MACHIKO:
NOGAMI YAEKO’S PERSPECTIVE ON SELF-REALIZATION AND MARRIAGE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI’I IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN

EAST ASIAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES (JAPANESE)

December 2002

By
Mayumi Hisamoto

Thesis Committee:
Lucy Lower, Chairperson
Joel Cohn
Nobuko Ochner
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest appreciation to the Chairperson of my committee, Dr. Lucy Lower who patiently devoted countless hours reading my manuscript and guiding my research through to completion; to Dr. Joel Cohn who challenged me and led me to elucidate my thesis; to Dr. Nobuko Ochner who gave me precious insights and encouraged me to complete this project.

Thank you to Izume-san at *Nihon kindai bungaku kan* in Tokyo who promptly provided me with numerous copies of the books and articles I needed, to Fujimoto-san for searching through Nogami’s diaries which are kept at the author’s home in Usuki, Ōita, and to Georganne Nordstrom for proofreading my work. I could not complete my work without all of your help.

Finally, my heartfelt gratitude goes to my husband, Kwang Jin, and our children, Hae Wang, Sa Gang, and You Gang, whose love and support continue to be the greatest source of my passion for life.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements ......................................................................................................................... iv

Chapter 1: Nogami Yaeko: Her Life and Works
1.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................................ 1
1.2 Nogami's Childhood ............................................................................................................... 4
1.3 Education in Tokyo .................................................................................................................. 4
1.4 Literary Debut ......................................................................................................................... 7
1.5 Birth of Sons ............................................................................................................................ 10
1.6 Seito and Kajinmaru ............................................................................................................. 12
1.7 Machiko and Other Stories in the Shōwa Era ....................................................................... 13

Chapter 2: Chie and Onna Rashisa: A Developing Emphasis in Nogami's Seito stories
2.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................................. 18
2.2 Seito sha and Seito ............................................................................................................... 21
2.3 The Works of Nogami Yaeko in Seito ................................................................................ 24
2.4 Chie in Machiko .................................................................................................................... 31

Chapter 3: Self-realization and Marriage in Machiko
3.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................................ 36
3.2 Machiko's Mother ................................................................................................................ 39
3.3 Tatsuko .................................................................................................................................. 42
3.4 Mineko .................................................................................................................................. 44
3.5 Machiko's Half-Brother and Takako .................................................................................... 46
3.6 Self-realization and Marriage .............................................................................................. 47

Chapter 4: Humanism in the Works of Nogami Yaeko
4.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................................ 55
4.2 Humanism in Nogami's Essays .......................................................................................... 56
4.3 Meiro .................................................................................................................................... 60

Chapter 5: Conclusion .................................................................................................................. 65

Notes ............................................................................................................................................... 68

Appendix A: Chronology of Nogami's Life ............................................................................... 78

Appendix B: Chronology of Significant Works ......................................................................... 80

Bibliography .................................................................................................................................. 83
Chapter 1

Nogami Yaeko: Her Life and Works

1.1 Introduction

The writer of *Meian* is a young person who does not discriminate one color of life from another. It is not that she is short of talent. It is not that she is short of knowledge. But she is short of ‘years’ and the philosophical perspective. ‘Years’ are very powerful... by ‘years’, I mean not only living in this world. Living aimlessly is equal to not living at all. For me, ‘years’ means ‘years’ of living as a writer. If the author of *Meian* wishes to become a writer, she should not live aimlessly. She should live as a writer. If she lives ten years as a writer and looks back on the past, she will know that what I say is not a falsehood.¹

After reading Nogami Yaeko’s first short story *Meian* (Light and Darkness, 1907), Meiji literary giant Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916) sent her the above advice.² Following Sōseki’s suggestion, Nogami pursued a career as a writer and produced many interesting works. She had an extraordinarily long writing career, spanning the Meiji (1868-1912), Taishō (1912-1926) and Shōwa (1926-1989) eras. From the time she began writing in 1907 at the age of twenty-two until her death in 1985 at the age of ninety-nine, Nogami’s work reflected the changing society around her and, as she became an increasingly careful observer of society and human relations, her writing evolved and matured.

Among the many works Nogami authored during her long career, I will focus on the novel *Machiko* (1928-30) in this thesis. *Machiko* is Nogami’s first extended work and differs from most of the literature written by both men and women authors during this time period. The dominant trend in Japanese literature in the first decades of the twentieth century emphasized the interiority of the author, giving rise to the *watakushi-shōsetsu*, or *shishōsetsu*, the I-novel, or I-fiction. Although women writers of the 1920s
also often favored a confessional style, their works were not generally categorized as *watakushi-shōsetsu* but, rather, as *jiden shōsetsu* (autobiographical fiction) such as *Nobuko* (1924) by Miyamoto Yuriko (1899-1951), *Hōrōki* (Vagabond’s Story, 1928) by Hayashi Fumiko (1903-1951), and *Seryōshitsu ni te* (In the Charity Ward, 1927) by Hirabayashi Taiko (1905-1972). However, *Machiko* does not fit into either the *watakushi-shōsetsu* or *jiden shōsetsu* genre; in her essay entitled *Naru Asamayama no fumoto kara* (A Letter from the Foot of Roaring Asama Mountain, 1931), Nogami reveals that the heroine of *Machiko* is modeled after her friend’s daughter Tami.³

Interest in Proletarian literature, which flourished from about 1921 to 1934, is another trend during this time period. Proletarian literature, whether fiction or non-fiction, depicts real social issues from the perspective of the working class. The publication of the magazine *Tane maku hito* (The Sower) in 1921 is generally considered to mark the beginning of this movement in Japan. Although the writing in *Tane maku hito* favored political essays over literary pieces, Arishima Takeo (1877-1923), Mushakōji Saneatsu (1885-1976), and Maeda Kō Hiroichirō (1888-1957) did contribute literary works to the magazine. *Tane maku hito* ceased publication after the Great Earthquake of 1923. *Bungei sensen* (Literary Front) was published as a sequel from the spring of 1924. Hayama Yoshiki (1894-1945), Kuroshima Denji (1898-1943), and Hayashi Fusao (1903-1975) were major contributors to *Bungei sensen*. Hirabayashi Taiko also published *Seryōshitsu ni te* in *Bungei sensen*. However, the coterie that produced *Bungei sensen* split into Anarchist and Bolsheviki factions. Although they both agreed that Communism would be the best economic system, the Anarchists wanted the people as a whole to be the owners, while the Bolsheviki held that everything must be in the hands of the State,
which meant that the government would not only be the political ruler of the country but also its industrial and economic master. This confrontation led the Bolsheviki to start a new magazine, Senki (Battle Flag), in 1928. Both Kani kösen (The Factory Ship) by Kobayashi Takiji (1903-1933) and Taiyō no nai machi (The Street without Sunlight) by Tokunaga Sunao (1899-1958) were published in Senki in 1929 when Nogami was serially publishing Machiko in Kaizo. Although Machiko depicts social issues from a class-conscious perspective, it is not categorizable as a work of Proletarian literature. Machiko is not firmly founded on Marxist ideology and the characters are described as morally ambiguous. For example, The Marxist Seki is initially presented as an admirable character but at the end, we come to see him negatively because of his personal irresponsibility.

Machiko is not easily categorized in either of the major literature trends of the time, autobiographical or Proletarian literature. Therefore, Machiko was sometimes criticized as being “without distinguishing characteristics (jimi)” that would identify her with main-stream trends, or as “literature written by a knowledgeable honor student.” This has resulted in Machiko not being a focus of critical attention as often as Meiro (The Labyrinth, 1936-1956), Kaijinmaru (The Neptune, 1922) or Hideyoshi to Rikyū (Hideyoshi and Rikyū, 1962-64). In this thesis, however, I will focus on Machiko to examine Nogami’s interest in one’s self-realization, and analyze how she explored this concept through careful observation of men and women and their relationship in marriage from a humanistic point of view. Nogami’s observations from this perspective are later more fully expressed in her masterpiece, Meiro. But first, I will give an overview of
1.2 Nogami’s Childhood

Nogami Yaeko was born Kotegawa Yae in Usuki, Oita Prefecture, on May 6, 1885.

As Nogami tells in her essay, *Furusato* (Hometown, 1925), Usuki is the castle town of Ōtomo Sōrin (1530-87), a Christian daimyō. He helped propagate Christianity and encouraged trading with Portugal and China, so the town was exceptionally modern in the sixteenth century. Her father, Kotegawa Kakuzaburō, had great business sense; he was a wealthy sake-brewer and started a miso and soy sauce business by recycling used sake barrels. Nogami was proud of the history of her hometown and recommended that one of her family’s sake products be named after the daimyō, “Sōrin.”

Nogami’s mother, Masa, was Kakuzaburō’s second wife— they were married a year after his first wife died of illness. Nogami had an older half-brother, Jirō, a younger brother, Takema, and a younger sister, Mitsu. Nogami was a studious child, and describes her childhood education as follows:

In those days, we had few books for children and there were no entertainments. Therefore, it was natural for me to start going to juku (a private tutorial for the study of Japanese and Chinese classical literature). Yes, not many girls went to juku but I went almost every day. I usually went after school, but it was not rare for me to go to juku early in the morning before school... The Shisho (the Four Books of Confucianism), I just learned how to read, but in the case of the Genji, we memorized the tanka in it, just as children now memorize the songs in movies.

Nogami also went to a different juku to study English. In 1899, she graduated from higher elementary school, and left for Tokyo the next year to further her studies.
1.3 Education in Tokyo

It was rare for the daughter of a merchant to pursue a higher education and, moreover, Nogami’s family did not live in Tokyo. Nogami’s parents were very understanding about her desire to continue her studies. Nogami assumes that her mother, Masa, who could read only kana, felt inferior to her mother-in-law, who could read kanji, and that is why Masa did not deny her daughter a higher education.8

Nogami’s father seems to have been very progressive and was active in the Liberal Party. He was able to help her pursue her education in Tokyo through a political connection who promised to provide a recommendation for Nogami to the Jogakkan Middle School in Tokyo. He was further inclined to allow her to go to Tokyo since his own younger brother, Kotegawa Toyojirō, was living there. Nogami later writes about this uncle in a series of stories published between 1923 and 1925: Sumiko (1923), Junzō to sono kyōdai (Junzō and His Siblings, 1923), Okayo (1924), and Kurutta tokei (The Broken Watch, 1925). She tells how Toyojirō was short and handicapped, and thus did not have a chance for much of a public life in Japan, so he had gone to the United States to receive higher education. Nogami’s father had supported him financially. Toyojirō finally attained a Ph.D. degree in economics from the University of Michigan. After returning to Japan, Toyojirō worked for the Bank of Japan and also wrote articles on economics. It was this uncle that Nogami went to live with in Tokyo in 1900, when she was fifteen. She went by boat to Osaka, then boarded the train; it took her four days to reach Tokyo, where she began a new life.9

In Tokyo, Nogami was supposed to enter Jogakkan; however, since her uncle was very busy, he asked Shimada Saburō, a journalist with the Mainichi Newspaper, to take
care of his niece. But Shimada too was so busy that he asked the same favor of Kinoshita Naoe (1869-1937), a novelist and philosopher who later became a well-known socialist writer. When Kinoshita met Nogami for the first time, he asked her what kind of school she would like to go and Nogami answered, “Wherever I can truly study.” He then decided to take her to Meiji Jogakkō (Meiji Girls’ School), a mission school founded not by foreign missionaries but by the US-educated Kimura Kumaji (1845-1927), who had been succeeded as Headmaster by Iwamoto Yoshiharu (1863-1942). Iwamoto was a Christian and in 1884 founded Japan’s first magazine for women, Jogaku shinshi, later Jogaku zasshi. In his lectures, he talked about the importance of monogamy and financial independence for women. His wife, Wakamatsu Shizuko (1864-96), was also a well-known educator and translator. As Nogami later stated, Meiji Jogakkō was totally different from other regular schools. It did not follow either the national motto of ryōsai kenbo, which encouraged women to be educated to become good wives and wise mothers, or regulations imposed by the Ministry of Education: students did not celebrate the Emperor’s birthday, nor did they study sewing or have exams. The school tried always to train girls to be aware of social issues and express their own opinions. Even in English studies, the school differed from mainstream instruction: instead of a grammar-oriented approach, students were encouraged to read literary works in the original language. In this way Nogami read such authors as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Ralph Waldo Emerson, exercises which would later help her in her translation work. Meiji Jogakkō’s faculty did not necessarily have teaching licenses and came from various backgrounds: critic Aoyagi Yumi (1873-1945), poet and novelist Shimazaki Tōson (1872-1943), Christian evangelist and intellectual Uchimura Kanzō (1861-1930), among
others, taught there. Nogami states, “I am sure that I would not be as I am now, especially in my way of thinking, if I had not entered Meiji Jogakō. That school taught me how to think... not only I but all of us acquired the habit of thinking without being swayed by social authority, reputation, conventional ideas and the like.”12 The social consciousness and independence of mind Nogami acquired at the school are reflected in the themes of her later fictional works and essays, such as her anti-war messages in Meiro, Turūman daitōryō e no kōkaijō (An Open Letter to President Truman, 1950), and Betonamu senka ni omou (Thoughts on the Horror of the Vietnam War, 1965). Nogami also states, “I learned about the Christian God (although I cannot say I believed in him). I also learned the importance of one’s own ethical conscience.”13 Her valuation of moral conscience becomes one of Nogami’s important messages in most of her works of fiction, including Machiko and Meiro. Nogami studied at Meiji Jogakō for six years (three each for middle and high school) and graduated in 1906. Sōma Kokkō (1876-1955), an essayist and founder of a famous literary café, Nakamura-ya in Tokyo, and Hani Motoko (1873-1957), journalist and progressive educator, were also alumnae of this school. Nogami seemed to have many good memories of Meiji Jogakō, which she writes about in her last unfinished work, Mori (The Forest, 1972-1985). Two years after she graduated in 1908, Meiji Jogakō was closed due to financial problems.14

1.4 Literary Debut

Following her graduation in 1906, Yae married Nogami Toyoichirō, although her name was not listed in his family register until two years later, when Toyoichirō graduated from the university. Although Nogami never talked about how she met her
husband, it seems that she herself had sought him out as she had heard about a "smart student" from her hometown of Usuki studying at Ichikō (First Higher School).  

