school was the nameplate. Kiyota was not the only student to be "startled" by how different the school was from how she had envisioned it; other students described their first arrivals to the school in similar ways. Using a traditional Japanese-style residence as a schoolhouse was against the cohesive expectations of these new students at Tsuda College.⁵³

と、車屋がずんずん通り過ぎて仕舞ひます。ハテナと思つて居るうちに田舎者にも一目で解るお堀端に出ました。あれかな？と左側にある建物を見て居ると又も通り過ぎます。キヨロキヨロして居る中に「へエ此処です」と梶棒を下ろされたところは自分の出て来た土地にもある様な、古めかしい門長屋があつて式臺のある屋敷ではありませんか、「車屋さん間違へたな」と思つて門を見ると女子英学塾と看板が掛つて居ります。一寸度肝を抜かれて恐る恐る大きな式臺のベルを押しました。

⁵¹ Ibid.

Original: 暫御話して居る中に田舎娘の頭の中にあつた妙な西洋風な学校は消え失せて、長い畳廊下をこの老婦人の須藤先生に導かれて寄宿の先輩方に引合はされた時に、三ツ指ついて御辞儀するのも極自然な心持がしました。

⁵² See Ōkawa Naomi 大河直躬, *Sumai No Jinruigaku: Nihon Shomin Jūkyō Saikō 住まいの人類学：日本庶民住居再考 [Anthropology of Dwellings: Rethinking Japanese Ordinary Houses]* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1986), 193–241. In this book, architectural historian Ōkawa Naomi explains the gates and entrances of traditional Japanese houses.

⁵³ Students mentioned their experiences of arrival at the school in the following recollections: Kumamoto Masae 隈元政枝, "Sōritsu No Koro 創立のころ [When the School Was Established]," in *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, ed. Tsuda Eigaku Juku, 465; Arahata Motoko 荒畑元子, "Motozono Chō Kara Goban Chō e 元園町から

Jumping off from these kinds of stories, this chapter explores spaces for women's higher education in Tokyo. Starting in 1872, the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture (MESC) built an intricate system of educational codes and introduced multiple ordinances that discriminated against women. Despite this structural discrimination, however, I illustrate how Tsuda College identified non-governmental resources and developed the school using alternative techniques, such as repurposing buildings and expanding incrementally. For the students, having to take an active role in the school expansion nurtured a sense of pride. Using student narratives, I demonstrate how women at Tsuda College invested the built environment with heightened social meanings through their involvement with the school. By examining how the process of campus expansion was gendered, this chapter highlights women's active roles in the development of campuses for higher education in Tokyo between 1900 and 1931.

Tsuda College and the Educational System in Modern Japan

The Meiji government started building a centralized educational system in 1872. Under this new system, the MESC was granted the authority to establish governmental educational institutions, as well as to accredit other municipal and private institutions. These institutions were divided into several categories, such as elementary schools [*shōgakko* 小学校], middle schools [*chūgakko* 中学校], higher schools [*kōtō gakkō* 高等学校], and universities [*daigaku* 大学]. An MESC-accredited institution had to comply with particular stipulations that corresponded to their relevant school category, including curriculum guidelines and facility requirements. Even though MESC's accreditation could limit the ways in which a school

五番町へ [Moving From Motozono Chō to Goban Chō],” in *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, ed. Tsuda Eigaku Juku, 469.

operated, most institutions sought it out. The absence of accreditation, on the other hand, signaled to the wider society that a school was illegitimate.⁵⁴

This educational system evolved with a set of national ordinances throughout the pre-World War II period. At the turn of the twentieth century, elementary education was compulsory for both girls and boys, and most schools were coeducational. The issue of single-sex education came to be significant, however, once students reached higher level schools. In 1899, for the first time, the MESC mandated all municipalities to establish public higher girls' schools [*kōtō jogakko* 高等女学校]. Girls between the ages of twelve and seventeen, who had graduated from elementary schools, could now receive secondary education at these schools. However, their training at the schools was mainly focused on moral education, in line with the ideology of “good wives, wise mothers.” Boys of the same age, on the other hand, had the opportunity to attend university-prep higher schools.

Higher education beyond this level was still meant predominantly for men, and it was initially only the MESC that could establish universities. Eventually, with the passing of the 1918 University Order, the ministry started allowing municipal governments and private organizations to also run public and private universities, respectively. These universities could be coeducational, at least in theory, but in reality they continued to be male dominated. One reason for this disparity was that the MESC required university entrants to meet certain admission

⁵⁴ The system was established by the 1872 Education System Order [*Kyōiku Rei* 教育令] and incrementally amended by other ordinances, including the 1878 Imperial University Order [*Teikoku Daigaku Rei* 大学令], the 1886 Middle School Order [*Chūgakkō Rei* 中学校令], the 1899 Higher Girls' School Order [*Kōtō Jogakkō Rei* 高等女学校令], the 1903 Specialized School Order [*Senmon Gakkō Rei* 専門学校令], and the 1918 University Order [*Daigaku Rei* 大学令]. On the educational system, see a comprehensive book edited by MESC: Monbushō 文部省, ed., *Gakusei Hyakunenshi* 学制百年史 [*A Hundred-Year History of Japan's Educational System*] (Tokyo: Teikoku Chihō Gyōsei Gakkai, 1972). All translations of related technical terms, such as school categories and the names of ordinances, follow the abbreviated English version of this book: Monbusho, ed., *Japan's Modern Educational System: A History of the First Hundred Years* (Tokyo: Research and Statistics Division, Minister's Secretariat, Ministry of Education Science and Culture, Government of Japan, 1980).

criteria. A typical applicant held or was about to receive a diploma from a university-prep higher school. However, these schools stipulated that women were disqualified even for admission. Consequently, by default, women could not even apply for universities except in special cases.⁵⁵ This situation continued through World War II; the MESC did not accredit any women's universities until 1947, when the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers intervened to urge a reform of the educational system to reflect gender parity.

Because universities were unable to admit female students, a category of institutions called specialized schools [*senmon gakkō* 専門学校] came to fulfill the growing needs of women who wanted to pursue higher education. This niche is where Tsuda College entered the picture around the turn of the century. The school was founded by Tsuda Umeko, a female teacher of English who had completed most of her education in the United States. Her father, Tsuda Sen, was a former samurai serving the Tokugawa shogunate, who later became a national government official, entrepreneur, and educator. When Tsuda was young, her father applied for and got into an experimental education program run by the government. As part of this program, Tsuda was sent to the United States at the age of five, where she completed her secondary education in Pennsylvania and New York. After returning to Tokyo in 1882, she taught English at Peersesses' School [*Kazoku Jogakko* 華族女学校], an institution that was established for the daughters of Japanese state nobility, known as *kazoku* [華族]. Because academic knowledge was not

⁵⁵ In 1913, Tōhoku University, one of the newly created governmental universities, started admitting licensed female teachers on a case-by-case basis. Although some other universities followed this practice, this path was extremely slim. On the first female university students, see Shiga Yuki 志賀祐紀, "Kuroda Chika to Makita Raku: Nihon Hatsu No Joshi Daigakusei Tanjō to Tokyo Kōtō Shihan Gakkō, Tōhoku Teukoku Daigaku 黒田チカと牧田らく : 日本初の女子大学生誕生と東京女子高等師範学校・東北帝国大学 [Kuroda Chika and Makita Raku: The birth of the first female university students in Japan, Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School, and Tōhoku University]," *Tōhoku Daigaku Shiryōkan Dayori* 東北大学史料館だより [*Tōhoku University Archives Newsletter*] 19 (2013): 4–5. The MESC did not accredit any women's universities until 1947, when the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers intervened to urge a reform of the educational system to reflect gender parity.

considered necessary for women, these types of girls' schools did not offer courses that were as rigorous as Tsuda would have liked. In 1889, she returned to the United States, where she studied biology as a non-degree student at Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania, along with taking courses in pedagogy at Oswego Teachers' Training School in the state of New York. After her return to Japan in 1892, Tsuda taught at Meiji Girls' School [*Meiji Jogakkō* 明治女学校] and Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School [*Tokyo Joshi Kōtō Shihan Gakko* 東京女子高等師範学校]. The Higher Normal School, which focused on teacher training, was the only institution beyond the secondary level to train women in the field of education. However, Tsuda was still unsatisfied with the level of education that was provided for women. It was out of this sense of frustration that she finally opened Tsuda College in 1900.⁵⁶

While the category of specialized schools had existed since 1879, accreditation was only granted to these schools on a case-by-case basis until the turn of the twentieth century. In 1903, the MESC systematized the accreditation procedure, defining specialized schools as “schools of higher-level arts and sciences.”⁵⁷ Technically, specialized schools and universities were considered to be on different educational tracks, rather than ranked hierarchically (Figure 1.1). However, the MESC put in place restrictions that clearly situated specialized schools as below universities in terms of prestige. For instance, specialized school education was typically a few years shorter than a university education, which meant that graduates from these schools did not receive a bachelor's degree. Despite having this secondary status, aspiring specialized schools

⁵⁶ On Tsuda's early life, see Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 25–53; Barbara Rose, *Tsuda Umeko and Women's Education in Japan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 1–123.

⁵⁷ Monbu Kagakushō 文部科学省, “Senmon Gakkō Rei 専門学校令 (明治三十六年三月二十七日勅令第六十一号) [University Order (the 61st Edict of Japan in 1903)],” http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1318055.htm, accessed November 18, 2018. The first article defines a specialized school: “Article One. Schools of higher-level arts and sciences are defined as specialized schools.”

Original: 第一条 高等ノ學術技芸ヲ教授スル学校ハ専門学校トス

still applied for accreditation because it was the highest possible status they could obtain at the time. Accordingly, Tsuda College applied for this accreditation as soon as the procedure was systematized. In 1904, it became one of the first women-only specialized schools to be granted this status. The other choice for women wishing to pursue higher education around the turn of the century was the Japan Women's University [*Nihon Joshi Daigaku* 日本女子大学, JWU], which was run by a private individual. Men, meanwhile, had the option of two governmental universities to attend.⁵⁸

The Built Environment for Higher Education in Japan

Thus, women-only specialized schools like Tsuda College emerged out of the government's reluctance to include women in university education, as well as women's own desires to offer and receive an education that was more rigorous than what was deemed appropriate by society at the time. Sociologists and scholars of education have noted the significance of these institutions in supporting women's higher education in pre-WWII Japan.⁵⁹ However, the physical environment of women-only specialized schools has rarely been a subject of serious scholarly investigation. Architectural and planning historians have neglected women-

⁵⁸ On the evolution of the educational system, see Amano Ikuo 天野郁夫, *Kindai Nihon Kōtō Kyōiku Kenkyū* 近代日本高等教育研究 [*A Study on Japan's Modern Higher Education*] (Machida: Tamagawa Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1988), 39–331.

⁵⁹ For example, see Sasaki Keiko 佐々木啓子, *Senzenki Joshi Koto Kyoiku No Ryoteki Kakudai Katei: Seifu Seito Gakko No Dainamikusu* 戦前期女子高等教育の量的拡大過程：政府・生徒・学校のダイナミクス [*The Process of Expanding Prewar Women's Higher Education: The Dynamics of Government, Students, and Schools*] (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2002); Sasaki Keiko 佐々木啓子, “Dentōteki Kihan Kara Dakkyaku Shita Shinchūkanso No Joseitachi: Senzenki Nihon Ni Okeru Joshi Kōtō Kyōiku Kakudai No Mekanizumu 伝統的価値観から脱却した新中間層の女性たち：戦前期日本における女子高等教育拡大のメカニズム [New Middle-Class Women Evaded Traditional Norms: Mechanisms of Expanding Women's Higher Education in Prewar Japan],” in *Josei to Kōtō Kyōiku: Kikai Kakuchō to Shakaiteki Sōkoku* 女性と高等教育：機会拡張と社会的相克 [*Women and Higher Education: Expansions of Opportunities and Social Conflict*], ed. Kawamura Sadae 河村貞枝 and Kagawa Setsuko 香川せつ子 (Kyoto: Shōwadō, 2008), 196–223.

only specialized schools, while emphasizing the technical, aesthetic, and strategic innovations in architectural design and planning for elite male-dominated universities in modern Japan.

In the history of modern Japanese architecture, women's institutions have often been considered marginal. After the Meiji Restoration, Japanese architects learned, interpreted, and incorporated classic and modern styles, materials, and techniques from the West into Japanese architecture. As architectural historian Suzuki Hiroyuki puts it, this first generation of Japanese architects learned to interpret Western-style [*yōfū* 洋風] aesthetics and methods as “technologies” of modernization. In other words, Japanese architects were less conscious of how specific styles and techniques were originally produced or emerged from particular cultural or aesthetic traditions. What was more important was that the new buildings employed something different from the traditional Japanese style.⁶⁰ The first generation of Japanese architects showed off their command of these new technologies by applying their skills to prominent institutional buildings, such as governmental facilities, hospitals, and, most relevant for this discussion, schools. Therefore, historians have traditionally examined buildings of higher education as early examples of how Meiji architects interpreted and used Western and Japanese techniques, as well as how these buildings played key roles in the aesthetic and technological advancement of modern Japanese architecture.⁶¹

To traditional architectural historians with such a focus, campuses of women's schools have been considered less cutting edge. They were often smaller in size, less elaborate in style, and less innovative in terms of the technologies used to build them. They were also constructed later than male-dominated institutions. Moreover, as I will elaborate later, these early women's

⁶⁰ Suzuki, “What Is Modern Period?”

⁶¹ Nakatani Norihito 中谷礼仁, *Kokugaku, Meiji, Kenchikuka: Kindai Nihonkoku Kenchiku No Keifu o Megutte* 国学・明治・建築家：近代「日本国」建築の系譜をめぐって [*Kokugaku, Meiji, Architects: On the Genealogy of Architecture for the Modern Japanese Nation*] (Tokyo: Hajōsha, 1993).

institutions tended not to be designed by architects, due to financial constraints. Tsuda College, for instance, could not afford a design by a notable architect until the relocation of the campus in 1931. Up until the past few years, however, even this newer campus, which featured buildings designed by the established architect Satō Kōichi, did not receive the attention of architectural scholars. Before he took on the project of Tsuda College, Satō had designed better-known buildings, such as the Ōkuma Auditorium at Waseda University – a male-dominated university – and Hibiya Public Hall. Still, the professionally-designed campus of Tsuda College was considered trivial among his works until recently. Moreover, even though scholars have started paying attention to these lesser-known buildings at women-only schools, including JWU and Tokyo Women’s Christian University [*Tokyo Joshi Daigaku* 東京女子大学, or TWCU], their analyses still focus primarily on the architects and their design intents, rather than on the use of these buildings. In other words, these studies have shifted the objects in question, but their methods remain the same.⁶²

⁶² For example, see Abe Satoko 阿部聡子, “Tōkyō Joshi Daigaku Toshokan Zumen Ni Miru Antonin Rēmondo No Sekkei Hōshin 東京女子大学図書館図面にみるアントニン・レーモンドの設計方針 [A Study on the Design Concept of Antonin Raymond in the Library of Tokyo Women’s Christian University],” *Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai Gakujutsu Kōen Kōgaishu: Kenchiku Rekishi, Ishō* 日本建築学会学術講演梗概集：建築歴史・意匠 [*Summaries of Technical Papers of Annual Meeting, Architectural Institute of Japan: Architectural History and Design*] (2011): 335–36; Miyake Nami 三宅奈美 Yagi Shinji 八木真爾, “Tsudajuku Daigaku Ni Genzon Suru Shōwa Shoki RC-Zō Daigaku Kishukusha Ni Tsuite 津田塾大学に現存する昭和初期 RC 造大学寄宿舍について [The Report on the Dormitory of Tsuda College Completed with RC in Early Showa Era],” *Summaries of Technical Papers of Annual Meeting, Architectural Institute of Japan: Architectural History and Design* (2012): 47–48; Miyake Nami et al., “Tsudajuku Daigaku Kyū Minami Monei No Jissoku Chōsa Hokoku 津田塾大学旧南門衛の実測調査報告 [Field Measurement of the Former South Gate Guard in Tsuda College],” *Summaries of Technical Papers of Annual Meeting, Architectural Institute of Japan: Architectural History and Design* (2013) 827–28; Minai Namiko 葉袋奈美子 Nakano Natsuki 中野夏貴, “Satō Kōichi Ni Yoru Ryō Kenchiku No Kenkyū: Nihon Joshi Daigaku No Meikei Ryō Wo Taishō to Shite 佐藤功一による寮建築の研究：日本女子大学の明桂寮を対象として [A Study of a Dormitory Designed by Koichi Sato : In Regards to the Meikei Dormitory at Japan Women’s University],” *Nihon Joshi Daigaku Daigakuin Kiyō: Kaseigaku Kenkyū Ka, Ningen Seikatsugaku Kenkyū Ka* 日本女子大学大学院紀要：家政学研究科・人間生活学研究科 [*Journal of Graduate School of Home Economics and Human Life Science, Japan Women’s University*] 22 (2016): 103–13.

While architectural historians have focused on the designs of the campuses and on individual buildings, planning historians have interrogated the relationships between the development of educational campuses and the broader transformation of the city, through processes of urbanization and suburbanization. In particular, in the 1920s, real estate developers started using the concepts of “academic city [*gakuen toshi* 学園都市]” and “university neighborhoods [*daigaku machi* 大学町]” – somewhat similar to American “college towns” – to develop rural areas on the edge of the city into suburban residential neighborhoods.⁶³ In addition, especially after the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake, which devastated 44 percent of the city center, schools started looking for larger sites to expand.⁶⁴ The needs of these developers and schools converged into the development of academic cities, driving the suburbanization of Tokyo.⁶⁵

The planning historian Kikata Jun’ne explores these kinds of developments and their role in suburbanization in the recent work. Focusing on the period from the 1910s onwards, he shows that decisions about campus developments were not made solely by the architect, but through the dynamic exchanges between various stakeholders, such as the MESC, school administrators, emerging real estate developers, and landowners.⁶⁶ While his approach is helpful, it was male-dominated, high-profile educational institutions that tended to be chosen as collaborators for

⁶³ On American college towns, see Blake. Gumprecht, *The American College Town* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008).

⁶⁴ On how much of the city was devastated by the earthquake, see Naimushō Shakaikyoku 内務省社会局, ed., *Taishō Shinsaishi Jō* 大正震災史・上 [*Records of Taishō Earthquake, Vol.1*] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1926), 331–32.

⁶⁵ One pioneer of academic city development is Hakone Land Company, which I will elaborate later in this chapter. On the academic city neighborhoods, see, for example, Matsui Haruko 松井晴子, “Gakuen Toshi No Risō Wo Motomete: Hakone Tochi No Ōizumi-Kodaira-Kunitachi No Kōgai Jūtaku Kaihatsu 学園都市の理想を求めて : 箱根土地の大泉・小平・国立の郊外住宅開発 [Toward the Ideal Academic City: Residential Development of Ōizumi, Kodaira, and Kunitachi by Hakone Tochi],” in *Genealogy of Suburban Developments: Garden Utopia in Tokyo*, ed. Hiroshi Yamaguchi, 221–36.

⁶⁶ Kikata Jun’ne 木方十根, “*Daigakumachi*” *Shutsugen: Kindai Toshi Keikaku No Arukemī* 「大学町」出現 : 近代都市計画の錬金術 [*Appearance of “College Town”: Alchemy of Modern Urban Planning*] (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2010).

suburban developments. By contrast, the relationships between women's institutions and broader changes in the city's structure have not been fully explored. While the system of higher education was extremely gendered, the literature of planning history has not fully addressed how these disparities were reflected in and produced by the process of developing these new spaces for education across the city.

Gendered Politics and Meanings of Tsuda College Campus

In line with my broader focus on women's social uses and perceptions of spaces in modern Tokyo, my questions in this chapter revolve around why the built environment for women's higher education was considered so insignificant that architectural and planning historians have neglected them until today. Why did their buildings end up being aesthetically and technically less elaborate? Why were developers not interested in including women-only schools in their academic city developments? How was the spatial marginalization of these schools related to gendered ideologies? In addition, I consider how these institutions managed to thrive, despite the limitations that were imposed on them. How did they develop their campuses, without the benefit of governmental help? How did the students, teachers, and staff at these women's schools inhabit and perceive their campuses?

To address these questions, I combine approaches from landscape history and social history that interrogate the educational environments of the socially marginalized. First, I focus on the process of site selection and campus development of Tsuda College, instead of on the forms and aesthetics of individual buildings. This approach is inspired by the work of landscape historian Kenrick Ian Grandison, in an article that focuses on historically black colleges and universities (HBCU) in the postbellum American South. Grandison sheds light on the political struggles that produced the campus landscapes of Tuskegee University in Alabama, an HBCU

that had to take a “less-than-ideal” site as part of a negotiation with white dominated society.⁶⁷

As Grandison points out, the university was built far from downtown and next to sewage disposal ponds, and the building layouts had to be skewed to make the most of the difficult topography. According to a traditional approach to architectural history, focused only on aesthetic and technical innovations, Tuskegee University could be easily dismissed as a minor example. However, by highlighting the process of site selection and how buildings were arranged on the site, Grandison interprets the campus as a spatial record of negotiation between the goals of emerging African Americans and whites’ status quo expectations for blacks, thereby excavating the social significance of the seemingly marginal campus.⁶⁸

Much like Grandison’s, my interpretation focuses primarily on how and why women’s campuses were built on particular sites and in particular ways. I also occasionally discuss the social meanings of the discrete buildings and the interior layouts on campus. The way in which Tsuda College and other women’s specialized schools in modern Japan were marginalized in the system was similar to that of HBCUs in the postbellum South. African Americans and modern Japanese women were both systematically discriminated against, and, as a result, they established their own institutions for higher education. In addition, focusing on locations and sites helps me to tackle a methodological challenge that is common to studies of the architecture of the socially marginalized. While professional architectural drawings and visual materials are integral to in-depth examinations of discrete buildings, they may not be readily available or available at all for properties considered marginal. In the case of Tsuda College, there are no professional drawings that exist for the buildings that were not designed by an architect.

⁶⁷ Kenrick Ian Grandison, “Negotiated Space: The Black College Campus as a Cultural Record of Postbellum America,” *American Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (1999): 544.

⁶⁸ For a methodological discussion, see *Ibid.*, 533–35.

However, specific locations and land properties are included in public documents and maps, which means that this information is more accessible and traceable. Through this case study, by using basic, as opposed to detailed, spatial information, I demonstrate a way to illustrate the significance of places that are relevant to groups whose presence is often not seen as integral to the broader transformation of a city. While I focus on Tsuda College, I use cases of comparable male-dominated schools and other women's schools, as needed, to demonstrate the level of discrimination on a structural level. This approach is also inspired by Grandison's use of occupational references to other nearby colleges for the purpose of putting HBCUs in perspective.⁶⁹

Second, I highlight social perceptions of these campuses. This approach is inspired by historical studies on the American and British counterparts of Japanese women-only specialized schools, by cultural historian Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz and architectural historian Margaret Birney Vickery. In these studies on elite women's colleges, Horowitz and Vickery focus on women's lived experiences at the colleges as well as how campus designs reflected society's views on women's education. In particular, both reveal how the idea of female domesticity was integrated into the designs of classrooms, dormitories, and other campus facilities, as well as how female students' lives actually unfolded in these environment. By doing so, they acknowledge multiple perspectives on the same campus or building – an approach that distinguishes these works from those that focus predominantly on the aesthetic and technological significance of the built environment to architectural professionals.⁷⁰ Similarly, I interrogate how

⁶⁹ For example, Grandison discusses “majority campuses and the dominant paradigm of design” to put HBCUs in perspective. See *Ibid.*, 535–40.

⁷⁰ Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984); Margaret Birney Vickery, *Buildings for Bluestockings: The Architecture and Social History of Women's Colleges in Late Victorian England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999).

female students, staff, and teachers experienced and viewed the campus development process, and I consider how their perspectives were similar or different to that of the broader society.

In what follows, I synthesize information obtained primarily from official documents found at the Tokyo Metropolitan Archives (TMA), along with a published school history entitled *A Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, available at several archives and libraries, and the institution's *Alumnae Report*, which is archived at the school's Tsuda Umeko Material Room. The documents collected at the TMA include schematic plans and architectural drawings, which allow me to reconstruct the historical development of the school's campus design – particularly how the buildings were used and organized during the early years. *A Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, meanwhile, is a descriptive history of the school, covering the period between its establishment and August of 1940. Because this history is based on unpublished day-to-day records and oral histories of staff and students who were still alive at the time of writing, it helps me to contextualize the changes on their campus. This book also includes fiscal and enrollment data, as well as a list of school rules, which aids me in understanding how the school was operated on an administrative level. Finally, the *Alumnae Report* was an internal bulletin to keep members of the school's Alumnae Association up to date with school news, events, and stories about student life on campus. Because these reports carry students' first-hand accounts and recollections, they help me illustrate their lived experiences.⁷¹ Combining these different sources

⁷¹ Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*. Although Tsuda College's Archives called Tsuda Umeko Material Room keeps daily records of the school from the early years, these records are not disclosed to the outsiders like me. Part of their photo collection, of which I take advantage, is open to the public online. For the information of Tsudajuku Daigaku 津田塾大学, "Tsuda Umeko Shiryō Shitsu 津田梅子資料室 [Tsuda Umeko Material Room]," accessed October 24, 2018, <http://www.tsuda.ac.jp/about/history/data-room.html>; Tsudajuku Daigaku 津田塾大学, "Tsudajuku Daigaku Dejitaru Ākaibu 津田塾大学デジタルアーカイブ [Tsuda College Digital Archives]," accessed October 24, 2018, <http://lib.tsuda.ac.jp/DigitalArchive/index.html>.

of evidence, I discuss the politics that shaped the campus over time and the social meanings that were generated through the school's development process.

Early Days: Repurposing Residential Buildings

Tsuda and other administrators of the school developed four different versions of the campus and relocated three times, before arriving at their present site in 1931 (Figures 1.2 and 1.3). In the first and second sites, Tsuda could not afford to construct brand-new schoolhouses. Instead of building them from scratch, she repurposed existing residential buildings to suit the needs of her school. This makeshift approach, which would go on to characterize the process of campus development for the following decades, was reflective of the ambiguous status of women in the broader system of education.

In July of 1900, Tsuda requested and received permission from the prefecture to open a school at the house where she lived in Tokyo. It was a Japanese-style, rented house with ten rooms of various sizes. While further details on this first property are unknown, Tsuda quickly realized that it was “too small” for her to open a school there.⁷² She searched for and eventually rented a larger house in August of that year. (Figure 1.4). After receiving permission to move the school location, she then officially started the school in this newly-rented house in the following month.⁷³ At this house, which became the first building used by Tsuda College, the initial enrollment of the school was ten students. Two of the students lived on campus with Tsuda and the other teacher, Alice Bacon, Tsuda's friend and colleague at Peeresses' School and Tokyo

⁷² Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 47.

⁷³ Ibid., 44–62; Tsuda Umeko 津田梅子, “Shiritsu Joshi Eigaku Juku Setsuritsu No Ken 私立女子英学塾設立の件 [Request for the Establishment of Tsuda College],” Request to the Mayor of Tokyo Prefecture, July 20, 1900, 624.D7.04.-16, TMA; Tsuda, “Joshi Eigaku Juku Sōritsu Sha Tsuda Umeko Yori No Dōjuku Iten Kaishin 女子英学塾創立者津田梅子よりの同塾移転開申 [Report of Tsuda College's Relocation from the Founder Tsuda Umeko],” Report to the Mayor of Tokyo Prefecture, August 31, 1900, 624.D7.04.-22, TMA.

Women's Higher Normal School. Bacon was the daughter of a family who had hosted Tsuda's friend in the United States, and she had a long-term friendship with Tsuda and an interest in Japan.

All of the rooms of this house, including the classrooms, living spaces and bedrooms for the students and teachers, an auditorium, a kitchen, and a dining room, were housed in a simple wood-frame building. It had an interior configuration that was typical of Japanese houses in the Meiji period. Although Tsuda would have liked a decent building, all she could afford to do at first was to reassign the existing rooms in this house.⁷⁴ Due to underfunding, Tsuda had to borrow money from her brother-in-law, Ueno Eizaburō, to even pay the rent on this place. Thus, as I will elaborate below, Tsuda reinterpreted and redesignated the existing rooms for specific purposes and added some pieces of furniture like desks and chairs, instead of making physical modifications.⁷⁵ This was not an ideal situation, and it required creativity to make the space work for all of the different school functions.

Half a year later, in April 1901, the enrollment had almost doubled; as of March 1901, eighteen women were enrolled. Tsuda moved the school to a larger property to accommodate its growing enrollment (Figure 1.5). This second site was approximately two times larger than the first (0.2 acres and 0.4 acres, respectively).⁷⁶ Unlike the previous building, Tsuda managed to purchase this building, thanks to a ¥4,000 endowment from the Philadelphia Committee, a group

⁷⁴ At the welcoming ceremony of the school, Tsuda stated, "Real education is possible without fine school buildings and facilities. [...] If possible, it is desirable to have these. But I think that, for true education, there is something more important than physical facilities for study." Tsuda's remark at the welcoming ceremony is printed on: Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 48–53.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 44–62.

⁷⁶ I compiled the area size data from: Tsuda, "Report of Tsuda College's Relocation from the Founder Tsuda Umeko"; Tsuda, "Joshi Eigaku Juku Setsuritsusha Tsuda Umeko Yori Iten Todoke 女子英学塾設立者津田梅子より移転届 [Report of Tsuda College's Relocation from the Founder Tsuda Umeko]," Report to the Mayor of Tokyo Prefecture, May 30, 1901, 624.A5.08.-54, TMA. In Japanese area unit *tsubo*, the first and second sites were 299 and 540 *tsubo*, respectively.

of American women who sympathized with her project. Although the second building was no longer a rental, it was far from glamorous. After an incident where someone was murdered, the building had been abandoned and considered haunted; neighbors referred to it as a “ghost mansion.”⁷⁷ When Tsuda bought the building, the doors and windows were significantly damaged. She repaired the house by replacing the damaged sliding doors with glass-pane windows. Otherwise, the building was left untouched, maintaining the exterior appearance of an old mansion.⁷⁸ This minimally repaired mansion was the one that Kiyota and other students encountered when they first arrived at the college.

These repurposed houses reflected the broader challenges, as well as the hopes, that shaped Tsuda College from the start. On the one hand, when Tsuda established the school in 1900, the national government had yet to embrace the idea of women’s higher education, and the MESC had not systematized the category of specialized schools. Upon its establishment, the school was approved in the category of private school [*shiritsu gakkō* 私立学校], without any recognition of the instructional level. This category signified that the school was approved by the MESC, but run by a private individual or organization, not by the national or municipal government. While Tsuda planned to offer higher-level courses, there was no guarantee that the MESC would soon systematically accredit women’s institutions of higher education.⁷⁹

The indifference of the MESC also had a concrete consequence. While governmental universities for men were fully funded by the MESC, Tsuda College was continuously

⁷⁷ Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History Tsuda College*, 63.

⁷⁸ On the number of enrollment and the second building, see *Ibid.*, 62–64, 72–73, 78–80.

⁷⁹ On how private schools were recognized by MESC, see *Ibid.*, 58–61; Monbushō, *A Hundred-Year History of Japan’s Educational System*, 34. Tsuda wrote about her hope to offer higher-level courses in a letter to her American friends, dated August 6, 1900. See Tsuda, *Tsuda Umeko Monjo* 津田梅子文書 *Writings of Tsuda Umeko* (Kodaira: Tsudajuku Daigaku, 1984), 377. *Tsuda Umeko Monjo* is a collection of Tsuda’s writings, including her letters and journals in English or Japanese.

underfunded. As women's higher education continued to be considered more of a luxury than a necessity, the MESCS provided no financial assistance to private women's schools. Because of that, Tsuda asked reliable friends and close family members for financial assistance. This financing strategy allowed her to maintain the autonomy of the school, but, in turn, it resulted in financial instability. Operating under such uncertainty, Tsuda considered the school an "experiment" at the beginning. A year before its establishment, Tsuda wrote a letter to Mrs. Wistar Morris, who had helped her to attend Bryn Mawr College. The letter reads, "I want to try the experiment for five years, and if at the end of that time, it is successful to try and put the school on a good foundation." However, she also noted that she did not expect that the school make any money within those first five years.⁸⁰ Tsuda's minimal investment in the built environment was reflective of the vague outlook for the school and for women's higher education in general. Furthermore, it is telling that the women were unable to study in a proper school; instead, they found themselves confined to a quasi-domestic setting, similar to the houses where they had grown up.

On the other hand, despite this sense of uncertainty, Tsuda anticipated that needs for women's higher education would grow. As mentioned earlier, in 1899, the Higher Girls' School Order mandated that all municipalities in Japan open higher girls' schools. Tsuda expected graduates from these schools would become her prospective students. In addition, she planned to train her students to serve these higher girls' schools as English teachers. By doing so, Tsuda hoped that women with higher-level education would make a direct impact on society through teaching. At that point in time, only the higher normal school for women that was run by the

⁸⁰ Tsuda, *Writings of Tsuda Umeko*, 383. This letter is dated December 28, 1899. When Tsuda sought further studies in the United States before opening the school, Mrs. Wistar Morris connected Tsuda with Bryn Mawr's President James E. Rhoads. In this letter, Tsuda also expressed the hardship to finance her non-governmental school: "No school in Japan can do much without an endowment, for the government schools lower the tuition fees (383)."

state – at which Tsuda and Bacon continued to teach in order to pay the bills for Tsuda College – trained female English teachers. Tsuda foresaw that the governmental school would not be able to train as many teachers as would be needed to meet the forthcoming demands.⁸¹ Even though women’s higher education was still not systematized, Tsuda thus started the school with a potential pool of students and with jobs in mind for the graduates. Negotiating a balance between pessimism and optimism in her outlook for educated women, Tsuda was able to develop these first two locations for the campus by repurposing houses, using minimal physical modifications and financial investments.

Broader Trends in the Architecture of Higher Education

If we compare this situation with men’s institutions, we see that repurposing houses was a tactic that was unique to women-only schools. As architectural historian Miyamoto Masa’aki shows, the governmental universities were normally able to construct grand campuses from the start because the MESCC provided campus sites and paid construction fees for these institutions. For example, while Tsuda was struggling to pay the rent on the first house, Tokyo Imperial University (TIU), the first university in Japan, had already constructed ornate lecture halls and laboratories for different departments (Figures 1.6 and 1.7). The campus site was provided by MESCC, and the buildings were made of brick and designed by the architects who worked for the Home Ministry. A few decades later, the Architectural Institute of Japan even recognized several TIU buildings as exemplary architecture of this period, for their aesthetic significance.⁸²

⁸¹ On the establishment of higher girls’ schools and the state of women’s education around this time, see Monbushō, *A Hundred-Year History of Japan’s Educational System*, 134; Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College.*, 11–24; Nihon Joshi Daigaku Joshi Kyōiku Kenkyūjo 日本女子大学女子教育研究所, ed., *Meiji No Joshi Kyōiku 明治の女子教育 [Girls’ Education in Meiji Period]* (Tokyo: Kokudoshā, 1967).

⁸² See Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai 日本建築学会, *Meiji Taishō Kenchiku Shashin Shūran 明治大正建築写真聚覽 [Architectural Photograph Collection, Meiji and Taisho Periods]* (Tokyo: Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai, 1936), 34, 52,

Although the Japanese government had started encouraging Westernization of lifestyles, Western-style architectural designs had not yet permeated the everyday lives of most Japanese people. As Miyamoto argues, having newly-built Western-style school buildings was a display of privilege and of MESC's material support. TIU, as the first university in Japan, could afford such a luxury.⁸³

While not funded by the MESC, private men's institutions also began constructing similarly ornate buildings to communicate their social and economic power. As of 1901, private organizations were not yet allowed to establish universities. While specialized schools had not been systematized yet, by the turn of the twentieth century, the MESC had already selected and accredited several male-dominated private schools as specialized schools on a case-by-case basis. Such an ad hoc measure was a response to the schools' requests. Administrators and students of the privileged men's specialized schools demanded a status equivalent to the governmental universities. To demonstrate their qualifications, these schools made changes in the curriculum and the built environment. For example, in 1890, *Keio Gijuku* [慶應義塾] established an upper division called the "university division [*daigakubu* 大学部]," and they built a brick lecture hall to accommodate this section of the school in 1896 (Figure 1.8). Similarly, Tokyo Specialized School [*Tokyo Senmon Gakkō* 東京専門学校] constructed a Western-style lecture hall in 1886 and changed its name to Waseda University [*Waseda Daigaku* 早稲田大学] in 1902 (Figure 1.9). These institutions used the term "university" without MESC's categorical

55, 58; Tokyo Daigaku Hyakunenshi Henshū Inkai 東京大学百年史編集委員会, ed., *Tokyo Daigaku Hyakunenshi Tsūshi 1* 東京大学百年史・通史 1 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1984).

⁸³ Miyamoto shows how MESC and other relevant ministries provided material and human resources for the upfront campus planning of governmental schools. See Miyamoto Masa'aki 宮本雅明, *Nihon No Daigaku Kyanpasu Seiritsushi* 日本の大学キャンパス成立史 [*History of Japanese University Campus Development*] (Fukuoka: Kyūshū Daigaku Shuppankai, 1989). Especially in page 45, he lists major construction works conducted by MESC for governmental schools.

approval in order to claim this status. Each of the lecture halls cost ¥10,000, in comparison to Tsuda's meager budget of ¥500 per annum for rent on the first house. For men's institutions, endowments from alumni is what made the construction of these brand-new lecture halls possible. The construction was a material performance to show the growing social power and success of the alumni, who already played key roles in the business industry.⁸⁴ These school buildings, especially their aesthetic and technological novelty and elaboration, thus played an important communicative function within society.

Notably, unlike Tsuda College, the other major women's schools active in this period, JWU and TWCU, both expressed their aspirations for higher-level education by using "university" in their names, from the time of their establishment in 1900 and 1918, respectively. However, like Tsuda College, these schools also struggled to secure their first campus sites due to their limited access to resources. As private institutions, neither school received support from the government, so they were forced to identify their own non-governmental resources. However, the JWU depended primarily on the support of Japanese entrepreneurs and businessmen, while Tsuda College relied five times more on American supporters. Although the founder had a long-standing plan and had done much groundwork to establish the school, JWU did not start until they secured a 4.5-acre site in the Tokyo neighborhood of Mejirodai, through a generous donation from the Mitsui family – one of the most powerful entrepreneur clans and largest landowners in Tokyo.⁸⁵ As a mission school, TWCU, by contrast, received most of their

⁸⁴ Keiō Gijuku 慶應義塾, ed., *Keiō Gijuku Hyakunenshi Chu, Zen 慶應義塾百年史・中・前 [A Hundred Year History of Keio Gijuku, Vol.2-1]* (Tokyo: Keiō Gijuku, 1960), 12–13; Waseda Daigaku Daigakushi Henshūjo 早稲田大学大学史編集所, ed., *Waseda Daigaku Hyakunenshi Dai Ikkann 早稲田大学百年史・第一卷 [A Hundred Year History of Waseda University, Vol.1]* (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1978), 446–50. On the financial struggles of non-governmental institutions, see Amano, *A Study on Japan's Modern Higher Education*, 233–35.

⁸⁵ Upon establishment, JWU raised ¥10,000 primarily from progressive Japanese entrepreneurs. Tsuda College gained about five times more financial support from Americans in their first three years (¥9,322.42 as opposed to ¥1,995). For the JWU's phase of establishment, Nihon Joshi Daigakkō 日本女子大学校, ed., *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō*

financial support from Presbyterian missionary organizations. Similar to Tsuda College, their first building was a rented building – in their case, a former sanatorium – on the edge of the city.⁸⁶ Because these women’s schools did not have resources to spare on elaborate buildings, they tended to use stopgap measures to secure their educational environments.

Although Tsuda’s spatial interventions did not involve much physical modification nor construction, the ways in which she repurposed the buildings reflected her own educational ideal of “home-like education [*kateiteki kuntō* 家庭的薰陶].”⁸⁷ To Tsuda, home-like education was a way to train students at varied levels to become competent English teachers. The school’s curriculum contained fifteen hours of classroom instruction – approximately half the requirement of comparable schools. Instead of mass instruction, Tsuda urged students to focus on individual preparation and to review the lessons they had learned in class on their own. Such a personalized pedagogy was especially important at the beginning; early on, students entered the school at various levels because secondary education had just started being systematized nationally. To attend to individual needs, Tsuda kept the class sizes small and stayed as close to students as possible. Although she could not afford dormitories for all the students, Tsuda also lived with

Shijūnenshi 日本女子大学四十年史 [*Forty-Year History of Japan Women’s University*] (Tokyo: Nihon Joshi Daigakkō, 1942), 58–68; Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 80–82.

⁸⁶ The rent was ¥2,000/year. The campus had approx. 2.2 acres (2,750 *tsubo*). On the TWCU establishment, see Tokyo Joshi Daigaku Gojūnenshi Hensan Inkai 東京女子大学五十年史編纂委員会, ed., *Tokyo Joshi Daigaku Gojūnenshi* 東京女子大学五十年史 [*Fifty-Year History of Tokyo Women’s Christian University*] (Tokyo: Tokyo Joshi Daigaku, 1968), 29–34; Nagao Hanpei 長尾半平 and A.K. Reischauer, “Shiritsu Tokyo Joshi Daigaku Setsuritsu Ninka Shinsei 私立東京女子大学設立認可申請 [Request for the Establishment of Tokyo Women’s Christian University],” Request to the Mayor of Tokyo Prefecture, December 5, 1917, 302.C2.15.-4, TMA.

⁸⁷ The article two of Tsuda College’s rules read, “This school’s mission is home-like education. The principal, teachers, and students live together [...] and intend to train women with a great character and a healthy body. If necessary for the student, we allow commuting from her own home (569).” On Tsuda’s pedagogy and the school rules, see Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 46–47, 61–62, 71–75, 569.

students who could not commute from home.⁸⁸ Tsuda's idea of home-like education, in other words, meant intimate, thorough training.⁸⁹

While there are no records that tell us explicitly why Tsuda designated the rooms in the house as she did, her choices seem to indicate a commitment to students' academic success. In trying to secure the best educational environment, Tsuda ignored the existing social hierarchy of rooms that usually existed in this type of Japanese house. The floorplan shows that the house was originally designed in *shoin* style [*shoin dukuri* 書院造], one of the architectural styles prevalent among Japanese residential buildings (Figure 1.10). In these types of houses, the reception room, called the *shoin* (*lit.* library) was considered to have the most social significance. This room was also distinct in the floor plan because it was usually the largest and was equipped with a decorative alcove called a *toko* [床]. Rather than keeping that room as a reception room or using it for her own bedroom, however, Tsuda assigned the former reception room to be the living room/bedroom for on-campus students. She made the second largest room in the house into the auditorium. These two rooms were essential for the students to focus on their studies. On-campus students were supposed to work on preparing for and reviewing for classes in their living room/bedroom, and all students listened to lectures in the auditorium. Tsuda and Bacon,

⁸⁸ Due to the rigor, more than three quarters of students dropped out in the first three years. Students later recollected on their experiences of Tsuda's rigorous teaching. See Kumamoto, "When the School Was Established," 470–71.

⁸⁹ The idea of home had been used to justify women's education at early English and American Colleges. Women's college in the West replicated the configurations and styles of domestic spaces so that the school could feel like home, hence appropriate for women. But Tsuda's "home-like education," despite the similarity in the name, has nothing to do with the domestic ideal. Tsuda focused on academic rigor and happened to use the term of home in the name. On the ideas of domesticity and home in the designs of early English and American women's colleges, see Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s*, 1–197; Vickery, *Buildings for Bluestockings: The Architecture and Social History of Women's Colleges in Late Victorian England*, 1–39.

meanwhile, slept in the smallest rooms. Her decision not to follow the existing social divisions of space suggest that, to Tsuda, what was most important was the students' academic success.⁹⁰

Likewise, the repair of the second building reflected Tsuda's dedication to a better educational environment. One of the issues in repurposing a house into a school with minimal modification was that the existing rooms were not designed for learning activities like reading and writing. In particular, the darkness of the interior space was notable in Japanese-style residential buildings. One of the standard features was *shoji* – sliding doors made of latticed screens covered with white paper. Literally meaning “a fixture of obstruction,” *shoji* was designed to dim daylight, not to take full advantage of it. For studying English, these dim interior spaces were even more problematic because alphabets tended to be printed in a much smaller typeface than Japanese and Chinese characters, which made them more difficult to read. It was for this reason that Tsuda removed the damaged *shoji* and installed new transparent glass pane windows, which allowed students to take fuller advantage of daylight.⁹¹ The fact that Tsuda invested part of the limited funds to secure better lighting provides further evidence that she envisioned serious training for the women at her school.

Growing the School: Incremental Expansion in the City Center

By the summer of 1902, the repaired mansion was becoming “too small and inconvenient for instruction.”⁹² As of March 1902, the enrollment had reached thirty-three students, almost double

⁹⁰ I reconstructed the room designation using the description and floorplan on the following evidence: Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 47; Tsuda, “Report of Tsuda College’s Relocation from the Founder Tsuda Umeko.” On the traditional interior configuration of this type of mansion, see Ōkawa, *Anthropology of Dwellings: Rethinking Japanese Ordinary Houses*, 163–91.

⁹¹ On the repair, see Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 62–63. Architectural historian Suzuki Hiroyuki has pointed out the inadequacy of Japanese-style mansions as the environment to study Western books with smaller characters. See Suzuki, *Genius Loci of Tokyo*, 215–20.

⁹² Tsuda Umeko 津田梅子, “Shiritsu Gakkō Bunkō Secchi No Ken 私立学校分校設置の件 [Request for Approval to Establish a Branch School for the Private School],” Request to the Mayor of Tokyo Prefecture, September 15, 1902, 625.B6.02.-15, TMA.

the numbers in 1901. To accommodate this growth, Tsuda purchased a new site – located within walking distance from the mansion – with a second-hand, wood-frame schoolhouse and four other one-story buildings on it. The former property owner was Ogashima Fudeko, Tsuda’s former colleague at Peeresses’ School, who had operated a girls’ school there. After Tsuda bought this land and the buildings, she carefully transitioned from the mansion. When Tsuda requested an approval from the Mayor of Tokyo Prefecture, she called the new site “a branch school.” This request implies Tsuda’s willingness to retain the second site, even after they started operations at the third site in September 1903. Indeed, Tsuda kept using the repaired mansion as a dormitory until the construction of the first dedicated dormitory at the new site in 1904.⁹³ In September of that same year, the school was also incorporated as a non-profit organization. From then on, administrators of the organization participated in decision making about the campus, although Tsuda remained influential in the process.⁹⁴

The seemingly unplanned process of expansion during these early years embodied the school’s place in the society, which was still ambivalent at that point in time. For instance, the prolonged transition period for moving campuses suggests that Tsuda continued to have mixed feelings toward the school’s future prospects; even after purchasing the third site, Tsuda was not entirely sure about developing the new campus. Despite this initial uncertainty, however, Tsuda managed to have buildings constructed from scratch, for specific purposes, at this third site. In doing so, the school came to look more like what people would typically imagine as a school for higher-level instruction – a campus filled with intentionally designed facilities. First, in March of 1903, a new classroom building replaced the existing one-story buildings that Tsuda had

Original: 敷地建物トモ狭隘ニシテ教授上不便ヲ為シ候ニ付

⁹³ Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 64–65; Tsuda, “Request for Approval to Establish a Branch School for the Private School.”

⁹⁴ On the incorporation of the school, see Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 93–96.

purchased from Ogashima. Over the next two decades, until August of 1922, other classroom buildings, a lecture hall, dormitories, teachers' residences, and a gymnasium, continued to be added, as I will elaborate below (Figures 1.11–1.16).

Although Tsuda managed to construct purpose-built facilities at the site, the campus development was incremental. In addition to the plot that Tsuda bought from Ogashima, the school purchased three adjacent plots, as they became available. However, the school could not pay for the purchases upfront. Instead, they had to run up debts (Figure 1.17).⁹⁵ Borrowing money from sources that were not designated for site purchases and repaying the expenses later was one consistent tactic of Tsuda College. For example, before the incorporation of the school, Tsuda bought the first expansion plot with the funds she had initially set aside for future building construction. Tsuda's hastened decision suggests a sense of urgency to secure a larger educational space for the growing enrollment numbers. This loan was later paid off with an endowment from Mrs. Woods, an American supporter of the school. In March of 1903, in order to buy the second plot, which was located to the north of the first one, Tsuda again borrowed from the construction fund. Part of this spending was paid off with an endowment from another American supporter, whose name and relationship with the school are unknown. That same month, Tsuda's brother-in-law, Ueno, lent the school funds to purchase the third plot, which was north of the second one. The school and the alumnae association eventually formed a fundraising

⁹⁵ I reconstructed the campus development process by synthesizing the site plans and financial information on the following evidence: Ibid., 80–82, 94–104, 123–32, 140–41, 146; Tsuda, “Request for Approval to Establish a Branch School for the Private School”; Tsuda, “Joshi Eigaku Juku Jukuchō Tsuda Mume Yori Bunkō Kyōjō Shinchiku Todoke 女子英学塾塾長津田むめより分校教場新築届 [Report of Constructing New Buildings for the Branch School],” Report to the Mayor of Tokyo Prefecture, February 10, 1903, 625.D5.03.-13, TMA; Tsuda, “Shiken Wo Matazu Shite Kyōin Menkyojō Wo Juryō Seshimuru Gi No Fugan 試験を待たずして教員免許状を受領せしむる儀の普願 [Request for Obtaining Teacher's License without Examinations],” Request to the Mayor of Tokyo Prefecture, May 11, 1905, 626.A5.08.-37, TMA; Tsuda, “Tatemono Zōchiku Ninka Shinseisho 建物増築認可申請書 [Request for Approval to Add Buildings],” Request to the Mayor of Tokyo Prefecture, June 9, 1909, 629.A5.12.-42; Tsuda, “Kōsha Zōchiku Ninka Shinseisho 校舎増築認可申請書 [Request for Approval to Add School Buildings],” Request to the Mayor of Tokyo Prefecture, October 30, 1909, 629.A5.14.-23, TMA.

committee in 1906 and managed to repay this debt. In February of 1917, Tsuda College continued to expand north with the purchase of a fourth plot. For this property, the school scraped up the funds from various sources that were not allotted for site purchases, including the school's saving account, voluntary endowments, funds raised by the committee, the school's investment fund, and a loan from Murai Bank, where Ueno served as a board member. The fundraising committee and alumnae association eventually managed to repay these debts, as well. As these purchases show, even though Tsuda College was continuously short of cash, the school seized opportunities to acquire more land. As a result, however, Tsuda and other administrators had to finance large amounts of spending on property in an ad hoc manner.

As Figures 1.11–1.16 show, the building construction was also gradual and opportunistic. In one example of their stopgap development process, the school rapidly created then demolished some campus buildings. A classroom building and a gymnasium were first built in the eastern part of the campus, in 1904 and 1905, respectively. At the time, the school was responding to the doubling enrollment by building what they thought was necessary for that particular moment. But about half a decade later, when an endowment from the American supporter Henry Woods made it possible to construct a large lecture hall for the school, these recently constructed buildings were torn down to make space.⁹⁶ As can be seen in their financing of property purchases, the school was very underfunded in this period; it did not make financial sense to erect buildings that they knew they would be demolishing in a few years. If the campus had been cannily planned with sufficient funds from the outset, such misspending could have been

⁹⁶ On how female protestant missionaries and well-to-do American women helped women's education in prewar Japan, see, for example, Kohiyama Rui 小檜山ルイ, *Amerika Fujin Senkyōshi: Rainichi No Haikei to Sono Eikyō Amerika Jūnin Senkyōshi: 来日の背景とその影響 [American Female Missionaries: Background of Their Visits to and Influence on Japan]* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1992); Kirisutokyō Shigakkai キリスト教史学会, ed., *Kindai Nihon No Kirisutokyō to Joshi Kyōiku 近代日本のキリスト教と女子教育 [Christianity and Women's Education in Modern Japan]* (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 2016).

avoided. Indeed, their short-term planning indicates that the school was not expecting to be able to afford to build a signature lecture hall. Once it was built, however, the new lecture hall, named the Henry Woods' Hall, became the largest building and a major asset to the campus.

Probably because they constructed buildings as they expanded, by August of 1922, when the site purchases and construction projects were completed, the buildings were not organized very well across the campus. Some intentional zoning can be seen in Figure 1.16: instructional facilities are to the east, staff residences are to the south, and student dormitories are to the west. Yet, particularly in the north, the last plot that they acquired, the buildings were situated in a completely irregular fashion. A dormitory, staff residence, and a new gymnasium were scattered there, seemingly independent of the rest of the buildings. Similar to the case of the demolition of the buildings, this resultant configuration indicates that the school had to respond to immediate needs as they arose, rather than engaging in long-term planning.

Striving for Equal Standing with Men

The seemingly uncoordinated development of the campus does not necessarily indicate a complete lack of strategic planning, however. Rather, it reveals the school's efforts to be as strategic as possible, *despite* the ambivalent social conditions of women's higher education. Indeed, on the one hand, Tsuda College experienced and expected growth in their enrollment. The administrators made speculative investments in the built environment to keep up with these increasing numbers. In March of 1904, when Tsuda College was accredited as one of the first women-only specialized schools, their enrollment number swelled above a hundred (Figure 1.18). Additionally, the dropout rate declined during this time, due to another unique privilege

that Tsuda College obtained from the MESC.⁹⁷ In September of 1905, Tsuda College became the only school of its type where students could automatically receive a secondary school teacher license upon graduation. Up until that point in time, women had two options to receive this license: graduating from the governmental women's higher normal school (where admission was very competitive and limited in number), or passing a licensing examination administered by the MESC. As Tsuda anticipated when she started the school, these existing pathways were not able to train enough female teachers to meet the growing needs. To address the teacher shortage, then, the MESC started providing qualified schools with the privilege of automatic teacher licensing. To be qualified as one of these unofficial teacher training schools, an institution had to pass the MESC's curriculum evaluation and demonstrate that multiple graduates had successfully passed the teacher licensing examination. Tsuda College was the only women's specialized school to meet these qualifications until 1923, when the privilege was extended to JWU.⁹⁸ As educational sociologist Sasaki Keiko has shown, this automatic teacher licensing privilege contributed to the retention of the students. While female students tended to drop out to get married at other comparable schools, Tsuda College students tended to stay to obtain their licenses.⁹⁹ These combined factors resulted in the steady increases in enrollment and the need for continuous campus expansion at the school.

Despite the growing importance of schools like Tsuda College, women's institutions still did not attain an equal standing to men's institutions within the educational system. The situation started to change at the national level, however, when the Special Council for Education [*Rinji*

⁹⁷ The dropout ratio to the entire enrollment declined: 47/55 in 1902, 37/104 in 1904, and 72/279 in 1922. The data of the applicants, enrollment, and dropout can be found on: Tsuda Eigaku Juku 津田英学塾, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 72–73, 108–09, 136, 194–95, 233–34. 72–73, 108–9, 136, 194–95, 233–34.

⁹⁸ On the accreditation and the exemption of teacher's license examinations, see *Ibid.*, 83–93; Tsuda, "Request for Obtaining Teacher's License without Examinations[.]"

⁹⁹ See Sasaki, "New Middle-Class Women evaded Traditional Norms: Mechanism of Expanding Women's Higher Education in Prewar Japan," 215–20.

Kyōiku Kaigi 臨時教育会議] – a group of professionals called to serve by the Cabinet Office – started to discuss the idea of a women’s university in 1918. Based on these discussions, various newspapers reported that women’s universities would soon be accredited by the MESCS. For example, one article, entitled “University Order Finalized: Abolishing Higher Schools, Reviving Women’s Universities,” reported that women’s universities would be approved by meeting the same criteria as private, male-dominated universities. Despite such hopeful reports by newspapers, however, the Council eventually rejected the idea. In the same year, the MESCS began promoting private men’s specialized schools to the level of universities, while neglecting women’s specialized schools because “it is too early for universities for women.”¹⁰⁰ This move broadened the gender gap even further.

Female higher education continued to lack governmental and social support. The MESCS’s only financial assistance for women-only schools was the disaster relief loan program for private schools, which was put in place after the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake. It was a thirty-year loan program, with five years of zero APR, followed by a rate of 5 percent (from 1924 to 1936), then 3.2 percent (from 1936 to 1954). Tsuda College used a site they had bought in 1922 as equity for a loan of ¥33,000.¹⁰¹ With the exception of that loan and the modest

¹⁰⁰ For the hopeful reports, for example, Anon., “Daigaku Rei An Giryō: Mikka No Chōsa Īnkai 大学令案議了：三日の調査委員会 [Discussions on the Draft of the University Order Finished: The Investigation Committee on November 3],” *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun* 東京朝日新聞, November 5, 1915; Anon., “Daigaku Rei Kessu: Kōtō Gakkō Haishi, Joshi Daigaku Fukkatsu 大学令決す：高等学校廃止・女子大学復活 [University Order Finalized: Abolishing Higher Schools, Reviving Women’s Universities],” *Yomiuri Shinbun*, November 4, 1915. On the discussions of women’s universities at the council meeting, see Endō Akiko 遠藤明子, “Rinji Kyōiku Kaigi to Joshi Kyōiku 臨時教育会議と女子教育 [The Special Council for Education and Women’s Education],” in *Taishō No Joshi Kyōiku* 大正の女子教育 [Women’s Education in Taishō Period], ed. Nippon Joshi Daigaku Joshi Kenkyūjo 日本女子大学女子研究所 (Tōkyō: Kokudoshā, 1975), 53–73.

¹⁰¹ On this loan program, see Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 156; Joshi Eigaku Juku 女子英学塾, “Joshi Eigaku Juku Tochi Tōhon Utsushi 女子英学塾土地謄本写し [Tsuda College’s Certified Copy of Land Registers],” Submission to the Mayor of Tokyo Prefecture, July 6, 1933, 317.A6.05.-5, TMA. In addition to this loan program, Tsuda continued to rely heavily on endowments from her American friends and supporters for the reconstruction from the earthquake. The total amount of the endowments for the reconstruction was ¥11,307.16. On the reconstruction, see Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 142–67.

endowments they received, Tsuda College's largest revenue source was tuition. However, the tuition revenue was still insufficient for paying teachers' salaries. Although Tsuda could have asked wealthy Japanese men for financial support, she avoided doing so to preserve her pedagogical autonomy. Tsuda continued to rely on a small number of people whom she trusted, primarily her friends in the United States, as well as her students, alumnae, and family.¹⁰² Without significant support from the government, the school was forced to expand incrementally, even if they would have preferred to expand all at once.

While Tsuda College managed to construct some purpose-built facilities in the third site, the design of buildings and campus was still economical. According to the architectural historian Miyamoto, campuses of MESC-backed schools constructed from the late 1890s to the mid 1910s, including imperial universities established by the MESC and other governmental specialized schools, shared two characteristics. First, most of the signature buildings in the privileged school campuses were built with brick, while less important buildings (those not called a "main building [*honkan* 本館]") could still be constructed with wood. As brick construction was more expensive than timber construction, having school buildings constructed with brick was a means to display the prestige of the school. Second, buildings in elite institutions tended to be organized around a courtyard in the center. Leaving this vast, open space in front of brick-made, signature buildings was a common technique to highlight the aesthetic value of the campus. The planners and designers did not assign the courtyard a practical function, such as having passageways or an athletic field, which further displayed an abundance

¹⁰² I compiled Tsuda College's fiscal data from: *ibid.*, 110–12, 137–39, 196–98, 236–39.

of space and the funding to afford it.¹⁰³ The third site of Tsuda College's campus shared neither of these characteristics.

The manner in which Henry Woods Hall was constructed exemplifies the marginalized position of Tsuda College relative to the privileged governmental schools of the time. As noted earlier, this hall was the largest property on the campus, with the highest construction cost, of ¥14,879. For the construction of this building, one professional-looking architectural drawing was prepared. The request that Tsuda College made to Tokyo Prefecture regarding the construction of this lecture hall was accompanied by this drawing, which had detailed measurements, while the approval request for the construction of a dormitory and a bathroom in the same year was accompanied only by lower-fidelity schematic plans (Figures 1.19–1.22). The existence of professional-looking drawings suggests that more design effort was poured into this building. Despite holding considerable social value, Henry Woods Hall was still a simple wood-frame building (Figure 1.23). It was also oriented toward the athletic field – a space to which a practical function was assigned.¹⁰⁴ As we have already seen above in Figures 1.14 and 1.15, the campus was already so crowded that the site for the lecture hall was secured only by demolishing the preexisting classroom building and gymnasium. If the students and staff of Tsuda College had wished to have a courtyard, they would have had to give up some of the school facilities. Instead, they filled the campus with what they needed to conduct their education, without leaving any open spaces. While their hopes for a better, larger environment grew, insufficient funding resulted in these forms of more modest campus development.

¹⁰³ On the school campuses from the late 1890s to the early 1910s, see Miyamoto, *History of Japanese University Campus Development*, 186–228.

¹⁰⁴ For the construction price and drawing, see Tsuda, “Request for Approval to Add School Buildings.” For the dormitory and bathroom construction request for approval in the same year, see Tsuda, “Request for Approval to Add Buildings.”

Expanding the Campus: Moving to the City Periphery to Build a University

The administrators relocated Tsuda College a fourth and final time, in 1931. Unlike the incremental relocations and property expansions that had characterized the campus development previously, this move was a substantial change. The site was more than fifty-seven times larger than the third campus, and it was located about seventeen miles away, in a rural area that was being planned as a suburb. Initially, the administrators at Tsuda College had hoped to continue expanding the school's capacities in the third site. They assumed that it would be possible to maximize space by replacing some of the school buildings with high-rises, as more innovative construction techniques became available. The third site was also located in the city center and close to streetcar stops, and it was difficult for them to imagine leaving such a convenient location (Figure 1.2.). It was for those reasons that they continued to purchase adjacent plots up until 1917.

Although purchasing the fourth and final plot fulfilled their immediate needs, the administrators soon realized that it would be difficult to expand any further in that location. To the north and west, there were embankments. This topographical feature had already made the northwestern piece of the fourth plot difficult to use; because of its irregular shape, the plot could not be used as efficiently. Even if they managed to purchase sites in the north and west, there would be an altitude difference between the current and new plots. Because it would require extra infrastructure work to tame the topography, these expansions would be costly. As the school had already been struggling to finance site purchases and construction projects, an overpriced expansion was not ideal. The land to the east and south also seemed difficult to obtain. To the east, the British Embassy was located across the street, in the location where it had been since 1872, three decades before Tsuda College moved there. On the southern edge was the

mansion of Sale and Frazer Co., Ltd., an established British trade business. These institutions were unlikely to make way for the college. For these reasons, the administrators soon gave up on their wishes to grow within the current site and began looking for a new, larger site in 1922.¹⁰⁵

This campus expansion was part of Tsuda College's new agenda. Its students, alumnae, and administrators were now seriously seeking the MESC's university accreditation of their school. Although the 1918 University Order did not allow the establishment of women's universities, they continued to pursue opportunities to be promoted to university status. For example, in March of 1920, Tsuda College's alumnae association announced a fundraising campaign for expanding the school. "This project [for expanding the school] will make our school a women's institution of highest education and a source of women's enlightenment, which has been Professor Tsuda's hope and our college's homework to get done," wrote the group of representative alumnae, in a statement released at the launch of the campaign. *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, one of the five major newspapers in Tokyo at the time, reported on this project on June 29, 1921, when it was unveiled to the public. When the story was published, the group's fundraising goal had increased from an initial amount of ¥600,000 to ¥800,000.¹⁰⁶

While the alumnae raised funds, the administrators employed two major techniques to claim a higher status. As discussed earlier, these techniques had already been used by men's specialized schools, such as Keio and Waseda. First, Tsuda College attempted to demonstrate its academic significance and potential through changes in the curriculum. In 1919, the administrators created a Faculty of Advanced Studies [*kōtō ka* 高等科], where graduates of the

¹⁰⁵ The size of the third site was 20.6 acres (1568.68 *tsubo*). On the condition of the third site around 1917 and the decision to move out, see Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 129–33.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 125; Anon., "Tsudajuku Kakuchō: Hachijū-Man Yen Boshu 津田塾拡張：八十万円募集 [Expansion of Tsuda College: Raising Eight-Hundred Thousand Yen]," *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, June 29, 1921.

college could continue pursuing “university-level studies of English.”¹⁰⁷ Tsuda College’s regular curriculum, like other specialized schools, required three years of instruction, which was equivalent to that of higher schools, the men-only university preparatory institutions. By contrast, at a university, male students studied a further three or more years, then took an examination to receive a bachelor’s degree. Thus, Tsuda College added the option of two more years of advanced courses, primarily to accommodate the needs of the regular course alumnae, who had a desire for higher-level study beyond their three initial years but were not allowed to matriculate at universities. At the same time, this curriculum amendment served as a strategic preparation for “reorganizing the school into a university.”¹⁰⁸ To claim university status, specialized schools, including Tsuda College, needed to demonstrate their instructional capabilities in these more advanced level studies.

Another technique to show their potentiality as a higher educational institution was expanding the campus. To gain this accreditation, displaying the physical and material capacity to hold a larger student body and a wider variety of departments was especially important. The 1918 University Order specified twenty-one requirements for a school to be called a university. Specifically, Article Two of the ordinance stipulated,

An accredited university normally holds multiple departments. In special cases, it is possible for a university to have a single department. A university should run the departments of law, medicine, engineering, literature, science, agriculture, and economics/commerce. When there is a special need, only when it makes sense in terms of

¹⁰⁷ Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 170.

¹⁰⁸ On the faculty of advanced studies and the university promotion movement in general, see *Ibid.*, 169–71; Amano, *A Study on Japan’s Modern Higher Education*, 271–72. The quote is from Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 170.

Original: 同時にこれは将来大学組織を編成せんがための段階であった。

operation and size, the aforementioned departments could be divided into multiple departments or integrated into a single one.¹⁰⁹

As this stipulation indicates, the MESCS imagined a university as a fairly complex institution. At this point in time, however, Tsuda College was essentially a single department institution focused on studies of English language and other relevant liberal arts subjects. Yet because of this ordinance, the administrators recognized a need to demonstrate their multi-department potentiality. To be viewed as a competent institution, the departments could not exist only on paper; they had to be real and physical. In other words, real students would need to be enrolled in the departments and taking classes on campus. Thus, specialized schools aspiring to be universities needed to demonstrate the material capacities to support the instructional and research activities of multiple departments. It would have been clear to the administrators at Tsuda College that the university accreditation would require the demonstration of such intellectual, operational, and material capabilities upon their application. Even though the MESCS did not take applications for university accreditation from women-only specialized schools at this point, the school's search for a larger space was conducted as a preparation to seize this opportunity in the near future.¹¹⁰

With this in mind, after comparing several potential sites, the administrators decided to move the campus to a rural site in Kodaira Village – a formerly agricultural village in the

¹⁰⁹ Monbu Kagakushō 文部科学省, “Daigaku Rei 大学令 (大正七年十二月六日勅令第三百八十八号) [University Order (the 388th Edict of Japan in 1918)],”

http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1318056.htm, accessed November 18, 2018.

The original of Article Two: 第二条 大学ニハ数個ノ学部ヲ置クヲ常例トス但シ特別ノ必要アル場合ニ於テハ単ニ一個ノ学部ヲ置クモノヲ以テ一大学ト為スコトヲ得
学部ハ法学、医学、工学、文学、理学、農学、経済学及商学ノ各部トス
特別ノ必要アル場合ニ於テ実質及規模一学部ヲ構成スルニ適スルトキハ前項ノ学部ヲ分合シテ学部ヲ設クルコトヲ得

¹¹⁰ Amano Ikuo 天野郁夫, *Kyūsei Semon Gakkō Ron 旧制専門学校論 [Research on the Rrewar Specialized Schools]* (Machida: Tamagawa Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1993), 229–40.

western part of Tokyo. Affordability and accessibility were the two most important criteria for the new location. Still financially strapped, the administrators needed to obtain a site that was sufficiently spacious and at a reasonable price. To meet this criteria, the candidate sites were concentrated in the western parts of Tokyo.¹¹¹ The city was developing westward, but agricultural villages remained undeveloped on the peripheries (Figure 1.24). As these plots of land tended to be less expensive, they were better deals for the school.¹¹²

In addition, accessibility by public transit was important for the commuter students. While there were three dormitories on the third campus of Tsuda College, as of 1919, more than two-thirds of the students still commuted from their homes. In the early twentieth century, private companies and the Ministry of Railways (MR) extended railroads to the western part of Tokyo. The increased accessibility of this side of the city by public transit encouraged the administrators to consider rural sites that were close to the new train stations. The administrators finally chose the site farthest to the west, primarily because it was served by a train line developed by the MR, the governmental developer, which they believed was the most stable. It is also likely that the site was the most inexpensive among the candidates because it was in the most underdeveloped area. This time, they were able to pay for the property outright, using funds that the alumnae association had raised through the campus expansion campaign.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Tsuda College formed an Expansion Committee in 1922 and examined sites in Shakuji, Hōya, Kiyose, and Kodaira, all located in western Tokyo. See Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 130.

¹¹² On the interrelationships between railroad and suburban developments as well as the geographical distribution of the land prices, see Hasegawa Tokunosuke and 長谷川徳之輔, *Tokyo No Takuchi Keiseishi: "Yamanote" No Seishin 東京の宅地形成史: 「山の手」の西進 [History of the Residential Development in Tokyo: Westward Development of High City]* (Tokyo: Sumai no Toshokan Shuppanyoku, 1989), 59–68, 18–86.

¹¹³ About 29 percent of students lived in on-campus dormitories as of 1922. In the new campus, 41–44 percent lived on campus as of 1933. I computed the ratio based on the information on Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 136, 186, 319–30., 136, 186, 319–30.

The Gendered Process of Suburban Expansion

At the time, this pattern of campus expansion was common among institutions of higher education, regardless of the dominant gender of the enrolled students (Figure 1.25). Men's institutions also developed rural campuses, especially after the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake burnt down approximately half of the city center.¹¹⁴ However, the process of suburban campus development, and especially that of site acquisition, was gendered. Tokyo University of Commerce (TUC), one of the governmental universities, is a good example to compare with Tsuda College. TUC originally held an integrated campus in Kanda, an area in the city center, where many high-level educational institutions were concentrated from the nineteenth century onwards. As of 1918, TUC students were first enrolled in a preparatory course, before progressing to an undergraduate program. When their campus was significantly damaged in the earthquake, they constructed a temporary campus in Shakujii, a rural area on the western outskirts of the city. The school already owned this land; they had purchased it to use as an athletic field before the disaster. While conducting classes in the temporary buildings, the school looked for a site to reconstruct a new permanent campus.¹¹⁵ Eventually, in 1933, TUC relocated its preparatory course campus to a site close to Tsuda College; the two campuses were about fifteen minutes walking distance apart.

