

 PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

東亞圖書館
East Asian Library
and the *Gest Collection*

This title is provided ONLY for personal scholarly use. Any publication, reprint, or reproduction of this material is strictly forbidden, and the researcher assumes all responsibility for conforming with the laws of libel and copyright. Titles should be referred to with the following credit line:

© The East Asian Library and the Gest Collection, Princeton University

To request permission to use some material for scholarly publication, and to apply for higher-quality images, please contact gestcirc@princeton.edu, or

**The East Asian Library and the Gest Collection
33 Frist Campus Center, Room 317
Princeton University
Princeton, NJ 08544
United States**

A fee may be involved (usually according to the general rules listed on <http://www.princeton.edu/~rbsc/research/rights.html>).

*Janice B. Bardsley, "Feminism's Literary Legacy in Japan: Seitô, 1911-1916", *The Gest Library Journal* 5, no. 2 (1992): 87-101, accessed January 14, 2017, https://library.princeton.edu/eastasian/EALJ/bardsley_janice_b.EALJ.v05.n02.p087.pdf*

Feminism's Literary Legacy in Japan:

Seitō, 1911–1916

JANICE B. BARDSLEY

Scholars interested in feminist movements and women's literature in East Asia will find *Seitō* (Bluestockings) a valuable source of information on Japan. Published monthly in Tokyo from 1911 to 1916 by the women's group *Seitō-sha* (Bluestockings Society), *Seitō* displays a rich variety of women's essays, fiction, and poetry from the late Meiji–early Taishō eras.¹ Although considerable research into the life of this literary magazine and its editors already exists, we have by no means exhausted its usefulness. Cross-cultural comparisons with other feminist groups, literary analyses, and further biographical work on the *Seitō* writers remain fruitful areas for future research, as I hope this brief description of the journal and review of secondary sources will show.

As the first Japanese magazine written and edited almost entirely by women, and dedicated to nurturing female artistic genius, *Seitō* quickly attracted public attention. The frank and confessional style of many of its authors as well as their disdain for the life prescribed for middle-class women struck a chord with many Japanese women, bringing a flood of requests for advice and subscriptions to the *Seitō* office soon after its initial publication. Many readers responded particularly to the stirring poem contributed by Yōsano Akiko (1878–1942), a professional poet who had already won notoriety with her 1901 collection of passionate verse titled *Midaregami* (Tangled hair).² Her poem compared women to sleeping mountains who, though quiet now, would soon erupt into a volcanic blaze. A lyrical, Zen-inspired essay by Hiratsuka Raichō (1886–1971), a young graduate of Japan Women's College who had recently created a scandal by

threatening to commit suicide with a married man, also impressed readers. She wrote about *Seitō*'s mission in bravely optimistic terms, beginning her essay with the now famous words:

In the beginning, woman was truly the sun.
 An authentic person.
 Now, woman is the moon.
 Living dependent on others,
 Reflecting their brilliance,
 She has the moon's face,
 And its unhealthy pallor.
 And now, *Seitō* cries, newly born.
 Created by the brains and hands
 Of today's Japanese women,
Seitō cries, newly born.³

Such powerful writing by such spirited women did not escape the eyes of the press who created fanciful reports of the lifestyles of these rebellious "New Women," as it called them. Nor did it slip past government censors who banned certain issues of *Seitō* as "injurious to public morals." Reporters took to searching out scandal in the group, combing the "Editors' Notes" in each journal for news of the society's activities. Girls' schools soon forbade their students to become members or to read the journal, police would get in touch with parents in the provinces after discovering a daughter studying in Tokyo had become involved with *Seitō*, and educators and bureaucrats alike publicly denounced the magazine as both frivolous and immoral.