Toyoichirō, son of a sake storeowner, was born in 1883 and came to Tokyo in 1902, two years later than Nogami. His only sibling was a younger sister who had died at birth, when Toyichirō was six years old. Interestingly, Nogami often calls her husband “my elder brother” in her diary, and a year after their marriage, Toyoichirō introduced her works at Sōseki’s Mokuyō kai (Thursday meetings) as his “younger sister’s.” While in college, Toyoichirō had become friends with a physics student whose pen-name was Terada Torahiko (1878-1935) and the friendship eventually led to Toyoichirō joining Mokuyō kai. Terada was a friend of Sōseki’s, and is widely considered to have been the model for the character Nonomiya in Sōseki’s 1905 novel, Wagahai wa neko de aru (I Am a Cat). Toyoichirō was always very understanding and supportive of Nogami’s intellectual and literary aspirations. Nogami says of her marriage, “If I had gone back to my hometown, I would not have been able to study. So I decided to stay in Tokyo. I married Toyoichirō... I wanted to continue pursuing knowledge, to continue growing as a human being.” Toyoichirō helped Nogami achieve these goals. He gave her the books he enjoyed, he hired two maids to ease the burden of domestic toil, he told her in detail about what happened at the Mokuyō kai, and eventually he took Nogami’s manuscripts to the meetings. Thus Nogami, through Toyoichirō’s support, received advice from Sōseki such as the passage cited at the beginning of this chapter.

Sōseki returned Nogami’s first short work, Meian, with detailed comments. Meian is the story about a girl named Sachiko, who wants to become an artist, but stylistically it was heavily indebted to classical Chinese literature. Sōseki recommended Nogami read
George Eliot, the Brontë sisters and Jane Austen, whose *Pride and Prejudice* Nogami would translate in 1937; the novel is also said to be the model for *Machiko*. Sōseki also encouraged Nogami to write attentively as if sketching from daily life (*jōshū-teki shaseibun*). He describes this process of how to sketch from daily life as follows: "The attitude of an author who sketches human affairs should not be that of a rich man observing a poor one, nor a wise man watching an idiot... nor a woman watching a man. It is like an adult watching over a child. It is an attitude similar to a parent watching a child."

Sōseki recommends that an author relax and sketch human affairs, but at the same time he warns that in order to do so, it many be necessary for an author to change his/her perspective depending upon the social situation. But, in any case, Sōseki recommends a writer observe human affairs carefully. Nogami followed Sōseki’s advice and, after *Meian*, based her works mostly on either observation of her own daily life or the stories of her friends and relatives. Over the next two years (1907 and 1908), she wrote eight stories in this style, four of which (*Enishi [A Bond], Tanabata-sama [Dear Tanabata], Kakiyōkan [Persimmon Yōkan], and Otonari [The Neighbor]*) were published upon Sōseki’s recommendation in the literary magazine *Hototogisu* (Cuckoo), founded by Sōseki’s late friend Masaoka Shiki (1867-1902).

Joan Erickson discusses the social climate for “women writers” during the Taishō era (1912-1925) saying, “‘Women’s literature’ does not constitute a literary school nor form an informal group like Sōseki’s coterie, *Mokuyō kai*.” The female authors of this period did not have many opportunities to review and comment on each other’s works. Nogami also describes this time period saying, “It was not an era that allowed a young wife to go with her husband and participate in a gathering such as *Mokuyō kai* and voice her
opinion.” Without writing groups in which to try out ideas, a woman writer of that time had to seek alone for her own perspectives, and discover her voice by herself.

Considering the situation facing female authors, Nogami was lucky to receive the guidance, even indirectly, of Sōseki and to be able to begin her life as a writer with his advice. Nogami writes of her debt to and her appreciation to Sōseki in her essay, *Sonokoro no omoide* (Memories of That Time, 1942):

> Natsume sensei is the only teacher I could call sensei (teacher) after I graduated from school. But he was my teacher through my husband, and our connection was indirect. Moreover, I was not mature enough to understand his greatness or goodness even if I had gone directly to him... I am so thankful, remembering his kindness now. He read the primitive works I wrote at the beginning and he always wrote long critiques for me. A sense of his kindness sinks into my heart and at the same time, I feel sorry to have troubled him. 

1.5 Birth of Sons

From the late Meiji through the early Taishō era, Nogami became increasingly busy. In addition to writing, she gave birth to three sons. In 1910, her first son Soichi was born, followed in 1913 by Mokichirō, and in 1918, Yōzō. She was a dedicated mother, being especially careful about what the children could and could not read. Later, Soichi states, My mother was strict about what we should read. The only magazine she allowed us to read was *Akai lari* [The Red Bird] published by Suzuki Miekichi... As for stories, Grimm, Hans Christian Andersen and other translations, she was sure to read them before giving them to us and when she found a vulgar expression, she covered it with red ink.

Moreover, in 1911, Nogami herself began writing her first children's story, *Momo saku sato* (Hometown Where the Plum Tree Blossoms), and she continued writing in this genre until 1980. Some of the stories, such as *Ippon ashi no tsuru* (One-legged Crane, 1919), and *Ojiisan to obaasan* (Grandfather and Grandmother, 1923) were published in
Akai tori. Her stories are based on classical literature, legends, and stories from the Nō and Kyōgen classical theatre. Most of them are didactic, but some of them are more concerned with empirical education. For example, she writes about the memory of an elephant:

As elephants are smart, they are very good at memorization. Elephant trainers use this trait to teach them tricks. The elephants never forget the tricks once they have learned them. Even if they run away and join a herd in the wild, when they are captured and returned, it is said that they still remember the tricks.

Nogami thus blends scientific, factual information about elephants into her story.

Nogami also began to translate literature for children with her husband’s encouragement. She first translated *The Age of Fable or Stories of Gods and Heroes* (*Densetsu no jidai-Kamigami to eiyū no monogatari*, 1913) by Thomas Bulfinch, *Heidi* (1920) by Johanna Spyri, *Legends of King Arthur* (1942) by Bulfinch, etc. Greek and Roman mythology seems to have been her favorite. She wrote in the postscript to her translation of the Greek myth *Ogon no ringo* (The Golden Apple, 1947): “Greek mythology has the most beautiful legends in the world...there are many things in western culture that one cannot understand without a knowledge of Greek mythology.” Indeed her volume of translation of Greek mythology was popular and she revised it five times between 1942 and 1978.

Nogami not only translated and wrote stories for children, she also wrote about her personal experiences as she brought up her sons in such works as *Atarashiki inochi* (New Life, 1914), *Itsutsu ni naru ko* (Turning Five Years Old, 1914), *Futari no chiisai bagabondo* (Two Little Vagabonds, 1916), and *Hahaoya no tsushin* (News from Mother, 1919). Later, in the Shōwa era, she continued to write about her own experiences with her sons in such stories as *Nyūgaku shiken o-tomo no ki* (Accompanying My Child to the
Entrance Exam, 1927) and Nyūgaku shiken ni tsuite (About the Entrance Exam, 1929). Even after Sōseki’s death in 1916, Nogami abided by his advice and constantly observed and sketched the human affairs around her through the eyes of a mother. As her children grew up, Nogami’s writing also improved and matured.

Nogami believed that the only way one could maintain autonomy in one’s life or avoid falsifying one’s true self in society was to pursue an intellectual, even academic, life. Following her belief, all three of her sons became scholars: Soichi (1910-2001) became a professor of Italian language and literature at Tokyo University, Mokichirō (1913-1985) a physics professor at Kyūshū University and Tokyo University, and Yōzō (b.1918) a professor of mechanical engineering at Tokyo University.

1.6 Seitō and Kaijinmaru

Early in the Taishō era, Nogami published a number of short works in the magazine Seitō (Bluestocking, 1911-1914), which I will examine in Chapter 2. In addition to these works, she also wrote the remarkable Kaijinmaru, based on the true story of the ship Takayoshimarū and an incident that took place in her hometown in 1917. The story goes thus: one day, this small fishing vessel with a crew of four (the captain, his young nephew, and two seamen) was disabled and drifted for fifty-nine days. When their food ran out, the two seamen decided to kill and eat the cabin boy, the captain’s nephew. Although they did kill him with an axe, they could not bring themselves to eat him. The Kaijinmaru was finally found by a big cargo ship and the three men were saved, although one of them died before they reached land. During the official investigation of the Kaijinmaru’s accident, the captain insisted that his nephew had died from illness.
Nogami based her story on a letter from her brother who had met the captain and heard about the actual incident, which had occurred three or four years earlier.\(^{31}\) Thus, \textit{Kaijinmaru} was not based on what Nogami observed in everyday life, and was a completely new approach for her. The story is sensational, not only because it deals with cannibalism, but also because it is very realistic and powerful.\(^{32}\) For example, she writes about the intense emotion the captain experiences when he has to sleep next to the two seamen who have murdered his nephew:

\begin{quote}
... it was a horrifying life for the captain. The seaman had attacked his nephew and he might likewise turn upon and attack the captain at any time. The captain had to sleep close to such a person. The captain was never off his guard even during sleep... He secretly got a knife from the galley and hid it in his bedding while he slept. He thought, “If you try to get me, I will stab you”; he was constantly on his guard.\(^{33}\)
\end{quote}

In this way, Nogami began to write in a new genre, that of historical fiction. Later works in this vein were \textit{Oishi Yoshio} of the 47-rōnin legend (1926), \textit{Hideyoshi to Rikyū}, and a 1968 sequel to \textit{Kaijinmaru, Kaijinmaru gojitsu monogatari}. In this sequel, she wrote the stories she had heard from one of the rescuers, Ōhira Seiichirō, fifty years after the incident.

\section*{1.7 Machiko and Other Stories in the Shōwa Era}

Among Nogami’s notable works from the Shōwa era is her first full-length novel, \textit{Machiko}. This novel appeared in installments in the magazine \textit{Kaizō} (Reorganization) between August 1928 and December 1930 (except the last chapter, which appeared in \textit{Chūō Kōron}, December, 1930). Since \textit{Machiko} is discussed in later chapters, I will not discuss the novel in detail here. Suffice it to say that the story is about a beautiful and intelligent girl, Sone Machiko, and her struggles as she seeks to establish herself as an
adult and to find her partner in life. Many critics, such as Itagaki Naoko, Senuma Shigeki, and Watanabe Sumiko have called this work *dōhan bungaku* ("fellow traveler" literature or "Marxist sympathizer" literature) since Machiko rejects her upper class upbringing in favor of working class rights, although in the end her stance against her family status is modified. However, Nogami also strikingly depicts a gallery of different types of marriages in the story, and we may read it as an exploration of how self-realization is possible in marriage, and the importance of defining one's own goal in marriage, as well as an exploration of the importance of having shared values between a husband and a wife.

Many of the ideas first explored in *Machiko* evolved in two later works, *Wakai musuko* (The Young Son, 1932) and *Meiro*, to form what is now considered a trilogy: all three works deal with the agony of conscientious young persons of the bourgeoisie who are attracted by Marxist ideas. The short story *Wakai musuko* shows the process a higher school student, Kudō Keiji, goes through when he joins the Marxist movement out of friendship. *Meiro* traces the life of Kanno Shōzō, who has converted (*tenkō*) from Marxism, and his circle of friends. *Meiro*, for which Nogami was a co-recipient with Murō Saisei of the ninth Yomiuri Literary Award in 1957, is considered Nogami's masterpiece. Interrupted by war between 1937 and 1947, it took Nogami about twenty years to finish this book. I will discuss the relationship between *Machiko* and *Meiro* in Chapter 4.

During the gap in the composition of *Meiro* in the late 1930s, Nogami's professorial husband was sent abroad on an academic exchange and she went with him to Europe and the United States. Nogami published several accounts of her travels: *Kaigai dayori*
(News from Overseas, 1939), Rondon no ie (A House in London, 1940), and Ōbei no tabi (A Trip to Europe and America, 1942). Later in life, Nogami wrote many accounts of her journeys to China (1958), northern Japan (1958), southern Japan (1958), and elsewhere.

About seven years after they returned to Japan in 1947, Toyoichirō became president of Hōsei University, but he died suddenly of a stroke in 1950. Although Nogami sometimes complained about her husband in her diary, she also shows her appreciation of him in that same diary five years after his death: “Although I was tortured by his jealousy, I realize now how I was living with a freedom and generosity that were rarely found. And I am also glad now that I did not make accusations or show my inner agony to others.”

After her husband’s death, Nogami continued vigorously writing novels, essays and translations. Two novels written after Meiro are particularly noteworthy. The previously mentioned Hideyoshi to Rikyū is an historical novel that focuses on the relationship between the famous tea master Sen no Rikyū (1522-91) and his dictatorial lord, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-98). Both men had once served Oda Nobunaga (1534-82), but after Nobunaga’s death, Hideyoshi acquires political power, and with the patronage of Hideyoshi and Hideyoshi’s younger brother, Hidenaga (1541-91), Rikyū develops the art of tea ceremony to its height. However, as the tea ceremony gains a following, the voice of Rikyū becomes stronger, and some of the other daimyō around Hideyoshi, such as Ishida Mitsunari (1560-1600), start to feel annoyed with Rikyū. Mitsunari points out to Hideyoshi that a statue of Rikyū has been placed at the gate of Daitokuji temple; therefore, whenever Hideyoshi genuflects as he passes the gate, he is actually bowing to
Rikyū. Hideyoshi comes to suspect Rikyū of disrespect and orders him to commit seppuku (ritual disembowelment). Hideyoshi expects Rikyū to humble himself and apologize to him to save his own life, but instead Rikyū commits seppuku and for the first time Hideyoshi realizes that Rikyū’s spirit will never die:

Ostensibly, what Rikyū had done up to now was for Hideyoshi, but in fact it was mostly for himself, Rikyū. It was only Rikyū who could create this art. In that sense, even in the small shōji (paper screen) in a teahouse, Rikyū was alive. The small shōji was sure to remind Hideyoshi of Rikyū. The quiet peacefulness of Rikyū’s face in death was clearly sustained by Rikyū’s pride and confidence.

Nogami examines the relationship between political power and the arts by writing about the relationship between Hideyoshi and Rikyū. Nogami believed that art remains forever even though human beings die, asserting this in her descriptions of Rikyū’s strong faith as an artist. For this novel, she received the third Women’s Literature Prize in 1964.

After receiving the Order of Culture in 1971, Nogami began what was to be her last novel, Mori (The Forest, [unfinished] 1972-1985). This autobiographical story centers on her school days in Meiji Jogakkō, which was located in the forest of Sugamo. It portrays several prominent Meiji personalities and their relationship to the school. She started to write the novel at the age of eighty-seven and while writing the last chapter she passed away at the age of ninety-nine.