While Tsuda College had been actively looking for candidate sites before choosing Kodaira Village, TUC was invited to relocate to this area on advantageous terms. Tsutsumi Yasujirō – a rising real estate developer – played an active role in TUC's relocation. In 1920, Tsutsumi founded a real estate development company called *Hakone Land*, which focused on

¹¹⁴ On how much of the city was devastated by the earthquake, Naimushō Shakaikyoku, *Records of Taishō Earthquake, Vol.1*, 331–32.

¹¹⁵ Kikata, *Appearance of "College Town": Alchemy of Modern Urban Planning*, 13–21.

suburban development. Unlike urban real estate developers who had to buy out smaller pieces of land, starting around 1910, suburban developers started buying up former agricultural fields in bulk, with the goal of turning them into planned residential neighborhoods. By focusing on rural, underdeveloped areas, Tsutsumi was able to obtain larger sites for developments more quickly than his competitors. Kodaira Village was one of the places where Tsutsumi made speculative investments.¹¹⁶ To support this aggressive land acquisition, Tsutsumi pursued a deal with Meiji University, a private male-dominated university that was newly accredited by the 1918 University Order. Their campus was located in Kanda, close to TUC's old integrated campus, and it was also significantly damaged by the 1923 earthquake. In 1925, Tsutsumi wrote a letter to persuade the students, alumni, and administrators of Meiji University to agree to relocate to Kodaira, so that he could obtain funds to continue his sweeping land acquisition and development plan there. In the long letter, Tsutsumi tried to sell the idea of suburban relocation, writing, "The relocation is the first step toward the construction of Greater Meiji [University]. It is nothing to hesitate about. It is a plan that the management and students should execute passionately and sincerely."¹¹⁷ But because Tsutsumi had talked one of the school vice presidents into the deal with little consultation with other stakeholders, the relocation plan was eventually

¹¹⁶ On Hakone Land, see Seibu Holdings Kōhō bu 西武ホールディングス広報部, ed., *Seibu Holdings 10th Anniversary Book* (Tokyo: Seibu Holdings, 2016), 11–12. Seibu Holdings is a real estate and railway developer built on the legacy of Hakone Land.

¹¹⁷ Tsutsumi Yasujirō 堤康次郎, "Meiji Daigaku Iten Mondai Ni Tsuki Kōyū Oyobi Gakusei Syogen Ni Kou 明治大学移転問題に付 校友及学生諸彦に懇ふ [Request to the Alumni and Students, on the Relocation Issue of Meiji University]," in *Kodaira Shi Shi Shiryōshū: Kingendai Hen Dai Goshū: Kodaira No Kingendai Kiso Shiryō 小平市史料集：近現代編第五集 [Historical Materials of Kodaira City, Modern and Contemporary Periods, Vol.5: Fundamental Materials for Kodaira's Modern and Contemporary Periods]*, ed. Kodaira Shi Shi hensan Īnkai 小平市史編纂委員会 (Kodaira: Kodaira Shi, 2012), 110–14. This letter is dated 1925.

Original: 明大の移転は大明治建設への第一歩にして最早何等遅滞すべきことに非らず実に学校当局の熱心と交友学生の赤誠とを以て速かに解決すべき問題 (114)

met by harsh opposition by the students and alumni. The vice president resigned, and Meiji University ultimately had to dismiss the plan to relocate entirely.

Desperate for an alternative deal, Tsutsumi, together with Kodaira Village Mayor Ogawa Ryōsuke, approached the administrators of TUC to invite them to build their campus there. In their 1927 request to TUC, Tsutsumi and Ogawa wrote,

All residents of the village welcome the relocation of Tokyo University of Commerce Preparatory Course to the site managed by Hakone Land Company. As stated on the following notes, we landowners made an agreement with the company. We approve the relocation and will support the company to the best of our ability. We hereby plea for the execution [of the relocation plan] as soon as possible.¹¹⁸

The notes that accompanied this request further specified how they would help TUC's relocation and resettlement:

- We will build a street from the *Koganai Sakuradutsumi* prefectural highway to the main gate of the university. The company will provide the site for free. The village will approve this street as a village highway or prefectural highway.
- The village will strictly regulate businesses that might sway the students.
- We will have no objections against the university using the water for a swimming pool.
- We will start the construction of a railroad within ten days from the day on which TUC signs the contract. We will complete the construction in six months.
- To avoid the university's operational inconvenience as an institution on the outskirts of the city, we will support the company to make sure that the development is completed successfully. We landowners will postpone trades of land properties for a year.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Tsutsumi and Ogawa Ryōsuke 小川良助, "Onegai 御願 [Request]," Request to Relocate Soon Sent to Sano Zensaku, March 10, 1927. Reprinted on Kodaira Shi Shi hensan Īnkai, *Historical Materials of Kodaira City, Modern and Contemporary Periods, Vol.5: Fundamental Materials for Kodaira's Modern and Contemporary Periods*, 117. Sano was the president of TUC.

Original: 東京商科大学予科ガ小平村箱根土地株式会社経営地ニ移転スルハ村民一同挙テ歓迎スル処ニ有之、地主ハ別紙覚書ノ通り会社ト円満協定ヲ遂ゲ、コレガ移転ニツイテハ賛成シ、極力会社ヲ援助可致候間、一日モ速ニコレガ実行相成リ候様御配慮懇願候

¹¹⁹ Tsutsumi Yasujirō 堤康次郎 and Ogawa Ryōsuke 小川良助, "Onegai 御願 [Request]."

Original: 一、小金井桜堤府道ヨリ大学正門マデ八間道路を開墾シ、敷地ハ会社ヨリ無償提供シ、村ハ之ヲ村道又ハ府道ニ認定スルコト。

一、学生風儀ヲ[攪]ス虜アル営業ニ対シテハ、村ハ誠心誠意取締ルベキコト。

一、用水ヲプールノ為メニ御使用相成ルトキハ、一同異議ナキコト。

The series of offerings show how desperately the developer and landowners needed TUC to move to the site. They offered the prompt construction of transportation infrastructure, including streets and a train line. Their action plan was also concrete, specifying a timeframe for construction. This level of precision indicates their seriousness about the proposal. After a month, Tsutsumi and Ogawa even reiterated the same plea in another letter to TUC.¹²⁰

This second written plea was convincing, and TUC finally signed the contract. According to the terms agreed upon in the contract, TUC acquired 24.4 acres in Kodaira from Hakone Land, in exchange for their old site of 6.6 acres in Shakujii. The signed contract was essentially an exchange of the two sites; there was no money transaction between TUC and Hakone Land, even though TUC's property almost quadrupled in size. In addition, Hakone Land even offered to let TUC use the old site for free, if necessary.¹²¹ From a financial perspective, TUC benefited greatly from this agreement, which must have saved them reconstruction costs. A comparison between area maps from 1930 and 1935 shows that the developer kept his promise: multiple train stations were constructed around the university. The developer even relocated an existing station

一、電車ハ商科大学予科移転ノ契約調印ノ日ヨリ会社ハ拾日以内ニ工事ニ着手シ、六ヶ月以内ニ完成スルコト。

一、野中ノ一軒家トナリ大学経営ニ不便ヲ来タス等ノコトナカラシムル為メ、同地ガ立派ナル経営地トナル様会社ヲ援助シ、地主一同ハ土地ノ取引期間ヲ向フ一ヶ年間延期スルコト。

¹²⁰ Tsutsumi and Ogawa, "Chinjō Sho 陳情書 [Plea]," Request to Relocate Sent to Sano, April 12, 1927. Reprinted on Kodaira Shi Shi hensan Īnkai, *Historical Materials of Kodaira City, Modern and Contemporary Periods, Vol.5: Fundamental Materials for Kodaira's Modern and Contemporary Periods*, 118.

¹²¹ Sano Zensaku 佐野善作 and Tsutsumi, "Keiyakusho 契約書 [Contract]," Contact between TUC and Hakone Land, April 13, 1927; Ogawa, "Oboegaki 覚書 [Memo]," Memo to Promise Road Construction Sent to Sano, 1928; Nakajima Noboru 中島隲, "Tamako Tetsudo, Teishajō, Teiryūjo Shinsetsu Narabini Haishi Ninka Shinsei Ni Kanshi Shōkai 多摩湖鉄道、停車場、停留所新設並廃止認可申請ニ関シ照会 [Inquiry Regarding the Request for Approval to Demolish and Construct Tamako Railroad Line and Its Stations and Stops]," Inquiry to Kodaira Village Office, August 2, 1933. Reprinted on Kodaira Shi Shi hensan Īnkai, *Historical Materials of Kodaira City, Modern and Contemporary Periods, Vol.5: Fundamental Materials for Kodaira's Modern and Contemporary Periods*, 118–21.

in order to build a new station right in front of TUC's campus (Figure 1.26).¹²² The advantageous contract, patient pursuit of the deal, and execution of the promises collectively suggest that Tsutsumi and Ogawa considered the campus of TUC to be crucial as a catalyst for further residential and commercial development of the village.

Unlike TUC, Tsuda College paid for land and basic infrastructure on their own. Tsuda College purchased the 20.6-acre site for ¥100,840 from a single landowner named Nakajima Uichirō, whose background is unknown. Although their purchase was made before Hakone Land was investing in Kodaira Village, it is still notable that there seems to have been no organized effort to invite or entice Tsuda College to build there. Before even starting on the construction of buildings, Tsuda College needed to lay some groundwork, beginning with planting trees as windbreaks. The site was surrounded by agricultural fields, and strong seasonal winds blew a dusting of fine red loam over the campus, especially in the spring and fall (Figure 1.27). The campus needed the trees to mitigate the wind damage. In addition, they had to build additional infrastructure, such as waterworks and sidewalks, on their own. Furthermore, Tsuda College needed to arrange their own transit system from the closest train station; there was no public bus line available, and it would have taken forty minutes to commute to the campus by foot. Tsuda College bought a used car from the United States and created a shuttle bus line to provide rides for students from Kokubunji Station. The bus was crowded, but it allowed students to commute from home (Figure 1.28).¹²³

¹²² Compare the maps before and after the relocation of TUC: Sanbō Honbu Rikuchi Sokuryōbu 参謀本部陸地測量部, “Niman Gosen Bunno Ichi Chikeizu Fuchū 二万五千分の一地形図・府中 [Topographical Map, 1:25000, Fuchū],” (Tokyo: Sanbō Honbu Rikuchi Sokuryōbu, 1930, 1935).

¹²³ On how Tsuda College started its construction in its rural site, see Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 130–33, 177–79. One student recollected on her experience of strong wind in the rural site. See Saruyama Fumiko 猿山ふみ子, “Kodaira No Ryō Seikatsu 小平の寮生活 [Everyday Life at the Dorm in the Kodaira Campus],” in *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, ed. Tsuda Eigaku Juku, 514–18. While there is no evidence that Hakone Land helped Tsuda College, Hakone Land used the future presence of Tsuda College in Kodaira as a way to boost their sales of residential plots. Their 1928 advertisement features TUC as well as Tsuda

These disparities between Tsuda College and TUC were reflective of a larger tendency. In fact, inviting men's universities to build their campuses as a catalyst for surrounding development became a common strategy for suburban developers (Table 1.1). For instance, Tokyo-Yokohama Railroad (TYR) invited both Keio University (formerly Keiō Gijuku) and Hosei University to build their campuses along train lines that crossed land that they were developing in the southwest of Tokyo, in Hiyoshidai and Kiduki, respectively. TYR even donated 59.5 acres to Keio and 8.2 acres to Hosei. When Keio expressed their need for even more space, TYR assisted Keio in buying out the surrounding 26 acres of plots. After Keio agreed to relocate there, TYR developed the area around Keio's new campus and sold the tracts at higher prices for commercial and residential development, which was their plan all along. TYR also expected students to generate revenue by becoming new passengers of the railroad, and this strategy also proved to be effective.¹²⁴ By taking advantage of patterns of suburban development in these ways, private men's universities, many of which were newly accredited by the 1918 University Order, were able to be more financially successful than women's specialized schools, even though the material support from the government was limited for both groups.

Similar to Tsuda College and to these men's institutions, JWU and TWCU searched for and purchased new or additional land in rural areas between the late 1910s and 1930s. JWU obtained property in Nishi Ikuta, a western rural area outside of Tokyo, in 1931. The thought

College as nearby institutions. The minimum price of the plot ¥10.5/*tsubo* was more than double the price at which Tsuda College acquired the land in 1922 (¥4/*tsubo*). For Hakone Land's 1928 advertisement, see Seibu Holdings Kōhō bu, *Seibu Holdings 10th Anniversary Book*, 12.

¹²⁴ On the invited relocations, see Keiō Gijuku 慶應義塾, ed., *Keiō Gijuku Hyakunenshi Chu, Kou 慶應義塾百年史・中・後 [A Hundred Year History of Keio Gijuku, Vol.2-II]* (Tokyo: Keiō Gijuku, 1964), 297–30; Hōsei Daigaku Hyakunenshi Hensan Īnkai 法政大学百年史編纂委員会, ed., *Hōsei Daigaku Hyakunenshi 法政大学百年史 [A Hundred Year History of Hosei University]* (Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku, 1980), 642–43; Tōkyū Fudōsan Kabushiki Gaisha Sōmubu Shashi Hensan Chīmu 東急不動産株式会社総務部社史編纂チーム, ed., *Machidukuri Gojūnen まちづくり五十年 [Fifty Years of Real Estate Development]* (Tokyo: Tōkyū Fudōsan, 1973), 58–60.

process at JWU seems to have been similar to Tsuda College. The administrators first considered constructing high-rises with reinforced concrete on their original campus in the city center. But as they worked toward being granted university status, the administrators realized that the old site would not suffice and decided to relocate to a suburb-to-be. The students and alumnae campaigned to raise funds for this campus expansion. Unlike Tsuda College, JWU managed to collect money from wealthy Japanese, including some women donors. They did so by emphasizing the school's willingness to refrain from transgressing boundaries and stepping into the territory of men's institutions. One campaign pamphlet claims that the school "has not the foolish and useless desire to rival men's universities but hopes to provide a cultural training peculiarly suited to women and to develop in her students a true womanliness [*sic*]." ¹²⁵ Perhaps in part because of this relative adherence to social norms, JWU received some practical support from wealthy Japanese people, in addition to money. JWU also managed to secure a professional broker, Mitsui Trust Bank, which was part of the entrepreneur clan that donated the first campus site to JWU. With the help of this bank, JWU purchased a total of 73.6 acres from four different owners. Although JWU's site search and purchase might have been easier than Tsuda College, the deeds for the new site do not include any of the advantageous terms that TUC enjoyed. ¹²⁶ JWU's new site was an undeveloped woodland, which required significant groundwork. The construction for the campus had to begin with building a street from the nearest train station. Although these conditions were challenging, JWU also took this opportunity to show off their ability to build infrastructure, in order to bolster their claims to university accreditation. Another

¹²⁵ Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Bokin Inkai 日本女子大学校募金委員会, "Nippon Joshi Daigaku Campaign for Funds," *Pamphlet*, 1938, D2248, Naruse Memorial Hall (Japan Women's University Archives).

¹²⁶ Nihon Joshi Daigakkō 日本女子大学校, *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Shijūnenshi 日本女子大学校四十年史 [Forty-Year History of Japan Women's University]*, 268–76; Inoue Hideko 井上秀子, "Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Yōchi Shōmei Negai 日本女子大学校用地証明願 [Request for Proof of the School Site]," Request to the Minister of Education, Science, and Culture, 1934, 317.E8.08.-18, TMA.

fundraising pamphlet that was distributed features the new street to the campus site with two photographs (Figure 1.29). The caption reads, “Street Exclusive to the School.” In other words, building their own infrastructure appears to have given JWU a sense of pride.¹²⁷

Around this same time, in 1919, TWCU also purchased a piece of land in the western outskirts of the city, in Nishi-Ogikubo. TWCU was founded just the previous year, much later than both Tsuda College and JWU. Opened tentatively in a former sanatorium, TWCU was on the lookout from the beginning for a site to build a proper campus. Similar to Tsuda College, TWCU first considered several locations, including Meguro/Ōmori, Higashi-Nakano, Mejiro, Kichijōji, and Nakano. All these sites were located in the western areas of the city, except for Mejiro.¹²⁸ TWCU decided to make a deal with the landowners in Nishi-Ogikubo, in part because they learned from one of the school board members, who worked for the MR, that a new train station was scheduled to be built there. At the time, landowners in Nishi-Ogikubo were repurposing former agricultural fields for residential and commercial uses, which is why large pieces of land had recently become available. However, the particular site that TWCU managed to buy was a relatively marginal piece of land (Figure 1.30). The shape of the tract was challenging, in comparison to the rezoned tracts that lay to the north and east. In the northeast, the land included a riverbank that prevented further expansion, and in the west, there was a municipal border that ran along the street. Similar to Tsuda College’s third site, then, TWCU’s

¹²⁷ Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Bokin Inkai 日本女子大学校募金委員会, “Joshi Sōgō Daigakuen Jitsugen Narabini Iten Kensetsu: Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Bokin Shushi 女子総合大学園実現並移転建設: 日本女子大学校募金趣旨 [Toward the Establishment of Women’s Comprehensive University, Relocation, and Construction: The Purpose of Fundraising at Japan Women’s University],” Pamphlet, January 1934, D2218, 17–18, Japan Women’s University Archives.

¹²⁸ Tokyo Joshi Daigaku Gojūnenshi Hensan Inkai, *Tokyo Joshi Daigaku Gojūnenshi Fifty-Year History of Tokyo Women’s Christian University*, 62–65, 70–72.

new campus was prone to future conflicts with neighbors and limited in location and shape.¹²⁹

While TWCU might be able to negotiate the price somewhat due to these limitations, buying the land was still a huge financial investment. Like the other women's schools, TWCU needed to raise funds for the campus on their own. It took three years to even start the construction, and in 1924, when TWCU relocated to the suburban campus, it was premature. The campus construction was still incomplete, leaving part of the lecture hall, a library, an auditorium, and a church to be built incrementally.¹³⁰

All three of the women's specialized schools thus obtained larger sites in the developing suburbs, with intentions to plan and construct proper campuses adequate for universities. However, suburban developers did not show interest in luring women's specialized schools into these areas, even though the schools were desperately looking to move. At the same time, there is no evidence to indicate that developers, village administrators, or residents actively interrupted or discouraged the relocation of women's institutions into their communities. Nevertheless, the fact that the women's specialized schools did not have access to the resources that were offered to men's universities suggests that the process of campus development was gendered.

Progress, not Relegation

Because of the different levels of support for male and female institutions, it was difficult for administrators at Tsuda College to implement their rural campus development plan. Despite these hardships, however, narratives of Tsuda College students suggest that they perceived the

¹²⁹ On the re-platting project, see Iogi Chō Tochi Kukaku Seiri Kumiai 井荻町土地区画整理組合, "Jigyōshi 事業誌 [Record of the Project]" (Tokyo: Iogi Village, 1935), 1–3; Kikata, *Appearance of "College Town": Alchemy of Modern Urban Planning*, 122–24.

¹³⁰ Tokyo Joshi Daigaku Gojūnenshi Hensan Inkai, *Fifty-Year History of Tokyo Women's Christian University*, 70.

construction of a new campus as progress. For example, after introducing the new facilities to readers of their *Alumnae Report*, a student named Yumoto wrote:

The [school] bus is so cramped in the morning, but as all passengers are students at the college, we do not feel disgusted by that. It takes commuter students with bad access to Shosen a while to get to school, but we do not feel as tired as we expected. Because we are pioneers in Kokubunji, we must bear with this little inconvenience. [...] The air is clear; we can enjoy nature as much as we want; and the lecture hall is beautiful. We could not expect more than we have now.¹³¹

She then invited the alumnae to the campus by writing, “Please visit our new campus soon.”

Unlike in the previous three sites, as mentioned earlier, Tsuda College managed to hire the architect Satō for the campus planning this time. Satō designed a new lecture hall, two dormitories, and other facilities, using more elaborate technologies and styles. Nevertheless, this project was still budget-sensitive. Before hiring Satō, the administrators had rejected a schematic design by the American architect Ralph Adams Cram because it was “too costly.”¹³² Even though the campus was planned beforehand, some of the buildings ended up being incomplete or temporary at the time of relocation. For example, the signature lecture hall was not finished; the floorplan notes that the rear parts were planned as a “future extension” (Figures 1.31–1.33). These unfinished parts, which were still not built when they moved to this campus, were particularly obvious to onlookers because the design was for a symmetrical building.¹³³ Other buildings, such as the gymnasium, were temporary, and the auditorium and library were planned, but not built. Even with such compromises, the construction budget of ¥1,000,000 was almost

¹³¹ Yumoto 湯本, “Shin Kōsha Ni Utsurite 新校舎に移りて [On Relocating to the New School Building],” *Kaihō* 会報 [*Alumnae Report*] 36 (November 1931): 52–53. Yumoto is her last name. She did not inscribe her first name, which is a common practice in Japan.

¹³² Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 179–80.

¹³³ The detailed information, architectural drawings, and photographs of the new lecture hall and dormitories can be found on Satō Kōichi 佐藤功一, “Joshi Eigaku Juku 女子英学塾 [Tsuda College],” *Kenchiku Sekai* 建築世界 [*The World of Architecture*] 26, no. 6 (1931): illustration, unpaginated.

entirely used up; the actual cost was ¥956,045.¹³⁴ As Anna C. Hartshorne – a longtime administrator and teacher at the school – stated in a letter to the alumnae in 1929:

After the long waiting, work has actually begun, trees are being reset, roads laid out and building plans definitely settled. The question of teaching and office space is simple enough: it must be just sufficient for present requirements, for the building fund, large as it is, will not provide for any expansion, or even such necessities as an audience hall and permanent gymnasium, both of which must wait for the future.¹³⁵

Hartshorne's statement indicates that the administrators again were focused on fulfilling immediate needs, despite their grand plan for a proper campus. But as Yumoto's narrative suggests, students still felt positively about the campus as it was. To the students, their learning environment had definitely been improved. For example, the new lecture hall was designed and constructed with reinforced concrete and tiled exterior walls, while all the previous buildings had been wood-frame buildings with little exterior elaboration. Unlike Henry Woods Hall, this sturdy, more elaborate lecture hall faced straight to the entrance gate and street – a design that perhaps mirrored their outward expression of commitment to women's education (Figure 1.34). Additionally, the new dormitories offered students increased privacy and spaciousness. The older dormitories in the third site were made of wood-frame buildings, and each bedroom was shared by multiple students. Due to the thinness of the walls, noise would have traveled more easily, which might have hindered students' individual learning and sense of independence. In contrast, the new residential halls were built with thicker interior walls and provided single and double occupancy rooms (Figure 1.35), which meant that the students were allotted a space one-and-a-

¹³⁴ On the details of the planning and budgeting of the fourth campus, Tsuda Eigaku Juku 津田英学塾, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College.*, 177–80, 187–92; Yokote Yoshihiro 横手義洋, “Kenchikuka Rarufu Adamusu Kuramu No Tsudajuku Daigaku Kyanpasu Keikaku Ni Kansuru Kenkyū 建築家ラルフ・アダムス・クラムの津田塾大学キャンパス計画に関する研究 [Study on Ralph Adams Cram's Tsuda College Campus Project],” *Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai Keikakukei Ronbunshū* 日本建築学会計画系論文集 [*Journal of Architecture, Planning, and Environmental Engineering* 77, no. 671 (2012): 143–48.

¹³⁵ Anna C. Hartshorne, “Letter to Dosokwai [Letter to the Alumnae Association],” *Alumnae Report* 34 (1929): 2.

half times larger than in the previous dormitory. Because of the new features, when students moved in, they were “in seventh heaven.”¹³⁶ Yumoto’s account shows the students’ sense of pride and excitement in the new campus, which had buildings constructed exclusively for them, from scratch.

The editor of the column in the *Alumnae Report* that had included Yumoto’s article, called “These Days at the College,” expressed her own experience and feelings about the new campus:

The bell rings through our bones—where did the old bell in Kōjikachi campus go? That [sound of the bell] tells the beginning of class. The air in a spacious and bright classroom and silence far away from the noises of the city urge us to study harder. [...] It is spacious everywhere. Where did the students, who were crammed into, or even crowded out of the school building in Kōjimachi, go? [...] We have already settled and are concentrating on our studies, although it has only been two weeks since the relocation. Yet, we will not forget to be grateful for a lot of struggles behind this glorious construction.¹³⁷

Similar to Yumoto’s, this student’s characterization of the construction as “glorious [kagayakashii 輝かしい]” implies a sense of progress and advancement. Her account also suggests that the students recognized the hardships that administrators, alumnae, and supporters had experienced in the process of expansion. While little has been written about the level of the enrolled students’ involvement in the campus expansion initiative, these accounts suggest that they knew that their allies worked hard to raise funds and negotiate deals on their behalf. This shared experience of hardship might have made the progress that was made seem even more valuable.

¹³⁶ While one student could occupy 45.5 square feet at the maximum in the old dormitory, she could have 71.2 square feet at the minimum in the new dormitory. I computed the areas per student using the information on the following evidence: Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 318–20, 323–34; Tsuda, “Request for Obtaining Teacher’s License without Examinations”; Tsuda, “Request for Approval to Add School Buildings.” On the move-in experiences, see a student’s account on: Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-Year History of Tsuda College*, 323.

¹³⁷ Anon., “Kansō 感想 [Thoughts],” *Alumnae Report* 36 (November 1931): 55.

Notably, in contrast to the students at Tsuda College, TUC students conceptualized their relocation to Kodaira negatively. On a practical level, TUC benefited much more from the developer and the village than Tsuda College did; however, TUC students complained about the inconvenience of the new campus in the university newspaper. For instance, a student writer criticized the new modernist lecture hall as “a modern prison” and “looking like a sanatorium” (Figure 1.36). This student cynically continued, “I know that it is too late to say, but a school of commerce could make students understand its core spirit and mission if it was located in the hustle and bustle of the city. See, for example, the College of Commerce in London.”¹³⁸ By “College of Commerce in London,” this writer likely referred to the London School of Economics (LSE), founded in 1896. Similar to TUC, LSE had relocated its campus in order to expand in 1922, but the new campus was still located in the center of London.

Another writer also failed to provide favorable descriptions of the new campus. He began his article by characterizing the main school building as “cream-colored, soft, smart,” but later revealed his disappointment, writing,

The construction of the students’ meeting house, special classrooms, auditorium, library, gymnasium, and the athletic ground, which should be included on campus, is significantly delayed due to the financial matters at the Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture. We feel inconvenience in every dimension [of our campus life].¹³⁹

¹³⁸ Anon., “Kodaira Shin-Fūkei 小平新風景 [New Landscape of Kodaira],” *Ikkyō Shimbun* 一橋新聞 [*Ikkyō Newspaper*], October 9, 1933. In this quote, “College of Commerce in London” is a literal translation of “eito no shōka daigaku 英都の商科大学.” *Ikkyō Shimbun* is TUC’s college newspaper. As a student of the governmental institution whose primary mission was to figure out how commerce worked, he seemed particularly frustrated by the decision to move the campus so far from the center of economic activities.

¹³⁹ Anon., “Kodaira Gakuen Natte Ikkyō No Bunka Iyoiyo Eien No Itonami E 小平学園成って一橋の文化いよいよ永遠の営みへ [Completion of Kodaira Gakuen, Toward Making Ikkyo Culture Everlasting],” *Ikkyō Newspaper*, September 11, 1933.

In his writing, there is no sense of gratitude for governmental funding; instead, this writer highlighted the MESC's part in delaying the construction. A survey of TUC students' requests for the new campus suggests that this attitude was widespread. The summary reads:

All students criticize the bad connection between the train on the Tamako line, which comes every twenty-four minutes, and Shōsen. A lot of students blame this on the impossibility of a bus line between Kunitachi and Kodaira. [...] Anyway, all these earnest cries that come from students' experiences are reasonable.¹⁴⁰

Here, the students were referring to their commute between the preparatory campus in Kodaira and the undergraduate program campus, which was about three and half miles away in Kunitachi. To get to Kunitachi campus, students had to take the Tamako Line and change trains at Kokubunji Station to Shōsen, a train line operated by the MR. Still, compared to the situation at Tsuda College, whose students had to take a crowded school shuttle bus, TUC students had a much more convenient arrangement; the Tamako Line station was constructed right in front of the campus. Nonetheless, TUC students felt entitled to complain about having to change trains, as well as about the infrequency of trains. As opposed to the Tsuda College student who recognized hardship as a “little inconvenience,” TUC students thought that complaining about their situation was “reasonable [*mottomo* 尤も].” The expressions of intolerance by TUC students indicate that privileged male students at the governmental university understood their relocation to the rural site as relegation rather than progress.

¹⁴⁰ Anon., “Kodaira Iten Go No Kansō Wo Kiku: Yoka-Sei No Socchoku Na Kokuhaku 小平移転後の感想を聞く：予科生の率直な告白 [Listening to Students' Voice after Relocation: Confessions of Preparatory Course Students],” *Ikkyō Newspaper*, October 9, 1933; Kodaira Shi Shi Hennsan Inkai 小平市史編纂委員会, ed., *Kodaira Shi Shi: Kingendai Hen* 小平市史：近現代編 [History of Kodaira City: Modern and Contemporary Periods] (Kodaira: Kodaira Shi, 2013), 224–45.

The Changing Politics of Land Control in Tokyo: Women Negotiating Spaces to Thrive

The MESC marginalized women's educational institutions and their aspirations for higher-level education in a systematic manner. Yet, one unintended consequence of this system was the empowerment of women students. As we have seen, women at Tsuda College became more confident and aspirational during the process of paving these paths toward higher education on their own. The shared sense that they were at the forefront of women's education continued to drive the school's pursuit of a higher status. These efforts were interrupted in the years preceding and during World War II by government dysfunctionality, but Tsuda College finally attained university accreditation in 1948. It was one of the first five schools that was approved as a university under the revamped postwar educational system.¹⁴¹

Tsuda's passion and leadership for women's higher education indeed played a significant role in the process. Yet, this case also shows the complexity of Japan's modernization project, led by the centralized government, as well as how spatial ordering was used as both an instrument of control and emancipation. Space was a double-edge sword in this modern state. On the one hand, by giving out their land only to governmental institutions, the MESC used space as a device of control. On the other hand, under the new capitalist system of property ownership, non-governmental, private owners were free to pursue their own interests. If they deemed it to be beneficial, the private owners could give and sell their properties to women's institutions, or to private men's institutions, independent of what the MESC was trying to achieve.

Whether the MESC was aware of all of these processes or not, the consequence was that they had incomplete control over Tokyo's new spatial order. Stepping back a bit, it is crucial to keep in mind that under this new system, any citizen was entitled to own property, regardless of

¹⁴¹ Monbushō, *A Hundred-Year History of Japan's Educational System*, 734–45.

his/her status. The national government kept some of the property, while gradually selling the lands returned by the Tokugawa lords to either old or new landowners. People with the sufficient capital started buying up these properties and accumulating these lands as assets, resulting in a city that was ultimately divided into either governmental or private properties. Architectural historian Suzuki Hiroyuki contends that this process of reorganization produced three distinct types of private landowners in the Meiji period. The most powerful and traditional owners were what he calls “large-scale cumulative landowners.” These owners had started accumulating commoners’ properties since the Edo period, and they continued to buy out properties in the Meiji period. Their base assets were the accumulation of relatively small, subdivided, scattered pieces of land in the former commoners’ zone. Altogether, by the end of the nineteenth century, they owned a large part of the total land in Tokyo. This type of owners typically rented out the individual properties in order to make a profit. Another emerging type was “large-scale concentrative landowners.” These owners started buying relatively larger pieces of land in the Meiji period, when the government started selling properties located in the former warriors’ zone. Because these properties were relatively large, concentrative owners gained power fairly quickly. Their way of managing these assets was to plan and develop new residential or commercial districts in the consolidated sites. As urban real estate developers, they focused on large-scale projects. Finally, there were also a category that emerged that Suzuki calls “small-scale landowners,” who bought out smaller tracts piece by piece. Their assets included former commoners’ properties or subdivided tracts in the new urban developments. Without significant capital, their land acquisition was less organized. As they were not as flush with cash, compared to the large-scale owners, these small-scale owners focused on making immediate profits. The

owners typically would build a house on the tract and rent out the building and land together.¹⁴²

These three different kinds of owners, along with the government, all participated in the physical transformation of the city.

Thus, while the MESC executed strict control on educational codes and institutions, in terms of spatial policies and planning, the government was focused more on the rapid development of infrastructure rather than intervening on private properties.¹⁴³ This planning attitude granted private landowners relative freedom and power in the development of the city, which is part of what allowed relatively marginalized institutions like Tsuda College to survive and thrive, by offering spaces that women could make use of for their own purposes. A map of Edo shows that the first three sites of Tsuda College were located in the former warrior zone, which the government could have kept as their own property (Figure 1.37).¹⁴⁴ While the owners of the sites, who directly interacted with Tsuda to make deals, are unknown, these sites were likely sold to private owners when the government reorganized the city. It was because the government no longer completely controlled the spatial order in Tokyo that Tsuda College was able to acquire the sites. As we have seen, buying this property was not easy, but as long as they were able to negotiate a deal with the individual property owners, an organization like Tsuda College had a space in the city, independent of the MESC's policy.

The campus that was built on the outskirts of the city was also purchased from a single private owner, who was willing to sell a tract of consolidated agricultural fields. This site was

¹⁴² Suzuki Hiroyuki, "Tokyo Ni Okeru Jūtakuchi Kaihatsu No Hikaku Bunkashi Teki Kenkyū I/II 東京における住宅地開発の比較文化史的研究 I/II [Comparative Cultural History of Residential Developments in Tokyo I/II]," in *Kenchiku: Mirai e No Isan 建築: 未来への遺産 [Architecture: Heritage for the Future]*, ed. Itō Takeshi 伊藤毅 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2017), 112–38.

¹⁴³ Carola Hein, "Shaping Tokyo: Land Development and Planning Practice in the Early Modern Japanese Metropolis," *Journal of Urban History* 36, no. 4 (2010): 447–84.

¹⁴⁴ Kageyama Muneyasu 景山致恭, "Oedo Banchō Ezu 御江戸番町絵図 [An Illustrated Map of Oedo Banchō]" (Edo: Owariya Kiyoshichi, 1849–62), National Diet Library Digital Collection, <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1286658>, accessed October 19, 2018.

located in a rural area that Tokugawa and early Meiji governments had not even recognized as part of the city. In other words, land in this area had never been governmental property. This lack of an urban legacy is important because the primary reason why Tsuda College moved was that they could not purchase a site that was large enough in the city center, where much of the property was either owned by the government or by large-scale concentrative owners/urban real estate developers. To Tsuda College, the opportunity to expand outside of the city center, in these privately-owned spaces, allowed for a sense of emancipation and advancement. In these spaces, untouched by the government, they were able to build their own school, expand, and claim a higher status in the educational system and in society more broadly. In this modern society, where top-down spatial control was no longer complete, women students found opportunities for breaking imposed norms and gendered ideologies.

Chapter 2: Spaces for Gathering

Socializing and Social Ordering in Urban Parks, 1873–1912

Around the turn of the twentieth century, two women’s organizations held gatherings at Ueno Park [*Ueno Kōen* 上野公園], one of the first public parks established in Tokyo.¹⁴⁵ Both gatherings were attended by more than forty participants. One of the organizations was Tōyō Eiwa Girls’ School Alumnae Association, or TEGSAA, the alumnae association of a private, all-girls school. The other was Japan Women’s Association for Education, or JWAE, an association for charitable work and self-cultivation led by women from a higher social status. Established in 1895 and 1886, respectively, the associations were two of the earliest women’s organizations for *shakō* (*lit.* socializing) in Tokyo.¹⁴⁶ While I will elaborate on the complexity of the concept and practices of *shakō* below, the term generally referred to a set of systematized activities for socializing, which emerged in late nineteenth-century Japan. These two organizations both favored parks and other public spaces, which were relatively new to the city, as their gathering venues especially in the Meiji period (1868–1912).

Why did two of the oldest women’s groups end up in the same park around the same time? This chapter examines the social gatherings of TEGSAA and JWAE in the Meiji period, focusing on their usage of particular venues. As we will see, these women’s organizations repeatedly met in public parks, even during a time when the government was tightening policing

¹⁴⁵ I use *park* as a standard translation of the Japanese word *kōen* [公園, *lit.* public garden]. As the Japanese term emerged to refer to different kinds of urban open spaces in the West, including public gardens, parks, and squares, *kōen* is convoluted as a term. On the issue of the term of *kōen*, see Kamiyasu Nagako 上安祥子, “Kōen to Iu Yakugo No Tanjō 「公園」という訳語の誕生 [The Birth of Kōen as a Japanese Term],” *Hakuoh Daigaku Ronshu* 白鷗大学論集 [*Hakuoh University Journal*] 30, no. 2 (2016): 37–81.

¹⁴⁶ I will give more details about TEGSAA and JWAE below, but for general histories of these organizations, see Hyakunijūnen Shi Hensan Inkai 120年史編纂委員会, ed., *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyakuniūnen Shi* 東洋英和女学院120年史 [*History of Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin 1884–2004*] (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin, 2005), 628–37; Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōiku Kai, *A Fifty-Year Record of Japan Women’s Association for Education*.

on men's outdoor gatherings. Inspired by studies on the gendering of modern American parks, this chapter seeks to attend to two forces that drove the spatial expansion of women's gatherings into public urban spaces in this period. The first is the national government's initiatives to establish parks and to encourage women's shakō, as part of their broader modernization project. The government created parks in 1873 and continued to have power over how these spaces were managed throughout the period before World War II; however, at times they struggled to have total control over how and by whom the spaces were used. I ask, how did planners imagine the space of the public park in relation to gender norms? And how did women work alongside and against these imaginations in their uses of the parks? More specifically, how did the national government imagine parks in Japan, and how were these understandings related to gender?

The other force, I suggest, was women's own efforts to locate, claim, and reinterpret spaces that were not initially designated as their gathering spaces. As we will see, TEGSAA and JWAE established their own exclusive gathering spaces – the “alumnae room” at their school and a clubhouse – in 1933 and 1908, respectively. Yet, this chapter shows that they had already started to make these gathering spaces, long before they constructed these purpose-built spaces. I argue that these women's organizations incrementally expanded their spatial networks for gathering by reinterpreting homes, familiar places, and urban open spaces, including public parks. In exploring why and how women started frequenting parks, this chapter also addresses the question of how these earlier gatherings can be related to women's later gatherings for more explicitly political purposes in Taishō period (1912–25) onward. What kind of rhetoric was used to justify women's gatherings, which allowed them to be perceived as separate from the perceived problem of men's gatherings in public parks?

To understand the broader context in which parks were frequented by female socializing crowds, I first provide a broad overview of how the concepts of shako and public parks both emerged during the Meiji period. In the process, I also address some of the limitations within the existing literature, focusing on the lack of attention paid to the subject of women's uses of parks and to women's socializing activities in the Meiji period. I make the case that, in order to understand the process of gendering in the parks, we need to focus on this period, before women's political movements became salient. Then, drawing theoretical inspiration from studies on women park users in the West, I delve into the specific cases of TEGSAA and JWAE. As I demonstrate, the Ueno Park gatherings were not isolated incidents. Rather, they reflected distinct spatial patterns that shaped everyday life for these women. Strongly tied to the differing social and economic status of the women involved, each group developed their own spatial culture in the pursuit of finding places to gather.¹⁴⁷ I discuss how women first began reinterpreting two other kinds of spaces – homes and familiar spaces – as gathering venues, before moving on to discuss parks.

Methodologically, I use sources similar to what women's historians have used in their studies of women's group activities in later periods, but I focus here on activities in the Meiji period. By doing so, I demonstrate how the two organizations started using particular types of spaces in the city. From the list of venues, I identify three types of spaces that both organizations visited multiple times, including parks and other public spaces in the city. Unfortunately, based on the bulletins, we do not know the rationales behind why certain venues were selected; the authors did not articulate these processes most of the time. Rather, they simply reported the

¹⁴⁷ Folklorist Mary Hufford has discussed such multiple senses of place in a single physical space in her work. On her discussion on how the sense of difference can be produced, see Mary Hufford, *One Space, Many Places: Folklife and Land Use in New Jersey's Pinelands National Reserve* (Washington, DC: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, 1986), 20–33.

results of this decision-making, by listing the places where they visited. Perhaps because options available to women's organizations at the time were already quite limited, their rationales would have been obvious to those organizations. To uncover what was at stake in the processes for selecting the venues, then, I conduct a contextual reading of their spatial choices, in lieu of direct explanatory narratives. To do so, I compile information on the venues that TEGSAA and JWAE visited for gatherings, using these groups' internal bulletins, and I examine how the two organizations started holding gatherings at Ueno Park, discussing the role of material culture as well as the distinct socio-cultural functions and meanings of the parks and in-park establishments they used. In discussing women's use of public parks specifically, I rely on sources such as illustrations and descriptions from guidebooks of Tokyo, as well as park regulations compiled from the text *Historical Documents of Tokyo City*, a chronological collection of historical documents pertaining to the making of the city of Tokyo.¹⁴⁸ I reinterpret these sources, which have previously been used by other scholars, by focusing on the relationships that parks had with women users.

Parks and Women's Organizations as Civilizing Projects

As ideas, both parks and women's shakō emerged from the same kinds of top-down initiatives; they were both part of the national government's attempts to perform a version of "civilization" that was modeled on Western powers, such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, the Netherlands, and France. As mentioned in the introduction, by

¹⁴⁸ *Historical Documents of Tokyo City* started being published in 1901 to author a history of Tokyo City. So far, 181 volumes have been published, and its publication is still ongoing. On *Historical Documents*, see Tokyō To Kōbunsho Kan 東京都公文書館, "Tokyo Shi Shikō: Edo Tokyo No Rekishi Wo Shiryō de Tadoru 東京市史稿: 江戸東京の歴史を史料でたどる [Historical Documents of Tokyo City: Tracing the History of Edo-Tokyo with Historical Documents]," accessed August 17, 2018, <http://www.soumu.metro.tokyo.jp/01soumu/archives/0601sisiko.htm>.

demonstrating their ability to emulate Western cultures, the national government sought an equal standing in diplomacy with those countries. Yet, the parks and women's organizations that resulted from these efforts were not simple duplicates of those that developed in the West. Rather, in the process of implementation, these ideas came into contact with existing customs, as well as ongoing challenges that were specific to Japan, transforming into idiosyncratic spaces and set of practices.

The Emergence of Public Parks

The Meiji government established parks in the 1870s, as part of a broader cultural performance that was geared toward the West. Once the Tokugawa shogunate agreed to open Japanese ports to international trade in 1858, government officials created a few settlements across Japan, where foreigners were allowed to live and conduct businesses with Japanese people. Two of the settlements were located in and near the city of Tokyo, in Tsukiji and Yokohama. Particularly in the Yokohama foreign settlement, which was about twenty miles from central Tokyo, residents actively demanded that they be able to recreate a built environment that was similar to that of their countries of origin, including “public gardens” and promenades for recreational purposes. In response to these demands, a “public garden” was constructed in Yokohama in 1870, three years before the Meiji national government issued the decree to establish parks in the rest of Japan. Not only foreign residents but Japanese people also started to use the public garden for events. For example, Japanese gardeners exhibited their works at a flower trade show there, which drew foreign as well as Japanese visitors.¹⁴⁹ Thus, these users, as

¹⁴⁹ On the parks in Yokohama foreign settlement, see Kodera Shunkichi 小寺駿吉, “Yokohama Ni Okeru Kōen No Hattatsu to Sono Shakaiteki Haikai 横浜における公園の発達とその社会的背景 [Origin and Development of Parks in Yokohama and Their Social Background],” *Chiba Daigaku Engei Gakubu Gakujutsu Hōkoku* 千葉大学園芸学部学術報告 [*Technical Bulletin of Faculty of Horticulture, Chiba University*] 12 (1964): 103–16; Satō Akira 佐藤昌, *Nihon Kōen Ryokuchi Hattatsushi Jōkan* 日本公園緑地発達史上巻 [*A History of the Development of*

well as government officials who approved the construction, experienced the idea of a public garden first-hand, even before the national government decided to establish similar kinds of spaces for Japanese people.

In addition, delegations from the late Tokugawa and early Meiji governments visited various open spaces in cities in the West, including gardens, parks, squares, and plazas, then shared their experiences with other government officials and beyond after they returned home. Notably, the Iwakura Mission, a 107-person delegation from the national government, visited cities in Europe and the United States from 1871 to 1873. As one objective of this delegation was the research of Western civilizations, secretary Kume Kunitake took detailed notes of Western cultural and social institutions, including parks and other public spaces in the city, and brought the knowledge back to Japan. Landscape historian Shirahata Yōzaburo argues, based on Kume's report, that the government officials considered these spaces that were specifically designed for urban recreation to be quintessentially “Western”; they represented an idea that distinguished Western culture from Japanese culture. For example, Kume wrote, “As people in the West go out of the home and enjoy walking around, they have parks in any small town. Meanwhile, people in the East enjoy staying inside the home. So they have gardens at home.”¹⁵⁰ As Shirahata contends, this dualistic association, which linked specific physical spaces with broader cultural attitudes, also drove the establishment of parks in Japan. To the government officials, it was important to

Parks and Green Spaces in Japan, Vol. I] (Tokyo: Toshi Keikaku Kenkyūjo, 1977), 44–62; Shirahata Yōzaburō 白幡洋三郎, *Kindai Toshi Kōenshi No Kenkyū: Oka No Keifu 近代都市公園史の研究：欧化の系譜 [A Historical Study on Modern Urban Parks: A Genealogy of Westernization]* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1995), 175–78, 259–84.

¹⁵⁰ Kume Kunitake 久米邦武, *Tokumei Zenken Taishi Bei-ō Kairan Jikki 1 特命全權大使米欧回覧実記 1 [Record of a Tour of the United States and Europe by the Japanese Envoy Extraordinary and Ambassador Plenipotentiary 1]* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2007), 82. This record was first published in 1878.

Original: 西洋人は外に出て盤遊を楽しむ，是一小雖も必公苑を修むる所なり，東洋人は室内にあり惰居するを楽しむ，故に家々に庭園を修む。

create these physical spaces for outdoor pleasure, in order to fully perform Western civilization and mold Japanese lifestyles into modern ones.¹⁵¹

Yet, the prospect of establishing parks only took full shape when it coincided with another practical need faced by the national government, as well as preexisting spatial patterns already familiar to urban residents. Specifically, in the midst of the 1873 Land Tax Reform, the government was in search of a way to generate revenue from the lands that were traditionally exempt from taxation, such as precincts of religious institutions. These precincts also happened to already be places associated with outdoor leisure activities; people traditionally visited temples, at least in part, to get together and to enjoy the landscape, notably specific flowers that were in season.¹⁵² Prompted by the proposal of Minister of Finance Inoue Kaoru, who went on to play an increasingly influential role in the Meiji government, the national government decided to turn major religious precincts into park sites, hence retaining these areas as governmental properties. In 1873, the Great Council of State [*dajōkan* 太政官] – the highest organ of the Japanese government before the establishment of the Cabinet in 1885 – issued a decree ordering prefectural governments to identify candidate sites for parks. Most of the example sites that the council mentioned in the 1873 decree were major religious precincts, such as the areas that included the well-attended temples Sensōji and Kaneiji in Tokyo.¹⁵³ For this reason, most of the

¹⁵¹ Shirahata, *Kindai A Historical Study on Modern Urban Parks: A Genealogy of Westernization*, 171–78.

¹⁵² Unlike parks and gardens in the West, the religious precincts were not spaces specifically designed for urban recreation, but they had come to play a similar function in cities. See Ono Sawako 小野佐和子, *Edo No Hanami 江戸の花見 [Flower Viewing in Edo]* (Tokyo: Tsukiji Shokan, 1992).

¹⁵³ On the process by which the government established the first parks in Japan, see Satō, *A History of the Development of Parks and Green Spaces in Japan, Vol.1*, 77–109; Shirahata, *A Historical Study on Modern Urban Parks: A Genealogy of Westernization*, 178–82; Takahashi Rikio 高橋理喜男, “Dajōkan Kōen No Seiritsu to Sono Jittai 太政官公園の成立とその実態 [Historical Studies on the Parks Founded by Dajōkan’s Decree],” *Zōen Zasshi 造園雑誌 [Journal of the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architects]* 38, no. 4 (1974): 2–8.

first parks in Tokyo were converted from religious precincts, rather than constructed from scratch.

Understanding more about the social function and representation of these preexisting precincts helps to illuminate why public parks continued to be seen as somewhat risky places, even into the Meiji period. Before the modern era, visits to these sites were seasonal and celebratory. For instance, as Ono Sawako has shown, cherry-blossom viewing was one common activity that was traditionally associated with these sites. Many parks-to-be were located on the peripheries of Edo, which were difficult to reach, so people did not visit them frequently. At the same time, the geographical distance gave these rare visits a special and ceremonial meaning, invoking an upsurge of a festive mood that was shared by visitors. Because they considered these occasions separate from their everyday lives, people tended to drink more than usual during cherry-blossom viewing. The upside was that cherry-blossom viewing brought people from all walks of life together, which was especially notable in a period when samurai and commoners lived separately. The downside was that this mixture of people from different backgrounds, along with the festive mood, produced an unsafe environment, especially for women. For example, using multiple poems and pieces of fiction, Ono suggests that men expected to have sexual encounters with women at the cherry-blossom viewing sites; indeed, the poems and fictional narratives emphasize the porosity of social-spatial divisions at these sites, connecting this blurring of boundaries with the potential for romantic or erotic encounters with people from a different social status. In addition to pursuing such encounters at the sites themselves, men sometimes engaged in violence on their way to and from the sites. For instance, Ono reveals that drunk servants sexually assaulted the daughter of a high-ranking samurai at Asuka Hill

[*Asukayama* 飛鳥山], a site later designated as one of the first parks in Tokyo.¹⁵⁴ Hence, one of the passages in a seventeenth-century etiquette book, which was widely used for girls' education in Meiji period, reads,

Women should always protect their bodies with extreme care. They should occupy their mind with home duties and should not neglect sewing and reading. They should neither drink too much tea nor alcohol. They should neither watch nor hear Kabuki, Kouta, Jōruri [music and theater pieces], which could sway them. Under the age of forty, women should not go to shrines and temples, where many people get together.¹⁵⁵

This passage emphasizes the need to protect women's bodies, as well as hinting at the possibility for unexpected encounters in crowded, popular spaces. The places mentioned in this passage are entertainment venues and religious precincts, which were visited by people from diverse backgrounds. At these places, visitors who were unfamiliar with one another could see and be seen, and these uncontrollable gazes were not desirable for the women who "should always protect their bodies with extreme care." The last sentence, especially, suggests that even the suggestion of an unexpected encounter could evoke suspicion and ruin a woman's reputation. Because the danger of sexual assault was widely recognized, the existence of (often drunk) men in a celebratory mood automatically put women's respectability at risk. To avoid such allegations in the premodern era, women were better off avoiding the places altogether, as the etiquette book suggested. As we will see, because of these kinds of unsavory associations, officials in the Meiji period and later went to great lengths to make public parks into orderly spaces.

¹⁵⁴ Ono, *Flower Viewing in Edo*, 86–100.

¹⁵⁵ Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒, *Hyōchū Onna Daigaku* 標柱女大学 [*The Great Learning for Women*] (Tokyo: Takanawa Saihō Jogakkō, 1909), 9.

Original: 一、女は、つねに、心遣して、その身を、堅く慎み護るべし。[...] 家の中の事に、心を用ひ、裁縫續緝、怠るべからず。又茶、酒など、多くのむべからず。歌舞伎、小唄、浄瑠璃などの、揺れたる事を見聞くべからず。宮、寺など、すべて、人の多く集まる所に、四十歳より内は、餘りに行くべからず。

Studies on Parks in Meiji Japan

Despite being an important aspect of the government's efforts to civilize the nation, scholars interested in the history of public parks have paid little attention to women's relationships with these spaces in Meiji Japan. The lack of research on women as active agents of these changes in Japanese parks has to do with the ways that these spaces have been treated in the literature. For instance, landscape and cultural historians have explored how government officials – a profession that was dominated by men – planned and managed the parks, as the national government incorporated these spaces as a tool of city planning from the mid-1880s onward. This work tends to detail the processes by which those officials conceived of parks and developed them into formalized institutions, as well as how they tightened park regulations and management policies, which were usually consigned to the municipal government.¹⁵⁶ As women had few opportunities to make an impact on the early decision-making related to parks – and urban planning issues in general – their relationships to parks has not been treated as significant.

Similarly, the ways in which women interacted with Japanese parks, as users of these spaces, has been little explored by scholars. Instead, landscape and cultural historians have examined how the early parks were used for large-scale events, such as various expositions, national celebrations, and political gatherings and riots. They have revealed how such events

¹⁵⁶ On the beginning of Japanese parks, see, for example, Takahashi, “Historical Studies on the Parks Founded by Dajōkan’s Decree”; Satō, *A History of the Development of Parks and Green Spaces in Japan, Vol. 1*, 3–207; Shirahata, *A Historical Study on Modern Urban Parks: A Genealogy of Westernization*, 167–85, 259–84. Particularly on the institutionalization of parks, see the following studies on park regulations: Kaneko Tadakazu 金子忠一, “Wagakuni Ni Okeru Toshi Kōen Kanri Kanren Seido No Hensen Ni Kansuru Kisoteki Kenkyū わが国における都市公園管理関連制度の変遷に関する基礎的研究 [A Foundmental Study on Transition of Management Institution for Public Parks],” *Zōen Zasshi 造園雑誌 [Journal of the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architects]* 54, no. 5 (1990): 317–22; Dohi Masato 土肥真人, “Edo Kara Tokyo Heno Shakaiteki Sho Seido No Henka to Toshi Ōpun Supēsu No Keitai Henka Ni Kansuru Kōsatsu 江戸から東京への社会的諸制度の変化と都市オープンスペースの形態的变化に関する考察 [The Relationship between the Constitutional Change of Social Systems and the Spatial Transformation of Open Spaces in the City],” *Randosukēpu Kenkyū ランドスケープ研究 [Journal of the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture]* 58, no. 1 (1994): 65–75.

helped to establish park infrastructure, including streets and resting facilities, as well as cultural institutions. Since these studies focus on such large-scale events, they highlight the planning processes and the use of the spaces during these special occasions, rather than on everyday life in the parks. Similar to studies about the development and management of parks, scholars have also tended to place an emphasis on the government officials, who were the primary planners of these events. As a result, this line of studies has tended to be geared toward a top-down view of how Japanese parks were used, as a representation of the government's imagination of parks.¹⁵⁷

Parks have also been treated tangentially by those studying political history, as sites of male-dominated political gatherings, which accelerated from the 1880s onward. These include major social and political movements from the mid to late Meiji period, including the Freedom and People's Rights Movement [*Jiyū Minken Undō* 自由民権運動] (1874–1890) – which urged the national government to establish a parliamentary structure called the Imperial Diet – as well as the Universal Suffrage Movement [*Fusen Undō* 普選運動] (1892–1918) – which demanded that women and men have the right to vote and to be elected regardless of income level. As the national government tightened regulations on openly political gatherings, activists began disguising political gatherings as “sports gatherings [*undō kai* 運動会]” and “get-togethers [*konshin kai* 懇親会].”¹⁵⁸ For example, Freedom and People's Rights activists, called “freedom

¹⁵⁷ On the contributions of national events to the development of parks, see Takahashi, “Kōen No Kaihatsu Ni Oyoboshita Hakurankai No Eikyō 公園の開発に及ぼした博覧会の影響 [The Influences of Expositions on the Development of Parks],” *Zōen Zasshi* 造園雑誌 [*Journal of the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architects*] 30, no. 1 (1966): 12–24; Ono Ryōhei 小野良平, “Ueno Kōen Ni Okeru Kōteki Gishiki to Sono Kūkan Keisei Eno Eikyō 上野公園における公的儀式とその空間形成への影響 [Public Ceremonies and Its Effect on Spatial Developments of Park, in a Case of Ueno Park],” *Randosukēpu Kenkyū* ランドスケープ研究 [*Journal of the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture*] 60, no. 5 (1996): 409–12.

¹⁵⁸ On the social and political movements, see, for example, Yasumaru Yoshio 安丸良夫, *Bunmeika No Keiken: Kindai Tenkanki No Nihon* 文明化の経験：近代転換期の日本 [*Experiences of Civilization: Japan in the Transitional Period to the Modern*] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2007), 216–301.

fighters” [*sōshi* 壮士], held a so-called sports gathering in Ueno Park on October 16, 1888. More than a thousand freedom fighters performed competitive sports, with a few thousand in the audience under the monitoring of a thousand more police officers.¹⁵⁹ However, these gatherings were attended predominantly by men because the 1890 Gathering and Political Party Act [*Shūkai Oyobi Kesshā Ho* 集会及結社法] and the 1900 Security Police Act [*Chian Keisatsu Hō* 治安警察法] significantly restricted women’s political activities. Japanese women had to wait until 1925 to be allowed to attend political gatherings and until after WWII to join political parties.¹⁶⁰ In addition, political gatherings, which often used noise and violence as their primary tactics to spread excitement, were highly associated with masculinity. For instance, the social historian Fujino Yūko has argued that men from lower-income communities, which highly privileged masculinity, contributed to mobilizing crowds for the Hibiya Riot in 1905 – a historic incendiary incident that started in Hibiya Park.¹⁶¹ Partly because of these political uses, as landscape historian Ono Ryōhei has suggested, the national government began perceiving parks as potential sites of delinquency from the 1880s onward. As we will see, the government, in tandem with the Tokyo Metropolitan Police, started to monitor and tighten regulations in and through urban parks.¹⁶² Perhaps surprisingly, however, it was during this same period that members of

¹⁵⁹ Kimura Kichiji 木村吉次, “Meiji 20 Nen Jūgatsu No Sōshi Undōkai Ni Tsuite 明治 20 年 10 月の壮士運動会について [On the Freedom Fighters’ Sports Gathering in October 1888],” *Nihon Tai’iku Gakkai Taikai Go* 日本体育学会大会号 [*Proceedings of Japan Society of Physical Education, Health and Sport Sciences*], September 1, 2004, 146. Kimura notes that the number of attendants varies depending on the newspaper. He uses the numbers on Mesamashi Shimbun. Social historian Kimura Naoe also discusses freedom fighters’ sports gathering that started at Suribachi Hill in Ueno Park on October 16, 1888. See Kimura Naoe 木村直恵, *Seinen No Tanjō: Meiji Nihon Ni Okeru Seijiteki Jissen No Tenkan* 青年の誕生：明治日本における政治的実践の転換 [*The Birth of Seinen: Changes in the Political Practices in Meiji Japan*] (Toyo: Shin’yōsha, 1998), 64–78.

¹⁶⁰ On the restrictions on women’s political rights, see Kodama Katsuko 児玉勝子, *Fujin Sanseiken Undō Shōshi* 婦人参政権運動小史 [*A Brief History of Women’s Suffrage Movement*] (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1981), 16–23.

¹⁶¹ Fujino Yūko 藤野裕子, *Toshi to Bōdō No Minshūshi: Tokyo, 1905–1923 Nen* 都市と暴動の民衆史：東京・1905–1923 年 [*History of the Ordinary, the City and Riots: Tokyo, 1905–23*] (Tokyo: Yūshisha, 2015), 83–123.

¹⁶² Ono Ryōhei, *Kōen No Tanjō* 公園の誕生 [*The Birth of Parks*] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003), 49–56.

TEGSAA and JWAE began appearing in the parks. Scholars have not yet fully explored how women were able to establish their usage of these places that were considered risky or dangerous; this study starts to address these questions, by showing how middle-class and elite women's presence in parks was viewed by the state as a civilizing presence.

While Japanese parks, as a space and institution, have not been investigated extensively through the lens of gender, studies of women users of parks in the West, after which Japanese parks were modeled, can provide a theoretical framework. In the West, as well, studies on the social meanings of parks are not as abundant as simple chronological accounts of their development. However, one seminal study that looks at parks from the perspective of gender is described in the article "Women in Urban Parks" by Galen Cranz, which was later developed into a monograph. As an architect-sociologist who focuses on the planning side of the parks, Cranz focuses on how expected uses, functions, and meanings of parks were constructed and materialized in physical spaces.¹⁶³ Cranz argues that American policymakers deployed women in parks as an antidote to so-called "urban problems" that disrupted the social order. Tracing changes in the physical environments and programs designed for parks from 1850 to 1965, Cranz interprets how expectations surrounding women shifted, alongside what was perceived as an urban problem. At the same time, as landscape historian Heath Massey Schenker suggests, women's actual uses of parks did not necessarily fit into policymakers' expectations and strategies. Expanding on Cranz's works in the context of San Francisco specifically, Massey highlights women's agency as users of Golden Gate Park at the end of the nineteenth century. Park planners welcomed women into the Children's Quarter, an in-park district perceived as a

¹⁶³ Galen Cranz, "Women in Urban Parks," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5, no. S3 (1980): S79–95; Galen Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America* (Cambridge, London: MIT Press, 1982).

“safe environment” for middle- and upper-class women at that time, similar to women’s lunch-rooms and parlors in department stores and ladies’ reading rooms in libraries. When the Women’s Exchange of San Francisco – one of the charity organizations that proliferated in San Francisco in the 1880s – made an attempt to build its own hall in the Quarter, the chief park designer William Hammond Hall displayed a strong opposition to the idea of women establishing their own building on park property. This case indicates that women were welcomed only as “passive figures” in the park, although women’s organizations challenged these perceptions and expectations by attempting to make physical alterations in the space.¹⁶⁴ I take a similar approach in order to consider how parks in Japan became gendered and how women worked within and against these mechanisms of control.

The Invention of Shakō

Similar to parks, the idea of women’s shakō, as a set of systematized activities for socializing, started out as a cultural performance geared toward the West. In the 1870s and 1880s, in particular, women were expected to participate in shakō for diplomatic purposes. In the early 1880s, the national government failed in its attempts to revise the disadvantageous trade treaties that they had made with Western powers. After the unsuccessful attempts, Inoue – who had by then become the Minister of Foreign Affairs – planned and built a Western-style guest house called *Rokumeikan* [鹿鳴館] in Tokyo in 1883. At the guest house, Inoue planned to host

¹⁶⁴ Heath Massey Schenker, “Women’s and Children’s Quarters in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco,” *Gender, Place & Culture* 3, no. 3 (1996): 293–308. Massey also provides an extensive discussions on parks in cities like Paris to Mexico City and on to New York City in her book Heath Massey Schenker, *Melodramatic Landscapes: Urban Parks in the Nineteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009).

social events for international guests, such as Western-style dinner and dance parties, so that Westerners would come to view Japanese people as culturally competent. The government urged high-ranking government officials and Japanese nobility, called *kazoku*, to attend those events. While the officials and nobility were all men, their wives and daughters were also expected to participate, as it was the custom for their Western counterparts to be accompanied by a guest of the opposite sex.¹⁶⁵

Only elites practiced this celebratory type of *shakō*; the rest of the population was still grappling with how to make sense of the radical cultural transformations that were taking place, in spaces that seemed far from their everyday lives. As this cultural initiative turned out to be ineffective for revising the treaties, the population at large grew skeptical of these efforts, and eventually there was a backlash. Eventually, Inoue resigned from his post as the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1887, and the initiative collapsed. His resignation marked the end of the so-called the *Rokumeikan* period, during which the government imposed radical changes in lifestyles for diplomatic purposes, by mobilizing cultural elites to participate in Westernization.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ On Japan's diplomatic policies and socializing events at *Rokumeikan*, Tomita Hitoshi 富田仁, *Rokumeikan: Giseiyōka No Sekai 鹿鳴館：擬西洋化の世界 [Rokumeikan: The World of Pseudo-Westernization]* (Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 1984); Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*, 47–59. While the entire book of *Rokumeikan* discusses relevant topics, the pages 138–83 discuss the *Rokumeikan* culture and women.

¹⁶⁶ Tomita, *Rokumeikan: The World of Pseudo-Westernization*, 12–31.

Although this initiative fell apart, the expectation for women to become more comfortable outside of the home expanded even to non-elite women after the end of the Rokumeikan period. Meiji intellectuals, such as Tokutomi Sohō – a leading journalist of the time – advocated for the expansion of women’s shakō, primarily to serve the national interest.¹⁶⁷ Generally, Tokutomi did not support the radical Westernization movement; rather, he criticized the elitism of the initiative. But even Tokutomi promoted the idea of women’s shakō, despite it being strongly associated with the government’s Westernization initiative.¹⁶⁸ It was within this trajectory of changing definitions surrounding women’s shakō that TEGSAA and JWAE emerged. Starting in the late 1880s, after the time of extravagant parties was over and intellectuals started advocating for the expansion of women’s socializing, organizations devoted to women’s activities began to be formed in Tokyo and other cities in Japan. Established in 1896 and 1888, TEGSAA and JWAE were part of this first wave of women’s organizations that sprang up, just as the expectations surrounding women’s shakō were increasing and changing.

¹⁶⁷ In a section entitled “Women’s Situation in Shakō” in his 1899 book *Society and People*, Tokutomi urged, “Many of our women should attend public occasions not for their own joy, but to serve their husbands and sons.” Drawing a connection with the ideal of “good wife, wise mother,” Tokutomi used the rhetoric of serving the family to urge women to practice shakō. He continued to lament the decline of women’s active participation in public gatherings, as compared to the Rokumeikan period. In his view, timid Japanese women who “remain[ed] quiet in the corner of the room” needed to engage in social situations more actively. See Tokutomi Ichirō 徳富猪一郎, *Shakai to Jinbutsu 社会と人物 [Society and People]* (Tokyo: Min’yūsha, 1899), 125–28. Tokutomi Ichirō is his real name. He is better known in his pen name--Tokutomi Sohō 徳富蘇峰.

¹⁶⁸ As an alternative to the elitist cultural enlightenment, Tokutomi argued for a more democratic Westernization led by “ordinary people [heimin 平民],” by which he referred to the emerging middle-class. To mobilize those who Tokutomi considered ordinary people, he established a publisher and started publishing magazines and newspapers targeted at the population. This lament over Japanese women’s inability to deal with public occasions was published as part of this media initiative. On Tokutomi, see Wada Mamoru 和田守, *Kindai Nihon to Tokutomi Sohō 近代日本と徳富蘇峰 [Modern Japan and Tokutomi Sohō]* (Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobō, 1990).

By 1918, according to *A Directory for Women's Shakō* – the oldest directory of its kind – there were thirty-seven women's organizations in Tokyo. Among the listed organizations, the oldest were religious organizations: the Buddhist Women's Sermon Organization [*Fujin Hōwa Kai* 婦人法話会] and Japan Women's Christian Temperance Union [*Nihon Kirisuto Kyō Fujin Kyōfū Kai* 日本基督教婦人矯風会, JWCTU], both of which were established in 1886. Other types of organizations were formed around different interests, such as charitable work, self-cultivation, school reunions, neighborhood issues, and national defense.¹⁶⁹

Studies on Women's Group Activities in Japan

There has also been little written about Japanese women's group activities and their spatial uses, both in general and in relationship to public parks specifically. As discussed in the introduction of this dissertation, architectural and urban historians of modern Japan have traditionally neglected the ways that women have used space to conduct non-domestic activities. While scholars specializing in women's history have interrogated the processes by which women's organizations achieved incremental successes in political and social movements, especially from the late twentieth century onward, they have paid little attention to the spatial aspects of these processes, such as how these groups chose and secured their gathering venues.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Like TEGSAA and JWAE, a lot of the listed organizations were organized by educated women. See Nihon Fujo Tsūshinsha 日本婦女通信社, ed., *Fujin Shakō Meibo Taishō 7 Nen Sangatsu Shirabe* 婦人社交名簿大正七年三月調 [*Directory for Women's Shakō, March 1918*] (Tokyo: Nihon Fujo Tsūshinsha, 1918). While the same publisher published a directory in 1908, the earlier directory featured female individuals, not organizations. See Nihon Fujo Tsūshinsha 日本婦女通信社, ed., *大日本婦人録 Dai Nihon Fujin Roku* [*Directory of Women in Greater Japan*] (Tokyo: Nihon Fujo Tsūshinsha, 1908).

¹⁷⁰ On women's social and political movements and activities, see Ishiduki Shizue Ishiduki, *Women's Movements in the Interwar Period*; Chino Yōichi 千野陽一, *Kindai Nihon Fujin Kyōikushi: Taiseinai Fujin Dantai No Keisei Katei o Chūshin Ni* 近代日本婦人教育史：体制内婦人団体の形成過程を中心に [*A History of Women's*

However, over the past couple of decades, a few interdisciplinary scholars have started exploring the role of space in women's group activities in Japan. For example, the home economics scholar Matsumoto Keiko, looking at the interwar period, shows how suburban women in Hanshin Kan – a residential district encompassing the Osaka and Kōbe metropolitan regions in western Japan – developed social networks through group socializing activities. Similar to the organizations in Tokyo that I discuss later, the groups in western Japan were organized around hobbies, alma maters, and self-cultivation. In her dissertation, Matsumoto occasionally discusses the significance of the physical spaces that commercial institutions designed specifically for women as venues for gatherings.¹⁷¹ Work by the architectural historian Kondō Mikako, who has a background in political science, focuses even more closely on women's active engagements with urban built environments from the 1920s onward. Using magazines and internal bulletins of politically active women's organizations, Kondō reveals how women demanded opportunities to improve urban environments in Tokyo. Through analyses of women's petitions, written requests, and articles, as well as public records, she demonstrates not only women's desires to contribute to the good of the city, but also how the municipal government of Tokyo started counting on these contributions, in the form of their participation in public meetings and volunteer clean-up activities of streets and parks.¹⁷²

While these recent dissertations derive much of their evidence from women-specific publications, the cultural historian Toya Ri'ina focuses more on the built environment itself.

Toya takes up the emergence of Shiseidō Parlor – an upscale, Western-style café in the Ginza

Education in Modern Japan: Focusing on the Formation of Pro-Government Women's Organizations (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1979); Garon, "Women's Groups and the Japanese State: Contending Approaches to Political Integration, 1890–1945."

¹⁷¹ Matsumoto, "Women's Going Out and Socializing in Hanshinkan Residential Suburbs in Taishō and Early Shōwa Periods."

¹⁷² Kondō, "Women in the Movement for Improving the Urban Environment in Japan, the 1920s–70s: Focusing on the Case of Tokyo Wards."

commercial district in 1915 – and interprets its relationship with changing gender norms that shaped *shakō*. She shows how this particular building type proliferated, as socializing started to involve conversations over coffee rather than as part of Japanese tea ceremonies, which was a popular hobby for men of means. As these cafés became more widely available, social norms began to embrace women’s casual socializing and appearance in public spaces.¹⁷³ These recent studies suggest that the availability of such spaces was critical to the expansion of women’s group activities. However, the historical focus of these studies has typically been placed on the Taisho period onward, perhaps because scholars have relied heavily on materials from popular women’s magazines, which flourished in the period.

