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JAPANESE ATTITUDES TO WOMEN, MARRIAGE AND FAMILY SINCE THE TOKUGAWA PERIOD AND THEIR EFFECT ON FAMILIES SEPARATED BY SANKIN KOTAI, DEKASEGI AND TANSHIN FUNIN

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Japanese
at Massey University.

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ABSTRACT

Some of the ideals about women, marriage and family which exist in Japan today can be traced back to the ideals of feudal society which crystallised in the `bushi' class of the Tokugawa Period. These ideals were largely part of the Confucianism and Buddhism that were imported from China many centuries earlier and which the Tokugawa government used as the moral base by which they controlled society. The feudal view that the primary function of a woman was to produce heirs for her husband's family lowered women's status. The idea that the sole purpose of the marriage was to perpetuate the family related to the vital aspect of its economic survival. So in `bushi' families, the relationship of the married couple was denied in favour of the hierarchical relationships through which the source of income was transmitted. The family centered on the flow of generations, at the expense of the happiness both of the current title-holder and his family, as individuals and as groups. These ideals were spread throughout society in time.

Changes were made to the law after the Meiji Restoration, when the old feudal institutions were abolished. Some of these changes were the result of influences from the West, but because the new rulers came from the `bushi' class they carried their ideals forward, especially in relation to the family, as a trusted means of social control. The greatest Western influence was felt in the Constitution of 1947 which awarded recognition to the individual and therefore to women and to married couples. These changes are only now becoming part of the consciousness of the people. As a result, the definition of "family" is in question, making it difficult to apply a precept which has been fundamental in Japan for centuries: "for the sake of the family". Under this precept people were expected to put the wellbeing of the family ahead of their own happiness. Urbanisation and industrialisation have simultaneously contributed to the pressure for change both in ideals and realities for women in particular.

We can trace changes to the ideals by looking at the families caught up in `sankin kotai', `dekasegi' and `tanshin funin'. The latter can be called a social problem in that these families are at the cutting edge of change. Their difficulties are forcing society at large to rethink the traditional balance of the interests of the individual and society.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to Dr Fumio Kakubayashi for stimulating my interest in the history of Japanese women, and for his encouragement in suggesting and providing many of my source materials. Ms Yoko Beard has my gratitude for such assistance as well, and to both her and Mr Paul Knight, my thanks for setting language teaching standards at a level which has finally enabled me to read and understand Japanese with some facility.

Nonetheless, my limited experience of Japanese means that without the patient and generous help of Mrs Hiromi Stewart in particular, and the encouragement of others of the Japanese community in Hawkes Bay, I would never have completed my translations. Their assistance and insight have been vital.

While my personal contacts in Japan have been limited, I must thank Mrs Mieko Kato who spent time discussing my ideas and took me shopping for reference books in Kyoto, and to my Japanese friends and acquaintances who were always willing to answer my questions.

I am extremely grateful to Mr Bill Tunnicliffe and the staff of Computer Facilities Ltd, Napier for the use of their word processor.

To my husband and children who, over the years have accommodated my less than domestic interests, my eternal thanks. And the same to the rest of my family, specially my sister, for reminding me that life is for living, not just for reading, and making me do that as well.

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INTRODUCTION

In Japan as much as anywhere else the family is perceived as the basic unit of society. In families people seek everything from satisfaction of biological needs to economic security, and the diversity of functions a family has means it shapes the attitudes and expectations of its members in almost every area of human life. It therefore influences society in significant ways. Conversely attitudes and expectations formed in the community from forces like government policy and ideas from abroad have had their effect on the Japanese family too, influencing the way people see their roles, purposes and potentials in groups and as individuals.

Attitudes are partly rooted in history, stem partly from the contemporary environment and also from individual personality. Attitudes and expectations change over time, and what at any one time may be thought of as an "ideal" may not be possible or relevant in real life, or may make aspects of daily life quite difficult for those who do not measure up.

Although any division is arbitrary to some degree this study is divided into four parts for the purpose of comparison. Part One deals with what people think of women as individuals. Part Two covers what they think of women in marriage and Part Three what they think of

women as mothers and family members. Having considered this background we can then in Part Four look at the cases of "separated families" and compare their situations with each other, as well as with the norms for the time. In each Part the study focuses on the Tokugawa Period first, then on the Meiji Period to 1946, and finally on the time since then. This is because these are the periods in which each of these "separated families" are to be found. These separations were brought about first by the `sankin kotai' system of enforced residence of `daimyo' and other vassal families in Edo. Next from the Meiji Period on, the economic conditions of rural peasant families forced them to do `dekasegi', or leave home to find work to supplement the meagre resources of the land, In the present time there are a variety of circumstances that have led to `tanshin funin', literally "going to one's post alone". The latter is given particular attention because a good deal of Japanese media coverage has been awarded it in the 1980's and it is referred to as a "social problem". Consideration will be given to how apt this term is in light of the fact that neither this nor the other two kinds of "separated families" have involved more than a small proportion of the population.

Looking further back in history one learns that "separated families" as such were nothing new even in Tokugawa Japan. In "Manyoshu", a collection of poems and songs spanning two centuries and compiled around AD759, several are by young peasants from eastern Japan, sent to do military guard duty in Kyushu under the

`Sakimori' system. Three thousand at a time, recruited at the rate of a thousand a year for three year terms, these men had to leave families behind, and many were lost from starvation and disease. The poems they left show how their families suffered from the absence of their strongest worker and head of household, one of the reasons the system was eventually abandoned. A major theme of the poems is the sorrow of parting and feelings for those left behind (Kodansha Vol 7, 2). Some, like this, tell of the whole family's grief:

"...My mother picking up the hem of her skirt,
Stroked me with it and caressed me.
My father said regretfully with tears streaming
Down his beard as white as the `taku' rope:
"My fawn, my only son - how sad
Your parting in the morning, dear child!
I shall miss you when I see you not
For such long years. Let me talk to you
If only for today!" He sighed and moaned.
My wife and children gathering here and there,
Wailed like the birds of spring,
Their sleeves all wet with weeping.
They tugged me by the hand to retain me;
And loath to part, they followed after me.

But in dread obedience to the imperial command
I started out on the road,
Looking back many times from the corner of each hill

Having left my dear ones far behind,
My mind knew no rest
While the pain of longing wrung my heart.
...May all be well with my parents!
May my wife in sound health wait for me!... "

(Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkokai 1965: 176-7).

Others tell of the couple's feelings:

"Pining and waiting for you these long days,
She will sleep with her sleeves turned back,
And her black hair spread out -
Your sweet young wife".

(173).

"How sad was the parting
Of the Eastlander from his wife -
He brooding on the long years
Of separation!"

(174).

"In obedience to the imperial command,
Though sad is the parting from my wife,
I summon the courage of a man,

...My mother strokes me gently;
My young wife clings to me saying:
"I will pray to the Gods for your safe-keeping.
Go unharmed and come back soon!"

As she speaks she wipes with her sleeves
The tears that choke her.
Hard as it is, I start on my way".

(175).

"As for me, I can take
Travels as they come;
But my poor wife with the children -
She must be falling thin with care!"

(252).

"Ah, must I leave you dear -
You, who clasp me,
Even as the creeping bean-vine clings
To the wild rose-bush by the wayside!"

(253).

"Oh for the body of my darling wife,
Better far than seven coats
Worn one over another,
When on a chilly night of frost
The bamboo leaves are rustling loud!"

(283).

Looking at these lines we get a strong sense of the importance of the emotional bond of the family members; we can see, too, the importance of the man as head of household. But there are also hints that men are seen as brave and able to stand alone while women are seen as dependent and likely to suffer physical ills from

emotional distress. Nevertheless, in obedience to imperial command, they parted.

Some historians, Inoue Kiyoshi and Takamure Itsue, for example, postulate a kind of marriage from even earlier than the 8th century known as `tsumadoikon'. In this, the couple underwent a form of marriage ceremony, but then resided in separate dwellings. Superficially this seems like a "separated family" too, but it is thought that the couple remained in their separate clan-based dwellings, except for conjugal visits from either partner, only until the birth of the first child. At this point, the wife is supposed to have moved in with the husband's family. If this is the case, it was really a kind of trial to prove their fertility, suggesting the importance placed on children as the real basis for marriage. However evidence for the existence of `tsumadoikon' is disputed, and this can not form part of my case.

There is speculation about the evolvement of primitive "group marriages" where spouses were shared, to the tribal type of family in which incest was banned and women played a key role in the economic life of the hunter-gatherer community. They were more than just childbearers. There is speculation too about the respect women were awarded in ancient times because of the mystery of their fertility which was seen in such complex terms as an awesome link to the gods, dangerous and `tapu' as well (Ienaga, 4).

But it was the introduction of Chinese ideas around the 4th to 6th centuries which had a massive impact on Japanese attitudes to women, marriage and family. Their early influence was on the native `uji' or clan which traced its ancestry back to the mythical creation of Japan. They were the nobility who imported culture, philosophy and religion from T'ang China to strengthen their position as rulers of the scattered communities of Yamato, old Japan. Along with systems of government, they brought in Buddhist and Confucian ideas, and over the centuries these became the models for their own family systems.

The effectiveness of the governing system they instituted fluctuated, but the philosophical and other importations that were ideals first for the ruling nobility later became those of the new `buke' or military families who held real political power from the establishment of the Kamakura Bakufu in 1185 (or 1192) until the end of the Tokugawa Period in 1868. Of course there were modifications in this long period of time, but the significant point is that these ideals did spread through to all sections of society, many proving extremely durable.

Since the 15th century Japan has also been exposed to ideas from the West. These became quite influential in the politics, economy education system and so on of Meiji Japan, but showed less impact on family life until after World War II. It is in modern times that this impact is being felt.

The aim of this study is not to postulate a causal connection between `sankin kotai', `dekasegi' and `tanshin funin'. It is not an attempt to trace the roots of `tanshin funin'. Nor is it a comparison of Japanese and Western or Chinese models. Only those ideals which have been evident in Japan will be considered. Current Japanese opinion about possible future trends will also be mentioned since these seem to require further modification of current ideals.

As women's history is still a relatively new field of study it does not have the extensive documentation available to historians of politics and economics, say, nor yet the depth of research from which to draw. Literature has been used as one source, partly because it is a useful way to see differences between ideals and realities. It is also useful as a reminder that documentation of any kind is, after all, no more than a record of somebody's perception of what is "real" and "important". Besides standard texts written in Japanese on the history of Japanese women, marriage, family and culture, sources include articles from Japanese language magazines and newspapers from all of which I have read and translated largely by myself.

During 1985 I was able to travel to Japan where I had discussions with several acquaintances, male and female and of a range of ages, whose opinions I sought. Mrs D is in her late thirties, is married to a foreigner, has young children and lives in Japan. Mrs H is in her late forties with older children, and as well as transferring with her husband she has experience of

`tanshin funin'. Mr M and Mr O are in their mid-twenties, unmarried and with experience of living and working overseas. Mrs S is in her late forties, is married to a foreigner and lives overseas. Miss S is in her early forties, unmarried and financially self-supporting. Mrs T is in her early forties and has lived apart from her husband for most of the ten years of their married life. Mrs Y is in her early thirties, has no children but lives apart from her husband because both have careers. The insights these kind people gave me are incorporated in the text. What I offer, then, are my perceptions of the perceptions of others.

The system of Romanisation used is the Hepburn System although long vowels are not marked. As the normal order of Japanese names is surname first, that is the order adopted here with the exception of those mentioned in the Acknowledgments. It should be noted that literary figures are commonly referred to by their given names. This convention has also been observed.

References to "Onna Daigaku" relate to my translation of this work in the Appendix. Other references take the form author and page number, and are incorporated in the text.

PART ONE: IDEALS FOR WOMEN

CHAPTER ONE

Women of the `Bushi' Class, Tokugawa Period

"Women are the passive `yin' sex. `Yin' is night and therefore dark. A woman, then, is foolish in comparison with a man...". So says "Onna Daigaku" (Appendix), which goes on elaborating and embroidering this tenaciously held view of women. Originating in the Confucianism of ancient China, the images it praises were adopted by the nobility of old Japan, in time trickling down into the consciousness of the people at large to become, during the Tokugawa Period, one of the threads from which the very social fabric of the nation was woven. Although later modified by the breakdown of the class system and by Western ideals drawn from a very different philosophical base, the traditional fabric is still widely admired in many quarters for its durability and "beauty". Yet the realities of the industrialised, urbanised world which the huge majority of the Japanese now inhabit are fraying and weakening it. The old ideals of women are under siege.

The demands made of women in "Onna Daigaku" were so stringent that they could hardly have been carried out in real life, yet their effect has been profound. They reflect some of the major planks of feudal society - hierarchy, which ensured womens' inferiority and obedience, which enforced their subservience were two characteristics which are still in evidence today. There is another aspect which proves of particular relevance when considering the situation of modern women too, and this comes from Buddhist philosophy. Ueda Yoshifumi explains it thus: "The many (society) is not simply a collection of ones but is the negation of the one (Moore, 83). In other words, "society" is only possible when the disruptive complexities of its component individuals are negated. Professor Inatomi Eijiro says a Japanese has "no clear consciousness of the individual self, but recognises his own existence only in the composite life of the world" (Ibid, 307). From here come two problems - can an inferior subordinate lacking full individual consciousness live an independent and meaningful life? This question relates to `Bushido' which although associated with male values has implications for `bushi' women too. `Bushido' involved "dedicating one's life unconditionally to one's master's service" (Ibid, 305). Ekken taught that the master whom a woman should so serve was her husband. The second problem is this: can an inferior subordinate lacking full individual consciousness be a complete human being? If not, it is not possible to create an ideal in which one woman can be "everything" to one man. Toge-

ther these two questions gave rise to two distinct ideals for women which arose in the Tokugawa Period. Only one was for women who would follow the hallowed path of matrimony. The other assumed a different role for them. The two are still distinct in present day Japan, and, as we will see, have implications for the ideals of marriage and family now emerging into consciousness. First let us look at how women have been regarded over the last three hundred years.

The Tokugawa Period, named for the dynasty of the `shoguns' who headed the government from 1603 to 1868, was a time of relative peace and political stability after the centuries of struggle the Japanese military class had waged against the nobility and among themselves to set up and govern feudal society. The `bakufu' used Confucian morals as part of their system of control, dividing society into a hierarchy of four classes: `samurai' (warriors), `hyakusho' (peasants) and `chonin' (townsmen including craftsmen and merchants). Because these classes lived so differently it is necessary to look separately at their ideas about women, marriage and family even though the spread of commerce, the growth of the economy, urban centres and the transport network, made possible by this long period of peace, also gradually eroded the relevance of class distinctions.

The Confucian View

The writings of the respected Confucian scholar, Kaibara Ekken (1630 - 1714) were used by the authorities as part of their method of social control. Born into a `samurai' family of Shinto priest ancestors, as a youth Ekken studied orthodox `Chu Hsi' Confucianism under his father. Later his connections with the `bakufu' enabled him to study in Kyoto where he became influenced by Neo-Confucianism, though with reservations. At 39 he married Token, a woman skilled at `waka', classical music, calligraphy and scroll illustration (Kokushi Daijiten, 91-2). She is reputed to have collaborated with her husband on "Onna Daigaku", or Great Learning for Women, a treatise on Confucian morals aimed at women of the common classes. Unlike many scholars, Ekken wrote not in the Chinese language of the original texts but in simplified Japanese, thus allowing his works to be relatively widely read from the mid-Tokugawa Period on. "Onna Daigaku" was used as a calligraphy model in the education of nice young ladies. It reveals many assumptions about women and many `samurai' ideals for them to live up to.

Clause 19, quoted at the beginning of the chapter, starts with the warning: "In general, the worst ailments to affect a woman's mind are not showing mild obedience, being angry and resentful, criticising others, envy, and shallow wisdom. These Five Ailments are certainly found in seven or eight women out of ten. They are what make women inferior to men".

Among the strict rules for women's behaviour, the strongest requirement was for obedience. This was a cornerstone in feudal society, the underpinning of the hierarchical relationships in which all people were placed. Inferiors were to show obedience to superiors, and a woman, then, was to obey men, her superiors, for life. The Three Obediences for women stated that as a girl she should obey her father, as a wife she was to obey her husband and as a widow, her son. (Inoue, Vol 1, 130). The overall tone of "Onna Daigaku", full of `shoulds' and `musts', gives a clear impression of the importance accorded to obedience.

In setting out the basis for a girl's training Clause 5 says: "When a woman is in her own home there is reason for her to show filial piety to her parents". This refers to the fact that she would be required to shift her allegiance later in life, and as loyalty was also a pivotal concept in the feudal world, this was another thing that made her inferior to her brothers. Suggestions for her training were laid down in Clause 3. "From their earliest days girls should properly be separated from boys and should certainly not see or hear foolish or trivial things. According to the etiquette of old, a boy and a girl must not share a mat. They must not keep their clothes in the same place. They must not bathe in the same place. And when giving and receiving things they must not pass them directly from hand to hand". It is possible that these recommendations reflect the ancient feeling that women were somehow unclean. Anyway the main reason this training

was so important appears right at the beginning of the treatise. "... because a woman goes to the home of another when she grows up, and serves her father- and mother-in-law, even more than a man she must not disregard the teachings of her parents". In other words she is to be trained for her shift in allegiance to her husband's family.

It was the importance of lineage to the Heian nobility and then to the warrior rulers of the Kamakura and Sengoku Periods that had a serious effect on the status of women. In the Sengoku Period the things valued in society were strength of arms, and the ability to acquire territory. In regard to the first point, women, who did not become soldiers, were belittled. Then, as the feudal system was put in place, warriors became dependent on stipends granted from rights to the produce (especially rice) of defined areas of land in return for loyalty. Early on these rights became hereditary, but as the continual division of land over time renders the rights less and less valuable, while in the fourteenth century assets had been shared out among all the children including females, by the early Tokugawa Period single inheritance by the oldest male was the rule. Women had lost almost all rights to inherit property (Inoue Vol 1, 102), and had been made almost entirely dependent on men for their means of survival. Those who did own real estate seldom managed it for themselves anyway, leaving that to husband or guardian (Miyagi, 163).

Chastity was a prime virtue of a woman; as Clause Three of "Onna Daigaku" says, "She should safeguard her heart like gold, and protect her honour even if it cost her her life". While moral tracts besides "Onna Daigaku" stressed sobriety, propriety in demeanour and chastity, they did not include any suggestion that sex itself was shameful. Girls were to be taught the arts of love through `makura zoshi', illustrated manuals designed to ensure the pleasure of their husbands, if not their own. The chastity laws which prohibited premarital sex among warrior class women expressed the fact not that sex was sinful but that women were the property of their fathers and then of their husbands. (Lehmann, 99). It was also connected with the need to be able to ascertain the father of her sons for the purpose of inheritance. A woman's only values had come to be as potential wives in politically expedient marriages, and as the producers of heirs. Their personalities were now denied in favour of obedience (Inoue Vol 1, 103).

Examples of behaviour unacceptable from a woman are found in several clauses of "Onna Daigaku". The second clause states: "A beautiful woman with a bad heart gets stirred up, glares at others with bulging eyes, speaks coarsely, uses bad language, goes ahead of others, holds grudges and is envious, boasts about herself, criticises others and gives others superior looks". It goes on to warn: "These all stray from the Way of Woman", and gives as the attributes to be esteemed above beauty "calm obedience, and chaste, kind

quietness". "Menoto no Saishi", another lesson book for upper class women says they should not show their emotions openly, should be patient and magnanimous, and should not laugh loudly. These admonitions came from the ancient Buddhist view of women, were adopted by the early nobility and hence later came to be the expected behaviour of the warrior class women. These "inferior" creatures were clearly to be reserved as well as obedient.

If her `yin' nature was supposed to be a cause of her foolishness, this was manifest in lack of discernment, as Clause Nineteen shows: "... [she] can not see things when they are right before her eyes. Nor can she discern the things which people ought to ridicule... She resents innocent people, curses angrily or envies others, thinking only of herself... These will prove her ruin. This is empty foolishness". Because she is ..."easily led astray by sorcerers and mediums... she must not go to worship recklessly" (Clause 11), nor frequent places like temples and shrines where crowds gather, but she must "...have consideration and keep firm control over herself". The implication here is that she is weak-willed as well as foolish. Yet another of the cardinal virtues of the warrior class was self discipline (Miyagi, 97), and this, it seems, was to apply to both sexes, no matter how much the "lesser" of those was likely to fail in its application.

Having fulfilled all these requirements, humility was then expected of all women. "Even if she does manage to do something good she must not pride herself

on it, but if she does something bad and is criticised by others, she must not argue. She should correct herself quickly and remind herself not to repeat the mistake so that people will not continue to speak badly of her. Also if others ridicule her she must not be angry or resentful but be patient and endure it gracefully" (Clause 19).

A warrior class woman was expected to know something of the arts of tea ceremony, flower arranging and calligraphy. To be able to play `koto', `shamisen', to compose poetry and to dance was also acceptable (Miyagi, 174). As the ruling class in the Heian Period, the nobles had set the "desirable" standards for men and women, and these had been incorporated into the ideals of the new ruling class, the warriors, in the Kamakura Period. Now, in the Tokugawa Period, they would filter down to the wealthier merchants who were to become the driving force in cultural growth, and so on to the `chonin' class as a whole.

It was fine for a woman to acquire some culture - but only to a degree. "Women should not have talents in a lot of arts or hanker after attractiveness., but should have the Four Virtues, as these alone are the Way of Righteousness for woman", says "Jokun San no Michi" (Ibid, 171). To become a Master in any of the arts was not an image for women. The Four Virtues, chastity, womanly speech, womanly etiquette and womanly merits, took precedence. "Womanly Merits" included knowing how to run a household and to spin, weave, sew, wash and prepare meals; not that these skills themselves were

directly Confucian teachings, but they did emphasise the idea that home was the place where a woman should stay.

The sheer number of books of precepts besides "Onna Daigaku" that were produced for women, as well as the many tales of heroines and virgins published, show that literacy was valued as it had been too by the nobles of earlier times. Now, though, the main lessons they taught were obedience and chastity (Ibid, 170).

There was agreement that talent had little value, but at least the need for sagacity was recognised. "Chiekagami", written early in the period, gave examples from Chinese history to show that "...wives not having talents is a virtue, but a woman lacking talent and wisdom is a stupidity. Can a stupid woman accomplish the Womanly Virtues?" (Ibid, 172).

In short, woman by nature was said to be foolish, disobedient, resentful, critical, envious and so on, and therefore inferior. She was also likely to show her emotions, boast, and show lack of discernment. Yet the ideal woman was to be obedient, chaste, reserved, mild, kind, discerning, humble, uncritical, unselfish, self-disciplined, cultured and competent in domestic matters. There was nothing to suggest she should have skills for employment outside the home. Completely lacking any direct economic value to the men of her class, her real value lay in her ability to produce heirs.

It was because they brought neither inheritance nor much dowry to a marriage that warrior class women were of no real economic value and "in warriors' eyes women were not even human, not even family" (Inoue Vol 1,

127). This referred to the fact that once married they became the property of their husband's family. It was ironic that although it was their ability to produce heirs that gave them any value at all they were not recognised as bloodline. The principle was that it was the male side which transmitted the heritage.

Another example of the low status of women was that they were not brought up as individuals with personality of their own but just as future marriage partners who should be gentle, graceful and not play with boys (Ibid, 130). Not being expected to "use their own ideas, cultivate their power of judgement or foster knowledge", which may have proved a hindrance to their being controlled by men, no real education was seen as necessary for them (Inoue Vol 2, 5).

Although "Onna Daigaku" was quite widely read, it would be a mistake, to imagine that its precepts were universally applied even by the warrior class women from whose ideals it was drawn. Indeed the very force of some of the exhortations suggests that it could have been rather like a modern government campaign for road safety, necessary because it is evident that there is too much straying from the rules. There is a hint that this is the case in the writings of Chikamatsu, Saikaku and others, to which I will return later.

It would also be a mistake to imagine that the ideal woman expounded in "Onna Daigaku" was the ideal of other classes in society, the `chonin' and the `hyaku-sho' from the start. Likewise it would be wrong to assume that because "Onna Daigaku" was officially

approved, and that society was heavily regulated by a government from which came the moral leadership of society, that this was the only opinion of women to be found in Japan. "Onna Daigaku" does not necessarily describe how women of the warrior class really lived during the seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. It does, though, show where the essence of feudal morals lies (Ienaga, 183).

CHAPTER TWO

Chonin and Hyakusho Women

The ability to bear heirs, the real value of women to the `bushi' class, was also important in the other classes in this period. Wealthy merchants came to prefer women similar in some respects to `bushi' women; those who would behave discreetly and not sully the family name, be concerned with domestic affairs and know her place in the family hierarchy. Middle ranking merchants and craftsmen though, had an eye for the advantages possible with the growth of cities and commerce, a feature of the times. For them, a woman who could work in the business was not to be spurned. A degree of literacy and numeracy was a practical asset, as were domestic skills like sewing (Miyagi, 171). `Chonin' women did have a potential economic value.

If there was one really significant thing about the "ideal woman" in the Tokugawa Period, it was brought about by the `chonin' penchant for entertainment. So strict were the rules of etiquette in the daily lives of the people that some means to ease the pressure were clearly needed. This came to be provided in the gay quarters, inhabited by officially sanctioned prostitutes, frequented by `chonin' men of all levels of wealth and, surreptitiously too, by `samurai', whose

presence in the brothels was not approved by the `bakufu'.

Prostitutes

Prostitution was known in the early Heian Period when the sexual favours of entertainers called `shirabyoshi' and `kugutsu' were for sale. The enormous growth in prostitution in the Tokugawa Period, the setting up of officially sanctioned red light districts and licensing of the women working in them, which is thought to have begun in the early 16th century, was public acknowledgement of one of the fundamental beliefs about women - that they exist for the sexual gratification of men. The `shogun' Tokugawa Ieyasu gave the following reason for licensing prostitutes: "Certainly licensing prostitutes is not a good thing, but if we ban them the serious error of illicit intercourse will occur every day" (Miyagi, 165). In other words, he claimed it was to protect the "beautiful customs and public morals" of society. There was a clear distinction made between sex with a wife, which was mainly to produce heirs although it may be pleasurable, and sex with a prostitute which ought not result in heirs and should be pleasurable.

In order to become a high class prostitute training in the arts, music, entertaining men, dress sense and so on was needed. This meant many years from the age of 5 to 8 as an apprentice, and resulted in some of the women

being so alluring that they would be bought out of the brothel by a man of means. They may become his permanent mistress or even his wife. Most prostitutes came from the lower classes, but as the `bushi' suffered declining wealth during the course of the period, they too sometimes sold their daughters into prostitution. It may have been these who had the greatest chance of escape by being bought out.

There was an enormous range in the prices charged by the brothels, fees being determined by the rank of the prostitute hired. The very few really accomplished and famous artistes were beyond the financial reach of all but the wealthiest merchants, but almost any townsman could afford a woman from one of the lower ranks. Sex at a price was also available in teahouses, bath houses and way stations in the cities, ports, castle- and temple-towns along the main routes such as the Tokaido linking Edo and Osaka (Miyagi, 164).

The "ideal woman" we have looked at so far turns out to be "ideal for marriage". But one reason men escaped from the stultifying environment of home was because the came to value the class of women from the gay quarters anyway, for their company. Skilled in music, dance and conversation, witty and urbane, sympathetic and charming, the `geisha', who were its pinnacle, were also in their own way "ideal". Sex as a leisure activity was not uncommon in this age. Beauty in a wife may not have been a virtue, but beauty in a `geisha' was a necessity. Of course beauty is determined by culture and fashion, and what made a woman beautiful then were

"eyebrows like crescent moons, a figure like a new cherry blossom bud and lips like the colour of red maples" (Miyagi, 183). And while modesty of dress was expected of marriageable women `geisha' and lesser prostitutes could wear unbelievably rich brocade and silks. They did become the leaders of fashion, to the disgust of scholars like Ogyu Sorai, who criticised the extravagance and financial distress this imposed on `bushi' households (McEwan, 55). However the ideal of women who could be the companions and partners of men in fun was established.

Because women were regarded as the objects of male lust a young woman may be expected to spend the night with a man of higher rank at her father's request. This could be interpreted not as shameful behaviour but rather as an "honour" that she had been chosen. It would have been better if he later made her his mistress, but even so, no disgrace for a girl like Kae from one of the lesser ranks of the `bushi' who seemed "on the shelf" at 21 when the marriage age could be as low as 13, (Ariyoshi, 20-21).

Both `chonin' and `bushi' seem to have had two ideals of women: one kind for marrying, sober, chaste and dowdy, and the other kind for fun, lively, sexy and gorgeous. Peasants had different ideas again.

Peasant Women

Life in rural Japan was not only a battle with the elements, it was a battle with the tax man too. `Nengu', or tax in kind, took as much as 60% of a crop, leaving families with their many children in serious circumstances. To cope with the hard labour in the fields, the ideal peasant woman had to be strong, healthy and industrious. She had to have the skills and stamina to carry on with spinning, weaving and other domestic concerns in the evenings. As well as her labour, a sweet temper was sought (Miyagi, 182).

Because there was no formal education for the majority of women they were steeped in superstition, believing the words of fortune-tellers and in the power of amulets to ward off illness and danger (Inoue Vol 2, 9). Not for them the refinements of culture available to `buke' and `chonin' women. It has been said that because they had high economic value to men, peasant women were in more equal relationships than was possible for those of the other classes (Inoue Vol 1, 85). Wakita Haruko disputes this, citing as evidence the exclusion of women from positions in community organisations, the frequent abusing of them by husbands, and the fact that a woman "getting the better of a man makes for side-splitting comedy" (Journal of Japanese Studies, 97). All the same, it is likely that their lack of freedom was due to the harshness of life and not just to the Confucian ethic to which they too were exposed. They may have had more freedom than their

sisters in the `buke' class as Inoue asserts (Vol 1, 113), despite being watched by the `goningumi' and such groups which were responsible to the authorities for the good behaviour of people in the neighbourhood. But `sekentei', or one's reputation, was also probably of some concern to peasant women of this period, though less so than to those of the classes aspiring to respectability.

