

Eiichi Shibusawa's Women's Education : Wives in the Business Community

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I Introduction

The aim of this paper is to understand the career paths of graduates of Japan women's university, which was established in the dawn of higher education for women-and to elaborate on Eiichi Shibusawa's contributions to women's education.¹

Eiichi Shibusawa is known as one of the major characters that organized the women's education system in Japan. As an establishing member of the Organization Committee of the Society for the Promotion of Women's Education, Shibusawa was involved in the founding of the Tokyo Women's Institute intended for daughters of samurai and noble families in 1888. He is furthermore known for his involvement in the construction of the women's secondary education system. Additionally, in 1901 he was engaged in the establishment and management of the Japan women's university, intended for daughters from general families, and was associated with organizing the foundation for the women's higher education system. Thus, not only was he involved in business, but also greatly engaged in the establishment of Japan's system for women's education.

However, compared to Shibusawa's involvement in the establishment and management of multiple companies, there are extremely few examples of him engaging in women's higher education institutions. The reason for this is thought to be that Shibusawa could not really relate to such educational goals as "women's social progress" supported by Umeko Tsuda or Yayoi Yoshioka, pioneer organizers of women's education institutions. On the one hand, Shibusawa considered progress in the vocational education of men important (Miyoshi, 2000). However, on the other, he was skeptical of women's higher education that aimed for independence and social progress for women. He himself admitted with a kind of prejudice that he thought women were not fit for specialized higher education, and that the existing secondary education – namely girls high school – was quite sufficient.²³

1 Eiichi Shibusawa was known as a founder of Japan's modern business.

2 *Shibusawa Eiichi Denki Shiryo* [*The Biography of Eiichi Shibusawa*], vol.26, 1962, pp.878–9.

3 *Shibusawa Eiichi Denki Shiryo* [*The Biography of Eiichi Shibusawa*], supplementary vol.4, 1962, p.137.

Nevertheless, Shibusawa was not always opposed to the development of women's higher education. If anything, in order to demonstrate Japan's equality with western countries, he recognized the need for women in Japan who are not domestic and passive but who have the Western-style economic sense of being required to progress outside of the house. He acknowledged the necessity of women's higher education in order to materialize that ideal. Shibusawa's expectations for women's education can be underscored by his unique ideology of "good wives and mothers."⁶ Characteristic to Shibusawa's ideology of good wives and mothers was an emphasis on "good mothers," who are devout for the education of their children, rather than singular focus on "good wives" who simply support the lives of men (Miyoshi, 2000, 2001). Shibusawa had strong expectations for a continuous supply into the business world of children who had been educated by "good mothers" to have economic sense. For that reason, Shibusawa supported the establishment and management of the Japan women's university, a higher education institution that would institutionally reproduce "good mothers" to nurture such children. In other words, it can be deduced that Shibusawa's support for women's higher education was rooted in his perception that such education would be good for the development of business.

It is a fact that Shibusawa avidly supported the Japan women's university, which adopted the good wives and mothers education. His endowment activities suggest he actively supported women's education institutions – and the Japan women's university in particular – more than he did commercial high schools. Furthermore, the frequency of his visitations to educational institutions for graduation ceremonies and similar events is greater at women's education institutions than at commercial colleges.⁷ Considering the number of visits to each school outlined in his biographical documents, Shibusawa has visited the Tokyo College of Commerce, which has come to be known for Shibusawa's active involvement in its management, 46 times since the Tokyo Commercial Institute was founded.⁸ Twenty-seven other commercial colleges were visited 49 times, while twenty-four women's high schools were visited 44 times. Compared to this, the Japan women's university was visited 79 times, exceeding the number of visits to the Tokyo College of Commerce. Moreover, Shibusawa's involvement in the Japan women's university went as far as his acceptance into a principal position there in his later years.