In fact, this exclusive temporal focus on the 1910s onward is consistent with broader trends in historical investigations into Japanese women’s group activities, spatial or otherwise. One major reason for this tendency is the historical context of the scholarly field: women’s history started as a subdiscipline in postwar Japan as part of the feminist movement, with women’s liberation as the primary motivation. As such, the focus has been on the women’s organizations that first succeeded in achieving legally-protected political rights for women, in order to highlight their power and accomplishments.¹⁷⁴ Although there were some women’s organizations prior to the Taisho period that were politically active, the history of such groups remains underexplored by scholars. For example, immediately after the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05), women who were interested in a socialist political organization called Commoners’ Company [*Heiminsha* 平民社] sent petitions to the House of Representatives, asking for an

¹⁷³ Toya Ri’ina 戸矢理衣奈, “Kōkoku to Shitenō Shiseidō Pārā: Kōsai Yōshiki No Henyō to Yōma 広告としての資生堂パーラー：交際様式の変容と「洋間」 [Shiseidō Parlor as Advertisement: Transition in the Style of Socializing and ‘Parlor’],” *Nihon Kenkū* 日本研究 [*Japan Studies*] 40 (2009): 277–317.

¹⁷⁴ On the connection between the women’s liberation movement and women’s historiography in Japan, see Ishiduki, *Women’s Movements in the Interwar Period*, 25–35.

amendment to Article Five of the Security Police Act, which prohibited women's participation in political gatherings (Item Two) and membership in political parties (Item One). The group ultimately failed to gain these concrete concessions, however.¹⁷⁵ As a result, scholars have tended to neglect these kinds of earlier activities, choosing instead to highlight more successful organizations like New Women's Association [*Shin Fujin Kyōkai* 新婦人協会, NWA], which was led by prominent women's rights activists and achieved the amendment of Item Two in 1922.¹⁷⁶ While there are some self-published histories of women's organizations that were active prior to the Taisho period, such as JWCTU, I have not been able to locate any extensive case study on the spaces used for women's group activities in the Meiji period.¹⁷⁷

Yet, NWA's use of space hints at the significance of the existing spatial and social networks of women's groups, which TEGSAA and JWAE arguably helped to build. About two decades after the gatherings of TEGSAA and JWAE on March 28, 1920, NWA held its official launch gathering at Seiyōken in Ueno Park, the same park. Hiratsuka Raichō and Ichikawa Fusae – two prominent women's rights activists of the time – formed this association specifically to achieve women's suffrage in Japan. Hiratsuka initially shared the idea to create the NWA at the first gathering of the Kansai Women's Federation [*Kansai Fujin Rengō Kai* 関西婦人連合会, KWF], an alliance of women's groups in the western region of Japan, when they met at the *Ōsaka Asahi Shinbun* headquarters on November 24, 1919. At this gathering, which was

¹⁷⁵ Kodama, *A Brief History of Women's Suffrage Movement*, 45–51.

¹⁷⁶ Josei no Rekishi Kenkyūkai 女性の歴史研究会 Ori'i Miyako 折井美耶子, *Shin Fujin Kyōkai No Kenkyū: Josei Kaihō Undō No Sakigake* 新婦人協会の研究：女性解放運動のさきがけ [*New Women's Association: A Progenitor of Women's Liberation Movement*] (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 2006); Josei no Rekishi Kenkyūkai 女性の歴史研究会 Ori'i Miyako 折井美耶子, *Shin Fujin Kyōkai No Hitobito* 新婦人協会の人びと [*People of New Women's Association*] (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 2009).

¹⁷⁷ For example, JWCTU met at a church and a Christian school in the 1880s. See Nihon Kirisuto Kyō Fujin Kyōfū Kai 日本基督教婦人矯風会, ed., *Nihon Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai Hyakunenshi Get a Copy Find a Copy in the Library* 日本キリスト教婦人矯風会百年史 (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1986), 35–55.

attended by 182 women, Hiratsuka communicated NWA's immediate objectives to the audience through a speech and a printed prospectus. According to the prospectus, one of NWA's objectives was an amendment to Article Five of the Security Police Act, similar to the socialist women who were interested in Commoners' Company. NWA saw any way to achieve equal political standing with men as scaffolding for the ultimate goal of achieving women's right to vote in municipal and national elections. After repeated petitions and groundwork to mobilize the House of Representatives, NWA eventually achieved the amendment of Item Two in 1922. While women's membership to political parties was still prohibited by Item One, women were finally allowed to organize and participate in political gatherings with this amendment.¹⁷⁸ The fact that an openly political organization like NWA was able to hold an official gathering in this in-park facility, even when the law still prohibited women's political participation, suggests the existence of gendered assumptions and norms for the uses of urban parks. Why did the government and police aggressively push men out of parks, while letting women organize for a political cause, illegally? A closer look at the activities of TEGSAA and JWAE, and their incremental expansion into parks, can help us to address this question.

Systematizing Women's Social Activities for the Nation: The Beginnings of TEGSAA and JWAE

TEGSAA and JWAE were established around the same time, and the two organizations shared a commitment to women's education and a similar style of operations, which focused on regular gatherings. TEGSAA was formed as the alumnae association of Tōyō Eiwa Girls'

¹⁷⁸ Ishiduki, *Women's Movements in the Interwar Period*, 153–84. At the 1920 official launch gathering at Ueno Seiyōken, they voted on the board members, declaration, principles, and bylaws. Despite being recognized as the first women's organization that contributed to women's suffrage in Japan, NWA dissolved in December 1922. Its legacy was inherited by Women's Suffrage League [*Fujin Sansei Ken Kakutoku Kisei Dōmei Kai* 婦人参政権獲得期成同盟会], established in 1924.

School, a private girls' school with multiple programs, up to the higher girls' school level. The Woman's Missionary Society at Methodist Church of Canada established this school in 1884, as one of the earliest female educational institutions in Tokyo. After a decade of being in operation, the school had produced more than a hundred alumnae. The principal's wife, together with an alumna, held a small tea party, which developed into forming the official association the next year. Emerging out of the desire of former students, the association's primary activity was hosting reunion gatherings, which were held in the spring and the fall for the purpose of "knitting up their old friendships."¹⁷⁹ They also kept a close relationship with their alma mater, occasionally running fundraising campaigns for construction and scholarships. To maintain communication with the alumnae who spread around and beyond Japan, they issued bulletins once a year.¹⁸⁰

JWAE also started out as a group that was associated with women's education, but it had a different goal. In 1886, three female professors from Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School and Peeresses' School decided to host a gathering to discuss women's education, which then developed into the JWAE in 1887. Though it was started voluntarily by educated women, the JWAE was a conservative group, whose objectives aligned more with the view that women should contribute to nation building by serving at home as good wives and wise mothers. According to JWAE's bylaws, the group's aim was to "popularize women's education and nurture their moral fiber." As educators, the founders believed that education was necessary for women. Yet, in their view, this education should focus more on moral aspects, rather than on

¹⁷⁹ Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, "Dōsōkai Kaisoku 同窓会々則 [Bylaws, the Alumnae Association]," *Tōyō Eiwa Girls' School Alumnae Association Bulletin* (December 1898): 16.

¹⁸⁰ On TEGS's establishment, see Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Ghyakunenshi Hensan Jikkō Īnkai 東洋英和女学院百年史 編纂実行委員会, ed., *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyakunenshi 東洋英和女学院百年史 [A Hundred-Year History of Tōyō Eiwa Girls' School]* (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin, 1984), 17–28. On the activities of TEGSAA, see *Ibid.*, 628–30.

intellectual ones. Established in the period when even secondary education for girls was not common, JWAE initially attempted to provide women with an alternative form of education, primarily by holding monthly lecture gatherings. To communicate the lecture contents to their members, they also published and circulated bulletins monthly.¹⁸¹

Both groups, by focusing on regular gatherings, met the new expectations for women's shakō, although their stated purposes and frequencies of the gatherings varied. After the government initiative centered on Rokumeikan fell apart, shakō began connoting *systematized* activities for socializing. For example, in his 1902 etiquette book, author Imai Kanji conceptualized shakō as an “art [*jutsu* 術]” that could be acquired, not an inborn trait. According to Imai, shakō was “a normal practice of the middle class and above, to build and maintain social relationships.”¹⁸² He emphasizes the systematic nature of shakō, as opposed to other forms of socializing that women might already be engaging in – activities he dismissively as “random

¹⁸¹ The first small gathering was called Tokyo Women's Conversation Colloquium [*Tokyo Fujin Danwa Kai* 東京婦人談話会]. On the beginning and bylaws of JWAE, see Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōiku Kai, *A Fifty-Year Record of Japan Women's Association for Education*, 2–6; Tsumagari Yūji 津曲裕次, “Ishii Fudeko Kenkyū: Dai Nihon Kyōiku Kai Zasshi Tono Kakawari 石井筆子研究：『大日本婦人教育会雑誌』との関わり [The Journal of the Association for the Women's Education in Japan and Fudeko Ishii],” *Junshin Jinbun Kenkyū 純心人文研究 [Humanities Studies, Nagasaki Junshin Catholic University]* 11 (2005): 25–31. Later, they held more frequent, small group classes for music, art, and cooking. They also established a craft school for poor girls, which was short-lived. Original: 婦人教育の普及をはかり、徳操を養成するを以てす (2)

¹⁸² Imai Kanji 今井完治, *Fujin to Shakō 婦人と社交 [Women and Shakō]* (Tokyo: Shūseikan, 1902), 1–11. As I could not locate any other publication written by Imai, it is difficult to get to know his personal background. But this books should have been written to be read by younger women for their self-cultivation. The publisher Sūuseikan published multiple etiquette and textbooks to be used for girls' education. In addition, the foreword of *Women and Shakō* was written by Hatoyama Haruko. She was educated at Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School, the only governmental school where women could receive a university-like education. As an educator, she taught at the normal school and eventually helped to establish the Kyōritsu Girls' Vocational School [*Kyōritsu Joshi Shokugyō Gakkō* 共立女子職業学校] in Tokyo in 1886. In addition, in 1895, Hatoyama started a distant learning program called the Japanese Women's Academic Society [*Dai Nihon Jogakkai* 大日本女学会] to serve rural regions, where opportunities for girls' secondary education were limited. On Hatoyama, see, for example, Mabashi Michiko 真橋美智子, “Hatoyama Harukono Katei Zo to Katei Kyōiku: Wagako No Kyōiku Wo Tegakari to Shite 鳩山春子の家庭像と家庭教育：『我が子の教育』を手がかりとして [Haruko Hatoyama's Image of Home and Home Education: Focusing on Wagako No Kyoiku],” *Nihon Joshi Daigaku Kiyō: Ningen Shakai Gakubu 日本女子大学紀要人間社会学部 [Faculty of Integrated Arts and Social Sciences Journal, Japan Women's University]* 20 (2009): 1–4.

chats among live-in maids and children's plays." By doing so, Imai still expected shakō to be structured to some extent, even if it no longer referred merely to highly stylized social events.¹⁸³

Systematization of activities was also important as part of middle-class women's strategic commitment to home management – an expectation that was increasing as girls' secondary education permeated society. In her 1907 distant learning textbook for women, educator Hatoyama Haruko, who had expressed her agreement with Imai's idea, wrote, "Our shakō is now so spread out, and each opportunity is becoming thin. Even if you set a regular visiting day, you are still busy, especially when you need to receive many guests. I think it is a good idea to establish a club and hold regular tea parties once or twice a month."¹⁸⁴ Making a contrast between this systematic way of socializing and the traditional practice of repeating visits to one another's homes, Hatoyama presented the idea of organizing a group and having regular meetings with the members as a concrete way to give structure to socializing activities. The rhetoric of efficiency would have resonated well with these women, who received more formal education than before and were expected to manage their households with intelligence, rather than passively serving the directions of their male heads of the household.¹⁸⁵

Despite all these commonalities, the member demographics of TEGSAA and JWAE were slightly different, and these distinctions were also reflected in how they organized regular gatherings. Most TEGSAA members tended to come from families called *ryōka* [良家, *lit.* good

¹⁸³ Imai, *Women and Shakō*, 124–45. His explanation of "a socializer [*shakōka* 社交家]" indicates what he specifically imagines shakō to be: "She [a woman socializer] enjoys music with others, leads interesting conversations, drinks and eats when necessary, and creates public occasions for joy and pleasure, such as evening parties, banquets, and garden parties."

¹⁸⁴ Hatoyama Haruko 鳩山春子, *Fujin No Shūyō 婦人の修養 [Women's Self-Cultivation]* (Tokyo: Dai Nihon Jogakkai, 1907), 181. Traditionally in Japan, it was polite to give a visit back once one received a visit. "Visiting day" was a practice of consolidating all one-to-one home visits to a specified day weekly or monthly. For her forward in Imai's book, see Hatoyama, "Jo 序 [Foreword]," in *Women and Shakō*, 1–2.

¹⁸⁵ On the emphasis on the role of mother in the ideal Japanese woman, see Koyama, *The Norm of Good Wife, Wise Mother*, 47–92.

family] – families of means and/or social respectability. The ryōka daughters were typically supposed to get married to men with well-respected, well-paid jobs, such as public and private bureaucrats, corporate managers, teachers, entrepreneurs, and other professionals like lawyers and doctors. The school history indicates that some notable alumnae were indeed married to military and government officials, as well as entrepreneurs. As expected by their parents, most TEGSAA members had become wives and eventually mothers.¹⁸⁶ Thus, the organization’s activities were designed to suit the needs of this demographic. While they agreed to hold the spring gathering at their former school, they tended to look for venues outside of the school for the fall gatherings. As stipulated in Article Nine of the group’s bylaws, the members were allowed to bring children, as well as female acquaintances and friends, to the gatherings.¹⁸⁷ With regular but infrequent gatherings that were family-friendly, the members balanced their duties as wives and mothers with the maintenance of their friendships, even after leaving the school. Perhaps in part because of their infrequency, these gatherings were well attended. For example, four-fifths of the alumnae (eighty members) attended the first spring gathering at the school on

¹⁸⁶ On the alumnae and the beginning of TEGSAA, see Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Ghyakunenshi Hensan Jikkō Īnkai, *A Hundred-Year History of Tōyō Eiwa Girls’ School*, 86–89, 132–64, 628–37. TEGSAA members included women who had graduated, as well as those who had dropped out early from the school. Unlike Tsuda College and JWU, the schools discussed in the previous chapter, TEGS did not focus on higher education. It was a school for girls to prepare themselves for a successful marriage. Most TEGS students dropped out in the middle of the program, once they had a good marriage opportunity. The school history contends that a lot of TEGS alumnae became “*jōryū fujin* 上流婦人 [*lit.* upper-class women]” after they left the school. But the way of life described in the history reads more like that of “*chūryū* 中流 [*lit.* middle class].” Although some alumnae got married to *kazoku* men, who were considered as the upper class in Japan, the others got married to professionals, such as educators, public and private bureaucrats. While the distinction between the upper and middle classes in Meiji Japan is not easy, these wives of professionals were usually considered as part of the emerging middle class. According to women’s historian Barbara Sato’s calculation based on data available from national income tax records, 2.3 percent of the total population was middle-class in 1903, 6.5 percent in 1918, and 10 percent in 1921. Whether middle class or upper class, TEGS alumnae fell into an economically privileged category. See Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan*, 30.

¹⁸⁷ Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, “Bylaws, the Alumnae Association,” 16.

March 26, 1895. Continuing these regular gatherings at a constant pace, by 1937, the membership had grown to approximately 1,300 women.¹⁸⁸

Meanwhile, JWAE members included elite women from aristocratic *kazoku* families, who had learned to practice Western-style *shakō* at Rokumeikan. Immediately after the first gathering at a kindergarten in 1887, the educators who founded JWAE started recruiting these noble women to the association's leadership positions "based on the social conditions of the time."¹⁸⁹ While they did not elaborate on what they meant by "the social conditions of the time," their intentions appear to be two-fold. First, they could have been attempting to promote the legitimacy and visibility of the organization by having *kazoku* women as part of the leadership. As these aristocratic families maintained intimate relationships with and cultural proximity to the imperial family, they were recognized as role models of respectable society in imperial Japan.¹⁹⁰ Asking such women to join the organization could be part of the strategy of JWAE founders to acquire members quickly at the beginning. Second, these aristocratic women might have been seen as cultural resources, who could help to guide and plan women's group activities. In addition to their participation in diplomatic dance parties, *kazoku* women had also organized and led two charity sales at Rokumeikan in 1884 and 1885. As these events were widely reported in newspapers, educated women like the JWAE founders likely knew about these contributions and

¹⁸⁸ For the number of members, see Murakami Hideko 村上秀子, ed., *Shōwa 12 Nen Fujin Nenkan 昭和十二年婦人年鑑 [Women's Yearbook, 1937]* (Tokyo: Tokyo Rengō Fujin Kai, 1937), 158.

¹⁸⁹ Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōiku Kai, *A Fifty-Year Record of Japan Women's Association for Education*, 2.

Original: 当時の世態よりして此種の目的を達する為には高貴婦人の賛助賛同をも求めざるべからず、先ず其方面に向て運動を開始し勧誘する事となる (2)

¹⁹⁰ Takie Sugiyama Lebra, *Above the Clouds: Status Culture of the Modern Japanese Nobility* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 62–105. Even in contemporary Japan, honorary positions in non-profit organizations are often granted to members of the imperial family. Similarly, leadership positions of the women's organizations established in the late 1880s were occupied by members of the imperial family and by *kazoku*.

saw them as working toward the social good.¹⁹¹ They could have expected kazoku women to serve as a source of first-hand experience and knowledge on how women could operate organized activities for the betterment of the nation.

At the founders' requests, Mōri Yasuko and Nabeshima Nagako, who were both from high-ranking families, took the positions of president and vice president, respectively. While we might assume that these noble women joined the group in name only, they indeed participated in the activities regularly. Mori and Nabeshima, who remained its leaders until the 1930s, hosted a number of monthly lectures and other business meetings at their mansions and gardens in Tokyo. Records indicate their attendance at meetings held outside of their own properties as well.¹⁹² Anthropologist Takie Lebra points out that kazoku women did not have opportunities for casual socializing, such as having random chats with neighbors. Their homes were clustered in certain districts in Tokyo, but girls and women could not leave these residences alone, without a chaperon (called an *otsuki* [お付き]). As kazoku women felt restricted by such continuous surveillance, they were actively engaged in cultural activities.¹⁹³ It is not surprising, from that perspective, that women like Mori and Nabeshima were eager to participate in outside gatherings for *shakō*.

As of 1890, twenty out of the 219 members, or about 9 percent of the JWAE membership, were kazoku women.¹⁹⁴ As active participants, noble women had considerable

¹⁹¹ Hashimoto Chikanobu 橋本周延, "Rokumeikan Ni Okeru Kifujin Jizenkai No Zu 於鹿鳴館貴婦人慈善会之図 [Ladies' Charity Party at the Rokumeikan]," Illustration, November 1888, 特子 5 3886, 準特子 5 4152, Waseda University Library, http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/chi05/chi05_3886/.

¹⁹² For the gatherings at the mansions of Mōri and Nabeshima, see the Table 2.2.

¹⁹³ On the lifestyle of kazoku, see Lebra, *Above the Clouds: Status Culture of the Modern Japanese Nobility*, 147–98. Especially on p. 152, Lebra captures the infrequency of casual interactions between kazoku people with others. One of her informant stated, "There was no easy way of having *tsukiai* [interaction] with your neighbors. You couldn't just drop in, saying, 'Hi, here I am!'"

¹⁹⁴ Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōikukai, "Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōikukai Kai'in Seimei Hyō 大日本婦人教育会会員姓名表 [Directory of JWAE Members]," *Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōikukai Zasshi* 大日本婦人教育会雑誌 [Bulletin of Japan Women's Association for Education] 1 (1889): 40–45.

influence on the ways in which JWAE operated. As we will see below, their involvement made the gatherings more exclusive and lavish than those of TEGSAA. As a whole, the group's membership was the largest at the turn of the twentieth century, with 673 members as of 1901. The next year, the general assembly, which focused less on learning and more on entertainment, was attended by 800 participants, including guests. But after the death of President Mōri, the membership declined, and eventually the association merged with other organizations in 1937.¹⁹⁵

Moving around the City to Get Together

As Tables 2.1 and 2.2 show, both TEGSAA and JWAE visited various kinds of places to hold their regular gatherings.¹⁹⁶ Moving around the city to secure meeting venues was unique to

¹⁹⁵ The number of members was 79 when it was merged with two other groups. For the number of members and participants, see Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōiku Kai, *A Fifty-Year Record of Japan Women's Association for Education*, 72–83, 90–91, 460–62.

¹⁹⁶ I compiled the data of JWAE by synthesizing two sources. One is JWAE's fiftieth anniversary memorial book--a chronological collection of their events and activities up until 1937. The other is *Bulletin of Japan Women's Association for Education*--a monthly internal publication to communicate their activities and contents of monthly lectures. Every issue of the *Bulletin* usually has a news section called "Honkai Kiji [本会記事]," where they reported on the activities of the previous month. While the information of the *Bulletin* is usually more detailed, some of the issues are no longer available at any archive in Japan. To complement the information on the missing issues, I referred to the memorial book. Even with the cross-referencing, the resultant table still misses some information. For example, the first issue of *Bulletin* lists only two regular gatherings, the first in February 1888 and the eighth in November 1888. As JWAE held regular gatherings monthly and took a break in summer (July and August), it is very likely that they also held regular gatherings in March to June, as well as in September and October. Yet, as neither of the *Bulletin* nor the memorial book provides the information on the second to seventh gatherings in 1888, it is impossible to account for the details of the gatherings. For this reason, we should consider this table not as a comprehensive list of their gatherings. In reality, JWAE must have held more gatherings than those listed on Table 2.2. For the memorial book, see Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōiku Kai, *A Fifty-Year Record of Japan Women's Association for Education*. For the issues that indicate missing meetings, see Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōikukai, "Honkai Kiji 本会記事 [News of the Association]," *Bulletin of Japan Women's Association for Education* 1 (1888): 39–45. I collected the data of TEGSAA's gatherings from their annual bulletins, which are archived at TEGS's school archive called the historical material room. At the school's archive, I collected the news section called "Honkai Kiji 本会記事" in all available issues. Upon data collection, I followed the regulations and restrictions of the archive. Because of data protection policy, I was not allowed to collect bulletin pages that contain personally identifiable information, such as member directories. In addition, the issues between 1911 and 1919 are missing in the archive and no other archive in Japan holds TEGSAA bulletins. As such, Table 2.1 shows TEGSAA's activities up until 1910. TEGS has edited and published their school histories six times, on their fiftieth, seventieth, eightieth, a hundredth, a hundred and tenth, a hundred and twentieth anniversaries. Although these school histories are valuable to understand TEGSAA's relationships with the school, the association's activities are abbreviated in the histories. For this reason, Table 2.1 relies mostly on the bulletin information. For the information of TEGS archive, see Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin 東洋英和女学院, "Shiryō Shitsu 史料室 [Historical Material Room]," *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin 東洋英和女学院 [Tōyō Eiwa Girls' School]*, accessed August 19, 2018, <https://www.toyoeiwa.ac.jp/archives/>. For the

women's organizations. During this period, men's shakō was centered around distinct social organizations called clubs [*kurabu* 倶楽部], which were modeled after gentlemen's clubs in the United Kingdom and the United States. Early examples of men's clubs included *Kōjunsha* [交詢社] and Tokyo Club [*Tokyo Kurabu* 東京倶楽部], which were established in 1880 and 1884, respectively.¹⁹⁷ Similar to Western gentlemen, Japanese men nurtured their professional and political networks at these clubs. Between and after working hours, members had meals together and amused themselves with recreational activities, along with having serious or trivial discussions. The majority of clubs were run and/or supported by corporations, professional organizations, and university alumni associations.¹⁹⁸

Major men's clubs tended to establish clubhouses in the early stages of their development, as member-exclusive gathering spaces. For example, one journalist reported on thirteen men's clubs in Tokyo, including professional, political, school alumni, and local organizations, in his 1934 book entitled *Tour of Clubs*. All of the thirteen clubs either purchased or rented their own spaces in the first few years after their establishment. In addition, the

publications by TEGS, see Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Gojūnen Shi Hensan Īnkai 東洋英和女学校五十年史編纂委員会, ed., *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Gojūnen Shi* 東洋英和女学校五十年史 [*A Fifty-Year History of Tōyō Eiwa Girls' School*] (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō, 1934); Inoue Ken'nosuke 井上健之助, ed., *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Shichijūnen Shi* 東洋英和女学院七十年誌 [*Memorial Book of Tōyō Eiwa Girls' School Seventieth Anniversary*] (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin, 1954); Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin 東洋英和女学院, ed., *Shashin de Miru Hachijū Nen* 写真で見る80年 [*Looking Back on to the Eighty Years with Photographs*] (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin, 1965); Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Ghyakunenshi Hensan Jikkō Īnkai, *A Hundred-Year History of Tōyō Eiwa Girls' School*; Hyakunijūnen Shi Hensan Īnkai 120年史編纂委員会, *Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin Hyakuniūnen Shi* 東洋英和女学院120年史 [*History of Tōyō Eiwa Jogakuin 1884–2004*].

¹⁹⁷ Kōjunsha is an alumni association of Keiō Gijuku. Tokyo Club's membership was dominated by kazoku. On the clubs, see Kōjunsha 交詢社, ed., *Kōjunsha Hyakunenshi* 交詢社百年史 [*A Hundred Years of Kōjunsha*] (Tokyo: Kōjunsha, 1983); Tokyo kurabu 東京倶楽部, ed., *Tokyo Kurabu Monogatari: Jentoruman No Hyakuniū Nen* 東京倶楽部物語：ジェントルマンの120年 [*Stories of Tokyo Club: A Hundred and Twenty Years of Gentlemen*] (Tokyo: Tokyo kurabu, 2004).

¹⁹⁸ Hashizume Shin'ya 橋爪紳也, *Kurabu to Nihonjin: Hito Ga Atsumaru Kuūkan No Bunkashi* 倶楽部と日本人：人が集まる空間の文化史 [*Clubs and Japanese People: A Cultural History of Gathering Spaces*] (Kyoto: Gakugei Shuppansha, 1989), 45–53.

centrality of clubhouses is reflected in the changing uses of the term *kurabu* – a phonetic representation of the English term “club” – in Japanese. According to cultural historian Hashidume Shin’ya, this term initially referred to the organizations. But by the mid Meiji period, the term also started referring to the physical clubhouses where these organizations met.¹⁹⁹ With such a physical foothold, men had less of a need to move around the city to socialize.

Unlike their male counterparts, it took time for women’s organizations to gain access to dedicated spaces for gatherings, and some organizations could never afford such spaces. When the 1918 *Directory for Women’s Shakō* was published, some of the thirty-seven women’s organizations listed were already more than two decades old. Yet, half of them were still housed in other institutions, such as temples, schools, hospitals, municipal offices, or even members’ homes.²⁰⁰ While JWAE was one of the few women’s organizations that managed to secure an exclusive gathering space early in the twentieth century, it still took them almost two decades to do so. After holding small offices primarily for administrative purposes, JWAE finally managed to raise the funds to build their first clubhouse in 1909. However, JWAE could not hold on to this clubhouse; after less than ten years, they had to part with this space because the maintenance costs significantly affected their operational budget.²⁰¹ It took TEGSAA much longer to have a dedicated gathering space; the organization was granted the use of a room in the school only in

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 45.

²⁰⁰ Nihon Fujō Tsūshinsha, *Directory for Women’s Shakō, March 1918*. Even for the organizations that listed independent addresses, the spaces were likely to be administrative offices rather than full-service clubhouses, where dining and other recreational facilities were provided.

²⁰¹ On the JWAE’s clubhouse, see Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōikukai, “Kaihō 会報 [News of the Association],” *Bulletin of Japan Women’s Association for Education* 160 (1903): 45–48; Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōikukai, “Kaihō 会報 [News of the Association],” *Bulletin of Japan Women’s Association for Education* 161 (1904): 46–48; Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōikukai, “Kaihō 会報 [News of the Association],” *Bulletin of Japan Women’s Association for Education* 174 (1905): 50–51; Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōikukai, “Kaihō 会報 [News of the Association],” *Bulletin of Japan Women’s Association for Education* 198 (1909): 30–35, 41–42.

1933, when TEGS constructed a new building.²⁰² Until they established these exclusive spaces, members of both JWAE and TEGSAA had to move around the city to identify and secure access to spaces that could accommodate their gathering crowds.

Searching for Venues to Gather: The Case for Using Domestic and Familiar Spaces

The women from TEGSAA and JWAE shared some patterns in their choices of gathering venues, which show an incremental expansion away from domestic spaces and into other spaces in the city. Urban open spaces, including parks, were one of the three kinds of spaces that both associations visited for gatherings multiple times. Before they started meeting at parks, however, they repurposed member residences or holiday homes [*bessō* 別荘], as well as other spaces with which they were already familiar, for gatherings. In terms of the logistics required to gain access to a gathering space, it is not difficult to imagine that using member-owned properties was one of the least complicated options for these women. Ideologically, meeting at home must have been seen as the least problematic, too. In addition to the strong association between women and home, as I discussed earlier, there was an established practice of using domestic spaces for the maintenance of social relationships. Since some middle-class women had already started organizing regular meeting days or tea parties to host multiple visitors, as Hatoyama suggested in her book, holding a larger gathering at home must have felt like a relatively natural transition. Such public uses of supposedly private spaces of the home could also meet the expectations that the male intellectuals like Tokutomi and Imai promoted: Women could become more comfortable in front of and with non-family members, while serving their domestic duties as

²⁰² TEGSAA reported on the completion of the construction in the 1933 issue of the *Bulletin*. See Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, “Keijiban!! 掲示板!! [Bulletin Board!!],” *Dōsōkai Kaihō* 同窓会会報 [*Alumnae Association Bulletin*] (December 1933): 6.

Original: 新築校舎内に同窓会室が出来ました。皆様がクラス会に、講習会に、研究会に、座談会に、何なりと思ひ思ひに御利用下さることをお待ちします。

wives and mothers. In short, using members' homes for gatherings suited such ambivalent, transitional ideals about Japanese womanhood in the late Meiji period.

However, the use of these domestic spaces was also limited; getting together as a crowd required a physical area that was large enough to accommodate the members' bodies and activities. While the number of the participants varied, regular gatherings of TEGSAA and JWAE were generally attended by significant crowds – forty to eighty participants in the case of TEGSAA, and between thirty to seven hundred participants for JWAE. Since the JWAE members' homes, especially the mansions and gardens of the *kazoku* women members, tended to have more space, JWAE used homes more frequently than TEGSAA did. Unlike the homes of ordinary people, aristocratic homes were already designed to receive multiple guests in the late Meiji period. A *kazoku* family estate typically included a Western-style house [*yōkan* 洋館], a building used primarily for public purposes, including receiving the Emperor's visits. The day-to-day activities were conducted in a separate Japanese-style house, called a *nihon kan* [日本館], on the same estate. In a Western-style house, on the other hand, there would be a parlor and/or party room, which was sufficiently spacious to accommodate a dance party.²⁰³ Either way, noble women would have had less trouble hosting large crowds, even up to seven hundred participants. JWAE's active leaders, like Mōri and Nagashima, often offered to host the gatherings at their own places.

While TEGSAA also used the members' residences for gatherings, they did so much less frequently than JWAE did; in fact, only two gatherings were held at members' homes. One was

²⁰³ On *kazoku* mansions, see Jordan Sand, "Was Meiji Taste in Interiors 'Orientalist'?" *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 8, no. 3 (2000): 637–73; Awano Takashi 粟野隆, "Meiji Ki Tokyo No Kindai Teitaku Kūkan Ni Okeru Yōhū Teien No Yōshiki to Kūkan 明治期東京の近代邸宅空間における洋風庭園の様式と空間 [Style and Space of Semi-Western Gardens in Modernized Residential Spaces in the Meiji Tokyo]," *Randosukēpu Kenkyū* ランドスケープ研究 [*Journal of the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture*] 68, no. 5 (2005): 381–84.

the first reunion outside of the school, which was held in 1896 at the vacation home of an alumna named Mrs. Watanabe and attended by seventy-seven members. Although there is no visual or textual material detailing the appearance of this vacation home, both the location (“In front of Meguro Station”) and the planned activities (“walking around the garden as they liked”) suggest that the home likely provided more space than a typical house in Tokyo.²⁰⁴ At the end of the nineteenth century, the district around Meguro Station was just being developed as a residential neighborhood. Formerly used as agricultural fields, only a small number plots would have been sold around the year before the reunion (Figure 2.1).²⁰⁵ While we do not know the exact address of the vacation home, maps from that year show several spacious plots “in front of Meguro Station,” one of which was likely to be Mrs. Watanabe's. In addition, the activity of “walking around the garden as they liked” indicates that the site was spacious enough to accommodate a large outdoor area. Nonetheless, owning such a vacation home might not have been too common to TEGSAA members, depending on their husbands’ jobs. Thus, rather than using members’ residences for gatherings, TEGSAA tended to look for other venues.

In addition to the members’ homes, the organizations used spaces that were already familiar, including the school, in TEGSAA’s case, and facilities built and maintained specifically for aristocratic families, in JWAE’s case. Because some or all members of these groups had already established their uses of these spaces for different purposes, acquiring permission to use them for gatherings was likely to be easier. While these conditions contributed to making these

²⁰⁴ Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, “Honkai Kiji 本会記事 [News of the Association],” *Tōyō Eiwa Girls’ School Alumnae Association Bulletin* (December 1896): 1–2.

²⁰⁵ See figure 2.1 to compare 1881 and 1909 maps around Meguro Station. They show the expansion of residential areas. Maps can be located on Tokyo To Shinagawa Ku 東京都品川区, ed., *Shinagawa Ku Shi: Shiryōhen Bessatsu Chizu Tōkei Hyō 品川区史：資料編別冊地図統計表 [History of Shinagawa Ward: Maps and Statistics Appendices]* (Tokyo: Tokyo To Shinagawa Ku, 1972), 6–9.

spaces already favorable to the women, the organizations also actively made efforts to reinterpret and expand the meanings and functions of these spaces.

JWAE frequently used Rokumeikan (later known as Kazoku Hall), as well as Peeresses' School Kindergarten, for their gatherings. After the government-led diplomatic initiative fell apart at Rokumeikan, a group of aristocrats had purchased the guesthouse to use it for their own gatherings and events.²⁰⁶ Already familiar with attending social events in this space, as discussed earlier, it is not surprising that the kazoku women in JWAE's leadership looked for a gathering space in the guesthouse. Similarly, Peeresses' School Kindergarten was an obvious choice, as the facility had been established in 1885 specifically for daughters of kazoku families.²⁰⁷ Like in the case of using their own members' homes, JWAE was able to capitalize on the resources of these elite families to secure gathering spaces.

Even though these places were indeed familiar to JWAE leaders, it required some effort to repurpose the spaces for the use of gatherings. For example, the exclusive Rokumeikan had to be made open to the general population, since non-kazoku members regularly attended JWAE meetings. While we do not have a complete list of attendees for each gathering, the numbers show that there were non-kazoku members in attendance. For example, while twenty of JWAE members were kazoku women as of 1889, the regular gathering at Rokumeikan in February 1892 was attended by forty to fifty members; in other words, more than twenty non-kazoku members participated. Thus, holding regular gatherings at Rokumeikan entailed non-kazoku women entering otherwise kazoku-exclusive spaces. To legitimize this use, the understanding of these

²⁰⁶ On Rokumeikan and Kazoku Hall, see Kasumi Kaikan 霞会館, ed., *Kazoku Kaikan Shi 華族会館史 [History of Kazoku Kaikan]* (Kyoto: Kasumi Kaikan Kyōto Shisho, 1966), 293–471.

²⁰⁷ On Peeresses' School and kazoku daughters, see Kazoku Shiryō Kenkyū Kai 華族史料研究会, ed., *Kazoku Reijōtachi No Taishō Shōwa 華族令嬢たちの大正・昭和 [Taishō and Shōwa Periods of Kazoku Daughters]* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2011).

kazoku-exclusive spaces needed to be updated. By holding repeated gatherings in these elite spaces, JWAE might have contributed to blurring the boundaries between people from different social statuses.

Using the space of the kindergarten for JWAE gatherings required even more innovation. While a typical mother from the middle or lower class might be actively engaged in the activities at her child's kindergarten, Peeresses' School Kindergarten was not a place that kazoku women visited on an everyday basis. According to Lebra's ethnographic account, mothers from aristocratic families were only minimally involved in day-to-day parenting tasks. For example, they did not take their children or pick them up from school on their own; this was the work of the attendants that followed each member of the family.²⁰⁸ Thus, meeting at the kindergarten to socialize was not an activity that these women were already casually engaging in. Like meetings in other venues, these gatherings had to be pre-planned, and both kazoku and non-kazoku women had to go out of the home specifically for the purpose of meeting there.

Meanwhile, TEGSAA frequently used their alma mater as a gathering venue. Because TEGSAA was an association clearly affiliated with TEGS, it seems natural for them to seek a space for gathering at the school. To welcome new graduates into the alumnae association, they even agreed to hold the annual spring reunion at the school on the day of the graduation ceremony. However, their access to the space was still limited, and TEGSAA did not have full freedom to use the space anytime they wanted. When holding a gathering, they had to use existing rooms, notably the room referred as the "Western-style guest room [*seiyō kyakuma* 西洋客間]." As the name suggests, this room was designed to receive guests at the school, not designed for gatherings. As such, TEGSAA needed to coordinate with the school's schedule in

²⁰⁸ Lebra, *Above the Clouds: Status Culture of the Modern Japanese Nobility*, 155–64.

advance. For example, one year TEGSAA could not hold the spring reunion gathering because the schoolhouse was being remodeled.²⁰⁹ They had to wait until 1933 to have a dedicated alumnae room in the school, to which they could have exclusive access anytime they wanted it.

Women Moving into Urban Spaces: Ordering Unruly Parks

The two associations started using open spaces in the city, like parks and gardens, to varied degrees, in the 1890s (1899 for TEGSAA and 1893 for JWAE). While their early uses of domestic and familiar spaces had also required some creative reinterpretations, deciding to hold their gatherings in public spaces required an even bigger leap. Given that parks had started being used as sites for political movements and were seen as risky, these urban open spaces might have been seen as unapproachable for respectable women like the members of TEGSAA and JWAE, at least upon first glance. However, as we will see, their uses of parks for gatherings emerged at the intersection between the authorities' intentions to use women as a civilizing presence within parks and the distinct spatial cultures that the two associations had already cultivated.

As noted earlier, because these spaces had long been recognized as sites of potential danger, the government sought ways to mitigate risks even before officially opening parks to the public. One of the government's strategies was to construct a more orderly space to keep the delinquents out. In the 1873 national decree to establish parks, we can see how the national government was already intervening to limit how people used the open spaces. The decree reads,

To the prefectures, re: selection of the sites for the establishment of parks in the three prefectures [Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka] and other populated areas, there are places that crowds traditionally visited and enjoyed walking around, such as the places of outstanding landscapes and historic sites of great figures (e.g. the precincts of Konryūsan Sensoji and Tōeizan Kaneiji etc. in Tokyo [...]), as well as non-taxable sites with

²⁰⁹ See Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, "Honkai Kiji 本会記事 [News of the Association]," *Tōyō Eiwa Girls' School Alumnae Association Bulletin* (December 1900): 1–2.

Original: 先例年の如く春期同窓会を開くべき筈なりしも同校新築中とて心ならずも春期の会合を見合せ新築落成開校式と共に此月此日同窓会を開くに至れり

undefined ownership. These sites should be spaces that all people can enjoy for good, and thus should be established as parks. Every prefecture must select and survey such sites, and then submit the site selection with site drawings to the Ministry of Finance for approval.²¹⁰

The landscape historian Shirahata interprets this decree as the national government's strategy for managing the culture of outdoor pleasure, which people had already established without the institution of parks, from a top-down perspective. Instead of proposing the physical construction of new parks, the national government made the prefectural governments identify the sites that had traditionally been visited by people, in order to establish administrative control over them. By approving, rejecting, and sometimes ranking the selected sites, the government demonstrated their views on what was appropriate and inappropriate. As Shirahata argues, through such authoritative actions, the national government began training Japanese people to view the existing places of outdoor pleasure in a particular way.²¹¹ In response to this decree, Tokyo selected five sites, including the suggestions that were given: the precincts of Konryūsan Sensoji and Tōeizan Kaneiji. If the candidate sites were not owned by the prefecture yet, the national government expropriated the specified sites for park use and consigned the management to the prefecture. As a result, parks were technically established as properties of the national government, but their management was conducted by municipal governments.²¹²

²¹⁰ Naikaku Hōmukyoku 内閣官報局, "Dajō-Kan Futatsu Dai 16 Gō 太政官布達第 16 号 [The 16th Decree, Council of State]," in *Hōrei Zensho Meiji Roku Nen 法令全書 明治六年 [Encyclopedia of Laws, 1874]* (Tokyo: Naikaku Kanpō kyoku, 1878), 13.

Original: 府県へ○公園設置ニ付地所選択ノ件

三府ヲ始人民輻輳ノ地ニシテ古来ノ勝区名人ノ旧跡等は迄群集遊觀ノ場所（東京ニ於テハ金龍山淺草寺東叡山寛永寺境内ノ類、京都ニ於テハ八坂社清水ノ境内嵐山ノ類總テ社寺境内除地或ハ公有地ノ類）従前高外除地ニ属セル分ハ永ク万人偕樂ノ地トシ公園ト可被相定ニ付府県ニ於テ右地所ヲ択ヒ其景況巨細取調図面相添ヘ大蔵省ヘ可伺出事

²¹¹ Shirahata, "Okugai Kūkan No Kō to Shi: Kindai Nihon No Kōen Shi Kara 屋外空間の公と私：近代日本の公園史から [Public and Private in Outdoor Spaces: The Case of Parks in Modern Japan]," in *Kindai Nihon No Kō to Shi, Kan to Min 近代日本の公と私、官と民 [Public and Private, Government and People in Japan]*, ed. Markus Rüttermann マルクス・リュッターマン Inoki Takenori 猪木武徳 (Tokyo: NTT Shuppan, 2014), 365–83.

²¹² Satō, *A History of the Development of Parks and Green Spaces in Japan, Vol.1*, 78.

Soon, entrepreneurs started making proactive proposals to gain permission to be involved in the park management. For instance, landscape historians highlight the importance of one proposal, made by an entrepreneur named Enomoto Rokubē to the municipal government of Tokyo, as a predecessor of park regulations. The entrepreneur's proposal reads,

In principle, parks must be always clean so that children, elders, and women can ramble around at ease and in leisure. Let's remove old tea shops, construct proper buildings in the right places, and rent the spaces [in the buildings] out to selected industries, so that children, elders, and women can enjoy taking a walk outside while heading toward their destination in the city. Let's prohibit alcohol consumption in the parks.²¹³

Although this proposal itself was not executed, it encapsulated the ideal of order as a strategy to turn religious precincts into modern parks. The entrepreneur suggested, for example, moving eating and drinking establishments, where people often became intoxicated, into a designated district as a way to allow children, elders, and women to walk around the park more freely. He also recommended removing temporary stalls, selecting reputable businesses to operate in and near the parks, and organizing the businesses into "proper buildings," as another strategy to achieve safety for visitors. In the eyes of progressives of the time like Enomoto, these strategies of spatial organization could make the spaces "clean [*seiketsu* 清潔]," and have a civilizing effect on the park sites.

²¹³ Enomoto Rokubē 榎本六兵衛, "Ueno Kōen Keiei Ukeoi Shutsugan 上野公園経営請負出願 [Request for the Privilege to Manage Ueno Park]," in *Tokyo Shi Shikō Yūen Hen Dai Yon* 東京市史稿 (遊園編) 第四 [*Historical Documents of Tokyo City: Leisure Spaces, Part 4*], ed. Tokyo Shiyakusho 東京市役所 (Tokyo: Tokyo Shiyakusho, 1932), 545–50. Dated November 1873–February 1874.

Original: 是迄山内二取建有之候葭簀張掛茶屋之類は一時取拂被仰付候様仕度、然る後改而適宜之場所のミ貸渡候而は、自儘之家作いたし、自然不體裁に相成可申哉二付、園中相當之修造いたし、業體相撰ミ候上貸渡可申候、且遊覽之もの持參は格別、園中二而酒肉を賣候儀は相禁し申度候。

Landscape historians have brought up this proposal as one of the first park regulation efforts in the following articles and a book: Shinji Isoya 進士五十八 Tonsho Hiroyuki 頓所弘行, "Meiji Ki Tokyo No Kōenchi Ni Okeru Inshoku Shisetsu No Shiteki Kōsatsu 明治期・東京の公園地における飲食施設の史的考察 [A Historical Study on the Facilities for Eating and Drinking in the Public Parks of Tokyo in the Meiji Period]," *Zōen Zasshi* 造園雑誌 [*Journal of the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architects*] 51, no. 5 (1987): 37–42; Kaneko, "Foundamental Study on Transition of Management Institution for Public Parks," 317–22; Kobayashi Yasushige 小林安茂, *Ueno Kōen* 上野公園 [*Ueno Park*] (Tokyo: Tokyō To Kōen Kyōkai, 1994), 36.

As suggested, most parks did eventually remove temporary stalls and started vetting in-park businesses more closely. For example, in the 1873 “Rules for Park Use,” the office of Tokyo Prefecture allowed renting the in-park plots only to “businesses that are not dirty.” According to the terms and conditions, tenants had to agree to clean up their plots and surrounding environs every night after visitors left and to report to the management.²¹⁴ In addition, the rent of the in-park plots tended to be more expensive than those in normal commercial districts, which prevented disreputable businesses from operating there. The parks then paid for maintenance and improvements to their spaces with the rent revenue.²¹⁵

By way of an example, in Ueno Park, spatial regulations were both physical and behavioral. For instance, the management issued their “Regulations in Ueno Park” in 1876, which prohibited delinquent behaviors, such as harassing others who were walking around, littering, begging, tree climbing, and sleeping on benches or on the grass. The regulations suggest that, while the park was a public space, this did not mean that people could do anything they liked there. Rather, as a place where people from different walks of life visited, one should neither bother others nor perform unexpected activities.²¹⁶ Going even further, in the 1891

²¹⁴ Tokyo Fuchiji Ōkubo Ichiō 東京府知事大久保一翁, “Kōen Toriatsukai Kokoroe 公園取扱心得 [Rules for Park Use],” in *Historical Documents of Tokyo City: Leisure Spaces, Part 4*, ed. Tokyo Shiyakusho, 518–19. Dated May 24, 1873.

Original: 公園取扱心得

一、公園中ニ於テ一時展観物ヲ置キ、或ハ百花草木ヲ植へ、遊人休息ノ爲メ出茶屋ヲ設クルノ類、其他見苦シカラサル商業ハ、現場見分ノ上地所貸渡、午後五時限り渡世差許候事。但、竈ヲ築立、住居スル儀不相成事。

²¹⁵ Tahata Kenzō 田畑謙蔵 Nishimura Katsuzō 西村勝三, “Kōenchi No Gi Ni Tsuki Ukagai 公園地の儀に付伺 [Inquiry about the Park Site Case],” in *Historical Documents of Tokyo City: Leisure Spaces, Part 4*, ed. Tokyo Shiyakusho, 646. Dated May 1874.

Original: 右殘半ヲ盡ク高除地ト致シ、酒店貸座敷體ノ營業ヲ差許シ、屋税地税ヲ以テ右入費ニ充テ候外無之ト存

²¹⁶ Ordered by Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department in 1883, all parks started displaying the rules that Ueno Park had already implemented in 1876. See Keishi Sōkan Kabayama Sukenori 警視總監樺山資紀, “Kōen Keiji Seitei 公園揭示制定 [Displaying the Park Rules],” in *Historical Documents of Tokyo City: Leisure Spaces, Part 4*, ed. Tokyo Shiyakusho, 785–87. Dated May 1, 1883.

“Rules for Rest Stalls in Ueno Park,” the management specified the number, dimensions, forms, and locations of temporary stalls in the park.²¹⁷ In 1908, they revised these regulations further with their “Rules for Ueno Park Users,” which required visitors to “respect the park’s reputation and scenic beauty.”²¹⁸ The park management did their best to monitor what could happen in these sites, by combining regulations on both the built environment and on acceptable behaviors.

On the one hand, the regulations were designed to exclude people who did not fit into the state elites’ ideal. As we have seen in the rules above, beggars, who attempted to obtain money from other visitors, were not even allowed entry to the park. In-park businesses were required to obtain a permit for occupation and operation. As we have seen in the other set of rules, only the tenants who were able to keep the space clean and tidy as well as capable of paying the high rent were allowed to operate. In Ueno Park, stalls needed to follow physical requirements as well. As more elite businesses filled the parks, these spaces became more unavailable to visitors with little financial and cultural capital. In his 1899 report about in-park establishments, one magazine editor captured the moment when a visitor was pushed out of a supposedly public space. He

²¹⁷ “Ueno Kōen Kyūkeijo Yatai Kisoku 上野公園休憩所據臺規則 [Rules for Rest Stalls in Ueno Park]” (1891) cited in Kaneko, “A Foundmental Study on Transition of Management Institution for Public Parks,” 319. In addition, in 1876, the President of the National Museum in Ueno Park already ordered the removal of all stalls [*kakejaya* 掛茶屋] in the park site in order to “clean up the ugliness (醜態を掃除する).” See Machida Hisanari 町田久成, “Ueno Kōen Kakejaya Tekkyo 上野公園掛茶屋撤去 [Removal of Stalls in Ueno Park],” in *Historical Documents of Tokyo City: Leisure Spaces, Part 4*, ed. Tokyo Shiyakusho, 827–29. Dated February 14, 1876.

²¹⁸ “Ueno Kōenchi Shakuyōsha Kokoroe 上野公園地地所借用者心得 [Rules for Ueno Park Users]” (1908) cited in Kaneko, “A Foundmental Study on Transition of Management Institution for Public Parks,” 321. As a basis, a tentative set of rules for in-park business operators had already been established in 1878. In particular, Article Two of the tentative rules reads: “Because parks are the sites for ordinary people to enjoy leisure, buildings should stay away from insanity as much as possible. They should also not hinder scenic beauty.” See Takada Shōkichi 高田正吉, “Kōen Dekasegi Kari Jōrei Seitei 公園出稼仮条例制定 [Establishing a Tentative Set of Rules for in-Park Business Operations],” in *Tokyo Shi Shikō Yūen Hen Dai Go 東京市史稿 (遊園編) 第五 [Historical Documents of Tokyo City: Leisure Spaces, Part 5]*, ed. Tokyo Shiyakusho 東京市役所 (Tokyo: Tokyo Shiyakusho, 1933), 150–59. Dated October 2, 1878.

Original: 本應ニ於テハ詮議ノ上、実地差支エナク且ツ園内ノ繁盛ヲ助クヘキモノト思量スレハ、相当ノ借地ヲ許可スヘキ事。

但公園ハ衆庶快樂ノ場所ナルヲ以、建家ハ成丈ケ不潔ヲ厭ヒ、景色ヲ不損様注意可致、但建物落成ノ上ハ掛リ官員ノ検査ヲ可受事。

wrote, “Businesses that receive special treatments operate their restaurants as if that [the park] is their own place. Once one takes a seat, tea is immediately delivered. A poor person cannot even sit there peacefully.” The editor continued, “But nobody has yet been mad at the economic success of such businesses. I do not expect changes in the rent for in-park establishments. First and foremost, I demand changes in the ways people use the park spaces.”²¹⁹ This editor recognized that the park management’s financial reliance on these businesses drove the exclusion of people without means. Making the space *available* to all people did not automatically mean that the space was *accessible* to everybody. Rather, the space became more friendly to people with good manners and less accessible to those who could not behave in specific ways.

Elite women, such as those in women’s organizations, tended to be the beneficiaries of these regulations. Such peacekeeping or policing initiatives offered them an environment where they could relatively safe from disturbances, on their way to and from as well as within the parks. This was especially the case for women who had the means to pay for the already-vetted businesses, which could secure a safer environment that was filled only with visitors from a similar social ranking. The certified status of these establishments was particularly important for women, as it distinguished them from places in the former religious districts, which tended to be surrounded by so-called pleasure quarters [*yūkaku* 遊郭]. These segregated districts, which included licensed brothels as well as unlicensed brothels disguised as drinking establishments, were traditionally concentrated around popular religious institutions. As the national government

²¹⁹ Anon., “Kōen 公園 [Park],” *Jogaku Zasshi* 女学雑誌 [*Magazine of Girls’ Learning*] 177 (1889): 55–56. Original: 公園の清不清、快不快は、*に大ひに市民の氣風に関係あるのみならず、亦以て其氣風如何んを検知するの標準たるべし、東京市中の諸公園には、無用なる官舎らしきものの造立せられたるもあり、周辺に馬場を造りて全く風景を殺したるもあり、特待せらるる料理茶屋が我物顔に店を出すもあり、腰を掛くると其儘茶持来りて貧民に安座せしめざるものあり、而して此等の景況を見て怒るものを未だ嘗てあらず、故に吾人は公園使用料の改良を望まずして、先づ其使用法の改良あらんを請ふ、上野を見よ、浅草を見よ、芝を見よ、風景尤佳、幽遼尤極、の処ろに至りて、抑そも人の遊ぶものと家の立つものを、其の何れか多きを問へ。

attempted to get rid of the official system of prostitution, elites, men and women alike, condemned prostitutes by calling them “dirty-job women [*shūgyō fu* 醜業婦].” Having the vetted establishments as options made the parks into a morally safe space for women.²²⁰ This wholesome image of parks continued to strengthen over the coming decades. In 1921, Tamura Tsuyoshi, a famous forestry professor who taught landscape design, even considered the level of women’s presence as an indicator of democracy in the parks. In a professional magazine called *Gardens*, Tamura wrote, “We can see how democratic a park design is by assessing how it is suited for women’s uses. Women are a barometer that shows the value of the park.”²²¹ The new spatial order, which TEGSAA and JWAE participated in, was thus specifically designed to resolve any potential conflicts that might arise when different social groups came to a single place, by minimizing unexpected or uncontrollable behaviors and encounters.

Following Distinct Spatial Cultures in the Park: Gathering at Sangitei and Seiyōken

The gatherings that I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter encapsulate the distinct spatial cultures of TEGSAA and JWAE, which influenced the ways that they used the space of the park. The two associations met at Ueno Park around the same time, but they used different in-park establishments. For instance, TEGSAA’s gathering took place on October 11, 1902. More than fifty members gathered at Sangitei, a tea shop in Ueno Park (Figure 2.2). At this regular biannual reunion, many of the members were accompanied by their children. They had a business meeting and lunch at the tea shop, then strolled around other park facilities, including

²²⁰ On the initiative to eliminate pleasure quarters, see Obinata Sumio 大日方純夫, *Nihon Kindai Kokka No Seiritsu to Keisatsu* 日本近代国家の成立と警察 [*The Establishment of Modern Nation State in Japan and the Police*] (Azekura Shobō, 1992), 279–305.

²²¹ Tamura Tsukoshi 田村剛, “Fujin to Kōen 婦人と公園 [Women and Parks],” *Teien* 庭園 [*Gardens*] 3, no. 11 (1921): 454–55.

Original: 公園が民衆的に出来ているかどうかは、いつでも婦人の利用に適しているかどうかを見れば分る。そこで婦人は公園の価値を測る尺度のやうなものである This issue is a special issue on parks.

the zoo and cyclorama (a cylindrical platform where people could enjoy panoramic images), and chatted with friends. Their scheduled activities ended around 4:00 PM. Two of the members came all the way from Yokohama, a city that was more than twenty miles away from the park.²²² The association's bulletin reported, "We are very glad and should celebrate that the members eagerly participate in every meeting to maintain our old friendship. We hope more members can join the gathering to build up our pure relationships."²²³

JWAE's gathering took place about fifteen months later. At 4:00 PM on January 18, 1904, members gathered at Seiyōken, a renowned Western-style restaurant in the same park (Figure 2.3). This gathering was a joint meeting with three other women's organizations – Orient Women's Association [*Tōyō Fujin Kai* 東洋婦人会], Girls' Education Association [*Joshi Kyōiku Kai* 女子教育会], and Japan Women's Study Association [*Dai Nihon Jogakkai* 大日本女学会]. All together, more than forty people participated. It was a farewell dinner party for JWAE member Yasui Tetsu, a schoolteacher who was going to Thailand to establish a school for daughters of Thai aristocrats. Because this was a party to celebrate the honor of being selected to serve on this national educational project, a few male government officials and intellectuals specializing in education joined this party as well. Little details about the program are known, but according to a later report, it was a "gorgeous party."²²⁴

²²² These out-of-city participants must have taken train from Yokohama. The reports of other meetings at public gardens and parks indicated train as their primary means of transportation to the gathering venues. For example, the report of a 1901 meeting at Omori Hakkeien, a public garden in Tokyo, stated, "as the trains arrived at the station, our sisters (fellow alumnae), accompanying their dear children, joined the meeting one after another (2)." See, for example, Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, "Honkai Kiji 本会記事 [News of the Association]," *Tōyō Eiwa Girls' School Alumnae Association Bulletin* (December 1901): 2–3.

Original: 郊外運動には此上なき好日なりき、然れは汽車の着する毎に諸姉には愛児方を携へられて続々来会せらる (2)

²²³ Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, "Honkai Kiji 本会記事 [News of the Association]," *Tōyō Eiwa Girls' School Alumnae Association Bulletin* (November 1902): 1–3.

²²⁴ Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōikukai, "Kaihō 会報 [News of the Association]," 1904, 46–48.

Examining the two in-park establishments, Sangitei and Seiyōken, in detail can reveal some of the reasons why both TEGSAA and JWAE ended up in Ueno Park around this time. While the two dining establishments were geographically very close to each other, they targeted different clientele. These differences are articulated in the descriptions of the establishments in a 1896 special issue of a magazine called *Culture Graphic*, which focused on Ueno Park. Sangitei, the tea shop where TEGSAA met, was described as follows:

By the side of Suribachi Hill, there is a small mossy hill. On the hill, a humble hedge is installed. Visitors are left to make their way there by small steps made of stumps and bunched up roots and trunks. There, cherry blossoms, pines, maples, and azaleas are planted. The trees cross their branches each other, which looks like they are inviting people who want to have a rest. The shop is very elegantly built. The building is built in a semi-Western and semi-Japanese style, but not vulgar. There are a few tables installed, where coffee and lemon soda are served. Across the footpath, another shop is located, with wisteria trellises and willows. Some girls with flower hair pieces are serving and offering tea there, which is very adorable. In spring, their sakura mochi are so delicious that they have Tokyo girls smiling. In fall, poets hold poetry gatherings over colored leaves and sake. This tea shop is named Sangitei (*lit.* three-good-things shop) because there are three things to enjoy here: the moon, snow, and flowers.²²⁵

By contrast, Seiyōken, the Western-style restaurant where JWAE met, was described as follows.

To the West of the Great Buddha statue, there is a white, Western-style restaurant with red columns. Its name is Seiyōken. While there are countless restaurants known for Western-style cuisine in Tokyo, people consider this restaurant to be at the top of the list. There are several vast rooms in the restaurant. Each room is extremely clean and decorated beautifully, with imported pieces of equipment. All the halls are carpeted, and in the center [of each room], a dining table is located. The table is covered with white cloth. A huge vase is placed in the center of the table, where many kinds of flowers are arranged to enable visitors to feel [a sense of] spring in any season. By the side of the vase, glass blocks are placed neatly, clean water is displayed, or fragrant water is installed, so that visitors can enjoy it on their own. From the beginning, Japanese people have visited this restaurant. People from the West also visit it. So, visitors keep coming during the day and night. This restaurant is always populated with some visitors, all of

²²⁵ Anon., “Sangitei 三宜亭,” *Fūzoku Gahō 風俗画報 [Culture Graphic]* 123 (1896): 28.

Original: 摺鉢山の傍にあり、青苔露滑かなる小丘陵に、ささやかなる眞狭垣を結び、木根切株を疊んで足取り軽く段階を見せて、来客の踏むに任せ、桜松楓霧島の植、枝を交わして休らふ人を招くに似たり、縮構極めて撲雅、和洋を折衷してしかも俗に流れず、数脚の食卓を据え、コーヒ、ラムネを注ぐ、亭に対し徑を挟んで低く藤棚を吊り、殊にまたささやかなる離亭を構え、楊を移して少女数髪、茗を酌み客に侑む、其の情愛すべし、春は桜餅に都乙女の豊頬を落し、秋はもみじに酒を温めて風流韻士の詩囊に入る、三宜亭の名は月雪花の永めに富めばなるべし。

whom are wealthy. When a grandson of the Korean King came [to Japan], he visited here. There are almost no visitors from the West who do not wish to come to this restaurant. It must be because their cuisine is sophisticated that this restaurant is so favored. But the cuisine is not the only reason. It must also be because of its great location and brand that the restaurant has been established for so long. Visitors to this restaurant include those who enjoy flowers, those who want to escape the heat, those who enjoy the moon, those who enjoy colored leaves, as well as those who enjoy snow. This restaurant is indispensable to the park.²²⁶

These descriptions generally illustrate the modesty of Sangitei's design, as well as the extravagance of Seiyōken's. For example, the descriptions of "a humble hedge" and "small steps" for walking over tree branches indicates the simpler construction of Sangitei. In comparison, a 1870 illustration shows that well-made stone steps were installed to lead to the front porch of Seiyōken (Figure 2.4). The exterior aesthetics were also different. The description of Sangitei's style "a semi-Western and semi-Japanese style, but not vulgar" is interesting because it implies that the mixture of styles was seen as potentially risky, as it could result in an aesthetic impurity that was displeasing to onlookers. Unlike Sangitei, Seiyōken was built in a single, consistent style, which could be easier for people to recognize. Inside the buildings, the extremes of modesty and extravagance were even more visible. While only "some tables" were installed at Sangitei, the rooms at Seiyōken were "extremely clean and decorated beautifully, with imported pieces of equipment," including flower vases, glass blocks, and fragrant water.

²²⁶ Anon., "Seiyōken 精養軒," *Culture Graphic* 123 (1896): 29–30. Words inside the parentheses are added for clarification by the author-translator.

Original: 大仏の西に当りて赤柱、白亜洋製に擬して築ける楼亭あり、之を精養軒と称す、都下西洋料理を以て名あるもの多しと雖も、必ず此楼を以て指を第一に屈す、楼亭数巨室を設けて、室ごとに必ず清潔を極め、器具舶来品を用ひて、品ごとに必ず美麗を飾る、宴席全てくゆ（絨毯）を敷き、中央の食机、覆うに白稜布を以てす、机心亦一大花瓶を置き、百花を合挿して、四時春を貯へ、其側に数個の硝瓦を星列して、或いは清泉を盛り、或は香液を儲へ、以て客の嘗むるに任せたり、此楼は、邦人固より来り、西洋人も亦来り、来る者昼絶えず、夜も亦絶えず、絶えずと雖も、来る者は蓋し豊富の人に非ざるはなし、往年朝鮮の王孫義和宮の来るや、亦此に館す、其他外賓珍客概ね此に望まざるはなし、蓋し大方の眷顧を受くる所以のものは、其料理法の整斎するのみならず、築搆地の宜しきと、最も久しく名を得るとも因らざるばならず、故に此楼に上る者は、花を賞するか為にする者もあるべく、涼を納るるが為にする者もあるべく。月を観るが為にする者もあるべく、紅葉を愛するが為にする者もあるべく、雪を眺むるが為にする者もあるべし。公園中、実に此楼なかるべからず、

The scarcity of available visual depictions of Sangitei also suggests the banality of the shop's interior appearance, which made it unworthy of detailed description. In the only two drawings that I have been able to locate, Sangitei was drawn as a small plain structure, as a backdrop and on the edge of the illustrations (Figures 2.2 and 2.5). Meanwhile, the grandeur of Seiyōken was a common visual theme in representations of Ueno Park (Figures 2.3 and 2.4).

The descriptions, as well as the visual materials, suggest that the levels of spatial elaboration reflected and invited particular customer bases, which were segmented by the abundance of their financial and cultural capital. According to the descriptions in *Culture Graphic*, Sangitei was a low-key tea shop that was visited by a mixed clientele, including girls and male poets, while Seiyōken was a top Western-style restaurant in Tokyo frequented by “wealthy people” and international guests.²²⁷ Based on the frequent announcements for poets' gatherings at Sangitei in newspapers, these kind of meetings seem to have been common at the establishment.²²⁸ Because the specific dimensions of Sangitei are unknown, TEGSAA members

²²⁷ We know the “poets” at Sangitei were men because female professionals during this period were rare and were specifically referred to using the prefix of *joryū* [女流, *lit.* women-style]. The use of the term *joryū* with a profession name connotes that the profession is not typical of women. The term was widely used in the field of art, such as writing and performance. On the historical uses of this term, see Suzuki Naoko 鈴木直子, “Kōdo Seichō to Hayashi Mariko ‘On’na Bunshi’ Ni Okeru On’na No Ekurityūru 高度成長と林真理子『女文士』における女のエクリチュール [Rapid Economic Growth and Woman’s Ecriture in Hayashi Mariko’s On’na Bunshi],” *Nihon Bungaku 日本文学 [Japanese Literature]* 59, no. 11 (2010): 48–58.

²²⁸ For example, the following newspaper articles reported poets' gatherings at Sangitei: Anon., “Zuiō Ginsha Dai Kyū Shū Renku 随鷗吟社第九集連句 [Zuiō Ginsha Couplet the 9th Couplet],” *Asahi Shinbun 朝日新聞*, May 25, 1905, 5; Anon., “Sangitei Shōshūseki Jō Kadai 三宜亭小集席上課題 [Small Gathering at Sangitei],” *Asahi Shinbun*, June 9, 1905, 5; Anon., “Zuiō Ginsha Dai Jūyon Shū Renku 随鷗吟社第十四集連句 [Zuiō Ginsha Couplet the 14th Couplet],” *Asahi Shinbun*, November 18, 1905; Anon., “Zuiō Ginsha Dai Jūgo Shū Renku 随鷗吟社第十五集連句 [Zuiō Ginsha Couplet the 15th Couplet],” *Asahi Shinbun*, December 14, 1905, 5; Anon., “Konzan Hengyoku Zuiō Ginsha Dai Nijūissū Renku Ueno Sangitei Ni Oite 崑山片玉 随鷗吟社第 21 集聯句 = 於上野公園三宜亭 [Konzan Hengyoku Zuiō Ginsha The 21st Couplet, at Ueno Sangitei],” *Yomiuri Shinbun*, July 13, 1906, 5; Anon., “Zuiō Ginsha Dai Sanjū Hakkai Reikai 随鷗吟社第卅八回例会 [Zuiō Ginsha the 38th Gathering],” *Asahi Shinbun*, March 17, 1908, 6; Anon., “Fūsha Renku Ueno Sangitei Nite 楓社連句 上野三宜亭にて [Fūsha Couplet, at Ueno Sangitei],” *Yomiuri Shinbun*, July 27, 1910, 5; Anon., “Zuiō Ginsha Renku Ichigatsu Jūgonichi Ueno Sangitei Ni Oite 随鷗吟社連句 1 月 15 日 於 上野三宜亭 [Zuiō Ginsha Couplet, at Ueno Sangitei, January 15],” *Yomiuri Shinbun*, January 19, 1911, 5; Anon., “Kanshi Zuiō Ginsha Shichizetsu Renku Jūgonichi Ueno Sangitei Ni Oite 漢詩 随鷗吟社七絶連句 15 日、於上野三宜亭 [Chinese Poetry Zuiō Ginsha Shichizetsu Couplet, at Ueno Sangitei, on the 15th],” *Yomiuri Shinbun*, May 18, 1911, 5; Anon., “Kanshi Zuiō Ginsha Renku Rokugatsu

might or might not have shared the space with other visitors or groups when they had their gathering of fifty members. Nonetheless, what is clear is that Sangitei was a space that was favored by both local girls seeking seasonal confections like “sakura mocha,” as well male poets seeking inspiration for the topics of their poems, such as “the moon, snow, and flowers.” The fact that this was a space where men and women mixed was not insignificant; as mentioned earlier, the mere possibility for encounters with people with unfamiliar backgrounds in public spaces would have had the potential to ruin women’s reputations in the premodern era. The fact that women-only groups like TEGSAA, along with other girls in Tokyo, visited this establishment signals the changes in gender norms for gathering spaces. At the same time, it also suggests that it was class, rather than gender, that defined the clientele of this establishment.

While illustrations of Seiyōken also show women and men as customers, the space appears to be more dominated by men. In the illustrations of Seiyōken, most visitors wear Western-style clothing, at a time when these styles were still unfamiliar to most Japanese people. The customers’ familiarity with the latest styles from abroad indicates their awareness of foreign cultures, as well as a higher level of access to financial resources to obtain these clothes for everyday use.²²⁹ In the illustrations, we can also see a horse and buggy and a few rickshaws parked at the gate of Seiyōken. While visitors like TEGSAA members either walked or took the train to Ueno Station, which was located to the east of the park, Seiyōken customers did not have to share transit spaces, such as stations and train cars, with people from different backgrounds. Their journey from home to the establishment was rather protected, although they might have seen and been seen by other people. Of course, having access to personal transportation, like

Jūichinichi Ueno Sangitei de 漢詩 随鷗吟社連句 6月11日、上野三宜亭で [Chinese Poetry Zuiō Ginsha Couplet, at Ueno Sangitei, June 11],” *Yomiuri Shinbun*, June 18, 1911, 5.

²²⁹ On the history of clothing, see Kon, *Fukusōshi 服装史 [A History of Dressing]* (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1972), 325–29.

their Western-style clothing, indicated their financial wealth. These class differences separated their experiences from those of non-elite people, who might have felt no affinity with foreign styles. It was this cultural behavior, including their disposition toward specific aesthetic styles within the material culture of the time, that established such different places in a single park.