I have given a brief overview of Nogami’s life. However, it is impossible to mention all of her accomplishments in one chapter, since she produced 139 works of fiction of varying lengths, 369 essays, 20 translations, ten plays, 56 children’s stories, and 26 travel journals, and numerous letters and diaries during her life. Her collected works comprise 52 volumes (Iwanami Shoten, 1980-91).
We can especially note the influence of her high school days and of Natsume Sōseki, as well as her positive attitude throughout the ninety-nine years of her life. She was always conscious of social issues and wrote in many different genres. However, in this thesis, I will focus on her first long novel, *Machiko*, particularly focusing on two aspects, self-realization and marriage. Nogami had great concern for women’s ability to attain self-realization and the role marriage plays in a woman’s life. She had seen the position of women change through the Meiji, Taishō and Shōwa eras and, as was her style, sketched these changes in her novel. Before turning to *Machiko*, we will look in the next chapter at her short stories published in *Seitō* to see how her thoughts about a woman’s self-realization developed.
Chapter 2

Chie and Onna Rashisa:
A Developing Emphasis in Nogami’s Seito stories

2.1 Introduction

In the beginning, woman was the sun
An authentic person
Today she is the moon
Living through others
Reflecting the brilliance of others

This famous poem appeared in the first issue of the journal Seito (Bluestocking, 1911), and was penned by the publication’s feminist editor, Hiratsuka Raichō (1886-1971). In this piece, Hiratsuka refers to Amaterasu Ōmikami, the sun goddess and legendary female ancestor of the Japanese imperial house. With this solar image, she suggests the notion that feminine autonomy and power were lost ideals and should be restored. Raichō formed Seito sha (Bluestocking Society, 1911-1916) in hopes of responding to women’s issues and elevating women’s self-awareness. Nogami, then just twenty-six years old, was one of the contributors to the first issue of Seito. It is not surprising that Nogami joined Seito sha since she was always interested in social issues. We can see this from the entries in her diary, which spanned sixty-two years and in which she wrote about the Korean War, the controversy over renewal of the Japan-United States Security Treaty, and other matters.2

In this chapter, I will examine the short stories Nogami published in Seito and analyze her perspectives on women’s self-realization prior to writing Machiko. She encourages
Japanese women to value their sense of self and pursue their self-realization, which for Nogami means to possess both onna rashisa, "femininity," which includes motherhood, and chie, "intelligence." Onna rashisa generally means "femininity, womanly qualities, character, and appearance." What is socially regarded as a "femininity" changes over time, of course, and during the Taishō era (1911-1926) in Japan to be "a good wife and wise mother" was regarded as "femininity."

While Nogami might take exception to the limits of this ideological formulation, her version of onna rashisa does certainly value marriage as an institution. In an essay describing her interest in Sonya Kovalevski, Nogami writes that "the more famous she becomes as mathematical genius, the lonelier her private life becomes. I can imagine how hard it was for her, reserved and full of feminine feelings as she was.""3 Nogami points out that when a woman's femininity is fulfilled in marriage, she is happier than if she only has a career. She mentions Madame Curie as one of those happy women who had great support from her husband.

She also values bosei (motherhood), to bear and bring up a child. She writes of her admiration for the Empress Maria Theresia (1717-80) of Austria, upon seeing a portrait of her with her sixteen children:

...we can see the true value of Maria Theresia when we look at the portrait of her surrounded by her many children. Although she was Empress, a shrewd negotiator and an Amazonian politician, she was truly a mother... Surely many people helped her to take care of the children; still, it is not an easy job for a woman to give birth sixteen times. If Napoleon and Caesar were sent to a labor room sixteen times, I wonder if they would still have accomplished what they did... Maria Theresia bore sixteen new lives and also accomplished many incredible things as the second Queen Regnant in Hungarian history... 4
In another essay, while she calls the French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980) and his partner Simone de Beauvoir (1908-86) an ideal couple, Nogami regrets that they had no children:

...to bear a child with someone you love means to realize the things both partners have through a child as one life...I was wondering if Beauvoir has never wanted to have a child with a lover. I admire the way Beauvoir lived, keeping true to her own self throughout her life, yet, as she had such an unusually wonderful partner at that time, she should have considered having a child.5

For Nogami, bearing a child is one of the wonderful and important works of women. She believes that a couple who love each other should hand down whatever they have to their child for the future of humankind. Also, Nogami believes that giving birth to a new life is one of the ways people come to know their inner selves.

The other important aspect of self-realization for Nogami is chie which means "intelligence," "wisdom," or "knowledge." Although these three words indicate slightly different notions in English, the Japanese word chie can be used for all three. Nogami defines chie in an essay written to her son in 1936:

At first, I defined chie as simply that knowledge which does not stand alone, but rather which ties human beings and life together in a totally harmonizing way. However, let me explain this definition in detail: when I say, "a human being has good intelligence," it means one who can always live freshly and positively with cultural sensitivity, and at the same time one who always has a correct recognition of the world and surrounding society on the basis of the knowledge one has mastered or one’s experiences in life.6

Nogami clearly states that the chie which comes from books alone does not deserve to be called chie. She says that chie should be tied together with our lives and experiences in order to make us recognize the world and society in the right way.

Nogami once reflected in an interview on a memorable lecture by Uchimura Kanzō (1861-1930), the famous religious thinker and critic who had taught at her high school.
Uchimura states, “My friend the pastor once talked about his wife. He boasted, ‘my wife reads the Bible in Hebrew, she bakes the best bread in the parish, and she sings the hymns most beautifully.’ This is ideal virtue for a woman.” Nogami, too, emphasizes a balance of both onna rashisa and chie in life. We will look at how these ideas develop as key factors in one’s self-realization in Nogami’s writings in Seittō, and then investigate how true chie is conveyed in Machiko.

2.2 Seittō sha and Seittō

Although Seittō sha is considered to mark the beginning of the Japanese feminist movement, there were earlier women’s groups, such as one called Okayama joshi konshinkai (The women’s social gathering in Okayama, 1882-84) led by Fukuda Hideko (1865-1927), a proponent of women’s economic independence and political rights. However, Seittō sha is always identified with the feminist movement because of the nationwide interest aroused by its adherents, those atarashii onna (new women) who began to penetrate the professional world of men as teachers, nurses, officials, artists, etc. These atarashii onna tried to break from traditions such as the feudalistic family system and the official ideology of “good wife and wise mother.” They pursued a new path for women that focused on their own self-realization, often through paid employment.

Many members of Seittō sha were from bourgeois backgrounds and had received a high school education, or even attended a university. In many ways Seittō sha members represented the spiritual unrest and interest in Western individualism which identified the generation born after 1880. These women began with a shared interest in literature, but
in their quest for self-realization, they inevitably became involved in the feminist movement.8

Seitō sha began with the publication of the literary magazine Seitō in September 1911. The name Seitō was inspired by the noted literary critic Ikuta Chōkō (1882-1936). Hiratsuka Raichō had been one of his pupils in a literary study group called the Keishū Bungaku Kai (Association of Women Writers). Together with four other women who knew each other from school, Raichō founded the group and its magazine, with her mother contributing money that she had set aside for her daughter’s wedding.

The term “bluestocking” originates with an informal group of eighteenth-century intellectual women, based in London, who hosted social salons where they discussed the prevalent philosophical and literary notions of the day. The group’s nickname comes from the blue stockings the members wore. Ikuta hoped the magazine would provide ample opportunity for women’s literature to develop in Japan. However, by 1913, as the magazine became increasingly polemical and focused on the women’s liberation movement, he decided to leave Seitō sha.

Seitō was a magazine by and for women. The magazine’s aim was to liberate women by utilizing the talent of female authors to elevate self-awareness. The first issue featured many established women writers and poets, such as Yosano Akiko (1878-1942), playwrights Hasegawa Shigure (1879-1941) and Okada Yachiyo (1883-1962) and novelists Tamura Toshiko (1884-1945) and Nogami Yaeko. Although Seitō never attained a literary reputation of its own, it was significant for the publication of such works as Raichō’s prose poem Genshi josei wa taiyō de atta (In the Beginning Woman
was the Sun, 1911) and Yosano Akiko’s poem *Sozorogoto* (Chat, 1911). Both poems prophesied women’s awakening.

Several hundred women joined Seitō ša and took part in its activities, which included public lectures. Unfortunately, however, it was not these activities that gave Seitō ša its reputation for being an association for “new women.” Instead, the allegedly scandalous lifestyles of certain writers defined Seitō ša for the public. One such scandal was precipitated by Otake Kōkichi, a gifted painter involved in a lesbian affair, and this incident contributed to Seitō being misunderstood. Otake was forced to resign from Seitō ša in 1912.

From September 1911 to December 1912, Seitō was primarily composed of literary contributions which more or less consciously dealt with women’s problems in marriage and society. From 1913, it also contained essays and translations dealing with the feminist movement more generally. By 1914, the popularity of Seitō ša began to decline, not only because of public criticism, but also because many members had married and were occupied with children. In November 1914, Raichō, faced with family and financial hardships, thought of giving up Seitō. However, the writer Itō Noe (1895-1923), already under the influence of the anarchist Ōsugi Sakae (1885-1923), decided to continue publishing the magazine on her own. She took over the editorship of Seitō in January 1915 and subsequently dealt with such issues as prostitution, abortion, and chastity. However, she, too finally had to discontinue publication in 1916 because of financial difficulties and her divorce from her first husband.
2.3 The works of Nogami Yaeko in *Seitō*

Although Nogami Yaeko was a member of *Seitō* sha for the first issue of *Seitō* in September 1911, she withdrew her membership in October 1911. Later she stated:

I was asked to join *Seitō* sha by Kiuchi Teiko, not directly by Hiratsuka herself...Ms. Kiuchi said, “Compared to men, women writers do not have many opportunities to publish their works, so let’s create such an opportunity through the efforts of women alone.” I immediately agreed with her. The magazine was named *Seitō* by Ikuta. However, as is well known, it attracted journalistic attention and seemed to deviate from its original course. Also *Seitō* members held meetings very often and my *shosai-shugi* [Nogami’s practice of excluding herself in her study to write, plus her household duties as a wife and mother] could not be maintained. Yet, because of my relationship with Ito Noe, I constantly wrote for *Seitō* until Sonya Kovarefusuki.9

Thus, Nogami wrote for *Seitō* without formally being a member of *Seitō* sha. Her major works published in *Seitō* are:

- **Kyonosuke no kyosui** (Kyonosuke’s Doze) September 1912.
- **Kindaijin no kokuhaku** (The Confession of a Modern Man) October 1912-January 1913.
- **Sonya Koburefusuki no jiden** (The Autobiography of Sonya Kovalevski) November 1913-August 1914.
- **Atarashiki inochi** (A New Life) April 1914.

The latter two are Nogami’s most significant works among those published in *Seitō*, but I will briefly comment on each work individually.

*Kyonosuke no kyosui* (Kyonosuke’s Doze) is a story about a boy who loses his father at a young age and is destined to be apprenticed to a Nō master. Nogami’s husband, Toyoichirō, was a scholar of Nō and she, too, was familiar with its world. She writes about the agony of the boy, Kyōnosuke, who is growing to manhood both physically and emotionally. He has a hard time training as a Nō actor because his voice breaks, and his...
dream of being a cavalryman is unrealized. One day, when a No presentation is to take place, he secretly rides a horse before going to the presentation. He is excited after riding and reaches the hall just in time for his performance. He somehow plays his part and after that, while listening to someone singing what sounds like a mother’s lullaby, he dozes off.

This story does not really seem to fit the feminist orientation of Seito, but Nogami ventured to publish it there anyway. Although the main character of this short story is a boy, her main point is self-realization. She describes the frustration of the boy who can neither realize his dream nor refuse to accept his destiny. We might note that her emphasis in this story is on a well-balanced view of the outside world. In this story she reminds women that men too sometimes have a hard time realizing themselves, that they too struggle with their destinies.

The next piece, Kindaijin no kokuhaku (The Confession of a Modern Man), is a Japanese translation of La Confession d’un enfant du siècle. This work, by the nineteenth-century French poet, playwright, and novelist Alfred de Musset (1810-1857), is purportedly Musset’s account of his relations with the novelist George Sand (1804-1876). Sand’s many love affairs after leaving her husband and two children, including one with the composer Chopin, are well known. Nogami translated the section where Musset describes his heartbreak when he finds that Sand has been unfaithful to him with his friend. The story describes Musset’s desperate love for Sand and his agony when he decides to end his relationship with Sand even though she has apologized to him for the incident. Despite Musset’s regret and agony, the story ends with Musset finding hope within himself. Nogami thus introduces a male point of view again, just as in Kyōnosuke
Nogami shows not only how independent Sand is in choosing her lovers, but also how desperate Musset, a man, feels because of Sand's inconstancy. In this story, the protagonist's friend says, "No perfect thing exists [in the world]. Intelligence allows people to understand this [fact]. The desire to possess something perfect is the most dangerous stupidity of humankind." Nogami sees hope in Musset's decision, which is founded in his ethical rejection of Sand's betrayal. In her translation, Nogami shows her readers that women, too, have freedom to choose; yet nothing is perfect in this world and any choice may have a good or a bad outcome. Nogami also shows that "intelligence (chishiki no chiri)" and "rationality (risei)" help us to make better choices.

Nogami's third work in Seito, Soniya Koburefusukii no jiden (The Autobiography of Sonya Kovalevski), is also about a woman who has to make a choice. It is composed of Japanese translations of the first ten chapters of Kovalevski's biography in English by Anne Leffler, and a part of Kovalevski's autobiographical novel, The Sisters Rajevski. Sonya Kovalevski was a Russian mathematician and novelist, born in Moscow in 1850. In 1868, as she could not attend university in Russia because she was a woman, her only option was to travel west. However, by law, a woman traveling alone at that time had to have either her father's or husband's permission, and her father would not allow her to leave the country for study. So she entered into a "platonic" marriage of convenience with a young paleontologist, Vladimir Kovalevski. The two went to Germany to continue their studies. In 1869, she went to Heidelberg, where she studied under the German physicist Helmholtz (1821-1894). From 1871 to 1874, she was taught privately by Berlin mathematician Karl Weierstrass (1815-1897), since his public lectures were not open to women. In 1874, the University of Göttingen granted her a degree in absentia for
her thesis on partial differential equations. Although she became the first woman in the
world to receive a doctorate in mathematics, she was unable to obtain a job, so she
returned to Russia. She and Vladimir finally began to live as true husband and wife and
had a daughter, but the marriage lasted only five years. She longed for freedom to study,
and accepted an invitation to become a lecturer at the University of Stockholm in
Sweden. Her marriage ended and she went to Sweden, leaving her daughter, whom she
later brought to Sweden, in the care of friends. In 1883, she was appointed professor, and
in 1888 she was awarded the Prix Bordin of the French Academy for her paper on the
rotation of a solid body around a fixed point. She died in Stockholm in 1891, at the
height of her career, shortly after being elected to the St. Petersburg Academy of Science.