Peasant women may have worked more closely alongside men than did other women, but this did not guarantee them respect. The Confucian idea that women must be put second permeated peasant society as much as it did elsewhere. After the `nengu' had been paid, women got the worst of what was left over. One evidence of stupidity was said to be "peasants feeding rice to women and children" (Inoue Vol 2, 12). Other grains which did not have the aura of rice were to be preferred. Infanticide increased from the Sengoku Period to become nationwide now and peak in the Meiji Period, but more often it was female babies killed. A children's song says "If the child is a girl, wrap her in a mat, tie it with rope, throw it in the stream. The little fish will pick it from below and the crows will peck it from above". One statistical survey found a population increase of boys from 31,378 to 32,402 between 1672 and 1786, and a further increase to 33,568 by 1858. In the same place the number of girls increased from 23,256 to 24,849 in the first period mentioned, a rate slightly less than for the boys, but the total number of girls had actually dropped by 1858

to 24,331 (Inoue Vol 2, 17). Infanticide is thought to have played a part in this. And during great famines such as in Kansai in 1732 when there were over two and a half million people starving, and epidemics that killed over 1,300,000 people fifty years later, the first victims were women (Ibid, 16). Of course it was not only women and children that suffered the effects of poverty and disease in 18th century Japan, but they seem to have been the ones expected to die first. This is further evidence of their inferiority.

While society as whole was in economic trouble the chances for women to find employment were limited. It was not done for noblewomen or `buke' women to earn a living although some from the lower ranks were forced to work on farms and in textile factories especially in remote regions as their class fell into straightened circumstances (Lehmann, 90). It was acceptable for `chonin' women to work in the family business and it was a necessity that peasant women work in the fields and at domestic chores as well as producing saleable commodities. But for the latter, daughters were simply another mouth to feed, often from an inadequate food supply, so from the age of eight or ten girls were often disposed of in one way or another. Besides being sold into prostitution they could serve in `buke' residences if they had a little training in manners and arts (Miyagi, 175). Women could become dancers and `kabuki' actors until 1629 when this was banned, but they like the waitresses and bath house attendants were often prostitutes as well (Ibid, 174).

As the economy expanded there was growth in the market for craft works, especially textiles. Silkworm production, silk weaving, cotton weaving, paper- and candle-making became commercial propositions which women could produce (Inoue Vol 2, 32), though earnings from these cottage industries were tiny, forming supplementary income rather than offering economic independence. By the end of the period many small farmers had lost the rights to their land and many more women resorted to nannying, maidserving and the old standby, prostitution. But as the cities grew so did opportunities for them to become hairdressers, teachers of sewing and the arts etc. (Miyagi, 162). Most of the paid work available to women had some connection with domestic arts or mothering.

Other Views of Women

It was not only the Confucian view that women are weak, foolish and inferior, as was so obvious in "Onna Daigaku". Similar Buddhist opinion had preceded the official promotion of Confucianism, and had contributed to the earlier downgrading of women's status. Nichiren, the founder of the Lotus Sect in 1253 had said "Women are like wisteria and men like pine. When wisteria is taken away from pine it cannot stand up for the slightest instant" (Inoue Vol 1, 109). Even earlier, in the 8th century, women had been called "The Five Harms" (related to the idea that their sexual decadence is a

hindrance to man's attaining Buddhahood). Buddhists too upheld the principle of the Three Obediences (Inoue Vol 1, 109). "Menoto no Saishi", mentioned earlier, was another lesson book for upper class women saying they should not show their emotions openly, should be patient, magnanimous and should not laugh loudly. These admonitions came from the ancient Buddhist view of women and, like the Confucian philosophies, were adopted by the early nobility later to become the expected behaviour of the new ruling class, the `bushi'. Other books of precepts for commoners quoted the Buddhist view that "women are the messengers of hell, and while they may be of divine countenance, their hearts are fearfully like demons'" (Miyagi, 149). Inoue says women could not be saved unless they gave up their productive labour (Vol 1, 110), and this was clearly not possible for peasants, the bulk of the population. But there was more to it than that. Buddhist views such as these assume something inherently different or dangerous about women which preclude their recognition as the equals of men.

Such opinion is in great contrast with what Ienaga calls the "natural respect" accorded to women in ancient Japan under Shinto belief (199). This early respect did linger on, and some women did retain a degree of economic independence and right to inheritance prior to the Tokugawa Period. Women heroines and independent `nanushi' and `bushi' women appear in tales from the Kamakura Period, and stories of female warriors like Tomoe who accompanied her husband to the battle between

the Taira and Minamoto in the 12th century show that bravery was a valued attribute for women (Inoue Vol 1, 82). In "Onna Daigaku" flamboyant bravery was dropped in favour of stoicism, but even this must surely still have been necessary for women if they were to endure the hardships imposed by feudal morality. Ekken recognises this but offers little reward for its achievement beyond security in her position as inferior and subordinate.

One small section of society that did respect and proclaim equality for women were those converted to Catholicism by the Portuguese in the mid-16th century. Although believing that women were weak, they were taught that this was a reason to show them compassion, not just exploit them, so men may have done small things as Inoue suggests like letting women have the best seats at meetings rather than making them sit on mats outside the hall as was the custom (Vol 1, 110). The most enthusiastic believers were women, and the reason, he says, is that it "fostered healthy relationships" between men and women. This view still assumes that the individual does not exist except within relationships. It is just as likely that women took to Catholicism because it promised to value them as humans. The advisor to Ieyasu, though, said Catholic teachings would confuse commoners who were "foolish folk". This advice stems from the knowledge that for the government to retain control over society, any doctrine which accorded them "rights" as individuals would have to be suppressed or there would be the risk of weakening that control. A small group of descendants of these Catholic

converts did retain their faith, and presumably their respect for all life and belief in the "purity" of women, until the Meiji Restoration in 1868 when the ban was lifted from Christianity and they were able to come out in the open again. But even then theirs was by far the minority opinion.

Kumazawa Banzan, an independent thinker who favoured education suited to real conditions in Japan and not just the copying of foreign ideas (Ienaga, 184), taught early in the period that women are intelligent and should be given the "power of steady, self-confident discretion" as the basis of their education". He also said "men have many cracks in their strength, but foolishness in women is rare. Even if customs are foolish the foolishness of women is not as great as the foolishness of men" (Inoue Vol 2, 28). Perhaps he was referring to the fact that scholars, usually men, were the ones idling around dreaming up outrageous rules for the rest of society, mainly women, to obey, while it was the women whose daily effort provided the comforts - such as they were - of home. However he does seem to acknowledge that ideals often make much more sense when they are confined to the paper on which they are created and not actually put into practice.

The lecturer Ishida Baigan also taught that education was for everyone and encouraged women to attend his lectures. They had to sit apart at the back of the room, but despite his teachings assuming that women are obedient and domesticated, a few of his femal followers became lecturers themselves (Miyagi, 173).

In the plays of Ihara Saikaku we get quite a different picture of women. Saikaku (1642-93) was born into a `chonin' family of comfortable means in Osaka. He dealt largely with the sensuality of urban people, including `chonin' and `bushi', in a new and realistic style of writing which gained immense popularity around his time. In his later works especially, he portrayed "human nature in society" (Yo no hitogokoro), from the standpoint that real human nature ignores the ethics and morals of society, He finds this both incomprehensible and deplorable. He distinguished too between inner nature which is unchanging, and outer nature that shifts according to social and environmental change. The aspect of human nature he shows is disruptive of society (Nihon no Rekishi Vol 8, 249). In other words, he was clearly a man of his time, seeing order in society and in human relationships as paramount and recognising that while it is hard to live up to ideals, to do so is a proper goal for human beings. He showed compassion for the suffering caused by the rigidities of Tokugawa law and society, but was not opposed to the codes themselves, nor did he seek to reform them (Morris, 39).

His heroines were individuals rather than stereotypes, who sought happiness and risked all in its pursuit. Unlike the image of reserved, chaste and weak women of Confucian dreams, his were forthright, impetuous, decisive and bold, the latter quality, Saikaku implied, being the one that afforded them greatness (de Bary, 32-3). If his works are realistic, it is possible that many women failed miserably in living up

to the ideals and proprieties declared necessary by the authorities in their society and in their lives.

It is clear, then, that there is no single image of the "ideal woman" which is true for all of Tokugawa Japan. The `bushi' and `chonin' ideals of culture and literacy, and the peasant ideal of physical strength show up the differences found in the class system imposed by `bakufu' authority, while the overall ideal of obedience reveals the basis of the feudal system itself. Confucian and Buddhist beliefs in the inferiority of women had been in Japan for around a thousand years. That they came to supremacy in the Tokugawa Period was due to the power of the centralised government that promoted them, and to the `ie' family system with its feudal structure through which this government kept order in society. There were differences in opinion between classes, among scholars and playwrights about what women are and should be. The major split was between the chaste, subdued woman for marriage, and the lusty, entertaining woman for fun. Overall, though, women were the group of least significance in society (Lehmann, 89), and clearly a separate group distinct from men (Miyagi, 144).

CHAPTER THREE

Women of the Meiji Period to 1946

The Confucian belief in the inherent inferiority of women promoted so relentlessly had affected the lives of women in the `buke' and `chonin' classes before it reached other groups, and probably to a greater extent. People with power, assets and reputation to uphold seem as a rule to impose more strictures in their lives than people with less to lose. However while the ideals which were once the preserve of the nobility had filtered down to the `bushi' and then to the nouveau riche, the `chonin', rural villages were still relatively isolated in the remoter regions. In the Meiji Period the `ie' system was entrenched and its assumption of women's inferiority spread everywhere. Inoue warns that although the name "Onna Daigaku" may have been forgotten, "its spirit and reality were not something that could be destroyed by the Meiji Restoration" (Vol 1, 12). However he mentions a story published in 1875 in the "Ehairi Hiragana Shinbun", an illustrated newspaper written in simple language, of a father who told his daughter of marriageable age she should read "Onna Daigaku". The father explained that it was written by a famous scholar. The daughter laughed derisively and said, "This Mr Kaibara, whoever he is, is a man. As it is a book by a man it will be expedient

for men one way or another, and is sure to say things inconvenient for women. So I wouldn't be able to obey it even if I did read it. If it were jointly written with a woman I would certainly read it" (Ibid, 11). It is ironic that this was probably the case! Inoue says this story shows the dawning of liberation for women whose derision of the teachings of "Onna Daigaku" found support in the media. But this can also be interpreted to mean that the old feudal view of women was still being promoted, at least by fathers.

While some of the old ideas may not have changed, social conditions certainly did, and at an increasing rate, in this period. The biggest things to influence women were industrialisation and compulsory education. As the textile industry grew it sucked more and more rural girls into poorly paid factory jobs. Around the turn of the 20th century 60% of factory labour was female. "Tomioka Nikki", the diary of Yokoda Oei, a factory girl from Matsushiro, tells of the order issued by the Prefectural Office in 1874 that each ward in Shinshu Province, a major silk-producing area, should send a fixed number of girls aged 13-25 to the Tomioka Thread Factory. The people saw this as a sacrifice, and at first many refused. But her father, being a head man and responsible to the authorities, decided to send her at some later time. This would be an example to the other fathers, even though she had a lot of domestic responsibilities helping her mother care for her four or five younger brothers. In addition she had been betrothed to Toke a year earlier, though as her age is

not clear we cannot determine how soon they may have been expected to marry. Oei herself was willing to go to the factory with the encouragement of her grandfather who told her it was to benefit society. She knew too that there was a school at the factory where she could study as well as learn weaving.

When preparations were actually underway for her departure her parents gave her advice and warnings. "...for the sake of the nation, restrain yourself well, be conscientious in protecting the good name of our country and our family. ...learn everything with all your heart, ...do not neglect your work even for a moment, and try hard", her father said. Her mother's warning was more personal: "...as there will probably be a lot of men there, if there is any chance of you doing anything shameful, first there will be no forgiveness from your ancestors. Then too you must not besmirch your father's name or mine". Oei promised, "...I can't help it if I am raped, but I will certainly not do anything dirty that would bring shame on my parents as long as I keep my attitude right". Her parents were relieved, as were the parents of all the girls that were to go with her in a group when they too made similar promises of chastity (Wada, 427-8).

Oei goes on to describe the carefree manner in which those innocent girls left home for the unsuspected horrors of mill work. She seems to refer to some relaxing of attitudes having occurred in the years since her young days of the early 1870's when she says, "...[such freedom from worry] is common for the present

generation, but in those days life was much more restricted" (Ibid, 428). Now it seems, women were to be trusted to go out into the world a little more. Still it is clear that chastity was expected of girls, as were effort, persistence and attention to reputation, not for their own sakes but for the sake of the family and the nation.

While industrialisation broadened the employment base for women, the main occupations open to them were farming, fishing, textiles, servanting, waitressing, a few clerical jobs, and later school-teaching , medicine and the arts. Even women of the old `bushi' families engaged in some of these things out of economic necessity, despite the ideal of the upper crust not working. Wages and conditions were poor for all workers though women in the silk industry fared better than those men who could get no paid work at all. Still, rather than offering long-term economic independence, most female employment just provided supplementary income for their families. Marriage was still the prime goal for women.

In the factory school which the girls attended after dinner they learned reading, writing and arithmetic. Oei also did calligraphy, but gave that up for abacus when her lack of ability was evident. Living conditions were rough. There were five girls put to live in a 6-mat room, about 3 metres by 2, in the company dormitory at first. Their complaints later led to them being housed in threes and fours (Ibid, 430). This suggests that education for practical

things in life, other than just to enable her to become part of another man's family, was valued both for and by girls. For example, Oei says she practised abacus till midnight once classes had finished, and became quite skilled in its use (Ibid, 429). But the overcrowded dormitory with no provision for study also tells a tale. The girls were there to work; the factory would provide education to make its workers more productive, and minimal shelter to enable them to come in the first place, nothing more.

Furukawa Teishi says that the principles of the compulsory education system were based on the Imperial Edict on Education of 1890, upholding the virtues of loyalty, especially to the Emperor, and filial piety (Moore, 313). This is because the Meiji government consisted largely of bureaucrats who had come from the `buke' class, warriors in spirit but for two centuries without battles to fight. They brought the customs of their class, which had developed during that time of peace, to the new government, so perpetuating Confucian ideals and spreading them more widely still throughout society. Instead of basing the laws for family life on democracy, they stuck to the old beliefs. The `ie' system which so affected women continued as the cornerstone for social control and the basis of civil law. But the heart of a girl's education in the high schools, in which there were about 75,000 students by 1912, was what it meant to be a "good wife and wise mother". There was influence from the West in what this entailed (Lehmann, 227).

The Upper Class

As was pointed out earlier, the Meiji Restoration did not simply result in new ways of thinking about such emotional matters as what constituted the ideal woman. Although class differences had been abolished in law, people from each of the different backgrounds in society had carried their beliefs into the new age, and there were still clear expectations for those who regarded themselves as "proper". In his novel "The Makioka Sisters", Tanizaki Junichiro makes it plain that a well-bred city woman may be talented, but she should use her talents as hobbies, not to make a living. The Makiokas were an old and well-known, once-wealthy merchant family from Osaka. The oldest daughter and her husband, heads of the "main house", were "opposed to anything that made [the youngest daughter] Taeko seem like a working girl". They acknowledge that because she has to wait her turn to marry she needed "something to keep her busy" (14). She was talented at doll-making and set up her own studio as a means of earning most of her own living. She received an allowance from the main house too, which dwindled as their resources were stretched. But her probable husband, Okubata, wondered "Why should a girl from a good family want to earn money by taking in sewing?" (15). They all opposed her plans to become a French-trained dressmaker. Taeko's explanation was that she wanted to work at something useful, and that with world war threatening "this is not a time for dolls and children's make-believe". She also said she did not

want an empty title like "artist", and that "if dressmaking is vulgar, then it's vulgar" (157). The story makes clear that the proper place for both younger sisters is living with Tsuruko and Tatsuo in the main house in Tokyo until they are married, and that they are only permitted to stay in Osaka with the second sister, Sachiko, and her family for the sake of convenience (256). The fact that Taeko has rented a room of her own and is not under proper supervision of the main house is of particular concern to them (14). "The Makioka Sisters" shows us how the old view that women are family property to be minded until their correct disposal had survived. We see too the less severe application of these ideas on the less important younger daughters as Western ideas of self-determination were coming to influence society. This contrasts with Oei, the girl from backwater Matsushiro who was sent off to work just with her parents' admonitions to behave.

Other Views

The government had kept for itself the most say in what people should think about women, marriage and family, but theirs was not the only opinion put forth.

"Shin Onna Daigaku" by Fukuzawa Yukichi, a leading intellectual, was published in 1897 and attacked Ekken's ideas. These were still required reading in the girls' high school curriculum. Because his work went against the prevailing view, "Shin Onna Daigaku" was banned, but

this did not deprive the public of anything too radical anyway. His writings may have seemed progressive, but Fukuzawa still proclaimed women's special role to be childbearing, and said their education should be conservative. He saw to it that his own daughters were married off without their consultation, and this kind of straddling two camps continued right up to the Second World War (Lehmann, 229).

Despite the huge influence of Western ideas on the administration, industry and clothing and so on, in Meiji Japan one thing which failed to take hold was Christianity and its abhorrence of sex outside marriage. A movement called the National Alliance for the Abolition of Prostitution was formed in 1890. Taking girls as apprentices for the brothels had been banned in 1872, and a recommendation that prostitution be banned had come from the World Union for the Abolition of Prostitution in 1880. But until the American Occupation stepped in and made it illegal in 1946 only three provincial governments had already taken that step. Even in 1958 there was an increase in the number of violations of the Prohibition of Prostitution Law, showing the difficulty of eradicating this practice. Indeed, in the Meiji Period, prostitution was still one of the main employment opportunities for women.

Confucian bonds were beginning to loosen from the late 1880s, now that Japan had entered the "Age of Enlightenment". It was possible for a few women like Raicho, the writer and poet, to live relatively

independently, working on her magazine "Bluestocking" and promoting liberation. For most though, the old images of women as the inferiors of men, the objects of male lust and the `property' of the family remained strong, both in the education system and in society as a whole. Class differences, legally defunct, were maintained with genteel expectations and few job opportunities for "respectable" girls, and lower class girls, now bound by upper class ideas about chastity, were forced to work to supplement the family income. The "Three Obediences" may no longer have been officially promoted, but in practice, subordination to father then husband was the normal course of a woman's life.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Modern Woman

In 1946 the draft for a new Constitution was presented to the National Diet setting down equal rights both politically and socially for men and women. Conservative opposition was strong, and made clear that the "obedience of women to men in Japan is connected with the Emperor system" (Inoue Vol 1, 14). So with the setting up of revised systems for society in the Constitution adopted in 1947, could it be expected that a change in attitudes would follow? Inoue sees this as "historical inevitability" (Ibid, 16). Yet changes to the law on paper do not suddenly take root in the minds of the people, and what present day Japanese people are saying about women shows how slow a process, even accelerated by social change, shifting attitudes and beliefs is.

One particular spur to the change in how women see themselves was the war itself, when women had been mobilised to carry on producing the requirements of an embattled society in the absence of so many men. In neighbourhood associations, towns and villages, women had to take initiatives which had for centuries been the preserve of men (Otake, 303). But a woman's ability to organise things outside the home is still not much valued in Japan.

The Tenacity of Old Ideas

One of the real stumbling blocks seem to be phrases like "onnarashisa" and "otokorashisa" which still have a lot of importance. "Onnarashisa", or womanliness, which seems to be demanded of females as a matter of course, attributes such characteristics as motherliness, altruistic love and so on to women as natural qualities rather than as learned behaviours. It includes the qualities of sweetness and frailty and seems therefore to encompass many of the old ideals. Its counterpart, `otokorashisa', includes logical thinking, insight, will, consistency, devotion, cool egotism, leadership etc. accorded to men as if by nature (Feminist Japan 3, 1).

Whereas beauty was less valued in the past than neatness and cleanliness, at least for marriageable women, it does seem to have become more important now. According to Catherine Broderick, "Girls think liberation means freedom to spend money on beauty and travel" (Feminist Japan 4, 52). Perhaps more significant is that girls now have the opportunity to earn enough to spend as they please, and do use the freedom they are allowed in order to live for themselves a little before settling down. The market for beauty products, the huge fashion industry, the participation of young women in international contests like Miss Universe etc. are a force in Japan, though "eyebrows like crescent moons and lips like maple leaves" have gone as desirable features. Large eyes are more in

demand, requiring surgery at great expense, not to mention the pain. The traditional idea of beauty has given way to a more cosmopolitan model.

Women themselves are in two minds about breaking down the images by which they live. Men are quick to label a woman who lets her real talent and ability show "unwomanly", and older women who strongly believe marriage to be a woman's natural destiny, are much aware of this. People acting as go-betweens seem to discourage girls mentioning high levels of education or overseas study on their record for fear or it being a disincentive to prospective husbands (Tetsuya, Ibid, 11). Some men seem to simply ignore evidence of intelligence in a woman. Mrs T reports that she and her husband enjoy spending a great deal of time together talking. She has a post-graduate degree in science and is well educated in music and the arts too. Sometimes when she says something she knows from her training to be correct he claims she is wrong. If she goes to the trouble of producing evidence he never says "Sorry, you were right". He just grunts. "He seems to take it for granted that he is always right just because he is a man", she says.

Although nationwide surveys in 1973 and 1978 in Tokyo showed that women are gradually becoming more willing to state their opinions about things clearly, it is still the male role which is seen as positive and men who are regarded as superior (Shirai, Feminist Japan 8, 34). The old idea that women should be reticent in speech lives on.

Nowadays education for girls has become far more significant than in the past. It is still worth a girl knowing something about calligraphy, flower arranging, tea ceremony, `koto' or other traditional art to show she is cultured. But formal education has leaped ahead in importance. It is extremely common for girls to be educated beyond high school, with many going to short-term universities as well as to those offering full degree programmes. But going too far and taking post-graduate courses as she did is not really desirable, reports Mrs T. It shows though that Japanese parents do value their daughters. Some go to great lengths on their behalf. One acquaintance spent several years living overseas with his family so his daughter would have a career potential by becoming proficient in English. Another has a daughter studying piano in London. So while the preferred subject areas comply with the female image, girls are not denied great opportunities to broaden themselves.

Employment opportunities for women have expanded a great deal since the War, but the vast majority are still relatively menial jobs in offices, factories, shops, restaurants etc., and do not seem to give women grounds for belief that they are equal or that they deserve equal treatment at work. Women "often exhibit simple acceptance of inferiority to men" (Broderick, Feminist Japan 4, 66). It seems to be a pattern in Japan that women try to please men by being the ones to make concessions in order to get security for themselves (Komashaku, Feminist Japan 8, 7). However the level of

education needed to become professionals is available to those who really want it. And the income from many jobs is sufficient to give some women the choice of remaining single and self-supporting. Mrs D says that those who do can live extremely individual, fulfilling, interesting and varied lives, having removed themselves from the normal expectations of society. The `career woman' is by no means an ideal, though. It is just one option for the really strong-minded and ambitious.

Although prostitution is no longer legal the `mizu shobai', (lit. water trade), meaning entertainment industry serving men, is a significant employer of women who may or may not sell sex as part of their duties. Bars and nightclubs with hostess service, massage parlours, strip shows and so on feature in all cities. But the role these women play in the lives of their customers, which include married men of course, is as likely to be that of confidante, companion in conversation, or comforter as anything else. This is reminiscent of the kinds of things men have sought from `geisha' and lesser prostitutes since the Tokugawa Period. It is apparent that while the ideal marriageable woman need not be companionable it is expected that a proportion of the female population will make themselves available to provide something which is still not an integral part of the Japanese concept of marriage.

Women are still supposed to be self-effacing, compliant, patient, reserved, and many of the other things from the old ideal. These are the norm on

television soap operas (Ishikawa, Ibid, 8). And "personality" as a means of attracting the opposite sex is still to catch on. "As long as the man works for the right company he will find a good wife waiting" (Tetsuya, Feminist Japan 3, 8). What Tetsuya calls `natto culture' says a lot about the images of human beings in Japan. `Natto' is fermented soybeans that form a very sticky mass. In male `natto' culture individual men are completely immersed - "when one bean moves the others get stringy and all stick together". So men not only work or study as a group but enjoy leisure time together as a group (Ibid, 8). These "beans" see no importance in finding out how people outside their group live and think. Significantly, "outsiders" includes women. Here is an example which confirms that the idea that women are a class apart from men has been retained. It is not the man himself that matters, but his position in society, and this principle is applied to women as well. Feminists say women are just taken as "sex objects to marry and turn into kitchen maids at best, or to bear and raise children. At worst their having value as people with something to say or communicate is not given much thought at all. ...They keep women who give their opinions clearly at a distance, tossing this off as "not womanly". They are happy if women say "Um", or "Well...", when asked something, and ...call that "ladylike" and "cute" (Ibid, 9). Reservation and subservience still seem regarded as virtues by some.

It seems to be part of the upbringing of girls in particular that they are discouraged from decisionmaking (Ibid, 9). One 28-year old radio announcer claimed to be independent, yet Tetsuya found that she adhered to her mother's 8 o'clock curfew unquestioningly. It had not even occurred to her to ask herself if this curfew was necessary. Obedience too still has great value in Japan. Women also see themselves as "of complicated nervous constitution, ruled largely by their state of health and mood" (Nakamura, 125). This seems to be falling back on extra sensitivity as an excuse not to have to take responsibility for their lives. "Weak" and "indecisive" are still valid images for women.

While men are clearly the leaders in society, some people believe it is women who must ring the changes in their own lives for the future. The cry is for them to raise their children to be independent. That may be easier said than done. One vital aspect of true independence is to be financially self-supporting. From this base one makes ones own decisions in life, and can choose to live as one sees fit. This is not just a matter of personality and ability, but is also affected by social conditions. Until proper equal pay is a reality for women economic self-sufficiency will not be a viable goal as of right. Nor then will any other real equality.

Conclusion

Much of the feudal mentality which the Japanese became aware of with their exposure to the world after the Second World War has been examined, rejected, revived and sometimes rejected again. There is no clear consensus in Japan about what makes the ideal woman except that her "natural destination" is seen as marriage and motherhood. Another enduring idea is that women are inferior even if that is not openly admitted any more, but as the old belief that women are inherently foolish seems to carry less weight it is not clear quite in what sphere this inferiority lies. If the passive image women are supposed to live up to is what makes them inferior, and if those qualities are valued all the same, this is an inherent contradiction which will have to be resolved to usher in true equality as the Constitution promises. The difficulties women experience trying to operate as equals says that there is a gap between what the Constitution says and the current reality. It is possible that the enduring image has lost relevance in a modern society characterised by both the need and the potential for personal independence on the part of both men and women. Maybe the feminists' identification of this as a problem cannot be ignored. Meanwhile the qualities embodied in "onnarashisa" confirm that many aspects of the old `bushi' ideal of woman as wife live on. In addition, the flourishing world of `mizu shobai' is evidence of the second ideal of woman as playmate. It is hard to see

that there is any real merging of these ideals yet. This is an important point to remember as we move next to a consideration of women within marriage.

PART TWO:

IDEALS OF MARRIAGE

CHAPTER FIVE

Marriage in the `Bushi' Class, Tokugawa Period

The feeling one gets reading the "Sakimori Uta" in "Manyoshu" is that husband and wife well knew the close emotional bonds of mutual love. If this was an ideal in 8th century Japan, something which had put a very different complexion on marriage had happened in the centuries up until the beginning of the Tokugawa Period, at least for the `bushi' class.

Takamure Itsue describes a variety of forms of marriage that have been found over the long history of her country. In broad terms, there seems to have been a development from group marriages without clear-cut husband and wife pairs until about the 4th century. Then there was a period of polygamy and polyandry as well as monogamous marriages until about the end of the 14th century. From then until the mid-19th century monogamy was common, but the husband was quite free to

keep mistresses. Pure monogamy has been the approved pattern since the beginning of this century.

Takamure suggests the husband and wife lived together in the early intra- and inter-clan group marriages, but lived apart in the later inter-clan and `tsumadoikon' marriages. There was a transition period from about the 6th to 10th centuries in which if the couple did live apart the children lived with the mother. After that the couple lived in the same residence but the children were identified more as belonging to the father. She suggests that assets were under the ownership of the head of household from around the 4th century and that that owner was almost inevitably male between the 15th and early 20th centuries. This century it has been individuals who have the ownership rights to property.

She says that from the 15th to 20th centuries it was the head of the family on the husband's side who made the final decision on a couple's marriage . Now, though, mutual consent has become the pattern. The main forms of marriage she recognises are these: `mukotorikon' in which a woman's family takes in a son-in-law was the mode until the 15th century, followed by `yometorikon' with the husband's family taking in a bride, and then `yoriaikon', the joining of two individuals, from the mid- to late 19th century on, . (From the chart, Takamure, 10-11).

In ancient Japan, society may well have been matri-lineal. When paternity is in doubt, this is a sure way to pass assets and so on down the bloodline. But Japan

had had a paternal family system since the 8th century (Otake, 39). First it was nobles and the great families of the wealthy provincial leaders who adopted this system from the imported Chinese model. But among the `bushi' marriage gradually became a kind of tool in manipulating access to territory and the feudal rights this carried with it. By the Sengoku Period (1467 - 1568) as far as the `bushi' were concerned marriage had become a strategy to benefit the family (Ibid, 57).

Even the family themselves may not have had control over the marriages of its members. Sengoku `daimyo' controlled the marriages of vassals to avert nepotism and the formation of alliances among groups of relatives that could have threatened their position. This practice was continued in the Tokugawa Period and made even tougher. In 1615 the `bakufu' and `hans' had tightened control over the marriages of `daimyo' and vassals by prohibiting privately arranged weddings. Permission had to be sought from a variety of officials (Otake, 62). Their reasoning was that relationships became political, forming potential parties of opposition which may scheme against the authorities and so must be banned. Every `han' or domain had its own system of licensing the marriages of vassals.

Although political expedience in time became less of a reason for marriages to be arranged, it had been the custom for people to marry into another family of their own status. Marriage was seen not as the union of two individuals, but of two families. The Tokugawa themselves used marriage to tie the families of the

`daimyo' to them to ensure loyalty in a way similar to which the Fujiwara had married themselves into the Imperial Family and so into effective rule in the Heian Period.