As these distinctions demonstrate, central to the JWAE's spatial culture of *shakō* was exclusivity. JWAE did not use parks and gardens, which were technically open to everyone, as frequently as TEGSAA. Their gatherings at parks and gardens included Korakuen Garden (in 1893, 1902, and 1903), Koishikawa Botanical Garden (in 1901), and a garden in Shiba Park (in 1907). In addition to these public gardens and parks, JWAE also used the private gardens of members' residences on at least nine occasions between 1892 and 1908. When they met in public spaces, they either booked a high-end dining establishment or rented out a section of the park. When they used private gardens, the food was catered or prepared on site, with help from the members' live-in maids who worked in the kitchens of these residences.²³⁰ For example, the venue for the 1907 meeting was Sanentei in Shiba Park, an upscale restaurant similar to *Seiyōken*. At the 1902 meeting at *Kōrakuen* Garden, on the other hand, JWAE installed temporary food stalls in a dedicated section of the garden, and members and guests were encouraged to savor food and drinks in these spaces, while enjoying the landscape. Using private

²³⁰ For example, one general assembly on April 26, 1902 at the vice president's residence was described as follows in the original Japanese: 晴天ならば例によりて園遊会の筈に有之候ひしも、雨天のため殊に同邸の御手数を煩はし候。西洋館は階上階下すべて会のために開放せられ、舞踏室を会場にあて被下候。コーヒー店、栗餅店、すし茶店等は日本館の各室に紅白の幕を張り、会員たち甲斐甲斐しく周旋の労を取られ、来会者一同非常の満足を以て午後五時散会いたし候。(50) Close to 500 people participated in this assembly. Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōikukai 大日本婦人教育会, "Kaihō 会報 [News of the Association]," *Bulletin of Japan Women's Association for Education* 144 (1902): 49–51. For another garden party at *Kōrakuen* Garden, see Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōikukai, "Kaihō 会報 [News of the Association]," *Bulletin of Japan Women's Association for Education* 149 (1902): 55–56.

outdoor spaces in this way was referred to as having a “garden party [*enyū kai* 園遊会]” in their bulletins.

A precedent of garden parties can be found in the premodern practice of “garden sharing [*niwa gashi* 庭貸し].” In the late Edo period, wealthy lords opened their gardens on their own terms. For instance, people could rent a space in the garden temporarily for the exclusive viewing of seasonal flowers. Because the agreement to rent the space was only made through social contacts, it is likely that this option was available only to people who interacted with the lords; ordinary commoners would have had little opportunity to take advantage of these opportunities. According to landscape historian Ono Sawako, groups of women were common borrowers of private garden spaces because these closed spaces were safer than other popular sites, such as religious precincts.²³¹ As some of the JWAE members were *kazoku*, who came from the households of former lords, it is not surprising that they continued to practice similar gatherings. While modern parks and gardens were supposed to be spaces that were open to different people, then, they were still used in exclusive ways by users who had more access to social and financial capital.

This exclusivity was a tradition that JWAE followed outside of their use of parks and gardens, as well. Akasaka Sankaido (in 1907 and 1908) and Tsunashima Mitsui Club (in 1908) were clubhouses that were shared by three professional organizations and employees of Mitsui Corporation, respectively. They housed some of the traditional functions of clubhouses, such as meeting facilities and dining establishments. While these clubhouses were expected to be used primarily by the members of the organizations, others could rent the spaces on an hourly basis by

²³¹ Ono Sawako 小野佐和子, *Rikugien No Niwagurashi: Yanagisawa Nobutoki “En’yū Nikki” No Sekai* 六義園の庭暮らし：柳沢信鴻「宴遊日記」の世界 [*Garden Life in Rikugien: The World of Yanagisawa Nobuyuki’s “Diary of Party and Play”*] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2017), 220–28.

paying a fee.²³² Although JWAE did not have its own clubhouse until 1918, they sometimes took advantage of renting a semi-autonomous space at these fee-requiring facilities. From the garden parties at parks to the construction of the clubhouse, JWAE consistently practiced spatial exclusivity. Seiyōken was chosen for the particular gathering in such a culture.

The TEGSAA members, by comparison to JWAE, frequented public parks and gardens much more often. As early as 1896, TEGSAA decided to always have one of their two regular gatherings outside of the school. For these gatherings, they often opted for parks and other gardens, perhaps partially because they could not secure a venue at a members' home. In addition to hosting three gatherings at Sangitei in Ueno Park (in 1902, 1903, and 1908), other venues included Shimizudani Park (in 1899), Ōmori Hakkeien Garden (in 1901 and 1907), Sangitei in Ueno Park (in 1903, 1904, and 1908), and Mukōjima Kagetsu Garden (in 1906).²³³ Nonetheless, visitors were expected to enjoy landscapes, especially flowers, in these parks and gardens, much like in the parks that been developed in former religious precincts.²³⁴

²³² On Mitsui Club, see Ishida Shigenosuke 石田繁之介, *Tsunamachi Mitsui Kurabu: J. Kondoru No Kenchiku o Megutte 綱町三井倶楽部 : J. コンドルの建築をめぐって [Tsunashima Mitsui Club: On J. Condor's Architecture]* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2001).

²³³ Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, “News of the Association” (December 1896): 1–2; Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, “Honkai Kiji 本会記事 [News of the Association]” *Tōyō Eiwa Girls' School Alumnae Association Bulletin* (December 1899): 1; Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, “News of the Association” (December 1901): 2–3; Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, “Honkai Kiji 本会記事 [News of the Association],” *Tōyō Eiwa Girls' School Alumnae Association Bulletin* (November 1903): 1–2; Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, “Honkai Kiji 本会記事 [News of the Association],” *Tōyō Eiwa Girls' School Alumnae Association Bulletin* (July 1907): 1–2; Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, “Honkai Kiji 本会記事 [News of the Association],” *Tōyō Eiwa Girls' School Alumnae Association Bulletin* (December 1908): 2–4.

²³⁴ The legacies of these places varied. For example, Shimizudani Park started with the donation of a former samurai garden to the city of Tokyo, then later developed into a public park. Ōmori Hakkeien Garden and Mukōjima Kagetsu Garden, on the other hand, were newer commercial developments in the suburbs, whose developments were prompted by the extension of railways to the east and west of the city. On Mukōjima Kagetsu Garden, see Ogawa Isao 小川功, “Meiji Ki Kinō Ribā Saido Rizōto Keiei No Risuku to Kankō Shihonka: Bokutō Mukōjima No Kousen Yado Arima Onsen to Yūen Kagetsu Kadan No Kōbō Wo Chūshin Ni 明治期近郊リバーサイドリゾート経営のリスクと観光資本家：墨東・向島の鉱泉宿・有馬温泉と遊園・花月華壇の興亡を中心に [Risk of Riverside Urban Resort Development and Tourism Capitalist],” *Atomi Gakuen Joshidaigaku Manejimento Gakubu Kiyō 跡見学園女子大学マネジメント学部紀要 [Journal of Atomi University Faculty of Management]*, no. 12 (2003): 1–21; Tokyo Shi Shishi Hensan Inkai 東京市市史編纂係, ed., *Tokyo Annai Gekan 東京案内 下巻 [Guide to Tokyo, Part*

Looking at the broader context of Ueno Park helps us to understand what factors might have encouraged TEGSAA to choose Sangitei as the venue for their gathering, other than its price point. First, the selection indicates TEGSAA's preference for locations with high accessibility. All of the parks and gardens that they chose were located either close to their former school or were accessible by railways, which were expanding all over the city at the time.²³⁵ Their bulletin indicates that TEGSAA members were scattered around Tokyo and beyond, and most members came to the out-of-school venues by train. For example, the report of the meeting at Hakkeien Garden (in 1901) stated, "It was a perfect day to do some exercise outside the city. As trains came, the alumnae joined one after another, accompanied by their children."²³⁶ In addition, the venue was described not only by its name, but by its location: "In front of Omori Station, Omori Hakkeien Garden." This level of specification implies the importance of the proximity to the station. In a similar vein, even for the only member's property that was used for the first out-of-school assembly, the venue was described as "In front of Meguro Station, Mrs. Watanabe's Vacation Home," which again communicates the significance of the location.²³⁷

Another possible reason why TEGSAA opted for low-key establishments like Sangitei was that the members' children often accompanied them. Although TEGSAA members were relatively well-to-do, it is likely that most of them did not have the option to leave their children

2] (Tokyo: Shōkabō, 1908), 757; Takahashi Tomo'o 高橋友夫 Miyabe Jirokichi 宮部治郎吉, *Tokyo Kyōdo Chishi Ensoku No Tomo 東京郷土地誌遠足の友 [A Companion to Local Geography of Tokyo]* (Kinshōdō, 1904), 51–52.

²³⁵ On the railway expansion in Tokyo, see Imao Keisuke 今尾恵介, *Tokyo No Tetsudō Hattatsushi: Chizu de Kaimei 地図で解明！東京の鉄道発達史 [History of Railway Development in Tokyo, with Maps]* (JTB Paburissshingu, 2016), 14–31.

²³⁶ Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, "News of the Association" (December 1901): 2–3.

Original: 郊外運動には此上なき好日なりき、然れば汽車の着する毎に諸姉には愛児方を携へられて続々来会せらる (2)

²³⁷ Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, "News of the Association" (December 1896): 1–2.

Original: 目黒停車場前渡邊氏別荘

at home with maids. Although the employment of live-in maids had been common well into the Meiji period, gender historian Sakai Hiromi has shown that at the beginning of the twentieth century, maids were in short supply due to both rising alternative employment opportunities for the young women who had traditionally held those jobs, as well as changing ideals regarding the modern household. By 1921, fewer than one-eighth of the households in Tokyo headed by professionals (e.g. educators, bureaucrats, bankers, etc.) employed live-in maids. Sakai suggests that the figures for the first decade of the twentieth century might not have been too much higher.²³⁸ The report of the 1901 Hakkeien meeting, cited above, shows how common the practice of bringing children to gatherings was for the women in the TEGSAA. Parks and gardens were preferable venues because they included entertainment and amusement facilities that the women's children could enjoy. In the case of Ueno Park, the cyclorama and zoo were such facilities.²³⁹ Mukōjima Kagetsu Garden, where the group held a later gathering, was also equipped with a children's playground.

Further, taking children out of the house could have been seen as a welcome excuse for TEGSAA members to also get away from home for a while – a strategy that folklorists Joan Radner and Susan Lanser call “distraction.” According to Radner and Lanser, the term refers to “strategies that drown out or draw attention away from the subversive power of a feminist message.” They continue, “Usually distraction involves creating some kind of ‘noise,’

²³⁸ Former maids left homes to take new kinds of jobs at urban institutions, such as department stores and company offices. The restricting work environment of live-in maids was no longer appealing to those women as the other means to earn became available. See Sakai Hiromi 坂井博美, “*Ai No Sōtō*” *No Jendā Rikigaku: Iwano Kiyō to Hōmei No Dōsei, Soshō, Shisō* 「愛の争闘」のジェンダー力学：岩野清と泡鳴の同棲・訴訟・思想 [*Gender Dynamics of “Fight of Love”: Cohabitation, Lawsuit, and Idea of Iwano Kiyō and Hōmei*] (Tokyo: Perikansha, 2012), 203–37.

²³⁹ For example, the zoo was described as a place for ordinary people in the following guidebook: Anon., *Shinsen Tokyo Jicchi Annai 新撰東京実地案内 [A New Guide to Real Tokyo]* (Tokyo: Tokushidō, 1893), 42.

Original: ●動物園 同所にあり諸禽獣虫魚のみを集めて飼養し、庶民をして縦覧せしむる所なり、一人に付縦覧券二銭

interference, or obscurity that will keep the message from being heard except by those who listen very carefully or already suspect it is there.”²⁴⁰ Because they brought their children with them to the meetings, TEGSAA members could have just told their husbands that they were going out to a park for the children’s benefit, instead of explaining that they were going to a women-only gathering to enjoy chatting with old friends. From this perspective, choosing venues that could accommodate children would have been an efficient means to combine their own goals and pleasures with their required domestic duties; it solved the multiple issues that women’s absence from home could otherwise provoke.

Having the company of children, however, could have also made TEGSAA members opt out of upscale establishments like Seiyōken, where more formalized socializing events were often held. In terms of their programming, TEGSAA meetings tended to be more casual. For example, their meetings were always lunch gatherings, rather than dinner parties. Sometimes, their meetings did not even require a reservation at an eating establishment. As the report of one botanical garden meeting indicated, TEGSAA members sometimes brought their own lunches. The report stated, “We enjoyed eating the packed lunches we brought as well as walking around the garden while chatting.”²⁴¹ Although this is a report of a later meeting (in 1922), it indicates the inclusive, relaxed atmosphere of TEGSAA gatherings. Accompanying children to such casual meetings must have been easier than doing so at formal parties and venues. Holding a meeting at a place like Seiyōken was not a practical option for TEGSAA members with children,

²⁴⁰ Joan N. Radner and Susan S. Lanser, “Strategies of Coding in Women’s Cultures,” in *Feminist Messages: Coding in Women’s Folk Culture*, ed. Joan N. Radner (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 15.

²⁴¹ Tōyō Eiwa Jogakkō Dōsōkai, “Honkai Kiji 本会記事 [News of the Association],” *Tōyō Eiwa Girls’ School Alumnae Association Bulletin* (December 1922): 2–3.

Original: 各々持参の御弁当をいただき園内を散歩しつつ語り合ふなど楽しき時を過ごしぬ。(2–3)

even though they could financially afford it from time to time. Relatively relaxed venues like Sangitei could meet this need for informality and inclusivity.

Women Civilizing the Parks

Despite the different structural and spatial patterns that influenced the ways that TEGSAA and JWAE members gathered, by stepping back a bit, we can see that both groups were participating in the broader transformation of the city. As we have seen, it was about a decade before women began establishing these organizations for shakō that the government began transforming some of the religious precincts into parks. In the process of making these spaces available to the public, the government intensified their regulations in and of the parks, gradually making these into spaces of order. The women's gatherings can thus be understood as part of this ongoing process of establishing social and spatial order in the emerging urban parks.

While respectable women benefited from the orderly spaces of parks, the broader social conditions of the parks suggest that women might have also been mobilized to push men's political activities out of the space. In other words, behind these initiatives to establish order in the parks, lay the government's strategic efforts to control what they deemed disorder, notably political and social movements from the mid 1870s to the late 1910s. In particular, the Freedom and People's Rights Movement called for the national government to establish a structure for constitutional democracy. As a result, the Constitution of the Empire of Japan and the Imperial Diet were established in 1889. However, full suffrage was granted only to men who met certain age and income tax criteria. Basically, only wealthy adult men were allowed to be elected and to vote, while men from lower classes (and all women) were excluded from participating in representative national politics. The first wave of the Universal Suffrage Movement sought to tackle this political inequality by organizing liberalists and socialists toward men's universal

suffrage. For these movements, activists typically held gatherings to mobilize people through political speeches and discussions. As the nation's capital, Tokyo was where the activities were most heated.²⁴²

In and outside of parks, wary of the demands for change, the national government, in tandem with the Tokyo Metropolitan Police, systematically monitored and controlled people's political activities and attitudes. From the 1870s onward, the national government used neighborhood police officers to surveil people's day-to-day activities. At the national government's request, police officers went door-to-door to catalogue people's attitudes toward the government. This survey was enforced unevenly, however; the officers focused more on poor or unemployed people, while treating government officials, *kazoku*, and capitalists more mildly. As the movement to establish the Diet accelerated, the government commanded the police to focus more on regulating political gatherings. In response, the police started sending officers to political gathering venues. The officers were allowed to terminate the gatherings if they recognized that the goal was to attack the current political system. This regulation was turned into official legislation in 1880, in the form of the Gathering Ordinance [*Shūkai Jōrei* 集会条例], which required prior approval from the police for political gatherings and for the establishment of political parties. The government and police further intensified these regulations, putting into place the Gathering and Political Party Act in 1890 and Security Police Act in 1900.²⁴³

The national government also started using space, or more specifically, the sites and facilities that they owned in the city, to regulate political gatherings. First, the government prohibited outdoor political gatherings with Article Nine of the 1880 Gathering Ordinance. An

²⁴² Yasumaru, *Experiences of Civilization: Japan in the Transitional Period to the Modern*, 216–301.

²⁴³ On the political policing of this period, see Obinata Sumio 大日方純夫, “Jiyū Minken Undō Yokuatsu Taisei No Hensei 自由民権運動抑圧体制の編成 [Formulation of the System to Oppress Freedom and People's Rights Movement],” *Rekishi Hyōron 歴史評論 [History Review]* 405 (1984): 85–107.

1885 guidebook for police officers indicates that the regulation on outdoor gatherings was even stricter than the Gathering Ordinance specified. One chapter reads, “Political gatherings should not be held outdoors. Even with a temporary stall or other similar structures, if people can hear the gathering from the outside freely, we consider this as outdoor and prohibit it.”²⁴⁴ This passage suggests that what concerned the government and the police was the possibility for this excitement to spread throughout the city; they believed that hearing and sensing the energy from these crowds could provoke riots and other violent incidents.

In this context, policing in parks was an important spatial apparatus for regulating political movements. Landscape historian Ono Ryōhei points out that, in the masterplan developed by the 1885 City Improvement Council [*Shiku Kaisei Shinsakai* 市区改正審査会], more parks tended to be planned in the neighborhoods where more political gathering incidents were reported in the 1885 police statistics. The plan was to build police boxes in the corners of those planned parks. Ono interprets this plan for establishing parks and police boxes side by side as the government’s strategy to extend spatial surveillance of political gatherings. The open spaces in the city could technically be used as venues for large-scale political gatherings. Yet, as land that was owned and managed by the national or municipal government, parks were in fact becoming one of the most restricted spaces in the city. While the national government also endeavored to establish and increase parks in the city because of the cultural and ecological benefits they provided, the possibility that park spaces could also empower citizens to gather for political purposes bothered the government greatly.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴ On the policing on gatherings, see Keishichō 警視庁, ed., *Keimu Yōsho* 警務要書 [*Guidebook of Policing*] (Tokyo: Keishichō, 1885), 1–9.

Original: 政談の集会は屋外に於て為すを得ざるものなれば、仮令小屋掛等あるも外部より自由に聴聞するを得べき場所は屋外と同視し、これを禁止すべし

²⁴⁵ Ono, *The Birth of Parks*, 49–56.

As noted earlier, men could still contest the tightening control over political gatherings by disguising them as other types of gatherings, such as sports gatherings and get-togethers. Even with the passing of the 1890 Gathering and Political Party Act and the 1900 Security Police Act, all men still maintained the legal rights to organize political meetings, as long as they were pre-approved and attended by the police, as well as held indoors. Meanwhile, women had even less room for contestation after the passing of these acts. When a gathering was deemed political, police officers refused the entry of women to the venue. For example, in 1905, police officers stopped a few women who attempted to enter an event organized by Commoners' Company, the socialist political organization that interested some women. The officers told the interested women that the law prohibited their participation in any political gathering. This incident made the women aware of the legal restrictions on their political rights and prompted their petitions to revise the Security Police Act. While these women eventually submitted petitions to the House of Representatives to demand revisions, their attempts were unsuccessful. Until the act was partially amended in 1922, women continued to be deprived of all rights to participate in political activities.²⁴⁶

Inviting women to parks seems to have been part of the national government's strategy to establish social order. The tightening rules for park use and women's increasing presence in these spaces went hand in hand. Given that the period's gender norms already restricted respectable women's behaviors in significant ways, even in a crowd, these women tended not to make noise and violence. For example, in 1908, Baron Mōri Gorō, the son of JWAE's president who supported the organization's activities, gave a speech on how he expected members to socialize:

²⁴⁶ Kodama, *A Brief History of Women's Suffrage Movement*, 16–79.

Of course, there should also be a recreational aspect [to JWAE's activities]. But there are two kinds of recreation: elegant and vulgar kinds. I would like you to choose the elegant kind. Please talk about your questions about home chores and parenting over organized meals and tea. Talking about these topics is the practical shakō – directly beneficial to you. Also, please refrain from wearing expensive and showy pieces of clothing and jewelry.²⁴⁷

As Mōri Gorō expected, socializing women were not supposed to stand out. They were also expected to be apolitical, chatting about chores and parenting, rather than more contentious issues. It would be understandable that the government did not try to restrict the gatherings of such women; indeed, similar to the women who were mobilized to ameliorate urban problems in American parks, Japanese women seem to have been mobilized to participate in parks as the inverse of what was deemed problematic at that point in time – that is, in order to calm men's violence and delinquency.

The Eve of Women's Openly Political Gatherings

As we have seen, the gatherings of women in TEGSAA and JWAE emerged out of a push and pull, between the strategic efforts of government leaders and intellectuals and the women's own efforts to balance their duties with their desires. While Meiji intellectuals encouraged women's shakō activities, the national and municipal governments created parks and worked to establish order in those spaces. In search of spaces for gatherings, women took advantage of these emergent spaces, which were more and more regulated by the state. Even if women were being encouraged to use parks in order to serve the interests of the state, the availability of these kinds of urban spaces also did allow women to expand their non-domestic

²⁴⁷ Dai Nihon Fujin Kyōiku Kai, *A Fifty-Year Record of Japan Women's Association for Education*, 150.

Original: 勿論一面には娯むといふ事もなければなりません。併し其娯みの内にも、上品であるのと、下品であるのとあります。呉々もお願い致し度いのは、会員諸氏は其上品なる娯樂をお取りになりまして、御会食の折にもお茶話の際にも互ひに家事の疑問を訊き合ふとか、育児のことを談じ合ふとかいふ様な利益を主としたる実用的な御社交をなすって頂き度いのであります。でありますから、勿論お召物や装飾品等の華美は可成禁じて頂きたいものであります。

activities of shakō in the city. These early social gatherings of financially well-off women were not explicitly political or demonstrative in conception or practice. Nonetheless, the very fact that large groups of women organized meetings on their own, and in public, was itself quite a radical change and action to take, given the historical and social context.

Arguably, these women's gatherings also helped pave a path for women to organize themselves for political purposes in later periods – a legacy that other scholars have neglected to explore in depth. After their successful launch at Ueno Seiyōken in 1920, NWA expanded on the existing network of women's groups, most of which have probably cultivated their own spatial networks for gathering, just like TEGSAA and JWAE. Indeed, one of NWA's tactics was to build on and activate the existing network of resources that earlier women's organizations had already constructed. For instance, NWA began the groundwork to start their organization long before the launch gathering. Hiratsuka and Ichikawa individually visited regional women's organizations in Ōsaka and Nagoya to gain their support. Their bylaws, established at the 1920 launch gathering, also reflected this attitude. One item of Article Three stipulated that NWA “cooperates with women's organizations all over Japan to organize a comprehensive alliance of women in Japan for women's shared benefits.” From the very beginning, NWA recognized the necessity of mobilizing this existing network. Their tactical reliance on the existing networks was one aspect that differentiated NWA from unsuccessful suffragettes, like the women who tried to join Commoners' Company after the Russo-Japanese War. For instance, the numbers of signatures that NWA and socialist women were able to collect to petition for the amendment of Article Five of the Security Police Act suggest the power of the existing networks. Whereas the socialist women only collected 459 signatures in 1905, NWA collected 2,057 signatures in 1920. While it still took NWA a few rounds of petitions for the amendment to be passed by the

Imperial Diet, the numbers indicate that NWA was able to mobilize far more women nationwide, in part thanks to this existing network.²⁴⁸

We do not know much about what these women at TEGSAA and JWAE might have been thinking when they expanded their own spatial networks for gathering. But one newspaper article communicates that carving out a place of their own was no small feat, even for the well-off, elite women at JWAE. On January 31, 1909, JWAE held an opening ceremony for their first clubhouse. According to the article, Shimoda Utako, a JWAE member and a leading female educator who had also established a girls' school in Tokyo in 1899, was so moved that tears were rolling down her face "from the beginning to the end of the ceremony."²⁴⁹ These women never advocated for a specific political or social cause, at least explicitly. Yet, the act of gathering to socialize was not entirely apolitical either. These women pored considerable effort into their initiatives to have regular gatherings, seizing opportunities to establish their uses of urban spaces outside of the home. Here, similar to the case of Tsuda College, the inconsistent policies and attitudes of governmental authorities at times disrupted or limited women's efforts, but they ultimately accepted that women had a role to play in these new spaces. Mobilizing respectable women to depoliticize the parks might, ironically, have propelled the growth of women's political movements.

²⁴⁸ These women not only signed the petitions, but more than 10,000 women also attended the sessions during the forty-fourth round of the Imperial Diet in 1921, when the amendment was being discussed. In this round, women took up more than one fifth of the gallery. For the process toward the amendment, see Kodama, *A Brief History of Women's Suffrage Movement*, 45–51. NWA's tactics were similar to those of Californian women, who achieved suffrage to vote in their state in 1911. According to architectural historian Jessica Sewell, their uses of spaces in the second campaign in 1911 contributed to their success. Unlike their first campaign in 1896, women used a wider range of spaces, including parlors at home, streets, and commercial institutions. These were spaces that they had frequented more and more on an everyday basis since the 1890s. For Californian suffrage, see Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City: Public Space in San Francisco, 1890–1915*.

²⁴⁹ Anon., "Mutsuki No Hana: Fujin Kyōikukai Kaikan Shiki 睦月の花：婦人教育会開館式 [A Flower in January: Opening Ceremony for the Clubhouse of the Women's Association for Education]," *Asahi Shinbun*, February 1, 1909, 5.

Chapter 3: Spaces for Working

Discipline and Female Staff as Sensory Capital at a Department Store, 1895–1927

In September 1901, Furuya Tsuru was hired as one of the first saleswomen at the Mitsui Kimono Textile Store [*Mitsui Gofuku Ten* 三井呉服店], which would later become Mitsukoshi Department Store, a leading department store chain in Japan. About three decades later, Furuya shared her experience at the turn of the century, writing:

We [the first three saleswomen] took charge of the accessory department with Japanese-style hair and *otaiko obi*. We started working in September 1901, when there were no electric train cars and automobiles yet. People took horse-car trains. We were probably the first female sales staff in Japan. The accessory department was newly created in the store, and it sold accessories like *obidome*, socks, scarves, and cosmetics. The department was unique to Mitsukoshi, and probably the basis of today's department stores. The department also sold trial products that were made at our alma mater.²⁵⁰

Together with two other female colleagues, Furuya was assigned to the newly created accessory department, while senior salesmen and shop boys served other departments that sold various kimono textiles in the traditional style. Textiles used to be the sole merchandise of kimono stores. In the late nineteenth century, however, business managers began diversifying their merchandise, in an effort to expand their clientele. Kimono accessories, such as belts [*obi* 帯] and socks [*tabi* 足袋], were the first non-textile items that were incorporated into the merchandise. Over the next few decades, kimono textile stores continue to expand, eventually including different styles of clothing, accessories, furniture, and electronics, as well as spaces to dine and to watch theatrical and artistic performances. In the transformation to department stores, the selling styles and spaces changed even further, and an increasing number of women started

²⁵⁰ Furuya Tsuru 古谷ツル, “Joten’in No Kotodomo 女店員のことども [On Female Store Staff],” in *Hyakkaten Sōran: Mitsukoshi 百貨店総覧: 三越 [A Comprehensive Guide of Department Store: Mitsukoshi]*, ed. Hyakkaten Shōhō Sha 百貨店商報社 (Tokyo: Hyakkaten Shōhō Sha, 1933), 171. *Otaiko obi* was an emerging tying method of kimono belts. It was considered fashionable in the 1900s.

working on the selling floor. Furuya and their colleagues were pioneers in this new role of female store staff [*joten'in* 女店員], the women who supported the expansion of Mitsukoshi and other department stores in Japan.

This chapter investigates the spatial mechanisms for the rise of female store staff by focusing on Mitsukoshi's flagship store. By exploring the locations of the departments where female store staff were assigned, I demonstrate how managers placed female employees in places where higher traffic and exposure to visitors was expected. Using accounts from the managers and female store staff found in magazine articles, I argue that the managers' strategic placement of workers on the selling floor exemplified how they used saleswomen as sensory capital. By doing so, managers were able to keep the attention of visitors, who constantly craved new shopping experiences. To continue capitalizing on their sensory value, managers needed to retain their female store staff in the male-dominated workforce on the selling floor. But, at the same time, to display their standards of sexual morality, managers somehow needed to control the saleswomen. As a technology of coexistent control, they exercised disciplinary power and advertised it as their commitment to the principle of separating the genders outside of work. While these disciplinary mechanisms permeated the store environment and resulted in female and male workers segregating themselves from each other, some women also evaded these mechanisms by intentionally distancing themselves from the roles expected of them. Toward the end of the chapter, by looking at instances of micro-subversions, I suggest that disobedient female store staff managed to produce some free time to explore the city, under the pretext of work.

Department Stores and the Collapse of Status System

The rise of the department store, like the growth of women's higher education institutions and the emergence of public parks, had a lot to do with the broader social rearrangements that occurred in modern Japan, after the collapse of the Tokugawa shogunate and the strict status system. Textile retailers like Mitsui Kimono Textile Store had operated since the Edo period, and their primary clientele were wealthy lords and their families, who could afford expensive kimonos and were allowed to show this level of wealth in their clothing. While some merchants and farmers could also have had access to sufficient financial resources to afford the same level of consumption, they were not allowed to wear kimonos made of expensive textiles like silk, at least in public. In accordance with the system of hereditary status, what one could wear was regulated by a set of legislations, the so-called Luxury Prohibition Orders [*Shashi Kinshi Rei* 奢侈禁止令] issued by the Tokugawa shogunate.²⁵¹ The diversification of merchandise was one of the strategies that kimono textile stores employed to tackle the loss of their former customer base, once the wealthy lords left Tokyo and returned to their home domains. With a wider array of offerings, kimono textile retailers began luring less affluent clientele in the city. At the same time, the fall of the status system allowed more freedom in how to dress. Hence, consumer goods like kimonos became an important part of cultural expression in people's everyday lives, fostering the expansion of specialized kimono textile retailers into one-stop retail institutions like

²⁵¹ On the Luxury Prohibition Orders in Edo and kimono industry, see Hayashi Reiko 林玲子, *Edo Ton'ya Nakama No Kenkyū: Bakuhan Taisei Ka No Toshi Shōgyō Shihon* 江戸問屋仲間の研究：幕藩体制下の都市商業資本 [*Ton'ya Nakama in Edo: Urban Commercial Capital under the Bakuhan System*] (Tokyo: Ochanomizu shobō, 1978); Hashimoto Sumiko 橋本澄子, *Zusetsu Kimono No Rekishi* 図説着物の歴史 [*Illustrated History of Kimonos*] (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2005), 108-09. Wealthy merchants used, but hid luxurious textile as lining fabric.

department stores.²⁵² Thus, changes in the space of the department stores reflected this larger demographic reorganization of the city.

Mitsui Kimono Textile Store had operated as a specialized kimono textile retailer in the city of Edo since 1673. While its competitors, such as Shirokiya, Takashimaya, and Matsuzakaya, similarly transformed into department stores in the early twentieth century, Mitsukoshi is particularly well-known for being on the vanguard of this transformation of the retail industry in Japan. For example, as I will elaborate below, as early as 1895, it converted the upper floor of a two-story mercantile house into a merchandise display space filled with glass showcases, following retail practices in the United States. Most notably, in 1903, Mitsukoshi issued a provocative statement called the “Department Store Declaration,” in which the store management demonstrated their commitment to modernizing the merchandise, space, and retail practices in the following years. Even a few years before that, Mitsukoshi managers had already started to employ women, as part of this broader initiative to modernize the store.²⁵³

Consuming Bodies: The Emergence of Shop Girls and the Spatial Politics of Department Stores

In the existing literature on department stores in Japan, sociologists, cultural historians, and architectural historians have investigated both the rise of female staff and the spatial transformation of department stores, but they have tended to treat these topics separately.

²⁵² Hatsuda Tōru 初田亭, *Hyakkaten No Tanjo* 百貨店の誕生 [*The Birth of Department Stores*] (Sanseidō, 1993). Hatsuda discusses how department stores stayed relevant to the changing urban demographics using different strategies. I discuss this study more in detail below.

²⁵³ Mitsukoshi Kabushiki Gaisha 三越株式会社, *Kabushiki Gaisha Mitsukoshi 100 Nen No Kiroku, 1904-2004: Depātomentosutoa Sengen Kara 100 Nen* 株式会社三越 100 年の記録: デパートメントストア宣言から 100 年 [*Records of Mitsukoshi Co., Ltd., 1904–2000: 100 Years from the Department Store Declaration*] (Tokyo: Mitsukoshi, 2005). Throughout the period before the WWII, Mitsukoshi led the modernization and expansion of commercial institutions, and by 1933, held eleven branches in Japan, South Korea, and China. For a list of branches as of 1933, see p.140.

Sociologists, for instance, have discussed the rise of female department store staff as part of the rise of professional working women [*shokugyō fujin* 職業婦人] in interwar Japan. World War I prompted the expansion of manufacturing industries in Japan, and the growth of these companies and institutions required more clerical workers to support their administrative functions. In addition, the demand for white-collar workers produced more clerical job opportunities for women in the city. As we saw in the first case study of this dissertation, the 1899 Higher Girls' School Order mandated all municipalities to establish public secondary educational institutions for women. By the time this demand emerged and expanded, more and more women were undertaking secondary education and starting to look for job opportunities outside of the home.

As they became available as part of the labor force, women with some education – although not as educated as Tsuda College students – took jobs that had not previously been considered appropriate for women, becoming bus conductors, office clerks, and shop clerks. While these opportunities fulfilled their desires and needs to work and earn wages, workplace managers used the female workforce primarily as inexpensive laborers. For example, at department stores, female staff were paid lower wages, on a daily or hourly basis, relative to male employees, who were full-time and salaried. Somewhat ironically, the inexpensiveness of their labor helped women compete with their male counterparts for those clerical jobs. These

studies are helpful for understanding how the female laborforce expanded in the interwar period, though they pay little attention to the spatial conditions of these workplaces.²⁵⁴

In addition to the affordability of their labor, cultural historians like Yoshimi Shun'ya and Barbara Sato have recently pointed out that the sexuality of female workers drove the rise of the urban female workforce, and of female store staff in particular. According to Yoshimi, aside from the labor needs, corporate managers capitalized on people's appetite to consume the sexuality of these female workers. For example, as part of their job, female movie theater receptionists interacted intimately with customers by holding their hands in the dark theater. Similarly, department store managers expected their female staff to interact with visitors intimately at the store. As the sexuality of female department store staff began to be perceived as commodities to be consumed from the mid 1920s onward, they were often called "shop girls [*shoppu gāru* ショップガール]" instead of "female store staff [*joten'in* 女店員]," which highlighted the youth and modernity that they represented. Yoshimi's study further suggests that

²⁵⁴ On professional working women in the interwar period, see, for example, Iwashita Kiyoko 岩下清子, "Dai Ichiji Taisen Go Ni Okeru Shokugyō Fujin no Keisei 第一次大戦後における「職業婦人」の形成 [Generation of Shokugyō Fujin during the Post WWI Period]," *Shakaigaku Hyōron* 社会学評論 [*Japanese Sociological Review*] 19, no. 4 (1969): 41–53,103; Yamazaki Takako 山崎貴子, "Senzen Ki Nihon No Taishū Fujin Zasshi Ni Miru Shokugyō Fujin Imēji No Henyō 戦前期日本の大衆婦人雑誌にみる職業婦人イメージの変容 [Changes in Images of Working Women in Major Women's Magazine in Japan during the Prewar Period Following World War I]," *Kyōiku Shakaigaku Kenkyū* 教育社会学研究 [*Journal of Educational Sociology*] 85 (2009): 93–112.

female staff played an important cultural role in modernizing the store as a commercial institution.²⁵⁵

While sociologists and cultural historians have explored the expanding roles of the female workforce at department stores, architectural historians have examined the built environments of these same department stores, through rarely through the lens of gender. One seminal study on department stores is *The Birth of the Department Store*, in which the architectural historian Hatsuda Tōru illustrates how the building type of the department store emerged and developed in pre-WWII Japan, as a strategy of former kimono textile retailers' to serve the new urban demographic. Synthesizing internal publications of Mitsukoshi with other newspaper and magazine articles, Hatsuda outlines the strategies that Mitsukoshi and other department stores used to modernize the shopping experiences, as their primary clientele shifted from the wealthy lords to the emerging urban middle class. Notable strategies included changing the selling style and space, increasing the diversity in their merchandise, and inviting non-shopper urbanites to the store by adding auxiliary services like dining halls and rooftop amusement parks. Hatsuda argues that, by accommodating these new functions, the built environment of department stores became more inclusive and open to ordinary families.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁵ Yoshimi Shun'ya 吉見俊哉, *Shikaku Toshi No Chiseigaku: Manazashi to Shiten Kindai 視覚都市の地政学: まなざしとしての近代 [Geopolitics of Visual City: Modern Era as a Perspective]* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2016), 114–51.

²⁵⁶ Hatsuda, *The Birth of Department Stores*; Hatsuda, *Toshi No Meiji: Rojo Kara No Kenchikushi 都市の明治: 路上からの建築史 [The City's Meiji: Architectural History on the Street]* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1981), 203–55.

Another architectural historian, Hashidume Shin'ya, similarly emphasizes how department stores accommodated new customers through architectural changes. He argues that architects intended to establish a sense of authority and intimacy in these institutions of consumer culture, through their choice of styles, materials, and decorations. For example, architects borrowed traditional styles and materials from Western architecture to establish authority, while fostering intimacy and encouraging consumption through modern devices like window displays.²⁵⁷ Overall, such studies have tended to highlight the processes by which architects and managers of department stores made these spaces into sophisticated instruments to urge more urbanites to become avid consumers in their everyday lives.

Department Stores as Women's Workplaces

With these existing studies in mind, if we take another look at Furuya's testimonial of her time working at Mitsukoshi, three sets of questions emerge. First, while these works from sociology and cultural history account for the reasons why the numbers of female store staff in department stores grew rapidly from the 1920s onward, they barely examine how managers perceived and used earlier female store staff like Furuya, who started working about two decades earlier than the proliferation of urban female workers. How did these first female store staff begin working at the store, before the demand had been widely established? What did managers

²⁵⁷ Hashizume, "Hyakkaten to Iu Birudingu Taipu: Shōhi Bunka to Toshi Keikan 百貨店というビルディングタイプ：消費文化と都市景観 [The Building Type of Department Store: Consumer Culture and Urban Landscapes]," in *Hyakkaten No Bunkashi: Nihon No Shōhi Kakumei* 百貨店の文化史：日本の消費革命 [A Cultural History of Department Stores: Consumer Revolution in Japan], ed. Yamamoto Taketoshi 山本武利, Nishiyama Tamotsu 西山保 (Tokyo, 1999), 273–88.

expect from the women? Second, the sociological studies of post-1920s female store staff focus only on managers' strategies for using women at the workplace. What role did those women play in the broader emergence and rise of the female workforce, if any? Third, studies in architectural history have depicted department stores primarily as a culturally progressive place of consumption, not as a workplace. Probably for this reason, the issue of female department store staff has never been taken seriously within architectural history. How can we make sense of the emergence and rise of this female salesforce, by investigating the space of the department store itself through the lens of gender? How did spatial uses and perceptions shape the experiences of women who served on the selling floors, like Furuya did?

To address these set of questions, I synthesize three kinds of evidence: architectural drawings and photographs collected from professional journals and company publications, unpublished employee records from Mitsui Archives, and first-hand narratives of managers and saleswomen, primarily from trade and women's magazines.²⁵⁸ As of 2018, Mitsukoshi is still operating in Japan, as well as internationally, as part of Mitsukoshi Isetan Holdings. The flagship store remains in the same location, although the buildings had to be significantly modified after the devastation of World War II. While one might assume that it would not be too difficult to glean evidence about this ongoing business, in the case of Mitsukoshi's flagship store, only fragmentary evidence is available for research. It is particularly difficult to gain access to corporate materials that could help illuminate the everyday lives of these early female employees, primarily due to Japanese practices of dealing with business documents.²⁵⁹ This

²⁵⁸ At Mitsui Archives, Mitsukoshi employee directories between 1894 and 1928 can be located with the following call numbers: A091/3-1 (April 1894), A091/3-1 (May 1896), A091/3-1 (January 1897), A091/3-1 (October 1898), A091/3-1 (March 1899), A091/3-2 (March 1900), A091/3-2 (April 1901), A091/3-2 (May 1901), A091/3-2 (February 1902), A091/4-1 (October 1908), A091/4-2 (February 1912), A091/4-2 (January 1918), A091/4-3 (October 1927), A091/4-4 (October 1928).

²⁵⁹ From the company's perspective, the documents are still in use and not considered historical records. Old materials tend to be managed by the divisions of corporate communications, marketing, and public relations and

chapter, therefore, uses self-edited and published company histories as an alternative source of historical materials. These kinds of company histories are part of an established genre in Japanese historical writing, called *shashi* [社史, *lit.* company history]. Japanese companies periodically put together their histories for memorial purposes, in which they disclose historical documents that would otherwise be hard to access. Because company histories are published in this unique context, Japanese historians recognize the company histories as sources of evidence, rather than merely as secondary sources.²⁶⁰ I combine these materials with magazine articles, newspaper articles, and professional drawings and writings by architects in order to reconstruct the historical spatial experiences at the department store.

Combining these various forms of evidence, I reconstruct and interpret the spatial uses and perceptions of the Mitsukoshi flagship store as a women's workplace. This approach is inspired by two studies: Susan Porter Benson's *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890–1940* and Eguchi Kiyoshi's "Changes in the Perspectives on Skills at the Pre-War Department Stores." As a social and labor historian, Benson examines how managers dealt with their female salesforce, as well as how female

used to highlight the company's historical legacy. One primary use of the historical materials is memorial product development. Except for special exhibitions at museums, the materials tend to be unavailable to the public, even for research purposes. Although I was able to build some relationships with the members of Mitsukoshi's corporate communications division, gaining evidence from them was still difficult because the designated divisions tend to be neither professionally staffed nor sufficiently systematized. Whereas public archives tend to have established procedures to request, retrieve, browse, and copy the materials, this tends not to be the case for small corporate and other organizational archives. Because these archives are not intended for academic researchers per se, the individuals in charge of the archives act as gatekeepers, deciding whether and what to show on a case-by-case basis. Many such archives are, at best, partially cataloged, and these catalogues tend to be unavailable online due to the shortage of human resources and in order to protect their privacy. Even when they have partial databases, in many cases visitors are not allowed to run searches on them. Mitsukoshi's historical material room is such a case. For example, the cover art of Mitsukoshi's in-house magazine was turned to a pattern on a scarf.

²⁶⁰ Japanese historians have a dedicated community for the discussions of the methodological opportunities and challenges. The community publishes a peer-reviewed journal: *Shashi: The Journal Of Japanese Business And Company History*. Especially for a methodological note on using company histories as sources of evidence, see Maureen Donovan, "Japanese Company Histories as Repositories of Tacit Knowledge," *Shashi: The Journal of Japanese Business and Company History* 4, no. 1 (2016): 5–7.

department store workers exercised their connections with the female-dominated clientele in order to gain power at their workplace. Unlike the sociological studies on Japanese department stores that I discussed earlier, Benson's approach includes spatial analyses of the changing layouts and facilities of department stores; in particular, she uses interior layouts to demonstrate how managers spatially organized and controlled laborers.²⁶¹ Eguchi's work is useful because it is about Mitsukoshi specifically; he analyzes the departments to which female staff were assigned, using the store's employee directories to keep track of the gendered ratios of each department in 1908, 1918, and 1928. By doing so, Eguchi demonstrates how the kinds of departments women were assigned to changed, as managers' views on women's skills shifted.²⁶² Synthesizing this directory tracking approach with Benson's spatial analysis of management strategies, I trace to which departments women were assigned and where these departments were located in the store. Then, I interpret the significance of these spatial arrangements vis-a-vis the social and historical context.

Using Women Behind the Scenes

In May of 1900, the year before Furuya was hired, three women began working at Mitsui Kimono Textile Store as the first female employees. As Hibi Ōsuke, a managing director of Mitsukoshi, contended, the kimono textile store started employing women because the store managers "desire[d] to offer women a new job." In his 1906 article entitled "Female Clerk," Hibi outlined the conditions of women's jobs, writing:

²⁶¹ Susan Benson, *Counter Cultures : Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 31–74.

²⁶² Eguchi Kiyoshi 江口 潔, "Senzenki No Hyakkaten Ni Okeru Ginō Kan No Henyō Katei: Mitsukoshi Ni Okeru Joshi Hanbai'in No Taijin Ginō Ni Chakumoku Shite 戦前期の百貨店における技能観の変容過程: 三越における女子販売員の対人技能に着目して [Changes in the Perspectives on Skills at the Pre-War Department Stores: Focusing on Interpersonal Skills of Saleswomen at Mitsukoshi]," *Kyōiku Shakaigaku Kenkyū 教育社会学研究 [Studies in Educational Sociology]* 92 (2013): 129–49.

Women and wages: Quite a lot of companies and stores have recently started employing women, which we should celebrate. At Mitsukoshi, we began employing women four years ago. While we do not know why other companies employ women, we employ women not because they are more inexpensive than men, but because we desire to offer women a new job.

Previous jobs of women: Until recently, very few jobs were common to women, except for the ones at home. If I categorize the jobs into two kinds, one is the kind that evokes pity – such as female workers at spinning factories, match factories, and hair string [*motoyui* 元結] factories. These are all manual labor [jobs] for the lower part [of the female workforce], whose numbers are larger. The other is the kind that requires brain capabilities, such as school teachers. This kind is different from the former. While it pays well, the job requires a substantial level of knowledge. Because not everyone can take this job, the numbers are very small. This is the higher part [of the female workforce].

A new direction for women's jobs: Because these two jobs were too far apart from each other, we wanted to offer women a new job, which is located in the middle of the two and appropriate for women. This is how we started employing women [at Mitsukoshi] (original emphasis).²⁶³

Thus, at the turn of the twentieth century, managers believed that it was still rare for women to work wage-earning jobs outside of the home. Job opportunities for women were limited to *jokō* [女工, *lit.* female factory worker], jobs that evoked “pity,” and *jokyōshi* [女教師, *lit.* female school teacher], which required skills that not everyone had. These conceptions are consistent with what sociological studies of professional working women in the interwar period have

²⁶³ Hibi Ōsuke 日比翁助, “Joshi Jimuin 女子事務員 [Female Clerks],” *Jogaku Sekai* 女学世界 [*World of Girls and Education*] 6, no. 4 (1906): 159. Hibi’s timeline “four years ago” from 1906 is not congruent with the fact that they started employing women in 1900. But still, this statement illustrates one manager’s perspective on women workers and jobs well.

Original: 女子と給金 近来は大分各会社や商店で女子を採用する様になりましたが、是は誠に喜ぶべきことであります。私共三越呉服店でも、四年前から之を採用して居りますが、他はいざ知らず、三越では、給金が男子より安いからと云うので採用した訳ではないので、女子に新職業を与えたいという私共の希望から起こったのです。

従来の子職業 是まで世間で有りふれた女子の職業と云つては、家庭に於ける仕事の外には甚だ希少で有った。今之を二種に別けると云うと、第一は紡績女工の如き、マッチ、元結等の製造の如き、人をして何となく惻隱の心を起こさせる類のものである。是は総て手の方の仕事であつて、そして低い方の部分であつて、そして又甚だ多数である。第二は、学校の教員如き、脳力を使用する側である。是は前者と違って、収入も多い代りには、相当の知識の有る者で無くては出来ない仕事で、誰にでもと言う訳に行かぬから、其数は至って少ない。是が即ち高い方の部分で有る。

女子職業の新方面 そこで前二者の間が余りに懸離れて居るから、此中間に位する程なもので、女子相当の新職業を婦人に与えたいと思いついたのが抑の始めです。

shown.²⁶⁴ Offering an option that was neither too demeaning nor too intellectually challenging, Mitsukoshi managers like Hibi attempted to show “a new direction for women’s jobs.”

Hibi’s account exemplifies Mitsukoshi’s attitude toward hiring female employees; the company saw this shift as part of their commitment to building a new society. As Hibi indicated, other companies and stores had already set a precedent. For example, six years earlier, in 1894, Takahashi Yoshio, the general director of the Osaka branch of Mitsui Bank, had started employing women to do clerical work, with the requirement that the women be from age sixteen to twenty-five and have an elementary school education. This became known as the first hiring of female clerical workers in Japan. Following this practice, other banks, insurance companies, and national ministries also began considering women for clerical jobs, positions that were previously dominated by men.²⁶⁵ Thus, the employment of women was not entirely new. But, interestingly, Hibi’s narrative immediately dives into the issue of lower wages for women employees in order to make his point. Hibi’s way of discussing this new initiative shows Mitsukoshi’s effort to distinguish itself from these precedents by highlighting the company’s socially-oriented perspective.

While the managers at Mitsukoshi seem to have conceived of hiring female store staff as a strategy to display their commitment to the advancement of Japanese society, the first three

²⁶⁴ Iwashita, “Generation of Shokugyō Fujin during the Post WWI Period”; Yamazaki, “Changes in Images of Working Women in Major Women’s Magazine in Japan during the Prewar Period Following World War I.” In addition, there are several monographs available on Japanese factory girls at the beginning of twenty century. See Patricia Tsurumi E., *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Elyssa Faison, *Managing Women Disciplining Labor in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

²⁶⁵ Mitsui Bank and Mitsui Kimono Textile Store were both part of the same conglomerate operated by Mitsui Family--a successful merchant clan, whose origin dates back to the time of Tokugawa. A year after the employment female bank clerks, Takahashi was transferred to the kimono textile store and led the initiative of employing women for store operations for the first time. On the first generation of female clerical workers at other companies, see Kon’no Minako 金野美奈子, *OL No Sōzō: Imisekai to Shite No Jendā OL の創造: 意味世界としてのジェンダー* [*Invention of Office Ladies: Gender as a Semantic World*] (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 2000), 23; Murakami Nobuhiko 村上信彦, *Meiji Joseishi, Chūkan, Kōhen: Onna No Shokugyo 明治女性史 中巻後篇: 女の職業* [*History of Meiji Women, Vol.2, Issue 1: Women’s Professions*] (Tokyo: Rironsha, 1971), 22–24.

female employees actually had little to no contact with customers, which is clear from examining the spaces in which they worked. At that point in time, the store was housed in a two-story, Japanese-style mercantile house – the building that had been the home of the business since 1874 (Figure 3.1). When the women were first hired in early 1900, the spatial design of the store was in the middle of a transition. Store managers had started to learn about new selling styles based on retail practices in the West, particularly from the United States, and they were eager to try out these new tactics for themselves. As part of this effort, the first and second floors of the store had recently been rearranged to accommodate two different selling styles.

On the first floor, senior salesmen called *bantō* [番頭, *lit.* head clerk] served customers in the traditional approach, called “sit-and-sell style” [*zauri* 座売り]. Customers came in from the street through the single customer entrance to the selling space, then sat down with a senior salesman to discuss items and prices (Figure 3.2). When showing kimono textiles to the customer, the salesmen relied upon shop boys [*kozō* 小僧], who would retrieve items from the back storage area. Because of this two-step selling style, the front and back areas of the floor were designed to be separate spaces. The second floor, meanwhile, had previously been used to house a boarding room for employees and as a parlor for visitors. However, in 1895, when Takahashi was transferred to the kimono textile store, he had converted the second floor into a display space, inspired by the glass showcases at Wanamaker’s, a department store in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.²⁶⁶ At the time when the first women were hired at the store,

²⁶⁶ Masuda Takashi – the store’s business advisor – sent a then-emerging architect, Yokokawa Tamisuke, to the United States to learn about trends at American retail institutions. Yokokawa documented American retail stores and submitted an illustrated report to Matsuda in 1898. The report presents fifteen pages of sketches of selling floors with a caption that reads, “Please pay attention to how organized the interior displaces spaces are in every city and state of the United States.” Thus, through such visits and delegates, the store executives gained knowledge on American retail practices. These kinds of spatial changes, based on knowledge gained from research on other businesses abroad, were conducted as an experiment. See Takahashi Yoshio Takahashi Yoshio 高橋義雄, *Hōki No Aato, Jō 箒のあと 序* [Trace of a Broom, Part One], Fukyūban (Tokyo: Shūhōen Shuppanbu, 1936), 131–32;

customers on the second floor could ramble through these glass showcases, browsing the items without talking to salesmen (Figures 3.3 and 3.4). Although the available images from the time period do not show much detail, the showcases appear to be filled with smaller items – perhaps kimono accessories like belts. Although the upper floor had adopted this new selling style, the floor plan indicates that there was still a front-back division, like on the first floor. After a five-year experiment on this upper level, in October of 1900, the management turned the downstairs into a display space as well. The items were categorized into four departments so that customers could locate what they wanted to take a look at on their own.²⁶⁷

While such experiments were already underway when the first female store staff were hired, the changes would not have affected them much. Indeed, the women were not placed on the selling floor from the start; instead, two of them were assigned as telephone operators and the other as a sewing quality inspector, which were both back office functions.²⁶⁸ Unfortunately, the oldest available plan showing the layout of the store dates back to between October and December of 1900, which was after the conversion of the downstairs floor into a display space. But by combining this schematic floor plan with older photographs, we can see that there was a

Yokokawa Tamisuke 横河民輔, “Gofuku Zakkaten Kenchiku Torishirabe Hōkokusho 呉服雑貨店建築取調報告書 [Research Report: Retail Shops of Clothing and Accessories]” (Tokyo, 1898), unpaginated. This report is unpublished and archived at Historical Material Room of Mitsukoshi, and occasionally appear in museum exhibitions.

Original: 一 呉服小売店は多く雑貨販売店に於いてするを普通なるが故に其精細の事は次項雑貨店の条に於いて知るを得るべし其店頭陳列の様子は下に列出する米国内各市府の呉服小売店図に就て如何に室内列品の整理されたるやを見るべし

²⁶⁷ At Mitsukoshi (at this point still Mitsui Kimono Textile Store), the 1900 schematic floor plan did not indicate the correspondence between the numbers and departments. In later years, Mitsukoshi carried the numbering even new departments were added. For example, the number one remained as an abbreviation for cotton textiles no matter what departments were added later. It is reasonable to assume that the four departments (the number one to four) corresponded with the first four on the 1901 floor plan.

²⁶⁸ On the employee directories, women first show up in 1908, whereas the company histories have always mentioned 1900 as the year in which they started employing women. It is possible that the store managers did not consider the women as formal employees until 1908 (call number A091/4-1). On the first employment of women, see Mitsukoshi Kabushiki Gaisha, *Records of Mitsukoshi Co., Ltd., 1904–2000: 100 Years from the Department Store Declaration*, 36.

clear division between the selling floor and the back offices, where the women were first assigned to work (Figure 3.5). As Figure 3.5 illustrates, the design department, executive offices, and storage were all organized in the back, farther from the entrance. As Figure 3.5 does not include room descriptions for every section, it is difficult to understand precisely where the women would have worked day-to-day. But, based on the descriptions that are available, we can tell that the telephone operators and sewing quality checker likely worked in one of the “offices” on the first floor and in one of the storage rooms, respectively.

Not only were the non-sales function jobs all consolidated in the back, but there was also a dedicated, smaller employee entrance on the side, which led straight to the storage area, accounting and industrial product departments, and other offices. If the women fulfilled only their assigned functions, there would have been no need for them to appear on or even to pass through the selling floor. Thus, even though female staff were present inside the store, they were not likely visible to customers. As I have not been able to locate any first-hand accounts from these first three female staff members, little is known about their actual experiences at work. Nonetheless, we can assume that, for the customers at least, these working women might have seemed more like a mere idea than a physical presence.

Negotiating a Place for Women on the Selling Floor

Women did not remain in the back of the store for long, however. In 1901, three saleswomen, including Furuya, appeared on the selling floor to serve the accessory department. Mitsukoshi hired these three saleswomen soon after its complete abandonment of the traditional sit-and-sell style in October 1900. This physical change, which turned the entire selling floor into a space filled with showcases, entailed a de-skilling of the salesforce to a certain extent. The

merchandise knowledge of senior salesmen was depreciated, while the customers' own discretion was more appreciated.

While the de-skilling might have helped the managers to consider women, who were regarded less suited for intellectual work, for sales positions, Mitsukoshi managers still emphasized the social and cultural impacts of the employment of saleswomen. For instance, Hibi – who was an assistant store manager at that time – contended, in retrospect:

Mitsukoshi did not need to use cheaper labor. There was no need to hire women into the store that had been doing fine only with male employees for a long time. [...] But we took a risk of bringing women into our store because we wanted to show that women were suited to retail store staff as well as to expand women's professional realm.²⁶⁹

This 1916 statement is consistent with the one he had made a decade earlier, about the store's "desire to offer women a new job."²⁷⁰ Repeating such statements publicly in various trade and women's magazines, Hibi consolidated the idea of Mitsukoshi as a leading cultural institution.

Perhaps because of the discourse of social change that he constructed over time, Hibi has been recognized as the leader who modernized the space and operations of Mitsukoshi.²⁷¹

However, it was not only his cultural leadership, but also women's own willingness to serve on

²⁶⁹ Hibi Ōsuke 日比翁助, "Sukoburu Ryōkō Naru Joten" in No Saiyōhō to Kantoku Hō 頗る優良なる女店員の採用法と監督法 [Wonderful Ways to Hire and Supervise Female Store Staff], *Nihon No Kanmon 日本之関門 [Hurdle of Japan]* 1, no. 6 (1916): 26–27.

Original: 三越としては何も給料の安い人間を使用せねばならぬ必要はない。永年男店員のみで不都合のなかつた店に俄に女店員を入れなければならぬ必要もない。[...] それを強いて危険を冒しながら女店員を入れる様にしたのは、商店員には女が適當であると云ふことを世の中に示し、女の職業の範囲を拡張したいと言ふのが目的であつたのである。

This is congruent with Furuya's recollection elsewhere: Furuya, "The Principle of Remember Male Store Staff Are Your Enemy," 104.

Original: が一面において日比さんは給料が安いから貴女方を使うのではない、女でも働くことが出来るということを示す意味において貴女方を使うのだからしっかりやってくれと常に激励していただきました。まあこんなことがあつたので今日まで居られたのでせうね今から考へますと随分つらひもありましたがどうか今日まで辛抱して来ました

²⁷⁰ Hibi, "Female Clerks," 159.

²⁷¹ For example, see Hoshino Kojirō 星野小次郎, *Mitsukoshi Sōshisha Hibi Ōsuke 三越創始者 日比翁助 [Hibi Ōsuke, Founder of Mitsukoshi]* (Tokyo: Hibi Ōsuke Ō Denki Kankōkai, 1951); Hayashi Hiromi 林洋海, *Mitsukoshi Wo Tsukutta Samurai Hibi Ōsuke 〈三越〉をつくったサムライ日比翁助 [Hibi Ōsuke, the Samurai Who Produced Mitsukoshi]* (Tokyo: Gendai Shokan, 2013).

the selling floor, that drove the employment of women in these positions. Furuya's recollection, in 1933, of how she and her colleagues first obtained their jobs exemplifies this alternative perspective:

In April of 1901, I graduated from the girls' vocational school in Hitotsubashi. "Please hire me," I shamelessly asked managers at Mitsui Kimono Textile Store, which still operated in the sit-and-sell style with the navy-blue shop curtain. The president at that moment was Mr. Mitsui Genzaemon. Mr. Hibi, who would later bring growth and innovation to Mitsukoshi, was still a sales manager starting new business practices. My request for employment was rejected, probably because it was not yet the time to hire women. Nonetheless, I asked one of the store staff, with whom I had a close connection, to introduce myself to Mr. Hibi. He agreed to hire me, but said, "We can't hire you alone. Bring in some friends." I then asked Mr. Hibi, "Please send the recruitment notice to my alma mater." He did so, and I was hired with two other alumnae, Satō Yone and Takatsu Masano. We three were the first female sales staff.²⁷²

According to Furuya, it was from her position as a female vocational school graduate that she initiated the conversation with the store management. Despite the initial rejection, she did not give up on her idea of working at the store. She persisted with trying to make her request get through to Hibi. Furuya's claim as being "the first female sales staff" also suggests her sense of pride to be at the forefront of this new practice. This recollection is significant because it suggests that the position would not have been offered if Furuya herself had not actively pursued it.

It is not easy to gauge how much Furuya's actions influenced this actual process, however. Congruent with the dominant discourse of Hibi as a progressive leader, another retrospective trade magazine article highlights how the management was actively on the lookout for female talent. In explaining how Furuya entered Mitsukoshi, the reporter writes,

It is said that, after his return from an international trip, the head of sales Mr. Hibi Ōsuke suggested that, "Stores overseas employ a lot of female senior sales clerks. Their attitudes are very mild and comforting. Why don't we experiment with using women in Japanese

²⁷² Furuya, "On Female Store Staff," 171–72. This article was the only one that was credited to a woman within this edited history of Mitsukoshi Department Store. The article was a summary of the interview of Furuya, who was then one of the few female staff supervisors.

stores?” He looked around everywhere and finally selected Kyōritsu Girls’ Vocational School, which was established by Hatoyama Haruko.²⁷³

Kyōritsu Girls’ Vocational School was Furuya’s alma mater. While the primary components of this story are consistent with Furuya’s retrospective account, in this article, it is Hibi who proactively sought potential female candidates for the sales clerk positions, inspired by overseas retail practices. In this version of story, Furuya just followed Hibi’s lead, instead of cultivating the path for saleswomen on her own. Perhaps she did not actually have as much agency as was presented in her version of story. Still, Furuya’s statement suggests that early female saleswomen held a sense of empowerment and pride in establishing their own place on the previously male-dominated selling floor. While Hibi’s version of story has been told again and again in the history of department stores, women were not emotionless objects that were simply deployed to the selling floor by the managers to represent the progressiveness of the institution.²⁷⁴ They were human beings who had their own desires, hopes, and needs, which also drove their search for jobs outside of the home. Without their willingness to serve, they would have never appeared on the selling floor.

While Hibi supported the notion of women working on the selling floor as part of his progressive ideals, many other managers – at Mitsukoshi and elsewhere – undermined the saleswomen’s capabilities in trade magazines. Trying to make sense of how they could best use female employees, managers shared their experiences and ideas in trade journals. Their statements generally concluded that female employees were not as competent as their male

²⁷³ Furuya, “The Principle of Remember Male Store Staff Are Your Enemy,” 103.

Original: 何んでも三越の大番頭日比翁助氏が何度目かの洋行から帰えて「外国の商店では女の番頭を沢山使っているが、非常に物やさしく感じがよいから日本でも一つ使って見たら……」と八方探し回って白羽の矢を立てたのが鳩山春子氏建てるどころの共立女子職業学校であった。

²⁷⁴ Toyoizumi Masuzō 豊泉益三, ed., *Hibi ō No Omoide 日比翁の思ひ出 [Memories of Mr. Hibi]* (Tokyo: Mitsukoshi Eigyō Bu, 1932); Hoshino, *Hibi Ōsuke, Founder of Mitsukoshi*; Hayashi, *Hibi Ōsuke, the Samurai Who Produced Mitsukoshi*.

counterparts, although they recognized that women's attention to detail and milder attitudes toward customers might have some merits. For example, Suzuki Sadaichi, a manager at Shirokiya, concluded in an article published at the time, "I have to say that female employees are good if we use them as complements or assistants. If we expected them to work as regular or real employees, we would just be disappointed."²⁷⁵ Similarly, Satō Ystutarō at Matsuzakaya, a kimono textile retailer from Nagoya, discussed the strengths and weaknesses of female employees in an article, writing from his own experience. After pointing out three disadvantages and one advantage, Satō notes:

These female store staff earn daily wages, from twenty-five sen to fifty sen. With this amount, they cannot lead an autonomous life in a respectable way. *But it is just inevitable because it is still questionable if they can work as an independent, complete store employee at a retail institution* (original emphasis).²⁷⁶

For Satō, it seemed fair that female employees would not earn sufficient daily wages to lead a respectable, autonomous life, while their male counterparts were paid a comfortable monthly salary. Even after the store managers started using women, they continued to trivialize them as mere supplementary human resources. Perhaps because of this dominant discourse, previous studies have tended to take for granted the peripheral status of saleswomen at the stores.²⁷⁷

While women store staff might be considered to have a peripheral status from the point of view of their managers, examining their department assignments through the lens of space opens

²⁷⁵ Suzuki Sadaichi 鈴木貞一, "Joshi Ten'in No Tokuchō to Ketten 女子店員の特長と欠点 [Advantages and Disadvantages of Female Store Staff]," *Shōten Kai 商店界 [World of Retailing]* 11, no. 1 (1931): 143.

Original: 単に補助店員又は助手として使用すれば上乘であると云わねばならぬ。若しこれに反し正又は本店員として期待するならば或は失望せんかと思うのである。

²⁷⁶ Satō Yasutarō 佐藤安太郎, "Yo Ga Jikken Shitaru Joten'in No Jinsen Nan 予が実験したる女店員の人選難 [The Difficulty in Selecting Female Store Staff: From My Own Experience]," *Shōgyō Kai 商業界 [World of Commerce]* 12, no. 2 (1909): 50.

Original: 之れ等の女店員の給料は日給と云う事にしてあつて、約二十五銭以上五十銭位まで、与える事になつて居る。之れではその体面を保つて自活する事は出来ないが、併そ実際に於いて女店員は商店に於ける一個完全なる店員として認める価値は尚ほ疑問の裡にある今日は致し方があるまい。

²⁷⁷ Yoshimi, *Geopolitics of Visual City: Modern Era as a Perspective*, 80.

up an alternative interpretation. Consider, for example, the location of the department served by the first saleswomen. As Furuya stated, the three saleswomen were all assigned to the accessory department.²⁷⁸ More precisely, the management created this department to experiment with women's sales capabilities.²⁷⁹ The experimental nature is hinted at on a 1901 schematic floor plan (Figure 3.6), where the accessory department was indicated simply with its name (“accessory”), while the other departments were numbered from one to ten. Departments were usually referred to by numbers in order to save time during operational conversations.²⁸⁰ In Japanese, for instance, “*momen uriba* [木綿売場, *lit.* cotton textile department]” requires two words, while “*ichiban* [一番, *lit.* number one]” is a single word. The absence of a number suggests that the significance of the accessory department had yet to be established at the time.

Nonetheless, the location of the accessory department suggests the primacy of saleswomen in the store experience. The same 1901 layout shows that this department was located in the forefront of the store, right next to the only customer entrance. There was only one entrance because, at that time, visitors were still required to take off and deposit their shoes upon entering, then retrieve them again upon exiting the store. The fact that the accessories were located near the only entryway is thus critical, because it means that every visitor would have passed through or by that department, even if it was not their intended destination.²⁸¹ The

²⁷⁸ Mitsukoshi Kabushiki Gaisha, *Records of Mitsukoshi Co., Ltd., 1904–2000: 100 Years from the Department Store Declaration*, 37.

²⁷⁹ Kōgetsu 紅月, “Jotenin Furuya Tsuruko 女店員古谷つる子 [Furuya Tsuruko, a Female Store Staff],” *Shōkō Sekai Taiheiyō 商工世界太平洋 [Commercial and Industrial World, the Pacific]* 7, no. 19 (1908): 94–96.

²⁸⁰ According to a long-time Mitsukoshi employee who was in charge of Mitsukoshi's Historical Material Room as of 2016, this practice of calling departments by numbers is still ongoing at Mitsukoshi.

²⁸¹ This practice of shoes deposit was common in the department stores in Tokyo until after the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake. Until the earthquake made people realize that keeping shoes on during shopping was a safer and more convenient choice, visitors usually deposited and collected shoes at the entrance, just like they did at home and sit-and-sell style stores. Architect Denji Nakamura, who was specialized in commercial architecture, pointed out the single entrance on the ground floor as a unique characteristic of Japanese department stores. See Nakamura Denji 中村伝治, “Shōten Kenchiku 商店建築 [Commercial Architecture],” in *Arusu Kenchiku Daikōza 2: Keikaku Ishō Hen*

proximity to the entrance can be understood to represent a high traffic area, with considerable exposure to visitors. By serving in the accessory department, the first saleswomen would have been easily visible to most store visitors. In addition, people might have been able to see the saleswomen even from the street outside of the building. As noted earlier, when the saleswomen started working in the accessory department, the store was still housed in the mercantile house. Although glass showcases were installed throughout the interior space, the traditional Japanese style exterior remained intact. During business hours, the entrance was covered only with a fluttering fabric curtain, as pictured in Figure 3.1. Outside of business hours, the entrance was shut with large sliding doors, and the employees came in and out from the side door. This open entrance was in place until the storefront was remodeled with glass window displays in 1903.²⁸² Until then, since there were no other displays set up between the entrance and the accessory department, the curtain would have only partially interrupted the view into the store. Similar to other traditional Japanese buildings, the first floor was also constructed slightly higher than the street level, in order to articulate a division between outside and inside. Due to these subtle architectural features, pedestrians on the street likely did not see the entire figures of the saleswomen, but they might have caught glimpses of them. It is notable that the saleswomen were likely to be exposed to people's eyes not only inside but also outside of the building.

The management did not make explicit statements on how they decided on the physical location of this experimental accessory department. Yet, a comparison of schematic floor plans

アルス建築大講座 2: 建築意匠編 [*Als Lectures on Architecture 2: Planning and Design*] (Tokyo: Arusu, 1930), 61–65.

²⁸² Takahashi Sadatarō 高橋貞太郎 et al., *Koto Kenchikugaku 16: Shoten, Hyakkaten, Jimusyo, Ginko* 高等建築学: 商店・百貨店, 事務所, 銀行 [*Advanced Architectural Studies 16: Retail Shops, Department Stores, Offices, and Banks*] (Tokyo: Tokiwa Shobo, 1933), 8; Fujita Zenzaburō 藤田善三郎, “Bunken Kara Mita Echigoya to Mitsukoshi 文献から見た越後屋と三越 [Echigoya and Mitsukoshi Based on Historical Literature],” in *A Comprehensive Guide of Department Store: Mitsukoshi*, ed. Hyakkaten Shōhō Sha, 56–87.

before and after the creation of this department suggests that this spatial configuration was strategic. As of early 1900, there were four departments on the first and second floors.

Departments #1 (cotton) and #2 (*hachijō* 八丈, a type of silk textile) were located on the first floor, while #3 (men's kimono textiles) and #4 (silk gauze, lining fabric) were on the second floor. Later in 1900, when the store underwent their major interior remodeling, these departments were subdivided further and rearranged. It appears that the accessory department was created during this remodeling. In the new floor plan, the two floors were divided into ten numbered and two unnumbered departments. To make room for the additional eight departments, they converted some of the back office spaces – namely, the general affairs, cashier, and distant sales departments on the first floor, as well as the design department on the second floor – in order to create more display spaces. The new downstairs accommodated departments #1 to #3 by using former office spaces, which meant that these three departments were pushed to the back. The front space, most of which used to be occupied by department #1, was dedicated to the experimental accessory department. Department #1, cotton textile kimonos, was the largest in the store, which indicates that the management expected a high demand for this merchandise. Placing the accessory department to the front, even ahead of this large and popular department, suggests its primacy in the management's new strategy. After all, they could have placed the accessory department elsewhere in the store if they had wanted to.²⁸³ If the managers were actually unsure about women's sales capabilities, as they stated in the trade magazines, they

²⁸³ During the remodelling, the management had significantly reorganized the departments throughout the store space. As a result, the new arrangement has little dependence on the previous one. New departments could be placed anywhere. By way of example, another experimental department of scrap fabric was created on the second floor. On the remodeling, see Mitsukoshi Kabushiki Gaisha, *Records of Mitsukoshi Co., Ltd., 1904–2000: 100 Years from the Department Store Declaration*, 37. On the first assignment of women, see Fujita, “Echigoya and Mitsukoshi Based on Historical Literature,” 69. In addition, a trade magazine article indicates that managers at other department stores refrained from placing women on the selling floor. See Henkutsudō 偏窟洞, “Jotenin Hyōban Ki 女店員評判記 [Notes on Reputation of Female Store Staff],” *Shōgyō Kai 商業界 [World of Commerce]* 9, no. 6 (1908): 70–72.

could have conducted their experiments with selling accessories in a more hidden location in the store. In other words, the wide array of possible locations that they did not choose, and their final decision to place the accessory department in the front, suggests that they put the saleswomen in this particular location for a reason.