Understandably, Nogami was fascinated by Kovalevski’s life and her struggle to
attain intellectual equality with men in Russia and Europe. Nogami seemed to see and
expect a similar movement in Seiitō. She writes:

I am once more intrigued by the rather similar features shared by the movement
for liberation, which was directed toward a brighter future and gaining knowledge
—the whirlwind that swept through the Russian intelligentsia of 1860-70 and
marked a turning point in the youth of this pioneering woman [Kovalevski]—
and the movement among the new women of Japan, centered at the time around
Seiitō sha.11

Nogami was also charmed by what she felt was the sensitivity and “femininity” of
Kovalevski, exemplified by Kovalevski’s easily shedding tears when she divorces, or
when she temporarily has to part with her child. These two aspects, onna rashisa and
chie, again catch Nogami’s attention and she ponders how a woman can balance them in
her life. The obstacles Kovalevski faced continually forced her to choose between her
academic career (mathematics) and her family. The conflict between career and family in
Kovalevski’s experience exemplifies the struggle in a woman between onna rashisa and chie which occupies the center ground of many of Nogami’s writings.

Nogami’s belief that a woman needs these two aspects to be complete—onna rashisa and chie—can be seen in her different works. In 1914, while she was writing Sonya Koburefusukii no jiden for Seitō, she also published a collection of children’s stories entitled Ningyō no nozomi (The Desires of Dolls). Ningyō no nozomi is one of the stories about three dolls: a British doll named Belle, a French doll named Elisa, and a Japanese doll named Tamako. One day they learn that the difference between a doll and a human being is based on whether one has a soul, or spirit. So on March 3rd (the Japanese Doll Festival [Hinamatsuri], also called Girls’ Day) they decide to go to Mount Olympus in Greece to get their spirits. On the way to Olympus, they meet Deukalion, who asks them if they are really ready to receive a spirit. He warns:

“When you don’t have a spirit, something joyful, sad, or painful is just a matter of physical joy, sadness, or pain. However, once you have a spirit, not only will you experience deeper joy but you will also experience much more sadness and pain than mere physical sadness or pain. If you are not ready for this, you will regret and miss those easy days when you only had a body.”

They heed his warning and finally receive their spirits with delight. Then, the other Gods offer to give one power to each of the dolls as a gift in celebration. Elisa receives the gift of “beauty (bi),” and Belle receives the gift of “intelligence (chie)” after hearing Minerva’s words, “Whether man or woman, there is nothing more miserable than a person without ‘intelligence.’” Tamako cannot decide whether she should ask for “beauty” or “intelligence.” She recalls the death of another beautiful doll caused by a stupid master and realizes that “beauty” alone would not help her in life. She decides she needs lucid “intelligence.” So, she finally asks for and receives “a shining jewel of
intelligence.” This story is said to be based on an episode in Bullfinch’s *Mythology*, which Nogami had translated the year before, in 1913. With this story, Nogami sends her readers two clear messages. First, when a woman demands to be human (not a doll anymore), she should be ready not only for deeper joy, but also for deeper sorrow and pain. Secondly, Nogami endorses the notion that whether man or woman, there is no one more miserable than a person without “intelligence.”

Above all, Nogami was interested in how onna rashisa and chie can be balanced in a woman’s life. Her last and one of her most significant works in *Seitō* was written regarding a specific aspect of onna rashisa and was called *Atarashiki inochi* (A New Life). This work describes the labor pains of a young mother through the night and into the following morning. It is based on her own experience of giving birth to her second son. This story is revolutionary because it deals with the socially taboo subject of pregnancy and labor, which only a woman can experience. Even in the present day, it is rare and rather daring to write about this topic, but Nogami writes realistically about the pain and agony of labor. She describes the discomfort of her labor saying, “during a contraction, when the nurse stopped rubbing my back, I said angrily, ‘Keep rubbing,’ and moaned like an animal.” Yet, her story also depicts giving birth as a positive experience and as “something significant since all children are the children of God.”

The scenes after the birth focus on the emotions of the parents, showing how the mother and father are delighted to have their son. Additionally, the story shows the parents pondering how to explain to their eldest son about the arrival of his brother. While dealing with the pain of labor, this story also conveys the joy of parenthood.
The word “motherhood (bosei)” did not necessarily elicit a positive image among Nogami’s contemporaries at Seitō during this time; rather, motherhood was sometimes regarded as a disadvantage for women. There were two reasons for this perspective. The first was pointed out by Hiratsuka Raichō in the introduction to Seitō in a translation of Love and Marriage, by Ellen Key, the influential Swedish feminist. Raichō writes that although sexual fulfillment should be realized only in a relationship based on love, there were many wives who had married without love and submitted to the sexual demands of their husbands as the price for security. Raichō states that such a wife just follows the convention that requires submission to a husband’s sexual demands. She goes on to argue that such a woman is likely to be physically harmed by successive pregnancies, since birth control was not widely discussed or practiced.15

The second reason motherhood was not considered desirable by many new feminists was the difficulty a woman faced with both a career and family. There was no social infrastructure to support working mothers. Although she later altered her view after marrying painter Okumura Hiroshi in 1918, Raichō had earlier taken a position against motherhood in Seitō: “I hope you will understand that those women who value themselves most, and those who are devoted to their work, should not be eager to give birth.”16 In contrast to this current of thought which de-valued motherhood, Nogami wrote about her experience in a positive way and reminded women that giving birth is also important and rewarding work.

Through Nogami’s works in Seitō, we can see she was encouraging women’s self-realization and was suggesting that women balance her ideas of onna rashisa and chie in order to achieve self-realization. But during the Taishō era, many people criticized these
“new women,” arguing that *atarashii onna* did not fit the ideal of a “good wife and a wise mother.” Many believed that women could not possibly be wives and mothers, and still have a public life, including employment, at the same time. Moreover, other well-known women novelists of Nogami’s time seemed to validate this point of view. Hiratsuka Raichō and writers Miyamoto Yuriko, Hayashi Fumiko (1903-51), and Okamoto Kanoko (1889-1939) had either divorced their husbands, run away from home, or engaged in sensational love affairs during the 1910s and 1920s. Many members of Seito sha had graduated from university, so many people blamed their education for their wayward ways and criticized expanding opportunities for “new women” to pursue a higher education. However, Nogami believed in both education and the marriage institution, and thus through her works in *Seito*, she suggested to her female readers that they should consider both "onna rashisa" and "chie" when they strive for self-realization.

Now we will see how Nogami treats one of these key ideas, *chie*, in *Machiko*.

### 2.4 Chie in *Machiko*

*Machiko* was written fourteen years after *Atarashiki inachi*. During this fourteen-year interval, Nogami wrote many short stories and children’s stories. In 1928, at the age of forty-three, after twenty-two years of writing, she penned *Machiko*, her first extended work. The heroine of *Machiko*, Sone Machiko, is a college graduate auditing a sociology course at Tokyo University. This system of auditing was instituted in 1921 (lasting through 1926), to allow women to study at Tokyo University. Machiko is independent and goes to the university despite the fact that her relatives tell her, “Honestly speaking, the fact that you go to the university, Machiko, is preventing marriage proposals. Even
though you are such a beautiful girl, since you are such an avid scholar, people avoid approaching you."19 However, she is disappointed with the lectures at the university and she is smart enough to point out the professor’s shortcomings.20 Machiko knows that she is neither studious enough to become a scholar nor is she just killing time by studying.21 However she does not know what to do with her future. While present-day readers might not find Machiko notably independent, she is much more independent than the norm for a young woman in 1928, and moreover she sees situations analytically. She knows what she does and does not like, and it is clear that she does not like her family environment. She says of her family that they are “full of the dullness, ridicule, and ugliness found typically in the petit bourgeois, who are located just at the bottom of the upper class and the top of the middle class.”22 She becomes aware of social class distinctions and this class-consciousness makes her determined to escape from her own class. She declines a marriage proposal from Kawai, the son of a very rich man, saying, “Even were I to think of marriage, I would not seek a partner from your class.”23 She decides to fight for the working class and reacquaints herself with Seki, a Marxist friend of her friend Yoneko. Machiko is interested in the Marxist movement and longs for a life which rebels against her family or class. Machiko flouts convention when she proposes marriage to Seki, saying:

“You don’t believe in any blood but that of proletarians. However, I am sure you will believe that I saved what I alone possess, I saved it just for you. That qualifies me to become your new comrade.”24

But when Yoneko tells Machiko that she, Yoneko, is expecting Seki’s baby, Machiko becomes aware of Yoneko’s sorrow. Machiko then withdraws her proposal, telling Seki:

“It is of no use to eliminate poverty if you don’t eliminate this kind of sorrow [Yoneko’s sorrow at having a fatherless child]. Even if a future society is utopian
and brilliantly organized, as long as even one person is suffering from sorrow like this, that future world will be imperfect just as the present world is, with its suffering from a lack of clothes or bread.”

After this incident, Machiko leaves her home and stays with her sister Mineko in Tōhoku, waiting for a teacher’s position to open up. There, she has a chance to meet Kawai again, and he tells her that he is going abroad to study archaeology. Although Machiko had earlier expressed contempt for archeology, to Kawai’s surprise she is understanding and encourages him, saying “Any work, as long as it is related to a higher objective, is equally worthy.” Machiko honestly explains to him what happened before she came to her sister’s house and how she has changed. She tells Kawai that she is still interested in Russia and that one day she wants to see how Marxist ideology is actually realized in that country. Kawai asks her to come with him, but Machiko needs time to reply to him, so he promises to come for her soon and leaves for Tokyo. However, before he returns, Machiko hears of a strike at one of Kawai’s companies and how he has decided to sell most of his real estate to resolve the strike. This willingness of Kawai to sacrifice for the good of his employees makes Machiko realize that their ideologies are not so far apart as she once thought, so she hurries back to Tokyo to meet him.

In this novel, Nogami writes about a beautiful woman who is independent and tries to shape her own destiny. Machiko goes through many twists and turns in order to come to terms with her own chie. This path leads her to maturity and to find her partner in life. The ideographs for Machiko’s name also suggest this path since they mean “child (ko) who has true (ma) wisdom (chi).” In other words, the story of Machiko is the journey of Machiko finding her partner in life as well as the journey of attaining her real chie. The story shows that university lectures on social issues alone are not helpful, that it is rather
through her relationships with her Marxist friends, Yoneko and Seki, outside of academia, that Machiko learns to see the reality of human relations in society. At one point, Machiko goes to see Yoneko, who has been taken to the hospital in a medical emergency, but put in a small room at the back because she is poor. Machiko realizes that “For the same illness, one patient is provided with a fully furnished deluxe bed and another can hardly get a poor one. This fact shocks Machiko like a new discovery.”

Machiko attains real chie through her experiences. As we saw in her essay addressed to her son, Nogami asserts that real chie is knowledge linked to experience which makes us recognize the world and society fairly. Chie and onna rashisa were two things Nogami asked the readers of Seito to consider when pursuing self-realization. Fourteen years later, Nogami’s belief in the necessity of attaining real chie becomes apparent through Machiko’s experiences. Machiko’s experiences provide the foundation for the process through which she acquires chie, with the result that she recognizes Kawai as her life partner.

The story of Machiko recalls that of the “shining jewel of intelligence” that Tamako received in Ningyō no nozomi. Although Nogami does not use the word “jewel” in Machiko, she makes the readers realize that chie is like a jewel and we should polish it with our experiences, just as Machiko does. Although, as the novel closes, we are not told whether or not Machiko goes abroad with Kawai, we are sure that Machiko will continuously polish her chie and use it to make her own decisions about her future.

In this chapter, we saw that one of Nogami’s messages in Machiko is that having real chie is an important step in self-realization. In the next chapter, I will analyze Nogami’s other chief concern, onna rashisa, by focusing on the various marriages portrayed in
Machiko, since Nogami believes in marriage as a social institution and *onna rashisa* (including motherhood) is usually fulfilled through marriage.
Chapter 3

Self-realization and Marriage

3.1 Introduction

When we think about it, there are many mysterious things that human beings do. Living as husband and wife, for instance, is one of these things.

Strangers we call “husband” and “wife” sleep together, eat together, are happy together, are sad together, and become the parents of something we call a “child.” When this life continues for some ten years, with a tie as strong as on their first day together, without any difference or change, everyone praises them as the happiest couple in the world. Although a young joyous newlywed couple brightens up this world like a flower, the old couple who have gone on caring for each other with unchanging affection is much more beautiful.¹

Thus Nogami Yaeko writes in her 1940 essay, *Otto to tsuma* (Husband and Wife).

This passage shows that she thought marriage mysterious. Nogami was married to Toyoichirō for forty-five years, until his death. Like the “beautiful” old couple described above, together they raised three sons. Marriage was of great concern to her, as evidenced by her focus on it in her essays and fiction, since she saw the institution of marriage as being strongly related to fulfilling a “woman’s nature.” Moreover, as Nogami developed as a realistic writer following Sōseki’s advice to “sketch from daily life” around her, she observed not only her own marriage, but those of others as well.

Nogami’s first long novel *Machiko* depicts several different types of marriage and shows how each marriage affects the wife’s ability to attain self-realization.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, *Machiko* was written between 1928 and 1930. The story is about Sone Machiko, a woman who is “talented and has her own opinions.”² She is attending university and studying sociology, the study of human societies.
Machiko is extremely class-conscious; she is disgusted with her own upper-middle class status and tries to dissociate herself from bourgeois privilege. The novel takes us through Machiko's process of deciding whom she should marry, and marriage is the important issue in this story. Even the first sentence focuses us on "the marriage issue: Machiko knew that her mother had been getting anxious recently about her marriage." However, most critics at the time the novel was published focused on the significance of the class issues, and thus on the influence of the proletarian movement in the story. Approaching the story from this perspective they analyze the relationship between Machiko and the Marxist, Seki, but do not give much attention to marriage or family issues. For example, Miyamoto Yuriko introduces Nogami as a writer "who could not free herself from a stance critical of Marxism, although she recognized the historical role of the working class in her writing of Machiko and Wakai musuko." Hirano Ken writes that he read Machiko again and again in 1930 because "he was fascinated by the awareness of social issues that the young heroine had and how she tried to use the communist movement as a way out of her upper middle class life." Even George Shea, a Western scholar, writes some years later that Machiko "took the left-wing movement for its theme." This phenomenon of reading the story in light of socialist ideas was understandable, since proletarian literature flourished from about 1925 to 1934 and any writing that concerned itself with class issues was inevitably considered in terms of the Marxist critique.

From the beginning of the Taishō era (1912), Japan was increasingly industrialized, and in response to this social attitudes began to change as well. There were a variety of new social values introduced, and society reflected a tumultuous mix of traditional and new values. Although marriage law was liberalized for women, many social structures
remained discriminatory against women; for example, women still did not have voting rights in 1925, and a woman was considered incompetent with regard to property rights and needed permission from her husband just to receive the income from assets which she rented to others. This law defined the relationship between husband and wife as that of master and servant.