Marriage across status lines of `fudai' (inner) and `tozama' (outer) `daimyo' families were common, some being for peace-keeping, others for the security of alliance with stronger families. But the most popular reason was not for the prestige of association with long-established links to the Tokugawa family itself, or to secure a position in the `bakufu', which could have been perfectly good political ploys, but simply to be linked to greater wealth (Bolitho, 94). Marriage could also symbolise the political compatibility of the couple's fathers (Ibid, 96). However protocol meant that there was a limit to potential marriage partners at the highest level of the feudal system, where the families of the `shogun', great `tozama', `sanke' (descendants of the three sons of Tokugawa Ieyasu), and the court nobility sought partners among themselves (Ibid, 96). Each would be concerned about the status, lineage, wealth, prospects and respectability of the other, so elaborate arrangements were necessary to secure a suitable marriage partner for ones children.

Lower down the social scale there was more scope, except that under the laws for the `samurai', the "Buke Shohatto", marriages of `samurai' to people of lower classes was banned as a bad custom (Inoue Vol 1, 139). Other restrictions were that it was to be the parents' decision, with the agreement of close relatives of both

partners, and of the grandparents in particular (Otake, 160). It was to be arranged by a `nakodo' or `baishakunin' (go-betweens), and to be formalised in a ceremony held before village officials such as `nanushi' and the `goningumi'. Some places also specified that application had to be made to the lord of the province through village officials (Ibid, 140). In this way the marriages of all the people could be at the behest of the authorities.

One thing could be entirely lacking: consultation with and agreement from the pair to be married. In fact it seems that they themselves may have shown little more than passing curiosity about each other. The story of the marriage of 20-year old Asahi Monzaemon, a minor official of Owari Han, to Kei on April 21, 1693, is told in "Genroku Otatami Bugyo no Nikki". They shifted her furniture in on the 19th. The wedding was held on the 21st at 6pm. "Chubei's daughter came in a palanquin at 6pm. There was a lot of human traffic, the lanterns shining like stars. The go-between ...came on horseback. Watanabe Heibei came to the gate for a talk. ...the young lady and three others were handed over. After `zoni' (rice cakes), soup and `sake' I went with Genuei [who had come for the bride's father] by palanquin and we both used fans. I took my lance and we arrived at Chubei's before 8pm. Nozaki Gorouemon and Maeda Denzo were in the `genkan'... ". After drinking `sake' Monzaemon turned back for home. Nowhere in his diary is there mention of him meeting his bride (Kosaka, 14).

In the novel "The Doctor's Wife", Ariyoshi Sawako describes the marriage of Kae and Sesshu (also known as Umpei) which took place in the absence of the groom. Perhaps because he was the son of a poor doctor, no matter how talented, and not clearly in any particular social class, he was not what would normally have been an accepted match for Kae, the daughter of a local head man. "Kae was possessed by Otsugi's beauty [her future mother-in-law]. The bridegroom never came into her deliberations" (27). Both Monzaemon and Kei were from the lower orders of the `bushi' class.

In law the marriage seems to have begun at a wedding ceremony marking `kon'in' without the couple consummating it immediately. `Kon'in' was the exchange of gifts to signify agreement to the marriage. Then if one of the couple should die, the other would be required to undergo the same period of mourning as for properly wedded couples. If the betrothed woman had an affair with another man both he and she would be charged with adultery. So a fiancee was already regarded as a wife in law (Nakata, 130). There was no understanding or requirement that the couple have met or established any kind of relationship before the wedding.

The custom of carrying the bride to her husband's home by palanquin originated with the `bushi' and was adopted by the nobility. It was a necessity if she had far to go. Commoners tended to marry their daughters close to home so sent them by cart or on foot or horseback. Anyway it was most common in all cases that the bride moved in with her husband's family. She was

treated as a commodity exchanged by the two `kafucho' or heads of household.

Another sign of how clearly marriage was seen as between families were the sleeping arrangements provided for newlyweds. Kae's first night with her husband did not occur until "many days after his return" from studying in Kyoto. In `samurai' families it was customary for males and females to sleep in separate quarters, and that included husbands and wives. "Finally Otsugi could no longer ignore the marital situation and she sent Kae to Umpei's room. It would have been proper for Otsugi to have given her own room over to the couple for their first night, and to have spent the night herself with her daughters" (Ariyoshi, 67-8).

The relationship of the couple stemmed partly from the Confucian belief in the husband's inherent superiority as a male. "Onna Daigaku" has many lessons for the ideal wife. Clause 6 in particular illustrates how it was hierarchical: "A woman has no particular master. She should think of her husband as master, serving him with respect and discretion. She must not treat him lightly or hold him in contempt. The Way of Woman generally means obeying others. When with her husband a woman must look at him and speak to him politely and humbly and she should quickly obey him. She must endure and not disobey. She must not be arrogant or rude. These are a woman's prime duties. If her husband gives her an instruction she must not go against his command. If she is not sure about something

she should ask her husband and obey his wisdom. If he asks her something she should answer correctly. To answer neglectfully is rude. When her husband gets angry she should obey him with awe. If he argues angrily she should adopt the opposite spirit. When a woman has a husband he is to be her Heaven. Indeed she must not shame Heaven by opposing her husband." "Because women are modelled after Earth while men are likened to Heaven, the husband should be put first in everything and herself last", says Clause 19. That is the sole advice Ekken offers on how wife should relate to husband. She was to be a kind of servant, not a mate or companion. A result of the husband being regarded as "Heaven" can be seen in the reports of trials of this period. In one case a husband who killed his wife for an "illegality" was judged not guilty of murder. The "illegality" was her short temper, foul mouth and abuse of her husband for being a slacker and a lazybones (Inoue Vol 1, 141).

It was expected that the wife would take care of all domestic matters. Beyond that she was to make herself as discreet as possible, wearing "restrained" clothes and keeping herself and her clothes "clean and unstained". Not too clean, though, for fear "that she becomes noticeable. She should do only what is required to fit her social status" (Clause 14).

If there was love between the couple it was something that would develop over time as they got to know each other. But even then it was not proper to spend whole nights together. Ariyoshi has Umpei move

into his father's room once the old man has died, and there he and Kae could be more daring in love, not fearing so much to be heard. "The most unpleasant part was returning to her own room alone. ...There were nights when Kae was so carried away she slept with Umpei till cock crow, then had to face Otsugi's disdain on her return to her own room" (69).

Premarital sex was proscribed for `bushi' women, maybe because of the laws which treated women as property, not because of the chastity laws alone (Inoue Vol 1, 131). Even if the couple had never set eyes on each other before the wedding there was no guarantee either would be virginal. "Mottomo no Soshi" and other Confucian tracts proclaimed that sex is reprehensible. "Onna Daigaku" offered no view at all. However if families could sell their daughters into prostitution it is not outrageous to believe they could be lent as a favour to a man of higher rank. Sex certainly had its practical side beyond the production of heirs. Other Neo-Confucian scholars stressed natural human feelings as more important than propriety and rules. Masuho Zanko taught that "many people fall into unhappiness due to marriage not being based on love, explaining that men must be joined by love". He acknowledged that subjugation of women was a Confucian idea and claimed that women are equal in Shinto belief (Ienaga, 185). But it was absolutely forbidden for the daughter of a `samurai' to marry for love on her own account, and her wishes were unlikely to be heeded by her parents unless it suited them (Otake, 222). It was not that a married

couple were never supposed to love each other. It was that love was regarded not just as no basis for marriage, but even that to marry for love would be somehow obscene. "If his daughter [Kae] had fallen in love he could never condone such promiscuity". By "promiscuity" her father meant marriage (Ariyoshi, 22). There was only one decent purpose for marriage and that was to ensure the continuity of the husband's bloodline, and that through another male, a son. This `samurai' idea spread down to the other classes in society and became accepted among `chonin' too because of the idea of the importance of the family heritage having been borrowed from the `bushi'.

It seems that the age for marriage was around 23 to 26 for men and 15 to 19 for women. In one village in Gumma Province in the Genroku Period (1688 - 1704) there was a 6 to 7 year difference in the couples' ages in about half of all marriages, and over 10 years gap in 40%. The average age for men to marry was 25 and for women, over 18. By the end of the Tokugawa Period the average age for women had risen to 21 (Miyagi, 197). Ariyoshi has Kae's family concerned that she has had no suitable offers of marriage at 21, hence her father's acceptance of Umpei.

To the `samurai', then, marriage meant the chance to join a desirable family, the continuation of the bloodline of the male side and the absorption of the bride into her husband's family. The personal feelings of the couple were irrelevant though it was not out of the question that they would love each other in time as

long as the wife was obedient and submissive. However they should not display their love openly. That marriage was determined according to the wishes of the families involved, and that the partners did not form a relationship prior to the wedding shows the lack of value the relationship of the couple themselves had.

CHAPTER SIX

Chonin and Hyakusho Marriage

Confucian Views

During the Tokagawa Period `samurai' ideals about marriage filtered across class lines to be imposed on and adopted by wealthy `chonin' first, and then by that class as a whole. The real difference may have been the severity with which these ideals were enforced, reflecting the social reality of the role of a wife.

Because `chonin' too saw marriage as being between families rather than individuals they took it upon themselves to arrange the marriages of their children (Inoue Vol 1, 150). Several such arrangements can be seen in the works of Saikaku. Osan, for example, from a wealthy bourgeois family is married when she is 13 or 14 years old to a middle-aged man whom she does not know. His side had made the proposal and she, although reputed to be strong-willed, passively accepts him.

Unlike in `bushi' society, there were often `miai', meetings between the potential partners in the presence of the `nakodo' who seem to have done all the talking, putting forth the good points about their charge and raising possible hindrances that could come from the other side. Until the middle of the period, the merchants' view of marriage was that it is something

like "the greatest event of a business lifetime", but in the latter part of the period `samurai' ideals took hold. Even so, the practice of using `nakodo' made this a growth profession as the `chonin' class grew and prospered. Peasants had no real use for `nakodo' in this period; even though peasant parents too had the final say in their childrens' marriages, the families likely already knew each other quite well, coming from the same village (Ibid, 150).

The premarital relationship of a `chonin' couple was limited, the idea of courtship hardly known, but Saikaku does tell the story of Ohatsu, who had refused all offers of a husband at 15 when it would have been expected that she would marry at about 16. She fell in love with one of her brother's servants, Seijuro, partly because she was impressed to learn of his exploits in the brothels and thought if so many women loved him he must be something special! She too began an affair with him. Because he was too lowly to be approved as her husband they stole some money and eloped. Perhaps the `chonin' class suffered most from a dilemma peculiar to the times - the battle between `giri' (duty) and `ninjo' (human feeling).

Richard Lane says that feudal law was based on the strict maintenance of the social hierarchy (de Bary, 263). Yet to fulfill the requirements of the law in which `giri' may be tacit or may be spelled out in fine detail, often created the problem of having to suppress one's emotions. What the characters portrayed by Saikaku and Chikamatsu showed clearly was that their

real crime was that they loved the wrong people (de Bary, 240). Kosaka Masaaki says that Japanese ethics do have as a virtue `wa', or harmony, which implies love as a basis for morality. It included a strong component of spiritual beauty springing from purity of mind, refinement of taste and mutual love (Moore, 372). But romantic love was a threat to the system of control and could not be condoned. Among the `bushi' too there was conflict of duty and emotion, but it seems from the dramatic works of the time that the `chonin' who adopted `bushi' values were more willing to act from - and suffer the consequences of - their feelings.

Seijuro's crime was that he had illicit intercourse with the relative of a superior. Richard Lane claims that there were no laws against seduction, abduction, elopement, rape or murder as such. Criminality depended on the ranks of the people involved (de Bary, 263). Examples he gives of such laws are:

"Illicit intercourse. Persons such as those who have engaged in illicit intercourse with their master's daughter, or who have attempted such: Death" (Ibid, 241).

"Persons such as those who commit adultery with their master's wife, or their teacher's wife,: Death for both the man and the woman (246).

If a male had intercourse with an unmarried female (or other male, for that matter) of a lower rank, no crime resulted. However Ohatsu's dream shows the

dilemma: an old man appears by her bedside and says, "If you had taken a husband in accordance with the wishes of your parents, you would not have had anything to worry you, but because you are so particular in love, you have fallen into this trouble" (de Bary, 67). Obedience reigned supreme. Love was immoral without parental consent (Miyagi, 185). And parents would likely consent only if the lineage and social standing of the pair matched (Ibid, 187).

Rural Differences

Peasants had such a different lifestyle that the feudal laws, designed to protect the family asset through the ages via the hierarchy of superior and inferior, seem almost irrelevant to them. There was more opportunity for young men and women to meet as they would be working round the village in close proximity to each other. It was much easier too for them to have sexual relationships, so the restrictions were considerably less as these relationships were not seen as improper, especially at festival time. Indeed one of the main ways a couple decided on marriage was through the custom of `yobai', night visits of one young person, usually the man, to the home of the other (Miyagi, 184). It seems to have been common for a girl of marriageable age to be given an accessible place to sleep near the front of the house, and when she and a man had decided they wished to marry, he would simply

remain with her for the night to be "discovered" by her parents in the morning. The formalities would be concluded at a later date.

As peasants became more mobile later in the period, people began to look to other villages for marriage partners, and the practice of using a go-between to secure introductions crept in. Formerly girls commonly joined their peers in groups known as `musume nakama', `onnagumi', `musume renju' etc., and associated with these groups, where they learned about love and sex, from about the age of 15 until they married. To belong to such a group signified that you had grown beyond parental supervision and were recognised as an independent person of the village. So the groups had some function indicating eligible girls to the community. Boys belonged to similar groups, and they both got together at festivals and community events Miyagi, 184-5). Marriage outside the fief was not always permitted by the local authority though, nor could freedom to travel be taken for granted. To the extent that mobility was hampered, the choice of marriage partners was limited among the lower sections of society as it was among the upper classes (Ibid, 187). Love played a greater role the further down the social scale one fitted. Perhaps that is why it appears to lack respectability despite its being recognised as a basic human emotion.

Peasants still had to take several things into consideration about marriage. They too regarded it as "for the sake of the family", just as the other classes

did, although there was precious little in the "good wife" of "Onna Daigaku" that applied to a peasant woman. A bride was an important addition to the labour force of a family. "Yome no rodosei", the bride labour system, became the pattern in farming families, so there may well have been a real dilemma for a man - whether to "take a wife or buy a cow" (Takamure, 262). Daughters in silk production areas had to be able to spin to secure a husband. And peasant homes too lived by the "beautiful moral" of the head of household determining the marriage of his daughters (Miyagi, 194).

Regional customs which have survived since the Tokugawa Period show that in the countryside too, to leave her birth family for her husband's and produce an heir for them was the main duty of a wife. In Tokushima Province there is a village which has the custom of `nana'. The term once meant "maid", but refers also to a young woman being trained in her husband's family after a preliminary marriage ceremony had taken place. If she succeeded with the training then the couple were formally married. `Ashiirekon' was another kind of marriage found in rural areas even quite recently, and was like a test of fertility in which the couple were not entered in the register until they had legitimised their marriage with a child (Ibid, 189-90).

Inoue says that when Commodore Perry visited Japan late in the Tokugawa Period he noted that the peasants did not treat their wives like slaves, nor keep mistresses, a situation uncommon for Asia. But he did not make the distinction between peasant wives and those

from other classes who seem to have been closer to the Chinese model whose morals they had adopted (Vol 2, 26). The Confucian predilection was for keeping order in society by keeping order in all the relationships of which communities are composed, and was officially promoted and imposed in law. Yet other opinions can be found too.

Other Views

The Shinto priest, Masuho Zanko, taught that "to love wife and children is the nature of human beings, and man and woman are equals. The Three Obediences and the Seven Laws that separate husband and wife are all Confucian error. Marriage should be based on mutual love". The scholar Kumazawa Banzan said, "When you don't have a friend in the world to whom you should tell what your heart can not bear to say, who but a wife is a husband's friend?" He also taught that parents who are going to enforce the marriage of a daughter "even to a rich noble whom she loves, should plan on making her able to help herself" (Ibid, 28). As we saw earlier, both these scholars had a more liberal opinion of women as the equals of men than was common for their time. That they have more humane views on marriage too shows that there is a strong connection between the two.

Catholics also, though few in number, did believe in strict chastity for men as well as for women, and strict monogamy as well. Divorce and keeping a mistress

were forbidden to them. Marriage was sacred, sworn before God and between equals. Parents may not enforce the marriage of their children. Marriage could only be based on the mutual love of the couple. However monogamy in particular was disparaged by Ieyasu as "foolish", and those `daimyo' who did take the faith may have had more of an eye for the trading opportunities with Europe than for the sake of their women.

Divorce

So vital was the fertility of a wife to her marriage that there were implications if she failed to produce a child. First, this was grounds for divorce. Under feudal law no divorce could be initiated by the wife; for `samurai' all that was required was a divorce letter consisting of three and a half lines of script, a `mikudarihan', announcing the divorce to the appropriate people - the wife's family and the authorities. Of course there would be a family discussion first, but no evidence need be produced, nor could the wife or her family object. For a man to marry a second time without sending a divorce letter was punishable by exile, and a woman would have her head shaved and be sent back to her family if she committed bigamy. `Chonin' did not even have to name the wife they were divorcing in their `mikudarihan' (Nakata, 133-7). But commoners did have to secure a receipt for their divorce letter saying the divorce was accepted before it was final (Otake, 148).

"Onna Daigaku" gives seven reasons altogether for divorce. Clause 4 shows, predictably, obedience as the prime requirement: "First you should divorce a woman who does not obey her father- and mother-in-law. Second you should divorce a woman who has no children. This is because when you marry a woman it is to produce descendants to perpetuate the family name" (Clause 4). There is a sudden concession at this point: "However if a wife is right-minded, has a good attitude and is not jealous, without you divorcing her, you should adopt a child of the same family. And you need not divorce your wife even if she is childless if you have children by a mistress". Still there is no actual mention of loving your wife; "right-minded, good attitude and not jealous" only means that a husband be able to keep mistresses without upsetting the household. There is no suggestion that the wife's childlessness may be the result of the husband's infertility, nor any suggestion that a reverse experiment be carried out to determine if this could be so, as we see in the third reason which is "if she is licentious". These rules only make sense because the bloodline was thought to come strictly through the husband's side, and no recognition given to the wife's side. The fourth reason was her stinginess, fifth if she had a disease as serious as leprosy, sixth if she was too talkative and indiscreet, and last if she was a thief. Clause 4 ends: "Once a woman is married, if she leaves her husband's home and gets married for a second time to a husband who is rich and respected, this goes against the Way of Woman and is a great disgrace".

The hypocrisy of these teachings is more apparent when we consider the leaders of society who taught these precepts while manipulating their own wives and daughter as well as those of their vassals, marrying them off, having them divorced and then remarrying them for political reasons. The cloak of respectability which was wrapped round these maneuverings was "for the sake of the family". What Ekken calls a "disgrace" was only so if it came from the woman's initiative.

With divorce came the problem of returning the assets a wife had brought to the marriage. The children were divided up so that sons stayed with the father and daughters were sent back with their mother(Ibid, 143), so divorce was discouraged because of the disruption to the "revered" family.

While Japanese parents had sole right to arrange the marriages of their children they also had the right to "send a wife away". It was a measure of a man's filial piety how many divorces his parents put him through (Ibid, 143), and a measure of the lack of filial piety on the part of a wife who was returned to her parents. In "Shinju Yoi no Goshin", Chikamatsu tells the story of Hanbei and Ochiyo. When Ochiyo's mother-in-law sent her back to her father, this was the third time a marriage had failed for her. Her first husband had left her accusing her of laziness, her second marriage left her a widow and now, although pregnant, she was back again. Her mother-in-law had announced that the baby, due in five months, was to be returned to them in Osaka. Hanbei had been away when his mother sent Ochiyo

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home, and he decided to disobey his mother's wishes and try to retain Ochiyo as his wife. Taking her back to Osaka, he pleads the uncertainties of life and fate as sufficient cruelty to bear in this world. But his mother insisted, and as a `bushi' Hanbei could not refuse. Because he could not part with Ochiyo either he took the only way out - he killed Ochiyo and then himself (Uno, 340-407).

If the divorce was on account of the wife's wrong-doing there was no obligation to return her assets. If it was just for the husband's convenience she was permitted to have them back. Early in the period a wife's assets would be returned to her family if she died childless, but later on they were treated as the husband's for good, children or not. Because in theory a woman was not to set foot back on her parents' property once married, by law, as summarised in Ritsurei Yoryaku, if she did go there and happened to die there was no obligation for her "chattels, dowry, money or fields" to be returned unless she and her husband were already divorced. But a 1702 town proclamation in Edo said the families of the couple should negotiate over her dowry money. If she did go back to her parents and stayed three years without her husband ordering her home she could sue for divorce. It was custom, not law, which allowed this. And likewise if she was cut off by her husband for three years she was then legally free to remarry. Remember though that remarriage was unacceptable in theory, the wife being supposed to remain true to serve her husband "in this life and the

next". So the freedom to divorce depended on the man's willingness to return her assets, thus a measure of restraint was offered. And if a husband pawned his wife's clothing or furniture against her will her family could sue him for divorce. She retained ownership of the things in her name, and a husband could only act as an agent and co-operate with her in the management of her lands. So there was some recognition of a wife's right to ownership and of her good behaviour (Otake, 146-7).

Only a man could initiate divorce in theory, but in practice there were ways other than those mentioned for women to escape a miserable marriage. If a commoner wife served three years in the residence of her `samurai' master her divorce would be recognised (Ibid, 151). There were also temples known as `engidera' which would shelter a runaway wife. There she had to stay as a nun for three years, the term later reduced to two years, whereupon the temple was empowered to issue a divorce licence and remarriage was possible. Temples could act as a refuge from the secular authorities because of their religious significance as holy places immune from secular power. This was a relic from the real power they had in an earlier age (Miyagi, 196). Any hint that a wife might try to escape and she would be carefully watched, chased and brought back if she was unlucky. `Engidera' were usually located somewhat out of the way on rough roads, needing river crossings that could be hampered by flood. So the journey was risky. However sometimes the threat of escape was enough to make a

cruel husband mend his ways (Otake, 152). Among peasant women specially in the silk producing areas where it was possible for a woman to be self-supporting, those who could not stand being married any more might just walk out. A law put out in 1791 in Matsumoto Han says, "it has reached our ears that there are some loose women who offensively run out on their husbands. This is an extremely unbecoming thing and people must not leave their husbands. They must ...obey their husbands". For a law to have been made there must have been more than one or two isolated cases (Inoue Vol 2, 27). However the real freedom comes not as a result of ideas and beliefs but through the practicality of whether or not a wife has the means to survive. Being economically secure comes first; being able to live down social stigma comes next.

Adultery

In Tokugawa society which was authoritarian and punitive by today's standards, there was great store set on `sekentei', or one's reputation. People and women in particular who violated the ideals of chastity, fidelity and `giri' over `ninjo' increasingly took the honourable way out by committing suicide. Chikamatsu Monzaemon's plays are full of suicides resulting from adultery. Chikamatsu himself came from a `samurai' family serving the nobility. He took to the life of a writer for the theatre, regarded as a low occupation by his peers. But he wrote about the conflicts which affected commoners as

a result of feudal law, treating them as real people (Nihon no Rekishi Vol 8, 260).

While it was no crime for a man to commit adultery with an unmarried woman of the same or lower rank, it was a crime attracting corporal punishment for both a married woman and her lover. "Horikawa Nami no Tsuzumi" tells of Otane, the beautiful young wife of Hikokuro. He is away and she has temporarily gone back to the home of her father. This suggests that she is of relatively low samurai rank, otherwise she would probably have been required to stay with his family. Otane openly laments his absence, drawing the scorn of her sister Ofuji who fears people might hear her lament and laugh at them (Ibid, 19). Here we see the attitude that love is not proper and that reputation is vital. Later Tokuemon, a colleague of her husband who declares he is sick with love for Otane, visits and asks her to be his "medicine" (Ibid, 24). He demonstrates that concepts like romantic longing from afar, and platonic love were lacking in the Japan of those times. He demonstrates that to be attracted to someone meant to act on that attraction. Had Otane agreed she would have violated the Confucian expectation that a married woman have no real contact with men other than her husband. As "Onna Daigaku" shows, even to chat with them was forbidden (Clause 13). Unfortunately just when Tokuemon was declaring himself to Otane the drum teacher, Genuemon was in the next room. She suspects that he has heard her tell Tokuemon to come back later, even though that was just a ruse to get rid of him and not an invitation,

and invites Genuemon for a drink, pleading with him to keep it quiet. They share some `sake', drinking from the same cup like lovers until they end up drunk on the floor together making love (Ibid, 26). Some time later when Hikokuro returns the scandal breaks. Otane is devastated remembering how she really loves her husband, but there is no way out except death. She uses Hikokuro's dagger and he finishes her off. "He had the glorious form of the warrior" (Ibid, 34). He had done the right thing and put duty before love.

The adultery of a `samurai' wife was particularly abhorred because in a `samurai' marriage the husband's authority was absolute, the family's bloodline vital and honour a key value. To violate the husband's authority, mess up the bloodline or sully the family honour by acting in a manner which could destroy the marriage, from which the bloodline flowed, were serious crimes (Otake, 115).

These plays like the stories of Saikaku, are often based on actual events, and were so popular - even among the `samurai' class who were not supposed to have anything to do with common entertainment - that they must have been saying something significant to their audiences. Perhaps what they said was that the feudal ideal of duty pales beside the glory of human nature and emotion. Though Chikamatsu was born into the `samurai' class, Saikaku was `chonin', and made no real secret of his belief that the merchants were the real aristocrats in society, and the `bushi' and their morals misguided and pitiful, not admirable (de Bary, 31). In fact the

huge popularity of this kind of entertainment led to such a rise in the number of `shinju', double suicides for love, that bans were imposed on such plays (Hibbett, 27). After "Sonezaki Shinju" had become famous, nine hundred people in Kyoto and Osaka alone committed suicide in eighteen months. This increased later. Monzaemon's diary records thirty-five such suicides near his home, Nagoya, witnessing one himself. He distinguishes between suicides arising out of the strict rules of society which demand that people marry according to their parents' choice, and other suicides such as those of people who just can not see a purpose in life (Kosaka, 132-5).

The availability of prostitutes in the gay quarters meant that married men were quite likely to commit adultery. Not that they went to the brothels just for sex. There they could for a while dispense with the formality and stultifying rules of etiquette that ruled the world outside. They could indulge in romance and love, the very things despised in an ideal marriage. That they sought courtesans for their ability to entertain and amuse shows that while men expected all things from women - children, love and fun, they did not expect all of these from the one woman.

Mistresses

Early in Japanese history it was the norm for men of the ruling class, be it the nobility or the military, to have several wives and mistresses. When wives were given precedence the status of mistresses dropped, so although an ancient nobleman would have several wives, in the Kamakura Period the `bushi' only called one of their women "wife" and the others were called mistresses. In Tokugawa Japan the custom of having mistresses spread from the `shogun' to the commoners, though it was only rich merchants and `jinushi' who could afford them. Some `daimyo' and `samurai' kept mistresses in their own household, while commoners had separate houses built for theirs. Monks just visited their mistresses in their own homes (Ibid, 83). By the end of the period luxury was banned and `okubasho', places where private prostitutes were kept, were removed in the Tempo Reform of 1842. Few `chonin' other than managers and clerks in merchant families still kept mistresses (Ibid, 84).

One danger of the brothels was that a man might fall in love with a prostitute and decide to take her for his mistress or even his wife. It seems that this did indeed happen. Ogyu Sorai, the Neo-Confucian scholar of unorthodox thought, complained that "the practice of taking concubines from the prostitute class had contributed greatly to the growth of extravagance in the households of the military class" (McEwan, 41). Besides this being demoralising, it violated the rule

that there be no marriage between persons of different status (Ibid, 54). And worse, when "innumerable members of the upper class marry prostitutes [it] is an added encouragement to those outside the outcast classes to sell their daughters into prostitution" (Ibid, 55). "A Spendthrift" by Kiseki, another popular writer of the time, tells of Mansuke tricking his parents into thinking he was about to commit suicide. His father had the chief clerk find out what Mansuke wanted. It was to buy out a first rank courtesan, Hanazaki, to "make her his own". The father granted this request since his son "means more to me than life itself". He comforted himself while counting out the cost: "I suppose it has happened before" (Hibbett, 124). Although the Confucian ideals lay at the basis of law and morality, they remained largely nothing more than ideals to significant numbers of people.

As we saw earlier in "Onna Daigaku", it was not just acceptable but actually necessary to keep a mistress to produce an heir in the case of a barren wife. Sorai too agreed with this, but he did not approve of keeping concubines in secret or raising them in status to that of `oheya' or legal wife. And if a wife was childless, he thought a second wife of the same status or even one of her relatives should be taken (McEwen, 72-3). Because a mistress fulfilled the same heir-producing purpose as a wife she had to be chosen with care - to be from a good family with good manners; "the belly is a borrowed thing" was a catchcry

that clearly shows what marriage and women were thought to exist for (Otake, 83).

In the Tokugawa Period, mistresses had a status similar to servants, especially when the conditions for marriage were strict and required permission from one's lord, and when bigamy became prohibited. No application was needed to keep a mistress, so some men did marry their mistresses prior to 1733, then this too was banned. If a wife had a child it took precedence over all the children of mistresses (Ibid, 87), but if a mistress had produced the heir she was given considerable respect (McEwan,41). Mistresses became subject to the same punishment as wives if they committed adultery, though this had once been just a minor crime (Otake, 89). Once wife and mistresses were differentiated monogamy was the norm for all of society for the whole of the 17th to the 20th centuries, but it was really only an ideal for all those who could afford to keep mistresses. It was certainly not practised by the leaders of society.