Why, then, did the managers place the first saleswomen in such a high traffic location? Although their intentions are not fully articulated in the managers' first-hand accounts, several sources suggest that they deployed the female store staff to generate a new kind of store experience and to attract visitors. Furuya herself indicated that she and her colleagues attracted much attention by simply standing on the selling floor. In an interview, she stated, "Once we [the first saleswomen] were on the floor, there was a fuss because we were so novel and unexpected."²⁸⁴ Managers like Hibi appear to have been aware of the strong impressions that the saleswomen made. As one female journalist summarizes, in retrospect:

Hibi Ōsuke was the store leader at that time. He was sensitive to business trends. He was also a progressive thinker. Two years earlier, he started employing women as sales staff. No merchants had ever employed women except for backroom work. Their merchandise – including *yūzen*, *chirimen*, and other linen and silk textiles – was colorful, but the store looked too bleak and dull, with only male head clerks in striped kimonos and aprons, as well as shop boys. Adding young women to the workforce was quite a radical idea that he had.²⁸⁵

This passage indicates three broader points about the context in which Hibi hired the first saleswomen. First, people had started perceiving a "bleakness" and "dullness" in the store, even though it had only been six years since the 1895 remodeling of the upstairs into a display space. The short time that it took consumers to feel bored suggests that people expected the store to change continuously. Second, the staff was considered to be part of the store experience. In

²⁸⁴ Anon., "Women Originator 3: Female Store Staff Who Were Considered Novel and as a Spectacle," 7; Furuya, "The Principle of Remember Male Store Staff Are Your Enemy," 104.

²⁸⁵ Nishi Kiyoko 西清子, *Shokugyō Fujin No Gojūnen 職業婦人の五十年 [50 Years of Professional Women]* (Tokyo: Nihon Hyōron Shinsha, 1955), 151. *Yūzen*, *chirimen*, and linen/silk, were expensive types of textile.

particular, the homogeneous composition of the salesforce, with its male clerks and shop boys, contributed to a sense that the store was no longer exciting enough for modern consumers. Third, the female store staff were deployed to the selling floor to mitigate this looming sense of familiarity. If the managers attempted to update a declining store experience that was perceived visually, placing the saleswomen at the forefront – where their exposure would have been the highest – makes sense as a strategy. Implementing this “radical idea” physically in the store, managers like Hibi seem to have attempted to update the in-store experience, which was becoming less interesting to customers.

In the passage, the word “colorful” is used as an inverse of “bleak and dull,” which suggests that women were also used to make the store look more colorful. But in fact, saleswomen were not visually “colorful.” As I will elaborate later in this chapter, their attire was regulated so that they did not look too showy. Thus, it is likely that words like “colorful” and “bleak and dull” were used metaphorically instead of literally in the passage. “Colorful” likely referred to the state of heterogeneity and unfamiliarity, whereas “bleak and dull” referred to the state of homogeneity and familiarity, associated with the male-only salesforce.

But what was it that made saleswomen so different, such that they could be perceived as more “colorful”? Indeed, female store staff looked different from their male counterparts. But one of the biggest differences was the manner in which they interacted with customers. For example, Satō – the manager at Matsuzakaya who believed that it was inevitable that women were underpaid because of their incompetence – highlighted these differences, writing:

A male store staff convinces a customer to buy by understanding the customer’s preference, no matter what his own preference is. But female store staff do not seem to be able to switch their minds this way. If the customer starts doubting, a female store staff

also wonders. Sometimes, they end up spending an unproductive time together in front of the showcase, not leading to any sales.²⁸⁶

In this writing, Satō criticized saleswomen's inability to work in the same way as salesmen, or in the way that was familiar to him. Instead of talking someone into buying a product, a saleswoman would consider options and think about different possibilities, along with the customer. While Satō recognized this as a disadvantage of employing saleswomen, to Hibi, the same empathetic attitude appeared to be a welcoming addition to the store. In his writing, Hibi admitted that he heard complaints like “saleswomen neither talk nor flatter as much as salesmen,” which was congruent with Satō's perspective. Yet, Hibi continues, to see this as a “disadvantage” was to make merely a “surface observation.” He notes:

They do not know the truth and capabilities of women, yet. [...] One day, while I was walking around the store, I saw two women humorously chatting with their bodies close to each other. I thought they were sisters, but as I got closer, I realized one of them was our sales staff. So, I later asked if she knew the customer beforehand. She said she did not know the customer. That time, I felt certain that this was a big success.²⁸⁷

Contrary to Satō, Hibi considered saleswomen's ability to build an intimate relationship with female customers as a great asset. To Hibi, “the truth” was that this was a different but valuable capability, while the discourse of their incompetence was just “a surface observation.”

²⁸⁶ Satō, “The Difficulty in Selecting Female Store Staff: From My Own Experience,” 50.

Original: 男店員ならば、譬え自分は如何あろうと、客の嗜好を呑み込んで、直ちに購買心の誘発にかかるとのであるが、どうも女子には然云う気転が利かぬ勝ちである。故に顧客も迷えば、女店員も迷うて、互いに無益の時間を陳列棚の前にまごまごして終に販売の機を失して仕舞うような事さえある。 [...] 決断的勇氣に欠けて居るけれども、細心な注意に勝っている。

²⁸⁷ Hibi, “Female Clerks,” 160.

Original: 女子の欠点 [...] 且つ男子と比較して口数少くお世辞が足らぬ、などの批難は折り折り聞きましたが、それは皮相の観察で、未だ女子の真相と手腕（うでまえ）を知らぬからの言であります。殆ど姉妹 私が或日店内を見廻って居ますと、二人の婦人が体と体とを、クツつけ合って、左も睦まじ相に話して居るので、姉妹の客であろうと思って居ましたが、近寄って見ると其一人は店員ですから、後で其店員に貴女は先刻の客を知って居るのかと聞いたら、知らない客だと答えました、で、私は其時、これは大きな成功である、 [...]

Whether negatively or positively perceived, the saleswomen's more empathetic way of interacting with customers certainly generated an impression that something new was underway in the department stores. At the beginning, the numbers of saleswomen were so small that not every customer interacted with them directly while shopping. Still, department store visitors would have at least have seen interactions similar to the one that Hibi witnessed, because the female store staff were located in a high traffic location. By their mere physical presence as well as their friendly interactions, saleswomen could create an impression of novelty and unfamiliarity and help construct a metaphorically "colorful" store experience.

Managing and Using Women's Sensory Capital in the Workforce

Thus, exploring the location of the first saleswomen in context suggests not only that they were far from being a trivial workforce, but that they offered what sociologist Pierre Bourdieu would call "sensory capital," which could be consumed by the customers who craved something new in the store. Bourdieu defines capital as "accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated,' embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e. , exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor." According to this definition, capital can take any form if people pursue it for its value, even if that is not monetary.²⁸⁸ At the turn-of-the-century retail store, the dominance of men in the salesforce gave saleswomen a relatively high value as the holders of sensory capital. The assumptions that women should be at home and that working women were rare could have boosted their value even more. Their unique ability to serve in the form of sensory capital is also part of why women were offered the opportunity to appear on the selling floor.

²⁸⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 241.

Along with this, the managers' urge to continuously update the store experience drove the employment of saleswomen. As philosopher Marshall Berman contends, staying at the forefront of modernity requires self-disruption because of the craving "for permanent change, for perpetual upheaval and renewal in every mode of personal and social life."²⁸⁹ In an attempt to re-establish the traditional kimono store as a modern retail institution, constant updates to the store design and operations were key. The managers needed to keep offering experiences that were not available somewhere else in the city. Even the managers like Suzuki at Shirokiya and Satō at Matsuzakaya, who did not understand how to handle their female store staff, accepted women into the workforce because they needed something new. No matter how much Hibi emphasized the social aspects of women's employment, he was also aware of all the other advantages of having female store staff, which he could deploy to achieve his agenda of modernizing the store. In this respect, women indeed played a central role in the transformation of the store.

In fact, Furuya had an awareness that she served as part of the new in-store experience. In the retrospective interview that I cited at the beginning of this chapter, she describes the accessory department as "newly created," "unique to Mitsukoshi," and "the basis of today's department stores." These descriptions indicate her perceptions of the accessory department initiative as novel. Of course, as this is a recollection, her memories and impressions might have become combined with later experiences. Furuya's account does not necessarily represent the feelings of other female sales staff, either. Elsewhere, Furuya also recalled colleagues who "hid in the corner of the department, when friends and neighbors visited the store." Unlike Furuya, some of her colleagues felt stigmatized for working outside of the home and appearing in front of non-family members. Having to appear in the public, some saleswomen were even mistaken for

²⁸⁹ Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982), 94.

sex workers early on. Society had yet to recognize them as “serious” workers, and their presence was sometimes considered vulgar.²⁹⁰ But still, people like Furuya began to nurture a sense of pride by identifying as pioneers for other working women, even if the opportunities offered to them could also be seen as exploitative to some extent.

Democratizing the Store

At Mitsukoshi’s flagship store, the number of female staff continued to increase.²⁹¹ Meanwhile in 1908, Mitsukoshi constructed its first new building (Figure 3.7). This wooden, three-story building was built with a lightwell in the center, borrowing an architectural style that they called “Renaissance style [*Runesansu yōshiki* ルネサンス様式]” from the West. One of the biggest changes in the built environment was the openness of the space. For example, the bright and spacious interior made a striking contrast with the dim sit-and-sell space in the Japanese-style mercantile house. Previously, Mitsukoshi’s sales principle was based on the old saying, “Great merchandise stay deep in the warehouse.” This meant that merchants should not show off all their items, but maintain some mystery by keeping some pieces hidden. Because the ability to sell by being as selective as possible was important, limited lighting was preferred as a way to highlight just a few items for the customer.²⁹² In contrast, the new interior was designed for the

²⁹⁰ Furuya, “The Principle of Remember Male Store Staff Are Your Enemy,” 104.

²⁹¹ As of 1927, 307 women worked at the store, accounting for 15.3 percent of the store workforce. Similar to the first saleswomen at the accessory department, women tended to work at locations in the store that expected higher customer traffic, selling less traditional types of merchandise. Although women still made up a small portion of the workforce, their presence might have felt more outsized than these numbers suggest.

Mitsukoshi Gofuku Ten 三越呉服店, “Mitsukoshi Gofuku Ten Goan’nai Zu 三越呉服店御案内図 [A Floor Guide of Mitsukoshi Department Store,” wrapping paper, c.1927, Historical Material Room, Corporate Communications Division, Mitsukoshi Isetan Holdings; Mitsui Dōzokukai Jimukyoku 三井同族会事務局, “Kabushiki Gaisha Mitsukoshi Gofuku Ten Ten’in Meibo 株式会社三越呉服店店員名簿 [Employee Directory of Mitsukoshi Co., Ltd.],” employee directory, October 1927, A091/4-3, Mitsui Archives; Kabushiki Gaisha Mitsukoshi Hyakkaten 株式会社三越百貨店, “Kabushiki Gaisha Mitsukoshi Shokuin Meibo 株式会社三越百貨店名簿 [Employee Directory of Mitsukoshi Co., Ltd.],” employee directory, October 15, 1928, A091/4-4, Mitsui Archives.

²⁹² For their old sales principles, see Mitsukoshi Kabushiki Gaisha, *Records of Mitsukoshi Co., Ltd., 1904–2000: 100 Years from the Department Store Declaration*, 39.

new experience of letting customers walk through and look at all of the displayed items, whether they would ultimately buy any of these items or not. Because the items were displayed throughout the selling floors, the interior space needed to be much brighter, illuminating merchandise from one corner to the other. The space also needed to get the customers moving around the store. The new interior, full of natural light and glass showcases, communicated transparency to customers, instead of “hid[ing] most of the items in the warehouse.” Upon their entry to the interior of the store, what visitors now saw first was the set of grand stairs that lead upstairs. On the second and third floors, the aisles surrounded the void under the central lightwell. Through the surrounding aisles, visitors rambled around different departments while still maintaining sensory connections with the outdoors. This way of setting up the circulation would have made visitors feel that the interior space was a continuation of the street, even though they still had to deposit their shoes at the entrance.

This change in the physical environment was made as part of Mitsukoshi’s bigger agenda – to become a one-stop retail institution called a department store. Mitsui Kimono Textile Store was incorporated, and the name was changed to Mitsukoshi Kimono Textile Store [*Mitsukoshi Gofuku Ten* 三越呉服店] in 1904. On January 2 of the following year, Mitsukoshi published the provocative advertisement mentioned earlier, the so-called “Department Store Declaration,” in the major newspaper *Jiji Shinpō*. One clause of the declaration reads, “We will increase the diversity of the merchandise so that you can get everything related to clothing and accessories under one roof. By this, we will realize the department store, which is already in practice in the United States.”²⁹³ Its transformation to a department store was Mitsukoshi’s major strategy to

Original: 「良買は深く蔵す」を信条とし、品物の見栄をよくするために暖簾で店内を薄暗くし、なるべく少ない商品を見せて客を満足させるのが番頭の腕、とされていた旧来の販売方法

²⁹³ Ibid., 362.

expand the clientele to include the emerging middle class. The Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) accelerated the industrialization of Japanese society and created white-collar, salaried jobs for educated men, which opened up more clerical jobs for women like Furuya. As this population of salaried men with families grew, their buying power and their desires to express themselves through consumer goods, including through the kimonos they wore, also increased. Eventually, Mitsukoshi's potential clientele was no longer limited to the people who inherited status and wealth from the previous generation.²⁹⁴ To acquire the growing middle class as its customers, Mitsukoshi democratized their merchandise and physical environment, which is what they meant by “becom[ing] a department store.” In 1907, in particular, this expansion of merchandise selection and service offerings accelerated. Items like children's goods, Western clothes, umbrellas, travel goods, toys, bags, and shoes were added to the store that year. Auxiliary services like a photo studio, dining hall, and exhibitions were also added, even though the business was still housed in the old mercantile house at the time.²⁹⁵ As the array of merchandise

²⁹⁴ Design historian Jinno Yuki has shown that emerging middle class *men* were the primary clientele of urban department stores in the late Meiji period--from the end of the nineteenth century to 1912. Those men were motivated to purchase “good taste [*shumi* 趣味]” by following the latest trend in clothing, accessories, and hobbies displayed at the department stores. The middle class men gained the information about trends and good taste through “gentlemen studies [*shinshi ron* 紳士論]”--a discourse that men's magazines constructed and publicized. Men's domination in the clientele ended at some point in 1910s or 1920s. While neither existing studies nor the materials I excavated indicate exactly when it was, for example, urban ethnographer Kon Wajiro counted visitors at one of the entrances of Mitsukoshi from 3:00 PM to 3:30 PM on November 20, 1928. His report indicates the female-male split in the adult visitors was 1,065:1,077--almost half and half. In 1933, without any reference to sources, authors of a design handbook for department store architecture indicated that the female-male split in the visitors was almost half and half. But according to these architects, women tended to stay for twice as long as men in the stores. They ultimately suggested 7:3 as a realistic estimate for the female-male split in purchasing power. Thus, women's presence (not number) surpassed their male counterpart. On Meiji men's taste and consumer culture, see JJinno Yuki 神野由紀, *Hyakkaten de Shumi Wo Kau: Taishū Shōhi Bunka No Kindai* 百貨店で「趣味」を買う：大衆消費文化の近代 [*Purchasing Good Taste at a Department Store: Mass Consumer Culture in the Modern Period*] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2015). On Kon's field research, see Kon and Yoshida Kenkichi 吉田謙吉, ed., *Kōgengaku Modernologio* 考現学 モデルノロジオ [*Modernology*] (Tokyo: Gakuyo Shobo, 1986), 206-09. For the design guidebook, see Takahashi et al., *Advanced Architectural Studies 16: Retail Shops, Department Stores, Offices, and Banks*, 177.

²⁹⁵ Mitsukoshi Kabushiki Gaisha, *Records of Mitsukoshi Co., Ltd., 1904–2000: 100 Years from the Department Store Declaration*, 68–69.

and services expanded, Mitsukoshi needed a physical space that could effectively accommodate all of their offerings, for both old and new customers. Thus, the 1908 building was constructed to accommodate these processes of democratization that had already been underway for several years prior.

To facilitate visits by less affluent customers, the new building was also equipped with spaces that were not focused on purchasing items at all, such as complimentary lounges. In the lounges, visitors could sit and rest during shopping or browsing without leaving the department store. As shown in Figure 3.8, the lounge was intricately decorated, from the walls to the ceiling and the floor. The visitors Mitsukoshi was hoping to attract might have seen similar rooms in magazines; as cultural historian Jordan Sand has shown, magazines like *Ladies' Graphic* reported on this kind of home décor that was popular among elites. As described in the previous chapter, Japanese nobility often built separate Western-style buildings called *yōkan* on their estates, which were decorated in similarly extravagant manners. While less affluent people might have seen glimpses of such rooms, then, they did not have physical access to them; providing an experience of such ornate facilities must have been a major draw for some of these customers.

Indeed, floor plans of the 1908 building suggest that Mitsukoshi was more successful than expected in enticing less affluent clients. Within a year from moving into the new building, Mitsukoshi converted some offices into a department for selling scrap fabric (pieces of kimono textiles that were leftover and sold at bargain prices). According to an architectural plan that was generated upon construction, the four offices were located behind the selling space on the first floor (Figure 3.9). In a professional journal published at the time, Nakamura Denji, the chief architect of this building project, claimed that the offices for direct sales administration and

accounting were going to be used to sell scrap fabric *temporarily*.²⁹⁶ But the schematic layout that was used during the same year shows that all of the four back offices had been already taken over to make way for the scrap fabric department. This prompt makeover of the back offices indicates the urgent need for this department; it turned out that the odd ends of fabric – items that high-end kimono textile stores like Mitsukoshi had not seriously considered as part of their primary merchandise – were quite popular among the expanded clientele. One photograph taken on a sale day in 1909 shows a fully packed selling floor, hence communicating the popularity of bargains (Figure 3.10). On multiple levels, then, the 1908 building democratized visits to the store, by inviting non-shoppers and less affluent people to this new urban institution.

Women in High Traffic Locations

In this ever-changing environment, where did female store staff work? According to the 1908 employee directory, 46 women worked at Mitsukoshi's flagship store, accounting for 8.1 percent of the workforce. It is not possible to map out women-served departments on the 1908 floor plan, which indicates only approximate locations of the departments; the employee directory classified the staff only roughly into five sales divisions: upstairs (kimono), downstairs (kimono), Western clothing, dry goods, and contemporary art. Each division housed multiple departments, which sometimes spread to multiple floors. For this reason, it is impossible to locate precisely where each female employee was working on the floor plan. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that women took up 19.4 percent of the sundry goods division staff. This proportion was twice as high as the average divisional women ratio of 8.1 percent and the highest among the

²⁹⁶ Nakamura Denji, "Kanmatsu Fuzu Setsumeimei 卷末付図説明 [Explanation of the Pictures]," *Kenchiku Zasshi* 建築雑誌 [*Architecture Magazine*] 257 (1908): 38–40.

five sales divisions.²⁹⁷ The 1908 plan shows that most of the dry goods departments, which included shoes, bags, umbrellas, toys, and scrap fabric, were located to the left of the customer entrance on the first floor. Although this is a partial picture, we can see that women still occupied the area closer to the incoming traffic.

Mitsukoshi's flagship store continued to be remodeled and expanded throughout the 1910s and 20s. However, it is not possible to identify precisely where women worked because only fragmentary architectural drawings and schematic plans are available for these years. In 1914, the five-story, Renaissance-style building was completed on the former site of the mercantile house, to the east of the 1908 temporary building.²⁹⁸ In 1921, the west wing of the store was completed, taking over where the temporary building had stood.²⁹⁹ In 1923, the entire store complex was significantly damaged by Great Kantō Earthquake, and it took four years for the store to reconstruct the complex that they had constructed in the past decade.³⁰⁰ In other

²⁹⁷ Kabushiki Gaisha Mitsukoshi Gofuku Ten 株式会社三越呉服店, "Kabushiki Gaisha Mitsukoshi Gofuku Ten Jinmeibo 株式会社三越呉服店人名簿 [Employee Directory of Mitsukoshi Co., Ltd.]," employee directory, October 31, 1908, A091/4-1, Mitsui Archives.

²⁹⁸ For this building, I have been able to locate architectural plans of the basement, first floor, and the rooftop and a schematic plan for the first floor, though there is no information on the second to fifth floor, and none of the plans indicate the location of each department. With the incomplete set of drawings, it is not possible to map where each person worked. For the drawings Nakamura Denji, "Mitsukoshi Gofuku Ten No Kenchiku Ni Tsuite 三越呉服店の建築に就て [On the Architecture of Mitsukoshi Kimono Store]," *Architecture Magazine* 29, no. 340 (1915): 199–215.

²⁹⁹ For this seven-story building, I have been able to locate architectural plans of the basement, the first and second floors, and the rooftop. These plans also do not indicate department locations, leaving the vast majority of space that seems to have been the selling floor with no labels. Similarly, while the south wing was completed in a new adjacent site in 1922, I have been unable to locate any architectural drawing or schematic plan for this building. For the drawings of the 1921 building, see Anon., "Mitsukoshi Gofuku Ten Tokyo Honten Nishikan Kenchiku Gaiyō 三越呉服店東京本店西館新築概要 [Architecture of Mitsukoshi Kimono Store West Wing, an Overview]," *Architecture Magazine* 35, no. 419 (1921): 526–30.

³⁰⁰ For the expansion of the 1910–20s, see Suzuki Kenji 鈴木健二 Wakamatsu Toshiki 若松俊輝, Furuya Shinji 古家靖士, "Nihonbashi Mitsukoshi Honten to Takashimaya Tokyo Ten No Zōkaichiku to Naibu Kōsei No, Hensen Ni Kansuru Kenkyū 日本橋三越本店と高島屋東京店の増改築と内部構成の変遷に関する研究 [A Study on Transition of Reconstruction and Internal Composition of Mitsukoshi and Takashimaya Department Store]," *Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai Kenkyū Hōkoku Kyūshū Shibu Keikakukei* 日本建築学会研究報告 九州支部. 3, 計画系 [Architectural Institute Japan Research Report, Kyūshū Chapter, Planning], no. 51 (2012): 117–20.

words, the spatial organization of the store itself was going through continuous upheavals during this period.

Even without a clear and consistent picture of how the store staff were organized, however, we at least know that the departments of non-traditional items tended to have higher ratios of women employees, compared to the departments that sold kimonos. For example, as of 1918, 243 saleswomen worked at the store, accounting for 19 percent of the total salesforce. Around 30 percent of the salesforce of non-textile departments was women, compared with 16 percent in textile departments.³⁰¹ The non-textile departments tended to be located on the first floor in the 1908 building and on the first or second floor in the 1927 building, as I will discuss below. Thus, it is quite likely that saleswomen continued to serve in the locations that expected higher exposure to visitor flows during the period until 1927.

In 1927, yet another reconstruction of the building complex was completed, with some expansions. In this seven-story retail complex, 307 of the employees were women, accounting for 15.3 percent of the workforce. Despite this seemingly low ratio, as noted, some of the high-profile departments on lower floors were predominantly served by women (Figure 3.11). The women-dominated departments included the departments of confectionary (57.9 percent) on the first floor, toys (57.1 percent) on the second floor, bargains (69.2 percent) and ready-made clothing (65 percent) on the third floor, and collars and accessories (77.8 percent) on the fourth floor. Auxiliary services departments, such as dining halls (71.6 percent), the photo studio (66.7 percent), and the hair salon (50 percent), were also dominated by female staff.³⁰² Thus, while

³⁰¹ Eguchi, “Changes in the Perspectives on Skills at the Pre-War Department Stores,” 134–35.

³⁰² Mitsui Dōzokukai Jimukyoku 三井同族会事務局, “Kabushiki Gaisha Mitsukoshi Gofuku Ten Ten’in Meibo 株式会社三越呉服店店員名簿[Employee Directory of Mitsukoshi Co., Ltd.],” employee directory, October 1927, A091/4-3, Mitsui Archives.

most sales departments included female staff by this time, they were not evenly distributed throughout the selling and service floors.

Those predominantly female departments were major visitor draws. In general, lower-level sales departments were meant to receive higher traffic. A 1929 field study, conducted by urban ethnographer Kon Wajirō and reporters from a women's magazine called *Ladies' Companion*, accounts for how departments were arranged at Mitsukoshi flagship store. In the survey report, Kon describes a department store as “a multi-story building, which can be considered as a vertical street.” As Kon observes, it was not only “people who intended to buy something,” but also “those who just walked and browsed vacantly” who visited the store, as if they were walking down the street. As for the arrangement of the various departments, he continues, “On the fourth floor and above, the items that only a limited number of people would need to buy are displayed. [...] Items that are popular to any kind of visitors are densely placed on the way out of the store. On the upper floors, items that can slow visitors down seem to be placed quite sparsely.”³⁰³ As Kon's report indicates, departments were arranged on different floors based on the expected traffic flows, for the two kinds of people – real and window shoppers – who visited the store. Located at the entrance of the “vertical street,” items sold on the third floor or below were meant for any both kinds of visitors.

Kon's observation is congruent with the theory of department store design, which was later shared by Nakamura, the chief architect of the 1927 building complex, who had also been in charge of the 1908 building. Nakamura came to be recognized as a leading specialist in retail environment design; in 1930, he published a well-known professional guidebook entitled *Commercial Architecture*. By examining American practices, Nakamura identified the typically

³⁰³ Kon, *Modernology*, 206-07.

vertical configuration of a department store, which used the first floor for selling more everyday items like accessories and upper floors for items that required “quieter shopping.”³⁰⁴ Three years later, two other architects published a design handbook for department stores and commercial architecture, drawing on the studies of Nakamura and others. In the handbook, they write:

The entire first floor including the entrance is the most important area at a department store. At American department stores, approximately 50 percent of sales are made on the first floor. Therefore, architects should pay the most attention to the design, display planning, and lighting on the first floor. The floor should be clean and beautiful. The columns, walls, and ceilings should have elaborate decorations and engravings. The ceiling should be high and bright. The decorations and lighting on the columns and ceiling should be bright. The merchandise display and fixtures should be designed with the most care to attract attention of the customers.³⁰⁵

In this passage, the two architects are explicit about the importance of the ground floor design.

Because the highest traffic and sales were expected to occur on this floor, the design needed to be more elaborate.

Not only were the women-served sales departments more visited than others, it is likely that they were some of the most profitable departments in the store by the mid 1920s. As noted, women tended to sell items other than high-end kimono textiles, such as confectionary, toys, bargains, ready-made clothing, collars, and accessories. At a comparable department store chain, Matsuzakaya, the data shows that although expensive kimono textiles had higher profit margins in the 1910s, by the mid-1920s, the departments selling inexpensive, non-traditional items

³⁰⁴ Nakamura, “Commercial Architecture,” 58.

Original:売場内商品配置の工合は各国申し合せた様に一階は細々した小間物類や装身具類の如く大体一階で普通の用の足りる様な品を売る事が普通であり、従って米国邊では一階は非常の人出でも二階はヒソソリとして落着いて買物の出来るような品物を陳べる事が普通である。婦人用服装類の如きは何処でも二階または三階位を占領して居り寛くして買物をする事の必要な様なものを陳列する事が一般である。四階以上は厨房用具、陶器、硝子器、美術品、楽器、運動用具、最上階に近き所は家具敷物、子供用玩具の如き嵩張ったものを普通とし、食堂は大抵何処でも最上階の全部を提供するは一般である。地下階は少くとも二階迄を安価品売場に提供し一階入口から直ぐに地下室に降って百貨の安価品を売る所謂マーケットの様なものにする事は世界一般である。

³⁰⁵ Takahashi et. al., *Advanced Architectural Studies 16: Retail Shops, Department Stores, Offices, and Banks*, 208-09.

became more profitable. Using detailed fiscal data, business historian Nakanishi Satoru has shown that higher numbers of inexpensive items were sold as the clientele expanded to the middle and lower classes. Matsuzakaya, which had also transitioned from a kimono textile retailer to a department store chain, competed with Mitsukoshi during the interwar years between 1919 and 1937.³⁰⁶ Of course, the business strategies of Mitsukoshi and Matsuzakaya differed to some extent, but the competitors shared similar legacies, transitional paths, and clientele. As of 1929, Mitsukoshi's store visitors had also shifted to the middle class, according to Kon's observation.³⁰⁷ Thus, we can assume that at Mitsukoshi, as well, saleswomen tended to serve the departments that were significant not only from a sensory perspective, but also from a business perspective.

In addition to the sales departments on the lower floors, the women-dominated auxiliary service departments were major draws for visitors. For example, architectural historian Hatsuda Tōru indicates that, as of 1933, the dining halls at Mitsukoshi usually catered close to 10,000 customers on a typical weekday and 16,000–17,000 customers on a Sunday or national holiday. According to Hatsuda, Mitsukoshi had housed a customer dining hall since 1907, but it was small. In 1921, a new one, stretching 9,216 square feet and accommodating 600 seats, opened on

³⁰⁶ Nakanishi Satoru 中西聡, "Ryō Taisenkan Ki Nihon Ni Okeru Hyakkaten No Keiei Tenkai: Itō Gofukuten (Matsuzakaya) No Hyakkatenka to Taishūka 両大戦間期における百貨店の経営展開: いたう呉服店 (松坂屋) の百貨店化と大衆化 [Development of Management at a Department Store in Interwar Japan: Itō Kimono Textile Store (Matsuzakaya) Became a Department Store and Popular]," *Keiei Shigaku 経営史学 [History of Business Administration]* 47, no. 3 (2012): 3–31.

³⁰⁷ Kon and *Ladies' Companion* reporters counted and observed people who were going out of the front entrance from 3:00 PM to 3:30 PM on November 20, 1928. On this day, the Enthronement of the Emperor took place, and some sort of celebratory events were underway at Mitsukoshi. While the count might not be representative of a regular day, according to the count, major adult visitors were "ordinary gentlemen" and "wives" in their twenties and thirties. The majority of gentlemen "looked like salaried men." The women tended not to accompany live-in maids, which indicates the modesty of their lives. As we have seen in the previous chapter, as of the 1920s, live-in maids were in supply shortage, and only affluent households could afford such domestic help. The salaried, white-collar employment and maid-lessness were both typical of the middle class. At least, Kon's observation suggests that the majority of Mitsukoshi's clientele were not cultural elites. On Kon's observation, see Kon, *Modernology*, 206–16.

the sixth floor of the west wing of the building. Mitsukoshi continued to add dining halls in the later buildings, and the 1927 building complex ended up holding three dining halls – one each on the fifth and sixth floors, as well as in the basement – with 1,120 seats in total. As the dining halls served children’s menus, they were popular destinations for families.³⁰⁸ Even visitors who did not necessarily purchase any items on the lower floors were thus served by the growing female workforce. Even after several remodeling and expansion projects, then, women continued to serve at prime locations inside the department store and to gain more attention from the visitors.³⁰⁹

Consuming Representations of Saleswomen

As the increasing number of female store staff continued to serve the high traffic locations in the department store, saleswomen’s sensory capital started being consumed outside the store as well, through media that was often salacious. For example, in the 1920s and early 1930s, multiple writers published what later came to be known as “department store novels [*hyakkaten shōsetsu* 百貨店小説],” in which the lives of female store staff were overly dramatized. One good example is *Department Store Revealed*, a sensational work of fiction by Ishikari Jirō. In the work, he describes saleswomen as being easily seduced by men: “The girls, while selling stuff on the floor, are asked out for dates, taken in marriage, and seduced into

³⁰⁸ Hatsuda, *The Birth of Department Stores*, 117–29.

³⁰⁹ The markedness of saleswomen was exemplified in customer complaints. According to Mitsukoshi executive Hamada Shirō, female employees received more complaints than their male counterparts as of 1929. Such complaints indicate customers’ heightened awareness of, and attention to the female store staff. For Hamada’s account, see Okawa Sekiko 小川せき子 et al., “Otoko Wa Onna Wo Dō Miru Ka No Zadankai 男は女をどう見るかの座談会 [A Roundtable on How Men View Women],” *Fujin Kurabu* 婦人倶楽部 [*Women’s Club*] 10, no. 3 (1929): 81. This is a report of a roundtable, in which four women and four men of various professions participated. Original: 女の店員と男の店員とを大体に較べますと、お客さんから苦情が来るのは女店員の方が多いのですね。(81)

destructive relationships.”³¹⁰ He pretends to “reveal” the process by which saleswomen became degraded and sick in the ill-maintained environment. The chapters are given theatrical titles, including “The Tragedy of Female Staff” and “A Confession by a Female Employee.” Other novels, including *M Department Store* by Itō Sei, *Movements on the Seventh Floor* by Yokomitsu Ri’ichi, and *Female Department Store* by Yoshiyuki Eisuke, similarly presented department stores as a seductive, unsafe place, rather than as a serious workplace for women. These fictional tales were widely circulated in magazines that proliferated in the same period.³¹¹

Journalists did not treat saleswomen as serious professionals, either. Instead, in newspaper and magazine articles, they “reported” on saleswomen by depicting them as gossipers. For instance, in 1930, the trade magazine *World of Retailing* carried an article entitled “A Page from a Female Store Staff’s Diary.” This article is presented as the diary of Ishihara Tamako, a female store staff of “MS department store.” Her portrait is placed above the text, making the article look even more real. The excerpted page is filled with idle gossip, such as news of a colleague’s marriage and career change:

Five female and two male store staff left the store for new jobs. Misses Masako and Okiku are going to get married. Miss Nobuko is becoming a concubine, and Miss Shige’e is working for Café Góndola. Miss Yoshino didn’t tell anybody where she is going. But I could tell where she’s headed from what people talked about her on the selling floor.³¹²

³¹⁰ Ishikari Jirō 石狩二郎, *Abakareta Hyakkaten 暴かれた百貨店 [Department Store Revealed]* (Tokyo: Seika Shobō, 1932), 7.

³¹¹ Itō Sei 伊藤整, “M Hyakkaten M 百貨店 [M Department Store],” *Shin Kagakuteki Bungei 新科学的文芸 [New Scientific Literature]* (Tokyo, May 1931); Yokomitsu Ri’ichi 横光利一, “Nanakai No Undō 七階の運動 [Movement on the Seventh Floor],” *Bungei Jidai 文芸時代 [Literature Era]* (Tokyo, September 1927); Yoshiyuki Eisuke 吉行エイスケ, *Onna Hyakkaten 女百貨店 [Female Department Store]* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1930). Cautionary tales about vulnerable women in public urban spaces were shared across cultures. The nineteenth century sensation novels and the early twentieth century urban legends fall into the same category. See, for example, Bill Ellis, “Whispers in an Ice Cream Parlor: Culinary Tourism, Contemporary Legends, and the Urban Interzone,” *Journal of American Folklore* 122, no. 483 (2009): 53–74; Arlene Young, *Culture, Class, and Gender in the Victorian Novel: Gentlemen, Gents, and Working Women* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999).

³¹² Ishihara Tamako 石原玉子, “Joten’in Nikki No Aru Pēji 女店員日記の或頁 [A Page from a Female Store Staff’s Diary],” *World of Retailing* (June 1930), 77.

Throughout the article, this scandalous tone continues, giving the impression that Ishihara, and female store staff in general, are always spreading rumors at work. Though this was an article in a trade magazine where retail management practices were discussed, the entry does not include any agony over her career, professional development, and work relationships with colleagues. Instead, it reads more like a heavily edited or even manufactured diary entry, which was designed to be consumed by the readers of the retail trade magazine: male managers of retail shops. Not surprisingly, this kind of account also intensified the image of saleswomen as being easily enticed by pleasure. Some of the new jobs that the author's former colleagues are going to take include those with shady connotations: a concubine, a server at a café (a drinking establishment catering primarily to men), and a secretive job that could only be guessed. Not only are the content and tone overdramatized, but also the effort to mask Ishihara's identity is curiously ineffective. Since the article disclosed her name and portrait, using an abbreviation for the store name "MS department store" would have done little to protect Ishihara from potential repercussions. Nonetheless, this example suggests that saleswomen's real life stories – and/or content that was disguised as such – were consumed through trade magazines, in addition to the obviously fictional representations.

Newspapers also portrayed department store saleswomen as exotic, foreign, and sometimes sexualized objects to be consumed by men. For instance, in an article entitled "My Wife: Popular Entertainers Pick Theirs at Department Store," a reporter shares a story about taking popular entertainers around to different department stores in Tokyo, then asking female store staff what they thought. The reporter begins the article by writing,

Original: 転職になったのは女店員五名に男店員二名だったわ。正子さんとお菊さんは結婚なさる由。信子さんはお妾さん、滋江さんはカフェー・ゴンドラに鞍替え、吉乃さんは誰にも仰言らないの。でも売場の評判で大概の察しは付きましたわ。

“I want to find my future wife at a department store.” This is what everybody thinks. A department store is a grand river where women [fish] overflow. We can see the lively movement of the flesh under the thin scales of the fish. Now is the time! Popular artists bravely cast rods for catching their wives. Did they catch any fish? If any of them caught a beautiful fish, he might get married to [the fish] next season.³¹³

The reporter and these entertainers went around to major department stores like Matsuya, Takashimaya, Shirokiya, Matsuzakaya, and Mitsukoshi, identified candidates for who could be a potential wife, and talked to these women on the selling floors. The article indicates no respect for saleswomen as professional staff. Instead, it indicates that the men crowded into the stores to get their comments during business hours. In the article, the reporter even conceptualizes women as “fish” – something to be caught by men. Even in newspapers, then, representations of saleswomen provided images of accessible exoticism and eroticism, instead of serious labor and professional services.

In these ways, saleswomen became visible not only to store visitors, but accessible to the wider general public. Media accounts, which tended toward the overly dramatic and exotic, reproduced skewed images of saleswomen who were gossiping, degraded, and not serious about work. As literature scholar Nakamura Miharuru contends, literary representations like department store novels were part and parcel of people’s experiences of department stores.³¹⁴ While Nakamura refers only to the philosopher Nelson Goodman when explaining his theoretical underpinnings, his emphasis on the significance of abstract and conceptual understandings as

³¹³ Anon., “Washino Hanayome San: Geikai Ninkimono Ga Depāto Deno Mitate わしの花嫁さん: 芸界人気者がデパートでの見たて [My Wife: Popular Entertainers Pick Theirs at Department Store],” *Yomiuri Shinbun*, July 17, 1937, 5.

Original: “デパートでお嫁さんを探したい” 誰もが願うところ デパートは女軍氾濫の大河だ、その魚たちは、薄い鱗の下に、ピチピチと肉の躍動を見せている、いまこのときだ！芸界・漫画界の人気者は花嫁探しの釣竿をもって、敢然糸を垂れた、釣り上がったか？美しい魚が手に入れば、誰か秋のシーズンに結婚するかも知れぬ

³¹⁴ Nakamura Miharuru 中村三春, *Shūjiteki Modanizumu: Tekusuto Yōshikiron No Kokoromi 修辭的モダニズム: テクスト様式論の試み [Rhetorical Modernism: An Experimental Study on the Styles of Text]* (Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobō, 2006), 302.

spatial experiences also resonates with that of spatial theorists like Edward Soja.³¹⁵ As the sensational images of saleswomen were consumed through media, the images could turn into expectations, which affected how visitors experienced the department stores in reality. In the 1920s, intellectuals expressed general disbelief toward modern girls [*modan gāru* モダンガール], a category of young women who defied social expectations of submissiveness and female domesticity.³¹⁶ The discourse on department store saleswomen was part of this broader trend. As Kitazawa Shūichi contended in 1925, “shop girls” – a nickname that described saleswomen without acknowledging the labor and services that they provided – were “the most conspicuous” among the modern girls.³¹⁷ The synthesis of the constructed expectations and actual arrangement of saleswomen at higher traffic locations made female store staff more perceivable and noticeable, despite the actual composition of the store workforce.

Discipline as a Technology of Coexistence

Department stores who wished to use saleswomen as sensory capital were thus faced with an idiosyncratic challenge: How could they maintain public morality [*fūki* 風紀] without physically removing women from the selling floors? As I have reiterated, the ideal Japanese woman was not supposed to appear in front of non-family members. To preserve sexual morality, managers at other mixed-sex workplaces, like banks and insurance company offices,

³¹⁵ Geographer Edward Soja has highlighted the importance of “thinking trialectically” about space to understand how people’s spatial experiences are formulated. Synthesizing the trialectics of spatiality developed by Henri Lefebvre, Michel Foucault’s theory of heterotopia, and Homi Bhabha’s theory of third space, Soja has emphasized space as a hybrid of concrete and abstract as well as physical and conceptual experiences. Based on the trialectical thinking, the sensational stories that were spread through media could have helped people imagine department stores as the particular kind of place. See Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Malden: Wiley, 1996). Soja’s discussion synthesizes the following seminal works of spatial theory: Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*; Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): 22; Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

³¹⁶ Barbara Sato, “The Moga Sensation: Perceptions of the Modan Gāru in Japanese Intellectual Circles During the 1920s,” *Gender & History* 5, no. 3 (1993): 363–81.

³¹⁷ Kitazawa, “Tokyo Chaos Report: Shop Girl,” 172.

separated women's work spaces from men's. Maintaining such a physical separation was important not only for the managers, but also for women workers. According to sociologist Kon'no Minako, female employees communicated through a tiny hole in the wall with their male counterparts, who worked in a separate room.³¹⁸ In another example, female clerks at an insurance office refused an invitation to even attend a business meeting with their male counterparts, by issuing a jointly-signed statement.³¹⁹ However, department store managers did not use such a straightforward technique of physical segregation. As we have seen above, female sales clerks held sensory capital precisely because they were seen as new and out of place. To be experienced as something different, they needed to stand and work in the male-dominated space, not in a separate room. The managers thus needed to devise a technology of coexistent control, rather than complete segregation, in order to continue capitalizing on women's experiential value, while at the same time avoiding a societal backlash for encouraging this seemingly immoral practice.

In order to maintain this precarious balance, department store managers exercised what social theorist Michel Foucault calls "discipline." Foucault discusses discipline as a distinctly modern type of power, which is brought into effect by establishing order in a given society using space and time. To varied extents, modern institutions like schools, prisons, and corporations all used disciplinary techniques to exert some measure of control over the population. Typical examples of such techniques include building prisons in such a manner that a hierarchical relationship can be established between the watchman and inmates, or establishing rigid class

³¹⁸ Kon'no, *Invention of Office Ladies: Gender as a Semantic World*, 39–40.

³¹⁹ "Shokugyō Fujin Meikan 職業婦人名鑑 Directory of Professional Women," *Fujin Sekai 婦人世界 [World of Women]* 20:3 (1925) cited in *Ibid.*, 25. The statement reads: "We do not attend a meeting with men." Original: 「男子の会合には一切出ないことになっている」という理由で「出席お断りと連名で、捺印して突き返し」た

schedules for students in schools.³²⁰ Unlike the obvious forms of sovereign power that the Tokugawa government enforced through status-based, separative policies, the modern disciplinary mechanisms of modern Japanese institutions consisted of these subtler, more indirect techniques to manipulate people's thinking and behaviors. Department store managers established their own forms of disciplinary mechanisms through three main steps. First, they established the principle of female-male separation *outside* of work. Second, they repeatedly reminded employees that department store staff were always being watched by the management, colleagues, and society at large. Eventually, the employees internalized the disciplinary system and began disciplining their behaviors by themselves.

Separation Outside of Work

As early as 1906, Hibi articulated this first disciplinary principle in a trade magazine article. On the risks of employing women, he states in the article:

Ready to keep them under control: When controlling [female employees], letting men and women share the space is the most dangerous thing. So, to deal with this, while we do not distinguish women from men for work, we prohibit them from even interacting with each other outside of the store.³²¹

As can be seen in this statement, Hibi took for granted the need for men and women to share the work space. Unlike managers at other mixed-sex offices, his strategy was to enforce and to normalize a strict separation between women and men *outside* of work. To do so, first, Hibi manipulated the times at which female and male employees left the store. In the same article, he continues,

³²⁰ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), esp., 215.

³²¹ Hibi, "Female Clerks," 162.

Original: 取締の用意 取締りの上に於て一番危険なのは、若い男女を同席させる事ですから、之に対する用意としては男女の間柄は職業上では区別をせず、交際の方では店外に於いても相往来する事を禁じてあります。

The time to leave: We enforce the time at which they [the female employees] leave the store especially strictly. It is because allowing young men and women to leave the store through a single exit together would not look great to outsiders and because it would be full of dangers. At the first bell [...], we close the store, and female store staff leave the store by passing the place where two female supervisors watch them. Fifteen or more minutes after this [all female store staff leave the store], we receive the report of completion and ring the second bell. Then, male employees leave the store.³²²

This passage indicates that Hibi understood that female-male coexistence “would not look great to outsiders.” To guarantee some space between female and male employees on the way home, Hibi used the mechanism of time. Of course, there was a possibility that female and male employees could arrange a time and place to meet somewhere away from the store. However, the two female supervisors made sure that all female employees left the store more than fifteen minutes before their male counterparts. In fifteen minutes, women could walk about two-thirds of a mile. Because the store was close to transit stops, they might have even gotten on a train by the time that the male employees left the store.³²³ By manipulating the schedules of workers in these ways, Hibi did his best to ensure that female and male employees would be separated by a considerable physical distance outside of work.

The available records do not indicate exactly how long this practice of staggering the leaving times of male and female employees continued at Mitsukoshi. However, it seems that the practice of separating men and women was still common at some department stores, up until the 1920s, by the technique that I refer to as a “commuting timesheet.” In a 1926 interview in the

³²² Ibid.

Original: 退出時間 特に退出の時間を八釜しく仕てあります。若い男女がぞろぞろと一つ口から出て行く事は他所から見ても余り見善い物では無く、又甚だ危険の畏れがあるから。先づ第一の鈴（客が一人でもあれば、失礼に当たる故に決して店員の帰るを許しませんから、日に依って異なるけれども、此頃ならば大抵四時から五時までの間です、で営業が済んで、婦人の取締り二名が、宿直長として居る其所を通過して、女子の店員一同が退出します、之が了って後の十五分間を過ぎますと、此旨を届けて来ますから、第二鈴を命じます、そこで今度は男子の店員が退出することにしてあります。

³²³ As Tokyo’s transit system was incrementally built, they needed to wait until 1903 to be able to hop onto a streetcar. For the development of transit system in Tokyo, see Imao Keisuke Imao, *History of Railway Development in Tokyo, with Maps*, 14–31.

newspaper *Yomiuri Shinbun*, one female store staff supervisor at an undisclosed “large department store” with about 600 female employees discussed some of the methods for maintaining public morals at the store. She states:

We do not allow [female store staff] to hang around on their way back home. We are so strict that we record their departure time from the store and get the time checked by their guardians [at home]. Serving as a saleswoman will be such a pain if you cannot tolerate this strict regulation.³²⁴

Modern institutions like schools and corporations disciplined students and employees by making them follow a predetermined schedule every day, often by using a workplace timesheet, which recorded the start and end times of the work. Every time their work hours were recorded for the uses of managers and supervisors, employees must have been reminded of the gaze of their bosses. The workplace timesheet also had a practical merit of facilitating the precise calculation of wages and salaries. While the timesheet was a non-gendered disciplinary technique, this female store staff supervisor indicated that women experienced an extra layer of control. The commuting timesheet, which required that guardians check and confirm the times when female store staff departed from the store and returned home, was designed with the clear intention of regulating the behavior of female store staff outside of work.

The lives of female employees were more restricted than their male counterparts in other ways, as well. Male employees, who lived independently at designated company dormitories or headed their own households, were not subject to the same level of supervision or control outside of work hours. By contrast, female employees typically commuted from home, where they were supposed to be supervised by their male heads of household. In addition, as I will elaborate

³²⁴ Anon., “Amari Mazushī Ie No Ko Ha Joten’in Nimo Narenu: Bōten Kantoku No Hanashi 余り貧しい家の子は女店員にもなれぬ: 某店監督の話 [Girls from Poor Households Can’t Even Become Store Staff, A Supervisor Tells],” *Yomiuri Shinbun*, January 27, 1926, 7.

Original: 帰りには散歩も許しません, 退店時間をちゃんとつけてかえし保護者の印を貰わせると云うやかましきです。これだけの事に耐えられる覚悟がなければ女店員になることは非常な苦しみでせう

below, their behavior was more closely monitored and regulated at work. To the female employees, the time and space between work and home could have otherwise been a brief liberation from supervision; the commuting timesheet suppressed this possibility by keeping them under surveillance even when they were in transit.

“Remember male staff are your enemy.”

In addition to these specific techniques that maintained the separation of men and women outside of work, Hibi often made other reminders to female staff to keep their distance from male staff. He often disguised these message as part of the store’s progressive commitment to society. As early as 1904, female staff at Mitsui Kimono Textile Store had to sign an agreement stating that they would not be engaged in relationships with male coworkers outside of work. Part of the agreement read, “Female staff should recognize male staff as their own enemies.”³²⁵ As Hibi discloses in his 1906 article, not only did managers make women sign the agreement, but they also gave each female employee a thick piece of paper printed with the statement, “Remember male staff are your enemy.”³²⁶ Furuya’s recollection indicates that female store staff kept the paper with them on an everyday basis. In the interview from 1933, Furuya states, “Of course, they were very strict on the issues of public morality. They got me a piece of paper with a woodblock print of ‘Remember male staff are your enemy.’ I kept it under my belt just like a

³²⁵ Mitsukoshi Kabushiki Gaisha, *Records of Mitsukoshi Co., Ltd., 1904–2000: 100 Years from the Department Store Declaration*, 63. Additionally, the senior staff at Historical Material Room of Mitsukoshi has told the author that, in earlier times, Mitsukoshi had a rule that women had to punch out five minutes earlier than men, so that they did not encounter male coworkers on their way home. But so far, the author has not been able to find the evidence to support the claim.

³²⁶ Hibi, “Female Clerks,” 162.

Original: それで、雇ひ入れる時に、

●男子の店員は己の讐敵と思う可し
(第何号) 営業部長 (印)

と厚紙に書いた申付書を与え、之に対して「男子の店員は己の讐敵と思ひ可申候」と云う受書を取って居ります。

talisman.”³²⁷ Tucked close to their bodies, the paper must have worked as a physical reminder that managers expected the female staff to minimize interactions with their male counterparts.

While Furuya described the printed principle as a “talisman” that could protect her from the “enemy,” the piece of paper, of course, did not repel male staff automatically. In reality, female store staff internalized the principle through constant reminders and through self-disciplining their own behaviors. In addition to this physical reminder, Hibi repeatedly gave them verbal reminders. In the same 1933 interview, Furuya reflects on how this activated their awareness of the broader social contexts:

Mr. Hibi always urged us to work hard by saying, “We do not employ you because you are cheaper. We employ you to demonstrate that women are able to work.” I think I have managed to make it through till today because of those [constant reminders.] Come to think of it, there have been a lot of struggles, but I have somehow endured them till today.³²⁸

This piece of recollection corroborates Hibi’s own statement:

Rules for female store staff: [...] The reason why we hired them [female store staff] is not that they were cheaper, but that we intend to lead them to someplace farther. So, I always tell them that we would like to be excused from their service if they intend to stay only until marriage, or only to pay for their wedding kimono. I tell them that they should be able to imagine that we have the intention to make every effort to support women.³²⁹

³²⁷ Furuya, “The Principle of Remember Male Store Staff Are Your Enemy,” 105.

Original: そりゃ風紀問題は随分やかましくいわれました。男店員は汝等の敵と思へ--と書いた木刷りの紙を頂いてお守りのやうにして毎日帯の間へ入れていました。

³²⁸ Ibid., 104.

Original: が一面において日比さんは給料が安いから貴女方を使うのではない、女でも働くことが出来るということを示す意味において貴女方を使うのだからしっかりやってくれと常に激励していただきました。まあこんなことがあったので今日まで居られたのでせうね今から考へますと随分つらひもありましたがどうにか今日まで辛抱して来ました

³²⁹ Hibi, “Female Clerks,” 161.

Original: 女子店員の心得 [...] 当店で汝等を雇うたのは、女は給金が安いからと云うのでは無い、どこまでも汝等を導いて行こうという趣意なのである、だからお嫁に行くまでの腰掛にする、又は嫁入りの衣服を造るために這入るなどは、寧ろ始めから御免蒙りたい、少なくとも女子の味方に成って尽力したいと云う意思が、此方に有るので、汝等にも其辺を察して貰はねばならぬと言ひ聞かしてあります。

The last sentence of the statement, especially, exemplifies how Hibi exploited the store's progressive stance of offering women a new job as a disciplinary measure. By repeating that they were part of a broader progressive agenda, he urged female staff to remain conscious of their behavior; it was not just a reflection of themselves as individuals, but also the basis for wider judgments on the fitness of women workers in general.

Manipulating Women's Bodies

Apart from the principle of “remember male staff are your enemy,” a set of stricter regulations on women's bodies was also put in place, which likely served to remind female store staff that they gathered the attention of managers and visitors. Throughout the period between the 1900s and 1920s, women's attire and makeup were more restricted than those of men. In 1921, Mitsukoshi established a uniform for saleswomen: a bluish purple cotton kimono (Figure 3.12).³³⁰ Prior to that, several dress codes paved the way to instituting this uniform. In fact, the store's employee rules had always included some clauses on proper attire, ever since its establishment in the seventeenth century. One old clause read, for example, “Do not dress in anything other than cotton kimono and belts.”³³¹ When they started employing women at the turn of the twentieth century, the managers began developing more detailed dress codes only for women. When they put out a call for applications for female sales clerks in 1903, they simultaneously called for designs for the saleswomen uniform from the public.³³² Although none of the entries was selected for implementation this time, the call for female uniform designs suggests the managers' perceived need to regulate the visibility of women on the selling floor.

³³⁰ Mitsukoshi Kabushiki Gaisha, *Records of Mitsukoshi Co., Ltd., 1904–2000: 100 Years from the Department Store Declaration*, 99.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 27.

Original: 衣類は木綿の着物と木綿の帯よりほかのもの着申すまじく候。

³³² *Ibid.*, 37.

Three decades later, Furuya still remembered some of the early regulations that she had to follow. Her recollection reads:

And the dress code was also pretty strict. We were told: Do not wear any silk kimono, but always look neat and tidy. Do not show your big toe in *tabi* socks. Do not put on *oshiroi* face powder, and so on. If I remember correctly, we were also told not to show a red kimono underskirt when dealing with the hem of the kimono.³³³

The store management specified not only how to dress, but also how to wear makeup. In addition to how they looked, their behavior was regulated. In 1908, one of the Mitsukoshi managers, Kasahara Ken'ichi, detailed how female store staff should dress and behave. In this trade journal article entitled “Modesty That Female Store Staff Need to Have,” Kasahara commented on the four kinds of things that female staff should take care of: hair, makeup, clothing, and attitudes. As for clothing and makeup, his comments were congruent with Furuya's memory. But according to Kasahara, the regulations were even more extensive and thorough; they covered not only the visual but also the olfactory and auditory realms. For example, on saleswomen's hair, Kasahara writes,

Even though they keep it clean, women's hair generates a disgusting odor especially in the hot season. This is because women use oil for traditional style hairdos, and the oil ferments on the head because of the body heat. [...] To avoid oil, they can opt for sokuhatsu hairdos [束髪, a hairstyle similar to Pompadour style]. Because female store staff need to interact with many customers, I want them all to choose sokuhatsu (original emphasis).³³⁴

³³³ Furuya, “The Principle of Remember Male Store Staff Are Your Enemy,” 105.

Original: それから服装なども随分やかましようございまして、絹物は一切着てはいけない常に小奇麗で足袋の親指が出てはいけない。白粉はつけていけない等いはれました確か赤い腰巻などが裾を捌く毎に人の目に触れるやうではいけない等といふやうな心得へも聞かされたやうに覚えています。

³³⁴ Kasahara Ken'ichi 笠原健一, “Joteni'n Wa Ikanaru Tashinami Wo Yōsuru Ka 女店員は如何なる嗜みを要するか [The Preferences That Female Store Staff Need to Have],” *World of Commerce* 10, no. 1 (1908): 53.

Original: 一体婦人の髪は如何に清潔にして居ても、動もすれば一種の悪臭を放つもので、殊に暑期に於ては甚だしい。是れは油を塗ける為め、頭の熱で其の油が腐敗するからである。[...]油を塗けずに結うには束髪のことである。で、多くの顧客に接しなければならぬ女店員は、凡て束髪にして貰いたい。

In this first section of the article, Kasahara directs readers' attention to the smells that women's bodies generated. His reasoning for demanding *sokuhatsu* does not seem very logical, considering the data. As mentioned above, as of 1908 when Kasahara wrote this article, women accounted for only 8.1 percent of the store staff. Even in the sundry goods division where the ratio of women was the highest, only 19.4 percent of the total staff was female. Technically, then, male store staff interacted with *more* customers than female staff did. Yet, Kasahara did not demand that men regulate their body odors. As we have seen, since female staff received more complaints than male ones from customers, Kasahara's sensitivity to women's olfactory presence was understandable to some extent. As a manager, he could have been aware of potential customer complaints about such a "disgusting odor." Perhaps to mitigate in-store experiences, then, the managers intervened in the physiological workings of saleswomen's bodies.

Kasahara was also sensitive to auditory experiences that female store staff generated. In the last section, entitled "Do not have personal conversations in front of customers," he notes: "When a few women get together, they tend to have useless chatter. Outsiders do not feel comfortable about those. And *if emotional customers encounter such a situation, they will definitely feel uncomfortable. [Female store staff] should absolutely refrain from doing so.*"³³⁵ Here again, Kasahara was conscious of the potential gaze of customers. Being afraid of repercussions, Kasahara went on to discipline the store staff who might have personal conversations on the selling floor.

Managers regulated other behaviors, especially the ways women dressed, based on their assumptions about how customers would feel. The specifications that Furuya encountered in the

³³⁵ Ibid., 54. Original emphasis.

Original: 然に動もすれば女と云うものは、二三人寄れば無駄言を言い度がる癖があるもので、他見にも余りに見つとも好い訳のものではない。それに若し感情強い顧客でも居れば、屹度悪意を抱くものであるから、これは大いに慎まなければならぬ。

early 1900s regarding her attire continued to be refined over the years. The “Dress Code for Female Store Staff,” which was finally established and announced on July 16, 1917 at Mitsukoshi, articulates the detailed ways that managers attempted to police the appearance of female store staff:

- Do not look showy; limit your kimono to *Chichibu meisen* [a traditional, high-end textile from the Chichibu region] and silk-cotton mixed spun fabric. Wear cotton kimonos whenever possible, and make cleanliness your top priority.
- *Kasuri* [a patterned textile] is allowed only if it is non-showy navy or *iironomo* [neither white nor black].
- Do not wear a white kimono with *kasuri*, vertical stripes, or *chūgata* [middle-size] patterns.
- Inside the store, do not wear *haori* [hip-length kimono-style jackets].³³⁶

The prohibited textiles, as well as the jacket, were generally perceived as luxuries. By restricting women from wearing these items, the managers attempted to encourage women to “dress tidy rather than showy.” Like the disdain for body odors and idle chatter, managers seemed to have paid excessive attention to the possibility that customers would perceive the women as looking too gaudy. And every time they receive these criticisms and tighter regulations, female stores staff must have been reminded that their behavior was being surveilled by visitors and managers.

Encouraging Self-discipline

Through such repeated reminders that they were being watched by store managers, coworkers, and society at large, female staff eventually developed mechanisms for disciplining themselves. For example, after three decades of working at Mitsukoshi, Furuya internalized the

³³⁶ Mitsukoshi Kabushiki Gaisha, *Records of Mitsukoshi Co., Ltd., 1904–2000: 100 Years from the Department Store Declaration*, 91.

Original: 1917 7月16日 女店員服装規定 掲示 (秘書課)

1. 秩父銘仙, 絹綿混織の程度に止め決して華美に流る可らず, 可成るは綿服を用い唯清潔を旨とすべし

1. 緋は派手ならざる紺, 又は色物に限りこれを許す

1. 白緋, 白縞, 中形は用う可らず

1. 店内にては, 羽織は用う可らず

disciplinary gaze and started casting it at junior saleswomen. Furuya became a female store supervisor at Mitsukoshi's flagship store by 1933. In her interview from that time, Furuya explained how she trained junior saleswomen at the store, stating:

In the first month, we lecture on general matters, such as the store organization, ways of speaking, and attitudes toward customers. And then we ask them to go onto the selling floor with seniors' supervision. After that, each departmental chief is responsible for supervising the saleswomen. I, too, always walk and look around to monitor how they work, and correct bad behaviors.³³⁷

As of 1933, about 29 percent of 3,474 store staff were female.³³⁸ Much like the male managers who monitored early female staff, Furuya herself came to take on the role of monitoring junior saleswomen and reminding them that they were always watched or “supervised” by the management at large.

Furthermore, as more and more employees embodied these disciplinary mechanism, they no longer depended on the presence of supervisors, male or female. One report of an actual department store written by two journalists illustrates that female and male workers saw it as completely normal to segregate themselves at work. In this 1937 magazine article, female and male journalists reported on what it was like to work at a department store by immersing themselves in the environment. Disguised as store staff, they worked for a day at Shirokiya, a leading department store that was located close to Mitsukoshi's flagship store. Both of the journalists shared observations of store staff enjoying a lunch break. The male journalist describes his experience:

³³⁷ Furuya, “On Female Store Staff,” 171.

Original: 入店致しますと最初一ヶ月間は、店の組織、言葉遣い、接客態度という様な一通りの事柄を講習致します、そして古参の人々について売場へ出てもらひます。その後は各売場売場の主任が統督する事になって居りますし、私も常に各売場を歩いて執務振りを見、悪い処を正す様致しております。Like Furuya, a few other old-time female store staff had took the female store supervisor positions at different branches by this time. On other female store supervisors at Mitsukoshi, see *Ibid.*, 172.

³³⁸ Anon., “Mitsukoshi Ten'in Shokuin Shirabe 三越店員職員調べ [Survey on Mitsukoshi Employees],” in *Hyakkaten Sōran: Mitsukoshi 百貨店総覧: 三越 [A Comprehensive Guide of Department Store: Mitsukoshi]*, ed. Hyakkaten Shōhō Sha 百貨店商報社 (Tokyo: Hyakkaten Shōhō Sha, 1933), 1970.

How different it is from the customer dining hall! The ceiling is low. There are clean but simple tables and chairs. I am surprised that the items on the menu are so inexpensive. [...] The men and women split up into two areas, and everybody devours food. Here, the stomachs of the 1,600 employees are filled, one by one.³³⁹

In the morning, this male journalist had worked with female employees in the bargain department and interacted with female customers, which suggests that there was no gendered separation enforced on the selling floor. But in the lunchtime dining hall, he observes that male and female colleagues took lunch separately. As this male journalist makes no specific comment on the separation, it is likely that this practice of segregation was taken for granted and even understood as voluntary. Subsequently, after lunch, the female journalist reports seeing the male and female workers spending time separately on the rooftop.

We went up onto the rooftop for an hour break. On the left of the rooftop plaza, there is a 180 *tsubo* [about 0.14 acre] space where employees can take a walk. There, we can see some female store staff after lunch. The concrete-paved side enclosed by metal fences is thick with six to seven male staff who are sunbathing.³⁴⁰

No visual material is available to illustrate the details of Shirokiya's employee rooftop plaza of this time. However, the female journalist's account indicates that the space was separated into a walkable side and a fenced, concrete-paved side, and female and male employees enjoyed their lunch breaks separately on either side. The female journalist also reports in the piece that she

³³⁹ Joshi Kisha 女子記者 [Female Reporter] Danshi Kisha 男子記者 [Male Reporter], "Niwakajikomi No Ten'in Ni Bakete Hyakkaten Ni Hataraku Ki 俄か仕込みの店員に化けて百貨店に働く記 [Notes on Working at a Department Store, Disguised as Staff]," *Fujo Kai* 婦女界 [World of Women] 55, no. 5 (1937): 320.

Original: 小さな潜り戸を開けて、薄暗い通路を辿ると、さっと展けている店員食堂。話に聞いた桃源郷のような、奇怪な感じがいたしました。こんな蔭に、こんなに広い場所が、と思われるやうな食堂です。でも客用食堂に較べると、何という違いでせう。

低い天井、清潔ですが、粗末な卓や椅子、お値段の安いのに、記者はびっくりしました。十五銭の定食、十銭のハヤシライス、ライスカレーといった調子です。男女二席に分かれていて、みんな盛んに食料をつめ込んでいます。ここで、従業員千六百人の胃袋が、順ぐりに充たされてゆくのです。(320)

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 325.

Original: 一時間の休憩で屋上に上りました。店員の遊歩場は、屋上広場の左手百八十坪位の小広い場所、チラホラお昼のすんだ女店員さんが姿を見せています。金網めぐらしたコンクリートの側に、男店員が六七人目白押しの日向ぼっこ。

interacted with a male customer while working in the lining-collar [*han'eri* 半襟] department in the afternoon, so clearly the life of a female store staff was not completely separate from encounters with men. But these observational accounts suggest that female and male employees kept their distance from each other whenever possible, even though they worked in a mixed-sex environment.

Another account by a female department store employee aligns with the journalists' report. Murase Hanako, a female staff at an undisclosed, "large department store" in Tokyo, shared her workplace experiences in a special section entitled "Pleasure or Pain: Authentic Memoirs by Professional Women" in a women's magazine. In the subsection entitled "Accused of Groundless Rumors," Murase states,

The thing I hate the most is the male-female relationship. If we [female staff] talk with male employees too intimately, we awkwardly find ourselves being gossiped about while we are not aware of it. In addition, young male employees sometimes behave awkwardly. It might be OK if it is a young one, but when older ones, who boast about their higher ranks, say something creepy to us, that is most troublesome. Because if we reject them too firmly, other people will make us suffer from every side.³⁴¹

In addition to her interactions with male colleagues at work, Murase was aware that she needed to be careful about her behavior outside of business hours. She continues:

The thing I love the most is days off. But on the next day, you might find yourself in a completely groundless rumor that this person and that person went somewhere together. That is trouble. Because of such a rumor, an unexpected relationship sometimes emerges between a man and a woman who had nothing to do with each other until then.³⁴²

³⁴¹ Murase Hanako 村瀬花子, "Yorokobi Ka Kanashimi Ka: Shokugyō Fujin No Itsuwarazaru Shuki, Dai Hyakkaten No Jotenin Yori 喜びか苦みか: 職業婦人の偽らざる手記, 大百貨店の女店員より [Pleasure or Pain: Authentic Memoirs by Professional Women, From a Female Department Store Staff]," *Fujin Kurabu 婦人倶楽部 [Women's Club]* 10 (1924): 253.

Original: 一番厭なのは男女の関係です。少し男の方と、仕事の上で親しく話などしてゐると、もう知らぬ間に、変な噂がたつてゐるのです。それに若い男の店員が、時々変な素振りをします。まだ若い方なれば仕方がないとしても、別家格などと威張っているおじいさんから変な事を言われるので一番弱ります。だってあまりひどくはねると、他の色々の方面から苦しめられるんですもの。

³⁴² Ibid.

The prevalence of exaggerated rumors suggest the constant presence of coworkers' gazes, which followed a female worker like Murase. Thus, to avoid finding themselves in "trouble," female store staff monitored and regulated their own behaviors. In this memoir, Murase only pointed out the prevalence of these possibilities in general, without discussing her own behavior specifically.

A diary kept by another female department store worker suggests that the repercussions of getting involved with male coworkers were such that both men and women learned to monitor their own behavior. In 1930, the diary keeper, Terasawa Aki, started working for the Ōsaka branch of Takashimaya, another major department store. Terasawa mentions multiple occasions when she walked home with male employees. For example, in her account from February 23, 1932, she notes: "I walked back with Yoshikawa [a male coworker]. He said that we should not go back home together this often because the store is very strict about female-male relationships. Even though we two simply talk to each other on our way back."³⁴³ This diary entry suggests that Terasawa's male friend, Yoshikawa, was conscious of the collective gaze of his coworkers and was attempting to avoid a misinterpretation of their relationship, even though there was nothing other than friendship between the two. The fear of repercussion that Yoshikawa started bearing in his own mind was one effect of the systematized discipline. Just like Kasahara internalized the customers' gaze, as revealed by the close attention he paid to the bodies of the store staff,

Original: 一番嬉しいのは休日ですが、其の翌日になると、誰と誰とが仲良く何処其処へ言ったとかなんかと、根も葉もない事を云われるので困ります。それが為に、今迄なんともなかった男女の間に、思わぬ関係が生まれるというやうなことがあります。

³⁴³ Terasawa Aki 寺沢あき, *Aru Shokugyo Fujin No Nikki: Taisho 12-Showa 58 ある職業婦人の日記: 大正 12 年 ~ 昭和 58 年 [A Diary of A Professional Woman: 1923-1983]*, diary, digital data provided by Terasawa's nephew, February 23, 1932. Terasawa Aki is a pseudonym that I use for this female diary keeper. Although Terasawa worked at a different department store in a different city, the regulations were similar and her general everyday life is relevant to the studies of saleswomen in Tokyo.

Original: 2 / 23 吉川と歩いて帰ったが、女と男の間のやかましいおりから、彼はあまり一緒に帰るまいと言った。ただ話し相手に帰る二人ではあるが。

Yoshikawa internalized the coworkers' gaze. Once the collective gaze of coworkers and managers was finally inside one's own mind, it was no longer necessary to patrol and manipulate the behaviors of the staff. Rather, they voluntarily avoided each other, at least when they thought they were being watched by others.

Evading Discipline

If workers at the department store were so embedded in the gendered system of discipline, what were the moments for potential evasion, if any? It is not easy to paint a full picture of how female staff might have acted in and against the evolving disciplinary mechanisms, due to the scarcity of available evidence. As first-hand accounts of female store staff are fragmentary, it is difficult to understand their subjective thought processes. Nonetheless, some of the narratives available allude to the agency of female store staff in subverting the restrictions placed upon them, albeit in small, subtle ways.