Although such notoriety forced many of the original members to leave the magazine, it encouraged a few others to join, especially those who particularly wanted to explore questions of women's liberation. Among these, Itō Noe (1895–1923), a teenager who dared to abandon her arranged marriage illegally, stands out as one who became both influential and controversial in the society. Responding to the pressures of public disapproval and the society's changing membership, *Seitō* gradually developed from a journal that focused primarily on art to one that also pursued such controversial topics as marriage laws, abortion, and prostitution. Translations of European fiction gave way to those of Western women's ideas on liberation, particularly the works of Swedish feminist Ellen Key and American anar-

chist Emma Goldman. But whether they were debating social issues or writing poetry, the *Seitō* writers remained most interested in achieving and preserving a sense of their own identity — as women and as writers.

Recognizing the scholarly value of *Seitō*, Fuji Shuppan reprinted the entire fifty-two-volume journal, and provided an index to accompany it, in 1983.⁴ Readers will find *Seitō* in the Gest Library as well as in the Asian libraries of Cornell University, Harvard University, Indiana University, the University of California at both Berkeley and Los Angeles, and the University of Chicago. Fuji Shuppan has also compiled a twenty-volume set titled *The Women of Seitō* (*Seitō no onna-tachi*), a series of reprinted versions of longer pieces or collected works by individual authors associated with the journal.⁵ Although this series will undoubtedly enhance research on *Seitō* and Japanese feminism, it is not yet readily available at libraries in the United States. The Gest Library does have the complete set and will lend volumes through interlibrary loan.

Fortunately, scholars can look to excellent secondary sources regarding



1. The journal *Seitō*. Courtesy of Fuji Shuppan, Japan.

this magazine in Japanese, English, and German.⁶ The autobiography of one of the magazine's most famous editors, Hiratsuka Raichō, serves as the most detailed source of information about *Seitō's* history.⁷ Here, for example, Raichō recounts how male writer and literary critic Ikuta Chōkō (1882–1936) persuaded her to create a women's literary journal and even suggested the name *Seitō*, as a Japanese translation of the name of the famous English women's literary group Bluestockings. She further describes how he encouraged her to keep the magazine focused on art even when she, like many of the other women, wanted to broaden its goal to encouraging each woman to find her own mission in life. Most interesting, Raichō describes the dynamics of the *Seitō-sha* itself. She writes about how and why the group's membership changed from young graduates of the new Japan Women's College who wanted to discuss literature to a more radical group of women who dared to speak out in favor of expanding opportunities for women. She also movingly portrays the tensions her involvement with *Seitō* created in her relations with her parents as well as the way in which being a public figure affected her personal life. Finally, Raichō explains how the combination of public antagonism to the magazine, financial troubles, the pressures of motherhood, and disagreements within the group led to *Seitō's* demise in 1916.

Seitō scholarship in Japanese relies heavily on Hiratsuka Raichō's account. Ide Fumiko (1920–) and Kobayashi Tomie (1916–), two women who had the opportunity to spend a good deal of time interviewing Raichō near the end of her life, have each written books for a popular audience about Raichō and *Seitō*.⁸ Kobayashi, who also collaborated with Raichō on her autobiography, provides an interesting footnote to early research on *Seitō* when she describes her initial evaluation of the magazine's accomplishments. Kobayashi first met Raichō in 1948, at a roundtable discussion on the topic "Women Then and Now," when Raichō was in her sixties, and Kobayashi in her thirties. Although Kobayashi felt awed to be in the presence of someone "you would read about in history books," she argued that the *Seitō-sha* should have gone much further in breaking away from literary interests to pursue politics:

Seitō wasn't a political movement for women's liberation but rather a movement to awaken women through literature. Why was that? Granted that since the *Seitō* movement began from a

concern for inner freedom, for women's self-affirmation and self-liberation, it has significance as a new women's movement never seen in Japan before that time. But why did it fail to become a politically oriented movement for women's liberation? Although Seitō gives the strong impression of having been a sensational social phenomenon, why didn't the group connect more with the lives of women in general and develop as a social and political movement?⁹

According to Kobayashi, Raichō responded to this attack in a calm manner, and even much later, three months before her death in 1971, still stood by what she saw as Seitō's achievements:

Thinking about Seitō now, I am pleased that it began as a movement inspired by the desires of the individual. Because Seitō had such an explosive effect on women who were almost suffocating under centuries of oppression, it was an intellectual women's movement, a movement fueled by the sudden outpouring of women's awareness that Seitō itself had unleashed. In an era when feudalistic thoughts, feelings, and institutions still prevailed, a cry for women's awakening and the other things that arose from that cry, had, I believe, an undeniable significance. In those days, women were not intellectually prepared to organize a political or social movement. Before we could have a social reform movement, we needed to have a movement for intellectual reform to liberate the self. Even in those days there were those who insisted that if we were a women's movement, we first had to concern ourselves with getting the right to vote. But I believed reforming women's personal lives came before that kind of activity. On that point, my thinking still has not changed.¹⁰

Most Japanese historians appear to agree with Raichō's assessment of the Seitō-sha's strengths. Although most, like the young Kobayashi, tend to criticize the members as politically naive and especially unaware of the plight of poor working women in Japan, all recognize the significance of their place in women's history as writers who gave voice to middle-class women's aspirations for greater personal and public freedom. Hence, recent surveys of Japanese women's history, whether designed for children

or adults, never fail to include a chapter on *Seitō*.¹¹ The well-known novelist Setouchi Harumi (1922–) has even written a novel about Hiratsuka Raichō and *Seitō*, and two about Itō Noe.¹² Although viewed as outrageous rebels in their own day, the *Seitō* writers have achieved a kind of heroic status in contemporary Japan, often romanticized as women willing to risk everything to protect their independence.

Although Japanese scholars have paid critical attention to *Seitō* in the postwar era, they have confined most of this research to chronologies of the activities of the *Seitō*-sha and placed these within the context of Japanese women's history. With the exception of a few of the *Seitō* essays censored by the government, little of the magazine's content has received analysis. Furthermore, despite the numerous stories and poems in this magazine, discussions of late Meiji–early Taishō literary activity typically do not include any mention of *Seitō*. Clearly, *Seitō* has earned respectability as an important chapter in women's history in Japan, but has yet to win a place in serious discussions of Japanese intellectual or literary history.

One cannot help but note the irony in this story of *Seitō*'s reception in Japan. During its lifetime, educators and government officials denigrated the magazine's writers for condoning such things as divorce, love affairs, and abortion, and for showing a lack of obedience to parents and other authorities. Postwar critics, on the other hand, fault the *Seitō*-sha for not being political or radical enough! So much attention to *Seitō* only as a sociological or political phenomenon ignores the literary value of much of it, and pulls our attention away from what was so important to the writers themselves — their attempts to create authentic voices, to realize personal identities.

Building on this research in Japanese, *Seitō* scholarship in the United States has integrated some analysis of *Seitō*'s contents with information from Raichō's autobiography and other Japanese secondary sources. As in Japan, these studies, too, tend to consider *Seitō* in the context of women's history, a history that has only recently begun receiving significant critical attention in the United States. Most notably, Sharon L. Sievers's *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (1983), includes a very informative chapter entitled "The Bluestockings," in which she credits them with making significant contributions to Meiji feminism:

They discussed sexuality openly and related it to the politics of

women's condition. They added to the Meiji feminists' demand for economic independence a call for psychological and emotional independence — from men and from the family system. For all of this, they paid a heavy price. But their willingness to accept responsibility for themselves and other women, even though it was often grudging, pushed the feminist movement in Japan to a new level.¹³

A recent essay by Laurel Rasplica Rodd, "Yōsano Akiko and the Taishō Debate over the 'New Woman,'" in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945*, also helps us understand Seitō's place in women's history. She, too, remarks that from its inception, "Seitō was treated less as a literary than a news event."¹⁴ Noriko Lippit's introduction to her *Stories by Contemporary Japanese Women Writers* (1982) takes a somewhat unusual turn by considering Seitō as a contribution to Japanese women's literary history.¹⁵ My dissertation on Seitō (1989) relies greatly on the scholarship in both Japanese and English.¹⁶ It offers a detailed history of the group and its journal as well as an analysis of portraits of independence, work, romance, and motherhood evident in Seitō fiction and essays. The dissertation also includes translations of the journal's original by-laws and the five pieces censored by the government.