No institution no matter how revered, promoted or fundamental to the prevailing beliefs in society, attracts everyone into its confines. Marriage is no exception. There were the men and women who disobeyed the requirements of filial piety, refusing the matches proposed by their parents, or eloping with a loved one of their own choice. This was a familiar theme in the theatrical world. Kiseki tells the tale of Magojiro in "A Worthless Trio", a young man so immersed in the world of `sumo' wrestling that he failed to carry out his

duties. His parents had a family conference and decided to seek a fascinating bride for him, thinking an early marriage might repair his attitude. The match was arranged and the wedding ceremony concluded. But Magojiro never entered his wife's room. They had her attendant raise the matter with him, but all he said was "Sleeping with a woman saps a man's strength in the prime of life, and he can't wrestle. ...even if I burned with passion I wouldn't touch a woman". His unfortunate bride was desolate, a widow though her husband still lived. She was left to wait alone morning and evening at the door of the bed-chamber!" (Hibbett, 147-150). So much for marriage.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Marriage of Asahi Monzaemon

It is instructive to look at the diary of Asahi Monzaemon mentioned earlier for an idea of how a man of lower officialdom lived his married life.

Monzaemon was twenty when he married Kei on 21st April 1693.. She was of timid nature and became unapproachable and hysterical after the birth of their daughter, Kon. With seven years of marriage behind him, Monzaemon was given the position of Otatami Bugyo, something to do with the floor mats of his lord. In the ninth year of their marriage she got smallpox that sent her insane for ten days. The insanity was put down partly to jealousy about Monzaemon using the maid Ren as a kind of mistress. With both women under the same roof there was a lot of upset and disruption. Suffering the effects of Kei's jealousy, he began spending a lot of time out drinking till late at night with friends but Kei would be up waiting for him to come home.

"It's hell", people said, and Monzaemon agreed, but `sake' was his only escape. Then Ren became pregnant. Monzaemon got her an abortion. He was relieved that it went well and that it had been less expensive than he feared.

After twelve years Monzaemon divorced Kei. She was sent home at 10 o'clock one morning and at 4pm the fathers of Monzaemon and Kei exchanged divorce papers. Monzaemon wrote his reasons for the divorce in a letter to the go-between. "In the Tokugawa Period marriage was between families, so divorce was also decided according to conditions of the head of the husband's family" (Kosaka, 67). Monzaemon was 32 at the time of his divorce. Kei is not mentioned again but from here his diary takes on a more cheerful tone.

"A man is a strange thing. When Kei, who had been a millstone round his neck for so long, was gone, he seems to have lost interest in Ren as well" (Ibid, 67). She too disappears from his diary. His friends teased him about living celibate, but in the autumn of the year he divorced Kei he "took into his home as a guest [common law wife] Riyo, the daughter of a peasant" (68). Later on her furniture was brought in and they were married the following year.

"At nine o'clock my parents came, and I made my guest my wife. We had food and drinks to celebrate. They prayed for us with `noh' chants", reports Monzaemon. It had taken nearly a year for him to formalise the marriage because of Riyo being a peasant. To make their formal marriage possible she had temporarily been registered as the younger sister of the wife of the lord of the fief. After two years of marriage in 1708, Riyo's name was changed to Sume. This could have been for good fortune because the daughter she had borne in the meantime was stillborn. In 1709

she had another miscarriage. Sume then became as jealous as Kei had been. Monzaemon was surprised, thinking a peasant brought up on a farm would be a simple creature. Her uncouthness began to show, and whereas Kei, who had been raised in a `bushi' home had shown her anger "like the breeze from a fan", Sume's abuse and shouting was like a "typhoon" (69).

We can turn back to "Onna Daigaku" to find the kind of training which Kei might have received to make this difference. Clause 8 states: "As much as possible she [a wife] should not be seized with a jealous heart. If her husband is lewd, she should remonstrate with him. She must not get angry or resentful. If she is excessively jealous, her feelings and words will be awfully cold and worse, she will become a person shunned and forsaken by her husband. If she is hurt by her husband's adultery she should calm her own feelings, keep her voice down and admonish him. If he does not listen to her admonition and gets angry she should first leave things alone for a while and later when her husband has calmed down she should remonstrate with him again. She must be sure not to look tempestuous or raise her voice, and not oppose or disobey her husband". Reading "Onna Daigaku" and Monzaemon's diary it is clear that few woman could live up to such ideals, or that few men would think to save themselves the distress and determine to remain faithful. Here is a real clash between how the Confucians saw the nature of women, marriage and family, and how difficult these precepts were to operate in real life.

Monzaemon began staying out late drinking again. And he began looking to the maid En for more than just sympathy. The secret came to Sume's attention and Monzaemon was only just able to stop her "swooping down on this vituperous prostitute". Instead Sume left home to stay with someone else. But it was not done for a wife to walk out on her husband, so her parents cajoled her until "their mouths were sore", and she finally returned home the next day. But her mood did not improve, and En left in disgust. Monzaemon was caught in the storm of Sume's jealousy and without En he had no comfort. She did return a few days later, but his wife's jealousy "rose like black smoke" for the following two months (70).

Monzaemon had the experience of four business trips to Kyoto during his service as Otatami Bugyo. He and the merchants he dealt with spent a lot of time then at the theatre, the pleasure quarters and restaurants. Although worried about Sume, Monzaemon managed to turn his "lusty mind full towards the women of Kyoto and Naniwa" [present day Osaka] (75). With all expenses being paid he had no need to worry about his wallet. He kept the diary of his first trip in a kind of code in case prying eyes caught sight of it, but its message was hardly difficult to crack. He visited the `geisha' Iwa at the Yoshinoya Teahouse, went to a bath house "and not just to bathe", where they provided `yuna', the term for prostitutes working in public bath houses. At "4pm they went up to the second floor wearing special clothing and

make-up, played the `shamisen', sang `kouta' and served `sake'" (77).

In Osaka the hospitality was the same. Monzaemon went with the prostitute Miyo and with the `geisha' Mihashi. After a trip of 56 days, Monzaemon's diary finally mentions that he turned his mind to business on the last day in Kyoto on the return journey to Nagoya (83).

He had another official trip lasting three or four months in 1706, one in 1710 and the last in 1712 when he was 39.

As the financial situation of the `samurai' class deteriorated in the latter half of the Tokugawa Period their spirit too was failing. In a world of influential merchants living in luxury and licentiousness, the `samurai' had little purpose beyond their activities as bureaucrats. They turned to immorality, ignoring family legends and the brave deeds of their great ancestors (90). One of Monzaemon's friends committed suicide because of the enmity between his wife and his mistress, who quarreled like cat and dog over who would do his washing and other chores. In the end he did his own washing and finally settled for the eternal peace of death. Another acquaintance had to give up his mistress when he married, and he became "possessed" by the spirit of this mistress and took to his sickbed. His bride's parents came to nurse him, but refused to let him eat for fear that food would only strengthen the spirit that had taken over his body. He starved to death.

Another had a mistress who became pregnant after his wife and family had demanded that he give her up. When he heard the baby was born he went round to her place and committed `seppuku', probably unable to face the wrath that would follow (92).

Monzaemon also heard about an old `samurai' whose relatives stabbed him to death for raping his step-daughter. The stabbing was regarded as "not unreasonable" (101). One man he heard of went "mad with grief" after being torn away from his favourite mistress to go on a kind of study duty (102). Altogether the diary mentions over a hundred cases of adulterous affairs, not all involving the husbands. Monzaemon mentions one woman, a wife and mother, who used to go to teahouses and such meeting places "day in and day out, wind or rain, meeting men and not coming home till late" (110). Then there was the chief retainer who decided to put to death the sixteen- or seventeen-year-old lover of his wife when he found them together. That he did not kill the boy immediately was because his wife's mother stopped him, and he had to obey because it was he who had married into that family. This was the opposite of the usual pattern. A few days later, though, he cut the boy down (112)

The wife of Fukutomi Den'emon, who had three mistresses, was a worse adulterer than her husband. She dumped the doctor with whom she was having an affair to take up with a haberdashery seller. The doctor was incensed and paid some villains to have her caught, half

stripped and bound, and carried through the streets of the town like a `mikoshi' parade (112).

Monzaemon makes an interesting point. Although it was legal for a husband to kill his wife and her lover if they were caught together, few husbands who did catch their wives went that far if they were sure the children she had borne to become his heirs really were his children. Instead they would threaten and admonish, but the women still didn't give up adultery. "That is because women had that much power" (113). Unless it was too blatant they would just put up with their wife's licentiousness or else get neurotic and commit suicide in the end.

Monzaemon himself, "lover of plays and poetry, addicted to gambling and `sake', afflicted with two hysterical wives" shows the real feelings of lower class `samurai' living around Nagoya castle in the Genroku Period (1688-1704) (200). However lofty the ideals, emotion played a bigger part in the real lives of the people than "Onna Daigaku" would suggest".

Conclusion

In the Tokugawa Period there were ideals about marriage which had stemmed from feudal necessity in earlier times and were now promoted by the authorities and adopted by widening sections of the population. The ideal was that marriage was between two families, not between individuals, and that the only goal was

perpetuation of the family line of the husband's side. Parents had all the decision-making power in the marriages of their children. The prime requirement of a wife in the `bushi' class was obedience and the production of an heir, and next she was responsible for the domestic affairs of the family. `Chonin' may expect their wives to work in the business, and for peasants a working wife was a necessity. There was no need for a `bushi' couple even to meet before marriage, but `chonin' couples often did and peasant couples probably knew each other prior to marriage. Premarital sex may nave been almost impossible for the upper class, frowned on by `chonin' and almost inevitable between peasants.

Monogamy had been institutionalised along with the clear distinction of wife from mistresses, but because of the importance of producing heirs, mistresses were not only tolerated but openly encouraged in some circumstances. The chastity of the wife was paramount, but adultery by both husbands and wives seems to have been quite widespread. Husbands often had sexual liasons with maids living in the same household, but all their wives' lovers seem to have been less accessible. Married couples may have loved each other, but love was not a suitable basis for marriage, and too open attraction between upper class couples was regarded as obscene. All in all, marriage was theoretically a serious business, but not to be treated with too much respect in the real world.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Marriage from the Meiji Period to 1946

The style of government introduced after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 included a lot of influences from the West, much as Chinese ideas had been sought by the ambitious nobility of the 6th century. Christian ideals which had first appeared with the Catholics in the 15th century now resurfaced after the long period of Japan's isolation. The two things which would prove most influential were the ideal of monogamy which meant the fidelity of the partners to each other, and the couple themselves taking a more central role in the family. These ideas sat uncomfortably with tradition, as is evidenced by the hesitant manner in which they were approached. Some thinkers saw benefits in them, but their implications for the old style of family life were enormous. Even so, some of the old marriage customs were not simply continued but even incorporated into law.

The earlier `bakuhan' marital system of prohibiting unions between people of different status disappeared of course when the class distinctions were wiped out in law. As Monzaemon's diary shows, there had already, been ways of overcoming them anyway and it was really a case of social conditions having outgrown the feudal institutions that made sense at the turn of the 17th century. First there were no longer restrictions on who

could marry whom; even the `eta' outcasts were liberated and allowed to marry commoners. Later the marriage of nuns and priests was allowed, as was marriage to foreigners. However there was still strong consciousness of what was right and wrong, and although legal restrictions were lifted the social barriers remained.

In feudal times the rule had been that parents decided on the marriages of their children, but in practice few parents would force a child into marriage with a partner they abhorred and children were able to get away with refusing a parental choice. This would not be tolerated indefinitely, though, especially from a girl getting on in her twenties and threatening to be left on the shelf, because marriage was regarded as the "natural path" for a woman. Changes to the law in the Meiji Period said the choice was now to be that of the child, but that the parents must consent to their choice. In real terms this meant there was hardly any difference - it was still the concern of the two families involved (Inoue Vol 2, 82).

Family law was based on the `ie' system and other effects of this were that girls had to be over 12 years old to marry, the `koshu' or head of household had to give his approval since it was he who reported the marriage to the registrar. Bigamy and incestuous marriages were banned. There were prohibitions on some unions such as between a younger brother and the widow of his older brother because of complications with the family name. But in time these too were removed in some circumstances (Otake, 252). Marriage was not yet

regarded as a matter of free choice, despite the beginning of liberalisation.

Because there was still a strong feeling that a woman only gets her own family by having sons, a wife took her husband's name and was recorded on the same census as him. A husband who was adopted into a woman's family had to be re-registered into her family in the census, thus being removed from his birth family. A wife could keep her family name until she "succeeded to her husband's family" whereupon she was to take his name (Ibid, 252). The wife was still expected to move into her husband's family home, but not just as a matter of course any more (Ibid, 291).

Civil law gradually came to recognise the roles of husband and wife as mutually supportive rather than regarding the relationship as that of superior to inferior. By 1888 a husband was permitted to leave his estate to his wife and could appoint her as his guardian during his lifetime. This was an idea that had not been found in Japan during feudal times. Adult females were given legal right to dispose of their own real estate, though a married woman had to have her husband's consent. There was still a large element of Confucian belief embodied in these laws. the wife being regarded as under the patronage of and obliged to obey her husband. The old "customs and beautiful morals" were still valued.

There was other inequality for wives built into the law too. A husband would not be charged with a crime as serious as murder if he killed his wife, whereas a wife

who killed her husband was charged with a crime more serious than murder. It was not criminal to beat a wife if she was not wounded in the beating. The marital relationship was still seen in the old hierarchical order rather as though the couple were parent and child. A husband could have affairs with unmarried women with impunity, but a wife's adultery was illegal. Also in early Meiji criminal law a husband who caught his adulterous wife and her lover would be pardoned if he killed them (Ibid, 256).

Wedding customs were Westernised early in the period with the introduction of their solemnisation "before God" at a temple where a `sake' ceremony was held followed by a banquet at a hotel or such place. The upper classes adopted the idea of the honeymoon, a far cry from the old days of minimal privacy, and then being together for only a few hours at a time. Most weddings took place at the husband's family base, but the flavour was that of a social event and not a contract-sealing ceremony (Lehmann, 231), as we saw with Monzaemon.

Both law and custom were still semi-feudal yet semi-modernised at the turn of the century, and in the search for political as well as social liberation a lot of young people turned to socialism for answers (Inoue Vol 2, 114). Socialist ideas on what a "real" marriage was began to be published in 1904. It should be based on free love and not depend on parental decision without the agreement of the couple (Ibid, 106). All the same there was little consciousness of marriage as a

partnership of two individuals. Even in 1917 an issue of the housewives' magazine "Shufu no Tomo" published the "Three Pillars" as indicators of how well your marriage was going. These were that your health was good, that you were managing the household finances well and that your relationship with your mother-in-law was amicable (Ishikawa, Feminist Japan 8, 9). Nothing was said about your relationship with your husband.

Mrs S tells of the marriage of her parents which had been arranged by the two families for business purposes. Neither found it a very happy experience even though it resulted in the birth of five children. Her mother was frequently miserable, but because of the marriage having been arranged she felt unable to leave. To have returned to her own parents would have brought a stigma none could have lived down. The old idea that a wife can never return to her parents remained strong. So "for the sake of the family" she married and "for the sake of the family" she stayed married. That seems to have been quite common for women who are now in their eighties.

"The Makioka Sisters" has a great deal to tell us about the maneuverings which reputable families in the 1930's engaged in to secure marriage partners for their children.

For the eldest daughters, Tsuruko and Sachiko, sons-in-law had been adopted and given the family name. Of the remaining two girls, Yukiko, now in her early thirties must, for propriety's sake, be married off before Taeko, the youngest. Yukiko assures everyone she

will marry whoever the "main house" (Tsuruko and her husband Tatsuo) decides on. The assiduous search for prospective partners has been carried out by the main house, the branch house (Sachiko and Teinosuke), neighbours, acquaintances and distant relatives for several years.

At first the Makiokas turned down numbers of proposals from suitors they regarded as below their status. But as time marches on they drop their standards - the man may have been married before, though he should not have children. Later they decided one or two children would be acceptable, so they would consider a man in his early 40's (older than Teinosuke) providing he looked young enough (Tanizaki, 18).

Yukiko herself is very vague and although she appears compliant she refuses one man as too countrified, another as too insensitive (148). On the other hand she is refused for her aloofness, though her family try to explain this away as her being shy, not haughty (417). Others who refuse her offer no clear reason.

One of the bases for choosing a spouse was the result of investigations of the prospective family carried out by acquaintances or detective agencies. They would question Yukiko's schools, her teachers of calligraphy, tea ceremony etc, the newspaper office which printed the scandal about Taeko's elopement, and of course, colleagues and neighbours. When the Makiokas were investigating a Mr Segoshi, it was people in his hometown hinting that his mother was mentally ill that

finally put an end to negotiations (59). In the case of families sufficiently well-known not to need investigating, there would still be enquiries about the individual concerned. The man to whom Yukiko was betrothed in the end, Mr Mimaki, was from the nobility but Mrs Itami, the intrepid marriage-maker who persisted until she unearthed this suitor for Yukiko, praised him as an architect with years of experience abroad, but suggested the Makiokas investigate him themselves because he had no money of his own and was not much to look at (477). Teinosuke too decided on this course knowing that to be the wife of such a polished, genial gentleman can be difficult. Despite learning that he has a temper and drinks too much (though he is reputed to be gentle to women), is knowledgeable but not persistent and a good spender but a poor earner (510), Teinosuke decides to persuade the main house to settle on him. This despite the lack of good guarantees from Mimaki's relatives for the couple's financial future. Such, by this stage, was their desperation to fix Yukiko's marriage. She herself assented with neither grace nor gratitude when the crunch came (515). At 33 her time had run out and she could no longer refuse.

While marrying off Yukiko was a headache for the Makiokas, the self-sufficient, outgoing, modern Taeko was another problem altogether. Because custom prevented her marrying before Yukiko, she had eloped briefly with Okubata many years earlier; the scandal that had been published to Yukiko's detriment. Since then she had continued to see Okubata, a pampered "Semba

child" (158) with no redeeming features, frequenter of teahouses, customer of `geisha' and other prostitutes (258), claiming "she could not find it in her to reject her first love for reasons of expediency" (158). But there are clues too that she is having an affair with Itakura, the photographer, and just as the final negotiations for Yukiko's marriage to Mimaki are underway, Taeko becomes pregnant to Miyoshi, a bar-tender. It is agreed that she must disappear to have the baby, and marry the child's father later (502).

"The Makioka Sisters" revolves around the ideas that the family name is vital, that the hierarchy of main and branch families (and the accompanying rights and duties) should be maintained, that marriage is the only path for respectable women, and that happiness, for what it is worth, is more likely to come from doing one's duty than from succumbing to one's emotions. These were long-standing opinions of the `chonin' class which had persisted. However the problem of Taeko shows the difficulties that arose when the old customs clashed with the new.

Rural Views

In the countryside regional differences were retained throughout this period, but it was common for boys to be married at 18 to 20 and girls at 15 to 16 in Aomori-ken. In the fishing villages of Fukui where work was scarce for the women girls would marry at 24 to 30,

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much later than the average which at the beginning of the Meiji Period was about 20 for boys and between 16 and 20 for girls (Segawa, 269).

As in earlier times country boys and girls belonged to groups which acted as a kind of go-between for eligible people, smoothing the way to marriage and controlling the association of girls with men from other villages. This was a conservative measure to slow down change to the customs of the hometown (Ibid, 283). Young men were not allowed to "raid" for marriage partners, and girls were protected from older men as well as outsiders. Cases of premarital pregnancy were handled according to well established rules. Those over 17 who were happy together were allowed to marry though they remained living in their group lodgings until the wedding (Ibid 284).

Some go-betweens laughed at a chaste girl as being foolish and lacking something because they had not got properly intimate with their man and were relying on being brought together by someone else (Ibid, 289). When a couple was betrothed the woman might spend a couple of days in the man's household before returning to her own village. The man would visit her there till the wedding which may be months or years later (Ibid, 288). But the system of young adults living in lodgings from which they made friendships, conducted courtships and settled on partners seems to have existed all over Japan. There was no expectation that a man would marry his first girlfriend and indeed the vast majority of unofficial private requests made by young people were

turned down. The implication is that there had to have been demonstration of love and mutual consent, recognising that marriage was the business of the couple first and foremost (Ibid, 289).

The term `tsumadoi' which we met in relation to the sexual relationship of couples living in separate homes of ancient Japan surfaces again. Intimacy leading to pregnancy and then the formalisation of the marriage on the birth of the child was common. So too was taking in a "morning son-in-law" - the young man who remained the whole night with the daughter of the family to signify their intent to marry. These seem to have been customs regarded as natural and acceptable in rural Meiji Japan (Ibid, 289) as they were earlier among the peasantry.

Other Views of Marriage

In 1871 the mistress system was laid down by regulation. In the family registers the mistress of the `koshu' was to be listed after his wife, the father's mistress after the mother and the grandfather's mistress after the grandmother. There were regional differences in detail, such as in Kyoto where mistresses had to be recorded on the census to distinguish them from prostitutes. But the mistress was treated as spouse rather than servant. In 1883 the system of recording mistresses in the census was abolished, signalling the arrival of the period of true monogamy. The thinking

behind this, promoted by Mori Arinori and others, was that to keep a mistress was to neglect your wife, as well as to bring about enmity between the two women. It also meant fouling up your bloodline and disrupting the family (Otake, 249). These educators insisted that the modern Western European view of marriage be adopted. The rights and duties of husband and wife must be mutual and equal (Ibid, 250), marriage should not be of one family to another determined by the parents but has to be the marriage of the husband and wife themselves, a contract which the couple make (Inoue Vol 2, 86).

Fukuzawa Yukichi, criticising "Onna Daigaku" and the Three Obediences called them "upholding the moral duty of status differentiation of women based on physical strength". He advocated sexual equality and said polygamy was the "Way of Animals" (Ibid, 250). His ideas were those of the Law Office and the Cabinet too, but how far and how quickly these ideas were accepted in the wider community is in doubt. After the beginning of the Meiji Period there was some treatment of the mistress as though she was a wife; her childrens' right to a share in the inheritance was now recognised in law. In the Tokugawa Period there had been a clear separation of the relationship of husband and wife from that of husband and mistress, with the mistress being treated as a servant or the servant made a mistress - which is not clear from Monzaemon's diary. It was hard to get away from the idea that mistresses were acceptable. All the same, resistance to abolition of the system was not very great since many people already

saw mistresses as not much different from prostitutes, and were not averse to omitting the names of mistresses from the lists of relatives. Monogamy, though, came with the tacit approval of mistresses too (Ibid, 252).

Divorce

Perhaps the greatest change for wives was the establishment of two methods of divorce: either by mutual consent or through the courts with the wife being given the right to sue. Under the old system where parental consent was required there had been no such recognition of a wife's equality. The divorce rate was relatively high when statistics were first taken in 1883. With 9.01 marriages per thousand of population there were 3.39 divorces, a third of the marriage total. In 1884 there were 7.60 marriages per thousand of the population and 2.90 divorces. In 1898 survey methods changed but under the new system of measurement there were 10.76 marriages per thousand with a divorce rate a quarter of that, and in 1910 the divorce rate was less that one seventh of the marriage rate. By the late 1920s it was less than half of the 1899 rate. The drop is thought to be because fewer husbands and mothers-in-law were throwing wives out and more couples were marrying by genuine agreement. Still the rate of divorce was relatively higher than in Western countries because there were still a lot of wives being "sent away" by their husbands (Inoue Vol 2, 146-7).

We can see, then, that between the great influx of borrowing Western ideas in the early Meiji Period and the adoption of the new Constitution at the end of the Second World War, a lot of changes had been initiated on paper but people's expectations of marriage did not change much. The old class system was abolished and there were differences in thinking between "upper class" and "lower class" families as well as between urban and rural people. Marriages were still arranged and go-betweens used though the consent of the couple may be sought. Marriage was still felt to be between families rather than couples and the woman was regarded as having joined the man's family. There was tacit approval of a husband having a mistress even though monogamy was being promoted. The idea of marriage based on mutual love appeared in print, but so did the old idea of marriage which completely ignored any real form of companionship between the pair. Perhaps the biggest change was that women were given the right to initiate divorce, but even that was not a great change in practice since most divorces were due to the husband or his parents turning the wife out. Women were still seen as subordinate to men in fundamental ways, and behaved so for the most part. The social stigma remained a real barrier for a woman, as did the problem of how to survive economically once the husband, the source of her living, was lost. So "destiny marriage" remained the overwhelming expectation for women.

CHAPTER NINE

Modern Ideals of Marriage

The Emergence of Western Ideals

Japan's unprecedented defeat in the Second World War was followed by the Occupation with another huge influx of ideas from the West, and from the United States in particular. In the draft Constitution of 1946, an attempt overall to introduce genuine democracy, the major change was the fundamental equality of the sexes, politically, and socially, stemming from the dignity of the individual. The absolute authority of the head of household, usually a male, was to be taken away.

Conservative reaction was swift and predictable. Such a Constitution would bring about the "individualisation of the husband and wife", the couple would become the centre of the family, and filial piety, the heart of Japanese morals, would be weakened. If we do not take great care, children will marry against their parents' wishes..., and divorce a good wife against their parents' wishes", said one Member of the Diet (Inoue Vol 2, 12). There were also warnings that these things went against Japanese tradition.

What did become Clause 24 of the Constitution in 1947 states: "Marriage is to be by mutual consent of both partners, who have equal rights and support each other through co-operation. In regard to choice of spouse, rights to assets, inheritance, choice of dwelling, divorce and other things related to marriage and family the law must be based on and establish these things on respect for the individual and the inherent equality of the sexes". So civil law was revised along these lines, and rather than the `ie', the `fufusei' (husband and wife system) in a `yoriaikon', or privately agreed monogamous marriage of two people with equal rights, became the basic family unit, at least on paper (Takamure, 258-9).

That marriage is still the expected route a woman will take in life is shown by the relatively high marriage rate in Japan today compared with other nations. The pressure to marry is still strong, with parents, school teachers and the mass media stressing "Marriage is happiness for a woman" (Michishita, Feminist Japan 2, 6). But though to marry is still the "natural course" for women, the idea that this means to enter into an intimate and loving bond with a particular partner has proved slow to catch on. Tetsuya Sumi says that "in Japan few people consider it important that the basis of a marriage be the human bond between a man and a woman" (Feminist Japan 3, 10). For a woman brought up to regard marriage as her first real goal, just to reach that is a relief, and for a man too, marriage may just mean that he has got sick of cooking for himself or of

the nagging of his parents and colleagues, not necessarily that he has found his "soulmate" (Ibid, 10).

It seems to be taken for granted that there is a "marriageable age" and that it is around 22 to 25 for women. This is the most suitable time for her to have her first baby. It also seems to be taken for granted that if a woman does not get married then she will be at a loss as to what to do with her life (Mori, Feminist Japan 3, 12-13). So there is a large majority of opinion that marriage is for having children, and that this is the only realistic life goal for women.

Within the last decade 90% of women have been saying they expect to marry someone from their work-place, though only about 20% have done so. Only about 56% of women have said they want to choose someone they love as a spouse, but 89% say theirs is a love marriage, and although only 3.4% say a `miai' is vital (meeting a potential spouse through a go-between), almost 45% actually used a senior colleague in this capacity (Ohashi, Feminist Japan 6, 10). These figures show a gap between ideal and reality. Although people have wanted to meet potential spouses for themselves it is more effective for many of them to use a go-between. Even with co-education at all levels for most children, boys and girls seem to mix a great deal in same-sex groups right through to university and have not had a lot of opportunity to get to know many people of the opposite sex as individuals.

This situation is changing slowly. "Non.no", a popular magazine for young women in their late teens and early twenties, carried out a survey in 1986 and began publishing the results in their January/February issue of 1987. In an interview , Kuramochi Fusako said that the environment makes girls chase after love. "There are so many places to go for fun, and terrific fashions everywhere, so it's `I just have to go out and have fun with him' or `I want to show him this dress'. In our young days a decade ago we used to approach boys only occasionally at Obon or on folkdancing days, but now every day is like Obon!. The boys themselves are more expansive too - `Well, are you coming?' they'll ask [a girl]" (111).

The theme of the survey was "What do women demand of love?", and the main answers given by the 15,473 respondents were "tenderness and reliability". Only 3.8% had never had a boyfriend, so the answers would seem to be based on some personal experience. These people are looking for fun, as is evident in that 37.6% said in their ideal a sense of humour is important, compared to 22.5% who preferred sincerity. At the same time they do not imagine they should or will marry the first person they fall in love with. 37.3% said "Love is serious, but love and marriage are not necessarily linked [in my mind]". 33.7% said "Marriage is still in my future and now I want to enjoy love without thinking of marriage". 19.9% said "I'm always aware of marriage when I am with a guy", but only 5.6% said "Love is love and marriage is marriage. I always clearly separate

them" (114). Some of the comments included with this question were things like: "If we like, understand and co-operate with each other it would be alright to marry", and "I intend to keep love and marriage separate, but I do think of marriage at times". This suggests a fascinating turn-around from the times when it was a woman whose purpose was seen as being either for love or for marrying, but not both. Modern girls are still very much aware that marriage is supposed to be their lifelong career once they enter into it, but are determined to enjoy themselves first, if not after as well.

Another change in attitude among young people is that it is no longer taken for granted that they will marry the person they have their first experience of love with. They believe that even if you do not have a boyfriend currently, "the next bus will come along" (Hayashi, 114). Nor is it necessary to feel that just because they have a lover they can not have friends of the opposite sex as well. "In the past we felt that was not done, but now it's accepted coolly" (Ono, 111). Nagashima Hirohisa says he takes other girls on dates even though he has had a girlfriend for three years. "My girlfriend lets me do this. And I don't tie her down either. Because no matter how much you tie people up, if they're going to come they will and if they're not they won't" (110).

Boys seem to seek love less than girls: "...for a man to love a girl is not essential. I went to a boys' school, so I'm quite happy in a man's world. ...I think

it's better to go for personality and get to know her gradually. They reckon men are too soft these days, but I don't like my father's high-handedness and want to be tender towards girls if I can", says Nakamura Katsuyuki (110). There are two other new attitudes in this statement: the value awarded personality, and the disenchantment with the image of "real man" of the past. "I want to keep girls for marriage and girls for fun separate, but it gets tougher as you get older. So therefore you get to thinking `anyone who will marry me will be fine'" (Kawakami, 111).

The writer Akimoto Yasushi tells what happens in daily life: "... a lot of girls sought the `Bluebird of Happiness' called "love" outside. But no matter how they begged, no prince on a white charger turned up. They now know that that is a lie. so in the end they settle for a bluebird close by even if he is only a dull blue. Love has become commonplace" (110). But if the romantic image has its limitations, girls may seek a man with interests and with whom they will be able to form a deep relationship. They too are hard to find. "Most of the students round me only play `mah jong', walk around reading comics or are in the tennis set or whatever. [My ideal] is someone living a more real life. One who goes on a trip now and then, or studies hard" (Hashimoto, 112).