Complicit disobedience might be one way of describing how the female staff achieved some freedom from surveillance. For example, Murase, the woman who shared fears of getting involved in groundless gossip at work, also discussed how she manipulated her work timesheet. According to Murase, store staff were required to record the times when they left the store to run outside errands. In her account, she explains the ways she managed to have her errand timesheet adjusted:

Another thing that I enjoy more than the days off is visiting other branches during business hours. We visit other branches by the managers' requests, or we can request the visits. When going out for the visits, we write down the time of departure from our store on an outside errand card and get a signature from the departmental chief. We submit the card to the reception. Upon our return to the store, we write down the time of return. We

bring a gift back to the receptionist. If we don't, we will have trouble next time. But with gifts, they manipulate the return time, even if we returned later than expected.³⁴⁴

Essentially, Murase bribed the receptionist, who was supposed to guard the system by making sure that the recorded times were correct, so that managers could keep track of the staff. But once Murase decided to disobey this system, in order to enjoy some extra time outside of the managers' gaze, and the receptionist agreed to take part in the disobedience in exchange for a gift, the disciplinary mechanism became manipulatable. The errand timesheet became evidence of bureaucracy, not of the employee's actual behaviors. Perhaps managers could have avoided this disobedience by rewarding the receptionist for sticking to the rules. If the receptionist was sufficiently rewarded, he/she might have remained more loyal to the managers. But at the department store where Murase worked, receptionists appeared willing to break these rules, given the right incentive from other staff. Once Murase became aware of this crack in the mechanism and decided to take advantage of it, she could evade surveillance, at least for a brief length of time. While these acts of disobedience could have had serious repercussions, the receptionist co-conspired to find a way of working around the system.

Like Murase, other female staff found that maintaining a critical attitude toward disciplinary mechanisms allowed opportunities for subversion. By way of another example, Terasawa, the department store staff in Ōsaka, actually used work as an excuse to gain more freedom from the strictures placed on her at home. Terasawa's older sister was a norm-abiding woman, who repeatedly scolded Terasawa for returning home late at night. In one incident that

³⁴⁴ Murase, "Pleasure or Pain: Authentic Memoirs by Professional Women, From a Female Department Store Staff," 254.

Original: もう一つ休日以上嬉しいのは、営業時間中に主任の命令又はお願いして、他の店へ見学に行く事です。その時は外出伝票に出店時間を書いて、主任の印を戴き、受付へ出して行きます。帰ってくると、帰店時間を書入れます。帰りには受付に土産を買って来てやるのです。そうしないとこんど外出する時に一寸困るのです。土産次第で帰店時間なんか、少々遅れても、どうとでもしてくれます。

Terasawa recorded, on January 15, 1932, she departed the store past eleven o'clock at night after long, unwanted work hours. Once at home, her sister scolded Terasawa, who was already exhausted. Her account from that day reads, "My sister's words, 'That's enough, don't work that late,' broke my strained heart." Because Terasawa came back home late frequently, her sister even started suggesting that her father force Terasawa to leave her job. A month later, on February, 15, 1932, after another incident where Terasawa returned home late, she writes:

Because of the incident last night, I heard my sister suggest to my father that he make me leave the store. She must be afraid of me getting a bad reputation [from neighbors] because of the late returns. But I was on my bed, listening with some ridicule to her speaking.³⁴⁵

As can be seen from these incidents, Terasawa's sister had internalized prevalent public moral standards, which maintained that women should not be out of the home late at night. She cared about how her sister – and presumably, she herself – was viewed by the society at large, and continued trying to make Terasawa leave the job. But Terasawa did not have a similar fear of repercussions as her sister and responded to these attempts to regulate her freedom differently. In addition to the "ridicule" she felt towards her sister, Terasawa intended to disobey and evade surveillance. Her entry from the same day continues:

My father was silent. He might be worried about me getting nervous and troubling him, if I leave the job. I thought of telling them that I would consider leaving the job on a lot of conditions. It gave me great pleasure to see my father give no response to my sister's pseudo-advice. I have another appointment with M [a female friend] tomorrow, but I thought to myself that I would deceive them perfectly.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁵ Terasawa, *A Diary of A Professional Woman: 1923–1983*, February 15, 1932.

Original: 昨晚の事から、姉が父に、店を止めさせては、と言っているのを聞いた。晩の遅いのに悪い評判でも立っては何の思いからではあるが、寝床の中の自分は、半分は嘲笑的に聞いていた。

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

Original: 父は黙っていた。店を止めれば、神経的な顔をして困らせられることを思っただか。店を止めるならいろいろと条件を付けてやろうと考えていた。姉の忠言がましいことに、父が返答の一言も無かったのが痛快に思った。明日又Mと約束したが、うまく誤魔化してやろうと思う。・・・

Thus, Terasawa not only ignored her sister's scolding, but she also confessed that was intentionally manipulating how she appeared to her family. As she planned, Terasawa started lying and omitting facts to account for her late returns. For example, on March 26, 1932, she writes, "I went to [illegible] in Shinsekai [an entertainment district] from around 7:30 PM. When my sister said I was late again, I said I was busy and didn't say that I went [to Shinsekai]." ³⁴⁷ Furthermore, on October 21, 1932, Terasawa's sister appeared in the store and had a quarrel with Terasawa on the selling floor. Even on that day, she went out with her friend and returned home late. Writing about this incident, she recounts:

I went to Iroha [a dining hall] in Sen'nichimae district with H [a female colleague] of the accounting department. It's a quiet place. It was a great experience for my future. Once I was at home, how bad my sister's mood was! I hid that [night-out] under the pretext of the job... It's probably not wise to tell the truth. ³⁴⁸

Rather than strictly adhering to social expectations, Terasawa took advantage of the fact that her job sometimes required her to work late hours and used it as an excuse to account for her fun nights out of the house.

What Murase and Terasawa shared was their ability to externalize themselves as well as the gazes toward them, in contrast to the people who internalized the gazes of managers, coworkers, and customers. In other words, they were able to maintain what sociologist Erving Goffman calls "role distance," or a sense of distance between their socially expected roles and their own senses of selves. ³⁴⁹ With the ability of role distancing, Murase identified an

³⁴⁷ Ibid., March 26, 1932.

Original: 夜7時半時半頃から新世界の*に行く。・・・遅かったね、との姉のことばに忙しさを口にして、行ったことは隠してしまった。

³⁴⁸ Ibid., October 21, 1932.

Original: 給料計算のHと千日前の「いろは」に行く。静かなしんみりした所だ。後学の為に好い経験をやったと考えている。

家に帰った時、案の定機嫌の悪いこと。しかし店用にかこつけて上手に隠しておいたが・・・。本当の事を言うのも考え物だ。

³⁴⁹ Erving Goffman, *Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961), 85–152. In addition, social psychologist Alex Gillespie has similarly identified the externalization of self from the

opportunity to form an alternative, complicit relationship with coworkers. Terasawa, meanwhile, expressed her distance when listening to her norm-conforming sister's scoldings "with some ridicule." Even though they were still embedded in gendered disciplinary mechanisms in most parts of their life, they found moments when they could reflect on and assess the role that they were expected to play, especially when they were away from their workplaces and home, whether they were running errands or out for fun with friends. Thus, no matter how much managers attempted to discipline their female store staff and normalize moral standards, women still found ways to partially extricate themselves, at least as long as they were physically able to move around at their own discretion.

Spending Sensory Capital on Freedom

As I have argued, managers employed women primarily to capitalize on their sensory capital. Because it was important for women's bodies to be visually available, female staff needed to be located at strategic points in the store, where interactions with visitors were expected. Male colleagues continued to share these space with female workers, despite the moral risks of working together, because it was the perceived differences between genders that made the presence of women seem new and exciting to visitors. Because men and women had to coexist in the same space, the gendered mechanisms of spatial ordering in the department store were less tangible, compared with the spaces explored in the other case studies. For instance, in the case of higher educational institutions, women were systematically excluded out of the systems and existing spaces of higher education. While this exclusion made it difficult to expand

system as one of the "distinct processes of extrication from the immediate situation." Gillespie argues that, when one take a distance from the immediate situation, human agency is formed. See Alex Gillespie, "Position Exchange : The Social Development of Agency Position Exchange : The Social Development of Agency," *New Ideas in Psychology* 30, no. 1 (2012): 34.

campuses for women's specialized schools, the spatial segregation of men's and women's institutions also made it possible for them to operate with more freedom. Subsequently, women explored and identified alternative resources to expand their campus on the city's periphery in their own way. This process ultimately empowered women. Unlike the educated women who were operating *outside* of the system, however, female department store staff – seniors and juniors alike – eventually internalized the disciplinary mechanisms controlling their behaviors. In other words, even if, at first sight, it might appear that female department store employees were freer than the women excluded from seeking higher education, because of the lack of physical borders separating them from their male counterparts, this chapter has suggested that women were indeed being controlled in more subtle ways.

While controlling employees' thinking and behaviors through regulations and everyday reminders was a powerful way to maintain standards of public morality, it is also true that jobs in urban institutions like department stores provided these women with unprecedented opportunities to leave home and explore the city. Department store staff like Murase and Terasawa were able to circumvent the increasingly bureaucratic system of discipline and generate some time to explore their own pleasures in the city, alone or with friends, during the day and after work. While further study is necessary to understand precisely how these professional women used work to expand their place in the city, it is clear that their presence was part of what made these stores seem modern and new. In this way, these department store workers, like the students at Tsuda College and the women who gathered at Ueno Park to socialize, were part of the broader reorganization of Tokyo around the turn of the 20th century. Perhaps, businesses and institutions like Shiseidō Parlor proliferated around the department stores in part to cater to these workers, as

they went out of the home, saw non-family members on an everyday basis at the workplace, and formed new relationships with coworkers.

Conclusion

Reordering City Space as Women's Place

Ordering and Contesting Space in Modernizing Tokyo

This dissertation has interrogated how women in Tokyo, around the turn of the twentieth century, invented alternative uses of the spaces outside of home, in order to establish their place in a society and city that was being radically reordered and rearranged. As other scholarship has shown, women were systematically placed in a subordinate position in modern Japanese society. Governmental and corporate authorities, whose leadership and membership were dominated by men, projected their ideals and expectations onto how women should and should not behave, manipulating women's access to resources and behaviors through the control of space. At the same time, in other ways, Japan's modernization was understood to include a larger public role for women. As we have seen, some women took this opportunity to venture out into new terrains, in order to learn, socialize, and work.

In the first case study, the MESC neglected women's needs and desires for higher education, offering no material and financial support for women's specialized schools, whose students and staff dreamed of obtaining equal standing with male-dominated, well-funded universities. Real estate developers also saw no benefit to helping women's institutions, even as they actively invested in the growth of men's institutions in order to increase the value of particular neighborhoods. In the second case study, national government officials and intellectuals encouraged women to socialize outside of the home, for reasons that were more about supporting diplomacy and modernization than about the women themselves. At the same time, women also felt the need to build and maintain their social relationships more efficiently. However, there were no designated spaces for women's social gatherings, while men's clubs

were able to establish clubhouses with the funds that they earned and owned. As members of women's organizations started meeting in relatively large groups to socialize, securing a sufficient space for gathering became an issue, so women were forced to carve out venues by using their homes, familiar places, and emerging urban spaces, such as parks. In the third case study, corporate managers set up Mitsukoshi Department Store as an institution where urban visitors from various walks of life consumed female store staff as sensory capital. Managers needed women workers on the selling floor, in order to keep updating the consumer experience; however, because women were still expected to primarily serve their families, managers also strictly monitored and controlled women's behaviors and bodies, both inside and outside of the store, in order to preserve expectations surrounding public morality. Using various disciplinary techniques, they enforced the principle of separation *outside* of work, in order to maintain coexistence between the genders *at* work.

Thus, the gendering of spaces outside of the home shaped the ways that women could move through the world on multiple levels – from the financial and material resources that they needed to be able to obtain property, to the ways they could dress, speak, and even smell in their workplaces. In their control of space, governmental and corporate authorities did not necessarily need to rely on the physical segregation of women from men – the most explicit, visible way of articulating gendered difference spatially. Rather, by depriving them of resources – including their access to funds, land, and dedicated structures – as well as limiting the ways that they could use certain spaces, these authorities sufficiently hindered the expansion of women's activities outside of the home. These less tangible ways of control were distinct from the mechanisms of spatial ordering that had dominated during the Tokugawa period, which relied primarily on physical segregation based on status.

These forms of spatial discrimination and differentiation took place on such high levels that women had little opportunity to actively choose what kinds of structures they would like to have as a school, a space for gathering, or a workplace. As we have seen, their contestations with these mechanisms for gendering spaces did not always involve physical modifications of the built environment. In the first case study, Tsuda College students and staff could not afford a purpose-built campus until 1931, more than three decades after the school's establishment. Until then, with the prospect of women's higher education still ambiguous, they reinterpreted residential buildings and purchased land plots incrementally. In the second case study, TEGSAA and JWAE gradually expanded their realm of activities. They first repurposed homes and residences, then began to use other semi-public spaces that were already familiar to them, before starting to venture out into parks. TEGSAA constructed their own "alumnae room" in 1933, and JWAE constructed their own clubhouse in 1908. While it took them at least two decades to acquire access to these purpose-built spaces, their interactions with the non-domestic built environment started well before the physical construction of these structures. In the third case study, female department store staff at Mitsukoshi took advantage of opportunities to leave their homes and workplaces, using spaces in the city for their own pleasure. By finding ways around the mechanisms of surveillance and control that they faced at home and at work – whether by abusing the timesheet system or using work as a pretext to spend more leisure time with friends – female department store employees devised ways of distancing themselves from the gazes of families and managers. These women did not construct any distinct spaces or structures to subvert the norms that kept them under men's surveillance. Yet, they did, at least occasionally, evade the technologies designed for controlling their use of space, their behaviors, and their ways of thinking; they were able to enjoy some sense of freedom on the streets of the city, in the

daytime and at night, alone and with friends. In these ways, women circumvented and disrupted some of the gendered spatial mechanisms that sought to control them, and they began to make a place in the city – well before they could execute their own visions for the city at a systematic level, as in the role of architects, urban planners, policy makers, or politicians.

Limited Acceptance as a Civilizing Project

Across the three cases, women's circumventions were possible because society had no choice but to accept women's presence outside of the home, at least to some extent; after all, their participation was considered necessary for the modernization of Japan. This acceptance was always closely connected to male stakeholders' sense of urgency to catch up with the West. In the first case study, while the national government controlled educational resources, it could not prevent other stakeholders, such as small-scale landowners and international supporters, from assisting Tsuda College. Moreover, although the MESC generally discriminated against women in higher education, their attitudes toward women's education were not always consistent; in their efforts to bring together different ideals for what modern women should be, at times the policies they ended up implementing were contradictory or piecemeal. As we saw, the founder, Tsuda Umeko, had already constructed a support network in the United States through her early experiences abroad. Ironically, her first study abroad trip, which allowed her to receive a secondary education, was funded by the very national government that did not approve her school as a university until after WWII. Upon his return from traveling through Europe and the United States, the high-ranking government officer Kuroda Kiyotaka had proposed that the state establish a study abroad program for girls. Kuroda believed that, in order to bring up the next generation of Japanese people, the future mothers of Japan should be educated like the American women he saw on the trip. The government approved Kuroda's proposal and sent Tsuda and

other girls to the United States in 1871.³⁵⁰ What Tsuda envisioned after her time in the United States, though, was not to educate women to be future mothers. She was determined to offer higher education and academic experiences for women at the same level as their male counterparts. In other words, Tsuda College's expansion was made possible because the national government foresaw the need for some form of women's education, in order to grow and expand the nation, even as they also sought to limit and control those opportunities.

In the second case study, as we have seen, the expectations for women to participate in *shakō* grew first out of diplomatic needs. Again and again, government officials and intellectuals reminded Japanese women that Western women were more comfortable in front of non-family members, and that they expected Japanese women to perform like their Western counterparts for the good of the nation. It was for these reasons that the officials and intellectuals encouraged women to socialize outside of the home. Parks, which provided women's groups a space to get together, were also a product of the national government's civilizing project. Synthesizing the expectations for *shakō* and the availability of parks, TEGSAA and JWAE were able to expand their spatial network for gathering. By building this network, I suggest that these women also, perhaps unwittingly, contributed to building the groundwork for the later more openly political suffrage movement.

In the third case study, the inspiration for the employment of female store staff was again derived from the experiences of managers and executives who visited department stores in the

³⁵⁰ Kuroda provided funding to the girls through Hokkaidō Development Commissioner [*Hokkaidō Kaitaku Shi* 北海道開拓使], the government agency that were in charge of the development of the north region of Japan called Hokkaidō. But no students funded by this program went back to Hokkaidō after their studies abroad. Biographer Iguro Yatarō criticizes Kuroda's move as an ineffective policy (for Hokkaidō). Kuroda, from his experience of visiting the United States, seems to have been fascinated by American cultures and civilization in general, and believed in American education. See Iguro Yatarō 井黒弥太郎, *Kuroda Kiyotaka* 黒田清隆 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1977), 52, 72–73.

West. Exemplified in the narratives of Mitsukoshi manager Hibi, they modeled the future of kimono textile stores after department stores in the West, emulating many of their retail practices. Without much discussion or examination, department store managers also hired women and began experimenting with the idea of female store staff. Women who had some education and were searching for paid work responded to the managers' call and/or actively sought out the transforming retail institution as a potential employer. These women established a track record and proved the value of their sensory capital to managers. While managers also criticized and carefully controlled how female employees appeared to visitors, they needed women on the selling floor. Ultimately, female department store staff used work to generate time to seek their own pleasures. In these kinds of ways, elite men, whose mission was to make the nation comparable to and able to compete with the West, accepted women into non-domestic spaces of education, socializing, and work, at least to a limited degree.

Societal Collapse, Reordering, Ambiguity, and Negotiation

As I have discussed in the introduction, to these men, following Western practices or Westernization was just a technology for modernizing the society.³⁵¹ But what they perceived as Western often included women's increased presence outside home. To the elite men who were desperate to establish a new social order – one that could replace the hierarchical status system that had previously grounded every aspect of life – the technology of Westernization must have been appealing. They had to accept the concept of women outside of the home, even though it was in conflict with their ideal of who, where, and what Japanese women should be. At the same time, these ideals were themselves changing, as women negotiated new roles and expectations for what it meant to be a good wife and a wise mother – or to be a modern girl.

³⁵¹ Suzuki, "What Is Modern Period?," 5.

To what extent and how they accepted or even welcomed women to these spaces varied. In the case of higher education, the system was based on the idea of physical separation between men and women in distinct schools. In the case of gathering spaces, the national and municipal governments designed regulations to encourage women to use public parks, where people from different backgrounds could interact with each other. In the case of department stores, it was acceptable that women work with men, but unacceptable that women interact with male colleagues outside work. When we look at the three cases altogether, we see variety and inconsistencies across the mechanisms for gendering the spaces that women had started to frequent in the city.

These inconsistencies suggest that, in the aftermath of the political upheaval, men at the top were still confused, or in disagreement; they did not really have a long-term agenda on how to treat women in modern Japanese society. As much as they hoped to outperform Western powers, those elite men, who mostly came from the former samurai and wealthy merchant clans, must have had a desire to keep their powerful place in the society, well above women. After all, it was not only women who were gauging their place in the society; elite men were also trying to determine what their place in modern society would be, despite their relatively high social and economic status. The uneven and ever-evolving spatial mechanisms for gendering that they established reflected a sense of ambiguity shared by, and negotiations between Japanese people, who had lost the basis of their identities upon the collapse of the Tokugawa social order.

Demonstrating this sense of ambiguity, which was shared by men and women in modern Japan, is one of the contributions of this dissertation. This marks a departure from existing studies on modern Japanese women and space, which, as I have noted, have tended to focus exclusively on home as *the* place for women to display their creativity and power, while often

taking for granted that women were uniformly restricted from moving in non-domestic spaces. As we have seen, male stakeholders in power did not enforce a single ideological principle across all spaces outside of the home. Rather, they selected and created spatial strategies for gendering on a case-by-case basis, in an effort to strike a balance between Westernization and the ideal of women as wives and mothers whose primary function in society was to serve their families and maintain their homes. The ad hoc nature of these spatial restrictions also resonates with recent work by Japanese historians, who argue that the Meiji period was a time of collapse rather than that of construction. The collapse of the self-contained, micro-social orders of Tokugawa Japan threw everyone into a state of identity crisis and confusion.³⁵² By contributing to the rebuilding of space, in top-down and bottom-up ways, the disoriented citizens, male and female alike, made, unmade, and remade the new order of society.

These kinds of insights, however, have yet to permeate histories of Japanese architecture. But, following the kinds of arguments I have presented in the preceding chapters, these histories might look considerably different if we were to take these insights seriously. What happens, for instance, if we rethink elements of Japanese cities that are considered quintessentially modern, such as transit infrastructure, suburban neighborhoods, new types of houses and home ownership, multi-tenant office buildings, and places for leisure, and reinterpret them from the perspective of societal collapse, rather than that of “development” and “progress”? How varied were the mechanisms for reordering these spaces? What were the overarching strategies to overcome this shared sense of societal disorder and instability, if any? And how did women and other marginalized populations in the city contribute to these changes?

³⁵² Yokoyama, *Meiji Restoration in Edo-Tokyo*, esp.172.

Toward the Democratization of Architectural Studies: Grappling with Evidence, Power, and Knowledge

Across the three case studies, this dissertation has shown women's active roles in contesting gendered spatial mechanisms, by using diverse and different kinds of evidence. I have shifted between interpretative axes, moving from the campus sites and buildings, to park regulations, to job assignments inside the department store. As I addressed in the introduction, I made the decision to move across different spaces, in part, because an ideal mix of spatial and ethnographic evidence pertaining to women's interactions with any particular type of space in modern Tokyo is difficult to come by. Women's first-hand accounts are not always available, especially in the second case study. Detailed architectural drawings of the built environment were also often missing. These methodological challenges limited the kinds of arguments I could make in the second case study, in particular, and in the third case study to a lesser extent. In part for these reasons, I have taken what could be called a heuristic approach; I do not claim, in other words, to offer a comprehensive understanding of women's uses of non-domestic spaces. However, through my analyses and interpretations of women's actions and their relationships to these non-domestic spaces, I have developed methodological and interpretive methods that I hope other scholars will find useful, particularly those whose work is focused on excavating the spatial interactions of under-documented, underrepresented populations.

One of my approaches was to pay close attention to location. I have used this approach in the first and third case studies, at different scales. In the first case study, we saw that Tsuda College located its campus in four different places in the city, while they constantly pursued larger campuses. In the third case study, I looked into the locations of saleswomen inside Mistukoshi, which expanded over time, but continued to be concentrated in the higher traffic places within the store. The other main strategy I employed was to focus on specific rules and

regulations for spatial uses, particularly in the second and third case studies. Again, the scales of analyses that I used in each case were different. In the second case study, the park regulations defined what kind of activities park users could or could not engage in. They also included regulations on physical buildings, defining what kind of businesses were allowed in the parks. By looking at the broader context of women's spatial uses for socializing, including repurposed homes and other familiar and accessible spaces across the city, the scale of analysis was more macroscopic. In the third case study, the rules for female employees were more microscopic. They defined women's bodily behaviors, focusing on smells, noises, and appearances.

These two approaches do not necessarily allow us to identify what direct contributions a marginalized population made to the transformation of the city as a whole, or to specific spaces and places within the city. However, they are useful categories of interpretation, which help us to ask questions about the systems, structures, and mechanisms that those people might have had to work alongside or against. For historical studies, in particular, first-hand narratives of the underrepresented are often left unrecorded. Moreover, the spaces that they inhabited are often ephemeral and no longer physically available. Detailed architectural drawings are scarce. Even with these difficulties, there are still ways of finding useful evidence. For instance, data on locations is still traceable because addresses are one piece of basic personal identifiable information that tends to be recorded in public records. Furthermore, regulations are usually generated and recorded by authorities, which leaves a trail of documentary evidence. Asking questions like "Why were they here?" and "Why were they needing to be regulated?" could be a useful starting point for other scholars, as well. These approaches allow us to begin to see clues about the roles of the socially underrepresented in any kind of spatial transformation, regardless of social category, geographical scale and region, or temporal scope.

By emphasizing these methodological contributions, I am not arguing that we can fully interrogate the spatial interactions of social minorities without additional first-hand accounts, detailed maps and architectural drawings of the spaces, and archaeological fieldwork. In order to understand all of the dimensions of women's uses of spaces in modern Japan, there are still a number of questions that need to be explored. For example, how much did these women intend to resist and contest the systems that restricted their spatial uses? Were they only responding to each situation as it emerged, or did they have broader goals for the future? What were their spatial practices in other kinds of spaces, such as city streets and train cars? How were these uses of different kinds of spaces related or unrelated? How did women from different classes use and experience space differently?

In particular, it is important to note that the types of material that I have been able to collect shaped the kinds of women's stories that I have been able to highlight in this dissertation. Namely, I have focused primarily on women from the higher social strata of modern Japan. In the first chapter, Tsuda Umeko was a daughter of a former samurai, who had opportunities to study abroad multiple times. She was unsatisfied with teaching aristocrat daughters at Peeresses' School and committed to expanding rigorous education to women in other social strata. Yet because all these women's specialized schools were not subsidized by the government, opportunities for women's higher education depended largely on the financial situations of the students' households. After all, most students at women's specialized schools came from the emerging middle class, whose fathers and husbands held professional positions, like government officials, lawyers, doctors, and teachers. For this reason, the expansion of the middle class itself drove the increased demand for women's higher education between the mid-1915s and mid-

1920s.³⁵³ As I have discussed in the second chapter, the female socializing crowds were women from aristocratic or other high status families. Although these women (or at least the fathers of these women) were not necessarily committed to women's education that was as rigorous as that provided at Tsuda College, they were still educated women. Moreover, they were from elite backgrounds, which means that they did not have to prioritize wage-work over homemaking, childbearing, and socializing to be good wives and/or mothers. Their socializing was possible because they could rely on the income of their husbands or fathers. In the third chapter, I focused on female workers. While some of these staff might have sought out employment for their own financial independence and professional career fulfillment, like Furuya, three quarters of female department stores staff who responded to a survey conducted in the early 1930s declared their class as "middle class." As the middle class itself expanded from the mid 1915s onward, women in the expanding middle class felt the need to complement the household income and started working at department stores.³⁵⁴ Nevertheless, all of the women I have discussed in the case studies were in or above the middle class. While some of the experiences might have been shared across different social strata, then, the class-specific aspects of women's interactions with the city call for another set of in-depth case studies, whose sources I would expect to be even more limited due to the lack of archival evidence.

³⁵³ New Middle-Class Women Evaded Traditional Norms: Mechanisms of Expanding Women's Higher Education in Prewar Japan," 210–20. Sasaki contends that, by acquiring higher-level education and securing professional jobs like teachers, graduates from women's specialized schools also secured marriage with men in the similar social situations, and that the class was reproduced through this process.

³⁵⁴ For the survey, see Matsuda Shinzo 松田慎三, *Shintei Depatomento Sutoa* 新訂デパートメント・ストアー [*Department Stores, Revised Edition*], revised ed (Tokyo: Nihon Hyoronsha, 1939), 298–99. Matsuda stated, "It is generally known that lower-class women work at factories, while middle-class women work at retail shops. This is true for Japan [尚下層階級の婦人は工場へ、中流階級の婦人は商業経営へと云はれてゐるが、日本も亦其の例に洩れない] (298)." In addition, sociologist Yoshimi indicated that most of department store female staff came from the "lower middle class." See Yoshimi, *Geopolitics of Visual City: Modern Era as a Perspective*, 85.

To address the above questions in future case studies, we certainly need to develop other potential sources of evidence. To reiterate, one major challenge in uncovering women's subjective spatial experiences in modern Japan is the scarcity of relevant first-hand accounts. When we interrogate ordinary women – that is, women who were not themselves professional writers – in modern Japan, scholars have tended to use articles in magazines (especially women's magazines) and newspapers as primary sources of evidence. These sources are relatively easy to obtain because they were published widely and tend to be systematically archived. However, as media forms that were geared toward the expanding middle class in the early twentieth century, magazine and newspaper articles tend to represent perspectives particular to people who were relatively affluent. Relying solely on these sources thus leaves out the voices of people from a lower social status. In this dissertation, I have purposefully used sources that have not previously received serious attention from scholars, including the *Alumnae Reports* of Tsuda College, as well as the bulletins of TEGSAA and JWAE. While these are useful sources for uncovering less investigated aspects of women's interactions with spaces in their everyday lives, even these sources are limited to expressing particular class perspectives. Internal bulletins, especially, were intended for the relatively well-to-do because they were usually funded by membership dues. Additionally, internal bulletins tend not to carry extensive first-hand accounts, as they focus more on concise reporting of organizational activities.

Scholars interested in focusing their attention on less affluent women, as well as on the more intimate, subjective realm of women's experiences, could potentially pursue two kinds of sources. First, we could delve into court records to reveal the historical experiences of people from a lower social strata – a method developed by the *Annales* school, among French historians. The historian Fujino Yūko uses this method in her recent investigation of manual laborers in

modern Japan. While Fujino focuses on Japanese men from a lower social class, we could also use court records to trace women and their relationships with space.³⁵⁵ In addition, we should continue with our efforts to obtain and systematically archive women's unedited personal records, such as diaries and oral histories. As I discussed in the introduction, ordinary women's personal accounts have rarely been systematically archived in Japan. In part, it is this scarcity of available unedited accounts that have brought scholars to magazine and newspaper articles. In her recent review essay, historian Rui Kohiyama points out, "We do not have many local historical societies, nor do we have local libraries willing to accept artifacts left by ordinary women in Japan."³⁵⁶ My experience of conducting this dissertation research resonates perfectly with Kohiyama's statement. For example, the diary of Terasawa, the female saleswoman, has helped me understand how she and her contemporaries might have conceptualized the experiences of the surveilling gazes at home and workplace. When I came across her diary, it was published online by Terasawa's nephew, using a free web space called *Page ON*. I was able to contact her nephew through the website, and he kindly shared the diary data with me. However, the website no longer exists, as the *Page ON* service was discontinued as of February 28, 2015.³⁵⁷ Who could take care of such valuable materials like Terasawa's diary? Is there any other diaries like Terasawa's left, and are the owners willing to share them with scholars for research purposes? How and where could we possibly find those materials? Aside from interpretations of existing

³⁵⁵ For the methodological discussions on the use of court records, see , Fujino, *History of the Ordinary, the City and Riots: Tokyo, 1905–23*, 3, 11–12. While the method of using court records to excavate the voices of the socially underrepresented originated from the French *Annales* school, Fujino focuses more on events than the *long durée*, sympathizing with the method proposed by cultural historian Peter Burke. See Peter Burke, "History of Events and the Revival of Narrative," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2001), 234–37.

³⁵⁶ Kohiyama, "Women's History at the Cutting Edge in Japan," 67.

³⁵⁷ NTT Communications NTT コミュニケーションズ, "Hōmupēji Sakusei Sābisu Page ON No Sābisu Shūryō Ni Tsuite ホームページ作成サービス「Page ON」のサービス終了について [On the Discontinuation of Website Service Page ON]," 2014, <https://www.ntt.com/about-us/press-releases/news/article/2014/20140728.html>.

materials from different angles, then, I would argue that the future job of historians includes developing and maintaining these kinds of archives.

While such systematic efforts for material excavation and archiving are important, in the meantime, it is crucial that we, historians of the socially underrepresented, acknowledge and pay closer attention to the relationships between power, evidence, and knowledge. On the most fundamental level, this lack of traditional sources detailing women's interactions with the city in transformation reveals the already uneven landscape of historical evidence, and, hence, the contingency of historical narratives that we reconstruct from them. Particularly in the twenty-first century, archivists are highly aware of the sticky dynamics involved in selecting what and how to preserve and catalogue any kind of materials.³⁵⁸ In other words, what is formally available and deemed legitimate as *evidence* is often a product of social politics and power relations. By using materials that could be less interesting to traditional architectural historians, such as wrapping paper of the department store, bodily regulations on female staff, and internal bulletins of women's organizations, I have pushed the boundary of architectural evidence in this dissertation. Along the way, I have also offered a few interpretative models for studies on the built environment, for other scholars interested in understanding how marginalized and under-documented populations use and create spaces of their own.

By reiterating the importance of seemingly un-architectural evidence, I complicate the notion of what is traditionally considered *architectural*. Some scholars have made continuous efforts to reconceptualize buildings and structures that had been traditionally deemed less

³⁵⁸ For the discussions on the relationships between archived materials and social power, see, for example, Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory," *Archival Science* 2, no. 1–2 (2002): 1–19; Randall Jimerson, "Archives for All: Professional Responsibility and Social Justice," *The American Archivist* 70, no. 2 (2007): 252–81; Terry Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms," *Archival Science* 13, no. 2–3 (2013): 95–120.

significant, by reframing them as “vernacular architecture.”³⁵⁹ In doing so, they have challenged the all-too-famous distinction between “building” and “architecture,” made by prominent architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner: “A bicycle shed is a building; Lincoln Cathedral is a piece of architecture.”³⁶⁰ While scholars of vernacular architecture have democratized the definition of architecture to some extent, they have continued to focus more on the tangible aspects of buildings, or what has been physically constructed. What I suggest here, through my interpretations of women’s interactions with urban environments, is that people can make architectural contributions without physically building spaces. Architectural contributions can be intangible, as we’ve seen in the ways that TEGSAA used parks and how department store staff evaded managers’ surveillance. I hope that other scholars find my methods helpful and join me in democratizing the history of architecture and cities, along with the definition of what counts as architecture, even further.

³⁵⁹ On the definition of *architecture* in vernacular architecture studies, see, for example, Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, “Introduction,” in *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens, 1986), xv–xvii; Barbara Burlison Mooney, “General Introduction,” in *Vernacular America: Architectural Studies from Winterthur Portfolio*, ed. Barbara Burlison Mooney (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 4.

³⁶⁰ Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture*, Reprint (London: John Murray, 1948), xix.

FIGURES AND TABLES

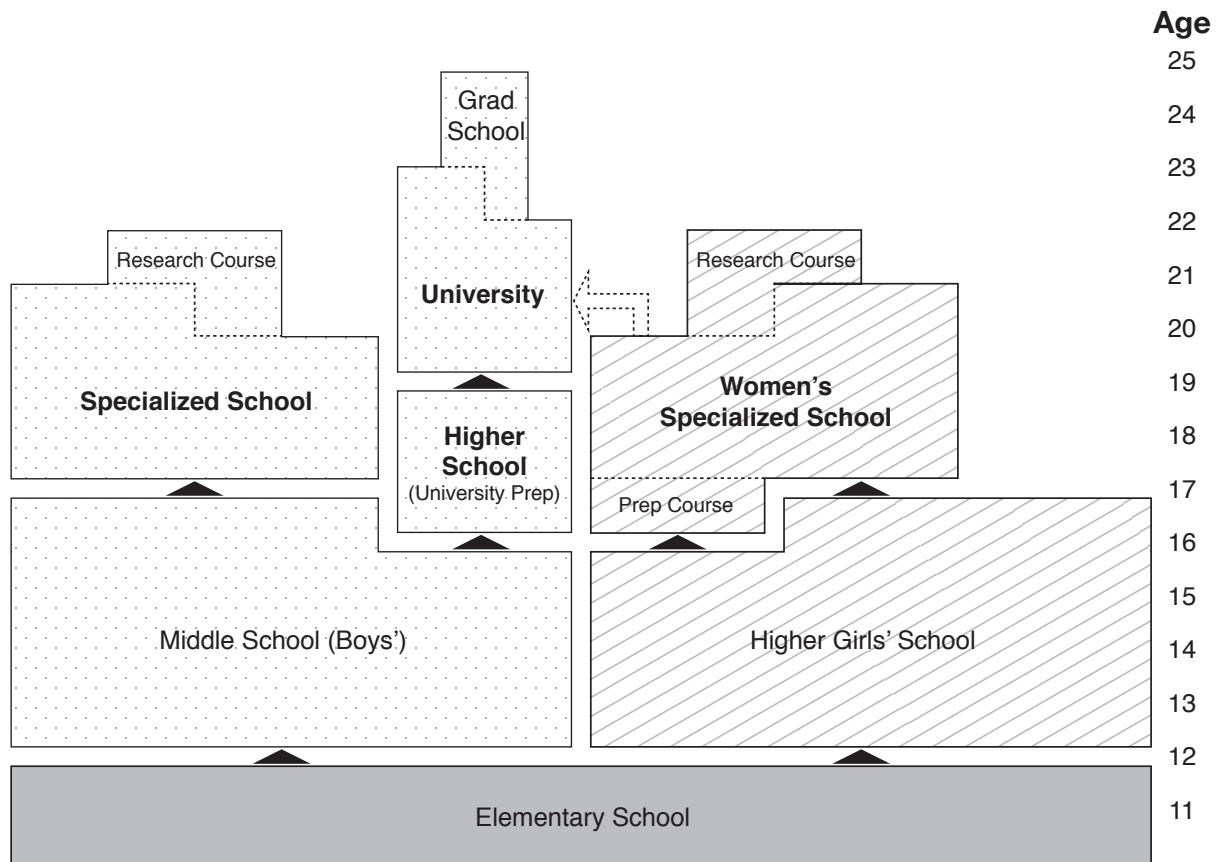


Figure 1.1. A diagram showing the position of specialized schools in Japan's educational system, after its revision by the 1918 University Order. A supplemental illustration from Monbushō, ed., *A Hundred-Year History of Japan's Educational System*, unpaginated, simplified by the author.

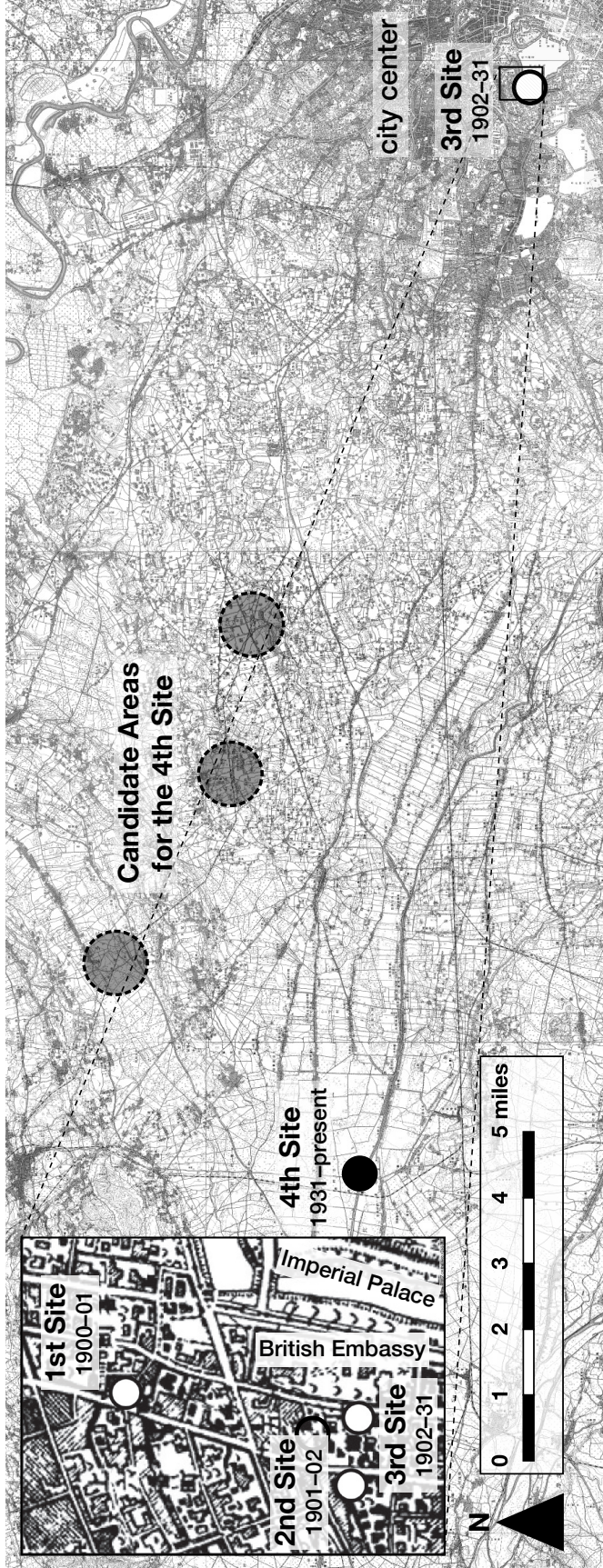


Figure 1.2. Maps showing the locations of Tsuda College's first to fourth sites as well as candidates for the fourth site. Annotated by the author on Sanbō Honbu Rikuchi Sokuryōbu, "Topographic Map, 1:25000" (Tokyo: Sanbō Honbu Rikuchi Sokuryōbu, 1896–1909, 1917–24).

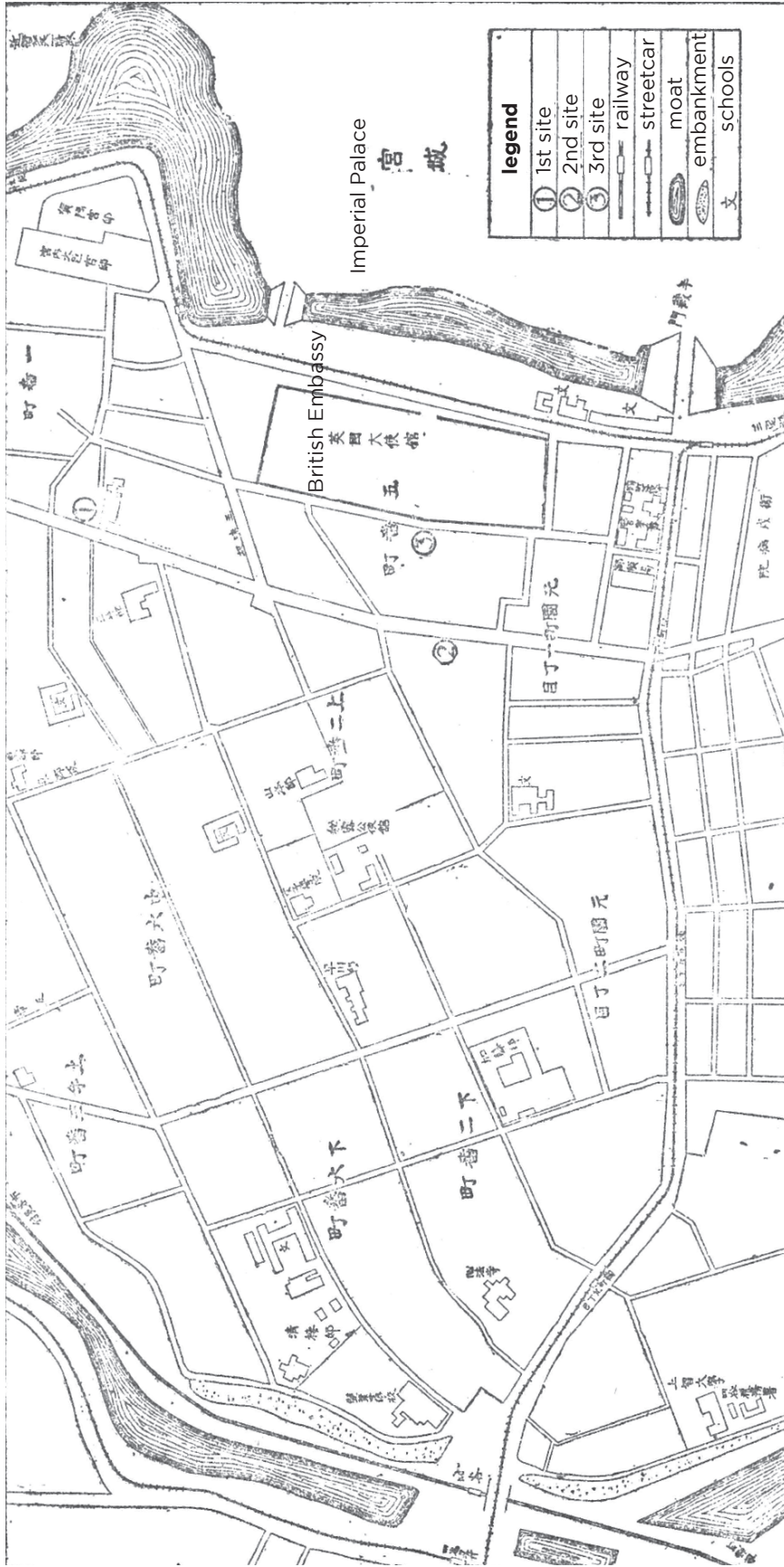


Figure 1.3. A map showing the first, second, and third sites of Tsuda College as well as transportation. “Railway” was Shōsen 省線, a railway developed by Ministry of Railways. Annotated on a map reproduced from Joshi Eigaku Juku, *Forty-year History of Tsuda College*, 49.



Figure 1.4. Tsuda College's first building in Ichiban Chō, Kōjimachi, Tokyo, 1900. Reproduced from Tsudajuku Daigaku Kyūjūsshunen Kinen Jigyō Shuppan Inkai 津田塾大学九十周年記念事業出版委員会, ed., *Tsudajuku Daigaku: Tsuda Umeko to Juku No Kyūjūnen* 津田塾大学：津田梅子と塾の九十年 [*Tsuda Umeko and Tsuda College, 1900–1990*] (Kodaira: Tsudajuku Daigaku, 1990), 26.



Figure 1.5. Tsuda College's second site in Motozono Chō, Kōjimachi, Tokyo, 1901. Reproduced from “Motozono Chō Kōsha Nite 元園町校舎にて [At the Motozono Chō School Building],” PH0148, Tsuda College Digital Archive, accessed April 15, 2017, <http://da.tsuda.ac.jp/open/detail.do?oid=UK5AmeKjWC&item=57530>.



Figure 1.6. School of Science building in TIU Hongō Campus, Tokyo, c.1885. Reproduced from Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai, *Architectural Photograph Collection, Meiji and Taisho Periods*, 52.

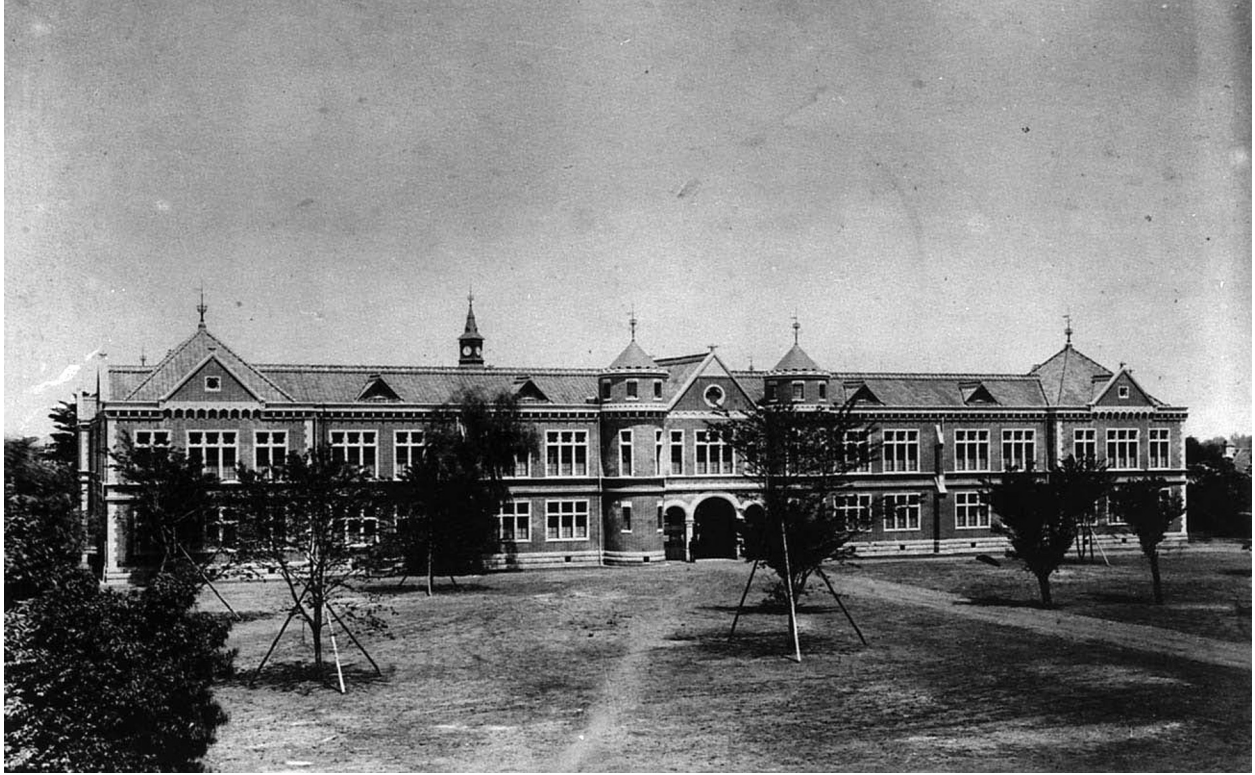


Figure 1.7. School of Engineering building in TIU Hongō Campus, Tokyo, c.1888. Reproduced from Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai, *Architectural Photograph Collection, Meiji and Taisho Periods*, 34.

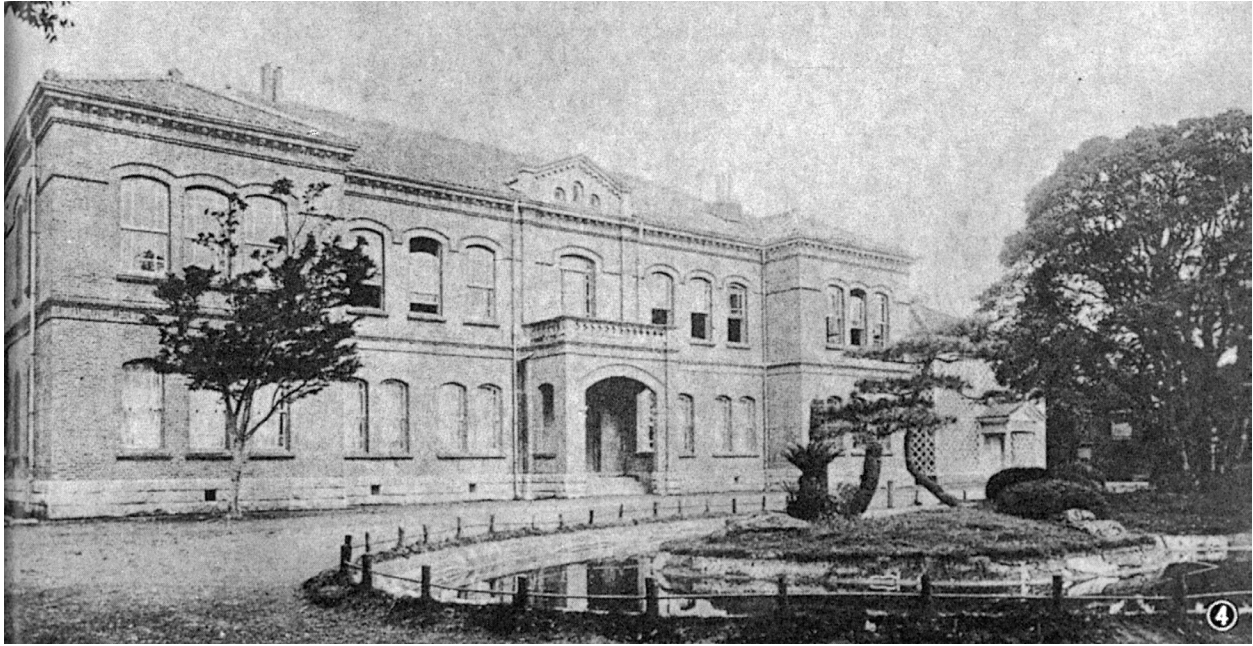


Figure 1.8. Brick building at Keiō Gijuku in Mita, Tokyo, c.1887. Reproduced from Keiō Gijuku Sōritsu Hyakugojūnen Shashinshū Hensan Īnkai 慶應義塾創立百五十年写真集編纂委員会, ed., *Fukkōkuban Zusetsu Keiō Gijuku Hyakunen Shōshi* 復刻版図説・慶應義塾百年小史 [*A Pictorial History of Keio University, 1858–1958, Reprint*] (Tokyo: Keiō Gijuku, 2008), 44.

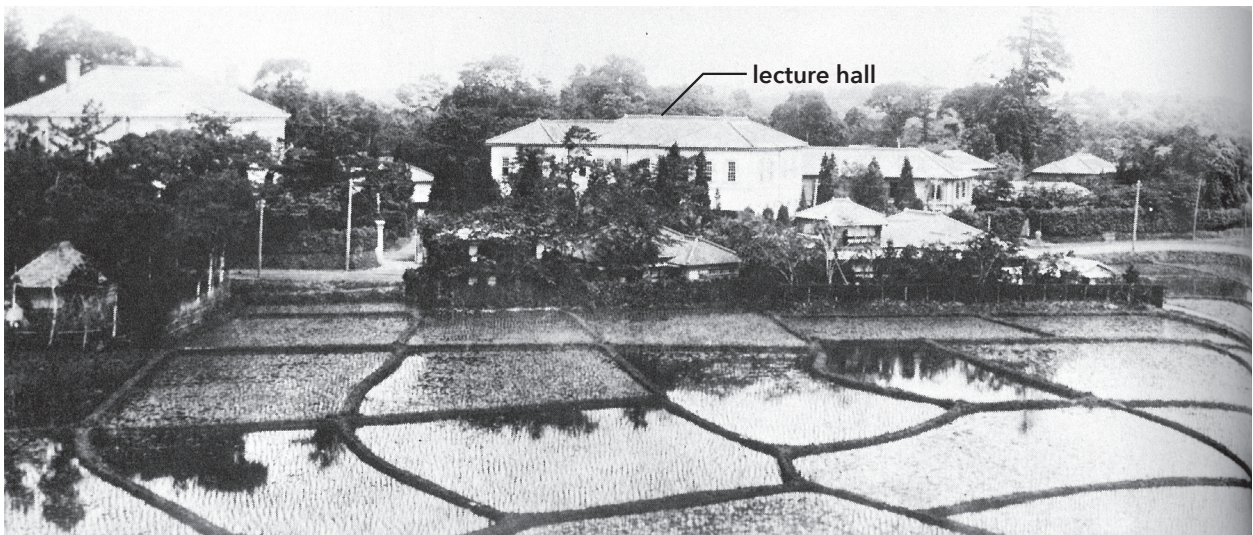


Figure 1.9. Tokyo Specialized School in Waseda, Tokyo, c.1890. Annotated by the author on Waseda Daigaku Daigakushi Henshūjo, *A Hundred Year History of Waseda University, Vol.1*, image number 21.

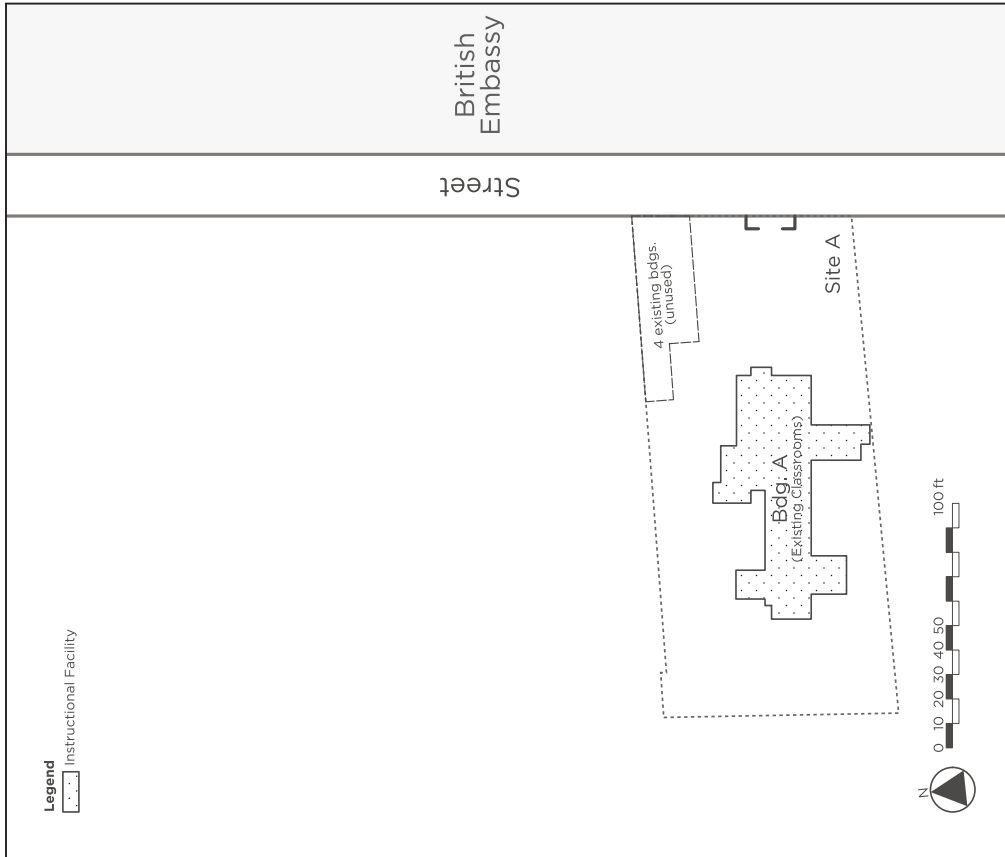


Figure 1.11. A site plan of Tsuda College campus at the third location, July 1902. Created by the author, synthesizing the drawings and descriptions from: Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-year History of Tsuda College*, 146; Tsuda, “Request for Approval to Establish a Branch School for the Private School.”

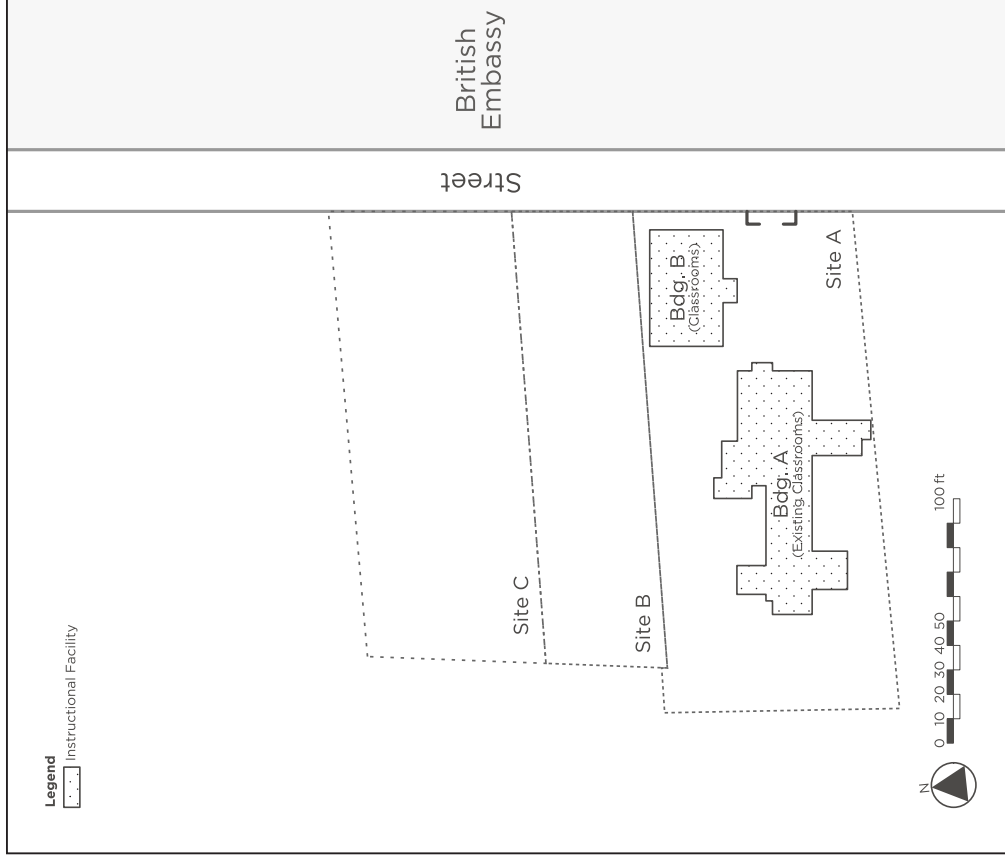


Figure 1.12. A site plan of Tsuda College campus at the third location, March 1903. Created by the author, synthesizing the drawings and descriptions from: Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-year History of Tsuda College*, 146; Tsuda, “Report of Constructing New Buildings for the Branch School.”

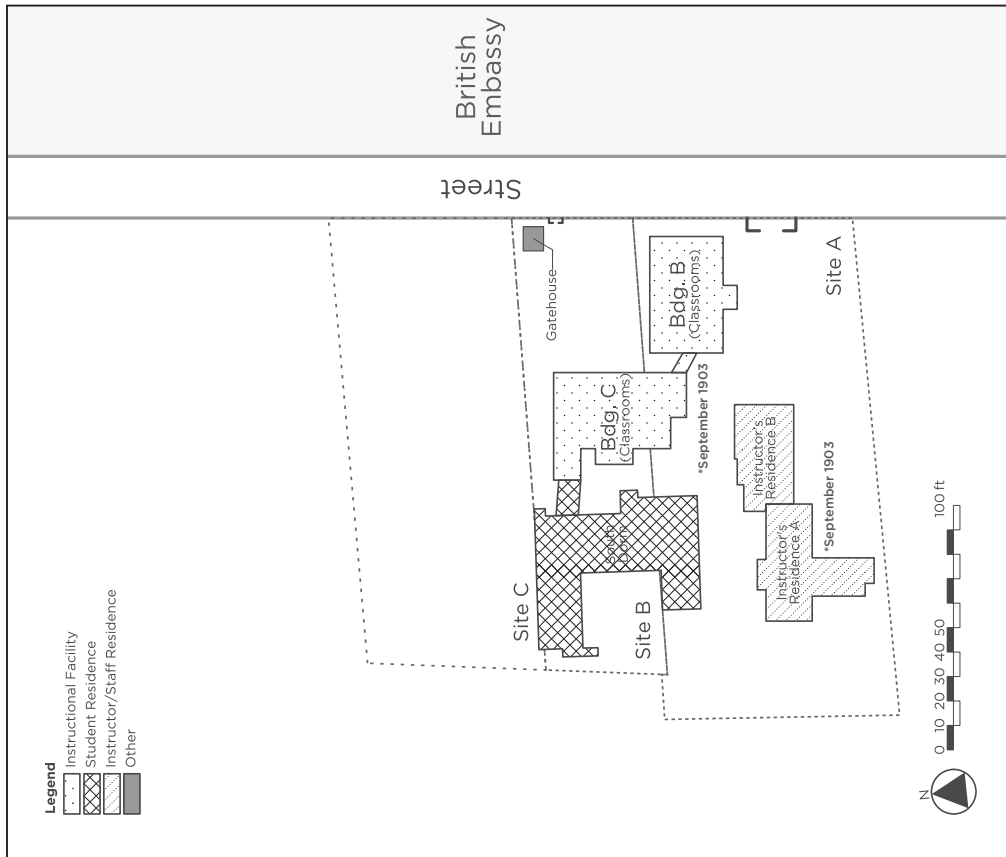


Figure 1.13. A site plan of Tsuda College campus at the third location, February 1904. Created by the author, synthesizing the drawings and descriptions from: Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-year History of Tsuda College*, 146; Tsuda, “Request for Obtaining Teacher’s License without Examinations.”

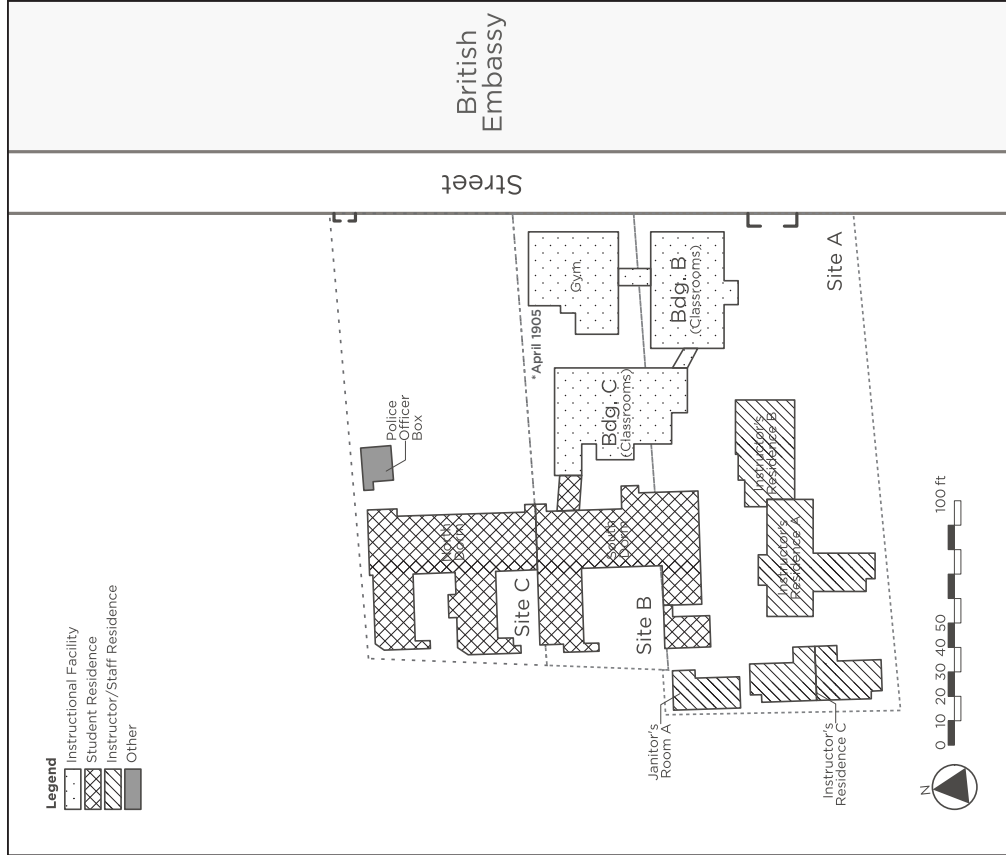


Figure 1.14. A site plan of Tsuda College campus at the third location, August 1908. Created by the author, synthesizing the drawings and descriptions from: Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-year History of Tsuda College*, 146; Tsuda, “Request for Approval to Add Buildings.”

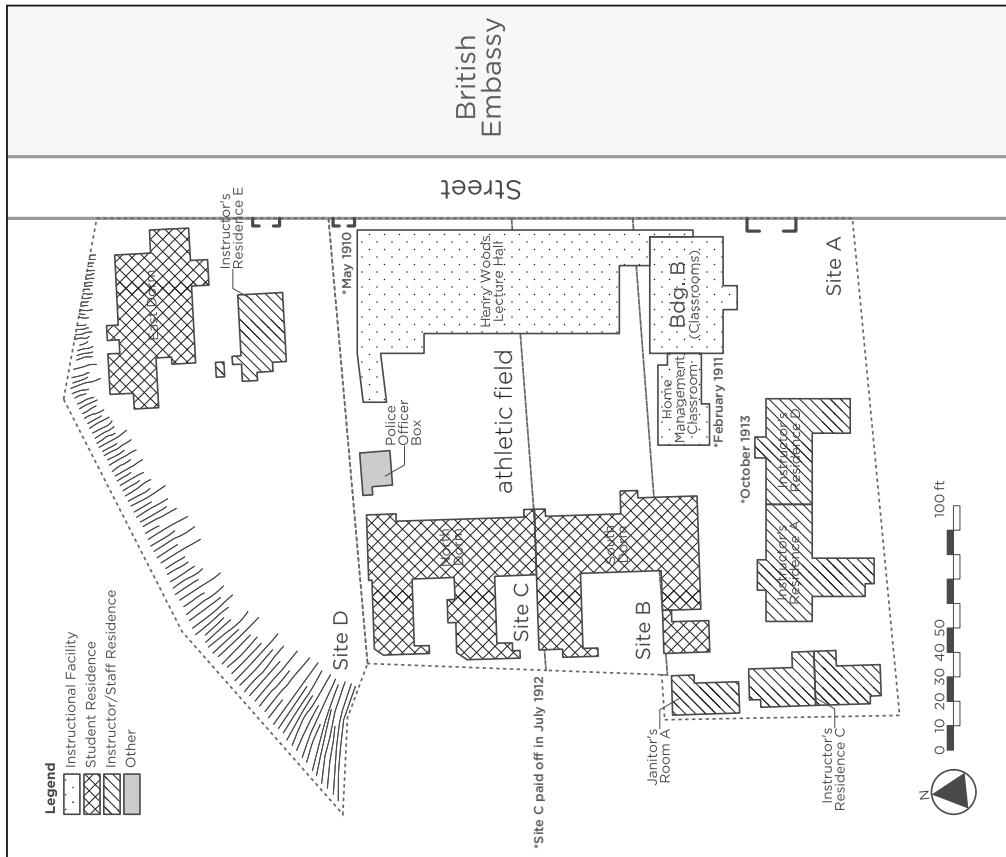


Figure 1.15. A site plan of Tsuda College campus at the third location, February 1917. Created by the author, synthesizing the drawings and descriptions from: Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-year History of Tsuda College*, 146; Tsuda, "Request for Approval to Add School Buildings."

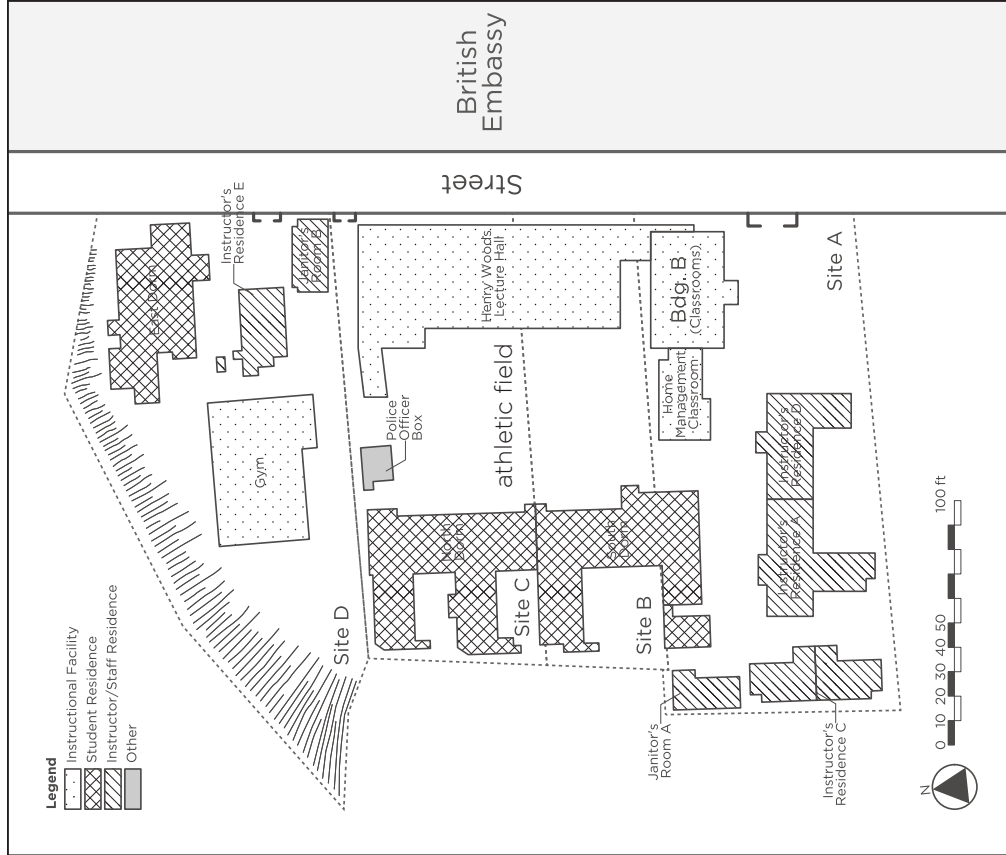


Figure 1.16. A site plan of Tsuda College campus at the third location, August 1922. Created by the author, based on the drawing and descriptions on Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-year History of Tsuda College*, 146.