Social and economic changes provided many opportunities for women to come out from their homes and seek higher education or work in professions such as nursing and teaching. These opportunities motivated women to develop a more individualized sense of themselves and their aspirations, and raised their awareness of the problems that women face in society. As we saw in the previous chapter, Seiitō sha was one of those organizations that supported this new self-awareness in women from 1911 to 1916. After Seiitō was discontinued in 1916, Hasegawa Shigure published the feminist journal Nyonin geijutsu (Women’s Arts, 1928-1932) promoting women’s social emancipation. Nyonin geijutsu encompasses both serious intellectual inquiry in its contents and an explicit feminist orientation. Hirabayashi Taiko, Hayashi Fumiko, Enchi Fumiko (1905-1986), and Sata Ineko (1904-1998) all published works in this magazine about a woman’s struggle to live.

During this time, when the law was slowly changing and women were seeking social equality, “marriage,” still a fundamental unit of society, reflected the conflict of values. Some women started to work outside the home and design their lives independently; however, so-called “love marriages” were not yet common. A woman who had received higher education often had trouble finding a husband who would accept that in a wife, and thus, such women often relied heavily on the service of nakōdo (a go-between).
Against this social backdrop, Nogami ventured to write about the agony of an intelligent girl from a petit bourgeois family who is faced with the decision of whom to marry. Machiko’s dilemma arises out of both Nogami’s belief that *onna rashisa* should not be forgotten in the pursuit of self-realization, and her respect for marriage as an institution necessary to fulfill *onna rashisa*. In order to explore how women’s ability to attain self-realization is affected by their marital situations, Nogami describes different types of marriages in *Machiko*. Therefore, in this thesis, I will analyze how the marriages around Machiko—her mother’s, her two sisters’, and her half-brother’s—are described, because these marriages close to Machiko illuminate the meaning of her own decisions. I will show how Nogami writes of the female characters’ self-realization through the four different marriages. As women’s social situation and emotional struggles are slightly different from men’s, I will refer to the process of attaining self-realization as developed in recent feminist therapy. Then, finally, I will examine Nogami’s perspective on successful self-realization and a marriage in harmony with both *chie* and *onna rashisa*.

3.2 Machiko’s Mother

Machiko has one older half-brother and two older sisters, all married. Machiko is the youngest, and lives with her widowed mother. Machiko’s father was a high-ranking government official; however, the family was not financially well off after his death. Yet Machiko’s mother is always concerned with and puts great effort into maintaining her family’s (*ie*) status. Machiko does not approve of her mother’s struggle. For example, when Machiko goes shopping with her mother for year-end gifts, although she understands that the cultural tradition (which dictates that Japanese people annually
exchange gifts to show gratitude at the end of the year) has an effect on the amount of money and effort her mother expends in choosing the gifts, Machiko is gradually disgusted with the clear ugly intention that dominates her mother’s choices. Honestly speaking, there was no gift chosen for its aesthetic value or usefulness to the recipients. Seven-yen looks ten-yen, four-yen looks five-yen, how expensive the gift looks was the most important [for her mother].

Machiko’s mother tries hard to maintain her family’s status for two reasons: first, Machiko’s mother is the second wife and has only daughters. As a second wife and a widow with no heir, she feels small in society and she worries about what her husband’s relatives think of her. Although Machiko’s half-brother lives with his wife in the far north, Hokkaidō, Machiko’s mother takes good care of her stepson. Machiko’s mother always keeps one room in reserve in case her stepson comes from Hokkaidō. Machiko’s mother treats her stepson as if he were her own son but she prepares the house as if to welcome an important guest when he does arrive for a visit. He is described as the “head of the family” (tōshū).

Secondly, the absence of Machiko’s father plays a tremendous role in her mother’s attitudes. Since Machiko’s half-brother is not in Tokyo and her father is deceased, her mother often must act as head of the family. Watanabe Sumiko criticizes this absence of a father, saying, “I do not know why the author [Nogami] does not try to write about the father in the family.” However, as Nogami lived through Meiji and Taishō, she knew how dominant a father’s power and rights were in the traditional Japanese family (ie). By intentionally eliminating the father figure and sending the eldest son to Hokkaidō, Nogami creates a unique situation which produces more conflict between the mother and Machiko. Since they are both women, the mother and Machiko can speak to each other
more freely about family matters. In addition, Machiko can observe the burden of *ie*
more closely when it is distinct from the figure of the father who more conventionally,
more “naturally,” embodies it. Moreover, with her father’s death, even though Machiko
is financially disadvantaged, she is less restricted and has greater freedom to choose and
shape her own future.

According to historian Kamiko Takeji in *Nihonjin no kazoku kankei*:

From the end of the Meiji through the Taishō and Showa periods, the notion of
*ie* (family), the patriarchal family modeled on the *bushi* (samurai warriors) class
family, along with *ie*-centered marriage and arranged marriages, had become
very popular even among common people. 15

In other words, throughout most of the 20th century, an ideal household was *ie* (family)
with strict gender-based role division, patriarchy, and hierarchy by birth. The most
important function of the family was to preserve the household resources and pass them
on to the next generation. Therefore, arranged marriages were very popular. In this
mother-daughter relationship, Machiko knows that her mother worries that she is almost
twenty-four years old, and still not married. 16 Her mother would pass Machiko’s picture
among her friends and ask them to introduce Machiko to someone. This makes Machiko
feel as if she is a commodity for trade. 17 Her mother’s worries were quite understandable
since the average age of marriage for women at this time was twenty-three. 18 Machiko’s
mother, too, hoped to ensure her daughter’s future through an arranged marriage. But
Machiko does not like her mother pushing her to get married without any regard for what
she herself wants, and they often argue:

“Do you take my worry as meddling in your business?” says mother. “Think
about this: how old will you be in two months?”

However, Machiko, not so threatened as her mother about turning twenty-
four some seventy days hence, says, “I don’t mind about my age. I cannot stand
the idea that my fate is controlled by such a thing."

Mother continues, "You might say you cannot stand the idea, but age has such a tremendous power... I am sure you are not reckless enough to think of not marrying at all. You should be more sensible. I think pursuing education is all right nowadays... I have never opposed you but your stepsister in Hokkaido and other relatives think your being single is only because I have a soft heart and allow you to do whatever you like."

Thus, her mother’s effort to maintain the status and “face” of a typical feudalistic family and her worries about Machiko’s marital situation look old fashioned to a modern, intellectual girl like Machiko.

3.3 Tatsuko

Machiko has two older sisters. Tatsuko, the eldest, is very beautiful and is married to a man named Uemura, whose father is a highly placed governmental official. A graduate of a commercial high school, Uemura becomes an executive in a company with close connections to his father’s governmental agency. Uemura has plenty of money and time on his hands. He lives dissolutely, and it is widely known that he was unfaithful to Tatsuko within six months of marrying her. Tatsuko does not mind her husband’s infidelity; she buys expensive clothes, goes to the theater and pursues a number of hobbies. She has other rich, fashionable, sanguine friends in similar situations. Since Tatsuko does not have any children or live with her in-laws, who are retired and living in the country, she can enjoy herself.

Machiko likes Tatsuko’s “non-feminine characteristic of not worrying about things much and her ability to speak freely, but Machiko does not like her way of life.” At one point, Tatsuko and Machiko argue over the meaning of “marriage.” Tatsuko encourages
Machiko to marry a man whom she has met only once at a party. Tatsuko likens marriage to a dress:

“... even if one doesn’t like it all that much, isn’t it all right to put it on, if one has nothing else, when it suits the season?”

Machiko replies, “But what should you do if it does not fit you? If you end up taking it off, isn’t it wiser not to have put it on in the first place?” Machiko had been about to say, “There must be some who would find it hard to put on such a dress, since they couldn’t take it off for the rest of their life,” but stopped. She regretted that she had already said too much to her sister, whose relationship with her fast living husband must have been like wearing such an ill-fitting dress.

Tatsuko then defends her marriage saying, “Uemura is unfaithful, but this is not because he does not love me. He is just a playboy and it is his nature. He likes playing around. That’s all.” She concludes, “Just as buying expensive dresses without limitation is a privilege of rich people, only a woman who has good fortune and does not cause her parents and siblings trouble can have freedom of choice. Not many women are like that. In other words, we are all naked. It is better to put on some sort of reasonable dress and once you have worn it, it is a waste to take it off.”

Machiko does not agree with her and answers, “I would prefer to go naked and support myself!” Tatsuko, more realistic, says, “It is not easy for a woman to work and make her own living. There is very little difference between the woman who previously shed tears at home and the one who now sheds tears outside the home.”

Tatsuko reflects both traditional and modern values: she speaks freely, is confident, and free from her in-laws and from any financial worries. Yet, she does not express her dissatisfaction with her marriage to her husband and prefers to continue in it instead of searching for a new life. She has little desire to improve herself, but just indulges herself, going shopping and to the theater. Nogami does not write about Tatsuko’s attitude in a completely negative way since she recognizes that a girl brought up in material comfort may become very attached to it. She explains this viewpoint in a letter to a girl who became the model for Machiko, when the girl was going to join the Marxist movement:

... you are underestimating. You are underestimating your blood, your twenty-five or twenty-six trillion cells; these things are always sensitive to the power of money in your class. It is the same dynamic as that of the earth unable to escape the pull
of the solar system. You are underestimating the traction of fortune...^{24}

Nogami warns that we cannot easily adjust to surroundings completely different from the ones we were brought up in. She continues:

Even if you could live among the poor people and give up your luxurious life, I am sure that you don’t expect to become a proletarian... to become ‘genuine’ in any way is not easy, and the direction you seek to jump in has the hardest obstacles. In order to overcome those obstacles, you need not only a will as hard as iron but also a body as hard as iron. You need a strong mind and body that would not rust or crack even if you were sent to jail for years.\(^{25}\)

Nogami, in writing this, explains why Machiko approves of half of what Tatsuko says, acknowledging Tatsuko’s choice as one way to live, yet at the same time knowing that Tatsuko hides her deep sorrow, and tries to convince herself that her own lifestyle is satisfying. The discussion between Tatsuko and Machiko is a debate between material and spiritual values. Nogami thinks neither aspect, the material or the spiritual, can be neglected in life, but she puts priority on spiritual well-being. Thus, she has Machiko say in the story that she would not marry for the sake of money; she maintains her position that “if a woman has some kind of a profession and a certain income, she should be able to avoid a situation like Tatsuko’s with dignity.”\(^{26}\)

3.4 Mineko

Mineko is the younger of Machiko’s two older sisters. She is married to Yamase, who used to be a shosei (houseboy) in the Sone household and now teaches philosophy at a high school in the Tōhoku area (later, we find out that Seki was one of his students). The couple has a three-year-old daughter. When Yamase comes to Tokyo and stays at Machiko’s house, Machiko’s mother does not treat him as deferentially as she treats
Tatsuko’s husband, Uemura, since Yamase was once an underling in her home.

Machiko’s mother allowed Mineko to marry Yamase since she is not as beautiful as Tatsuko and Machiko. Moreover, Yamase’s parents are dead and he has no siblings, so Machiko’s mother knows Mineko will never have trouble with in-laws. Although Yamase is poor and timid, he is faithful and takes good care of Mineko, especially since she is the daughter of his former patron.27

Tatsuko pities Mineko because she has little money and little opportunity to enjoy herself outside of her home. Mineko, however, is satisfied with Yamase’s sincerity and affection; she believes herself “a hundred times happier than her older sister.”28 Machiko agrees that it is nobody else’s business as long as Mineko and her husband are satisfied with each other.

Yamase’s ambition is to become a professor at a university. Mineko believes that he is a great scholar and her praise makes him happy. When Yamase applies for a professorial position in Taiwan, Mineko tries through her aunt to secure him a letter of recommendation from an official in the Education Ministry. Despite their efforts, however, Yamase is not selected. He is disappointed, but eventually returns happily to Tōhoku with his wife and daughter, saying:

“Everything depends on patronage. There is no recognition or judgment that is fair. I have learned more clearly from this incident that no matter how capable a man is, he will find it difficult to prevail unless he has an influential supporter. This is not a problem only in any individual case. It is truly horrifying to realize how common a sickness it is in general in today’s society. However, the provinces are still not as morally corrupt as the city. Therefore, we can live much more comfortably [there].”29
Mineko's family is an example of a middle-class, nuclear family living in the countryside. In contrast to Tatsuko's family, Nogami situates Mineko's family in the countryside, suggesting that when rural areas become urbanized, people there might become as selfish or materialistic as those who live in cities. (Nogami also reveals how gradual urbanization destroyed the rural feudal system and made Machiko's friend Yonko's landowning family poor). It is also significant that Mineko's marriage is not arranged, but rather a love marriage. Mineko and Yamase knew each other well before marrying; they share the same values, and they support each other in their marriage. Machiko later takes refuge in this warm middle-class home in the country and tries to find a teaching job there after breaking off her engagement to Seki; she stays there for three months instead of going back home.

3.5 Machiko's Half-Brother and Takako

Machiko's half-brother lives in Hokkaidō with his wife, Takako, and their three children. Takako is not a devoted mother. She is seven years older than Machiko, and is showy and somewhat of a social butterfly. When Takako comes to Tokyo, she orders a new kimono for Machiko, not because she wants to buy it for Machiko, but rather because Takako wants others to think she is a considerate sister-in-law. Machiko's half-brother teaches biology at a university. His salary is low, and his wife's father, a doctor who runs his own large clinic in Tokyo, supplements their income. Therefore, the relationship between this man and his wife is that of a debtor and creditor. Machiko's mother knows how much her stepson depends on his wife's family, so when the half-brother's family comes to stay at Machiko's house, the mother serves Takako like a maid.
and also urges Machiko to act as a maid and babysitter. Takako controls her husband, yet, since “her husband cannot complain, they seem to be peaceful.”

Although Machiko’s half-brother’s marriage is only described briefly, Nogami again shows how marriage can be complicated by financial status. Machiko learns how financial power shapes the position of a man and a wife in the home. The life of the half-brother is similar to that of Tatsuko’s, but this time the wife’s side has more monetary power. Both Tatsuko and Machiko’s half-brother do not speak up because of their weak financial position.

3.6 Self-realization and Marriage

By looking at the different marriages represented in Machiko, we learn many things, such as how financial status affects power relations between a man and a woman in marriage. However, in this chapter, I wish to focus on how the female characters’ self-realization is depicted in the four different marriages. “Self-realization” is generally defined as follows:

the ethical theory that the highest good for a person consists in realizing or fulfilling oneself usually on the assumption that one has certain inborn abilities constituting one’s real or ideal self. 