When it comes to seeking a marriage partner, there still seems to be a tendency to look for the qualities in the other person that show they fit a familiar mould. For example Mr M told the writer he wants a wife

who will not want to work after marriage, and Mr O said he wants a wife who will stay home and have three children. Both men, graduates in their mid-twenties, said they want mutual love, but neither seemed to think there might be just one "special person" waiting for them.

A modern couple is almost certain to carry out a courtship unlike the pattern of the past. Not only are there so many places to go, it is common to see lines of young people strung out along the banks of rivers or on park benches on warm evenings, arms round each other and seemingly unaware of how much they look like rows of sparrows on a fence. Holding hands and kissing in public makes the older generation feel uncomfortable, but the young do it anyway.

Mrs T explained that because most young people live with their parents or in single-sex dormitories or other supervised accommodation until they marry there is only a small incidence of `de facto' marriage. An uncertain proportion of girls are pregnant when they marry, or have already had an abortion, but it is no longer frowned on to marry for love. An abiding. deep companionship is coming to be something that women desire in a marriage. Mrs Y said that she and her boyfriend loved sitting up late talking, but this upset her parents, so they got married. Even though he now lives in Nagoya and she in Tokyo, they still feel their companionship. "What I look for in love is not so much knowing he's a `lover' but that he will be a friend for ever", says Ono Satomi (Non.no, 111).

No matter the dream, there is still a clear image of what the marriage is for and what the couple should expect in each other, as Matsumura Aiko showed in her examination of typical wedding speeches. "Well-matched" seems to mean that the groom was educated with good results at good schools, is serious about his career and has good prospects in the company while the bride is educated, beautiful, wise, graceful, mild-mannered, thoughtful, cultured, and skilled at domestic arts etc. In other words he will earn a good income for her and she will run a good home for him (Feminist Japan 6, 6).

If it is too openly a love-based marriage there may be criticism such as "How could he pick someone like her?", or "How come she captured his heart?". Then the expectations of how the couple will run their marriage pour out: the "talented" groom will settle down and as a proper man of society, earnestly grapple with his work, and the "talented, lovely" bride will manage the home, make good meals for him (seeing he must eat to work), and help him so things at home and at work will be peaceful. Grooms' colleagues say "You've got a good companion, and we hope you go on working for us". Bosses say "We want you both to be faithful to yourselves and to the company for ever" (Ibid, 6). This sums up how a company views its employees' families. "Japanese companies only see wives as appendages of their employees. Husbands also think of their wives as "handy-boxes"; and an independent wife is not favoured because she cannot be controlled, nor does she make life easy for the husband" (Asahi Shinbunsha 1984, 227).

Married people warn the couple that the path will not always be smooth, that "It's not like when you are in love", but that they can "weather the rough patches" together and that way will reach the "true happiness of married life". The latter means giving in , apologising quickly, being restrained, patient, self-sacrificing, faithful till death, and have the wife take the lead at home and the husband take the lead in society. This averts "territorial arguments", and leads to satisfaction for both (Ibid, 6). That they are advised to co-operate over these already defined territories suggests, says Matsumura, that "marriage is not a relationship of one personality to another" (Ibid, 7).

Traces of the old idea that the wife joins the husband's family can still be found in the way the parents of the couple address each other. The groom's parents often say "We welcome the bride and look forward to having cute grandchildren one day, so now the dreams of our old age have come true". The bride's parents are likely to say "Our daughter is lucky to have found such an excellent person and we entrust her to you with great relief". Some parents still apologise for their daughter's ill breeding and invite the husband's family to correct her properly (Ibid, 7). These may be polite and formal expressions rather than expressing real expectations, but the older generation is still caught up with these feelings about marriage.

Only 30% of women and 32% of men say they want their home to be "couple-centered", and 70% of women agreed that men should work outside and women should be

at home. These results are from a seven-yearly survey done by the Prime Minister's Office. Over half say they see home as a "resting place", and only 3.4% saw it as a "place for the emotions of the couple". Home means the reassurance for its inhabitants that they have a place where they "belong", not that they have the setting for the relationships of the individuals of which it is composed (Tanaka,Asahi Journal, 15-16).

When a Japanese woman marries she does not have to be hostess, entertainer, conversationalist, wage-earner and lover all at once to her husband, as well as be familiar with neighbourhood or wider issues. This is the image Japanese have of the varied things expected of a Western wife (Shirai, Feminist Japan 8, 34). Shirai says that to feel loved by her husband may not be so important, nor is romance or the quality of their sexual relationship. "In fact Japanese women entertained no such dream. The ideal marital relationship was depicted as one in which one's spouse was simply "there", an impalpable presence like the air one breathed" (Iwao, Japan Echo Vol XII, 62). "As long as they have made the promise to each other they are regarded as a couple" (Nakayama, 200).

What couples really expect of each other seems to be the potential to create a harmonious and prosperous base for their children. The idea that they might find sufficient happiness together that they do not need children to complete the "set" is frowned on. If a young woman suggests she does not intend having children the older generation is likely to react with "That's not

Japanese, not having children. You <u>must</u> have one one day" (Obatofu, Feminist Japan 3, 22)

However for young people now there is some choice as to whether to marry or not, and to have a family or not. Men seem to see marriage in more favourable terms than women; about 22.4% of 25 -29 year old women were unmarried in the late 1970's, maybe half of whom had chosen to remain single and "do something" with their lives and not just settle for marriage (Mori, Feminist Japan 3, 13). For a man to remain single though may simply be inconvenient. It may mean he is stuck with the responsibility for his own domestic arrangements, and this is not in keeping with the image for men.

Until recently wives went along with the kinds of demands made on a husband's time and energy by his employer. Common advice to a bride was "Don't monopolise X, the groom, because he is part of society. Put up with it when he is late home from doing overtime (Tetsuya, Feminist Japan 3, 9). The husband's "obligation to their work community requires that they behave as though they had no domestic life... In the presence of co-workers, open acknowledgement of membership in another more basic group [such as a call to his wife to say he will be late home] would be tantamount to betrayal" (Okamoto, Japan Echo Vol XII, 64).

Wives are less willing to tolerate this now, expecting not just a husband's financial support and attention to his role as head of household, but also some real shared experience so the couple has a chance

to grow together (Ibid, 64). Still, economic security is more important than a loving and happy relationship for many wives (Ikegami, Feminist Japan 4, 53).

What seems to be happening is that expectations about marriage on the part of wives are greater, and husbands are confused as to how to meet these. There is plenty of back-up from the older generation and the media to encourage everyone to stick to the old role-playing stereotypes. But with the high level of women's education, changing patterns of employment in response to economic conditions, the relatively small demands of caring for a modern home and raising a small family, and the lengthening life expectancy leaving women with half a lifetime of virtual unemployment - if family is supposed to be career for them - these stereotypes may not prove realistic for much longer. It is mainly wives who recognise the growing importance companionship in marriage has for them.

So far it has not been the pattern for a Japanese couple to communicate much once they are married. The main topics of conversation are to do with creating a home and raising children. Once these are exhausted they seem not to have a great deal to say to each other. This is not to suggest that there is no communication. Nakamura Hajime says that in Japan words are not regarded as particularly suitable or necessary to get ones feelings and wishes across. Intuitive understanding is more highly valued than "stating the obvious" (Moore, 147). However a husband who comes home and says only three words in the course of the evening -

"Dinner", "Bath", "Bed" - is no longer likely to endear himself to his wife (Tetsuya, Feminist Japan 3, 11).

There is an old saying that tells a different story though: "An absent husband is best". Many wives, specially those who see economic security as the main attribute of their marriage, are more than relieved when the husband is not around making demands and getting in the way. Mrs D reports that in her neighbourhood when the wives meet and talk about "What are you doing on the weekend?", to the reply "I dont know. My husband will be home... " the response is likely to be "Oh, you poor thing. Never mind. It will soon be Monday again". This, she says is even more the case for wives whose husbands have retired and the two of them are home together after a lifetime of parallel living. Ohashi Terue (Feminist Japan 8, 6) says this is a common theme on television dramas nowadays, showing that couples do not communicate on a very fundamental level.

It has not been the done thing for married couples to enjoy a social life all of their own. Mrs T reports that friends of hers received the scorn of their neighbours when they went skiing together one weekend even though their children were away at camp. And to get a baby-sitter for anything other than business or emergency is to ask for disapproval. The pressure of conforming to group expectations is still strong. Besides many men still see their wives as socially incompetent and assume they would not fit in even if an invitation to a party or something were to be accepted

(Tetsuya, Feminist Japan 3, 10). The way older women sit back or act as mere servants, seldom contributing to a conversation when guests come, could be a hang-over of the old expectation that a wife is to be seen and not heard, and an expression of politeness, not just her own lack of confidence or interest.

Modern marriages are based on the principle of equality, but the expectation is that the husband will be the breadwinner and the wife the homemaker. The pair may establish quite a close relationship prior to marriage, and it is no longer unacceptable to claim love as the basis of marriage. However there are strong role expectations which tend to make it difficult for couples to build up a bond of companionship. There is a pattern of little shared conversation or social life. While young wives expect husbands to contribute more than just money to the household, the nature of the Japanese workplace makes this difficult. There is a generation gap here. The idea that one marries "for the sake of the family" has gone. If a go-between is used it is for convenience, not propriety. There will be a courtship, but the main reasons people marry seem to be convenience, security, freedom from social pressure and to create a home where they "belong".

The things a wife is expected to do besides all the usual domestic things in order to play her part properly are understood in quite amazing detail. Mrs T confesses to being a "night owl", and hopeless at getting up in the morning. Once she failed to get her husband up in time for an important meeting and he was really angry

because "it is a wife's duty to see the husband is up in time". Men on `tanshin funin' who have no wife to wake them mention the same problem. Another common expectation of old was that the wife would be first up and last to bed. When roles are so clearly spelled out it is even more obvious when one steps outside them. Only recognised artists and famous people like Ono Yoko can escape the pressure to conform, says Mrs T.

To play one's part ensures smooth relationships. This is reminiscent of the peasants of old who were supposed to know a myriad of details about fellow villagers so they would never do or say the wrong thing to others (Miyamoto, 89).

Extra-marital affairs

With monogamy now the accepted proper basis for marriage in Japan feelings about extramarital sex seem to have shifted somewhat. There are still women who think "men will be men", and in one survey over half said they would forgive a husband for a temporary affair. Because an affair can be so disruptive to a family it is tolerated sometimes just for the sake of peace or to avoid a scandal. Miss S reported about a widow friend of hers who had an affair with a married man for 14 years. They married some time after his wife died. However there seems to be a growing feeling that both husbands and wives can and should expect the

fidelity of their spouse. That is, in normal circumstances at least.

To have a mistress is not nearly as taken for granted as it was in the past. It may be a status symbol for some, but men who do will probably try to keep it secret from their wives and never accommodate both women in the same dwelling. They are more likely to have a mistress in a separate town altogether. These are likely to be men who are away on business a lot, but there is a certain sympathy for the mistress as she is seen to be the main loser. Obatofu mentions two cases - one where a young woman is set up in an apartment and occasionally taken on trips by her lover, but "she had no aim for her future and no career to speak of". If marriage is the only proper, valued career for a woman, a mistress is really throwing away her own long-term security. The other case he mentions involved a man who returned to his wife on weekends and the mistress, esconced in her lonely apartment, eventually found herself a part-time lover. Her "husband" beat her up when he learned of this arrangement (Feminist Japan 3, 22). He had housed her and found her a job, but could offer little more than that. Yet to him, she was "property".

For a woman who positively decides against marriage, to be the mistress of a well-off man may afford some security, specially if she can extract "compensation" from him if the affair comes to an end. `Geisha' and such women in the `mizu shobai' are often kept by one man and may do well enough to become the

owner-manager of their own establishment. Such women do sacrifice being accepted by mainstream society, but the sacrifice has been made by thousands of women over the years. It is possible to argue that if women are exploited in Japan, then such women are the reverse of the coin, the exploiters of men.

The sheer extent of the `mizu shobai', or "water trade", the entertainment and leisure industry almost exclusively patronised by men, is an indication that it is still widely thought of as proper and natural for a man to turn to women other than his wife for comfort, solace, fun, ego-building, relief from the pressure of the business world, understanding, titillation and diversion, if not for sex. A wife is not necessarily expected to play the role of confidante. Home may be a "resting place", but that may not mean for the "whole man". There is a large residue of feeling that marriage need not be a total relationship for a couple.

Boredom with life as a married woman may lead to affairs for excitement. Mizuta discusses "Setsuko", a character created by Mishima Yukio, from the point of view that women like her risk spiritual danger in entering into purely physical relationships based on sensuality alone (Feminist Japan 7, 79). Behind this discussion is the assumption that a many-dimensioned relationship should be the vehicle for personal growth and development. If this is a proper aim for a relationship it may be a proper aim for marriage. Some feminists and young women seem to be saying that this is the case.

Divorce

When we look at the question of divorce it becomes apparent just how clearly marriage is seen as "the" career for women. Society is poorly equipped to provide for women who do not have this career. It is hard for them to find a job with adequate wages to support themselves (not to mention if they have children to feed and educate as well: widows and unmarried mothers are in the same boat). Women really are expected to survive by means of their husband's employment. There is a little less stigma being divorced these days, but the practicalities make it an option to be avoided if possible. Because of the well-defined roles for husband and wife in Japan, and maybe less emotional dependence between a couple, adjusting to divorce may not be too difficult. But a divorced pair are unlikely to have any contact with each other and the husband may never see his children, so the burden of their upbringing will fall entirely on the woman. Because marriage is seen as employment guaranteeing a woman's life-long security, much as has been the case in the business world for men, to be divorced is akin to being fired, and is not as respectable as being "retired" by widowhood. These are the reasons Sodei Takako offers for the relatively low divorce rate in Japan (Feminist Japan 8, 28).

Conclusion

Marriage customs in the Tokugawa Period differed markedly among the social classes. What eventually affected everyone was the `bushi' ideal that marriage was for the purpose of producing heirs to the male line. Because of this and the belief in the inherent inferiority of women the feelings of a couple about each other were irrelevant. Love was not approved as a proper basis for marriages, and these were arranged to benefit the family whether that meant for lineage or labour. During the Meiji Period these ideas were put into law, and despite the abolition of the class system, people still behaved as they "felt" right, and this depended on their family origins. Rural customs varied, but chastity became valued at lower levels of society too. Wives were legally subordinated to husbands. Western ideals about monogamy and all that that implied began to be discussed, but it was not until the Constitution of 1947 which placed the couple at the centre of family life that a new ethos became possible. Marriage became a matter of personal choice and less of a family concern, though the interests of the latter has never been able to be discounted.

Even though the present generation approach relationships from a different angle and regard love as a valid starting point for marriage, there are still two worlds in Japan, one for men and one for women. This makes it difficult for married couples to communicate and socialise as companions, and they quickly revert to

more or less traditional roles under the pressure to conform. Women though are feeling the effects of urban living and beginning to make demands for greater input from their husbands into the marital relationship. To see how difficult this is we must next consider the ideals held about families.

PART THREE:

IDEALS FOR THE FAMILY

CHAPTER TEN

The Tokugawa Period Family

The form of the family which had been developing during the Kamakura and Sengoku Periods was very much linked to feudalism and the management of society through obedience. The Confucian idea "Rule the world with `ko'", or filial piety, stressed the allegiance of children to parents, with the vertical nature of that relationship carrying through society, determining that common folk and inferiors obey their masters and superiors as a matter of social and national harmony (Otake, 157). The duty of descendents to serve and respect their parents and grandparents meant that punishment for offences against any of one's predecessors was a crime of equal gravity (Ibid, 158). Taking this flow of respect and responsibility the other was, although in theory a parent did not have absolute authority over their children and could not, for example, kill an innocent child or sell children into

slavery with impunity, they did have the right to teach and punish them with limitations (Ibid, 159).

These principles had been established in the 8th century under Ritsuryo law, and although they were weak among the Heian nobility the rest of society taught children to show filial piety to parents. There was an element of Buddhism in this too. One of the Four Obligations was to one's parents (Ibid, 164). However in the Kamakura period this principle became the very basis of all human ethics in `buke' circles, where society itself was seen as an enlargement of the family. So the parent-child relationship became not only the central relationship of the family, but the basis for all human relationships, and so the basis of law.

When using the terms "law", "obligations" and "rights", it is important to understand the basis on which these were founded in Japanese history. Kawashima Takeyoshi explains that traditional law was not differentiated from morality. Nevertheless it did not make distinctions between "right and wrong" as fixed, eternal, intellectual ideals. The principle was social obligation based on `magokoro', or true-heartedness, and operating in human relationships such as within the family, the workplace and so on. Without good will, obligation lost its value. So there was much in the sphere of obligation that was open to interpretation, negotiation and compromise which would maintain `wa', or harmony. Because law and obligation exist not to impose absolute, eternal intellectual ideals, but to maintain

order in society, the collective interest absorbs the individual interest and takes precedence. So "rights" by which the individual can demand of others that some objective, fixed standard be respected was a concept that did not exist until the Western ideal was introduced. While there are legal rules in Japan they are on a continuum with the social world, and tend to be vague in order to permit mediation. They are less suited to bringing lawsuits in the Western understanding. The idea of "rights" has only become possible since industrialisation has crumbled the traditional social structure and even in the 1980's has not become fully integrated into Japanese thinking (Moore, 430-8). Morals and mutability were important considerations in the Japanese concept of law.

The Confucian Ideas of the `Bushi' Class

By the Tokugawa Period filial piety was the honoured precept for the whole society, and the foundation of feudal morality (Otake, 171). The most serious offences were to kill one's parents or one's lord; the punishment was crucifixion. "Parents" included adoptive parents, guardian, and paternal grandparents. A disobedient child could be imprisoned at the request of its parents, and the family relationship severed if no improvement in behaviour ensued (Ibid, 172). Of course it was the father alone

who could disinherit the child; the mother could only comply.

All this came about because of the critical importance of the inheritable stipend to the `bushi' class in the Sengoku Period (1467-1568), as well as because of the urge to retain the continuity of the family name. To preserve the inheritance, which represented the wealth of the whole family, it was passed intact to the eldest son who was the sole representative of the family. Younger brothers and other members were not free to form separate households, although in high-ranking `bushi' families part of the total income may be shared with second and third sons who were allowed to set up branch houses under the control of the main household. Should a son be rewarded with a stipend larger than the "revered family stipend" for some particularly meritorious deed, he would still not split with the father's household or the stipend would be set at the lower rate (Inoue Vol 1, 126).

The amount of the stipend was determined by the size of the territory over which the vassal had rights, and this was determined by the status and merit of the male head of household. Being hereditary, if the family died out or produced no legitimate heir, the lands would be confiscated. So continuation of the family was the lifeline for the `bushi' (Miyagi, 144-5).

So the entire survival of the `bushi' family had come to depend on the lord and the stipend. At this time the relationship was reciprocal because there were actually civil wars in which the `bushi' could

demonstrate their loyalty, bravery and talent to the glory of the lord (Ibid, 126). It was still possible to shift allegiance and receive stipendiary benefits from a new lord by battling for him. But by the Tokugawa Period, with peace in society, the only guarantee of security for them and their descendents was absolute loyalty and obedience, and this had the effect of putting all the authority of the family into the hands of the recipient of the stipend, the `katoku' or head of household. He then became "Heaven", lord and divine spirit to his family. The eldest son was given the importance due to the one who would become the next recipient of the stipend. The later sons could become `katoku' if the eldest died young or if, say, they married into another family of all girls, to become its `katoku'. So they too were treated as privileged if to a lesser degree (Ibid, 127).

Women who received stipends of their own were the exceptions, having positions serving the `shogun', a `daimyo' or the Court. Other women had no access to title or stipend and in practical terms were seen as "not even human, not even family" (Ibid, 127). Girls were to be treated as adopted members of the family, not part of the bloodline, since their destiny was to become members of their husband's family once they were married off. Because the production of an heir to the stipend was made the central goal of a woman's life, a wife should "pray for ways to increase greatly the next generation, and if there is a better woman than herself she should recommend that woman to her husband" (Ibid,

128). Wakita makes the point though that until the Tokugawa Period to be esteemed for their motherhood was "no small thing". Female virtue was highly regarded, and to produce an heir for the `ie', even if that be to accord with the wishes of her father or elder brother, was to act for the "sake of the `ie'" and in accordance with the highest principle of virtue - obedience. A `bushi' woman could rightly feel a "strong sense of honour" in fulfilling her expected role (Journal of Japanese Studies, Vol 10 No 1, 96). Perhaps the downgrading of a mother to merely a "borrowed belly" in the Tokugawa Period was an aberration in Japanese history.

From the perspective of modern morality, it seems strange that mistresses could be not just permitted but mandatory in some circumstances. But remembering that in times of quite early death (life expectancy even in the 1930s was only 50-55), and frequent disease, the frenzy to guarantee succession to the family security was not simply an excuse for men to indulge their sexual appetites. The disparagement of monogamy which the Catholics advocated - "if the wife has no children and there are no successors to the family, even then they do not take a mistress" (Otake, 129) - becomes more comprehensible However the danger of too many half-brothers bringing down the family did mean the `shoguns', `daimyo', `hatamoto' and others did see that mistresses had abortions if that would be more convenient (Ibid, 129). The "sacredness" of the family had its limits

Because the family was the unit whose survival had priority, the individuals of which it was comprised had little value for their own sake as individuals. All children, not just the wife and daughters, were seen as family property. In "The Doctor's Wife", Otsugi, the mother-in-law responds to Kae's pregnancy with the warning "the baby belongs to the Hanaokas and may become our future heir. It is your duty to produce a healthy child", and lets Kae know that the food they give her is to nourish the baby. Kae felt her own "teeth and tongue [were] nothing but pestle and mortar - instruments to feed the Hanaoka heir" (Ariyoshi, 77). And Chikamatsu has his character Ochiyo lamenting that her mother-in-law demands her baby, due in five months, be sent back to Osaka even though she has returned Ochiyo to her father (Uno, 391).

"Onna Daigaku has plenty to say about how women should behave in their "real" family (their husband's). Clause 5: "... when she goes to her husband's home she should put her father- and mother-in-law above her own parents and do her filial piety to them with loving respect. ... She must look after her in-laws morning and night. She must not neglect the work she has to do for her in-laws. If her in-laws give her an order, she must be careful not to defy them. She should ask her father- and mother-in-law everything and follow their instructions. Even if her father- and mother-in-law hate and abuse her, she must not be angry and resentful. If she does her duty of filial piety and makes a practice of serving them sincerely, they will

surely get on well in time". Clause 7: "Because her brother- and sister-in-law are her husband's siblings she should respect them. If she hates and criticises her husband's relatives she will be rejected from the hearts of her father- and mother-in-law, and this will surely not be good for her. If she is friendly she will be agreeable to her in-laws. She should be on warm friendly terms with the elder brother's wife. She should warmly respect the elder brother and his wife in particular". Clause 12: " ... she should promote the interests of his family ... ". Clause 15: " ... she should serve her husband's side first and serve her own relatives after that, even at New Year and festival time". Clause 16: "... she must have higher regard for her in-laws than that for her own parents ...". Clause 17: "... she should always stay home sewing clothes for her in-laws, preparing meals, serving her husband, folding the clothes, sweeping the mats, raising the children, washing away dirt ...", not to mention being "... conscientious about household matters, ... not drink a lot of tea or `sake' etc., ...", faults which had already been mentioned in Clause 10. In other words the family could expect to get a kind of heir-producing servant in its daughters-in-law.

`Bushi' families distinguished between `shinrui' (close blood relatives), `enrui' (distant blood relatives) and `enja' (relatives by marriage). In the latter part of the period a trend emerged of giving more importance to having the same surname, but `enja' were still treated more warmly, as though they were close

relatives too, than `enrui', another indication that marriage was of families, not individuals (Otake, 62). These relatives had a great deal of contact with each other, of course at times of congratulation and condolence, but for other obligatory things too. Besides this, it was a family responsibility to see to the good behaviour of its members. The relatives of criminals could be punished too, though this practice was reduced after 1745 when relatives could make "plea for leniency" (Ibid, 64). The social obligations of the family unit were well known.

Filial piety as taught by Ishida Baigan as well as by Ekken had peculiar implications for the inferiors in a relationship. Qualities suited to sages and saints were demanded of ordinary humans. In the face of abuse and ridicule they must be humble and respectful. Baigan teaches a child that they must "never hurt [the parents] feelings, always show them a gentle countenance, serve them so they need not trouble themselves, and you are worthy of the name of a devoted son" (Ishida, 13). "There are two ways to serve parents: love and reverence" (16). "Not only your property but your body too comes from your parents: thus they may use it at their will, even sell it, if they wish, and still you should not demur" (18). But even that is insufficient. "You as a son, should lead your parents to virtue ..." (15). The Analects say "It is filial piety when a son reforms his father's ways and so turns evil into beauty" (128). This gives inferiors a responsibility for the good behaviour of their superiors! There is some

confusion about when they should exercise this. "The Book of Changes" reads: "The father is sovereign in the household. The master of a family is a sovereign to his wife and children. Therefore both you and your mother are only retainers who may by no means urge their master to stop his drinking merely because he is tedious. To say that your mother is pained not only errs from the Way you should follow but also leads astray your mother from the duties of womanhood" (50). The motive for fulfilling one's duty had to be pure.

Baigan taught too that filial piety extends beyond death (122-3). A child should divine what his dead parents would have wished and act accordingly. This bond promises a kind of eternity since the child can expect to become the revered ancestor himself one day. This is another reason we cannot be too insistent that the individual is completely negated in Japanese thinking.

It was almost inevitable that there would be stress between mother- and daughter-in-law. Both lived under the one roof, there was pressure on both as inferiors, with the older having precedence over the younger. She often succumbed to the temptation to abuse it, and violence was sometimes the result. That the authorities expected the family not to allow its relationships to get out of hand is seen in the fact that cases involving mistreatment of the daughter-in-law did come to court.(Otake, 179). However Hironaka and Kostant say that it was partly the "over-indulgent, dependent, distorted relationship that often resulted between a

mother and her eldest son" which lead to these feuds with his wife (Ariyoshi, vii).

The `bushi' family took the form of an extended family encompassing both the "natural" family relationship of human warmth and the obligatory "employer/employee" relationship which ensured its economic survival. Kosaka points out that to incorporate such disparate ideas resulted in a large strain. On the one hand was the framework of the feudal system which vested power in the head of household who received the stipend, and on the other the emotional life of this "Heaven" and the dependents who received his favour had to be accommodated (Moore, 366-8). The ethical reality was that `ie' came before individual. Everyone should serve the `ie' under the father's guidance, the sacred duty being to respect the name of the `ie' (Ibid, 369).

Merchant Families

By the mid- to late Tokugawa Period these notions had been spread to the common classes of society too (Ohashi, 223). The reason the rights of the head of household were strengthened throughout society was to enable the `bakufu' to retain control of the whole nation (Inoue Vol 1, 135). Of the four classes, over 70% were peasants, and only about 6% `samurai', so by dint of being a minority, though one with aspirations and opportunity, the `chonin' too adopted `bushi' family ethics (Ibid, 144).

`Chonin family ethics differed in detail. Dependent not on stipends and hereditary income but on their own efforts and talents, as a class they were less averse to dividing their inheritance among all the children including girls, though the eldest son tended to get the largest share. Consequently the wife was seen as more than a "borrowed belly" and had status as the "pillar of the family" with some property rights. Therefore she also had some right to speak (Ibid, 146). In time though, girls were excluded from inheritance following the `bushi' model, and filial piety was enforced. Edicts calling for the imprisonment and reformation of unfilial children were issued for this class too. The head of household was required to exercise careful stewardship of the family business handed down by the revered ancestors. (Ibid, 149), After the Genroku Period `noren' became an important facet of this. `Noren' literally means "shop curtain", displaying the name and crest of the business at the entrance. It also came to include the family trade-mark, secrets of the product or service, trust, business organisation and so on, and these were to be handed down through the eldest son. If he lacked the necessary talent to fulfill the duty of perpetuating and increasing the business, another from within or without the ranks of the family would be made heir in his place. At the same time women again lost status, coming to be registered simply as the anonymous "wife" or " daughter" in the records (Miyagi, 147). It was partic-

ularly in relation to opinion about women that the `chonin` family mirrored the `bushi' ideals.

It was in this period and among merchants that `ie' ideals gained an aspect which became significant later. The commercial `ie' took in apprentices and treated them as its property, much as children were treated as property of the `ie', but simultaneously provided their lifelong security and the opportunity to become the head of the `ie' in time. Like the domestic `ie', the commercial one was hierarchical. The head had full authority over its members, demanded loyalty in return for security and provided identity for the members who used the `ie' name as a prefix to their own. In other words, the commercial `ie' was institutionalised on `bushido' principles, and becoming extremely conservative, it survived the Meiji Restoration and carried these principles into the modern era (Lehmann, 76-8).

Peasant Families

With the rights to land in the hands of the `buke' who inherited them, peasants who worked the land as their main means of livelihood were exposed to and brought under the `bushi' principles. In 1673 when the opening up and development of arable land slowed and it became difficult for the rulers to extract `nengu,' the "Law Limiting the Division of Land" was issued. This imposed the principles of single inheritance and the absolute authority of the head of household on peasant

families. The `koshu' had to give permission for everyone else to do anything at all. Only large families could spare people to go and open up new land in their own time, and those who did so and then set up separate households were treated as mere branches of the main family. The same kind of master-servant relationship was imposed on them as had now permeated all social relationships (Miyagi, 145-6).

Inheritance was less tied to bloodline than to practical needs in both `chonin' and peasant families. The decision rested with the incumbent as to who would take over, but `goningumi' books specifically stated that an adopted child would make a better heir if the true heir was not suited to the family occupation. And it mattered not to a peasant family whether it was the eldest or a later son as long as he was a faithful worker who could be relied on to use to the best advantage the cultivation right of the inheritance and pay `nengu' on time to keep the family on good terms with the authorities. Only the rich commoners specifically trained their eldest son from infancy for his adult role; to the others the formality and correct order of succession was not a burning issue (Ibid, 226). There seems to have been less respect for the father's bloodline as such in common families.