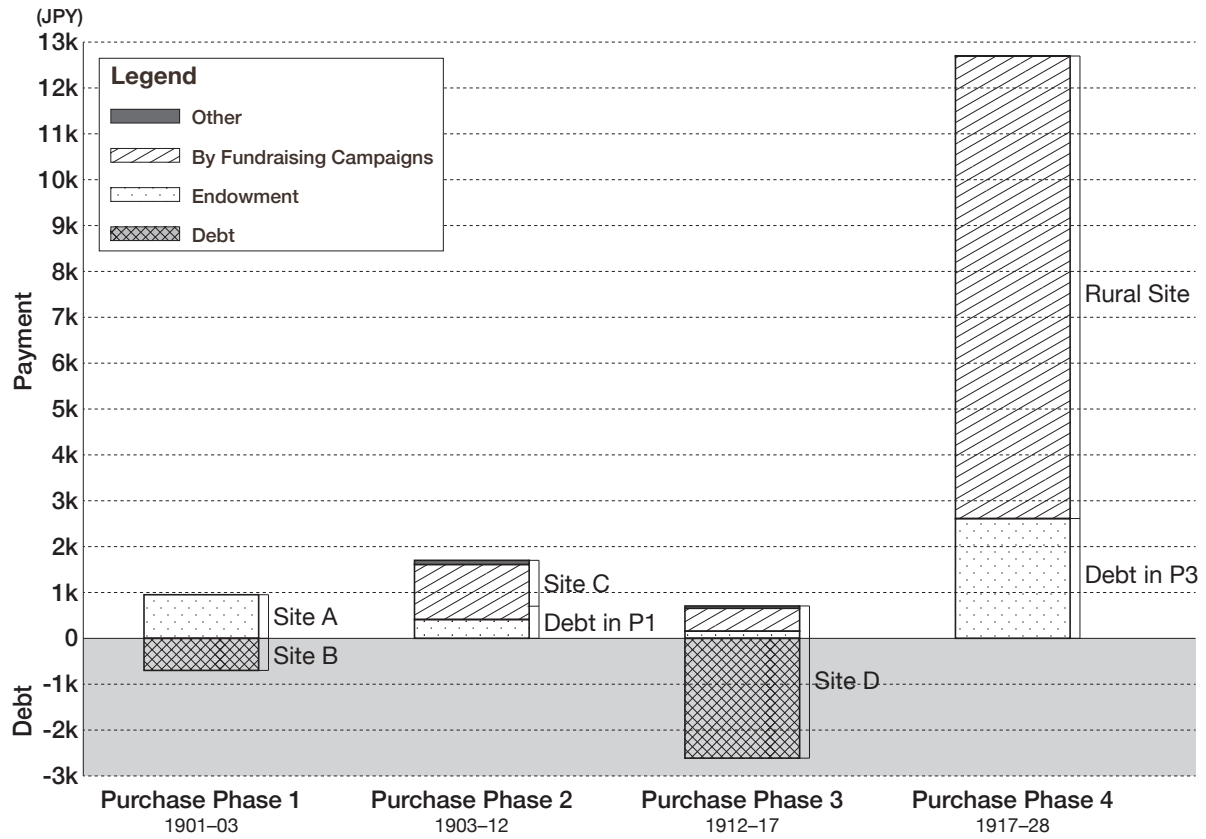


Figure 1.17. A graph showing how Tsuda College financed the site purchases, 1901–28. Created by the author from the fiscal data on Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-year History of Tsuda College*, 82, 96–99, 129, 140–41.

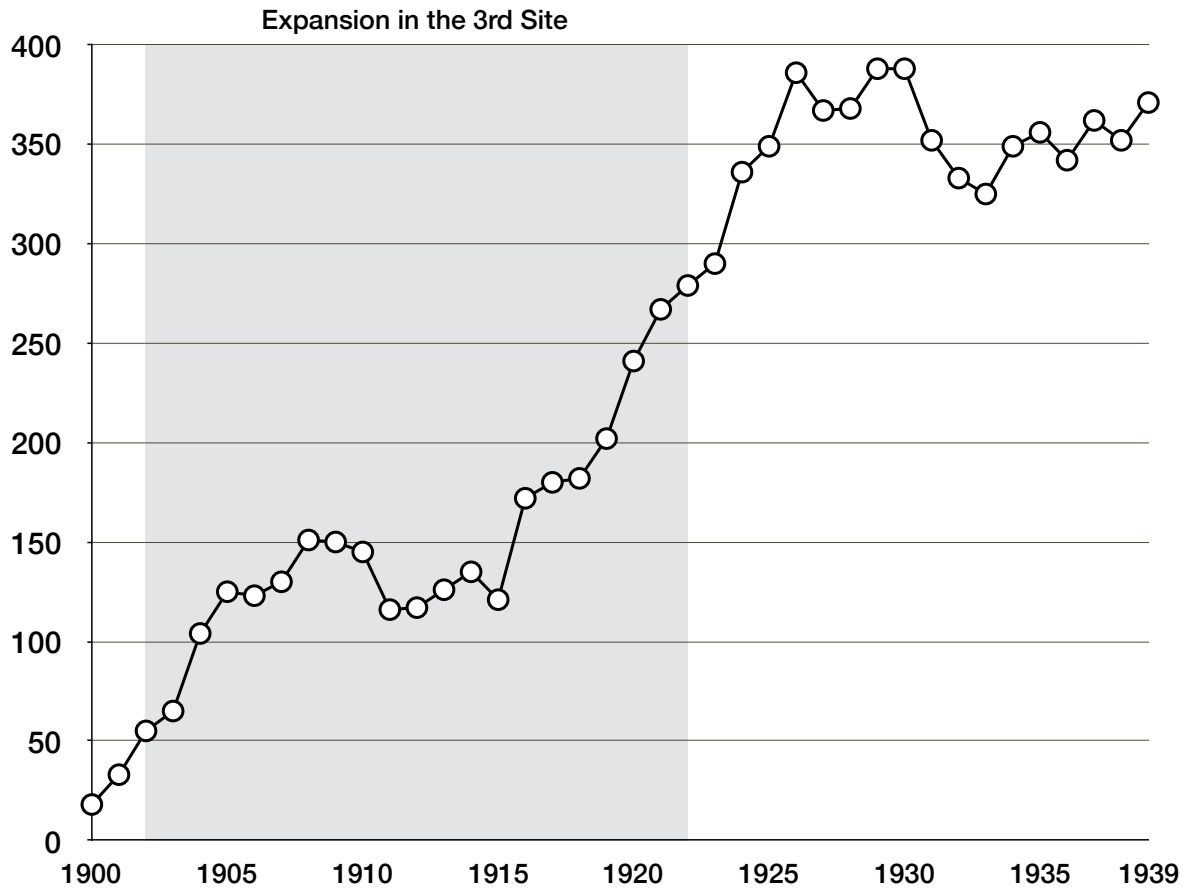


Figure 1.18. A graph showing Tsuda College’s enrollment, 1900–39. Created by the author from the enrollment data on Tsuda Eigaku Juku, *Forty-year History of Tsuda College*, 72–73, 108–9, 136, 194–95, 233–34.

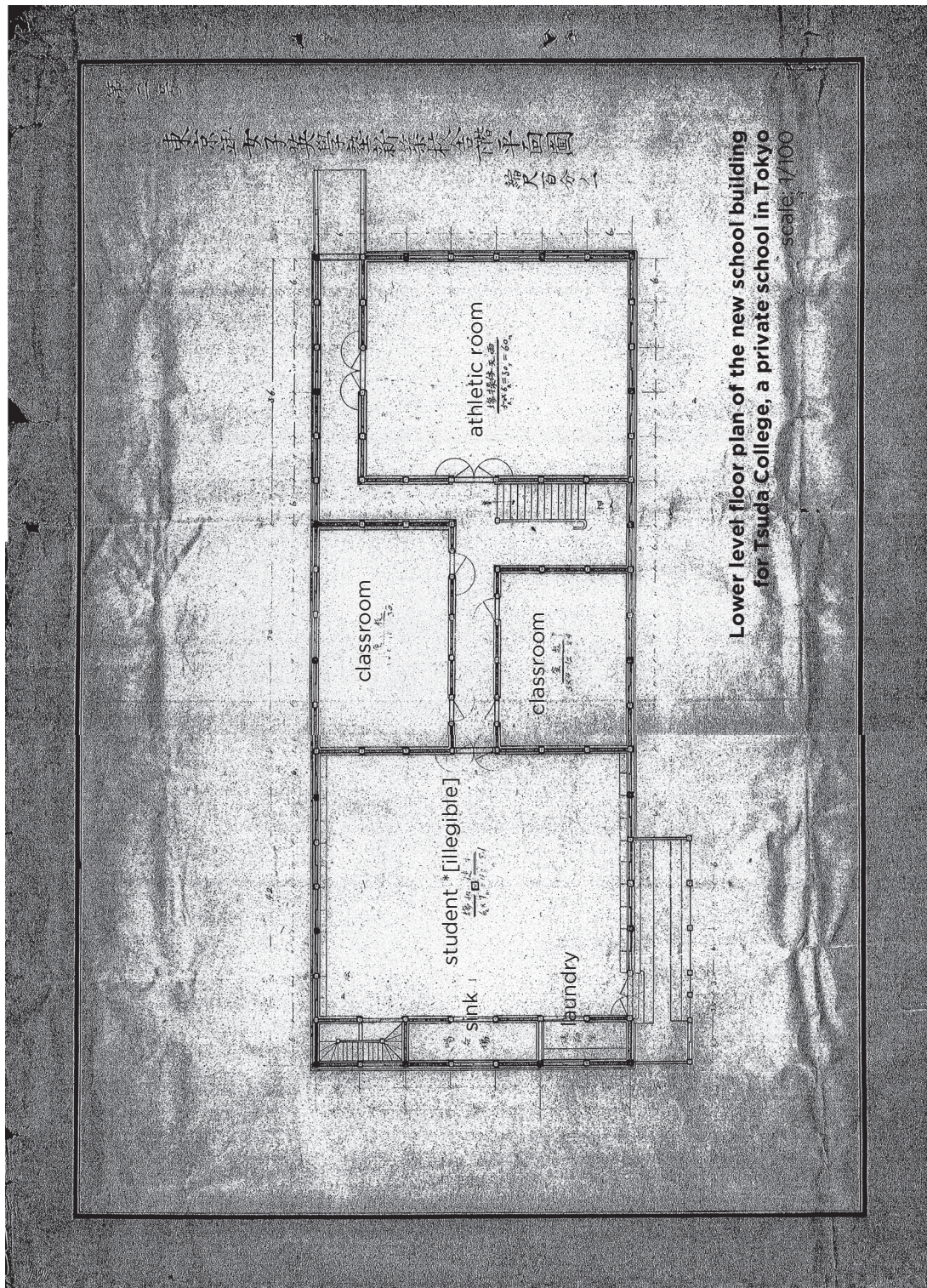


Figure 1.19. Lower level floor plan of Henry Woods' Hall. Annotated by the author on a drawing in Tsuda, "Joshi Eigaku Juku Setsuritsusha Tsuda Umeko Yori Kōsha Zōchiku no Gi Monbushō e Shintatsu Negai 女子英学塾設立者津田梅子より校舎増築の儀文部省へ申達願 [Request for Reporting to MESC: Adding School Buildings, from Tsuda Umeko, the Founder of Tsuda College]," request to the MESC, October 30, 1909, 629.A5.14.-23, TMA.

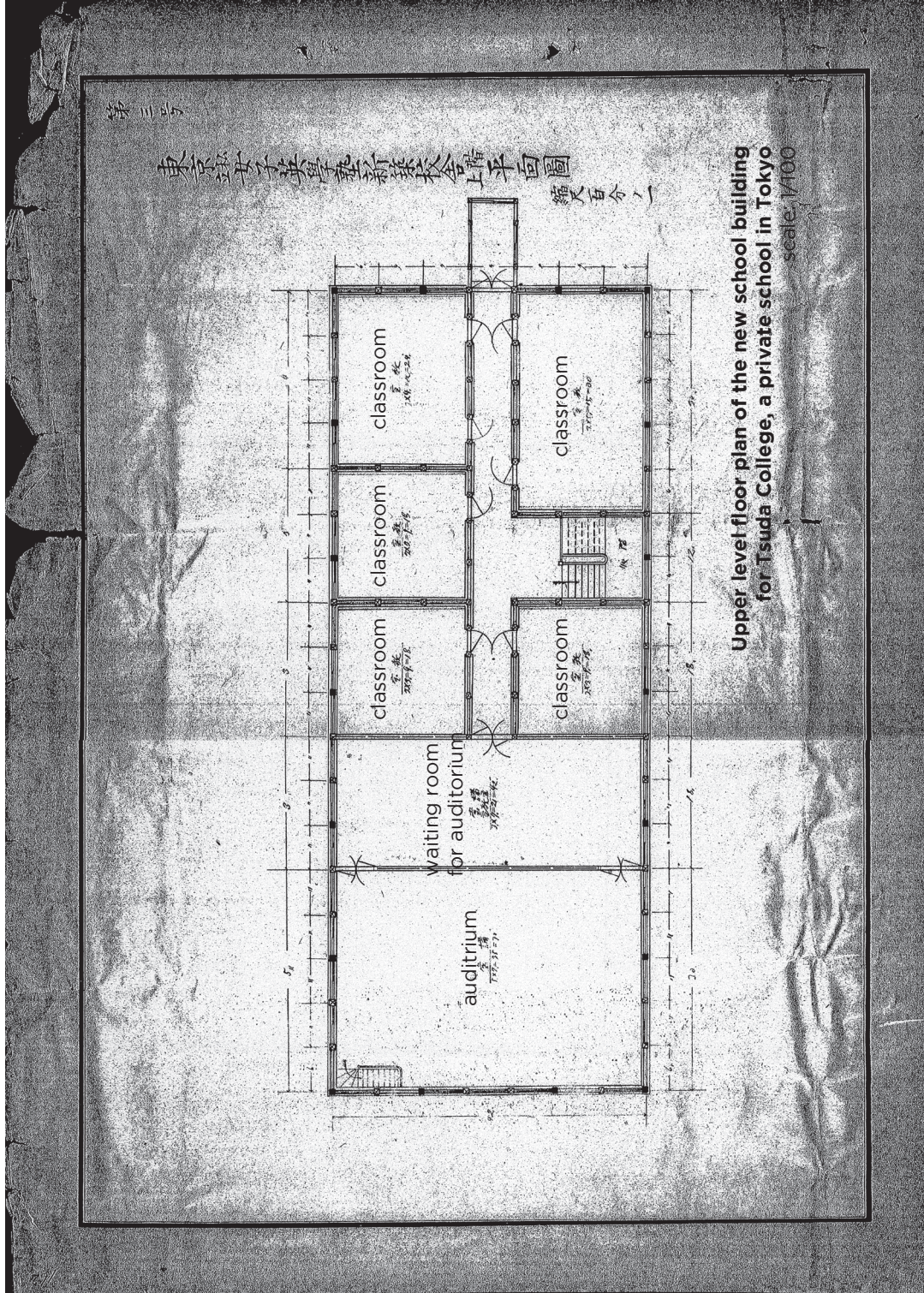


Figure 1.20. Upper level floor plan of Henry Woods’ Hall. Annotated by the author on a drawing in Tsuda, “Request for Reporting to MESCC: Adding School Buildings, from Tsuda Umeko, the Founder of Tsuda College.”

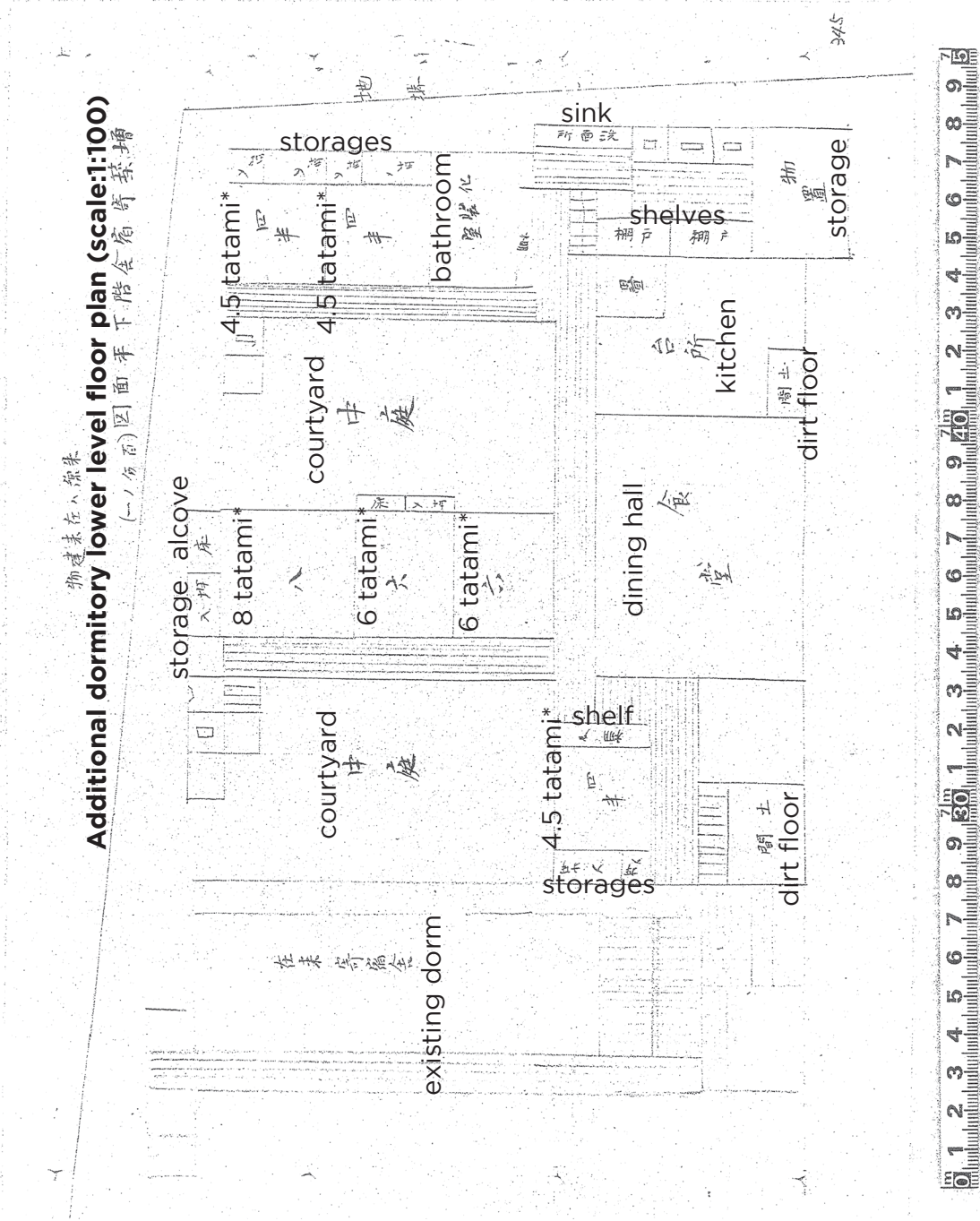


Figure 1.21. Lower level floor plan of the additional dormitory (north dormitory). Annotated by the author on a drawing in Tsuda, “Request for Approval to Add Buildings.” * indicates bedrooms with the size. Tatami is a Japanese unit for area. One tatami equals to 17.79 square feet. In the drawing, the bedrooms are indicated only with the room size.

Additional dormitory upper level floor plan (scale:1:100)

上階宿舎平面図

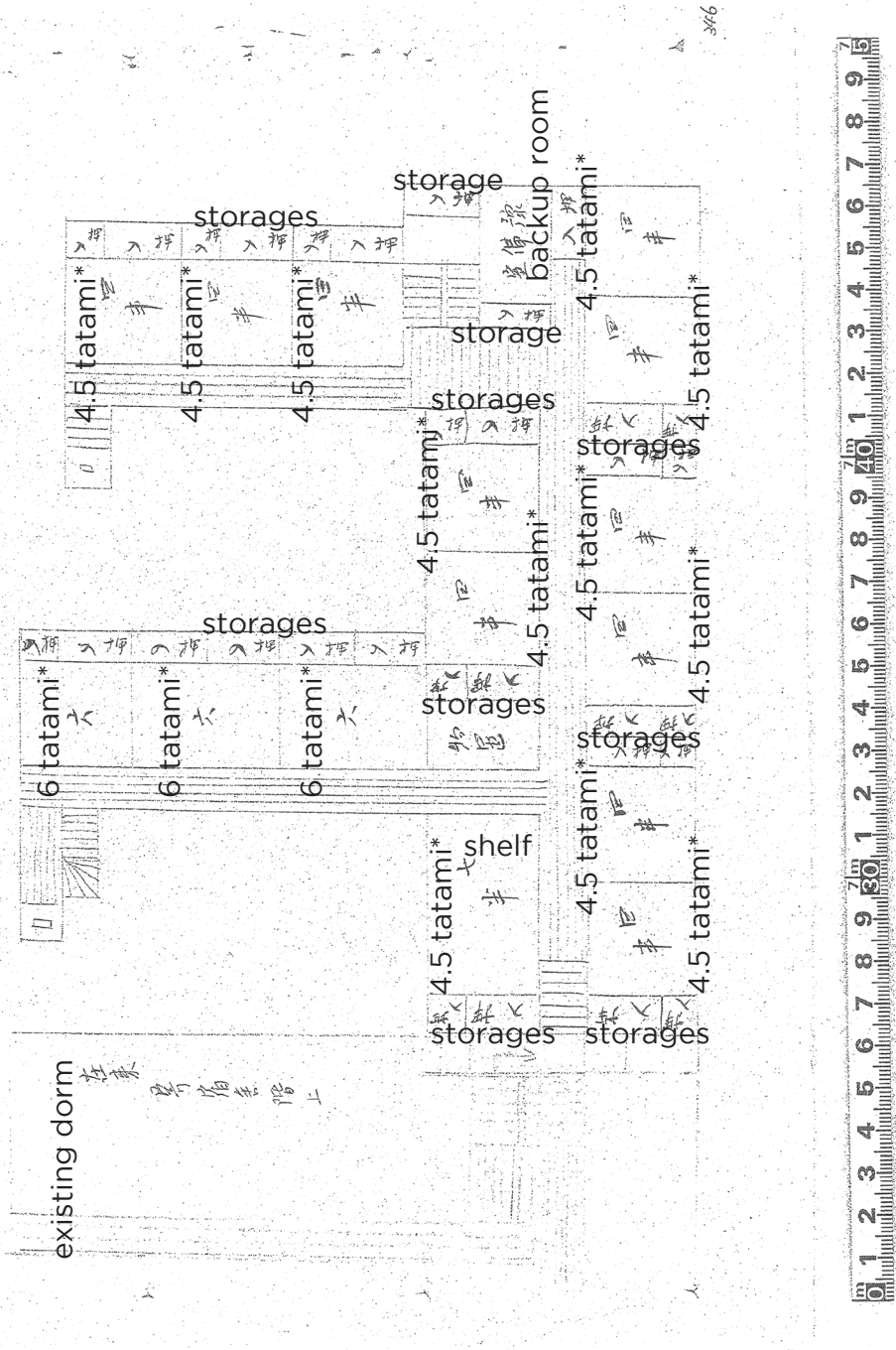


Figure 1.22. Lower level floor plan of the additional dormitory (north dormitory). Annotated by the author on a drawing in Tsuda, “Request for Approval to Add Buildings.” * indicates bedrooms with the size.



Figure 1.23. Henry Woods Hall, c. 1910. Reproduced from “Gobanchō Joshi Eigaku Juku Kōsha, Shinsai Mae 五番町女子英学塾校舎震災前 [School Building, Tsuda College in Gobanchō, Before the Disaster],” PH0135-5, Tsuda College Digital Archive, accessed May 13, 2018, http://da.tsuda.ac.jp/open/image.do?oid=UK5AmeKjWC&item=57520_5.

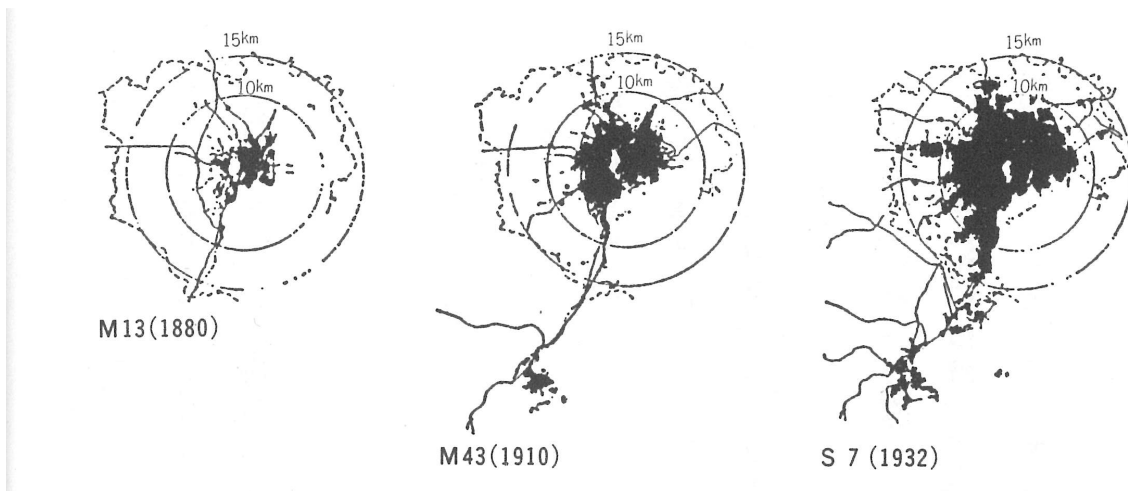


Figure 1.24. Maps showing how shigaichi 市街地 (densely inhabited urban districts) expanded between 1880 and 1932 in Tokyo. Reproduced from Tokyo To Shuto Seibikyoku 東京都首都整備局, “Shuto Ken Seibi Keikaku, Toshikeikaku 首都圏整備計画・都市計画 [Plan for Metropolitan Area Development, Urban Planning]” (Tokyo: Tokyo To Shuto Seibikyoku, 1964), unpagued.

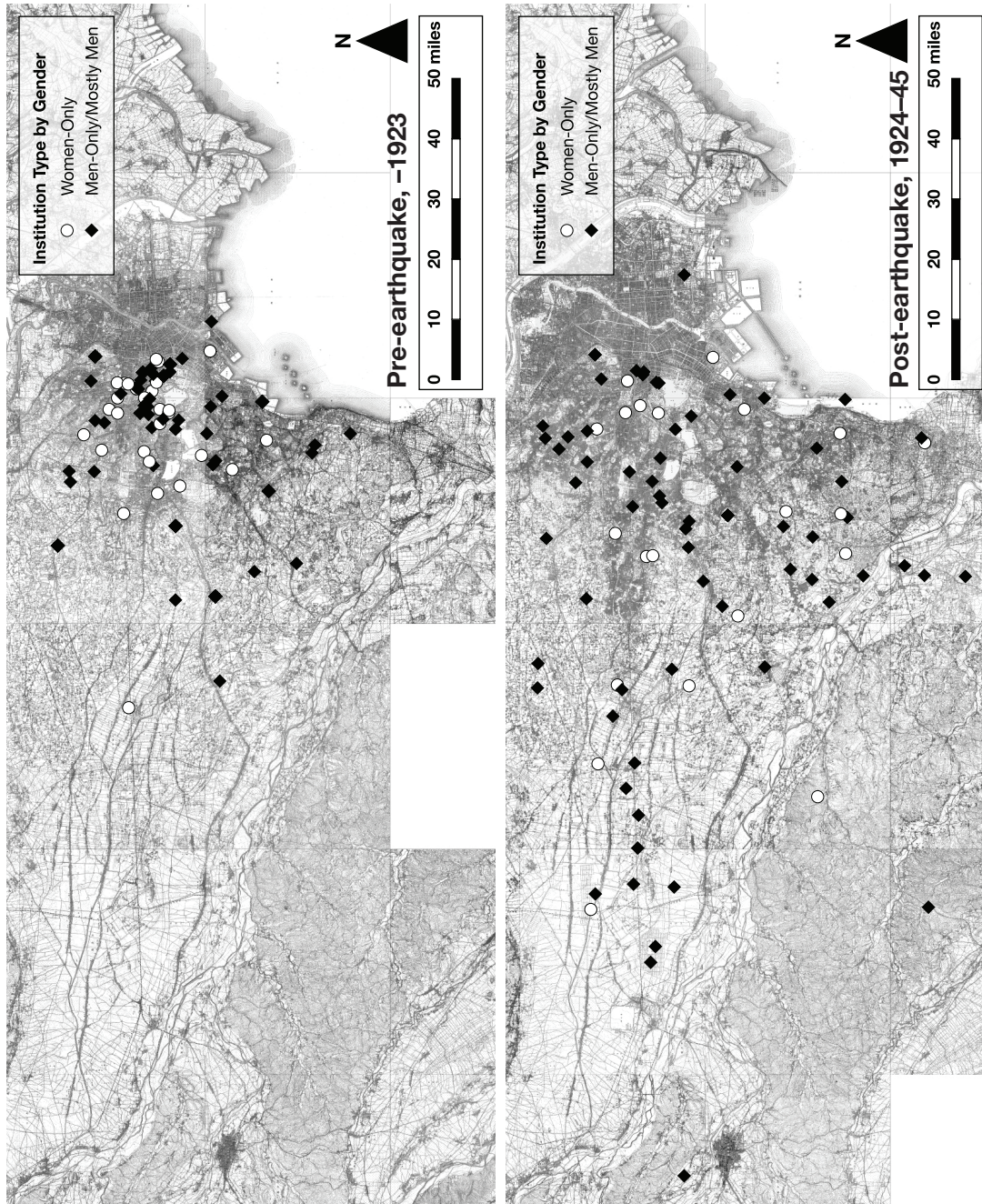


Figure 1.25. Maps showing the locations of higher education campuses built before and after the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake until the end of WWII. Annotated by the author using the location data compiled from published histories of the institutions, on Sanbō Honbu Rikuchi Sokuryōbu, “Topographic Map, 1:25000” (Tokyo: Sanbō Honbu Rikuchi Sokuryōbu, 1896–1909, 1917–24). Not that the darker it is on the maps, the more densely populated the area is.



Figure 1.26. Map comparison of the pre- and post-relocation of TUC. A literal translation of “Shōdai Yoka Mae” is “In Front of TUC’s Preparatory Course.” Annotated by the author on Sanbō Honbu Rikuchi Sokuryōbu, “Topographic Map, 1:25000” (Tokyo: Sanbō Honbu Rikuchi Sokuryōbu, 1930, 1935).



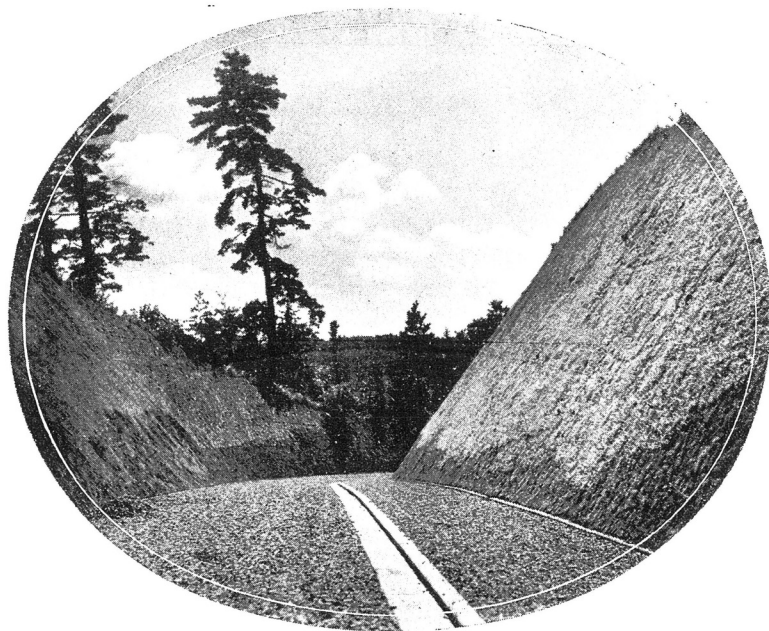
Figure 1.27. An aerial view of the campus, 1931. Annotated by the author on “Kodaira Chōkanzu 1 小平鳥瞰図 1 [A Bird-Eye View of Kodaira, 1],” PH0097, Tsuda College Digital Archive, accessed August 31, 2016, <http://da.tsuda.ac.jp/open/detail.do?oid=UK5AmeKjWC&item=57442>, using the information of Sato Kōichi 佐藤功一, “Joshi Eigaku Juku Kōsha Shinchiku Kōji Sekkeizu Ikkai Heimen Zu 女子英学塾校舎新築工事設計図・一階平面図 [First Floor Plan, Tsuda College Lecture Hall Construction Project],” February 1930, plan (1:100), Tsuda Umeko Material Room (TUMR).



Figure 1.28. Getting on the school bus at Kokubunji Station, c.1931. Reproduced from Tsudajuku Daigaku Kyūjūsshunen Kinen Jigyō Shuppan Inkai, *Tsuda Umeko and Tsuda College, 1900–1990*, 75.

Table 1.1. Rural site acquisition methods and prices. Created by the author based on the information on: Keiō Gijuku, [*A Hundred Year History of Keio Gijuku, Vol.2-II*, 297–306; Hōsei Daigaku Hyakunenshi Hensan Īnkai, *A Hundred Year History of Hosei University*, 642–43; Tōkyū Fudōsan Kabushiki Gaisha Sōmubu Shashi Hensan Chīmu, *Fifty Years of Real Estate Development*, 58–60; Joshi Eigaku Juku, “Joshi Eigaku Juku Kōchi Henkō Narabini Kōsha Kenchiku no Ken 女子英学塾校地変更並校舍建築ノ件 [Request for Changing the School Sites and Constructing New Buildings],” request to the Mayor of Tokyo Prefecture, May 12, 1930, 313.F1.01.-4., TMA; Tokyo Joshi Daigaku 東京女子大学, “Tokyo Joshi Daigaku Shikichi Ninka Negai 東京女子大学敷地認可願 [Request for Approval of the New School Site],” request to the Mayor of Tokyo Prefecture, May 18, 1920, 303.G1.01.-12, TMA; Inoue, “Request for Proof of the School Site.”

School	Governmental or Private	Men's or Women's	Year of Acquisition	Method				Total Area	Amount Spent
				Donated by the Developer	Search Assisted by the Developer	Exchanged with the Developer's Property	Searched and Purchased by the School		
Tokyo Institute of Technology	G	M	1924	-	-	74.3 ac.	-	74.3 ac.	¥0
TUC	G	M	1925	-	-	43.5 ac.	-	43.5 ac.	¥0
TUC (Prep Course)	G	M	1927	-	-	24.4 ac.	-	24.4 ac.	¥0
Keio University (Prep Course)	P	M	1930	59.5 ac.	26.1 ac.	-	-	85.6 ac.	¥223,706
Hosei University (Prep Course)	P	M	1934	24.6 ac.	-	-	-	24.6 ac.	¥0
TWCU	P	W	1919	-	-	-	21.9 ac.	21.9 ac.	¥143,451
Tsuda College	P	W	1922	-	-	-	20.6 ac.	20.6 ac.	¥100,840
JWU	P	W	1934	-	-	-	73.6 ac.	73.6 ac.	¥260,396



路道用募校學



上 同

Figure 1.29. Street between the station and the new site of JWU. c.1930. Reproduced from Nihon Joshi Daigakkō Bokin Īnkai, “Toward the Establishment of Women’s Comprehensive University, Relocation, and Construction: The Purpose of Fundraising at Japan Women’s University.”



Figure 1.30. The condition of new site of TWCU. Annotated on Iogi Chō Tochi Kukaku Seiri Kumiai, "Record of the Project," unpagued.

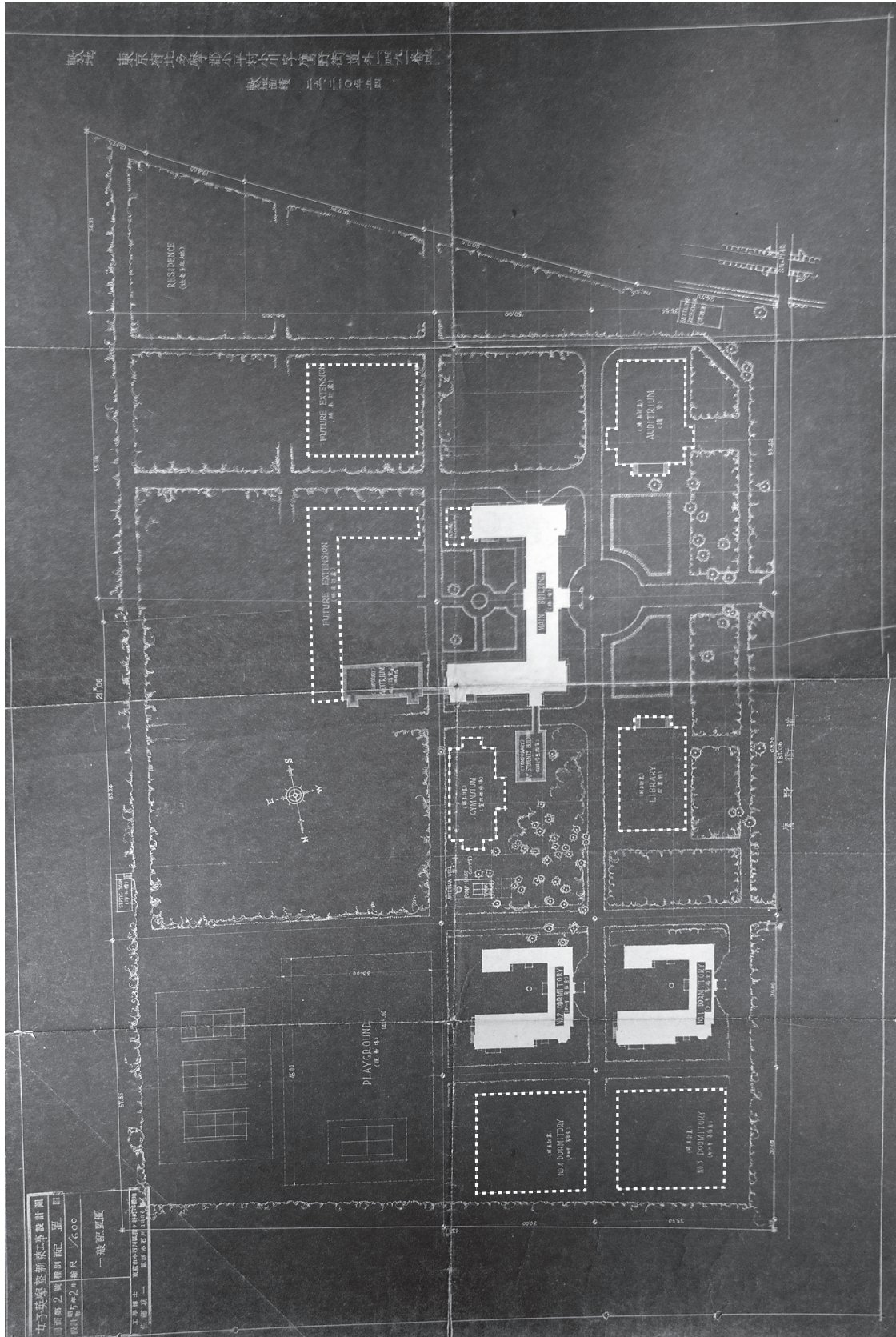
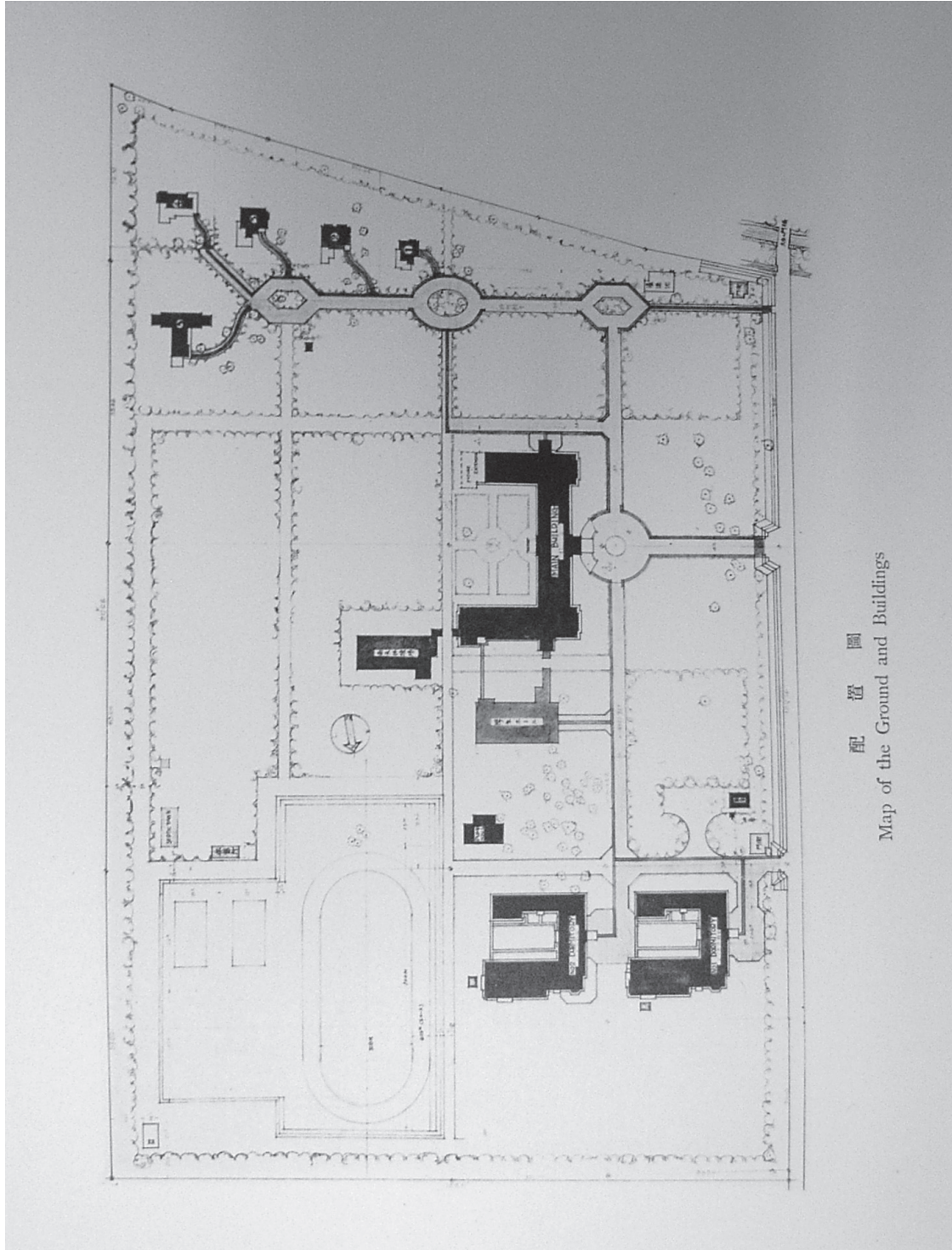


Figure 1.31. A site plan of the fourth campus in Kodaira, Tokyo. Sato, “Joshi Eigaku Juku Shinchiku Kōji Sekkeizu Haichi Zu 女子英学塾新築工事設計図・配置図 [Site Plan, Tsuda College Construction Project],” February 1930, plan (1:600), TUMR. Planned but incomplete buildings were highlighted by the author with dashed lines.



配置圖
Map of the Ground and Buildings

Figure 1.32. A site plan of the fourth site with the buildings that were completed upon relocation. Reproduced from the memorial photobook: Joshi Eiagku Juku 女子英学塾, “TSUDA COLLEGE” (Tokyo: Ezaki Shashin Kan, 1931), unpagged, TUMR.

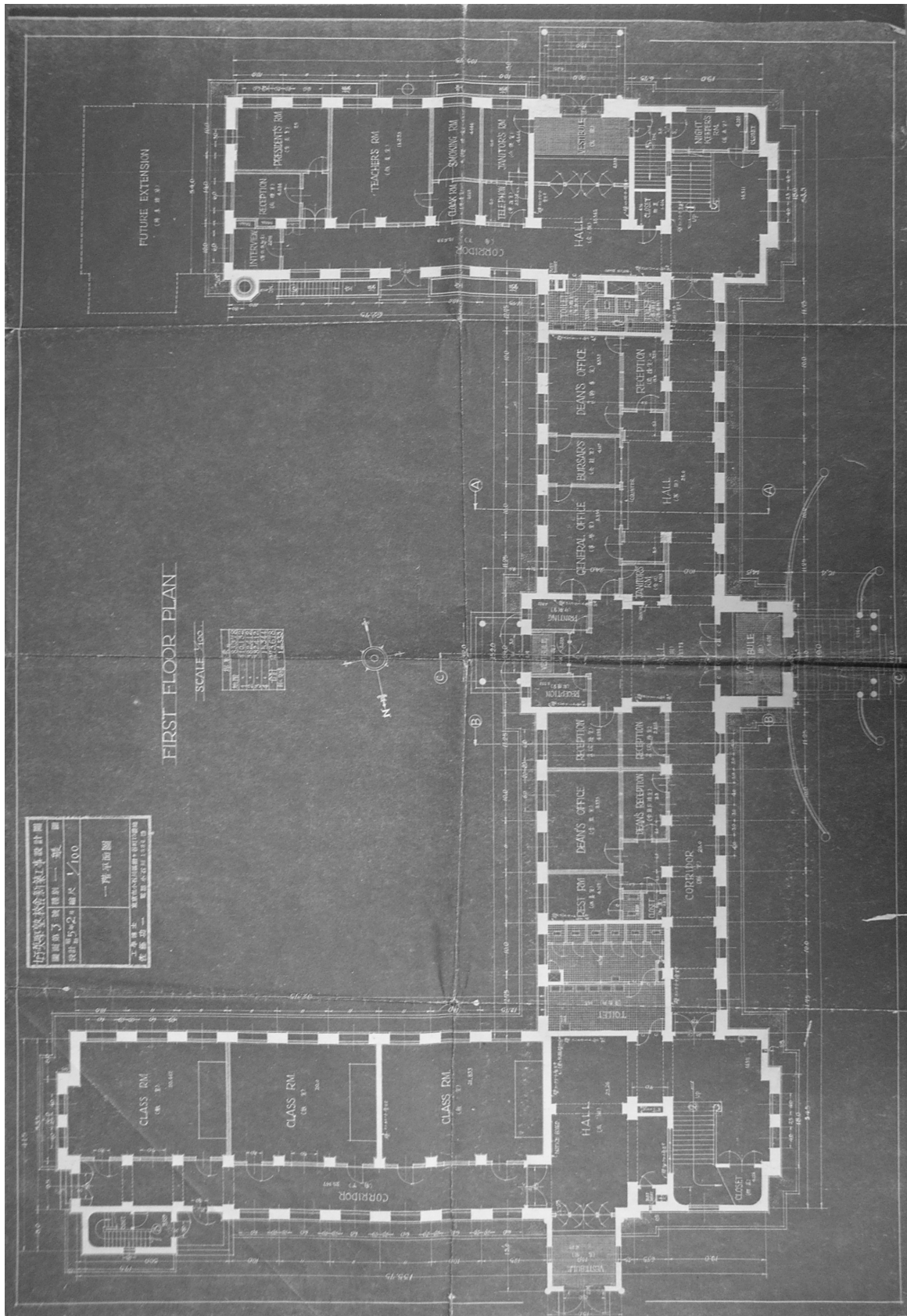


Figure 1.33. First floor plan of the new lecture hall in the fourth site, Kodaira, Tokyo. Sato, “First Floor Plan, Tsuda College Lecture Hall Construction Project.”

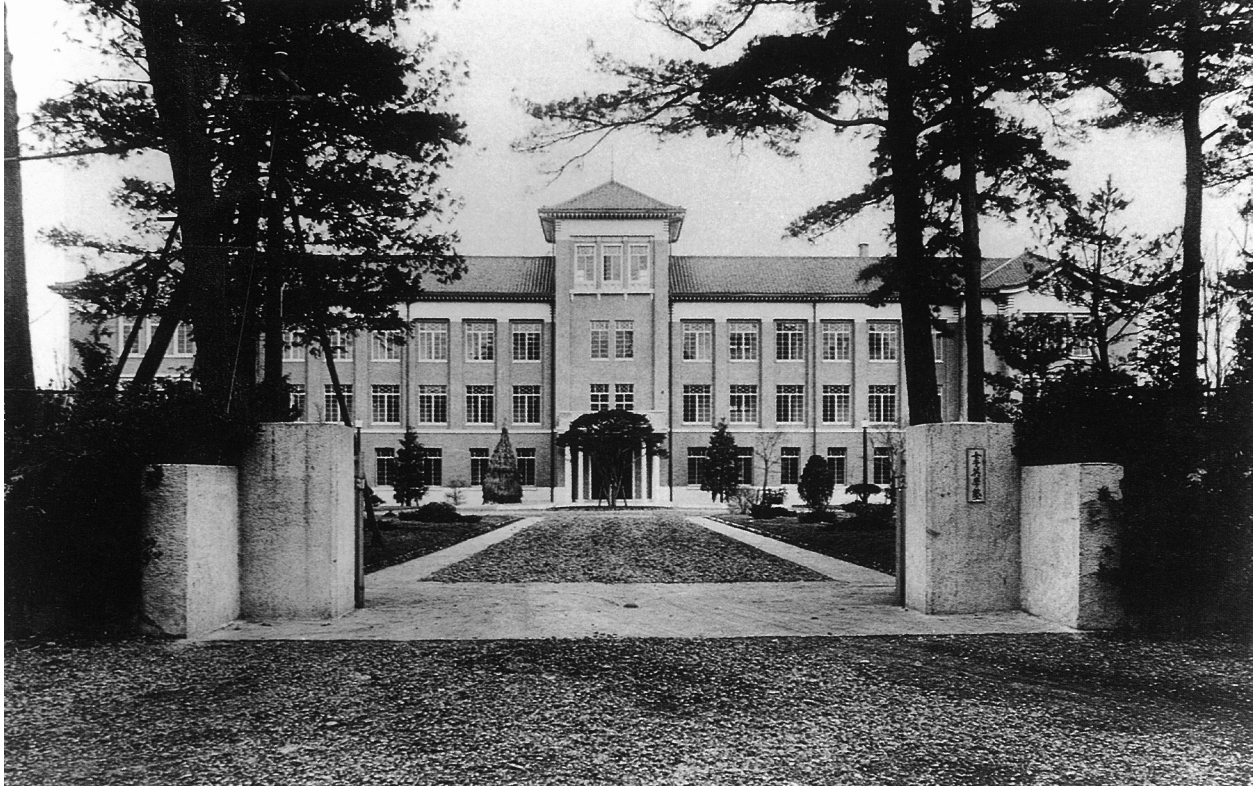


Figure 1.34. The lecture hall at the fourth campus of Tsuda College, c.1931. Reproduced from Tsudajuku Daigaku Kyūjūsshunen Kinen Jigyō Shuppan Īnkai, *Umeko Tsuda and Tsuda College, 1900–1990*, 71.



Figure 1.35. A double-occupancy room in the dormitory, 1931. Joshi Eiagaku Juku, “TSUDA COLLEGE,” unpagged (illustration entitled “Kishukusha Shinshitsu Futari Shitsu 寄宿舍寢室二人室 [Double-Occupancy Room, Dormitory]”).



Figure 1.36. TUC lecture hall, c.1933. Reproduced from Kodaira Shi Hensan Īnkai, *History of Kodaira City: Modern and Contemporary Periods*, 227.

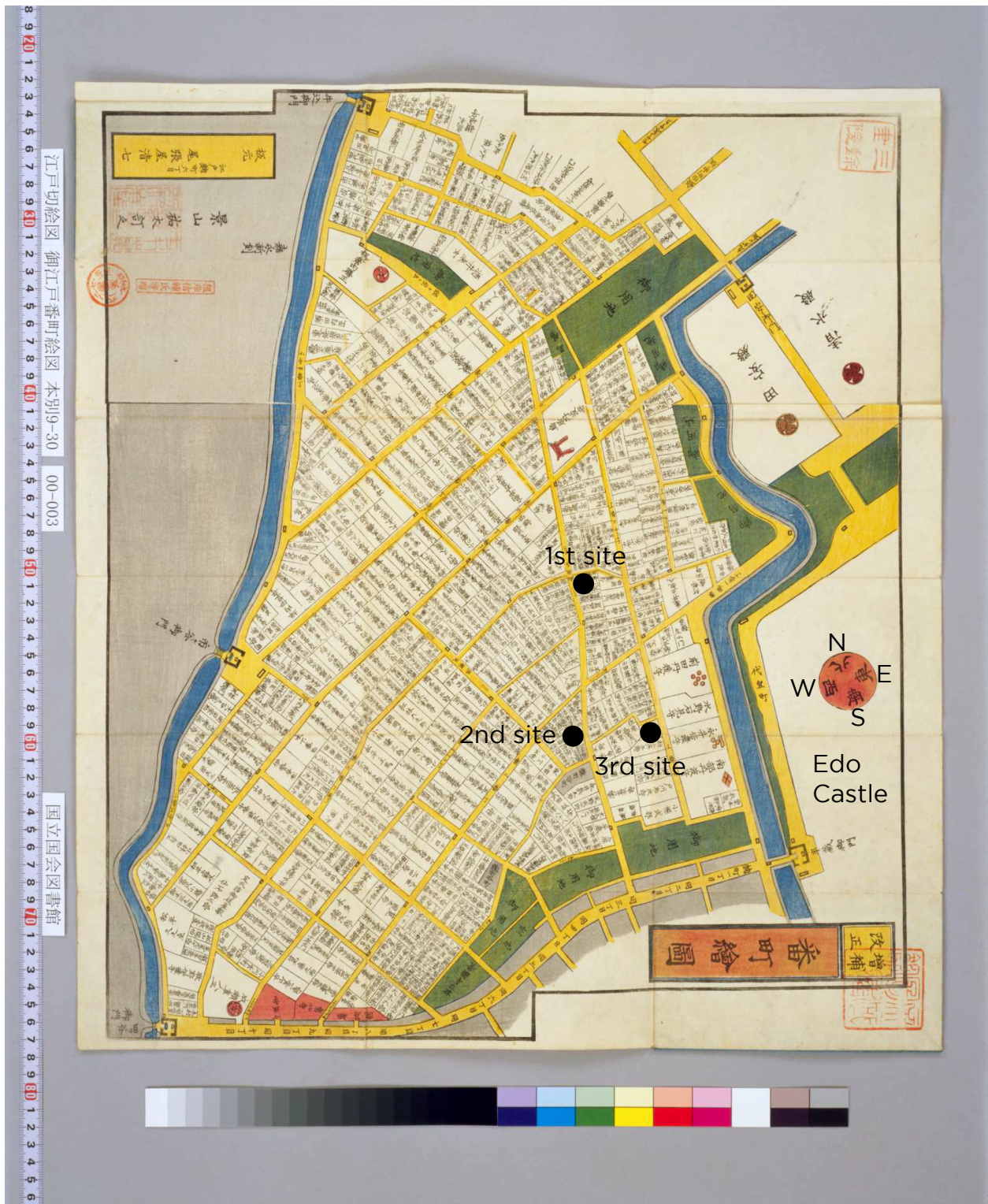


Figure 1.37. An Edo map of the area where the first, second, and third sites of Tsuda College. The white areas were all samurai residences. Annotated by the author on Kageyama, “An Illustrated Map of Oedo Banchō.”

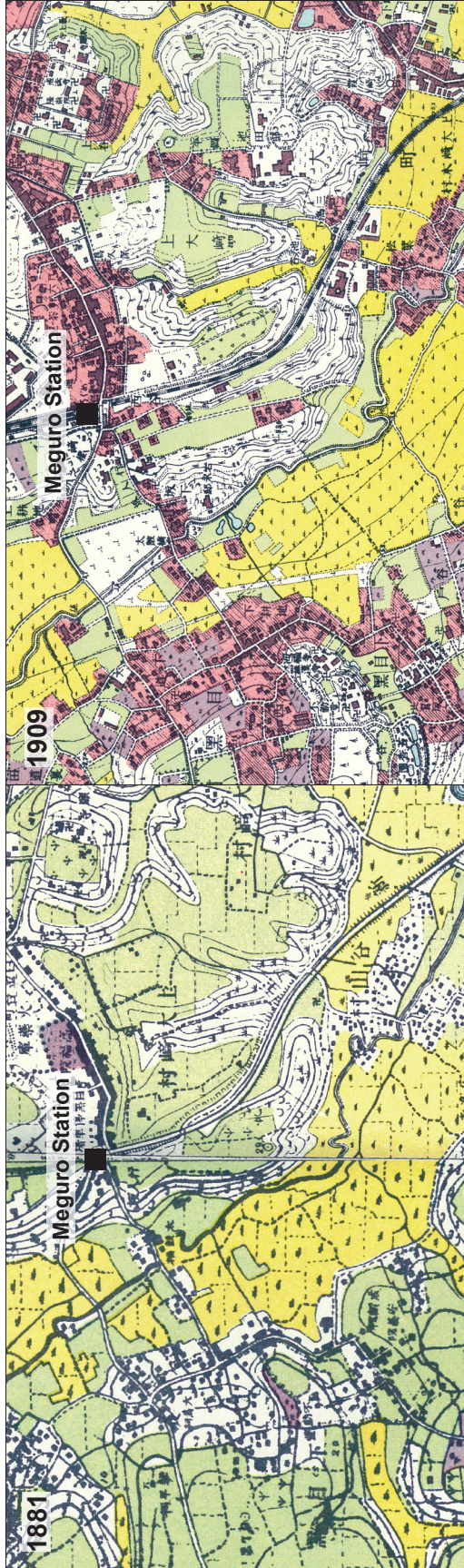


Figure 2.1. Comparison of 1881 and 1909 maps around Meguro Station, showing the expansion of residential areas. Red indicates gardens attached to residences. Yellow indicates paddy field; green indicates agricultural field. Annotated on Tokyo To Shinagawa Ku, *History of Shinagawa Ward: Maps and Statistics Appendices*, 6–9.

Table 2.1. TEGSAA gathering dates, venues, and attendees. For data details, see the footnote 196.

Year	Month	Day	Event	Venue	Venue type	Number of attendees
1896	Apr	07	3rd spring reunion gathering	Inside TEGS	Familiar (school-related) place	70+
1896	Nov	07	4th fall reunion gathering	In front of Meguro Station, Mrs. Watanabe's vacation home [bessō 別荘]	Member home	77
1897	May	01	5th spring reunion gathering	Inside TEGS	Familiar (school-related) place	70-80
1897	Oct	13	6th fall reunion gathering	Inside TEGS	Familiar (school-related) place	NS
1898	Jun	11	7th spring reunion gathering	TEGS's Western-style guest room	Familiar (school-related) place	57
1898	Nov	12	8th fall reunion gathering	The girls' school	Familiar (school-related) place	65
1899	Apr	15	9th spring reunion gathering	TEGS	Familiar (school-related) place	NS
1899	Nov	11	10th fall reunion gathering	Shimizudani Park, Akasaka Kioi Chō	Park / in-park establishment	NS
1900	Nov	01	11th fall reunion gathering	Inside TEGS's new school building	Familiar (school-related) place	NS
1901	Mar	29	12th spring reunion gathering	TEGS	Familiar (school-related) place	40+
1901	Oct	26	13th fall reunion	Ōmori Station Hakkeien Garden	Park / in-park establishment	60+
1902	Mar	29	14th spring reunion	TEGS's Western-style guest room	Familiar (school-related) place	40+
1902	Oct	11	15th fall reunion	Sangitei, in Ueno Park	Park / in-park establishment	50+
1903	Mar	30	16th spring reunion	TEGS's Western-style guest room	Familiar (school-related) place	60+
1903	Nov	24	17th fall reunion	Sangitei, in Ueno Park	Park / in-park establishment	NS
1904	Mar	25	18th spring reunion	TEGS's guest room	Familiar (school-related) place	70+
1905	Apr	01	19th spring reunion	TEGS's guest room	Familiar (school-related) place	60+
1905	Oct	NS	20th fall reunion	Ms. Coats' (a former teacher) house, in Koishikawa	Member home	NS
1906	Mar	30	21st spring reunion	TEGS's guest room	Familiar (school-related) place	75
1906	Oct	27	22nd fall reunion	Mukōjima Kagetsu Garden	Park / in-park establishment	~60
1907	Mar	30	23rd spring reunion	TEGS's guest room	Familiar (school-related) place	NS
1907	Oct	26	24th fall reunion	Ōmori Hakkeien Garden	Park / in-park establishment	NS

Year	Month	Day	Event	Venue	Venue type	Number of attendees
1908	Mar	18	14th spring reunion	TEGS's guest room	Familiar (school-related) place	75
1908	Oct	10	14th fall reunion	Sangitei, in Ueno Park	Park / in-park establishment	33
1910	Apr	01	16th spring reunion	TEGS	Familiar (school-related) place	NS
1910	Sep	26	Reunion planning committee meeting	The girls' school	Familiar (school-related) place	6
1910	Nov	12	Fall reunion	TEGS	Familiar (school-related) place	About 60
1910	Jun	04	Send-off party for Ms. Okuno Mineko (a long-time board member of TEGSAA)	TEGS's Western-style guest room	Familiar (school-related) place	NS
1910	summer		Grave visit	Aoyama Cemetery	Other	5

Table 2.2. JWAE gathering dates, venues, and attendees. For data details, see the footnote 196.