Until now, I believe discussion of Shibusawa's participation in organizing women's educa-

4 Shibusawa Eiichi *Denki Shiryo* [*The Biography of Eiichi Shibusawa*], supplementary vol.6, 1962, pp.132–4.

5 Shibusawa Eiichi *Denki Shiryo* [*The Biography of Eiichi Shibusawa*], supplementary vol.6, 1962, pp.135.

6 Shibusawa Eiichi *Denki Shiryo* [*The Biography of Eiichi Shibusawa*], supplementary vol.6, 1962, pp.138.

7 Eiichi Shibusawa eagerly involved the foundation of the first commercial college in Japan.

8 The number was counted from *Shibusawa Denki Shiryo* [*The Biography of Eiichi Shibusawa*].

tion, such as his roles in establishment and funding, has evaluated that participation itself. This thesis will extend awareness of the problem and evaluate how the outcomes of women's higher education reflect Shibusawa's ideology. The long-term outcome that Shibusawa assumes is that talent educated by good mothers will become involved in business. It is not focused on women's social progress. Therefore, to evaluate Shibusawa's contributions for women's education, I believe it necessary to focus on the cultivation of good mothers and the supply function of a women's higher education institution that practices the "good wives and mothers" education, rather than from the perspective of women's social progress. Through this approach, this thesis will portray another image of Shibusawa – one that examines not only his participation in organizing the women's education system, but also the long-term personnel development goals that encouraged him to participate.

In order to achieve that portrayal, I would like to focus on the Japan women's university, which adopted good wives and mothers education as its educational goal and in which Shibusawa was deeply involved in establishing. Many of the graduates of Japan women's university are known to have become housewives. For the most part, graduates who became schoolteachers of girls' high schools, or the even smaller number who were engaged in business, retired in a few years and became housewives (Yamamoto et. al, 1975, 1984). This is a good sample of educational involvement in the household of those women who received good wives and mothers education.

The overarching structure of this paper is as follows. In section 2, I will aim to more proactively evaluate Shibusawa's contributions for women's education. Shibusawa not only participated in the organization of women's education system, but also acted to establish the system in his own unique way that utilized his reputation. Specifically, he would travel regions with strong skeptical social atmospheres toward women's education and lecture about the importance of women's education as a representative for Japan women's university. I will introduce the condition where through this work Shibusawa evaluated the education of the Japan women's university and practically supported it. In section 3, I will develop an understanding of the trajectories of the graduates who received "good wives and mothers" education from the Japan women's university. I would like to confirm whether graduates who received higher education became housewives, as Shibusawa idealized. Moreover I would like to comprehend the social class and profession of the spouses of the graduates. Through this series of operations, I would like to understand to what extent graduates who had received good wives and mothers education at Japan women's university also went on to have spouses involved in business.

II Eiichi Shibusawa and the Japan women's university

In this section I will outline the relationship of Shibusawa and the Japan women's university. Above all, I would like to portray a new image of Shibusawa, as a person who was focused on outreach for, and legitimacy of, women's education and was involved in the development of women's higher education from the end of the Meiji era to the Taisho era (1910–1930). Needless to say, Shibusawa is one of the donation-offering members for the establishment of Japan women's university. However, in this section the point of the argument is that Shibusawa carried out a role beyond that of a fund provider.

Shibusawa has twice conducted a fundraising tour to appeal for donations. The first was administered around the Northern Shin'etsu region (areas in northern Japan) for 13 days starting from August 4, 1910. The second was around the Kansai Chugoku region (main regions in western Japan) from May 14–22, 1911. Both were aimed at gathering donations, but there was also a secondary goal to spread women's higher education. In order to establish the women's education system, it is believed that there was a need to guarantee its legitimacy. Shibusawa's support was in effect providing that guarantee. Shibusawa made a pilgrimage to the regions and tried to establish the necessity of women's education on the base level in order to achieve this goal.

I have compiled the first and second outreach activities of women's education in Table 1 and Table 2. I have picked up the business community people that were requested for funding and additionally enumerated the activities for the spread of women's education. Through this approach, I will once again portray Shibusawa's series of activities as outreach activities for women's education not limited to fund-raising. I will introduce the summary of the itineraries based on the diaries from "*Shibusawa Eiichi Denki Shiryo [The Biography of Eiichi Shibusawa]*." Furthermore, there were many that only had their first names written, but I presumed the names of the people from the surrounding information.