Perhaps because this research on Seitō is still relatively new in the United States, as in Japan, Seitō has yet to figure in general discussions of Japanese literature or history. Donald Keene's *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era* (1984) mentions Seitō only in the context of "The Revival of Women's Writing,"¹⁷ and Carol Gluck's *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (1985) makes no mention of Seitō at all.¹⁸ Although we certainly need to consider Seitō in terms of women's history, it would also be useful to bring this group, and the experiences and works of many other Japanese women, into the larger picture of Japanese history and literature. Such studies would show how women borrowed, adapted, resisted, and influenced strategies from the intellectual and artistic currents of their day.

The need for cross-cultural comparisons of early twentieth-century women's groups and feminist writing offers another possibility for research on Seitō. The essays of Hiratsuka Raichō and Itō Noe, for example, show how two Japanese women used Western women's ideas in forming their

own theories of liberation. How does this Japanese work compare with the struggles of the “New Women” in other non-Western nations? How have these early adaptations of Western ideas influenced the course of feminist thought in these countries, and how might they have complicated, or facilitated, international feminist understanding? In light of the recent examination of colonialism, this area seems particularly ripe for research.

Studies of the individual *Seitō* writers and their complete works provide another avenue of necessary research. Such critical and in-depth attention will take us past our first stage of general histories of *Seitō* to a more complex picture of the variety of thought represented in the group. Such research will also bring us closer to understanding the literary and intellectual value of the *Seitō* movement.

I would like to conclude by appending my translation of one of Hiratsuka Raichō's more famous *Seitō* essays, “To the Women of Today” (“Yō no fujin-tachi ni,” from *Seitō* 3.4 [April 1913]). Here, Raichō responds to public curiosity and criticism about the *Seitō*-sha. She criticizes Naruse Jinzō (1858–1919), the president of Japan Women's College, for his lack of understanding of the group's mission. Although government censors did not ban the issue carrying this essay, they reprimanded the group for publishing such material and cautioned the group to avoid writing anything that could harm conventional morals and customs or the traditional virtues of the Japanese woman.

To the Women of Today
by *Hiratsuka Raichō*

I deeply regret that even now I must say this kind of thing to today's women.

I frequently encounter the following kinds of questions, especially from women. They ask, “Are you and other *Seitō* Society members against marriage?” When contending with such odd questions — and, indeed, they are odd — I have always responded, “No.” Sometimes I have gone further, adding that “I have never once spoken in support of women remaining single nor do I remember ever advocating the idea of marriage or the concept of the ‘good wife and wise mother.’ Much less have I ever indicated that *Seitō* Society members were proponents of any

such ideas." Thereupon, the women respond simply by saying, "Oh, is that so? Since everyone says you're against marriage, we just assumed it was so." Since they do not ask me anything further, I lose the courage to go into any more detail and leave it at that.

I act this way because I am so completely taken aback by their questions. These questions reveal just how simple and carefree are both their own inner lives and their thoughts on the inner lives of modern women such as ourselves. I dare say they have nothing of substance in mind when they say such idle, mindless things as: "Despite the fact that she's old enough, Raichō still hasn't married anyone so she's most likely against marriage," and "Since everyone says she's against marriage, I guess it must be so. I'll just ask and see if it is true or not. Besides, there are rumors that most of the other Seitō Society members are also single." I can also guess from the thoughtless manner in which these women ask their questions, and from their sarcastic tone of voice, that they haven't given the matter any more thought or examination than this. If this were not so, I suspect they would hesitate to confront us with such silly questions.

Why doesn't a more basic doubt occur to most women today in regard to such homilies as, "women must marry at least once," "marriage is the only way for women to live," "all women must be good wives and wise mothers," "marriage and motherhood are a woman's whole life"? That this doesn't happen strikes me as strange. Why do they make no attempt at a fundamental examination of what, by rights, a genuine life for women should be? This should be examined completely apart from accepted notions of female virtue which have been passed down through the ages for the convenience of men.