Among commoners too the characteristic of family marrying family meant that as in `buke' society, `enja' (relatives by marriage) were treated as close relatives (Otake, 67). And because the status, assets and customs of the two families had to be taken into account. The

relationship was treated as more important than that with blood relatives (Ibid, 69).

Most common families depended on the work of all their members for survival. Girls learned to weave silk from four or five years of age. All adults might have to go and work in the mountains cutting wood etc., work in the fields was from dawn to dusk, and at night there was rope to make and cloth to weave. So all members had a valuable economic role and may consequently have had more freedom to speak than `bushi' women (Ibid, 229).

As another source of labour for the family a wife was shown respect and on marriage the husband gave her the house key, only taking it back if they got divorced. Another sign of the status of a housewife was when the mother-in-law had assured herself of the trustworthiness and ability of her son's wife she handed over the `meshi shamoji' (rice serving spoon) as a symbol of authority (Ibid, 231). Still, this authority was confined to the world within the `ie'; it was the men throughout society who ran public affairs and represented the `ie' beyond its walls (Ibid, 233). It is a matter of debate when common women actually lost power due to the imposition of the `ie' system, and how much labour they actually contributed to it, but Wakita concludes that with motherhood losing respect and Confucianism subordinating women they came to be devalued as "merely" childbearers, (Journal of Japanese Studies, Vol 10 No 1, 97).

Conclusion

In the Tokugawa Period, the `ie' existed primarily to receive and transmit the means of economic survival of its members, whether that be stipend, post, trade, craft, art or cultivation right, and to ensure the continuation of the family name through the male line. All authority and respect was vested in the head of household, with lesser males preceding females in order of status. This was a reflection of the hierarchical nature of the whole society. The good of the whole took precedence over the good of the individual, signified by the catchcry "for the sake of the `ie'", which could demand anything of an individual as a point of honour. There was both an emotional and a contractual relationship among members which was reconciled by attention to duty, obedience, loyalty and filial piety. In return it guaranteed security, a sense of belonging and identity to its members. Bloodline was important, but among commoners ability counted for more. In the larger context it was a means by which the authorities aimed to retain control over society as a whole.

The precedence given to the economic function of the `ie' and the consequent subordination of the members as human beings resulted in practices which we may be tempted to judge as inhumane, such as selling children into prostitution and marrying off children for political and financial gain. The battle waged in peoples hearts between duty and emotion did lead to much

suffering. However individual happiness was not particularly valued or respected in the moral climate prevailing, especially in the latter part of the period, so how those people judged their own situation is something we can hardly imagine. Chikamatsu's statement about Hikokuro when he had put to death his unfaithful wife, Otane, is illuminating. "His was the glorious form of the `bushi'" (Uno, 34).

All the same Bolitho warns that it would be wrong to attribute only minor significance to the ties `bushi' felt to their families where "concubinage, sexual segregation, parental and fraternal absenteeism were the rule, where marriages were contracted on behalf of children by those older and wiser than either of the two people most deeply concerned, where husbands spent half their married lives away from their legal wives, where the responsibilities of adoption were awesome ...". Ties of obligation and affection did remain, even though they may not have been of the same character or felt as deeply as is expected today"(Bolitho, 100). But conviviality was not a feature of the Tokugawa Period family (Morris, 10).

If this assessment applies to commoners as well it was because the `bushi' ideals were adopted by `chonin' as their prosperity grew, and was imposed on the peasantry who already had to labour hard and long just to survive. The family was a hierarchy like all other social relationships, and because it was strongly focussed on the parent-child relationship as the link between ancestors and descendants, its economic function

was of major importance. This was made possible by the philosophy that the good of the individual must take second place to the survival of the family unit. Hence the ownership of family property and name being vested in the one who would hand them down. In the ideal at least, human emotion had to accommodate itself to more practical concerns.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Families from the Meiji Period to 1946

After the Meiji Restoration in 1868 class distinctions were abolished but the new rulers came largely from the `bushi' class of old, so obligation and loyalty were still significant to them. The "Age of Enlightenment" saw the `bushi' family ethic becoming entrenched in law and being imposed on all of society more strictly than before.

Family Law

During the early period there were frequent changes to the law as the new society was formed. The members of the `ie' had to be listed hierarchically in the census, and this was treated as the legal family, headed by the `koshu'. Inheritance through the eldest son was the rule, but there was a fixed order of inheritance to allow for accident. Boys came before girls, legitimate boys before illegitimates, and in the case of an all-girl family an heir who would continue the bloodline was to be adopted. Women could inherit, but only temporarily. These laws were put into effect in 1875, ending the right commoners had enjoyed to choose the person they saw as most fit to be the heir (Otake, 240-

1). The following year though , the true nature of the `ie' - a co-operative enterprise more than a blood relationship - was admitted when commoners were permitted to get special permission to pass the `ie' on to the most suitable person, and not necessarily a blood relative, in the case of the sickness, youthfulness or death of the legitimate heir. This recognised the traditional importance of the name above the bloodline in the Japanese tradition. It was strengthened in 1883 by another law giving the `koshu' the responsibility of protecting the family vocation and livelihood above all else. (Bloodline could not be ignored altogether, though,) (Ibid, 243). Family members were recognised as individuals in that they could all, male and female, own assets and land, but the management rights of women were subject to the consent of their husbands (Ibid, 246).

Illegitimate children were given legal recognition as long as the father acknowledged them. An ill-egitimate child had no legal right to seek its father. An acknowledged child could be registered by either parent (Ibid, 263). However such a child who was registered with the mother's side was a "child without `ie'", and having no registered father, had no right to inheritance either (Ibid, 265). So the old rules placing inheritance above all other considerations were strengthened.

The dignity of the parents and the duty of the children to obey and discharge their filial obligations were stated in law. The father had more rights than the mother. He was the one who consented to adoptions, and

she need not agree to her husband acknowledging an illegitimate child. She could only exercise full parental rights as a widow, and then only under the supervision of of her husband's relatives (Ibid, 267). Restrictions on a wife becoming `koshu' on the death of her husband were lifted in 1886, and the general principle behind inheritance was that it went "to the child if there is one, if not to the wife, and if no wife return the `ie' to the `koshu' (Ibid, 274).

The changes to the law were frequent and confusing in the first half of the Meiji Period, reflecting the confusions people themselves felt about how tradition and modernisation, `ie' and individual, `bushi' and commoner customs could be reconciled. There was much debate about the probable destruction of "our beautiful customs" if the old common laws based on family relating through its individuals were to become the foundation of the state (Ibid, 285). Conservatives wanted to retain the distinction between "lowly families and elegant families", hence the power awarded to the `koshu', the limits placed on sexual equality, and the distinctions in inheritance made between `katoku' succession (title of head of the family) and `isan' succession (that of property) (Ibid, 292). The effect of these laws was in the end to split the `ie' into its asset-holding and group-managing components, thereby reducing the power of the `koshu' and weakening it as a unit.

In other words once the members of a family acquired rights to property and assets as individuals the ability and right of the `koshu' to exercise

absolute control as parent, husband and head of household began to fade. Instead reciprocal rights and duties would come to form the base of the family and the `ie' in time was to become too weak for the state to use as a means of social control (Ibid, 297). But in the consciousness of the people, `ie' remained a powerful concept underlying the principles of law (Ibid, 296).

Family Relationships

Being conservative in nature, most families lived largely by the old ideas since apart from the law external conditions hardly forced or encouraged them to change. What was right in the past still felt right. Women were still the lesser creatures, wives were still to obey husbands, families still did with their children's lives as they saw fit. People still had their place in society and were brought up knowing what that was. There was still the feeling that a woman does not have a secure position in the family until she has become a mother, especially in the `miai' arranged form of marriage. The paternal nature of the `ie' and the axiomatic relationship of mother and child in the family relationship are both connected with this. The relationship of mother and son in particular was pivotal in the pre-war family. The wife was still a kind of servant of the `ie' and to her son the "perfect embodiment of all womanly virtue". A theme of Japanese literature is the obsession of males with memories of

childhood helplessness and dependence on a protective mother who would give peace and certitude for life (Kobayashi, Feminist Japan 4, 19). In addition the workload for pre-war mothers was heavy, with little time for leisure nor much freedom from the `koshu' in which to use it for their own pleasure. So as a kind of compensation to themselves they concentrated on the children. One clear duty was to see to the childrens' obedience.

In "The Makioka Sisters" the adopted son-in-law who takes the family name has to "do his duty as family heir" (Tanizaki, 9). This involves overseeing the the business and personal affairs of the members of main and branch houses. There are duties and obligations, responsibilities and proprieties accruing to the main house who "must approve" (57) in important issues. Their rulings were likely to be old fashioned in deference to respect for the family name. Tatsuo hopes that Taeko will have as her permanent goal to "marry well and be a good wife and mother", and was quite opposed to her becoming in any way a working woman" (260). "The Makioka Sisters gives us many insights into the relationships of the adult members of the family, except, significantly, the relationships of the married couples themselves. We only see them interacting in quite businesslike terms.

To be a "good wife and wise mother", Tatsuo's hope for Taeko, was the basis of a girl's education in high school. It was a concept imported from Europe around 1887, and included the Christian ideal of a marriage of

companions (Takamure, 225), but with a hefty dose of Confucian notions of women's duties too. Part of this was because there had been no real change in methods of agricultural production so the bulk of the population were still farmers. The feudal relationships of those engaged in agriculture remained. Likewise early industrialisation served more to increase than to alleviate rural poverty, with hardship severe for 90% of the people. This despite the new employment opportunities for females in textile factories. It was only with the industrialisation related to production for military exploits in China, Russia and then in World War I that there was a real increase in the factory labour force (Inoue Vol 2, 72). Even in 1930 somewhere between 33% and 45% of agricultural workers were women, while immediately after World War II workers gaining most of their livelihood from agriculture amounted to 57% of females and 43% of males (Ibid, 158).

Conclusion

The leaders of the early Meiji Period were well aware of the effectiveness of the traditional family system and set out to preserve it to maintain the social structure and values of the agrarian past in the industrialising present. Individuals, males without ties to the land as well as females, could be shifted to factories without much disruption. And because the hometown was the place where marriage, death, birth and

divorce was to be registered, the bonds between rural and urban communities remained strong (Wilkinson, 20).

Women had been legally recognised as belonging to the lineage, had been granted inheritance rights, and the way opened for improvement in their status. But Conservative opposition to changes in the ideals of women, marriage and family never really died. It was particularly noticeable after the Manchuria Incident in 1931 when the government, intent on nationalistic goals, was suppressing socialist and liberal ideas and urging reform and strengthening of the family system. They praised the "mothers and wives of the nation" and during World War II propounded the "beautiful morality" of mothers protecting the family (Otake, 303). The stage had been set for change by the separation of family assets and titles, allowing individuals recognition in law. But the Tokugawa ideal of the family as an economic unit focussed on the flow of the generations and all which that implied remained strongly entrenched in peoples' minds.

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Modern Family

It was the destruction of the social foundation of the entrenched family system which brought about the inevitability of change. During World War II women had to play a far more active part in production for the war effort, and running community affairs in the absence of so many men. Another factor ushering in new ideas about "family" was the Constitution of 1947 with its Western philosophical base. And the third major force was the massive shift to urban living and nuclear families which have become the norm in the present period.

Under the new Constitution the paternalistic `ie' system was abolished in law and the couple-centered form of family with the relationship of an equal partnership was established. Early changes were more on paper than in real life (Miyagi, 174). A family may seem couple-centered when the enormous sums spent on the wedding, honeymoon and setting up house - 3 million yen is not uncommon (Ohashi, Feminist Japan 6, 8). But women in Japan identify more closely with their sons and daughters than with their husbands. Not only is the Confucian parent/child bond alive and well, the cult of motherhood burns ever bright. Motherhood is still a woman's "natural calling", and according to a survey carried out by the Prime Minister's Office in 1973, 70%

of women in their early thirties said childrearing was the most meaningful part of life (Kobayashi, Feminist Japan 4, 19). To be a good and devoted mother ranks above being a good and devoted wife, with the close tie encouraging a good deal of mutual dependency among mothers and children. "Mother" conjures up visions of self-sacrifice, protectiveness, peace and security, so even a grown man may look for a mother surrogate for himself in his wife while at the same time expecting her to mother his own children properly. This helps explain the kind of "spoiled" behaviour where a husband gives his wife the decisionmaking power over much of their domestic life yet expects freedom outside the home for himself. While wives say "an absent husband is best", husbands say "A wife is at her best when she is as invisible as the air" (Ibid, 20).

Nowadays with the drastic reduction in the real workload required, for a mother to retain her importance she may resort to fostering the long-term dependence of her children. When the son of such a mother gets married there are two women vying for his love, and antagonism results. This is not new in Japanese families as we have seen, but even living in quite separate houses, and maybe even in quite separate towns, as most nuclear families do now, does little to relieve the problem. Because the vertical parent - child bond is kept strong, the demands it creates can bring about serious disruptions to family life. Aged parents can expect to be housed with the son's family and to be cared for as a filial duty by his wife, or the son's

wife may even be expected to move into the aged in-laws' home to care for them if they do not wish to shift. Either way, many a Japanese wife is put in the position of having to place in-laws before husband. Many do so out of respect for the old folk, knowing it is "old-fashioned", but not trying to change their ideas. To do so would still be to invite displeasure, the same as trying to "palm off" the children to babysitters. It will be interesting to see whether the middle-aged of today will be as demanding of their children in turn. The trend suggests that the task of caring for the aged will shift to society more (Ibid, 178).

There is some change in parent - child relationships now, with less authoritarianism and more intimacy. Mothers still identify very closely with the children. If the son gets the worst in a fight she "feels as though she herself has been tormented; she scolds the children he was fighting with and rings their parents to complain". Or she feels she has been "marked down" as a mother if her child gets bad exam results (Minami, 176). Children are coddled because of the ethos that "Children are the bonds that tie the human relationships in a family". And because parents "often happily sacrifice themselves for their children" the children show mutual dependence by wanting to "understand their parents' feelings and do their duty to them too" (Ibid, 181). With family revolving round the parent - child axis, children are given little responsibility in the everyday running of the home - mother does all the domestic chores - or in the

decisionmaking process of everyday life. The intimacy is quite physical. When this writer left her family of a 14-year old and a 10-year old for two months to study in Japan, the `obasan' in charge of the hostel expressed horror at such cold-heartedness. She said she slept with her youngest daughter every night until she was ten, and assumed terrible loneliness on the part of me and my daughter being deprived of this closeness.

An "education mama" trying to keep her adolescent son's mind off girls and on his books may go as far as having an incestuous relationship with him. Most incest in Japan is between siblings, but one Family Planning Counselling Office alone had 550 requests for advice about incest in 1978 of which the second-largest category was mother-son relationships (Horiguchi in National Characteristics, 70). When boys raised in such an atmosphere grow up they are "dependent on their mothers and do not fall in love with women and do not feel like getting married. ... [they] were uneasy and defensive with women ... When pushed into marriage, they found it better not to touch their wives rather than admit their impotence". So said Dr Narabayashi Yasushi of the Family Planning Research Institute in 1978 (Merrigan, Ibid, 69). Such cases are not the norm of course, but they do illustrate the thickness of the mother - child bond in Japan.

Fathers and children do not have the same opportunity to get close because of the urban lifestyle imposed on the family. Mrs D reports that her husband is away from early morning until about 8.30pm ("and

that's much earlier than many of my neighbours' husbands get home"), when the children are already asleep. "They only see each other on Sundays really". The main role for the father is to provide the economic support base, though they do other things too. Nakayama Tokiko lived 14 years more or less as a solo parent because of her husband's job. "I found how hard it is to be effective without the father there, and in the difficult age coming [adolescence] ... the importance of a father's help was clear to me (23). She seems to be referring to her younger daughter, a "daddy's girl", in particular missing a close relationship with her father, her own need to talk over childrens' problems with him and for back-up in disciplining them.

While much of the discipline falls to the mother, there is a slackening off of the overall level of discipline at home anyway. Parents seem to have lost confidence about childrearing; fathers are not the authoritarian head of household of old, but are "kind to their children". And mothers neglect discipline through lack of confidence or by putting emphasis on school performance (Japan Times Weekly in National Characteristics, 57). Mr F, a teacher, confirmed this is still the case in 1985, and manifests in the schools being left with the burden.

As we saw in relation to marriage, there are well-known roles for all family members and these show up in the way they address each other (and not just talk about each other). Saito Mitsuko says her husband still calls her "Oi". equivalent to "Hey", and she calls him

"Sensei", a term of respect for teachers. Neither use names or words meaning "you". Wives are often called equivalents of "Mum" by husbands, and may call their husbands "you" until their child is born, whereupon he is addressed as "father". This is the usual pattern for the over-forties generation. Younger couples are more willing to use names though wives usually add the respectful term `san' after their husband's name. They too revert to "Mum" and "Dad" as they have children. A few use `chan', a suffix normally used endearingly with children's names (Feminist Japan 8, 12-13). Mrs T says her husband does not like her addressing him by his first name and she refuses to call him "you" since in the Japanese language the choice of pronoun automatically places speakers in a position of either superiority or inferiority, and she concedes neither. This is a problem for them.

Although the eldest son is no longer specially privileged, the very word `ani', big brother, has implications of a role model, one who is owed respect by the juniors and is charged with looking after them. The other children also have expected roles to which they usually conform, and quite different character traits are commonly sought and found. The image of an eldest son is of self-control, prudence, reserve, being conservative and kindly. A younger son is seen as jovial, active, chatty, spoilt, obstinate, dependent and jealous (Minami, 172). This could reflect child-raising methods and the growing confidence of the mother as well as social expectations (Ibid, 173). But the accepted

character traits are a feature of the old `ie' which remains today, though probably in watered-down form as there are fewer children per family now.

It was the reform carried out by the Occupation that finally weakened the authority of the father, established the dignity of the individual in law and has led to the gradual disintegration of the old family ethic (Kosaka in Moore, 371). All the same, Mrs T asserts that it is still seen as proper to put the family interests before those of its individual members, since this probably increases its prosperity as well as helping retain an approved image. This is stronger in the rural areas. She tells of country friends of hers who both recognise that though they married for love they no longer feel that way. However they stay together for the family's sake. They live with the husband's parents, so were the wife to leave the children would be cared for. But she will never even think of such a sinful thing. To leave one's children is not human but `inu chikusho' (like dogs and beasts). Now there is no obligation to marry "for the sake of the family", but still some feeling that that is a valid reason to stay together.

Conclusion

The modern family may include recognition of a husband and wife love-based relationship, but priority still goes to fulfilling one's role expectations,

providing a sound economic base for child-rearing, building the parent-child bond (specially the mother-son bond) and providing a "place to belong". It seems to be generally child and future oriented rather than couple and now oriented. Even wide exposure to foreign ideas, massive social change and the nuclear family becoming the norm have not wiped out many traditional Japanese beliefs. But the young generation seem to have different ideas about what they want from family life. This is particularly noticeable among girls.

If there is pressure to change it seems that it will come from women. Not only is this because they have gained in status under the Constitution of 1947, but also social conditions which now prevail for most families are forcing women to cope with tensions as well as opportunities which their mothers and grandmothers did not have. To see more clearly what these are and how changes are likely to occur, we can look at the special cases of "separated families" that arose in each period, compare their situations and through this evaluate current ideals about women, marriage and family.

PART FOUR:

"SEPARATED FAMILIES"

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Sankin Kotai

`Sankin kotai' means "alternate attendance. It refers to a system used by the Tokugawa Bakufu to keep political control over the `daimyo', and as they were in almost complete control of affairs in their domains, it contributed to the `bakufu' having the most powerful centralised government that had yet been established in Japan. Most `daimyo' were required to spend alternate years one on their domain and the next in Edo, personally attending the `shogun's' court. To facilitate the latter, they were to provide themselves with residences in Edo, and to ensure their compliance, the `bakufu' eventually ruled that they must house their wives and children at these Edo bases (Tsukahira, 1).

This system developed from customs among the `samurai' class dating back to the Heian Period. Besides military service during war, they were expected to

serve in their lord's household during peacetime. When the military government installed itself in Kamakura in 1186 it became customary for `gokenin' (personal retainers of the `shogun') to live there permanently or, in the case of `shugo' and `jito, (military governors and stewards), to do frequent service there (Ibid, 31). Important vassals maintained bases near that of their lord to facilitate this frequent attendance, some keeping their families there by choice (Ibid, 33).

By the 16th century Hideyoshi was powerful enough to require his `daimyo' to station themselves near his Fushimi or Osaka headquarters for three to five years at a time, and to return to their fiefs for only six months or a year. They also had to hand over the "wives and children of their chief vassals and kinsmen as hostages to Osaka for months at a time. Later on their own families were also made to stay as permanent hostages" (Ibid, 35). It was nothing new, then, for Tokugawa Ieyasu, the founder of the dynasty that was to rule for over two and a half centuries, to use similar methods of control.

Before the system was established mothers and sons were commonly sent as hostages, but after 1605 `daimyo' began voluntarily sending their entire families to live permanently in the capital. In 1609 one of them, Todo Takatora, set the example of submitting the children of four of his own chief retainers to Edo, a practice that was made compulsory in 1610 (49). Although the practice of sending hostages was not yet compulsory, it had become so clearly expected that one of the charges

against Kato Tadahiro, whose fief was confiscated in 1632, was that he had taken his son, born in Edo, back to the fief without the permission of the `bakufu'. At first many `daimyo' voluntarily built residences near the `shogun's' court and offered hostages there, but it was the third `shogun', Iemitsu (1623-51), who made the system compulsory for all `tozama daimyo' in 1635. This was extended to include `fudai daimyo' in 1642 (46). This permitted their activities to be closely monitored, and the hostages also ensured `daimyo' reluctance to rebel. The cost of travelling between the capital and the domain, and of having to keep living quarters in both places, helped reduce their ability to finance opposition to the government (1).

Under the Confucian ethics of the time, anyone in a position of superiority could treat his inferiors as though they were family, in the sense that they could interfere to a great degree in their personal lives. Not only did this apply to the arrangement of marriages as we saw earlier, but also to the extent that the `bakufu' ruled on where the children of their vassals should live. There are two aspects to this state of affairs. First, a family was not assumed to be a unit that ought necessarily live together, so even if a wife's primary duty was to produce an heir for her husband's family, it was not solely on her shoulders to then raise those heirs herself - the bakufu could rule that the mother live in one place and children in another. In this, the `bakufu' was acting in a manner similar to the mother-in-law in Chikamatsu's story,

"Shinju Yoi no Goshin", in which Ochiyo, having been sent back to her father, is ordered to return the baby to her husband's family to be raised there (Uno, 391). Similarly, when the `bakufu' demanded compliance with `sankin kotai', thus separating husbands and wives for periods of a year at a time, their action may have seemed generous compared to that of Ochiyo's mother-in-law and others like her who forced the divorce of their sons. Whether or not `bushi' families all lived under the one roof as a matter of course is not clear, but those who were forced to separate by government order to comply with `sankin kotai' were in circumstances not much different from those who were forced to separate by parental decree. In other words those on `sankin kotai' were not the only ones in society separated by forces other than personal choice. Their experience was shared, and was in accordance with the prevailing ethic.

The second aspect is that the analogy of the family was extended to encompass wider groups going right up to the nation as a whole. In these "families" the principle was that moral guidance flowed from the greater to the lesser groups. If the `bakufu' treated its `daimyo' as "family", - and then proceeded to arrange marriages among themselves and their immediately dependent vassals to ensure loyalty and obedience - they were entitled to the assumption the `daimyo' and their wives and children would live where directed "for the sake of the family". If the interests of the "political" family and the conjugal family clashed, the one which got precedence was the one through which the

means of livelihood was assured, the "political" family. It is here that we can see that what looks like "obedience and loyalty first" is really "livelihood" first. This clear recognition of the family as an economic unit before anything else is a feature of `buke' society, and it is most clearly demonstrated by the fact that `daimyo' and lesser vassals such as some `hatamoto' (Tsukahira, 52), went along with `sankin kotai' almost until the end of the period in 1868.

At first glance it appears that since in 1821 there were 245 `daimyo' subject to `sankin kotai', the system might have affected only a very tiny number of families altogether. However the `daimyo' did not go to Edo alone. They were permitted to take contingents of attendants in numbers depending on the size of their `kokudaka'. Regulations in 1721 set the limits on these numbers. Those with over 200,000 `koku' could have 15-20 `samurai', 120-130 `ashigaru' (foot soldiers) and 250-300 petty attendants. The numbers for those with under 10,000 `koku' were 3-4 `samurai', 20 `ashigaru' and 30 others. These limits were ignored by the `daimyo' despite the congestion they caused on the routes to Edo as well as in the city itself. Tsukahira states that between 1744 and 1747 the Mori alone, who had one of the largest domains, had 308 `samurai', 188 `ashigaru', 820 `chugen' and 875 lesser attendants stationed in Edo, a total of 2171 personnel. Needless to say those men left their families back on the domain, so there must have been thousands of families separated in the reverse direction while their men were on duty.

Evidence about how frequent and how long-term these separations were is scanty. In Chikamatsu's story "Horikawa Nami no Tsuzumi", Otane is pining for her husband Hikokuro who has been away in Edo for almost a year (Uno, 30). The person who first tries to seduce her is a colleague of her husband's, Isobe Tokuemon, who has also been away on duty in Edo. He was permitted home because of illness, so we must assume that extenuating circumstances would be recognised. Although `daimyo' had to accept being separated from their wives for half their lives, there is nothing to say this was the case for their vassals. Nevertheless it would have been a common experience in the `bushi' class.

In "Horikawa Nami no Tsuzumi", Otane fails to remain faithful to her husband, but how Hikokuro had behaved in Edo is not mentioned. His celibacy would neither have been expected nor assured. "Not a few single men were among those who gathered to live in Edo. To warriors who had left wife and children in the fief etc. [the brothels] were a necessary evil. `Daimyo' and `hatamoto' may have been good customers ... until at least the Genroku Period when "`bushi' were supplanted by `chonin'" (Nihon no Rekishi Vol. 8, 236). Chikamatsu, Saikaku and Monzaemon's diary are full of stories of adultery by wives as well as husbands. If infidelity was a consequence of `sankin kotai', again those people were in circumstances similar to others in this society where male fidelity was not valued; at least men seem not to have valued their own chastity.

In Tokugawa Japan the family was likely to consist of a large number of people. Grandparents, parents, children, aunts and maybe young uncles, servants and apprentices would all be living in close proximity. When a man was called to Edo it may have deprived the family temporarily of the main decisionmaker. If there was a lot of tension between the mother-in-law and daughters-in-law, perhaps the latter would also lose an advocate for her point of view. Of course this would not have been the case in theory, first because a daughter-in-law should be so discreet and obedient that nothing in effect would change. And it would also be expected that in the case of disagreements, her husband would side with his mother out of filial piety. Perhaps the one thing she would be relieved of would be the immediate demands of her husband, and that may have been welcomed. But in the literature of the time we do see husbands siding with their wives. Hikokuro is berated by his younger sister, Yura, for his cowardly response in refusing to believe the story of Otane's adultery. Hanbei tries to convince his mother to let Ochiyo stay as his wife. Filial piety was the ideal, and not scrupulously observed in real life. The point is though, that these women would not have been deprived of much adult company during their husband's absence. Nor would their husbands have felt much lack of companionship since they did not seek that from a wife anyway.

Thanks to `sankin kotai' the children may have been spared the demands of an authoritarian father with the force of filial piety on his side. But although children are so desired as heirs neither the literature nor the textbooks have anything to say about the ways parent and child would have related on a person to person basis. The only thing we know about Bunroku, Otane's young brother whom she and Hikokuro have adopted as their son, is that he is learning the drums from Genuemon, Otane's lover, and that Hikokuro can say "Bunroku, no matter how young you are, why didn't you get rid of the drum teacher sooner [and so avert the disaster]?" (Uno, 34). Children were exhorted to be obedient, but what they were ordered to do is not clear. With the adults so occupied in the work needed to keep life going they may have spent a lot of time in the company of their siblings and peers. Anyway the effect of the absence of their father on them is not discernible. Bolitho just says that "parental and fraternal absenteeism were the rule" (100) among `daimyo' families in this period.

Considering that `bushi' women were definitely a class apart, living in quarters separate from men much of the time, wives were not there to be married to their husbands but to produce heirs, husbands were free to have sexual relationships outside marriage, children were just to obey their elders, parents were to arrange the marriages and divorces of their children, in-laws could treat the wives of their sons as they liked and

families were clearly concerned primarily with securing their economic survival. The effects on the daily lives of families separated by `sankin kotai' would seem to be rather limited. In fact we can conjecture that refusal to comply would have been vastly more disruptive.

Although the literature does portray some emotional distress especially on the part of the "weak" women, if the marriage had been entirely for political purposes deep bonds may not have formed between `bushi' couples to any great extent. Decisionmaking could shift to the next male in the hierarchy during the husband's absence, again causing minimal change for the wife. Because the normal pattern was to put other considerations before the togetherness of the family in `bushi' society, `sankin kotai' families probably felt neither particularly deprived nor abnormal. In fact rather than being disruptive of family life (and therefore of society, if the family is presumed to be the basic unit), `sankin kotai' may have been the spur to much economic growth, exchange of ideas and impetus to urban drift which characterised this period. To this extent it was a positive and vitalising force in society.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Dekasegi

During the Tokugawa Period there was some development of agriculture, breeding new rice strains and so on, at the same time as there was a growing drift of people to the urban centres. It cannot be stated with certainty what proportion of the population was urbanised, but Wilkinson used Honjo's estimate of a total population of 30 million late in the period. Of those there were about 2 million `samurai' class who by then lived mainly in the towns. As `samurai' accounted for about half of urban dwellers, there could have been around 4 million in the cities, or about 14% of the total in the late 18th century (24). The vast majority of the people were peasants.

Between the Meiji Restoration and 1920 city populations had grown to 21.8% of the national total (Ibid, 47), and in the decade preceding World War II with the impetus of colonialism, the collapse of the silk market in the Great Depression of the 1930's and the expansion of strategic industries, urban centres grew at the average annual rate of 8.7% (Ibid, 45). Even in 1944 only 41.4% of the population was living in cities. So the lifestyle of the majority of Japanese was that of the countryside from 1868 to 1946.