Although we can see that it means to realize or fulfill one’s real or ideal self, we cannot help wondering how “self-realization” is concretely attained, or for example, what place the state-sanctioned goal at the time of “a good wife and a wise mother,” might have in a woman’s own realization of her ideal self. In order to answer these questions, we will refer to aspects of psychology, especially “feminist therapy,” since “self-realization” is something internal.
The term “feminist therapy” began appearing around 1973 in the United States. This field originated in response to the fact that traditional psychology was predominantly developed by men and usually based on research about men, and theorists were beginning to recognize that its techniques often do not work effectively when applied to women’s experience. The idea of a feminist therapist developed out of the theory that since a feminist therapist is a female psychotherapist who specializes in the psychology of women, she would more likely be aware of the roles gender and sexism play in society. Feminist therapists seek to help women realize they have a right to equality and dignity in their lives. The goal of a feminist therapist is to support a woman’s psychological growth and well-being through increased knowledge of herself and her world, that is, to facilitate her self-realization. A guidebook for feminist therapy briefly defines aspects of a woman’s attainment of self-realization:

1. **Self-esteem**: to know what she is. She should realize the effects of living an unfulfilling life based on prescribed gender roles that limit potential and result in frustration. A feminist therapist helps to raise a consciousness of “self.”

2. **Self-determination**: to realize she has choices regardless of her present circumstances. A feminist therapist supports making the choices (even a small decision of “yes” or “no”) a woman needs to make based on what she authentically wants.

3. **Self-expression**: to open up self and convey her emotion to others. A feminist therapist assists her learning how to enjoy communication as emotional give and take and helps her to recognize the importance of communication as a tool to identify true self.

4. **Self-actualization**: not to be afraid of being hurt. A feminist therapist helps a woman realize that others are a mirror of self and encourages her to grow the rest of her life.

Although “feminist therapy” as an intellectual concept is a recent development, these four steps help us understand women’s emotional struggles to actually achieve self-realization both past and present. Moreover, many female writers of Taishō and early Shōwa, such
those published in *Seitō* and *Nyonin geijutsu*, were concerned with issues of self-realization. Therefore, I will examine the four female characters (mother, Tatsuko, Mineko and Takako) in the four marriages, and Machiko as well, in relation to these four steps as a basis.

Machiko’s mother has not even reached the first step, self-esteem. She always worries about what others (such as relatives) think about her. She probably never thought about herself as an independent human being; instead she is always the wife of Mr. Sone and the mother of Machiko. She does not conceive of herself as someone with the power to create or change her own life. She tells Machiko how hard her marriage was, but while she hopes Machiko will not have the same pain in her own marriage, she does not try to change her own life.

Mineko is similar to Machiko’s mother, and she experiences frustration in her marriage: the narrator tells us “...in order [for Yamase] to keep the privilege of being a scholar at home, he was rather autocratic. Mineko put up with it and viewed her sacrifice as beautiful and natural for the wife of a scholar.”35 However, it was Mineko herself who chose to marry Yamase and at least Mineko and her husband, despite their difficulties sometimes, communicate well. She has ventured into steps two and three of our definitions, but she does not establish her own self. Her self-determination and self-expression take her only part way toward self-actualization.

As for Tatsuko, she understands herself and the situations around her very well. She attains step one, self-esteem, and is capable of calculating what she can do within her limited possibilities. Her misdirected self-determination comes from her limited confidence to venture outside of the world around her. She narrowly determines her life
by just spending money as she likes, although she does not try to express her true self to her husband. Takako is similar to Tatsuko, in that she knows herself and her power, but differs from Tatsuko because she is satisfied with her present self. Neither Tatsuko nor Takako can see other possibilities, nor think of any other self. Their self-determination, expression, and actualization are fulfilled according to their limited perspectives of a predetermined self.

Lastly, Machiko clearly recognizes her dissatisfaction with her petit-bourgeois surroundings. Her self-determination is achieved by fighting for the working class and she can express herself and her feelings quite logically to others. Although she is disappointed with Seki, she is not afraid to be hurt. We do not know if her self-determination changes after breaking with Seki, but she may now have the chance she once hoped for to see Russia. She might adjust her goals, and once again realize them.

As we have shown, the first step toward one's self-realization is to know oneself (self-esteem). Not coincidently, Nogami's motto was Socrates' "Know yourself." Nogami wants the female readers of Machiko to know themselves before all else, and she shows them a variety of examples of women who do not successfully achieve self-realization in marriage. Yet her intention is not to argue that marriage is an obstacle in self-realization. Rather, Nogami wants every woman to have a good, long-lasting marriage. In order to do so, she suggests women should make use of their intelligence to start the processes involved in attaining self-realization, such as gaining self-esteem and self-determination, before marrying, as Machiko has done.

This process is arduous, as the story of Machiko shows. At first, the reality of the complexity of her family's lives makes Machiko think, "Those married women seem to
be awesome adventurers." She turns down Mr. Kawai when he proposes to her. He is the eldest son of an old, prominent and rich family and she imagines that marriage to him would saddle her with the burdens of *ie*. She also fears that the financial imbalance between them would place her in an inferior position in the family. Instead, she looks toward Seki, a Marxist, for her happiness. She believes that Seki is trying to change traditional notions of relationship between a man and woman and understands that equality between a man and woman is more important than money. Machiko is quite aggressive in her pursuit of Seki, demonstrated in her proposal of marriage to Seki and in her support of his belief in the movement. However, her knowledge of Seki is limited to what she has read and heard about his struggles as a Marxist, and her idealistic view of him is undercut when Yoneko tells her she is carrying Seki’s baby. When Machiko talks to Seki about Yoneko, he explains that he loves Yoneko like a brother, but his feelings toward Machiko are different. He also states:

"Yoneko’s pain is personal, like a tooth-ache, and has nothing to do with strikes or hunger in society. Therefore, even if we could build a society without poverty, that kind of pain will probably still exist. But a tooth-ache will not kill a human being like hunger will."

Then Machiko asked Seki, “You mean, you’re just going to abandon her?” and Seki did not answer.  

Seki’s attitude is an expression of “Kollontaism,” which radically dissociated erotic relations from family responsibilities and was popular among Japanese Marxists at the time. Machiko cannot understand Seki’s attitudes at all and is disappointed at his irresponsible comment. She realizes that perhaps from the beginning, she loved Seki’s social and political ideals rather than the man himself. What Machiko is looking for in her future, however, includes emotional sincerity and conscientiousness.
Machiko at first avoids Kawai solely because he is the son of a wealthy family and she shows no interest in his personality. However, three months after separating from Seki, she realizes that Kawai is the only one who tries to understand her way of thinking. When he decides to sell most of his landholdings to resolve a strike in his family business, Machiko is impressed by his sincerity and social idealism, so consonant with her own. She then decides to return to Tokyo. Critics such as Watanabe Sumiko see the ending of the novel as simplistic from the Marxist point of view, with Machiko returning “to the class that once she supposedly threw away.” However, if we read carefully, we can see that Machiko is not going back for the comfort of her petit bourgeois life. Instead, she has realized that what is really important between a man and a woman in marriage is shared values and mutual respect, as well as sincerity. It is with this realization that Machiko returns to Kawai. Nogami’s emphasis on self-realization in marriage depends on the personal bond between the husband and wife and she also insists that this bond should be based not on hierarchy but on equality. In all the marriages described in Machiko, ie and financial factors have rather negative effects, and emotional bonds and sincerity are seen as positive values and help individuals attain self-realization in the marriage.

The Taishō and early Showa periods saw the development of greater educational opportunities for women resulting in higher aspirations for self-fulfillment in life. However, these changes did not come without consequences. In 1924, a few years before the publication of Machiko, Miyamoto Yuriko wrote the autobiographical novel Nobuko, which describes the eponymous protagonist’s struggle for self-realization, particularly through her marriage and divorce. Miyamoto so vividly depicts Nobuko’s struggle
through divorce that many women consider this a masterpiece of women’s liberation literature. *Nobuko* and *Machiko* are often compared, as both novels depict the struggle against petit bourgeois class structures and suggest the importance of a couple having shared values in marriage. However, while Miyamoto focuses more on her character’s movement toward divorce, Nogami is more concerned with defining the possibilities of a successful marriage. This difference is a direct result of Nogami’s belief in the significance of marriage as an institution and as an essential aspect of *onna rashisa*. Therefore, she commends those who find a balance enabling them to remain married to their first spouses until death. Nogami herself appears in *Nobuko* in the character of Sahoko. Nobuko visits Sahoko, who is translating the autobiography of Sonya Kovalevski, and observes:

> Sahoko’s serious attitude of quiet struggle against difficulty and pains and, at the same time, striving constantly to improve her skill, was like a tonic to Nobuko. Even though Nobuko felt stymied in her work and unsure of herself after her marriage, she could not complain in front of Sahoko. She was sure that Sahoko must know great pain herself but she remained steadfast and went her way.42

Nobuko tells Sahoko a part of what she is thinking and Sahoko replies:

> “You overrate me, though I have come to see life somewhat objectively now. However, I gave up much that I used to have long ago in order to become like this. Human beings, in order to get something, have to sacrifice something else.”43

Sahoko does not specify “women;” she uses “human being” instead. Sahoko here echoes an idea Nogami expresses in her own writing, suggesting that women are not alone in sacrificing for the sake of marriage, that men do it as well. Nogami believes that a marriage will work when both the man and woman understand each other and
collaborate; ultimately this understanding will help the self-realization of both parties. Miyamoto does not comment in Nobuko as to whether or not she realizes this point.

One of Nogami’s points in Machiko is that determining one’s own goals in life through intelligence before getting married leads to one’s self-realization and life-long marriage. In Nogami’s essay quoted in the opening of this chapter, she also quotes the words of the critic and philosopher Alain: “Now I restrained myself forever and decided. What I must do from now on is not to choose something I am fond of but rather be fond of what I have chosen.” Nogami suggests that even though crises and reconciliations come one after the other in marriage, those husbands and wives who successfully maintain Alain’s resolution until they die are truly beautiful couples.
4.1 Introduction

I pray to the gods for one thing only. I do not care whether it will be a good harvest or a poor harvest this year. I would not mind even if cholera and the plague came together. I pray only that war will not break out.¹

This wish of Nogami’s appeared in a newspaper on New Year’s Day, 1937. Japan would invade China in July of that year. Although her wish is addressed to the gods, this wish ignited a controversy because of her anti-war message. Nogami was always conscious of social issues. Her diary reveals her interest in politics, economics, culture and education. She shows her heightened social awareness as she writes:

My social consciousness was rooted in memories of war and elections. The Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) broke out when I was in grade school... I remember everyone in the town gathered and celebrated the victory but at the same time I will never forget my mother saying, ‘how sad,’ whenever everyone talked about the war. She said the same word for both fallen Japanese soldiers and Chinese prisoners of war.²

Nogami continuously hoped for some kind of goodness in human nature. She hoped that when someone made a choice, that person would make the right choice based on innate goodness. In her New Year’s wish, Nogami contrasts the outcome of the harvest or an outbreak of disease to war. She sees the harvest and disease as natural phenomena which human beings cannot control, while war can be avoided. Nogami’s belief in human beings who have a conscience and the potentiality to avoid war is humanistic.

“Humanism” is generally conceived as “a philosophy that stresses an individual’s dignity and worth and capacity for self-realization through reason.”³ More precisely, I
use "humanism" here as it is described in *The Philosophy of Humanism*, by Corliss Lamont. He describes ten points which embody "Humanism," among them:

3. Humanism, having its ultimate faith in humankind, believes that human beings possess the power or potentiality of solving their own problems, through reliance primarily upon reason and scientific method applied with courage and vision.

4. Humanism believes, in opposition to all theories of universal predestination, determinism, or fatalism, that human beings, while conditioned by the past, possess genuine freedom of creative choice and action, and are, within certain objective limits, the masters of their own destiny.

5. Humanism believes in an ethics or morality that grounds all human values in this-earthly experiences and relationships; one that holds as its highest goal the this-worldly happiness, freedom, and progress (economic, cultural, and ethical) of all humankind, irrespective of nation, race, or religion.

Nogami's perspective, as presented in Chapters Two and Three of this thesis, embodies Lamont's definition of humanism. Nogami echoes Lamont's assertions that each human being has the power, potential, and freedom to make choices and take action in order to attain self-realization. As previously shown through analysis of her writing in *Seitō* and in the novel *Machiko*, Nogami emphasizes that women should use their *chie* to make choices, which will also lead them toward attaining self-realization. In this chapter, I will further explore Nogami's humanistic point of view at the time she wrote *Machiko* by examining her essays, and then briefly introduce how Nogami's humanistic perspective transformed Tatsuko in *Machiko* into one of the important characters, Tatsue, in her masterpiece *Meiro*.

4.2 Humanism in Nogami's Essays

Although there is nothing in her writings which indicates how deeply Nogami studied Marxism, she was surely aware of the actual social movement as it affected her friends,
family, and her own life. *Wakai musuko* (Young Son, 1932) is said to be based on a campus dispute over socialism at her son’s high school. Her friends, especially Itō Noe (1895-1923) and Chūjō Yuri (Miyamoto Yuriko), were involved in the movement.

Nogami wrote about Itō in her essay, *Noe-san no koto* (About Noe-san) in 1923, the year Itō and her leftist husband, Ōsugi Sakae, were killed by the military police. Nogami describes how she and Itō became acquainted, and even though Itō was not financially well off with her first husband, “she was admirably full of energy to pursue her own destiny, since she could not depend on her husband.” Itō once asked Nogami for advice about how she should handle her adulterous love affair with Ōsugi. Nogami told Itō not to take up with Ōsugi, but Itō ignored Nogami’s advice and left her first husband to live with Ōsugi. After this Nogami and Itō did not have the opportunity to meet, but Nogami received letters from her. Nogami describes what she thought when she heard about Itō’s death:

... what kind of crime did she commit? If I remember correctly, her socialist knowledge was just like a farmer’s wife who follows her husband to work in the fields. If Mr. Ōsugi had been an aristocrat or a rich person, she would have been willing to live a rich life. I do not despise her. I mean that she is a woman who readily adapts herself to the man she loves. She was the most beautiful person in that sense. I feel sorry that somebody killed such a pretty, simple woman. I wonder why she was not allowed to live.

Nogami missed her friendly former neighbor, Itō, and she writes that Itō’s embrace of socialist ideology was the result of influence by her second husband.

However, in contrast to Itō, Nogami admires Chūjō, a smart, courageous, Communist Party member. Although Nogami was fourteen years older than Chūjō, their friendship was close and Nogami’s diary has many entries about Chūjō. One entry is written several
days after the death of Kobayashi Takiji (1903-1933), when Chūjō and Kubokawa Ineko (Sata Ineko, 1904-1998) visited Nogami and told her about it. Nogami writes:

Kobayashi had rope marks around his neck. The skin on his wrist was scraped by handcuffs and his back was covered with black bruises. Both thighs were congested with blood and there was a bruise at his temple. When he was carried to Tsukiji Hospital, he was almost dead…

Both Chūjō and Kubokawa secretly wrote a letter of protest at Nogami's house. Nogami often saw Chūjō and supported her during the years her communist husband, Miyamoto Kenji, was imprisoned. Thus, Nogami became familiar not only with Marxist theory, but also with the reality of the Marxist movement through relationships with her friends.