We do not presume to advocate that all women remain single. We simply do not have the leisure to become involved in ideological disputes over such issues as the rejection of marriage or being "good wives and wise mothers." However, we do have fundamental doubts about the way women have led their lives, and we ourselves can no longer tolerate such an existence. Whether women should, in fact, marry has long been at issue. Must a

woman's entire life be sacrificed for the necessity of preserving the race? Is there no other vocation for women outside procreation? Is marriage absolutely the only door to women's lives? Is being a wife and mother the whole of a woman's mission in life? We can no longer believe in such ideas. Besides marriage, shouldn't there be limitless doors for women, open to each of us? Besides meekly becoming a "good wife and wise mother," shouldn't defining a woman's mission in life be up to each of us? Shouldn't freedom of choice be readily available to each individual? Surely, this goes without saying.

For this reason, we demand for women as much liberal education as possible. Furthermore, we demand a high level of education to nourish the spirit and the minds of those women who, independently of men, shall find meaning in their own lives as women. And although I do not attempt to explain everything from a solely materialistic point of view as many socialists do, I must say that we also demand vocational training in order to eliminate the many insecurities and obstacles that arise from a lack of economic independence. Whenever women do not depend on marriage, the issue of immediate concern is always the question of employment.

For example, the women's movement in Europe was, of course, both motivated by Rousseau's theory of the natural rights of man to freedom and equality, and based on an awakening of women that went hand in hand with the development of the concept of individualism. However, I suspect that, apart from this intellectual dimension, the women's movement was largely instigated by the actual problems of the economic conditions in European society and the imbalance of males and females in the population. It did not matter whether these women themselves questioned or disliked the idea of marriage. The fact was that many women could not get married even if they wanted to, and thus the question of employment was the most pressing issue for them.

Whether fortunate or unfortunate, we modern Japanese women are not motivated by this kind of extreme necessity. This is not to say that such does not exist, but rather that it is our own inner

needs that make us also long to step out of the small haven of the home, take jobs, and lead our own lives.

I have heard that women's education in the United States and Europe leans increasingly toward vocational training. Recently, a certain newspaper carried an interview with Naruse Jinzō, the president of Japan Women's College, just returned from a trip abroad. Naruse said that although women's vocational training was flourishing abroad, he was most pleased that women's education in Japan was entirely directed toward creating good wives and wise mothers. He also said that in England, too, the young women of the upper classes were generally educated in the home. I also noticed he mentioned something like, "In Japan these days, although New Women might be causing quite a stir, they are nothing but worthless tomboys." Because I have not had the opportunity to speak with Mr. Naruse in a long time, I may be much too hasty in criticizing him on the basis of this one article which appeared in a newspaper that is not always reliable. I am deeply saddened, however, to hear these words from a women's educator whom I respect. Has old age caught up with this zealous educator who was once so ahead of his times? It saddens me, too, to think the old must cater to such conventional ideas.

Seen in the light of Mr. Naruse's emphasis on so-called character-building education, vocational training is, indeed, not ideal. But where does such criticism leave the pathetic "good wife and wise mother" education for girls we have in our own country? Clearly, Mr. Naruse does not understand in the slightest, nor does he even care to understand, women such as ourselves whom society has labeled New Women. He does not see the new vitality emerging within us and does not hear our crying needs that will not be silenced. Echoing the narrow views of an ignorant and excitable majority and the insults hurled by fools who find fault with anybody who attempts something new, Mr. Naruse coolly censures us in the most thoughtless terms, saying we are "tomboys" or that we are "eroding female virtues." For the president of the only women's college in Japan to say such things, is, I believe, quite unwise and quite irresponsible.