In order to spread the legitimacy of women's education and meet the expected aims for appeals for donations, Shibusawa headed to his first destination in Niigata prefecture. Jinzo Naruse, the founder of Japan women's university, and Ichizaemon Morimura, the founder of the Morimura Brothers, joined him. Niigata was a place where Jinzo Naruse was involved in women's education as the principal for the Niigata women's high school. Midway after making a lecture on women's education in Karuizawa (a small town in northern Tokyo), they stayed a night in Kashiwazaki (a small town in Niigata prefecture). There, they arranged to

dine with Yoshinori Makigushi, Kasiwazaki's famous man of good repute who was the 6th generation of the Makiguchi family, Hisahiro Naito, the first president of the Nippon Oil Corporation, and Yoshitaro Matsui, the branch manager of the Bank of Japan Niigata branch who had arranged the travel plans. The following day, after touring the plant of the Nippon Oil Corporation, they delivered a lecture on women's education at an elementary school. On the same day, they moved on to Nagaoka (the third largest city in Niigata prefecture) and gave a lecture at the 69th National Bank, in which Shibusawa had been involved in establishing, and were invited to dine with members of the company. In addition to these attendants, there were a dozen people in attendance at the banquet.

Shibusawa and the others stayed in Nagaoka for 7 days and after they had given a speech on the necessity of women's education in Nagaoka Theatre for an audience of almost 1,000 people, they dined with 20 some people of the 69th National Bank, Takarada Oil Corporation, and the management group of the Nagaoka Bank. They not only did lectures for leading figures in the regional business community but also for Kamo School of Agriculture and Forestry (now Kamo Agriculture and Forestry High School). They were requested to do so by Rinzo Ishida, a wealthy man in the Kamo town who had provided technology to the establishment of the Kamo Lumbering Corporation. It can be said that the trip spread its base by responding to the request of those people locally active. On August 8, upon reaching Niigata city (the main city in Niigata prefecture), they conducted a lecture on economy in front of more than 100 people in the business community. The following day, August 9, they opened a lecture on the necessity of women's education at the Niigata Teacher Training College. On the same day, they had requested donations to the women's university from Issaku Sakurai, the eighth mayor of Niigata-city and Sansaku Kagitomi, the founder of Japan Sulfur, Kijuro Saito, and Harumi Hakuse. They also dined with bank employees and held meetings with business executives. On August 10, they travelled to Sanjo (the northern town in Niigata city) and performed a lecture on women's education at an elementary school.

After they had dinner with a prominent person of Sanjo, they went to Niitsu (a small town near Sanjo) and finished a lecture and stayed in Takada (a small town near Sanjo). While travelling quite a lot, they were able to lecture in each place and dine with prominent people of the region. On August 11, they interacted with Kokichi Arai, the president of the Habutae Silk Production Corporation, the branch manager of the Nagaoka Bank, the executives of the Kaneko Hydroelectricity Company and over 70 regional people. They also gave a speech about the education content of Japan women's university and women's education in front of

9 Shibusawa also lectured at Kashiwasaki women's high school.

Table 1 The promoting action for women education and the action for the business circle in Shin-etsu area

place	The promoting action for women education	the action for the business circle
Karuizawa	making a speech about women education at women's dormitory of Nihon University	
Kashiwazaki	making a speech about women education at Kashiwazaki elementary school	the visit to the plant of Nippon oil company
Nagaoka	making a speech about women education at Nagaoka house	the speech at the 69th banking corporation
	making a speech about women education at Kamo agricultural school	the business table with top managements of the 69th banking corporation and Nagaoka Banking corporation, Takarada oil company
Niigata	making a speech about women education at Niigata Teacher Training College	the speech about Japanese economy for business persons
	demanding donations to Sansaku Kagitomi, Shunzo Shirase, Issaku Sakurai and Kijuro Saito	explaining public bond to bankers
Sanjo	making a speech about women education at an elementary school	
Niitsu		making a speech at the Kajo Temple
Takada	making a speech about women education	
Nagano	demanding donations to Goshō Ohyama, Tatsuji Osawa and Shoji Iijima	making a speech about the relationship between business and education for business persons