Year	Month	Day	Event	Venue	Venue type	Number of attendees
1886	NS	NS	Started as Tokyo Women's Colloquium	Established an office at 17, Nakachō, Ushigome	Office / clubhouse	5
1887	Jan	15	1st gathering	Private kindergarten in Suidōbatachō, Koishikawa	Educational facility	NS
1887	Dec	NS	11th gathering	NS	Not specified	NS
1888	Jan	21	Inaugural gathering (as JWAE)	Lecture hall, Tokyo Imperial University (TIU)	Educational facility	NS
1888	Feb	17	1st regular gathering	NS	Not specified	NS
1888	Mar	3	Special gathering	NS	Not specified	NS
1888	Mar	27	Special gathering	NS	Not specified	NS
1888	May	6	Special gathering	NS	Not specified	NS
1888	Nov	17	8th regular gathering	NS	Not specified	NS
1889	Jan	19	Annual inauguration & 1st general assembly	University lecture hall, 1st Higher Middle School (prep school for TIU), Hitotsubashi	Educational facility	NS
1889	Feb	16	10th regular gathering	University lecture hall, Hitotsubashi	Educational facility	67
1889	Mar	16	11th regular gathering	University lecture hall, Hitotsubashi	Educational facility	50+
1889	Apr	20	12th regular gathering	University lecture hall, Hitotsubashi	Educational facility	39
1889	May	18	13th regular gathering	Auditorium, Peeresses' School, Yotsuya	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	160+
1889	Jun	15	14th regular gathering	Auditorium, Peeresses' School, Yotsuya	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	70+
1889	Sep	21	15th regular gathering	Statistics Association Meeting Hall in the precinct of Yasukuni Shrine	Restaurant / rental hall	NS
1889	Oct	19	16th regular gathering	Peeresses' School, Nagatachō	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	30+
1889	Nov	16	17th regular gathering	Peeresses' School, Nagatachō	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	60+
1890	Jan	26		University lecture hall, Hitotsubashi	Educational facility	250+
1890	Feb	15	18th regular gathering	Peeresses' School, Nagatachō	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	60+

Year	Month	Day	Event	Venue	Venue type	Number of attendees
1890	Mar	15	19th regular gathering	Peeresses' School, Nagatachō	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	50+
1890	May	11	Regular gathering	Vacation home of Baron Ōkura Kihachirō	Member home	80+
1890	Jun	21	21st regular gathering	Peeresses' School	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	60+
1890	Sep	20	Regular gathering	University lecture hall, Hitotsubashi	Educational facility	35+
1890	Nov	16	24th regular gathering	Peeresses' School, Nagatachō	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	60+
1891	Jan	25	3rd general assembly	University lecture hall, Hitotsubashi	Educational facility	110+
1891	Feb	NS	Regular gathering	Dōjinsha, Edogawachō, Koishikawa	Educational facility	50+
1891	Mar	21	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School, Nagatachō	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	90+
1891	Apr	26	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	40+
1891	May	30	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	50
1891	May	-	Board meeting	NS	Not specified	NS
1891	Sep	26	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School, Nagatachō	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	50+
1891	Oct	28	Board meeting	NS	Not specified	NS
1891	Nov	7	Charity music gathering	Former auditorium of Engineering College. Toranomon	Educational facility	1200
1892	Jan	NS	Office relocation	Moved to 4-13 Hirakawachō, Kōjimachi	Office / clubhouse	-
1892	Feb	20	29th regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	40+
1892	Mar	19	General assembly	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	60+
1892	Apr	16	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	30+
1892	May	21	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	100+

Year	Month	Day	Event	Venue	Venue type	Number of attendees
1892	Jun	18	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	40+
1892	Sep	24	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	40+
1892	Oct	22	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	50+
1892	Nov	26	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	NS
1892	Nov or Dec	NS	Charity event for Jikei Hospital	NS	Not specified	NS
1893	Jan	28	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	100+
1893	Mar	25	5th general assembly	Shiba Detached Palace	Member home	200+
1893	Apr	22	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	40+
1893	May	20	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	40+
1893	May	29	Sports day for the school	Kōrakuen, Koishikawa Arsenal	Park / in-park establishment	NS
1893	Jun	17	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	250+
1893	Sep	23	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	50+
1893	Nov	11	2nd charity music gathering	Kōrakuen, Koishikawa Arsenal	Park / in-park establishment	1300
1894	Jan	27	Annual inauguration (regular gathering)	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	100+
1894	Feb	17	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	100
1894	Mar	17	General assembly	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	90+
1894	Apr	11	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	100
1894	May	19	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	80+

Year	Month	Day	Event	Venue	Venue type	Number of attendees
1894	Jun	16	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	80+
1894	Sep	22	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	60+
1894	Oct	20	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	40+
1894	Nov	11	Regular gathering	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	50
1895	Jan	19	Annual inauguration	Rokumeikan	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	120+
1895	Feb	16	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	40+
1895	Mar	16	General assembly	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	100+
1895	Apr	20	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	50+
1895	May	18	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	40+
1895	Jun	15	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	40+
1895	Sep	28	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	50+
1895	Oct	19	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	50-60
1895	Nov	16	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	50+
1896	Jan	25	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	150+
1896	Feb	15	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	NS
1896	Mar	18	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	30+
1896	Jun	20	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	30+

Year	Month	Day	Event	Venue	Venue type	Number of attendees
1896	Oct	18	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	60
1896	Nov	21	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	24-5
1897	Feb	20	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	NS
1897	Mar	20	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	NS
1897	May	17	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	20+
1897	Jun	18	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	20+
1897	Oct	16	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	50+
1897	Nov	20	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	60+
1898	Jan	27	Annual inauguration & regular gathering	NS	Not specified	200+
1898	Mar	26	General assembly	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	60+
1898	Oct	5	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	50+
1898	Nov	19	Regular gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	80+
1899	Jan	28	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	200+
1899	Feb	28	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	260+
1899	Apr	6	Cherry blossom viewing get-together	Palace of Kan'in-no-miya Imperial Family	Member home	200+
1899	Apr	29	Charity music gathering	Kinki Hall	Restaurant / rental hall	1000+
1899	Sep	30	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	300+
1899	Nov	18	Charity garden party	Residence of Earl Ōkuma, Waseda	Member home	Several hundred

Year	Month	Day	Event	Venue	Venue type	Number of attendees
1900	Jan	20	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	80+
1900	Feb	16	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	60+
1900	Mar	11	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	20–100
1900	Apr	21	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	20–100
1900	Apr	25	Office relocation	6-25, Hiwakawachō, Kōjimachi	Office / clubhouse	-
1900	May	19	Get-together	Residence of Prince Mōri, Takanawa, Shiba	Member home	200+
1900	Jun	16	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	NS
1900	Jul	16	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	20–100
1900	Sep	29	Regular gathering	NS	Not specified	NS
1900	Oct	18	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	Many
1900	Nov	24	Garden party & general assembly	Residence of Prince Mōri, Takanawa, Shiba	Member home	100+
1900	Dec	13	Office relocation	2-13, Omotechō, Akasaka	Office / clubhouse	
1900	Dec	13	Board meeting	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1901	Jan	13	Business meeting & new year gathering	NS	Not specified	NS
1901	Jan	27	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	400+
1901	Feb	23	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	60+
1901	Mar	16	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	20–100
1901	Apr	14	Spring general assembly	Koishikawa Botanical Garden	Park / in-park establishment	100+
1901	May	18	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	100+

Year	Month	Day	Event	Venue	Venue type	Number of attendees
1901	Jun	15	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	130
1901	Sep	28	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	80+
1901	Oct	19	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	100+
1901	Oct	28	Council gathering	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1901	Nov	24	Fall general assembly	Residence of Prince Mōri, Takanawa, Shiba	Member home	400+
1902	Jan	18	New year regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	300+
1902	Jan	11	Meet and greet of Hatoyama Haruko (member)	Shinbashi Station	Other	Board members & voluntarily participating regular members
1902	Jan	20	Welcome-back party for Hatoyama Haruko	Fujimiken, Kidanue	Restaurant / rental hall	NS
1902	Feb	15	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	100+
1902	Mar	15	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	80+
1902	Mar-	-	History class	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1902	Mar-	-	Home economics class	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1902	Mar	21	Cooking class	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1902	Mar	28	Cooking class	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1902	Apr	4	Cooking class	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1902	Apr	26	Spring general assembly	Residence of Vice President Nabeshima	Member home	Close to 500
1902	May	15	Home economics & literature class	Office	Office / clubhouse	21
1902	May	31	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	60+

Year	Month	Day	Event	Venue	Venue type	Number of attendees
1902	-	Wednesdays	Cooking class	NS	Office / clubhouse	NS
1902	Jun	21	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	80+
1902	-	Wednesdays	Western cuisine class	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1902	-	Fridays	Japanese cuisine class	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1902	-	1st & 3rd Thursdays monthly	Home economics & literature class	Office	Office / clubhouse	38
1902	Sep	4th Saturday	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	100+
1902	Oct	14	Board meeting & welcome party for Takeda Mitsuko	Office	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	Many board members
1902	Oct	26	Fall general assembly	Kōrakuen, Koishikawa Arsenal (former Garden of Mito Lord)	Park / in-park establishment	close to 800
1902	Nov	15	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	80+
1903	Jan	12	Board new year meeting		Restaurant / rental hall	Board members & guests
1903	Jan	17	New year gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	300+
1903	Jan	22	New year gathering for cooking class	Office	Office / clubhouse	20
1903	Mar	21	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	90+
1903	Apr	3rd & 4th Thursdays monthly	Home economics & literature class	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1903	Apr	18	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	50+
1903	May	6	Special member get-together	Residence of Baron Mōri (son of President Mōri)	Member home	50+
1903	May	Fridays	Japanese cuisine class	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1903	May	Thursdays	Western cuisine class	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS

Year	Month	Day	Event	Venue	Venue type	Number of attendees
1903	May	26	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	NS
1903	Jun	20	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	50+
1903	Jul	2	Board meeting	Office	Office / clubhouse	Board members
1903	Sep	19	Regular gathering	Kindergarten attached to Peeresses' School	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	20–100
1903	Oct	24	Regular gathering	Kindergarten attached to Peeresses' School	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	60+
1903	Nov	2	Office relocation	1-19 Nagatachō, Kōjimachi	Office / clubhouse	-
1903	Nov	21	General assembly	Garden in the Residence of Earl Ōkuma	Member home	700+
1903	Dec	9	Appreciation tea party (for members who planned and served the general assembly)	Office	Office / clubhouse	40+
1904	Jan	13	Special member get-together	Office	Office / clubhouse	20–100
1904	Jan	16	New year gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	80+
1904	Jan	18	Send-off gathering for Ms. Yasui Tetsu	Seiyoken, Ueno Park	Park / in-park establishment	40+
1904	Feb	10	Chat-over-dinner gathering (after Western cuisine class)	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1904	Feb	2nd & 4th Thursdays	Literature class	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1904	Feb	Wednesdays	Western cuisine class	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1904	Feb	NS	Regular gathering	Office	Office / clubhouse	120–200
1904	Apr	30	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	60+
1904	Jun	18	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	90+
1904	Jul	7	War-affected family consolation	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1904	Aug	4	War-affected family consolation	Hospital in Hayatochō	Other	11

Year	Month	Day	Event	Venue	Venue type	Number of attendees
1904	Aug	5	War-affected family consolation	Shibuya Branch Hospital	Other	9
1904	Aug	6	War-affected family consolation	Toyama Branch Hospital	Other	6
1904	Sep	17	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	80+
1904	Oct	17	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	80+
1904	Nov	19	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	50+
1905	Jan	21	New year gathering	Office	Office / clubhouse	90+
1905	Feb	28	Regular gathering	Office	Office / clubhouse	80+
1905	Mar	18	Regular gathering	Office	Office / clubhouse	60+
1905	Apr	13	Send-off gathering for Mrs. Odo	Kōrakuen, Koishikawa Arsenal	Park / in-park establishment	700+
1905	Apr	20	Board meeting	Office	Office / clubhouse	11
1905	May	20	Regular gathering	Office	Office / clubhouse	100+
1905	Jun	3rd Saturday	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	20–100
1905	Jun	21	Women's victory celebration	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	500+
1905	Oct	Wednesdays	Western cuisine class	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1905	Oct	21	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	90+
1905	Nov	2	Board meeting	Office	Office / clubhouse	10+
1905	Nov	18	General assembly		Member home	400+
1906	Jan	20	New year gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	100+
1906	Feb	NS	Board meeting	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1906	Apr	20	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	NS

Year	Month	Day	Event	Venue	Venue type	Number of attendees
1906	May	10	Appreciation gathering for the participants of war-affected family consolation	Residence of Prince Mōri, Takanawa, Shiba	Member home	150+
1906	Jun	16	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	80+
1906	Sep	22	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	60+
1906	Oct	20	Regular gathering	Peeresses' School Kindergarten	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	100+
1906	Nov	6	Board meeting	Office	Office / clubhouse	9+
1906	Nov	17	Fall general assembly	Residence of Prince Mōri, Takanawa, Shiba	Member home	600+
1907	Jan	19	New year gathering	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	130+
1907	Feb	5	Board meeting	Sanentei, Shiba Park	Park / in-park establishment	13
1907	Feb	17	Office relocation	Address not specified	Office / clubhouse	-
1907	Mar	16	Regular gathering	Gakushūin Girls' School Kindergarten (former Peeresses' School Kindergarten)	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	70+
1907	Apr	15	Regular gathering (invited women from overseas)	Kazoku Hall	Familiar (kazoku-related) place	160+
1907	May	11	20th anniversary memorial gathering & general assembly	Residence of Prince Mōri, Takanawa, Shiba	Member home	Close to 200
1907	Jun	15	Regular gathering	Office	Office / clubhouse	60+
1907	Jun	Not specified	First meal gathering	Office	Office / clubhouse	10+
1907	Jun	Wednesdays	Western cuisine class	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1907	Jun	Thursdays	Artificial flower making class	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1907	Sep	Tuesdays & Fridays	Music class	Office	Office / clubhouse	-
1907	Sep	21	Regular gathering	Office	Office / clubhouse	Close to 50
1907	Oct	19	Regular gathering	Sankaidō, Akasaka Tameike	Restaurant / rental hall	100+

Year	Month	Day	Event	Venue	Venue type	Number of attendees
1907	Nov	30	Regular gathering	Sankaidō, Akasaka Tameike	Restaurant / rental hall	NS
1907	Dec	13	Board meeting	Office	Office / clubhouse	5
1908	Jan	18	New year gathering	Sankaidō, Akasaka Tameike	Restaurant / rental hall	100+
1908	Jan	Weekly	Music class	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1908	Jan	NS	Western cuisine class	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1908	Jan	NS	Artificial flower making class	Office	Office / clubhouse	NS
1908	Feb	14	Board member new year gathering	Tsunashima Mitsui Club	Restaurant / rental hall	15
1908	Mar	15	Regular gathering	Sankaidō, Akasaka Tameike	Restaurant / rental hall	60+
1908	Apr	18	Regular gathering	Sankaidō, Akasaka Tameike	Restaurant / rental hall	50
1908	Apr	28	Clubhouse construction committee meeting		Member home	5
1908	May	16	Regular gathering	Sankaidō, Akasaka Tameike	Restaurant / rental hall	60
1908	Jun	27	Regular gathering	Sankaidō, Akasaka Tameike	Restaurant / rental hall	70+
1908	Sep	NS	Relocation to a temporary office	5-15 Hirakawachō, Kōjimachi	Office / clubhouse	-
1908	Oct	29	Board meeting	Office	Office / clubhouse	18
1908	Nov	26	General assembly	Residence of Prince Mōri, Takanawa, Shiba	Member home	200+
1908	Dec	18	Clubhouse construction committee meeting	Temporary office	Office / clubhouse	8
1908	Dec	19	Office relocation	New clubhouse, Japanese-style wing	Office / clubhouse	-
1909	Jan	26	Board meeting	Office in the new clubhouse, Japanese-style wing	Office / clubhouse	9
1909	Jan	31	New year gathering & Clubhouse construction completion celebration	New clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	150+
1909	Feb	13	Dinner gathering	New clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	24
1909	Feb	Wednesdays	Piano & solo vocal class	New clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1909	Feb	Wednesdays	Violin class	New clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS

Year	Month	Day	Event	Venue	Venue type	Number of attendees
1909	Feb	2nd & 3rd Thursdays or 1st & 4th Saturdays	Japanese poetry & literature class	New clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1909	Feb	Wednesdays	Pressed flower making class	New clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1909	Feb	Saturdays	Western cuisine class	New clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1909	Mar	20	Regular gathering	New clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	50+
1909	Apr	17	Regular gathering	New clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	70+
1909	Apr	NS	3 member initiated gatherings	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
	May	NS	3 member initiated gatherings	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	
1909	May	22	Regular gathering	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	54
1909	May	Wednesdays	Piano & solo vocal class	New clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1909	May	Tuesdays or Fridays	Violin class	New clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1909	May	2nd & 3rd Thursdays or 1st & 4th Saturdays	Japanese poetry & literature class	New clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1909	May	Wednesdays	Pressed flower making class	New clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1909	May	Saturdays	Western cuisine class	New clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1909	Jun	19	Board meeting & lunch	Pine room in the clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	24+
1909	Jun	19	Regular gathering	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	70+
1909	Oct	7	Board meeting	Pine room in the clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	13
1909	Oct	16	Regular gathering	NS	Not specified	80+
1909	Oct	29	Special board meeting	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	13
1909	Nov	20	General assembly	Residence of Prince Mōri, Takanawa, Shiba	Member home	300+
1909	Nov	Wednesdays	Piano & solo vocal class	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1909	Nov	Tuesdays or Fridays	Violin class	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1909	Nov	2nd & 3rd Thursdays or 1st & 4th Saturdays	Japanese poetry & literature class	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS

Year	Month	Day	Event	Venue	Venue type	Number of attendees
1909	Nov	Wednesdays	Pressed flower making class	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1909	Nov	Saturdays	Western cuisine class	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1909	Nov	Tuesdays	Japanese cuisine class	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1910	Jan	15		Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	80+
1910	Jan	2nd & 3rd Thursdays or 1st & 4th Saturdays	Japanese poetry & literature class	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1910	Jan	Wednesdays	Pressed flower making class	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1910	Jan	Wednesdays	Piano & solo vocal class	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1910	Jan	Tuesdays	Violin class	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1910	Feb	Saturdays	Western cuisine class	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1910	Feb	Tuesdays	Japanese cuisine class	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1910	Feb	15	Board meeting	Pine room	Office / clubhouse	8
1910	Feb	19	Regular gathering	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	60+
1910	Mar	19	Regular gathering	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	60+
1910	Apr	16	Regular gathering	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	50+
1910	May	2	Board meeting	Pine room	Office / clubhouse	7
1910	May	4	Board meeting	NS	Not specified	10
1910	May	29	Special general assembly	Residence of Prince Mōri, Takanawa, Shiba	Member home	20–100
1910	Jun	18	Regular gathering	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	100+
1910	Jun	21	Executive meeting	Pine room	Office / clubhouse	6
1910	Sep	24	Regular gathering	Upper-level large room	Office / clubhouse	70+
1910	Sep	24	Council meeting	Pine room	Office / clubhouse	13
1910	Oct	15	Regular gathering	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	70+
1910	Oct	30	Music class student practice concert	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	70+

Year	Month	Day	Event	Venue	Venue type	Number of attendees
1910	Nov	26, 27	Charity Japanese theater performance (Noh) gathering	Kudan Noh Theater	Other	NS
1910	Dec	9	Executive report meeting (for the charity gathering)	Residence of Baron Mōri	Member home	9
1911	Jan	16	New year gathering for board members	Seiyoken in Tsukiji	Restaurant / rental hall	18
1911	Jan	16	Board meeting	Chat room, socializing room	Office / clubhouse	18
1911	Jan	21	New year gathering	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	100+
1911	Mar	24	Regular gathering	NS	Not specified	50+
1911	Mar	Saturdays	Knitting class	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	5-6
1911	Mar	24	Small gathering by Baron and Baronnes Mōri	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1911	Apr	15	Regular gathering	NS	Not specified	60+
1911	Apr	2	Small gatherings hosted by Ms Inoue and Mrs. Kadono (member-initiated gatherings)	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1911	Apr	12	Executive meeting	Pine room	Office / clubhouse	6
1911	May	20	Regular gathering	NS	Not specified	NS
1911	Jun	10, 11	Charity Japanese theater performance (Noh) gathering	Kudan Noh Theater	Other	NS
1911	Jun	17	Regular gathering	NS	Not specified	80+
1911	Jul	4	Board member appreciation gathering (for the service at the charity gathering)	Dining hall at the office	Office / clubhouse	19
1911	Jul	NS	Gathering	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1911	Oct	21	Regular gathering	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	80+
1911	Nov	11, 12	Exhibition of knit works by knitting class students	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1911	Nov	13	Gathering hosted by Ms. Shiraishi (member-initiated gathering)	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1911	Nov	14	Board meeting	Pine room in the clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	14

Year	Month	Day	Event	Venue	Venue type	Number of attendees
1911	Nov	14	Orient Women's Association board meeting	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	NS
1911	NS	NS	Fall general assembly	Residence of Baron Mōri	Member home	250+
1912	Jan	16	Board meeting	Pine room in the clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	7
1912	Jan	16	New year gathering	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	100+
1912	Mar	16	Regular gathering	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	50+
1912	Mar	16	Board meeting	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	9
1912	Apr	9	Celebration party for Miwata and Tanahashi's receipt of 6th class national honor	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	17
1912	Apr	13	Party hosted by President Mōri	Residence of Prince Mōri, Takanawa, Shiba	Member home	Close to 1000
1912	Apr	21	Board member celebration party for Miwata and Tanahashi's receipt of 6th class national honor	Residence of Earl Ōkuma	Member home	NS
1912	May	18	Regular gathering	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	80+
1912	Jun	15	Regular gathering	Clubhouse	Office / clubhouse	"Venue filled with members"

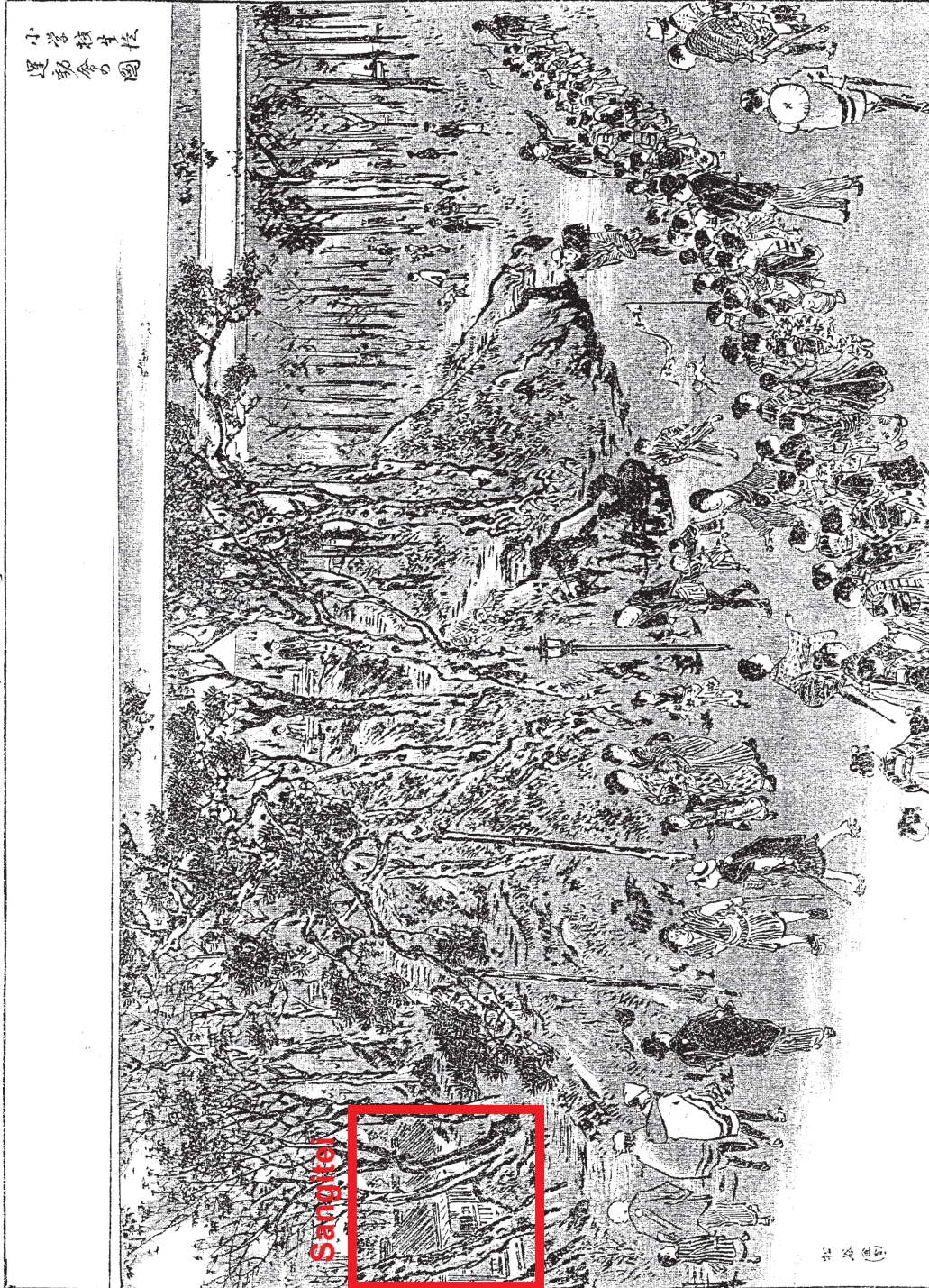


Figure 2.2. Suribachi Hill, c.1890s. Sangitei is drawn the left edge. The caption in the illustration reads, “an illustration of elementary school students’ field day.” Annotated by the author on Matsutani 松谷, “Suribachi Kofun no Zu 播鉢古墳之図 [Illustration of Suribachi Hill],” *Culture Graphic* 123 (1896): unpagged.



Figure 2.3. Seiyōken, c.1890s. Annotated by the author on Matsutani, “Daibutsu oyobi Seiyōken no Zu 大仏及精養軒之図 [Illustration of Great Buddha Statue and Seiyōken]” *Culture Graphic* 123 (1896): unpagged.



Figure 2.4. Seiyōken c.1870s. Utagawa Hiroshige 歌川広重, “Tokyo Meisho no uchi Ueno Kōenchi Shinobazu Ike Miharashi Zu 東京名所内上野公園地不忍見晴園 [Panoramic View of Shinobazu Pond in Ueno Park, A Place to Go in Tokyo],” woodblock print = nishiki-e, 1876, 528, Adachi Museum, accessed November 19, 2018, https://jmapps.ne.jp/adachitokyo/det.html?data_id=528.

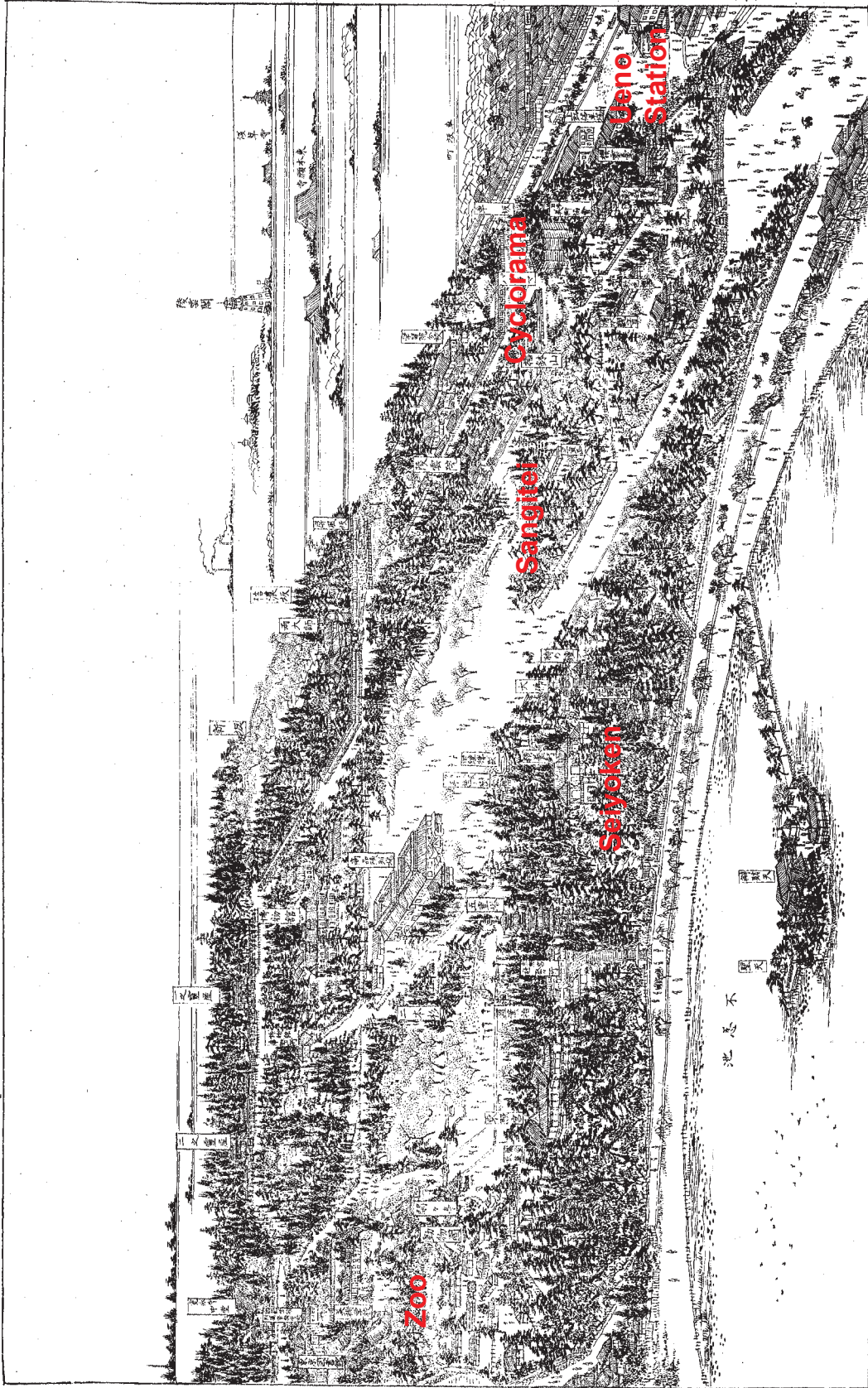


Figure 2.5. A partial bird-eye view of Ueno Park, c.1890s. Annotated by the author on Sorahan 空半, “Ueno Koen no Zu 上野公園之図 [Illustration of Ueno Park],” *Culture Graphic* 123 (1896): unpagged.

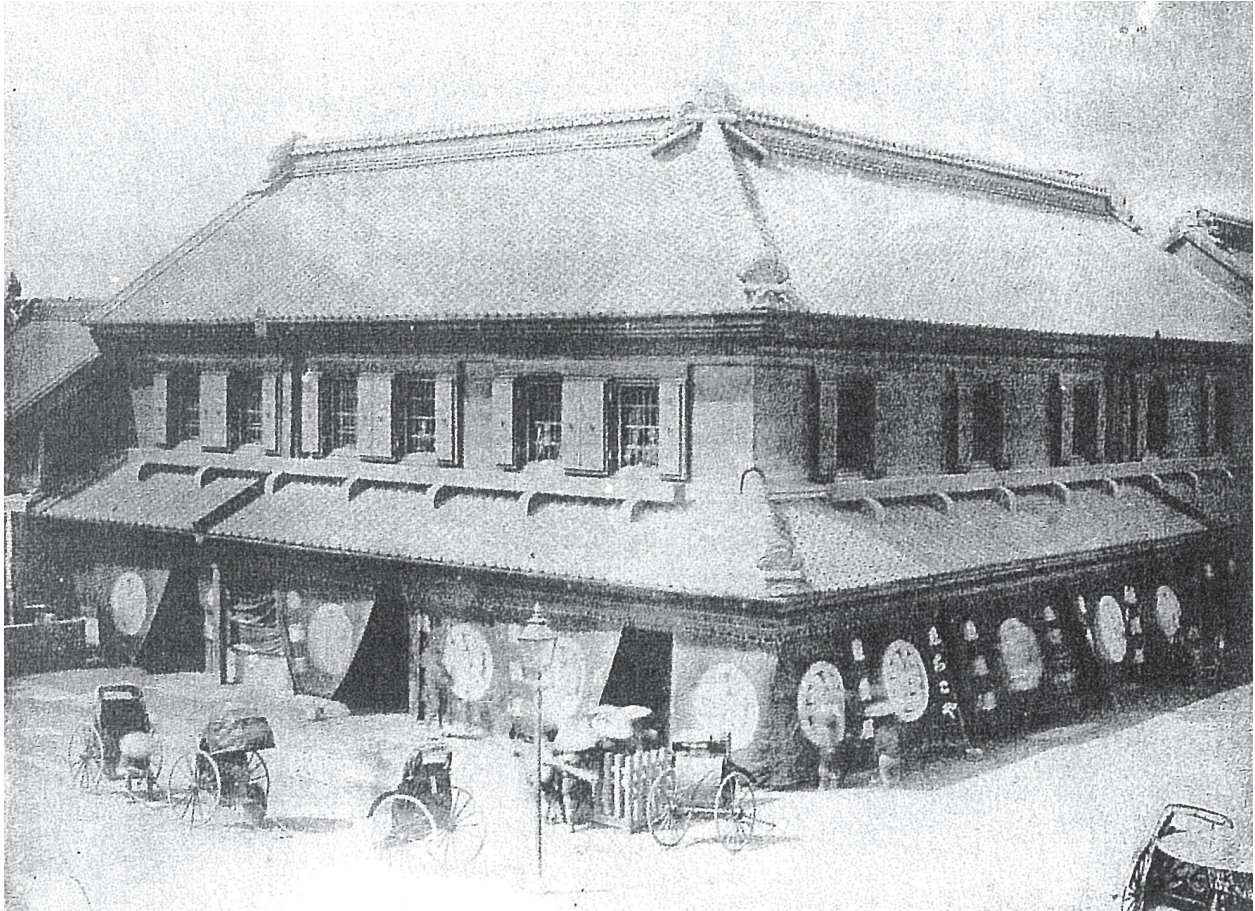


Figure 3.1. An exterior view of Mitsui Kimono Store, c.1901. Reproduced from Dai Mitsukoshi Rekishi Shashinchō Kankō Inkai 大三越歴史写真帳刊行委員会, ed., *Dai Mitsukoshi Shashinchō* 大三越写真帳 [*Photobook of Great Mitsukoshi*] (Tokyo: Dai Mitsukoshi Rekishi Shashinchō Kankō Kai, 1932), 17.

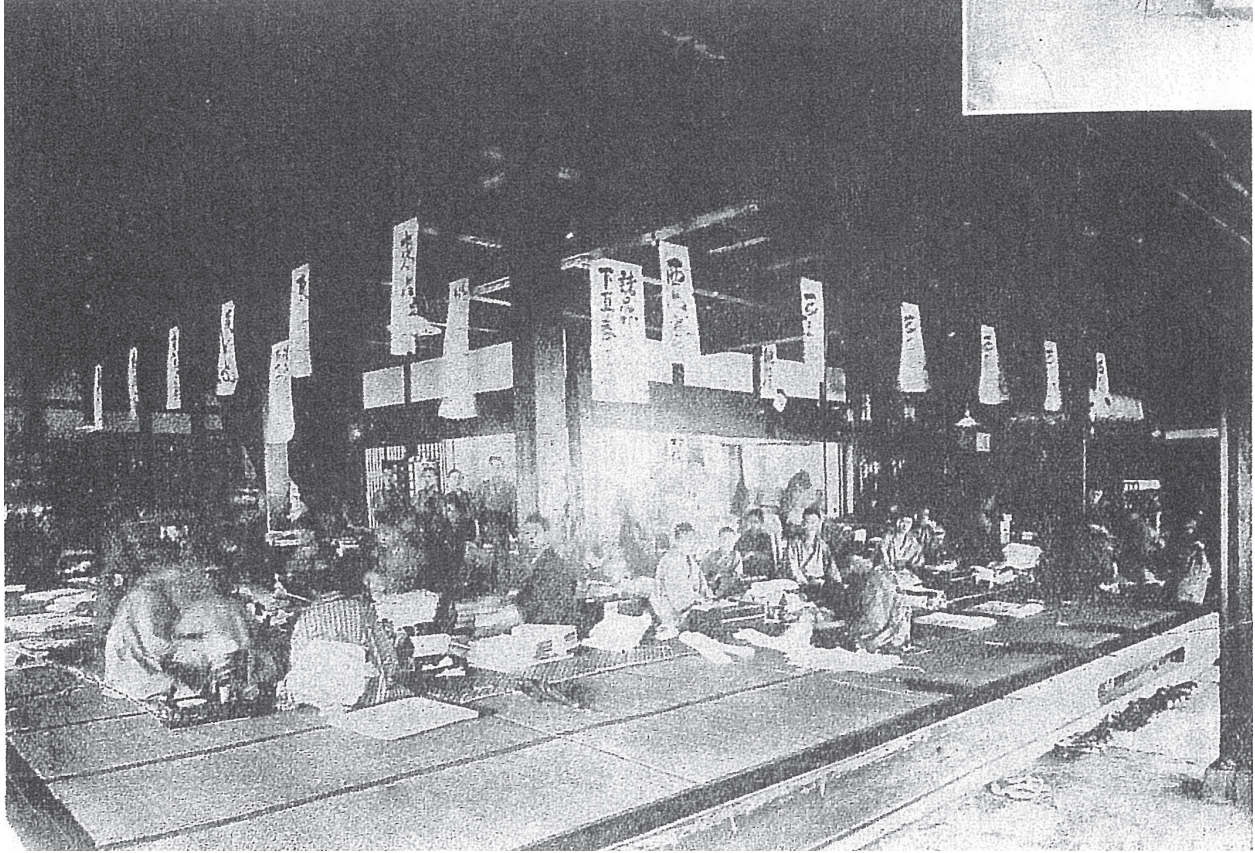
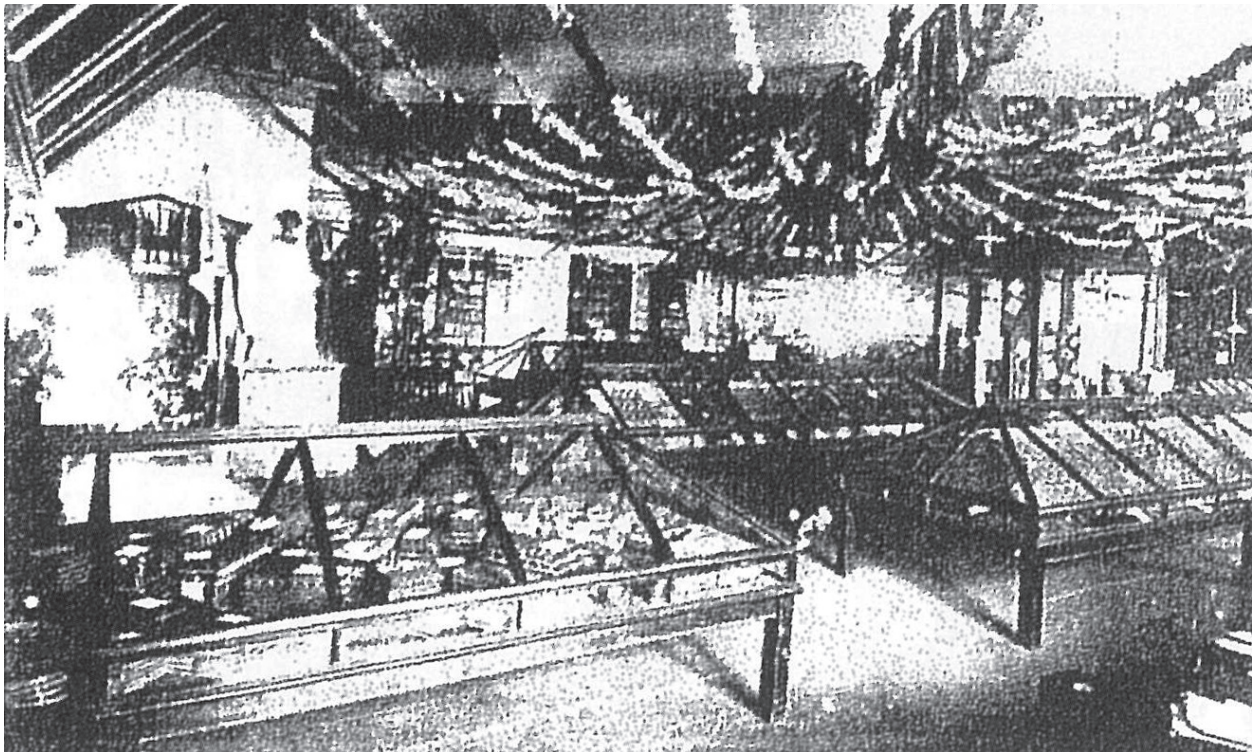
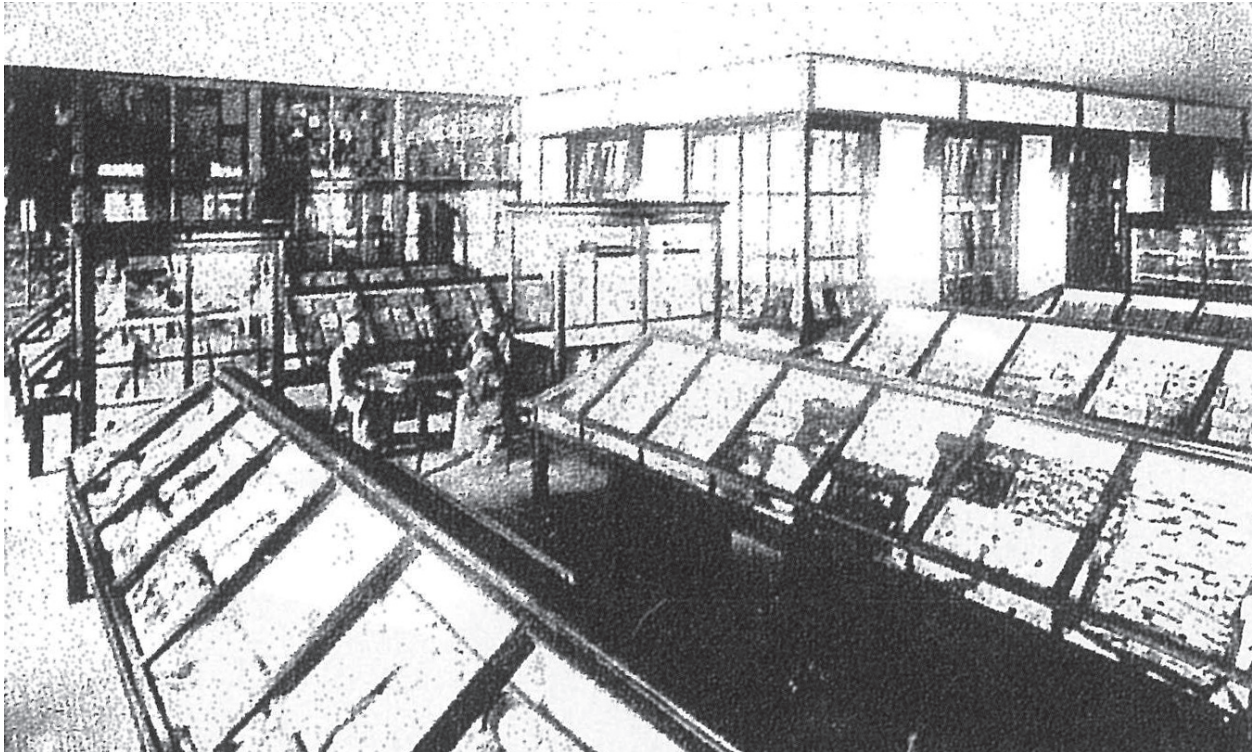
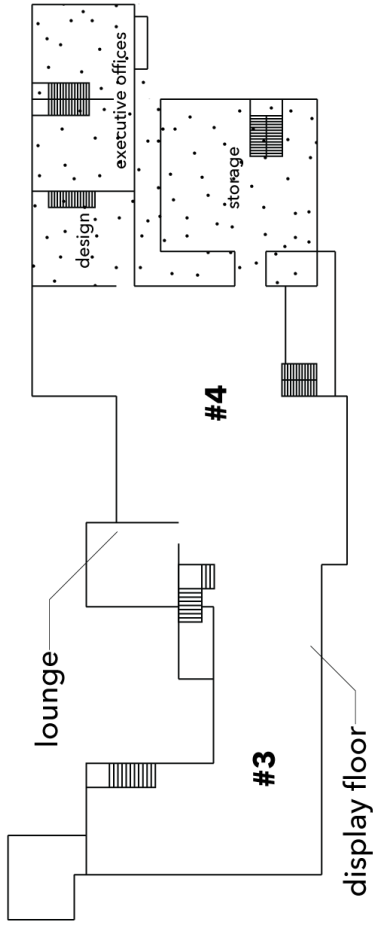


Figure 3.2. The sit-and-sell space on the lower floor, c.1900. Photo taken in 1887. Reproduced from Dai Mitsukoshi Rekishi Shashinchō Kankō Īnkai, *Photobook of Great Mitsukoshi*, 16.



Figures 3.3 (top) and 3.4 (bottom). The upper-floor selling space, c.1900. Photo taken in 1895. Reproduced from Dai Mitsukoshi Rekishi Shashinchō Kankō Īnkai, *Photobook of Great Mitsukoshi*, 21.

upper floor non-selling offices



lower floor

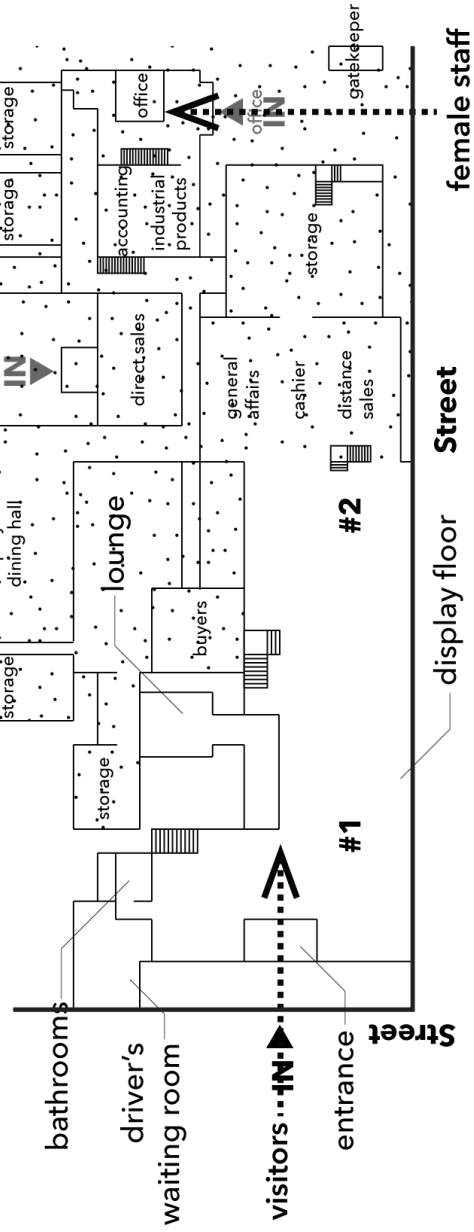


Figure 3.5. A schematic floor plan of Mitsui Kimono Store, c.1900. Created by the author based on Dai Mitsukoshi Rekishi Shashinchō Kankō Inkai, *Photobook of Great Mitsukoshi*, 24.

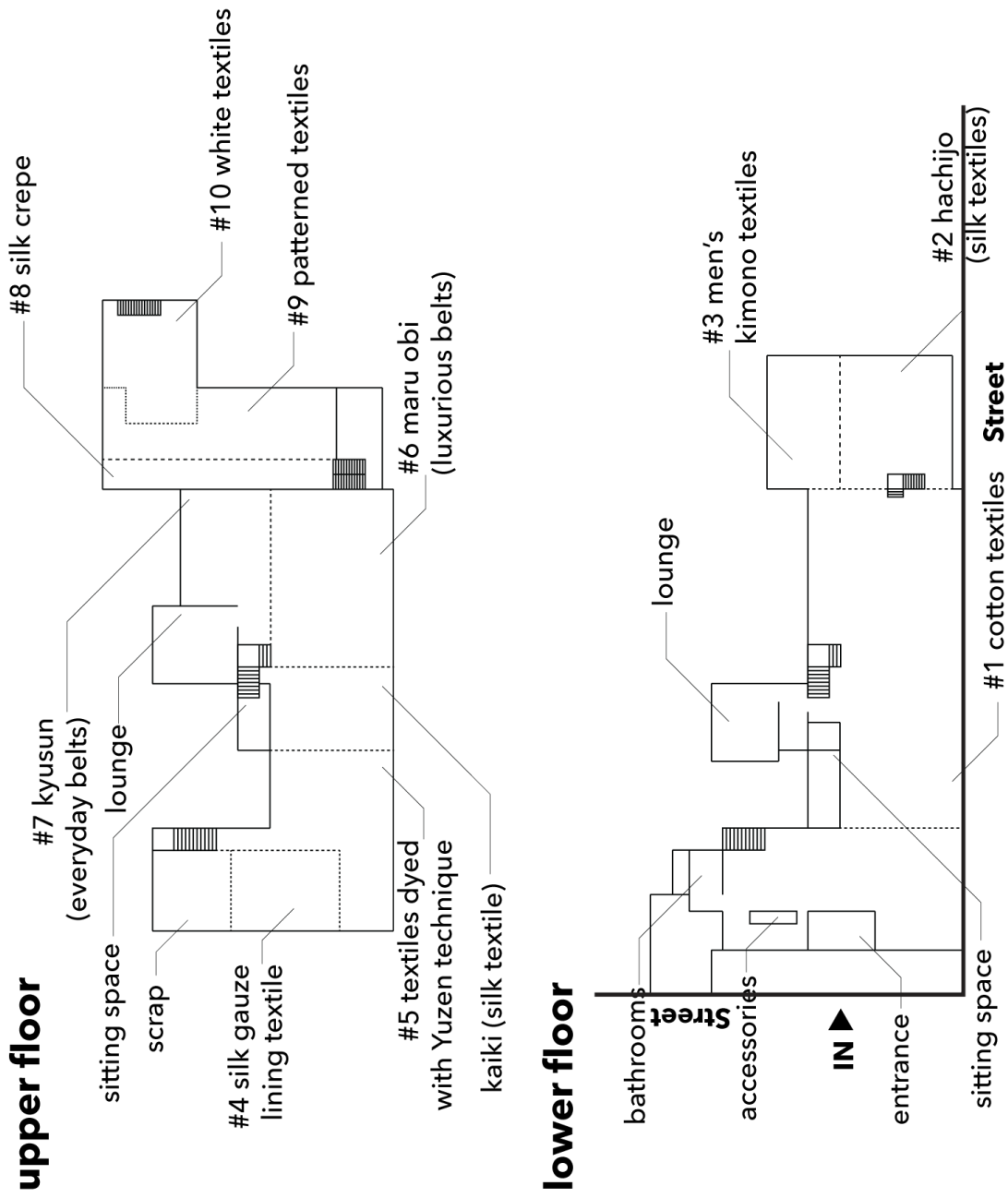


Figure 3.6. A schematic floor plan of Mitsui Kimono Store, c.1901. Created by the author based on Dai Mitsukoshi Rekishi Shashinchō Kankō Inkai, *Photobook of Great Mitsukoshi*, 24.



Figure 3.7. The central hall of the 1908 building. Reproduced from Yokokawa Kenchiku Sekkei Jimusho Kikakushitsu 横河建築設計事務所企画室, ed., *Yokokawa Kenchiku Sekkei Jimusho: Hachijūnen No Nagare* 横河建築設計事務所：80年の流れ [*Eighty Years of Yokokawa Architects*] (Tokyo: Yokokawa Kenchiku Sekkei Jimusho, 1983), 44.

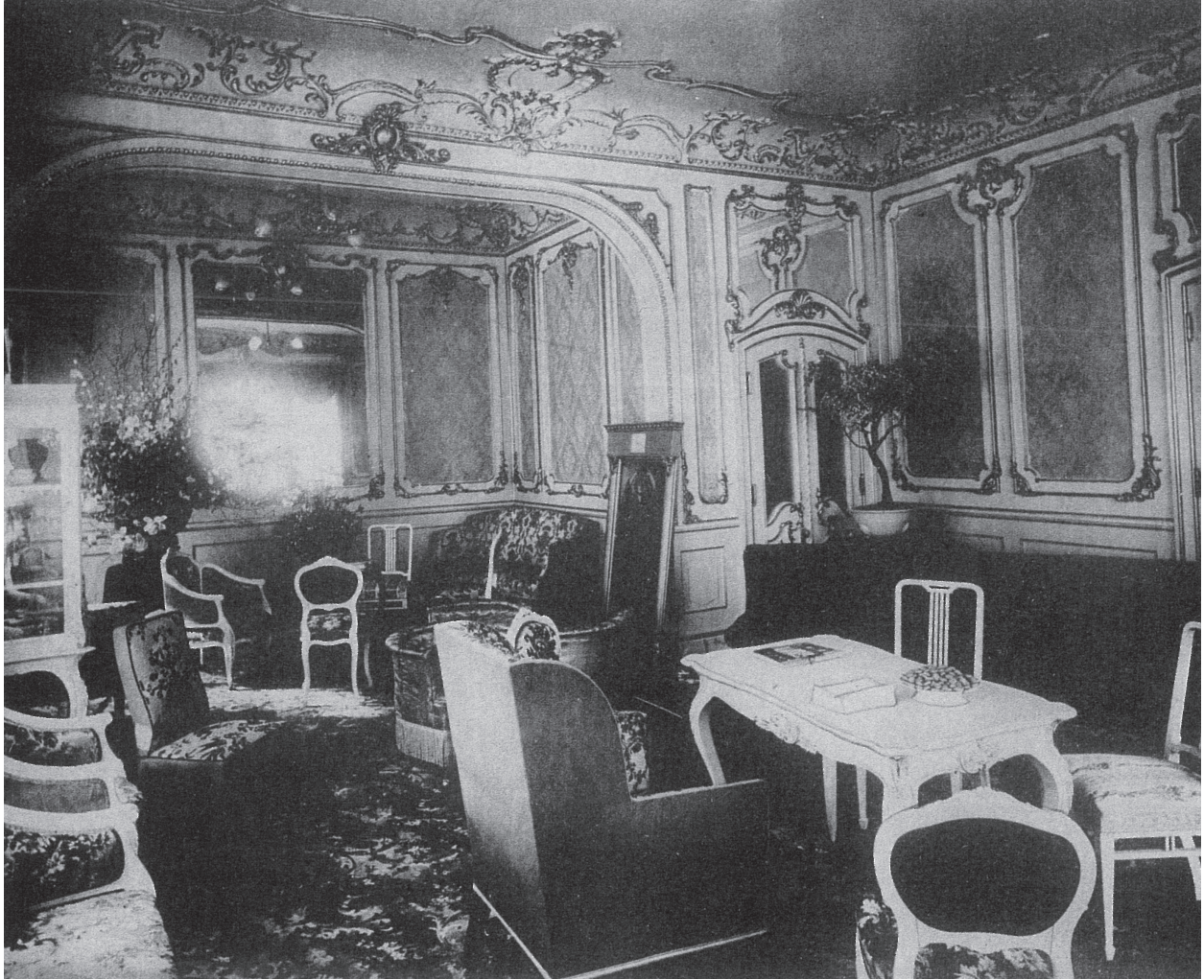


Figure 3.8. A complimentary lounge in the 1908 building. Reproduced from “Dōsho Nikai Kyūkeishitsu 同所二階休憩室 [Complementary Lounge on the Second Floor],” *Architecture Magazine* 257 (1908): unpagged.

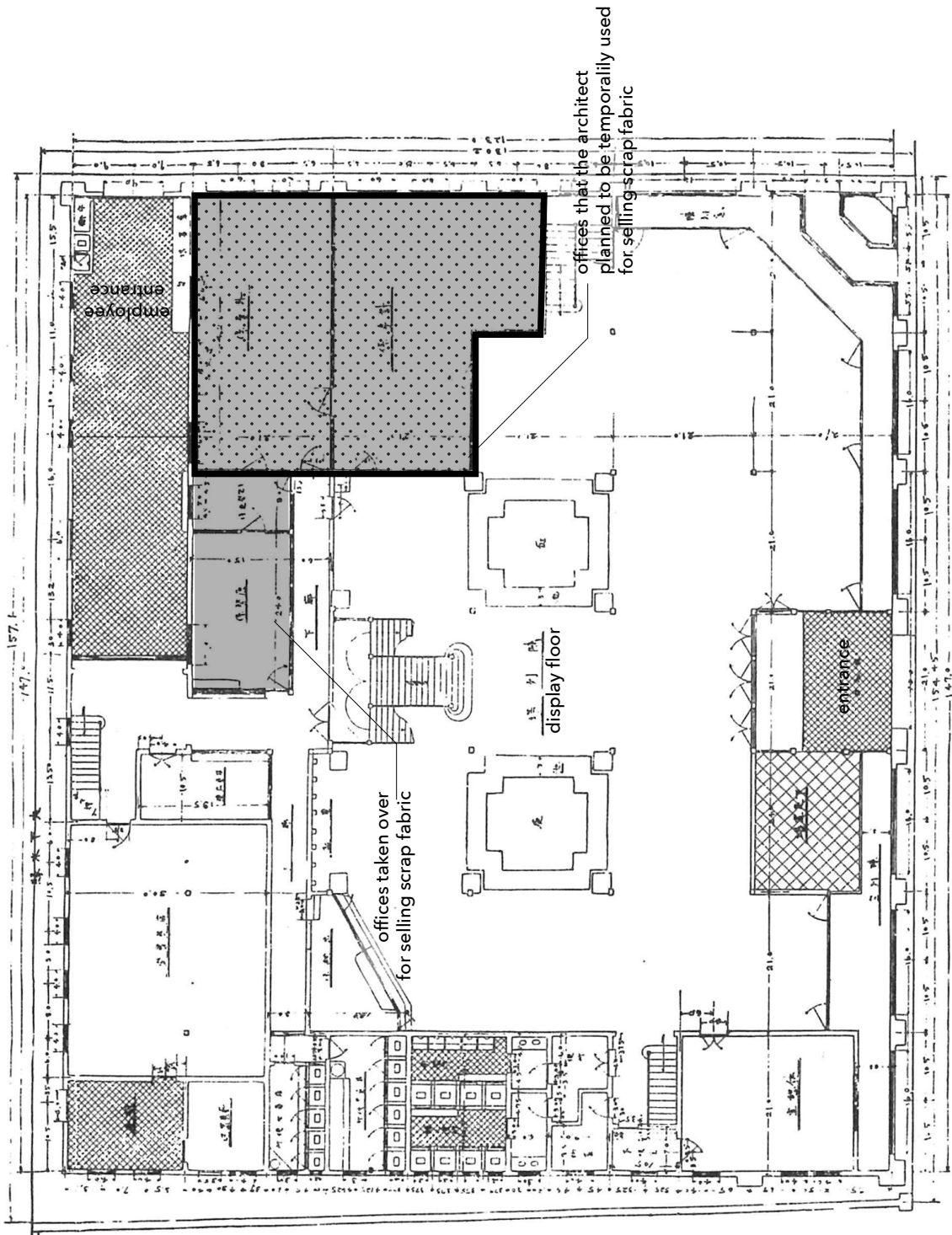


Figure 3.9. A first floor plan of the 1908 building by Yokokawa Architects. Annotated on a drawing reproduced from Yokokawa Kenchiku Sekkei Jimusho Kikakushitsu, *Eighty Years of Yokokawa Architects*, 113.

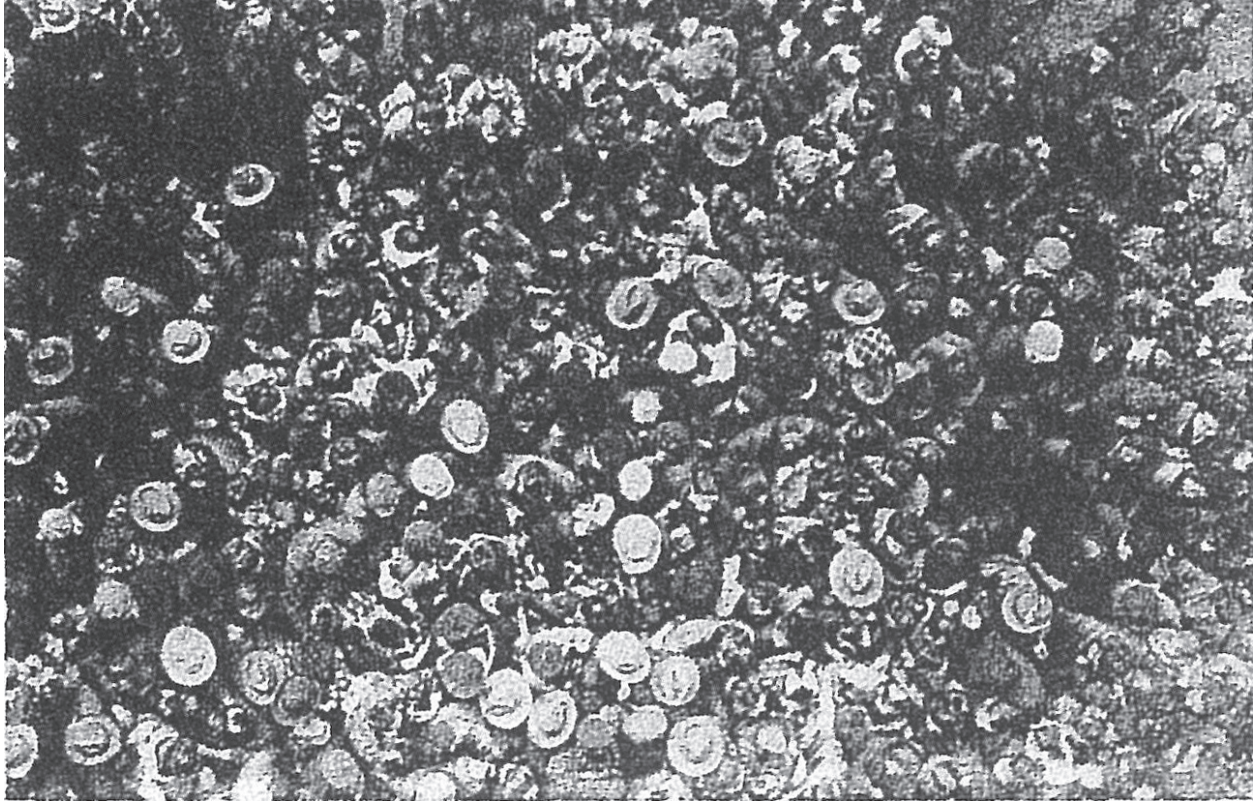


Figure 3.10. A view of the first floor taken from the third floor on a scrap fabric sale day, April 1, 1909. Reproduced from Dai Mitsukoshi Rekishi Shashinchō Kankō Īnkai, *Photobook of Great Mitsukoshi*, 41.

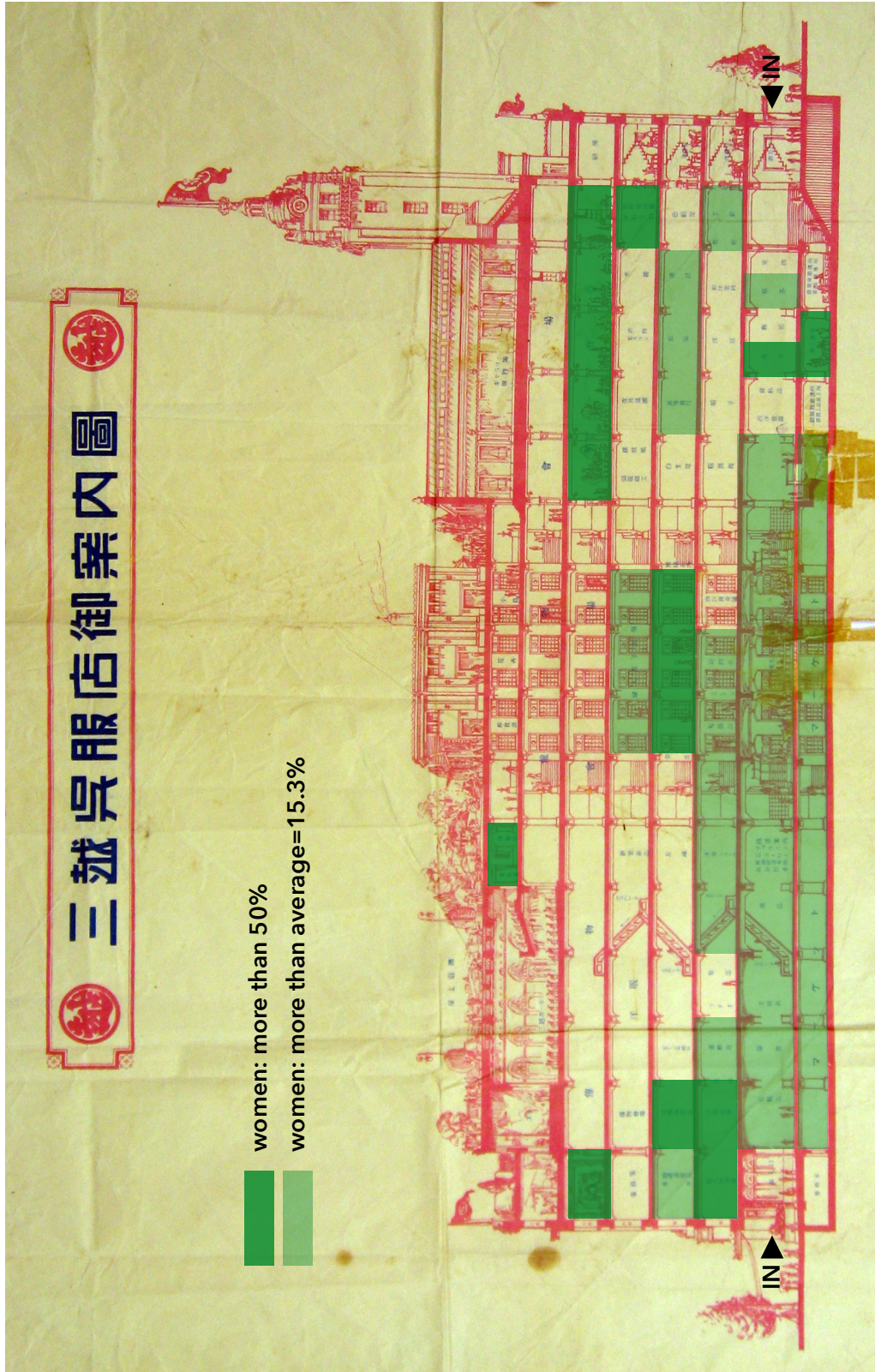


Figure 3.11. A section drawing showing the locations of the departments served better by female staff. Annotated by the author on Mitsukoshi Gofuku Ten, “A Floor Guide of Mitsukoshi Department Store” using the data of Kabushiki Gaisha Mitsukoshi Hyakkaten, “Employee Directory of Mitsukoshi Co., Ltd.”



たしまりなに事るむしせ用着を服務事たし定一に員店女

りよ日五十月九年十正大

Figure 3.12. Mitsukoshi female staff in the uniform, September 15, 1921. The caption reads, “We decided to make female store staff wear the same uniform.” Reproduced from Dai Mitsukoshi Rekishi Shashinchō Kankō Īinkai, *Photobook of Great Mitsukoshi*, 72.

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- Yokote, Yoshihiro 横手義洋. “Kenchikuka Rarufu Adamusu Kuramu No Tsudajuku Daigaku Kyanpasu Keikaku Ni Kansuru Kenkyū 建築家ラルフ・アダムス・クラムの津田塾大学キャンパス計画に関する研究 [Study on Ralph Adams Cram’s Tsuda College Campus Project].” *Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai Keikakukei Ronbunshū* 日本建築学会計画系論文集 [Journal of Architecture, Planning, and Environmental Engineering 77, no. 671 (2012): 143–48.
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- . *Meiji Ishin to Kinsei Mibunsei No Kaitai* 明治維新と近世身分制の解体 [Meiji Restoration and the Fall of Early Modern Status System]. Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2005.
- Yonemoto, Marcia. “Outside the Inner Quarters: Sociability, Mobility and Narration in Early Edo-Period Women’s Diaries.” *Japan Forum* 21, no. 3 (2010): 389–401.
- . *The Problem of Women in Early Modern Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016.
- Yoshida, Nobuyuki 吉田伸之. *Kyodai Jōkamachi Edo No Bunsetsu Kōzō* 巨大城下町江戸の分節構造 [The Structure of Segregation in Edo, the Giant Castle City]. Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1999.
- Yoshimi, Shun’ya 吉見俊哉. *Shikaku Toshi No Chiseigaku: Manazashi to Shiteno Kindai* 視覚都市の地政学：まなざしとしての近代 [Geopolitics of Visual City: Modern Era as a Perspective]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2016.

- Yoshiyuki, Eisuke 吉行エイスケ. *Onna Hyakkaten 女百貨店 [Female Department Store]*. Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1930.
- Young, Arlene. *Culture, Class, and Gender in the Victorian Novel: Gentlemen, Gents, and Working Women*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999.
- Yumoto 湯本. “Shin Kōsha Ni Utsurite 新校舎に移りて [On Relocating to the New School Building].” *Kaihō 会報 [Alumnae Report]* 36 (November 1931): 52–53.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Yuko Nakamura

EDUCATION

Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2018.

Master of Architecture in Urban Design, University College London, UK, 2009.

Bachelor of Engineering with Urban Engineering Concentration, University of Tokyo, 2008.

PUBLICATIONS

Yuko Nakamura, “Cultural Landscape Conservation (Japan),” in *the Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World*, 2nd edition, edited by Marcel Vellinga (London: Bloomsbury, forthcoming).

Yuko Nakamura, “Japanese Lexicon,” in *the Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World*, 2nd edition, edited by Marcel Vellinga (London: Bloomsbury, forthcoming).

PRESENTATIONS

“Modern Tokyo as Women’s City,” Behavior in Networks Research Seminar, University of Tokyo, Japan, December 28, 2018 (invited), in Japanese.

“Women-only Gatherings in Meiji Tokyo,” 7th Tokyo Humanities Café, Good Heavens Shimokitazawa, Tokyo, Japan, December 20, 2018 (invited).

“Engaging Stakeholders in Explorative Research Process,” 3rd Research Ops Town Hall, online, December 18, 2018 (invited).

“Socializing Ladies and the Making of Counterpublics: Gender, Class, and Public Space in Modern Tokyo,” Global History Collaborative Young Researchers’ Workshop, Institute of Advanced Studies on Asia, University of Tokyo, Japan, July 11, 2018.

“Stratified Space for All: Public Space, Gender, and Class in Modern Tokyo,” 23rd Annual Student Research Forum in Urban Studies, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, April 27, 2018.

“Space, Women, and Modernization: Changes in Mitsukoshi Department Store and its Female Staff, 1874–1937,” Gender, Space, and the City in Global History Conference, Institute of Advanced Studies on Asia, University of Tokyo, Japan, October 28–29, 2017.

“Spaces for Socializing: Emergence and Development of Women-only Gatherings in pre-World-War-II Tokyo, Japan,” 2017 Asian Studies Conference Japan, Rikkyo University, Tokyo, Japan, July 8–9, 2017.

- “Modern, Urban, and Ephemeral: Vernacular Architecture in Japan,” with Kosei Hatsuda, 2017 Society of Architectural Historians International Conference, Technology & Innovation Centre, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, Scotland, June 7–11, 2017.
- “Socializing and Placemaking of Middle-Class Women in Tokyo, Japan, 1868–1937,” 2016 American Folklore Society/International Society for Folk Narrative Research Joint Annual Meeting, Hyatt Regency Miami, FL, October 19–22, 2016.
- “Gendered Politics of Space: Interpreting the Campuses for Women’s Higher Education in Pre-WWII Tokyo as a Record of Negotiation,” 2016 Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, IL, October 14–16, 2016.
- “The Gendered Spatial Politics in Modern Japan: A Case Study of the Women’s Specialized School Campuses in Pre-WWII Tokyo,” The 8th Biennial Urban History Association Conference, Corboy Law Center, Loyola University Chicago, IL, October 13–16, 2016.
- “The Gendered Landscapes of Higher Education: Interpreting the Campuses of Women’s Specialized Schools in Pre-WWII Tokyo, Japan as ‘Negotiated Space,’” 2016 Vernacular Architecture Forum Conference, Durham Convention Center, Durham, NC, June 1–4, 2016.
- “Climate, Culture, and Vernacular Architecture,” 1st Hermeneutics of Landscapes Seminar, Kanazawa Institute of Technology, Kanazawa, Japan, March 11, 2016, in Japanese.
- “‘Context’ in Vernacular Architecture Studies and Its Connections to Landscapes and Infrastructure Studies,” 2015 Conference for Architecture and Infrastructure Environment, Japan Society of Civil Engineers, Kogakuin University, Tokyo, Japan, December 11–13, 2015, in Japanese.
- “Vector Ecologies, Spatial Encounters, and Gender Enactments: A Historical Ethnography of Women’s Placemaking in Tokyo, Japan, after the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake,” 2015 American Folklore Society Annual Meeting, Westin Long Beach, CA, October 14–17, 2015.
- “Placemaking as Performance: Boulevard Inn in Milwaukee, Wisconsin as a Case Study,” 2015 Vernacular Architecture Forum Conference, Roosevelt University, Chicago, IL, June 3–7, 2015.
- “Methodology of Vernacular Architectural History and Its Recent Development: Architectural History as Part of Urban History,” 19th Behavior in Networks Seminar: Examining the Potential of Urban Morphology in the History of Architecture and Infrastructure, University of Tokyo, Japan, January 31, 2015, in Japanese.
- “In the Backstage: Occupational Affects in Making a Place for Holiday Eating at Boulevard Inn, Milwaukee, Wisconsin,” 2014 American Folklore Society Annual Meeting, Santa Fe Convention Center, NM, November 5–8, 2014.
- “Reconstructing Place from Olfactory Narratives: North Downer Avenue in the Historic Water Tower Neighborhood, Milwaukee, Wisconsin,” 2014 Oral History Association Annual Meeting, Madison Concourse Hotel, WI, October 8–12, 2014.

- “Identifying “Common” Places as Cultural Resources: An Experimental Study on the Transmission of People’s Systems to Evaluate Vernacular Places,” 2013 American Folklore Society Annual Meeting, Omni Hotel Providence, RI, October 16–19, 2013.
- “Methodology of Vernacular Architectural History: A Case Study of the 2013 Buildings-Landscapes-Cultures Field School at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee,” 17th Behavior in Networks Seminar: Understanding and Applying The History of Urban Disasters and the Process of Landscape Formation, University of Tokyo, Japan, October 16–19, 2013, in Japanese.
- “A Study on the Values and Meanings of Place in Networks,” with Eiji Hato, 17th Behavior in Networks Seminar: 45th Conference for Infrastructure Planning and Management, Kyoto University, Japan, October 16–19, 2013, in Japanese.

AWARDS & FELLOWSHIPS

- Eugene Cook Memorial Scholarship, Department of Architecture, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, WI, 2018.
- Distinguished Dissertation Fellowship, Graduate School, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, WI, 2017–18.
- Andrew W. Mellon Foundation/Humanities Without Walls National Pre-doctoral Fellowship, Humanities Without Walls Consortium, Urbana-Champaign, IL, 2017.
- Scott Opler Graduate Student Fellowship, Society of Architectural Historians, Chicago, IL, 2017.
- Travel Subsidiary for Workshop "Reading Place in Edo & Tokyo," UCLA/Waseda University Yanai Tadashi Initiative for Globalizing Japanese Humanities, Los Angeles, CA, 2016.
- Gerald L. Davis Travel Award, American Folklore Society, Bloomington, IN, 2015, 16.
- Bob Greenstreet Honorary Scholarship, Department of Architecture, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, WI, 2015.
- Pamela H. Simpson Presenter’s Fellowship, Vernacular Architecture Forum, Harrisonburg, VA, 2015.
- Distinguished Graduate Student Fellowship, Graduate School, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, WI, 2014–15.
- Scholarship for Long-Term Graduate Study Abroad, Japan Student Services Organization, Tokyo, Japan, 2014–17 (Declined 2014–15).
- Presenter Registration and Membership Waiver, Oral History Association, Atlanta, GA, 2014.
- Sponsored Student Scholarship, Humanities Intensive Learning and Teaching, College Park, MD, 2014.
- Digital Humanities Lab Training Award, Digital Humanities Lab, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, WI, 2014.
- Graduate School Travel Grant, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, WI, 2013, 14, 15, 16.
- PhD in Architecture Program Travel Grant, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, WI, 2013, 14, 15.

Japan-United States Fulbright Graduate Scholarship, Japan-United States Educational Commission, Tokyo, Japan, 2012–14.
21st Century Study Abroad Fellowship, 21st Century Cultural and Academic Foundation, Tokyo, Japan, 2012–13 (Declined).

TEACHING

“Roof in Traditional Japanese Architecture,” guest lecture, CMP2331: Japanese Arts A, History of Japanese Art (Fall 2016), Rikkyo University, Tokyo, Japan, December 7, 2016.
“Space and Gender,” guest lecture, ARCH 302: Architecture and Human Behavior (Spring 2015), University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, WI, April 14, 2015
“Folklore and Ethnography of Vernacular Places,” course design, in GRAD 803: Teaching and Learning in College: Reflections on Theory and Practice (Spring 2015), University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, WI, 2015.
“Method Workshop in Humanities Programming,” workshop with Trevor Berman, Digital Humanities Lab, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, WI, September 29, 2014.
Graduate Teaching Assistant in Architecture, ARCH 301: Architectural Structures and Construction (Spring 2014) & ARCH 303: Architecture and Environmental Response (Fall 2013), University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, WI, 2013–14.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

User Experience Researcher for Google Maps, Google (via Robert Walters), Tokyo, Japan, 2018–present.
Freelance Design Researcher, AQ, Tokyo, Japan, 2018.
Researcher/Project Coordinator, Airline Design, Tokyo, Japan, 2017–18.
Service Design Researcher, Pocket Change, Tokyo, Japan, 2016–17.
Graduate Teaching Assistant in Architecture, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milwaukee, WI, 2013–14.
Designer, Upsetters Architects, Tokyo, Japan, 2009–11.

As of December 2018.