Modern women who have more or less awakened as individuals

can no longer feel any appreciation for the so-called womanly virtues of submission, gentleness, chastity, patience, self-sacrifice, and so on, that men and our society have so long forced upon us. This is because we have questioned the reasons for, and the roots of, assumptions regarding female virtue. We have asked: Why have these behaviors been required of women? Why did society come to recognize them as feminine virtues, and why, in the end, did people even go so far as to believe these virtues formed the essential nature of woman? I will not give any details here about the conclusions our questions produced. I can say, however, that only one reasonable explanation exists. That is, these virtues have been created "for the sake of men." In short, such behaviors have absolutely no fundamental value whatsoever. Because of unthinking prejudice and a customary antagonism to change, however, most of today's women simply do not understand such things. Rather, deluded by the slander of those who disparage anything new, these women blindly oppose women like us. If even these women were to consider such issues more deeply, I believe they would surely find many things to their own dissatisfaction.

I am afraid that saying these things will only make most of today's women immediately jump to such arbitrary conclusions as, "The New Woman wants to rebel against men," and "A woman's awakening seems to lead to her divorce." It is true that we might rebel against men, and at times, I imagine divorces will occur. But rebellion itself is not our purpose, and divorce is not our goal. Indeed, the extent to which we do not even interest ourselves in such questions as whether rebellion or divorce is right or wrong shows how greatly we value our lives as individuals and our lives as women. If, thus far, however, women's lives have been trampled on because of men's personal advantage and desires, not to mention their convenience, then isn't it natural for us to take a defiant stance toward men at some time in order to recover what has been lost?

Were even those women who are so lucky as to be called "wives" to rub their eyes a bit more, could they be entirely satisfied with the lives they've been leading? I wonder how many of today's wives have consented to marry without love in order to

secure their own livelihood. How many serve their husbands as maids by day and prostitutes by night? Sadly, I have heard that some women, believing they must be obedient, submit even to the excessive sexual desires of their husbands, and grow very weak as a result of multiple pregnancies. Even if a husband and wife should feel affection after they have been living together, in most cases such feelings are born of nothing more than expedience. It is not a love that, in and of itself, transcends self-interest.

Even if we do not, for example, go so far as to oppose marriage itself, we cannot submit at all to today's idea of marriage nor to the marriage system as it presently operates. In today's social system, does not marriage enforce a relationship of authority and subjugation that continues throughout one's entire life? Are not wives treated in the same way as minors or cripples? Isn't it true that they have neither property rights nor legal rights to their children? Isn't it also true that adultery is not a crime for the husband but is a crime for the wife? We do not wish to marry so long as it means submitting to this kind of absurd, illogical system. We do not wish to become such wives.

Once our eyes have been opened, we cannot close them again. We are alive. We are awake. We cannot exist without letting the vitality of our inner lives radiate outward. No matter what pressures we may face, our new vitality cannot stop searching for such escape.

Now, seeking the door to a genuine life for women, we find ourselves at a loss. Where should we direct all our energy? Off-hand comments as to whether New Women are frivolous or serious are no longer of any consequence to us. In short, no matter how loudly or how many times we are fed such homilies as, "Live an earnest, spiritual life" or "Live in a noble, respectable, and genuine way," we will never yield our ideals. Although we have only just finished the grammar school of spiritual awakening, we cannot go on living blindly by these mere silhouettes of meaning preached and defined by others. We are searching, through our own efforts, to know the meaning of our lives. Battling against insecurity within and a great deal of unreasonable persecution without, we shall continue our search, fundamentally doubting

and fundamentally questioning, what indeed the life of a genuine woman should be.

If, however, our inner power and newly awakened vitality do not find satisfying channels, then we are surely headed for destruction. We shall have no choice then, I fear, but to end our lives, just as Hedda did.

NOTES

I would like to thank Mr. Okumura Atsubumi and Fuji Shuppan Publishers for permission to translate and publish this essay.