Shibusawa denkishiryō [The biography of Eiichi Shibusawa], vol.44. 1962, 571–581.

them. On the 12th, they travelled south to Nagano and met with Tsunamasa Ouyama, the governor of Nagano prefecture, bank people, Tatsujiro Oosawa who had been involved in the establishment of the Kiso Industrial Enterprise Corporation with Shibusawa, and Seiji Iijima who had been elected after running for the Constitutional Liberal party for the 5th House of Representatives election. They also asked donations for the Japan women's university from them as well. They have also dined with Chu-Jou Mishima, who is a Sinologist who provided establishment funds for the 86th National Bank and the founder of Nisho-Gakusha University. Due to an accident where the land bridge broke on their route home, they stayed in Suwa (the second largest city in Nagano prefecture) until the 16th and lectured on education during this and returned on the 16th late to their schedule.

On the second tour of his fundraising campaign, Shibusawa went towards the Kansai region (Osaka, Kobe, Okayama and Kyoto prefectures) from May 14–22, 1911. The four other members of his entourage were Shigenobu Okuma, who was the 8th Japanese prime minister, Jinzo Naruse, Ichizaemon Morimura, and Shigetaro Tsutsumi (general secretary of Japan women's university). On the night of May 14, the group arrived in Osaka station where they were met by Kamejiro Saionji, director of the First Bank Osaka branch. The following day, on May 15, Shibusawa performed public speeches at several schools, beginning with Osaka Commercial College, continuing onto Ten-nou-ji High School, and followed by Osaka Prefectural Yuhi-

gaoka Girls high school. Thereafter, Shibusawa performed a lecture about women's education at Osaka Nakanoshima Meeting Hall with 3,000 people in attendance. Finally, that night, he attended a greeting ceremony with 160 members of the business community, including the head of the 34th National Bank, Kenzo Koyama, Osaka governor Chiaki Takasaki (later the president of Japan Steel Works), Osaka city mayor Shumpei Uemura, Baron Harufusa Kitabatake, Osaka Asahi Newspaper company president Ryuhei Murayama, Osaka Mainichi Newspaper company president Hirohito Motoyama, and Nisabourou Hiroumi, president of Hiroumi Trading Ltd.

On May 16 after they had met with Tomosaburo Takehara, a famous speculator in Osaka, about the site donation for the women's university branch school, they lectured at Kiyomizu Girls high school and in the evening participated in banquet hosted by Chujiro Yabuta, a famous stockbroker in Osaka. On May 17, they delivered speeches at Umeda Girls high school and Baika Girls high school. Afterwards, they traveled to Kobe prefecture and gave another speech at the Kobe Commercial College. That evening, at a banquet hosted by the business community, they gave a speech related to donation requests for the Japan women's university. On May 18, they moved on to Okayama prefecture and made a speech on business and women's education at the Takasago Theatre. On May 19, after visiting the Okayama Prefectural Orphanage, they delivered a lecture on women's education at Sanyo girls' high school and Okayama junior high school (now Okayama Prefectural Asahi High School) and an address at the Women's Association Meeting with more than 200 people attending at Kakumei Hall. After the address, they had a meeting with 7 people including Iwasaburo Sugiyama, the president of the Chugoku Railroad Corporation, Shin-ichi Kagawa, the former chairman of the Okayama Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Mayor Iwao Okada, and Otojiro Takada, the present chairman of the Okayama Chamber of Commerce and Industry. There, they requested donations for Japan women's university.