Nogami was sympathetic to the movement but at the same time, since she knew that she could not sacrifice her family and could not fight in the frontlines, she could not officially join it. Instead, she expressed her sentiments through her art. In an essay, written for the young Tami who would be her model for the main character in Machiko, Nogami says:

Let us consider; say there is a war. You take a weapon and dash to the front. This is surely heroic and excites you. But not everybody can stand in the frontlines. Only a select few, the most suitable, can stand there. Other rabble just tend to confuse the frontlines and interrupt its progress... this rabble is full of confidence and tries to put itself in a glorious position only to face disappointing death and withdrawal—why can't they be more humble? They should work in small, anonymous capacities suitable to their abilities. In that way, they will not be mere spectators.

Nogami suggests that different people have different roles and not many people can lead successfully in the frontlines. However, even by participating in a lesser position, where nobody notices, a person avoids being a mere spectator and can contribute to the progress of social reform. Again, Nogami recommends that readers first know themselves by using their intelligence: setting their goals as well as knowing what they can realistically
do. Nogami advises Tami to follow this inner process by saying, "fight with something inside of yourself before joining the battlefield."¹⁰

In line with the advice Nogami gives Tami in her essay, Machiko does much soul searching before finally making up her mind to go with Seki. However, when Machiko asks him, "Are you telling me that Yoneko wished what you did not wish? Are you such an unfair person? By saying you loved her as her brother, you are such a coward," Seki answers only, "I only told you the truth."¹¹ Seki's heartless attitude toward Yoneko shatters Machiko's dream of pursuing a life with him. "Kollontaism" presumes an achieved communist social and economic structure. Without such a structure, it is merely an ideological cover for irresponsibility. Therefore Machiko's ethical conscience, her friendship with Yoneko, and disappointment in Seki's irresponsibility, all cause her to call off her engagement. As a humanist, Machiko believes that morality and conscience should be the basis of all human behavior and she cannot forgive Seki. Like her character Machiko, Nogami believes human beings possess the power or potential to solve their own problems; they also possess the freedom of "creative choice" and the ability to take action; and lastly, they have a moral conscience which is the foundation of the decision making process. Especially with regard to love affairs, Nogami emphasizes the importance of morality and conscience:

...nowadays, some women misunderstand love as something unrestricted ...Freedom to love shines beautifully if it works together with a strict conscience, in other words, ...a humble conscience, reasoned choice, and indomitable determination. Without the above things, freedom in love is no different than a prostitute leading a dissolute life.¹²

Nogami uses a humanistic perspective to remind female readers that while a woman has the freedom to love anyone, she should not behave or make choices which go against her
conscience. This humanistic perspective presented in Machiko continues to be seen in Nogami's later works.

4.3 Meiro

Machiko, Wakai musuko, and Meiro are considered a trilogy. The hero of Wakai musuko, Kudō Keiji, is said to have developed from Sone Machiko and the main character of Meiro, Kanno Shōzō, evolved from Kudō Keiji. Therefore let me briefly consider Wakai musuko before going on to Meiro. Wakai musuko is a short story whose hero, Keiji, is a higher school student. At the time the story takes place, leftist movements are infiltrating the higher school, and Keiji is invited to a reading society which studies Marxist ideology. Although he cannot devote himself to Marxism, when one of his friends asks for money to support the movement, he donates a small amount. One day, flyers supporting a strike at a nearby factory are distributed at the higher school. Most of the members of the reading society, including Keiji, are taken to the police station and interrogated. Finally, the school announces the punishment of the students: Keiji is only placed under house-confinement for one month, but eleven other students, including his close friends, are expelled from the school. Keiji feels that the name of his father, a high governmental official, helped him receive a light punishment. Keiji is determined to stand up for his friends so that they will be able to return to school. He becomes a leader in protesting the school's punishment. At the end of the story, his mother tries to stop Keiji and argues with him:

"No, you should not... where are you going?" asks his mother. Keiji says, "Everyone is waiting for me..." His mother cries, "You think only about yourself and do not consider my feelings." But Keiji replies, "Mother, you would not want me to be a traitor, either. I am sure you do not want to have a cowardly son who runs away in this sort of situation, considering no one but himself." Mother replies, "Keiji, I understand that, yet..." and Keiji says,
“Then do not stop me. You should encourage me to do the right thing.” Then Keiji’s mother sees him off saying only, “Take care of yourself... it is going to be cold...”

Nogami’s humanistic perspective comes alive in the conscientious higher school student who realizes his friends have suffered an injustice and decides to defend them. Keiji becomes a leader in the protest because he believes it is the right thing to do, regardless of the consequences the protest will have on him personally. Nogami clearly writes of Keiji’s decision-making process based on his loyalty to his friends and his conscience. Keiji’s conscience lives on in the hero of *Meiro*, Kanno Shōzō.

*Meiro* is a novel of greater scope than *Machiko*. Nogami started to write *Meiro* in 1936 when she was fifty-one, and finished it in 1956 at the age of seventy-one. Since Nogami wanted to include an anti-war theme in the story, she had to halt writing *Meiro* for about ten years (1938-1947) because of World War II (1937-1945). The story is cleverly plotted around ten characters. The novel represents the history of Japan from 1935 until early 1945 (just before the great Tokyo air-raids of March), tracing the nation’s course toward fascism from the different perspectives of many characters, who represent a variety of groups including the younger generation, leftists, the military, aristocrats, and men of business. The hero, Kanno Shōzō, is a *tenkō-sha*, one who had been a leftist but bowed to police pressure while in prison and renounced his ideals. He carries a deep sense of guilt about his conversion. Kanno has failed to attain his goal in life and the only thing he can do is to go back to his hometown and work in the library. He has two friends, Kizu and Oda. Kizu is also a *tenkō-sha*, and works as a news reporter. Kizu is still interested in social problems but he decides to go to China to make money. He eventually works toward liberating China from Japanese occupation.
Kanno's other friend, Oda, becomes a scholar at a university. He remains steadfast and on the day he is drafted into the army, he kills himself in front of the woman (Kizu's former wife) he loves. At the time, Kanno cannot understand Oda's actions; however, later, when Kanno marries and is then sent to China, he understands for the first time why Oda wanted to die in front of someone he loved very much rather than in a remote corner of China where there would be no one to gather up his bones. In China, Kanno happens to meet Kizu and Kizu asks Kanno to work with him on the side of the Chinese. Kanno cannot immediately say yes to Kizu, but when he sees an innocent Chinese cook who is working for the Japanese military accused of being a spy, he decides to help the cook, and together they run away from the army. In attempting to carry out his escape plan, Kanno is shot by the Japanese army. Nogami does not tell us whether Kanno lives or dies; but the story ends with his wife giving birth to a baby boy and waiting for Kanno's return. Kanno, Kizu, and Oda all follow their conscience and fight for their lives which are affected by a trick of history, the war.

Like the male characters in *Meiro*, the female characters are especially attractive in the way they attain self-realization and represent a wide spectrum of personalities. Among them, I would like to focus on Kanno's childhood friend, Tarumi Tatsue. Tatsue reminds us of Tatsuko in *Machiko*, her father is a successful politician, she is smart and speaks English, French and a little German. However, she lives only within her little bourgeois world and, although she knows what she likes and what she does not like, she is afraid of becoming poor and ugly. She thinks of everything materialistically so "she has become bold, selfish; she has no dreams, no imagination, no illusions and no respect for anything." Therefore, she trades love for money in her marriage in order to maintain her
rich life style and her beauty. She decides to marry the scion of the Inao financial combine (zaibatsu), Kunihiko:

There were constantly gorgeous weddings around her, but who has a happy marriage? Not her mother or Mrs. Masui. Even her friends’ marriages, which were said to be good matches, did not make Tatsue envious. Once in a while, she saw a love marriage, but she could not help wondering how she could ever marry a poor man or lead such a poor life. She had heard the adage, “If you do not have bread, live on love.” She had read it in stories and poems. But it was interesting because it was a story. It was beautiful because it was a poem. Life is not a poem. Bread is bread and love is love. She did not believe love could turn miraculously into bread any more than stone could. At the same time, she did not realize that she knew no more about love than she did of the bitterness of eating bread mixed with tears...

Tatsue investigates her husband-to-be. She does this not to learn to love him, but in hopes of getting information that will give her an advantage in her married life. She finds out Inao has a five-year old child in Paris and, moreover, that he has to marry if he is to inherit his father’s fortune. Tatsue marries Inao and enters into a contract with her husband that neither will interfere with the other; this allows Tatsue to live the life she has dreamt of. But one day, when Tatsue talks with a friend about the progress of the war, Tatsue casually refers to an American bomber coming to Guadalcanal in the South Pacific as “the first swallow announcing the spring,” which carries the positive connotation of the American airplane as good news. Later the police hear about this comment from her friend and think her opinion is one of welcoming American planes. The police think her unpatriotic and call her to the police station. Inao and Tatsue’s father both worry about their family’s reputation, so her husband decides they should move temporarily to Shanghai. On the flight there, the airplane crashes in a storm and Inao dies calling Tatsue’s name many times. Tatsue is brought to the hospital in critical condition. Kanno quickly goes to the hospital to see her, and Tatsue speaks as if she has changed:
“Even though we married we were not husband and wife, just a man and a woman. I do not remember being loved by nor loving him. Our life was all right, or rather our life would have been all right had we continued in that way. But when we decided to move to Shanghai, I felt differently. I felt our life was going to be different and new by taking this opportunity—you might say, I would become a different person—anyhow, I felt like that. Shōzō [Kanno], don’t you think my intuition was right when you consider this accident?—Kunihiko [Inao] was calling my name as he died. He might have changed before I changed.”

Tatsue senses her death approaching and says:

“To be honest, I do not want to die. I want to live. When I die, I want it to be after I have lived a different way of life. I realized there is a much more beautiful way of life than ours [hers with Inao]... If only I could know what love is while I am alive. Anyhow, I have been punished. I have been punished because I did not love anything... only myself, and I do not know if I really loved even myself... I thought I knew myself but my self was not a genuine self. What is my self... why was I born?”

Tatsue regrets her life and repeatedly says that she does not want to die, but she does.

This scene depicting Tatsue’s death is very powerful and one of the most memorable scenes in *Meiro*. Nogami vividly illustrates the last moments of a person who did not know her true self and did not make choices according to her intelligence and conscience.

Nogami’s humanistic message strongly sets the tone in Tatsue’s death. She clearly warns us that we should not waste our power, potential, and freedom to make choices according to our intelligence and conscience in order to attain self-realization.
Chapter 5

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have examined the development of Nogami’s perspective on women’s self-realization and marriage, and then analyzed Machiko as an expression of her values of *chie* and *onna rashisa*. In Chapter 1, I discussed how her high school education and her association with Natsume Sōseki greatly influenced her. She learned to be socially conscious and observe people and things around her carefully and objectively.

In Chapter 2, I examined Nogami’s works in *Seitō*, and explored her great concern with the importance of both *chie* and *onna rashisa* in a woman’s life. She advises women readers to value and balance *chie*, which is knowledge related to the real world, and *onna rashisa*, femininity including motherhood, in their lives. Then I have shown how Machiko makes her own decision in the course of attaining self-realization by using one of Nogami’s great concerns, *chie*.

In Chapter 3, I analyzed four different marriages around the title character of the novel Machiko, since Nogami respects marriage as an institution through which to fulfill her other concern, *onna rashisa*. Then I applied the psychological rubric of “feminist therapy” to show how four different female characters represent different stages of self-realization in their marriages. Nogami hopes that a marriage will be a long and happy union between two people. Nogami stood out among the major women writers of the period, who associated divorce and having a paid job with being modern and independent and frequently scorned marriage and motherhood in their writings.

Comparative analysis of the five female characters in Chapter 3 reveals how Nogami believes in women’s power and potential to make their own decisions. Nogami portrays
Machiko’s decision-making process in the novel as an example of a woman who comes to know herself first and who finds attainable goals in her life by using her *chie* and moral conscience. Nogami’s perspective is humanistic. I explored her humanistic perspective using the definition of humanism provided by Corliss Lamont and then examined how this point of view resonated in her later works, especially *Meiro*, in Chapter 4. For example, one of the major characters in *Meiro*, Tatsue, is a woman who may be viewed as an evolution of Machiko’s Tatsuko. Both Tatsue and Tatsuko trade themselves in marriage for money. However, unlike Tatsuko, Tatsue finally realizes that something other than money should connect a husband and wife, and in the end she regrets that she has never really loved herself nor anyone else in her life. Nogami once again reminds the readers to make choices according to intelligence and conscience.

This dual focus on the roles *chie* and *onna rashisa* play in a woman’s life supports my assertion that Nogami wrote *Machiko* employing a wider perspective than the socialist ideology that critiques of the late 1920s tend to focus on. That critical tendency can be explained by the flourishing of Proletarian literature at the time *Machiko* was published. Although there is indeed evidence that the Marxist movement influenced the concerns of *Machiko* to a certain degree, this novel certainly cannot be categorized either as Proletarian literature or as a critique of Marxist ideology. We are reminded that not only fiction but also critical orientations are affected by prevailing trends of a particular time period.

Nogami attempted to write an example of a woman’s decision-making process as it relates to her self-realization and marriage. She writes from a feminist perspective; however, this novel is not in the autobiographical genre characteristically used by the
female writers at that time. She shows her sympathy and affection toward the younger generation. As Machiko does not belong to the two major streams of female writing of that time, Proletarian literature or autobiographical literature, it has tended to be neglected. But in fact, as we have seen, Machiko helps us understand the concerns Nogami explored in more depth in later works, which are also neither Proletarian nor autobiographical, such as Wakai musuko and Meiro.

Meiro is held in higher esteem than Machiko by most critics. This is due not only to the greater maturity of Nogami’s writing skill, but perhaps also because in this later novel Nogami depicts both male and female characters struggling to attain self-realization based on their intelligence and conscience. Nogami started to observe the life around her, as Sōseki had advised, and wrote mainly for female readers on how to attain self-realization in Seito and Machiko. These works were directed especially at female readers, but in her later writing, Nogami directed her humanistic message more universally to both male and female readers. Nogami’s changing focus is a good example of what Ericson says about Japanese joryū bungaku, “women’s literature”:

“Women’s literature” may have been historically bounded, but its limited, transitory character remains only partially recognized by literary critics and even women writers themselves. Women are now, or rather, are increasingly becoming recognized as, writing from a variety of perspectives and in a variety of voices that are not simply reducible to their gender.

As time went on and women’s social position brought them greater freedom both socially and politically, Nogami’s focus broadened to include the self-realization process of both male and female characters. Nogami obviously recognized that social flux affected both genders and thus her later works appeal to the hearts of both male and female readers.

67
Notes

Please note that all translations in the text are mine unless otherwise stated.