1. In historical accounts in Japanese and English, one often finds *Seitō*, the journal, and *Seitō-sha*, the group, almost interchangeably referred to simply as *Seitō*.
2. For information on Yōsano Akiko, see Laurel Rasplica Rodd, "Yōsano Akiko and the Taishō Debate over the 'New Woman,'" in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 175-198.
3. *Seitō* 1 (September 1911), p. 37. All translations from the Japanese are mine.
4. One may purchase the entire set through Nihon Shuppan Bōeki (Tokyo 101, Chiyoda-ku, Sarugaku-cho 1-2-1; tel: 03-3292-3751; fax: 03-3292-0410) for 123,600 yen.
5. This series includes writing by twenty women actively writing in the 1910s and twenties who had either been contributors to *Seitō* or had some association with members of the group. It includes such items as the complete works of writers Iwano Kiyō and Mizuno Senko, the autobiography of Itō Noe, and a collection of essays by Raichō. Each volume also has an interpretive essay. These essays were contributed by Japanese historians in this area such as Ide Fumiko and Maruoka Hideko, and novelists such as Setouchi Harumi and Sata Ineko.
6. Readers should note that U.S. libraries have catalogued this series as *Sōsho Seitō no onna-tachi* (The women of *Seitō* series). Nihon Shuppan Bōeki can also arrange purchases of this series. For more information, contact Fuji Shuppan, Mukogaoka 1-2-12, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo 113 (tel: 03-3812-4433; fax: 03-3812-4464).
6. Margaret Neuss published a lengthy study of *Seitō* in German. See "Die Seitōsha — Der Ausgangspunkt der Japanischen Frauenbewegung in seinen zeitgeschichtlichen und sozialen Bedingungen," *Oriens Extremus* 18 (July 1971), pp. 2-66, and (December 1971), pp. 138-201.
7. Hiratsuka Raichō, *Genshi josei wa taiyō de atta: Hiratsuka Raichō jiden* (Tokyo: Otsuki shoten, 1971).
8. See, for example, the following works by Ide Fumiko: *Seitō no onna-tachi* (Tokyo: Kaien shobō, 1975);

- Jiyū: sore wa watakushi jishin: hyōden* — Itō Noe (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1979); and *Hiratsuka Raichō: kindai to shinpi* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1987). See also Kobayashi Tomie, *Hiratsuka Raichō* (Tokyo: Shimizu Shoin, 1983).
9. Hiratsuka, *Genshi*, p. 614.
 10. *Ibid.*, p. 625.
 11. See as examples Wakamori Tarō and Yamamoto Fujie, *Nihon josei shi* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1975), vol. 6; *Meiji josei shi* (Tokyo: Rironsha, 1974), vol. 2; and Takamura Itsue, *Josei no rekishi* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1972), vol. 2.
 12. See, for example, Setouchi Harumi's two-volume novel *Seitō* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1984) and her novels about Itō Noe: *Bi wa ranchō in ari* (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1984) and *Kaichō wa itsuwari nari* (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1984).
 13. See Sharon L. Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), p. 188.
 14. See Rodd, "Yōsano Akiko."
 15. Noriko Lippit, *Stories by Contemporary Japanese Women Writers* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1982). See also her article "Seitō and the Literary Roots of Japanese Feminism," *International Journal of Women's Studies*, no. 2 (March-April 1979), pp. 155-163.
 16. Janice Bridges Bardsley, "Writing for the New Woman of Taishō Japan: Hiratsuka Raichō and the *Seitō* Journal, 1911-1916" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1989). See the dissertation bibliography for citations of more research on *Seitō* in Japanese and English.
 17. Donald Keene, *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), vol. 1, p. 1115.
 18. Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985).

GLOSSARY

Fuji Shuppan 不二出版	Naruse Jinzō 成瀬仁藏
Hiratsuka Raichō 平塚らいちよう	<i>Seitō</i> 青踏
Ide Fumiko 井手文子	<i>Seitō no onna-tachi</i> 青踏の女たち
Ikuta Chōkō 生田長江	Seitō-sha 青踏社
Itō Noe 伊藤野枝	Setouchi Harumi 瀬戸内晴美
Kobayashi Tomie 小林登美枝	Taishō 大正
Meiji 明治	<i>Yō no fujin-tachi ni</i> 世の婦人達に
<i>Midaregami</i> みだれ髪	Yōsano Akiko 与謝野晶子