A feature of this rural life was the degree of poverty in which so many peasant families lived. In some cases it was the local farming conditions, like poor soil, that were to blame, in others the sheer pressure of population or government policies interfering in the well being of farm families. One strategy to overcome hardship was to send a member of the family to do `dekasegi'. This meant working in the city to provide extra income, and could be for periods ranging from a few years at certain times of life to the whole of a working lifetime. It could mean being away almost permanently or it could be quite seasonal. It involved both sexes, but with the wages for men generally being better than those for women's work, it was more advantage for the men to seek work in town. Some were tradesmen, however many of the available jobs were as day labourers or casual hands and without security or privileges. Conditions could be severe. Females usually went as servants and hotel workers, and so on. Because all `dekasegi' workers had to live away from home both men and women often suffered in appalling accommodation. If life was hard for those left behind it was no fun for the absent worker either.

In "Kakyo no Oshie", Miyamoto Tsuneichi tells of the life of rural families in Hiroshima Bay. He deals with the decades up till the 1930's which his parents experienced. The family would send someone on `dekasegi' rather than abandon the land entirely because of `furusato', or the feeling of roots firmly planted in one's hometown. This seems to be characteristic of

peasants as they are acutely aware of their dependence on and attachment to the land. No matter how hard the life they would still see it as a "good place to live" (Miyamoto, 10). It is also because of the feeling that they kept the land "on behalf of the family". So Miyamoto's mother remained in the place where his father had planted mandarins and established the silkworm industry which he had taught to others in the village. It was "not just on account of stubbornness", despite the tough life this meant for her in her 60's (Ibid,15) and despite the poverty that had plagued the family since 1867.

Since the latter half of the Tokugawa Period it had been common for almost all the girls to leave their islands and go maidservanting and seasonal labouring at rice and cotton production. The growth of the population had simply outstripped the available food supply. The wages were tiny, but they enabled the girls to eat and, as maidservants in particular became desirable as brides, to find husbands (Ibid, 28). In the Meiji Period newspapers in Osaka and Kyoto were reporting `dekasegi' among men too. What seems to have become a pattern for about 80% of the young women who went to find work in town was that the learned domestic skills and childrearing working in town families, then returned to their home village to marry (Ibid, 96). In as many as half of these cases the young husband would then depart to do `dekasegi' as carpenters or stonemasons in town, leaving the wife to run the farm with her in-laws and children (Ibid, 30). In preparation

for marriage a bride's friends would work at night together to spin and weave cloth which they made into clothing and bedding as wedding gifts. When she was expecting a child her parents would make preparations for the new baby. But such signs of real poverty died out gradually, until girls who went away to work did not send wages home to their parents but saved for their own wedding (Ibid, 31).

The understanding of one's place in the village class system was strong, and included knowing and obeying the unwritten rules about dress, food, dwellings and such matters. These differed according to the rank of the family (Ibid, 91). Until the Taisho Period (1912-26) marriages were usually between people of the same class and living within a distance of about 4 kilometers from each other (Ibid, 83). There was strong consciousness of having to be the same as everyone else or running the risk of being laughed at - a shame hard to live down. People had to know about the kind of family each one in the village was - their ancestral roots, character, number of children, who had "bad blood" or demon possession, who had been responsible in the past for spreading diseases, who had sold land or got into debt, and personal details like that so everyone knew exactly what to say or not say in front of the others (Ibid, 88-9). The burden of knowing all this and passing it on fell to mothers as the fathers were often away working. It was the women who nurtured this highly conservative character and consciousness of `sekentei' among the people in one's daily life.

Because not all husbands were away working there were obvious differences arising from family circumstances. One was the economic freedom displayed by wives. Farmers whose main crop was rice were unlikely to do `dekasegi', and those couples would work together in the fields. It was usually the husband who controlled the finances, and many of those wives resorted to "thieving" some of the family rice or vegetables to sell to shops for pocket money of their own. Their children tended not to be particularly well dressed either. However in families who mainly grew vegetables many of the husbands were away most of the time and there the women spent more freely on themselves and the children. The difference was clear in the clothes the children wore on formal occasions and festival days (Ibid, 98).

It was particularly common for second and subsequent sons to do `dekasegi'. They tended to marry later than those who stayed behind and would expect to be married by the time they were 25. Anyway it was common for the `dekasegi' workers of Miyamoto's hometown to spend only 80 days a year back in the village, 40 at `Obon' and 40 at New Year. A married man could expect to do 25 years of `dekasegi' and when he turned 50 he would retire to the village to resume farm work, his now adult sons taking his place as the absent income earner.

For most, marriages within villages were the norm (Ibid, 69). A newly married couple would live with the husband's parents until their first child was born, and

then the old people could retire completely from farm work. The daughter-in-law would take responsibility for chores, relationships with the kinfolk and neighbours, and childrearing. So it would be from two till ten years from the time of a woman's marriage until she "took over the rice-serving spoon", and in this time she had to learn all the customs of her husband's family. Higher class families commonly married their children off to cousins so the burden of learning the accepted ways would be less. Miyamoto writes as though this was very difficult, but to be able to retain her familiar surroundings to a large degree must have taken some of the sting out of it for the new bride. A "good wife" was one who carried out her duties to the relatives, worked hard, saved money and had earned the praise of her neighbouring villagers during her years of childrearing (Ibid, 70).

Because husbands may only be home for as few as 80 days a year their relationship with their wife was minimal. That is not to say they did not care about each other. Wives would be down at the wharf waiting sometimes for days for husbands to come home at `Obon' and New Year, and some husbands were so keen to get home they would disembark at a more distant port and walk to save a day or two if sailing conditions threatened to delay the boat. But the times of year when husbands came home had to serve for religious services, weddings, festivals as well as visiting friends and relatives, so there was not a great deal of opportunity for just the husband and wife to be together (71).

Rather the focus was on "happy times for all the village" (73). Unlike urban dwellers who can enjoy leisure time in an individual manner, villagers were strongly communal in making leisure activities. And wives were often content to carry on with the work in anticipation of these times of communal enjoyment (73). The big disruption came with the Great Depression in the 1930's when the men could no longer afford to come home for their twice-yearly visit. Many wives then did suffer enough loneliness to go and live in the city with their husbands. Old people and children remained tending ancestral land so as not to insult their forebears, and mothers were the ones particularly aware of this. Many, like Miyamoto's mother, "sacrificed themselves on this account" (76).

The hard work on the farm meant that it was common for young mothers to miscarry their first babies, to lose second babies after a few months and sometimes to lose fourth babies too. Miyamoto's mother had only three of her six children survive to adulthood. There was an incidence of abortion and infanticide too, but children were still important to the family, no matter how poor (53-4).

Because the father was away he was not important in the lives of his children. On his return, some children went running to their mother crying, "There's a strange man here", so little did they recognise him. When he was home his job was to instill the work ethic, and how to love work - to teach attitudes that would be respected rather than techniques for farm chores (101).

It seems that in the period before the Great Depression of the 1930's the people were clearly aware of their obligations, duties and traditions and despite the poverty and long separation of the family from husband and father, they seemed to live with reasonable satisfaction. In the prevailing ethos, the paternal `ie' was strong and wives obeyed husbands. Yet where wives had to accept a great deal more responsibility and became somewhat more independent as a result of `dekasegi', they still knew that their lifestyle was in accordance with the basic principle which proves so enduring - "for the sake of the family". Their protectiveness towards both family tradition and village tradition, their intimacy and involvement in the life of the community and the communal spirit surrounding them at important times of the year all gave them an identity, a "place to belong" and a purpose which supported each generation of couples in the cycle of marriage, separation and retirement back together. There seems to have been little adultery on the part of the wives, with little opportunity arising. There is no mention of how husbands managed. In the cities where they worked there was no shortage of sex available, nor was there wholehearted acceptance of monogamy for men, but even if they did have extramarital liasons it would not have raised much guilt nor erased the strong links they felt with the hometown to which they meant to retire. It seems that the prevailing ethic did not conflict too greatly with real life, as the family remained hierarchical and child-centered. Couples

probably did not know each other as companions so may not have felt great loneliness when apart. This kind of `dekasegi' seems to have been tolerable for those who endured it for a large portion of their lives.

There is quite a different feeling in Yamashita Yuzo's discussion of circumstances in the early 1960's. A rural doctor saw that it was government policy which prevented self-sufficiency on the farms, and noted a rapid increase in the numbers resorting to `dekasegi'. He says the worst affected areas were Tohoku, Sanin (both areas of Honshu), and on the smaller islands of Kyushu and Shikoku. It was not just the head of household forced to do `dekasegi' but often the eldest son as well (Yamashita, 71). He describes the result as "mothers having no choice but to be "six-month widows" and because of the extra work load that fell to them in the absence of the main labour power in the family, the children were left as "`dekasegi' orphans".

Letters from housewives to village magazines describe quite a different atmosphere from that portrayed earlier. "I get depressed just thinking about living shut in by cold wind and snow. ... father has gone away to work and is not with us. This has gone on for over ten years, and these days we feel nothing, all having got used to a life like this. I can't say that it is good that you can get used to anything. I feel afraid about life today. Aren't we in the position now where wives just grab hold of the money sent home and "while the cat's away the mice will play" while husbands are

separated from nagging wives, both partners living without caring?" (73).

`Dekasegi' "sets off a new form of strained relationships" in family life, and in the social life that centers on one's own village and on others. Yet they say, without `dekasegi' rural families cannot survive" (Ibid, 74).

There may be over 3000 men from a single village doing `dekasegi', and those left behind are conscious of additional burdens. A survey carried out by a school in one such village shows the mixed feelings of its students. 65% would prefer `dekasegi' not to happen, 60% worry about the absentee's health and risk of accident, 52% don't think about it much, but 36% take the attitude that "it can't be helped". Asked how they felt after their fathers had left, the students said they worried about fire or disaster (29%), felt life is gloomy (26%), lacked vitality and drive (22%), were bothered by snowstorms (22%), missed having someone to talk things over with (15%), and felt the house was lonely (11%) (75-6).

There are physical and psychological demands put on the wife who has to take over the husband's jobs of educating the children, fire-fighting, participating in village affairs, managing family finances, and doing tax returns, management plans , farm work and snow removal. Many worried about illness too (77-8). On smaller farms the burden was felt less - 40.4% said it was nothing special. But those on bigger properties that did feel it more would at the same time have been getting

proportionately less of their total income from `dekasegi' wages (78). It probably felt like a double bind to them.

Because wives have to take over the direct labour of the absent husband the discipline and rearing of the children is left to grandparents. Without the husband to mediate this can strain relationships among the adults. Also with the wife gaining status as an income-generating worker in the family, winter jobs like replenishing fuel supplies, repairing buildings and removing snow get left to the old people. The less they are physically fit to carry out these tasks, the greater the tension (Ibid, 80).

One interesting result of this is that rather than the mother-in-law acting as the resident tyrant which would have been her right in times past, she may feel constrained, as Sato Kano did, to co-operate and keep family harmony so the absent men could work with easy minds and come home willingly (81).

One of the toughest things women face is being left to make decisions on childrens' problems, education and the old people's health. Perhaps this has something to do with the lack of training Japanese children get for this in their own daily lives. Women have to cope with children missing their father too, but are well aware that in an age of consumerism the absence of their husbands earning extra money is the only way they can "get a little culture in their lives" (83). Wives say that having to deal with authorities such as the agricultural co-operative or bureaucrats from government

offices is the worst thing, followed by disciplining the children and coping with stages in the childrens' growth like starting school and getting jobs. However they feel bonds with the children and with the community, and from these they draw support.

In a survey in Kagoshima in 1971, 77.7% of the women said the excessive work load they were left with was bad, while trouble disciplining the children affected 16.4%. The good things were the extra money (43.6%), capital for farm operation (19,8%) and for childrens' education (18.8%). 12.9% thought co-operation in the family had improved (86).

The problems pinpointed by the Akita-ken Central Farm Co-op Association are difficulties with childrens' problems, lower quality diet (with no husband at home to please), less communication in the family, farm work increased, husband's jobs have to be taken over, spending becomes careless and traditions get bypassed (86-7).

Some wives respond to the pressure with psychological unease leading to physical symptoms. Nightmares and insomnia are often mentioned, and while dissent with in-laws accounts for over 40% of distress, around 10% arises from the disruption to the couple's sex life (90). Wives complain too that for the ten days the husband comes home visiting during their season away, they are "off having fun all over the place" (91). In other words they feel deprived of an important part of their marital relationship.

The things that `dekasegi' forces families to face up to revolve around their values and purpose in life - what is life about? How important is money? Is money worth the separation of husband and wife? Is `dekasegi' proper? Can we do without `dekasegi'? What is marriage? What is `ie'? And so on (Ibid, 92). "Mura no Onna wa Nemurenai" (The village women Cannot Sleep) tells of the human longings of these people so graphically that when it was broadcast on NHK in 1972 it really shocked many who heard it.

" ... No matter how she stretches out her arms they
don't reach her husband.
No matter how passionately ardent her heart she can't
show her husband.
No matter how desperately her body aches for him,
her husband doesn't respond.
A woman whose husband is in the far-off workmens'
quarters cannot sleep.
... There is no way to bring repose to a woman who
cannot sleep.
Pressing bodies close, loving breasts, nipples and
loins just makes her feel safe.
As long as that doesn't happen, a woman cannot sleep
...Husbands of the women, come home.
Throw in all your workmen's quarters and come home
to bring repose to your women who cannot sleep.
Spit on the boss at your work site, tell him you
quit `dekasegi' and go home.

> The most important thing for a man is not to earn
> money to send home.
> Not letting a woman sleep is to lack the true worth
> of a man (Ibid, 93-4).

This poem does not enlighten us as to how the men managed, but the contrast with Miyamoto's recollections is stark. Was he looking through rosy spectacles? Is there some inherent difference in character between people from the warm south-west and those from the north? If not, something has changed for `dekasegi' families of the post-war period.

In the first place, while we can assume some of the old feelings of attachment to ancestral land are retained, the material expectations of rural people have exploded. The struggle now seems not to be between duty or obedience and human feelings, or between starvation and survival, but between materialism and emotion. "What price love?" is an important question for the latter time. This can only have arisen because couple-consciousness had taken hold along with the acceptance of love as a proper basis for marriage. `Dekasegi' families somehow feel they must choose what to be deprived of - the means to stay on the farm with an acceptable standard of living, or the kind of family life laid down as their "right" in the Constitution.

At the same time the problems wives expressed about the burden of work suggest not just the added work load, but having to step outside the proper roles of what is "man's work" and what is "women's work", leads

to women's dissatisfaction. Of course it could simply be that there is far too much for women in harsher climates to manage in the absence of their husbands in the winter season. But because the symptoms described are largely of psychological origin it is not unreasonable to suggest that a very real trouble is that in their own minds they no longer live near enough to an ideal. First they want a family in which both parents live with the children, and they also want a standard of living comparable with their compatriots in town, enabling them to benefit from the kinds of goods and services the economic growth of the nation was making possible.

While the `samurai' had been prepared to do `sankin kotai' to ensure they retained the connection with their stipend, pre-war peasants were prepared to do `dekasegi' to ensure they maintained connection with their roots on the land. In pre-war times those who could not support their families from their own production alone had to resort to `dekasegi' or starve. Both groups then, had a compelling economic incentive as well as being able to trace their separation partly to political forces beyond their control. And to both, the survival of the family from its revered ancestral roots into the future was of prime importance, no matter the cost to the present generation. For the post-war people it was less a matter of life and death since the actual number of mouths to feed had dropped. For them it was a question of values. While some of the old beliefs still held sway, new ideas and conditions had begun to manifest.

The battle to try and accommodate these was causing distress.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Tanshin Funin

"The modern `dekasegi'" - this is how Igarashi Fumio describes `tanshin funin', or "going to one's post alone". While there are similarities in the circumtances of all three kinds of separated families, there are differences too. With the Japanese economy booming in the 1960's a number of employees such as engineers and construction workers were sent to tough locations in the deserts of the Middle East and other places around the world, and were forbidden to take their families by company order because of the harsh living conditions they had to endure. This is still the case for a growing number of technologists and skilled workers in trading companies and joint ventures as well (Hiramatsu, 3). These are the minority, though. Most men who go on `tanshin funin' do so within Japan and by choice for several well-documented reasons.

About a quarter of men transferred do `tanshin funin', and these are as many as one fifth of those working in companies of over 1000 employees and a third of those in smaller businesses. About half of these `tanshin funin-sha' (people doing `tanshin funin') are in their 50's, three in ten are aged 40-45 and one in ten are 30-35 (Asahi Shinbunsha, 179). There was a noticeable increase in the incidence of `tanshin funin'

in the 1960's, and at that time almost all were in the managerial class in businesses and government offices. More recently with the downturn in economic growth, blue-collar workers in industries like ship-building, automobile manufacture and steel are being transferred and choosing `tanshin funin' too. In one ship-building plant 336 out of 416 workers transferred to a new site went as `tanshin funin-sha' (Ibid, 185). So rather than a transfer signifying a promotion and another rung on the career ladder successfully reached, it is becoming just a disruption in the domestic lives of a growing number of employees.

There are large concentrations of `tanshin funin-sha' in cities like Sapporo in Hokkaido and Hakata in Kyushu, so many in fact that these are referred to as "Satchon" and "Hakachon" - Sapporo and Hakata bachelors. But is probably no exaggeration to claim that there are people on `tanshin funin' in all corners of the country. Some go to Tokyo, but a great many go from Tokyo too, partly because Tokyo has the most opportunities for education, culture and so on, and its citizens have the feeling that "beyond Hakone live devils" (Esaka, 201). Their families are reluctant to go to what they see as backward places.

There are five main reasons people give for choosing `tanshin funin'. The most common is the children's education and comes about because of the critical importance education has in the future employment of the child, and because of the inflexibility of the school system. To enter a high

school or transfer to another is legally at the discretion of the headmaster, and is determined by the results of entrance exams. There is no co-ordinated system for timing or content of these exams, so children risk failure if they change schools in mid-stream (Hiramatsu, 15). Second, admission is refused if the school has no vacancies, and there are very few of those available at "desirable" schools. Third, parents and children all fear changing schools for the time and learning efficiency lost, and this all relates back to the "examination hell" in the contest for places at university (Ibid, 17). Children's education is the main factor in almost 60% of `tanshin funin' cases, and one factor in 99.1% of all cases (Ibid, 13). This is due to the fact that Japan is now a largely middle class society in which success in life results not from lineage alone but from merit, and merit is earned by graduation from educational institutions recognised as prestigious. It is not just a matter of pride, but of one's standard of living for life, to get into the "right" schools and universities.

The second most common reason, given by almost half transferees is "owning our own home". To own a home has been the "salaryman's dream" since the wealth generated in the post-war period of high growth made this possible for people even though population pressure on available living space makes the expense horrendous. To rent out a home while on transfer is not popular because the law favours tenants and getting them to move out at the end of the term of transfer can produce problems. There is

also the deterioration and risk of fire if the house is left empty (Ibid, 20). At the other end is the problem of finding a place to rent to accommodate the family in the new location. But the greatest pull is psychological, the unwillingness to leave "home, the place where I belong" (Ibid, 21), the root of both family and of life itself.

The third reason is having to care for aged parents. Because of the rapid aging of the population it is not uncommon even today to find three generations living under the one roof. The old folks tend to resist change and having to leave friends and doctor. They may need nursing care which is often left to the daughter-in-law as a matter of course since welfare services are not yet highly developed in Japan (Ibid, 22).

Illness in the family or the pregnancy of the wife is given as the fourth largest reason for `tanshin funin', and fifth is the wife's job. There has been a massive increase in the proportion of wives working once children have started school. Those who have jobs with career potential as well as those who just do `arubaito' (part-time work, usually poorly paid and menial) are unwilling to give them up to shift especially as the majority of transfers are only for three to five years. (The average period of `tanshin funin' is 4.3 years). Many wives provide income vital to the payment of the mortgage or children's education expenses, and cannot afford to quit anyway.

There is an element too that stems from company circumstances. As long as companies regard family as a kind of "possession" (Ibid, 13) or appendage of the employee, when deciding who to transfer they will retain the widespread custom of giving serious consideration only to some aspects of the employee's personnel records like his qualifications, character, state of health, and wishes for the future, ignoring his domestic circumstances. The lifetime employment system, though now faltering under slow growth conditions, has had a large influence on employees accepting transfer orders at whatever cost. The Japanese labour market has simply not been fluid enough to allow much job switching (Ibid, 5).

One particularly salient feature of Japanese companies which helps explain why `tanshin funin' exists at all is their `ie' nature. Not just a workplace but a "family" group, they may be so involved in the private lives of their employees that they provide housing, recreation, welfare services - even go-betweens to assist in the search for a suitable marriage partner. In return for this blanket care the company receives loyalty, dedication and respect for the hierarchy, and can assume that employees will put company needs before personal needs. While the `ie' system of conjugal families has been waning the `ie' system of commercial enterprises has lingered. On the one hand we have the conjugal family with strong awareness of its function as an economic unit, and on the other hand the commercial `ie' with its strong awareness of employees as

"family". Transferees face a clash of loyalties, and for so many of the "economic soldiers" of the passing generation the "job first" ethic has won out.

The choice to do `tanshin funin' is not made lightly. Nevertheless it is an amazingly short time from the rumour of an impending transfer to its becoming a reality. There may be only a week of two from unofficial notification to the official announcement, and only another week or two until the transferee actually has to leave. A few companies allow a couple of months grace (Ibid, 11), but Nakayama Tokiko tells how her husband arrived home one night and announced that he had to transfer the next day, and he did in fact catch the first train out in the morning (Nakayama, 11). This rush hardly allows time to consider whether to take the family or not, let alone how they will arrange things if the family goes too. Companies are beginning to be more sympathetic towards employees' domestic situations. Some supermarket chains, for example, recognise the effect of transfer on the employees' quality of work, and either avoid it or offer a choice of career paths so it will not occur at difficult times in family life, such as when children are struggling through high school and on to university (Asahi Shinbunsha, 230). Employees themselves go along with `tanshin funin' though. Surveys show about half do not approve but passively accept it all the same, a third agree under specified contracts, and a fifth see it as a "fact of the times" (Hiramatsu, 27). Two thirds say they would go wherever the company saw fit to send

them (Asahi Shinbunsha, 237). While most seem to have only one experience of `tanshin funin' there are those who do more than one term. Nakayama's husband was away 14 years in the end, although the original transfer was for two years (14). They calculated that he travelled the equivalent of seven and a half times round the world by `shinkansen' to visit his family.

The experience of `tanshin funin' seems to be unpleasant for most people much of the time. Because of the clear-cut role expectations of husband and wife and the fact that most people live with parents prior to marriage, men have no idea of how to manage domestic affairs like shopping and cooking, and suffer from poor diet when living alone. One chap was even eating dog and cat food without realising it (Asahi Journal, 21). Many do not bother to make new relationships at work because they will leave again in a few years, yet not wanting to go back to empty rooms, they may spend every possible moment on the job and never get to "recharge their batteries" (Hiramatsu, 28). Some men get into ritualistic little habits to plaster over their loneliness faced with an empty room after work. "I leave the lights and television on all day, never mind the waste". "I leave a doll at the door and yell "I'm back!" out loud. That gives me relief somehow". "I sing out loud in the bath". "I phone home every single day. Of course it would be a terrible expense [if I actually spoke to the family], so I just let it ring three times and hang up". (Esaka, 202). These comments from `tanshin funin-sha' are revealing, but Esaka says

he himself regained his equilibrium after three months of being "at his wits end", so others too probably "adapt to the environment" (Ibid, 196).

Health problems are common for men on `tanshin funin' - some are just loss of vitality and symptoms of depression, but specialists report a `tanshin funin' syndrome which includes failure of the autonomic nervous system, writer's cramp, alopoecia, pseudo-alcohol poisoning, pseudo-ulcers, heart disease and so on (Hiramatsu, 29). Colds that last months or years (Asahi Journal, 8), impotence (Ibid, 9), bad dreams (Esaka, 196), and aches and pains are also often mentioned. Some of these are due to the lifestyle itself, but it appears that men are conscious of what "home" means to them as a result of doing `tanshin funin', and because its incidence is increasing, so is the number of people demanding that they have a proper separation of private and working lives. "Importance on private life...[which has been noticeable since the late 1960's is becoming] even more pronounced among today's young workers" (Ogata, Japan Echo, 70). There is added pressure, then, on people taken unwillingly from their homes in a society in which the "job first" ethic is declining.

Wives suffer health problems from the "stress of trifling matters piling up" (Hiramatsu, 32). Carrying the burden of relationships with parents and family, managing a budget stretched to cater for two households (many companies are not very generous with allowances for living expenses of transferees), disobedient

children and no husband easily available to discuss the problems with lead some wives to "want to throw it all away (Ibid, 32). Many couples are reluctant to keep in touch by telephone because of the expense (Ibid, 32). When a couple both have jobs they may spend a small fortune to keep in touch by telephone, though much of this may be father wanting to hear the voice of his child (Asahi Shinbunsha, 134). But the Japanese feel that "communicating with the family is not done with words, rather by the feeling of togetherness. It is only by being together that your feelings get through. I guess the Japanese have to communicate telepathically. What we say on the telephone, as is often said, leaves us both with a guilty conscience" (Esaka, 201).

Nakayama mentions many symptoms she suffered: depression, headache, ringing in the ears, stiff neck, insomnia, nightmares, fear, and absentmindedness like "always thinking I'd left the gas on" (177). She also resented her husband saying "I'll leave it to you" about all sorts of things . "When I hear those words I think of the lords of old ordering their vassals to "manage our affairs well". This is a kind of escape from responsibility. ... the one who is left with the responsibility is forced to look after all the troublesome things. ... not to betray her husband's trust, a wife earnestly tries to cope with being steersman, protecting the ship in the captain's absence" (Ibid, 124-5). As with `dekasegi' wives, this seems to relate to both the lack of training in daily decisionmaking as

well as being outside the role normally expected of women.

The disruption to the couple's marital relationship is felt to varying degrees. "Being apart, a couple cannot have a proper married life. ... it is hopeless trying to stir up the spiritual love of the couple. Living platonically makes it hard to arouse either love or lust. When you live in close proximity, laughing and crying together, in illness and nursing [each other], mutual love is engendered, so when you are separated you are alienated little by little from the one who has gone" (Ibid, 176). "Unlike couples living together, if you allow cracks to appear [in your relationship] it is not easy to plaster them up and you part again with the cracks still there" (Ibid, 135). But "even boiling water turns cold when set aside. If you don't keep it in a thermos you can't keep it hot. It is the same with married love, and you even forget your partner's face!" (Ibid, 176). Behind these laments is the expectation that "marriage" means a particular relationship of the couple, and to break that is now a serious matter.

Impotence occurs in some men when they feel obliged to make up for their long absence, then feeling sex is their duty, they fail under pressure (Asahi Shinbunsha, 79). About a quarter of those surveyed in Fukuoka in 1983 said they "sometimes want an affair" (Ibid, 232), and 22% confessed to having had one (NHK survey, 1984, in Igarashi, 144). Wives do sometimes take lovers too, but rather than being put down to sexual need it is attributed more to sheer loneliness

and feeling unwanted by her husband. "Women can forget their desire, but men physically can't" (Ibid, 144).

Nakayama tells the story of one young wife tempted, out of loneliness, to start an affair with an old boyfriend from her high school days, who called her husband overseas just to hear his voice.

"Are you OK?", she asked on international tolls.

"What do you want? What are you calling me for?" her busy husband replied grumpily.

"Nothing. I just want to know you're OK to ease my mind". She loves her husband, so his voice settled her down. But she was just about to hang up when he shouted

"Don't call me for stupid things, OK?" (123).

Nakayama says this was tantamount to telling his wife to go ahead , and that night she left her baby and went to the old boyfriend's place. While she was out the baby suffocated and the husband blamed her infidelity for their divorce which ensued. The woman felt it was her husband's insensitivity to blame (Ibid, 124).

While wives do feel concerned about their husbands' health they also worry about what they will get up to in their spare time. One was so concerned after not hearing from her husband for a long time that she went unannounced to visit him. Finding all the laundry beautifully done she suspected he must be having an affair (Igarashi, 144). One man confessed to telling his wife "seeing I haven't been faithful you don't have to either", but this confession must have made him realise what his marriage really meant to him, because

he then burst into tears (Ibid, 145). We are faced again with having to recognise that nowadays mutual fidelity is valued in marriage.

It seems to be a common complaint that although absent husbands "leave it all to you" they really do not understand what that means, or how wives still want to talk things over with them. Maybe it is because man's work is seen as the important activity and domestic matters as trivial that if a wife does call to discuss something, husbands seem to say things like "I'm busy at the moment. Just tell me the gist of it". Or "Don't call me about trivial things. I'm hanging up" (Nakayama, 122). A Fukuoka housewife says "If my husband was home he could see for himself what I mean about his father and the children. ... but coming home only once every two or three months I wonder if he seriously listens to what I say or not " (Asahi Shinbunsha, 126). Nakayama analyses the problem thus: "Once [men] are on the job they are no longer individuals, so don't exist as what you can call a "husband". They have neither name nor position nor status to do with matters outside of the job, but are totally caught up in work and have to exist in that group" (126).

"Children suffer most", says Nakayama (228). "The male influence which mothers don't have is vital to children at times in their development" (156). The biggest worry `tanshin funin' men express is often "wondering how the children are getting on", even though some say that middle-school children aged in their early

teens don't talk to parents much anyway. And some children do start playing up when father is away. One boy used to "ride his bike around school where that was prohibited" (Asahi Shinbunsha, 243), others steal (Nakayama, 96) or fail exams (Esaka, 199).

"Fathers do `tanshin funin' for the sake of the childrens' education, but it has the opposite effect of eroding their minds and bodies", says the head of the Health Centre at Fukuoka University of Education (Asahi Shinbunsha, 48).