Chapter 1


2. The title of Nogami’s first short story, Meian, is coincidentally the same as that of Sōseki’s last unfinished work, Meian (Light and Darkness, 1916).


8. Ibid., 95.


10. Takenishi, Tsuma to haha to sakka no tōitsu ni ikita jinsei, 95.

11. Ibid., 96.

12. Ibid., 99-100.


14. Aoyama Nao, Meiji Jogakkō no kenkyū (Tokyo: Tokyo Joshi Daigaku, 1960), 40-41. Several other reasons caused Meiji Jogakkō to close: a fire in 1895,
certification in 1904 of both Nihon Joshi Daigaku and Tsudajuku Daigaku as
Universities, to which many students transferred, and public scandal surrounding
Iwamoto Yoshiharu’s love affair with a student.

15. Watanabe, Nogami Yaeko kenkyū, 67.

16. Nakamura Tomoko, Ningen Nogami Yaeko: Nogami Yaeko nikki kara (Tokyo:
Shiso no Kagakusha, 1994), 17.

17. Takenishi, Tsuma to haha to sakka no tōitsu ni ikita jinsei, 101.

18. Ibid., 102.


20. Ibid., 158-170.

21. Ibid., 25.

22. Joan E. Ericson, Be a Woman: Hayashi Fumiko and Modern Japanese Women’s
Literature (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 27.


25. Suzuki Miekichi (1882-1936) entered the English Department of Tokyo Imperial
University in 1904. He attended the lectures of Natsume Sōseki and afterward
studied under Sōseki. Miekichi considered himself a novelist until 1916, but over
the next twenty years until his death, he turned to children’s literature and
introduced famous children’s stories from around the world to Japan. It is said
that Akai tori (The Red Bird), the children’s magazine he published for those
twenty years, raised Japanese children’s literature to a level of quality equal to
any in the world.

27. Watanabe, *Nogami Yaeko no bungaku*, 84.


30. Takenishi, *Tsuma to haha to sakka no iōitsu ni ikita jinsei*, 102.


32. This story was later filmed under the title *Ningen* (Human Being) and received the Ministry of Education Award (1962).


**Chapter 2**

Genshi, josei wa jitsumi taiyō de atta.
Shinsei no hito de atta.
Ima, josei wa tsuki de aru.
Ta ni yotte iki,
Ta no hikari ni yotte kagayaku.

5. Takenishi, *Tsuma to haha to sakka no tōitsu ni ikita jinsei*, 92-93.
7. Takenishi, *Tsuma to haha to sakka no tōitsu ni ikita jinsei*, 98.
16. Hiratsuka Raichō, *Dokuritsu suru ni attate ryōshin ni* (1914) in


21. Ibid., 251.

22. Ibid., 71.

23. Ibid., 254.

24. Ibid., 275.


26. Ibid., 322-323.

27. Ibid., 323.

28. Ibid., 167.

Chapter 3


3. Ibid., 3.


9. Ericson, *Be a Woman: Hayashi Fumiko and Modern Japanese Women’s Literature*, 46. *Nyonin geijutsu* was first published in 1923 but because of the Great Kantō Earthquake, it was halted and resumed publication in 1928. Nogami wrote *Saisho no Budōkai* (The First Ball, a translation of Katherine Mansfield’s short story) in 1928, and the essays *Tōzen no zenshin* (Proper Progress) and *Kodomo no shisō ni tsuite* (On Children’s Thought) in 1931 for *Nyonin geijutsu*.


11. Watanabe, *Nogami Yaeko kenkyū*, 140. It is interesting that Nogami’s mother too was a second wife and Nogami also had a half-brother. Nogami must have seen how hard her mother tried to adjust herself to her husband’s family.


13. Ibid., 5.


17. Ibid., 84.


20. Ibid., 17.

21. Ibid., 18.

22. Ibid., 18.


25. Ibid., 125.


27. Ibid., 89.

28. Ibid., 90.

29. Ibid., 208-209.

30. Ibid., 228.

31. Ibid., 5.

32. Ibid., 226


38. Ibid., 307.

on spiritual affinity, or it might be transient, based on passion and physical attraction. Both would be equally acceptable since each could give the collective healthy children.”


43. Ibid., 273.


Chapter 4


4. Corliss Lamont, (1902-1995) was a philosopher, author, teacher, and defender of civil liberties. His independent thinking challenged prevailing ideas in philosophy, economics, religion, patriotism, world peace and the exercise of cherished civil liberties. He was honored with many awards, including the Gandhi Peace Award in 1981.

5. Corliss Lamont, *The Philosophy of Humanism* (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1990), 12-14. The other points are as follows:

   1. Humanism believes in a naturalistic metaphysics or attitude toward the universe that considers all forms of the supernatural as myth, and that
regards Nature as the totality of being and as a constantly changing system of matter and energy which exists independently of any mind or consciousness.

2. Humanism, drawing especially upon the laws and facts of science, believes that homo sapiens is an evolutionary product of this great Nature of which we are a part; that our minds are indivisibly conjoined with the functioning of our brain; and that as an inseparable unity of body and personality, we can have no conscious survival after death.

6. Humanism believes that the individual attains the good life by harmoniously combining personal satisfactions and continuous self-development with significant work and other activities that contribute to the welfare of the community.

7. Humanism believes in the widest possible development of art and the awareness of beauty including the appreciation of Nature's loveliness and splendor, so that the aesthetic experience may become a pervasive reality in people's lives.

8. Humanism believes in a far-reaching social program that stands for the establishment throughout the world of democracy, peace, and a high standard of living on the foundations of a flourishing economic order, both national and international.

9. Humanism believes in the complete social implementation of reason and scientific method; and thereby in the use of democratic procedures including full freedom of expression and civil liberties, throughout all areas of economic, political, and cultural life.

10. Humanism, in accordance with the scientific method, believes in the unending questioning of basic assumptions and convictions, including its own. Humanism is not a new dogma, but is a developing philosophy, which remains ever open to experimental testing, newly discovered facts, and more rigorous reasoning.


7. Ibid., 29.


10. Ibid., 127.


Chapter 5

Appendix A
Chronology of Nogami's Life

1885  Kotegawa Yae is born in Usuki-chō in Ōita on May 6.

1891  She enters Usuki elementary school.

1895  Graduates from elementary school and enters Usuki higher elementary school; studies Kokinshū, Man’yōshū, Genji monogatari, Makura no sōshi, and Chinese poetry with Kubo Kaizō, a scholar of classical literature.

1899  Graduates from higher elementary school. Studies English with Goto Kumao.

1900  Goes to Tokyo and stays at the home of her uncle (Kotegawa Toyojirō). Enters Meiji Jogakkō.

1903  Graduates from Meiji Jogakkō and enters Meiji Jogakkō high school.

1906  Graduates from high school. Marries Nogami Toyoichirō.

1910  Her first son, Soichi is born.

1911  Becomes a member of Seito (Bluestocking) in September. Resigns in October but continues writing for the magazine.

1913  Her second son, Mokichirō, is born.

1914  Her father dies.

1918  Her third son, Yōzō, is born.


1941  Her mother dies.

1944  Evacuates to Karuizawa in Nagano prefecture.

1945  Loses her Tokyo house in the air raids.
1947  Toyoichirō becomes the president of Hōsei University.

1948  Returns to Tokyo.

1950  Toyoichirō dies in February. Yaeko becomes the principal of Hōsei Daigaku Junkō Joshi junior high and high schools in April.

1957  Receives the Yomiuri Literature Award for Meiro (The Labyrinth). Travels in China for 40 days at the invitation of the Association of Chinese Writers.

1964  Receives the Women’s Literature Prize for Hideyoshi to Rikyū.

1971  Receives the Order of Culture.

1985  Dies in March of cardiac failure at the age of ninety-nine.
Appendix B

Chronology of Significant Works

(All works are fiction [shōsetsu] unless otherwise indicated.)

1906 Meian

1907 Enishi, Tanabata sama (Hototogisu), Hotoke no za (Chūō kōron)

1908 Shion (Shin shōsetsu), Kaki yōkan, Otonari (Hototogisu), Chihan

(Chūō kōron), Onnadōshi (Kokumin shinbun)

1910 Hahaue sama, Kaiinu (Hototogisu)

1911 Chichioya to sannin no musume (Hototogisu)

1912 Minokichi no aruhi (Tokyo nichi nichi shinbun), Aki no ichinichi (Hototogisu),

Fūfumono (Hototogisu), Terejia no kanashimi (Chūō kōron),

Kyōnosuke no kyosui (Seitō), Kindaijin no kokuhaku (translation, Seitō)

1913 Densetsu no jidai-Kamigami to eiyū no monogatari (translation, Kōbundō),

Soniya Koburefusukii no jiden (translation, Seitō)

1914 Atarashiki inochi (Seitō), Itsutsu ni naru ko (Chūō kōron), Ningyō no

nozomi (Jitsugyō no Nipponsha)

1915 Chichi no shi (Mita bungaku), Senrei no hi (Shinchōsha)

1916 Futari no chisai bagabondo (later retitled Chiisai kyōdai, Yomiuri shinbun),

Hōka satsujinhan (later retitled Himitsu, Chūō kōron)

1917 Kanojo (Chūō kōron)

1918 Hitotsu no mono (later retitled Tazuko, Taiyō)

1919 Hahaoya no tsūshin (Osaka mainichi shinbun), Ippon ashi no tsuru

(Akai tori)
1920 *Fujito* (play, Kaizō), *Haiji* (translation, Katei Yomimono Kankōkai)

1921 *Hitotsu no ie* (later retitled *Shōyū*, Chūō kōron), *Fushigi na kuma* (Akai tori)

1922 *Ayazutsumi* (play, Kaizō), *Kaijinmaru* (Chūō kōron)

1923 *Ojiisan to obaasan* (Akai tori), *Junzō to sono kyōdai* (Chūō kōron)

1924 *Okayo* (Chūō kōron)

1926 *Ōishi Yoshio* (Chūō kōron)

1927 *Kusarekaketa ie* (play, Kaizō)

1928-30 *Machiko* (Kaizō)

1931 *Akatagawa-san ni shi o susumeta hanashi* (essay, Bungei shunjū)

1932 *Wakai musuko* (Chūō kōron)

1933 *Nyūgaku shiken o-tomo no ki* (essays, Koyama Shoten)

1935 *Kooni no uta* (Chūō kōron), *Kanashiki shōnen* (Chūō kōron)

1936 *Taiwan yūki* (travel writing, later retitled *Taiwan*, Kaizō), *Kuroi gyōretsu* (later retitled *Meiro dai-ichi-bu*, Chūō kōron)

1937 *Meiro dai-ni-bu* (Chūō kōron)

1940 *Rondon no ie* (travel writing, Chūō kōron)

1941 *Yamanba* (Chūō kōron)

1942 *Meigetsu* (Chūō kōron), *Ōbei no tabi jō* (travel writing, Iwanami Shoten),

*Chōsen, Taiwan, Kainan shōkō* (travel writing with Toyoichirō, Takunansha),

*Chūsei kishi monogatari* (translation, Iwanami Shoten)

1943 *Ōbei no tabi ge* (travel writing, Iwanami Shoten)

1946 *Sansō ki* (diary, Seikatsusha), *Kitsune* (Kaizō), *Zoku sansō ki* (diary, Seikatsusha)
1947 *Kamisama* (Shinchōsha), *Meigetsu* (Tokyo Shuppan), *Ōgon no ringo* (translation, Shōgakukan)

1949 *Meiro dai-san-bu* (Sekai)

1950 *Meiro dai-yon-bu* (Sekai)

1951 *Josei no me o sekai e* (round-table talk with Miyamoto Yuriko, Fujin kōron)

1952-56 *Meiro dai-san-bu to dai-roku-bu* (Iwanami Shoten)

1958 *Pekin no kangoku* (essays, Sekai)

1959 *Watashi no Chūgoku ryokō* (travel writing, Iwanami Shinsho)

1962 *Hideyoshi to Rikyū* (Chūō kōron)

1964 *Fue* (Shinchō sha), *Kijo sanbō ki* (essay, Iwanami Shoten)

1966 *Suzuran* (Sekai), *Natsume-sensei no omoide* (essay, Chūō kōron)

1968 *Kaijinmaru gojitsu monogatari* (Bungaku), *Hitosumi no ki* (essay, Shinchōsha)

1972 *Mori* (continues to write until her death, Shinchōsha)

1976 *Bungaku, rekishi, bunmei* (round-table talk with Ōe Kenzaburō, Asahi shinbun)

1977 *Hana* (essay, Shinchōsha)

1984 *Nogami Yaeko nikki-shinsai zengo* (diary, Iwanami Shoten), *Baamu kūhen no hanashi* (essay, Shinchō sha), *Shojo sakura futatsu aru hanashi* (essay, Iwanami Shoten)

1985 *Tōku no kimuru mono kana* (essay, Chūō kōron)
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations:  
           KNBK  Kindai nihon bungaku no közö
           MYS  Miyamoto Yuriko senshū
           NGBZ Nihon gendai bungaku zenshū
           SGB  Shinchō gendai bungaku

Primary Sources: Works by Nogami Yaeko

Fiction


Hideyoshi to Rikyū [Hideyoshi and Rikyū], in SGB, v. 4 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1981),  
pp. 5-262.

Kaijinmaru [The Neptune], in Nihon gendai bungaku zenshū [from now on NGBZ].  

Kindaijin no kokuhaku [The Confession of a Modern Man] in Seitō 2:10, 11  
(October, November, 1912), pp. 1-8, 5-22.


Meigetsu [Full Moon] in Gendai Nihon bungaku taikei, v.36 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō,  


Ohanashi: chiisaki hitotachie [Stories for Little People]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten,  
1940.

Soniya Kobarefusukaya no jiden [The Autobiography of Sonya Kovalevski], in Seitō  
3:11,12 (November, December. 1913), pp. 110-118, 75-88, Seitō 4:1, 2, 5, 7, 8

Wakai musuko [Young Son], in NGBZ, v.63, pp. 73-115.

Essays


Ichigū no ki [Corner Record], in SGB, pp. 263-305.


Interview


Secondary Sources:

English Sources

Dr. Sarah. The Life and Work of Sofya Kovalevsky in Women in Mathematics.


**Japanese Sources**


Kawano, Kimiyo. *Jiritsu no joseigaku: naze jishin ga motenaika-hitoridachie no shinri to kōdō* [On Independent Women: Why Can’t She Be Self-confident? Psychology...


___________. *Nobuko*, in *MYS* v. 2, pp. 5-303.


___________. *Dōhansha sakka ni tsuite* [On Fellow Traveler Authors], in *KNBK*, pp. 393-401.


Shioda, Ryōhei, Nogami *Yaeko*, in *Meiji joryū sakka ron* [On Women Writers of the