There is another aspect to this story. Some fathers admit "All I have done till now is work. ... When I got into management I was always home late, played golf all day Saturday and was hardly ever home. I seldom spoke to the children. That's how it's been since they were born" (Esaka, 200). "These days the father is around less, and it is all the same whether he is at home or not, it is said" (Igarashi, 142). Such fathers are most likely to be candidates for transfer, so their full-time absence makes little practical difference. A wife is freer to run the home to suit herself, and with no tradition of companionship or socialising as a couple all that is lost to the family is a few hours with the children. However Mrs T reports that "Late at night when my daughter is asleep I just want to talk to an adult. I feel like ringing my family or friends just to hear a grown up's voice". This is the result of the less communal lifestyle women with small children face in the modern city.

Some wives become so accustomed to the freedom that they start thinking about divorce when the husband is due to return. "Had they carried on living together it probably would have been bearable", goes the story of one couple who did not have a very good relationship to begin with, "but having been free of her husband for three years she couldn't stand the thought of having him back. "I wish he would just stay on `tanshin funin'", she said" (Shukan Asahi, 145). And no doubt there are some "salarymen happily on `tanshin funin' escaping from a hysterical wife" (Asahi Journal, 21).

Wives become a lot more independent with their husbands away, and some come to "enjoy living for themselves". However the biggest complaints are mental insecurity, debt, deteriorated relationship with husband, children getting on their nerves and deteriorated relationship with in-laws. The NHK staff who made this survey from a hot-line set up to receive complaints about `tanshin funin' were surprised at how serious the problem is (Igarashi, 145).

Responses to `tanshin funin' depend very much on personality. Most do not wish to repeat the experience. But on the positive side, both husbands and wives are able to expand their horizons, gain new interests, and best of all "get stronger through isolation. ...Japanese salarymen are always involved in group activities and are hopeless on their own. But this will come up more and more in the 80's ... and on retirement. Both mind and body have to get strong (Esaka, 206). And as Mrs H reported, "We can happily

live apart, but we want to grow old together and die together".

In the Constitution the couple is the basis of the family, and this is beginning to take precedence in the consciousness of the people. Men in their 40's and 50's, the bulk of `tanshin funin-sha', still accept "job first" but the furore over the resignation of Mr Tamura, a JNR manager in Kyushu, threatened with transfer which would have meant `tanshin funin' for him, is significant. People were quick to point out that it was irrelevant that he was a Jehovah's Witness. "Once you are a business man you have to do `tanshin funin'. ... With the transport and telephone systems we have now we can keep in touch with our families, and our wives and children understand". "It's a problem of values. ... It is desirable to live with your family, but ... I myself put business first and that is a worthwhile life too". These were responses from other `tanshin funin-sha' who did accept that Mr Tamura's decision had been "brave" (Asahi Shinbun, 15.2.86, 3). There was also acknowledgement "... that parents jobs and family relationships are under threat from the "Children's education" is surely a most abnormal phenomenon in society. Shouldn't we now take the chance this decision has given us to have a deep look at this problem?" (Ibid, 5). "Clause 24 of the Constitution recognises the freedom of marriage, and Clause 52 of the People's Law (the duty of living together and mutual support) sanctions the right and duty of couples to live together and guarantees marriage as a human right. `Tanshin

funin' enforces living apart which is, in effect, divorce, separating children from parents. Moreover `tanshin funin' which interferes with freedom of marriage is a violation of the Constitution" (Ibid, 5).

According to Sato Takao, "in modern family law the most difficult problem seems to be `fufuron' (lit. "husband and wife theory") (141). When the husband's rights were central the law was relatively simple, but with equal rights more things have to be taken into consideration. Middle-aged men doing `tanshin funin' cannot avoid problems with their wives. Those who find lovers cause legal dilemmas. Sato claims that because `tanshin funin' is socially unavoidable due to housing problems and so on, it "doesn't seem to me to be a violation of the legal obligation of husband and wife to live together. However if after his transfer he refuses to return to his wife in a reasonable time without good cause this is clearly a violation [of Clause 752 in the Civil Code]. Such a deserted wife has recourse to the family court who will try to restore marital harmony through compromise. But the husband's failure to comply is grounds for divorce and monetary compensation" (142). Damages can also be sought from the husband's mistress (143). These laws show the difficulty of reconciling a couple living apart through external considerations and yet retaining their rights and duties to each other in law.

It is indeed a question of values. Tanaka Kimiko tells the story of a young wife whose husband, employed by a construction company, was transferred to Saudi

Arabia for five years. She was left behind because the company was opposed to men taking their wives and her husband did not want to be the first to go against their policy. She sought comfort from a women's group, but their reaction to her distress was "You're depending on your husband too much. He'll be home now and then, so what's the fuss?" (Asahi Journal, 14). To them the relationship of even a newly married couple was of little consequence. There is a sense in which `tanshin funin' is not "chosen", it is just that men "choose" to keep their jobs, the penalty for refusal being dismissal in many cases. But "for the Japanese, a couple living together is not the most important thing in married life. ...this is a characteristic stance of the Japanese towards marriage". "Japan is not a "couples society" - husband and wife live on completely different wagon tracks". "For the Japanese the family is not a place where couples who love each other live" (Ibid, 14-15).

As long as this is the case in the minds of the people, Clause 752 can safely remain as an ideal rather than a legal requirement. But if employees begin to pressure for its observance when companies are deciding who to transfer it may have to be treated as a legal obligation and be reflected in transfer policies in future. It would seem that the further Japan moves towards a rights-oriented social base the more imperative this question will become.

Isolation is the biggest difference that wives facing separation due to `tanshin funin' must live with compared with their early counterparts facing `sankin kotai' and `dekasegi'. Before, people had "the community of the farm or fishing village. [Or in the case of `sankin kotai', the extended family]. For `tanshin funin-sha, they do not have that. Not only is the family isolated, but husband is gone from that as well", says Mr Matsuo, the Chief Director of NHK (Igarashi, 145). Because "group mentality' is still valued in Japan, this may be the cruellest cut of all.

Even though the incidence of `tanshin funin' increases most people "accept it with good grace" (Tanaka, 14). Despite growing awareness of the implications of the Constitution, relationships other than that of the husband and wife take precedence for many, with the name and future of the family coming first. So there is no greater incidence of divorce among the "separated families" than in the rest of society. Lack of love or living apart are "not reasons for divorce in Japan" (Ibid, 15).

Families may become completely scattered once children enter high school, university or the work-force. In one case the husband works in Hyogo-ken, the 20-year old daughter attends university in Tokyo, the 18-year old son is at boarding school in Nagasaki (having refused to shift for the twelfth of his father's transfers), and the wife lives in the family home in Gifu-ken (Ibid, 15). In another case the husband works in Nagoya, the wife nurses her father-in-law full time

in Otsu, and the daughter lives in the family home in Kanagawa-ken. Such families probably only all get together at New Year (Asahi Shinbun, 22.1.86, 15). That their situation is not uncommon is forcing people to think what a "family" is supposed to be.

Behind `tanshin funin' is one more typically Japanese attitude - `shikata ga nai', it can't be helped. This expression of resignation is commonly heard when the effort to change a situation would seem not to justify the benefits that would result. It also acknowledges the relative powerlessness people feel in the face of "reality". But the argument raging around the propriety of this phenomenon indicates significant changes in the values that post-war Japanese are battling with. The growing independence of women, love and companionship between couples, recognition of "individual rights" including the right to happiness and the right of employees to private lives, roles appropriate to the nuclear family lifestyle, how to create "community" in town, how to juggle material expectations with emotional needs, how to live without the old constraints of village mentality, how to manage an aging population, how to interact with the rest of the world - these are some of the forces having to be accommodated in the emerging values system. And central to the solution for these is finding a new balance between the good of the individual and the good of the wider groups in which (s)he operates.

Some writers suggest changing institutions and systems to overcome the kinds of difficulties `tanshin funin' families face. Some measures businesses could take are better allowances for living expenses, travel and communication for transferees, transfer areas within which employees can choose posts without having to go too far from home, the right to refuse transfer without penalty (Hiramatsu, 45-53) and limited terms of transfer (Esaka, 206). Tax concessions (Ibid, 54), improved social welfare and education systems could be provided by government (Asahi Journal, 21). Others writers, specially feminists, see the solution in people and particularly women taking responsibility for their own lives to a greater extent, and in thinking "how we can improve things not just for ourselves but for all Japanese women" (Shirai, Feminist Japan 8, 35). As Kosaka Masaaki says, a fundamental problem is this: "To eliminate what was bad is relatively easy, but to eliminate or alter what was good but is no longer deemed highly appropriate is very difficult. ... The virtue [of] non-self-assertiveness that was once respected is now either inappropriate or insufficient for modern society" (Moore, 371).

`Tanshin funin' families most clearly show the clash of the old and the new. How <u>does</u> one hold on to "beautiful customs" and act "for the sake of the family" when one is no longer quite sure what "the family" is? How does one live according to one's Constitutional "rights" when the institutions in society still assume the couple is not the central focus of marriage? How

does one assert one's independence when to do so may result in rejection by neighbours and colleagues? These are not just questions for women but they affect women, still hampered by the old ideals, more than men. This may be the spur which allows the answers women find for themselves to be answers for society as a whole.

CONCLUSION

In this study we have looked at the Japanese ideals of women, marriage and family and their interconnectedness. We have examined the circumstances of three kinds of "separated families" and tried to determine how the ideals influence the feelings of those involved.

Some beliefs that came to Japan from China were gradually incorporated into the national consciousness over many centuries. When women are regarded as the inferiors of men, the relationship of married couples is not much valued. When the sole purpose of marriage is to produce heirs the survival of the family is given precedence over the feelings of the individual members. Individuals come to have a clearer understanding of themselves as parts of the social groups in which they function that of themselves as discrete beings, so the notion of "rights" is weak. These ideas combine with feudal institutions to put the main emphasis on the flow of generations. "For the sake of the family" is a powerful catchcry. Considering that personal honour and reputation are highly valued in Japan we cannot take this argument too far, but it seems reasonable to suggest that if we were to construct a consciousness scale going from "individual" on the right to "collective" on the left the Japanese seem to locate themselves somewhere towards the left hand end. This

may be the source of their strong awareness of belonging in society. Beliefs like this formed part of a social system which proved stable and durable yet at the same time enabled the nation to develop beyond the beginnings of modernisation in the Meiji Period with minimum disruption.

However traditional ideals, so long revered, are proving hard to reconcile with some aspects of modernisation. Widespread education for girls has weakened the notion that women are inherently foolish, yet many of the other ideals remain embodied in `onnarashisa', upholding female passivity and subservience. So women are opened up to opportunities broadening their horizons such as travel, careers and economic self-support at the same time as the ideals denigrate such choices.

Equality for men and women was written into the Constitution of 1947, and this meant that the old forms of marriage and family with husband and father omnipotent were destroyed. But these paper reforms stemmed from the philosophical base of the West in which each individual is regarded as a kind of being personally made by an all-powerful external Creator, giving rise to the expectation of "rights" which respect that separateness. However the frenzied, fractured nature of industrialised, urbanised society have made the Western ideals more relevant in Japan too. Not only the relative impersonality of city life, but the ethos of the nuclear family in which far fewer children are produced and fewer relatives live in close proximity,

have forced people into greater awareness of themselves as beings with the potential for more self-determination.

When we looked at the Tokugawa Period we saw that the ideals of women as obedient and subservient, of marriage as between families and of families as stretching back and forward in time, and not just clumping in the present generation, were in reasonable accord with social conditions. Although monogamy was the rule and chastity demanded of `bushi' women, the men were free to keep mistresses and commit adultery under certain conditions. Society even made provision for these things in the gay quarters and such places. This meant that when a `bushi' man was required to go on `sankin kotai' he suffered little deprivation. Contact with his family was likely to be of quite circumspect nature anyway through the marital arrangements of his class. His wife was unlikely to have much of an emotional bond with him, and at the same time had onerous family duties and a cohesive community of relatives for support. His absence secured the family livelihood, so there was no question of its value. While these families were separated by economic considerations, other marriages could be broken up at the whim of a mother-in-law or for political purposes. So the situation of families separated by `sankin kotai' was not unique in society.

Much the same can be said about pre-war `dekasegi'. For the men to spend a considerable portion of their adult lives away from their families was a

matter of life and death. The income enabled them to retain ties with the land which was connected to both ancestors and descendants and was an act of respect to the wider group. The women left behind had the community and the demands of daily life to ease their loneliness. The picture changes in the `dekasegi' of the post-war period.

Now the community itself began to believe that marriage is an important human bond. While still focussing on the children, couples were also free to have a loving relationship, so the question of whether or not to disturb their bond became one of values. Material expectations had risen along with other opportunities and rather than facing starvation without some supplementary income, rural families now faced depriving their children of the opportunities available with education and themselves of a better lifestyle. As a matter of values people feel guilt or dissatisfaction according to their choices, and cannot just resign themselves to powerlessness before fate. They have to deal with basic questions in their own minds. What is "family"? What is "marriage"? What is human? The old ideals fail to provide satisfactory answers.

The question becomes particularly obvious to city women with husbands on `tanshin funin'. Unlike their rural counterparts they cannot assume the same kind of intimate support from community and relatives during their husbands' absence. When this is the case, they are forced into taking more responsibility and acting more individually, exacerbating the already strong

tendency of the city to isolate them. Having to come to terms with themselves as individuals, they are also faced with the question of what marriage is. Again, the recognition of a married couple as one of the primary relationships of a family has moved beyond being just a line or two in the Constitution. The present generation is coming to expect it. Men separated from their wives and families can if necessary have recourse to the women of the `mizu shobai' for some support, though now monogamy is more associated with fidelity for men as well as women, and only a small proportion of absent husbands say they actually commit adultery. Those who do may suffer more guilt than their forebears would have understood. But the fact that the divorce rate is no higher for `tanshin funin' couples than for the average shows that "for the sake of the family" still has real significance.

But that wives expect more communication with their husbands and acknowledge the inadequacy of telephones and commuter trains reflects more than just their suburban isolation. It signals awareness that there can be more to the role of wife than just domestic manager and mother. And it signals that as individuals they feel a growing right to ask for this. Men are sheltered by the demands of the workplace from having to really address these questions, but they too are less willing to be "economic soldiers" at whatever cost.

The old ideals which acknowledge the source of the family's economic survival were not unreasonable in their context. But the increased demands of the

conjugal family are hard to reconcile with the demands of the company "family". It is things like the rigidity of the education system, the structure of the housing and labour markets and the inadequacy of the welfare system which highlight this difficulty, and it is women and children who feel the pressure most. Health may suffer and the financial burden of the family may increase. A few men and women see the positive opportunities for personal growth as a result of having experience of living apart for much of several years. But most feel they are being deprived of something which the rest of society can take for granted: marriage in which husband and wife who have chosen each other live together as of right and without undue penalty.

`Tanshin funin' can be regarded as a social problem because the difficulties which those families face force society as a whole into awareness of the inadequacies of traditional ideals, and the institutions and systems based on them, for the actual social conditions in a modern industrialised state. The changes that were made on paper long ago by the leaders of the nation are only now filtering into the consciousness of the people. This will eventually flow back to force institutions and systems to accommodate the new assumptions about the relationship of individual and group. How society treats `tanshin funin' in the years ahead may be one indication of the speed and extent of this change.

GLOSSARY

ashiirekon	marriage based on a trial period prior to formal acceptance of the daughter-in-law.
ashigaru	foot soldier, lowest section of warrior class
baishakunin	matchmaker
bakufu	military government, administrative arm of the Tokugawa house
bakuhan	machinery of Tokugawa government; balance between Tokugawa administration and daimyo domains. Governed using a mix of feudal and bureaucratic techniques
buke	military families
Buke Shohatto	Rules for Military Houses; Confucian, aimed at inculcating military virtues of obedience and sacrifice
bushi	warrior, samurai
bushido	the Way of the Warrior; moral standards combining Confucian ethics and Japanese feudal traditions
chonin	townsman; merchant, tradesman, so named because they dwelt in city wards and not in the shadow of the castle (lit. ward-man)
chugen	attendant of a samurai, footman
daimyo	regional feudal military lord whose domain produced 10,000 koku or more of rice or other crops annually
engidera	temple offering refuge to women seeking divorce, then formalising it after the prescribed period
	legal divorce
enja	relatives by marriage
enrui	distant blood relatives
eta	outcasts at the bottom of society outside the Tokugawa four-class system
fudai daimyo	retainers of the Tokugawa, "house" daimyo who had fought for Ieyasu at Sekigahara in 1600
fufusei	couple-based marriage (lit. husband and wife system)

furusato	hometown, native place, emotional overtones of "belonging"
geisha	talented courtesan trained in music, dance, etc. (lit. accomplished person)
giri	duty, courtesy; Buddhist and Confucian antecedants developed from the law of causality and concern for moral justice
gokenin	warrior vassals of the shogun (lit. honoured housemen). Without the honorific `go', retainer of any lord, civil or military
goningumi	five-man unit, group of citizens or villagers entrusted with keeping the peace and informing authorities on community affairs
han	daimyo domain of the Tokugawa Period
hatamoto	direct retainer of the shogun with under 10,000 koku but with right of direct access to his lord. Commander of the military `kumi' groups and subject to `sankin kotai'
hyakusho	peasant, farmer, mostly smallholders with guaranteed plot of land, but insufficient for survival after tax was paid
ie	family, "the house", the group comprised of main and branch families through which hereditary titles, rights and assets were transmitted
isan	inheritable property
jinushi	local landlord, landowner, wealthier than ordinary farmers and with duty of serving as an official of the village
jito	steward, estate administrator originally appointed by the Kamakura Bakufu, duties including tax gathering and local policing
kafucho	head of paternalistic `ie' household
katoku	the family estate, headship of the family
koku	measure of rice, 4.96 bushels or 180 litres
kokudaka	stipend, salary in amount of rice
kon'in	marriage,
koshu	head of `ie' family, male or female
kouta	ballad

miai	meeting of two families or a couple with a view to marriage conducted under the supervision of a go-between
mikoshi	portable shrine, paraded at festivals
mikudarihan	letter of divorce (lit. three and a half lines)
mukotorikon	marriage based on taking a son-in-law into the family
nakodo	go-between, matchmaker
nanushi	village headman, often a farmer enabled to live relatively comfortably by the use of his authority
nengu	the annual tax in rice, paid to estate proprietors. Cash payments became more common in time
ninjo	human warmheartedness, emotion often in conflict with duty
no(h)	lyrical drama of medieval times
noren	business goodwill etc. (lit. shop door-curtain)
obon	Festival of Lanterns honouring the dead, usually held in August
oheya	legitimate wife
samurai	warrior; class which evolved as bureaucrats in the Tokugawa Period
sanke	the principal families of Ieyasu's three sons with domains in Owari, Kii and Mito provinces. (Lit. 3 Houses)
sekentei	reputation in society by which honour is recognised
Sekigahara	the battle in 1600 at which the Tokugawa gained control of Japan
seppuku	self- disembowelment carried out to maintain honour. There were limits on who was permitted to perform it
shamisen	3-stringed musical instrument
shikata ga nai	fatalistic expression of resignation meaning "it can't be helped"
shinju	lovers' double suicide resulting from the inadmissability of their relationship
shinkansen	"bullet train" (lit. new trunk line)
shinrui	relatives (generic term)
shogun	military ruler, general; head of the Tokugawa house and of their administration

shugo	protector, vassal leader responsible for overseeing duties of lesser vassals
tatami	floor mats of woven straw
tozama daimyo	vassal of the Tokugawa, but not hereditary, having been followers of the Toyotomi faction who submitted to Ieyasu after Sekigahara; "outside" daimyo
uji	clan, lineage; the largest familial unit native to ancient Japan
wa	harmony, unity
waka	31-syllable poem
yometorikon	marriage based on taking a daughter-in-law into the family
yoriaikon	marriage based on union of a couple

APPENDIX

ONNA DAIGAKU

Note: All passages in the original document are marked "1" to signify their equal status. Here they are numbered from 1 to 19 for ease of identification.

An asterisk denotes a sentence whose meaning can not be clearly determined in the original.

1. Well, a woman goes to the home of another when she grows up, and serves her father- and mother-in-law, so even more than a man she must not disregard the teachings of her parents. If she is brought up to do as she likes by indulgent parents, when she goes to her husband's family she will be willful and treated coldly by her husband. Also, even if her father-in-law's instruction is correct she will not tolerate it. She will resent him and slander him, and in the end she will be cast out and exposed to shame. It is wrong for a woman's parents not to admit that their teachings are at fault, and think that the wrong lies solely with the father-in-law and the husband. The cause is all in the lack of teaching by the woman's parents.

2. We should regard it as a good thing if a woman's heart is superior to her looks. A beautiful woman with a bad heart gets stirred up, looks angrily at others with bulging eyes, speaks coarsely, uses bad language, goes ahead of others, holds grudges and is envious, boasts about herself, criticizes others and gives others superior looks. These all stray from the Way of Woman. It is good for a woman to esteem calm obedience, and chaste, kind quietness.

3. From their earliest days, girls should properly be separated from boys and should certainly not see or hear foolish or trivial things. According to the etiquette of old, a male and a female should not share a mat. They must not keep their clothes in the same place. They must not bathe in the same place. And when giving and receiving things they must not pass them directly from hand to hand. When she goes out at night it must certainly be with a lighted lamp. And it goes without saying that it is right for a husband and wife to be separated from the wife's brothers and sisters, according to the old ways. In the commoners' private homes of today, there are people who do not know these kinds of rules; they stain their reputation by their perverted behaviour, and, shaming their parents and siblings, they waste their time on this earth. Is that not a matter for regret? It seems to be elementary knowledge that a woman can not mix or be sociable unless by her parents' wishes and with their mediation. She

should safeguard her heart like gold and protect her honour even if it cost her her life.

4. Because a wife makes her husband's family her own, in China they say "to return a wife". This means to return a wife to her own family. She must not think ill of her husband even if his family is poor. The poverty of a family, which is bestowed on us by Heaven, is considered to be on account of one's own bad luck, and it was the teaching of the sages of old that the Way of Woman meant not leaving a man's home once she had been made his wife. In long-ago times, to turn from the Way of Woman was to be shamed for ever. So there are seven sins committed by women, called "shikkyo", or "The Seven Reasons for Putting a Wife Out". First, you should divorce a woman who does not obey her father- and mother-in-law. Second, you should divorce a woman who has no children. This is because when you marry a woman it is to produce descendants to perpetuate the family name. However if a wife is right-minded, has a good attitude and is not jealous, without you divorcing her you should adopt a child of the same clan. And you need not divorce your wife, even if she is childless, if you have children by a mistress. Thirdly, divorce her if she is licentious. Fourthly, divorce her if she is stingy. Fifth, divorce her if she has leprosy or such evil diseases. Sixth, if she is garrulous and says too much, getting on badly with relatives and disrupting the home, you should divorce her. Seventh, if she has the nature of a thief, divorce her. These Seven Laws are

all the teachings of sages. Once a woman is married, if she leaves her husband's home and gets married for a second time, even to a husband who is rich and respected, this goes against the Way of Woman and is a great disgrace.

5. When a woman is in her own home there is reason for her to show filial piety only to her parents. However when she goes to her husband's home she should put her father- and mother-in-law above her own parents and do her duty of filial piety to them with warm, loving respect. She must not put her own parents first and ignore her father-in-law. She must look after her in-laws morning and night. She must not neglect the work she has to do for her in-laws. If her in-laws give her an order, she must be careful not to defy them. She should ask her father- and mother-in-law everything and follow their instructions. Even if her father- and mother-in-law hate and abuse her, she must not be angry and resentful. If she does her duty of filial piety and makes a practice of serving them with sincerity, they will surely get on well in time.

6. A woman has no particular master. She should think of her husband as master, serving him with respect and discretion. She must not treat him lightly or hold him in contempt. The Way of Woman generally means obeying others. When with her husband, a wife must look at him and speak to him politely and humbly, and she should quietly obey him. She must endure and not disobey. She

must not be arrogant or rude. These are women's prime duties. If her husband gives her instructions, she must not go against his command. If she is not sure about something she should ask her husband and obey his wise words. If her husband asks her something she should answer correctly. To answer neglectfully is rude. When her husband gets angry she should obey him with awe. If he argues angrily she should adopt the opposite spirit. When a woman has a husband he is to be her Heaven. Indeed she must not shame Heaven by opposing her husband.

7. Because her brothers- and sisters-in-law are her husband's siblings she should respect them. If she hates and criticises her husband's relatives she will be rejected from the hearts of her father- and mother-in-law, and this will not be good for her. If she is friendly she will be agreeable to her in-laws. She should also be on warm good terms with the elder brother's wife. She should warmly respect the elder brother and his wife in particular. She should regard them as her own older brother and his wife.

8. As much as possible she should not be seized with a jealous heart. If her husband is lewd she should remonstrate with him. She should not get angry or resentful. If she is excessively jealous, her feelings and words will be awfully cold and worse, she will become a person shunned and forsaken by her husband. If she is hurt by her husband's adultery she should calm

her own feelings, keep her voice down and admonish him.. If he does not listen to her admonition and gets angry, she should first leave things alone for a while and later, when her husband has calmed down, she should remonstrate with him again. She must be sure not to look tempestuous or raise her voice, and not oppose or disobey her husband.

9. She must be discreet in word and not talk a lot. She must not censure others even for a moment, or tell lies. If she hears other people's slanderous talk she must keep it to herself and not pass it on to anyone else. Since passing on slander ruins relationships with kinfolk, this will unsettle the house.

10. A woman should have consideration and keep firm control over herself. Getting up early in the morning, going to bed late at night and not napping during the day, she should be conscientious about household matters and not neglect the weaving, the sewing, unwinding silk from the cocoons or the spinning. Also, she must not drink a lot of tea or `sake' etc. She must not look at or listen to trifling things like `kabuki', `kouta' and `joruri' etc. Before she turns forty she must not often go to temples and shrines or any place where a lot of people gather.

11. Being easily led astray by sorcerers or mediums is close to dishonouring the Gods and Buddha and she must not go to worship recklessly. Also, as long as she does

her duty as a human being, the Gods and Buddha will favour her with their protection, even without her prayers.

12. When she becomes a person's wife she should promote the interests of his family. If a wife's behaviour is bad and profligate it will destroy the family. She must be thrifty with everything and not create excess expenses. Do not be extravagant with clothing, food and drink, but think in accordance with the family's social standing.

13. When young, she must not approach the young men among her husband's relatives, friends or inferiors with candid chatter. Men and women should be firmly separated. No matter what her business, she must not send letters to young men.

14. Her ornamentation [i.e. combs in her hair etc.] and the patterns dyed on her clothing should be restrained. It is good to keep one's body and clothing clean and unstained. But it is not good to be so clean that she becomes noticeable. She should do only what is required to fit her social status.

15. She must not be so intimate with her own parents as to put her husband's relatives second. She should serve her husband's side first, and serve her own relatives after that, even at New Year and festival time. She must no go anywhere without her husband's permission. She must not give presents to others privately.

16. In particular, seeing a woman becomes a successor of her father- and mother-in-law, and not that of her own parents' family, she must have higher regard for her in-laws than for her own parents, and give them filial piety. After marrying into another family, she should rarely go to her own parents' home. Rather, most of the time she should send a messenger to other people's homes and get their reply. Also she should not praise or boast of the advantages of her parents' home. It is a rule that even if there are many servants to do the domestic chores, a woman should work and take pains in all things herself. She should always stay home sewing clothes for her in-laws, preparing meals, serving her husband, folding the clothes, sweeping the mats, raising the children, washing away dirt, and should not go out without good reason.

18. She should take care when employing a maid. People of low status do not behave well no matter what one says to them, having bad habits, no wisdom and being perverse, and when they speak it is bad. If something between her husband and his parents or brothers is not agreeable to her, she should do her husband a favour and

not slander them without good cause. If a wife whose maid hears this slander is unwise and believes what she hears she will easily bear a grudge. As her husband's family are all strangers at first it is easy for them to dispense with affection and bear grudges against her. She should not by any means believe the words of an interfering maid and weaken the important, intimate relationship with the in-laws. If the maid is a bad person who talks far too much she should get rid of her quickly. Such people certainly stand in the way of good relationships among relatives and are the cause of disruption in the family. This is terrible. And if she employs a vulgar person there will be many things that will be disagreeable to her. If she rages about those things and slanders about them constantly the maid will get fidgety and take offense a lot and the household will not be peaceful. If they do bad things, she should sometimes tell them and correct their mistakes. She should not get angry about small faults but put up with them. Although she may feel compassion for them in her heart, on the outside she should warn them firmly about their bad behaviour, not letting them be negligent. If they do something worthy of reward do not be stingy. However even if she is fond of them she must not give much to such a useless person without particular reason.

19. In general, the worst ailments that affect a woman's mind are not showing mild obedience, being angry and resentful, criticising others, envy, and shallow wisdom. These Five Ailments are certainly found in

seven or eight women out of ten. They are what make women inferior to men. She ought to keep a watch on herself and her behaviour and change, or discard errors. The Five Ailments will arise particularly among those whose inner wisdom is shallow. Women are the negative "yin" sex. "Yin" is night and therefore dark. A woman, then, is foolish in comparison with a man and can not see things when they are right before her eyes. Nor can she discern the things which people ought to ridicule. She does not even know what will bring misfortune to her own husband and children. She resents blameless people, curses angrily, and envies others, thinking only of herself. She will be hated and treated coldly, and not realise these will prove her ruin. This is empty foolishness. When bringing up children she will not teach them properly if she over-indulges them. A woman is such a fool and therefore ought always to humble herself and obey her husband. The old laws say that when a daughter is born the mother should lie down under the floor for three days. Because women are modelled after Earth while men are likened to Heaven, the husband should be put first in everything and herself last. Even if she does manage to do something good she must not pride herself on it, but if she does something bad and is criticised by others, she must not argue. She should correct herself quickly and remind herself not to repeat the mistake, so that people will not continue to speak badly of her. Also, if others ridicule her she must not be angry and resentful but be patient and endure it gracefully. If she behaves in

this way as I have stated the marital relationship will be conciliatory, then they will stay together for a long time and the household will be peaceful.

All the above should be taught from earliest childhood. Write them down too, read them often and be sure not to forget them. People these days give their daughters a lot of clothing, furniture etc. when sending them to be married, but rather than this they should be sure to teach them these things well because they are a treasure they can keep for life.

There is an old saying that "people know to spend a million `sen' on the preparations for a daughter's marriage, but they do not know to spend a hundred thousand on a daughter's education". How true it is! Parents of daughters should not be parents without knowing this truth.

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