On May 20, they travelled back to the Osaka station and held a meeting concerning the branch school of the women's university with Kenzo Koyama, Hikoichi Motoyama, and Yusaburo Takehara. On the same day, they held a meeting with Doi Michio, the 7th Chairman of the Osaka Chamber of Commerce, Chikaaki Takasaki, Shumpei Uemura, Hikoichi Motoyama, Kiyochika Iwashita, the president of Kitahama Bank, Kenkichi Hamazaki, one of the 5 biggest stockbrokers of Osaka and Naoki Kataoka, and the president of Osaka Gas about the establishment of the central public hall. On the 21st after they had delivered lectures at Kyoto's First Commercial School (now Kyoto Municipal Saikyo High School), Second Commercial School (no longer open), and Kyoto Dyeing and Weaving School (now Kyoto Municipal Rakuyo

Table 2 The promoting action for women education and the action for the business circle in Kansai area

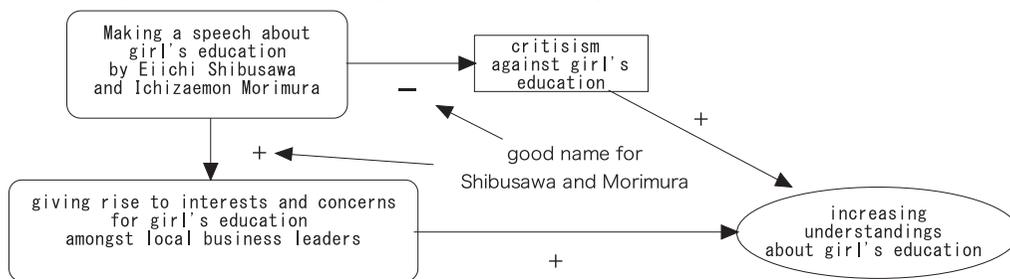
place	The promoting action for women education	the action for the business circle
Osaka	making a speech at Osaka Municipal Commercial College, Ten-no-ji high school and Yuhigaoka women high school	meetings with bankers and Kamejiro Saionji
		making a speech about women education at Nakanoshima hall
		demanding donations at a dinner party to Kenzo Koyama, Chikaaki Takasaki and Ryuhe Murayama
		making a speech at Shimizudani womens high school, Umeda womens high school and Baika womens high school
		have a meeting about Japan womens university Kansai branch with Kenzo Koyama, Hikoichi Motoyama and Tomosaburo Takehara
		have a meeting about a new auditorium with Einosuke Iwamoto, Chikaaki Takasaki, Shunpe Uemura, Hikoichi Motoyama, Seishu Iwashita, Kenkichi Hamasaki and Naoki Kataoka
Kobe	making a speech about donating for Japan womens university	making a speech at Kobe Higher Commercial School
Okayama	making a speech about the relationship between business and girls' education at Takasago house (There were about 2,500 people in the audience)	
	making a speech about girl's education (There were about 100 people in the audience)	
	making a speech about girl's education at San-yo womens high school and Okayama haigh school	
	making a speech about girl's education at the Womens Convention (There were about 200 people in the audience)	
	demanding donations to Iwasaburo Sugiyama, Shinichi Kagawa, Kaoru Okada and Otojiro Takada	
Kyoto	making a speech about girl's education at The 1st commercial school, The second commercial school, Doshisha womens college and Doshisha University	
	making a speech about girl's education at the auditorium (There were about 2,500 people in the audience)	

Shibusawa denkishiryō [The biography of Eiichi Shibusawa], vol.44. 1962, pp.584-9.

Technical High School), they also made addresses at Doshisha Women's College and Doshisha University. Additionally, they moved on to the congressional hall of the city and gave a speech about the necessity of women's education for an audience of 2,500 people. Finally, they returned to Tokyo on the following day, May 22.

The distinguishing characteristic of both journeys is that, in addition to the lectures they delivered at each of the various schools, Shibusawa also addressed the business community con-

Image 1 Eiichi Shibusawa's Regional Journeys and the spread of the women's education system



cerning women's education. In Image 1, I have summarized the two journeys Shibusawa took in order to promote the women's education system. Eiichi Shibusawa and Ichizaemon Morimura, both great men of the business community of Japan, were visiting these locations to deliberately publicize women's education. Therefore, so it is understandable that they had some kind of effect on the people of the local business community. Actually, even though Shibusawa's journey to Okayama was his first, the people of the business community of Okayama, including the prefectural governor, came as a group to greet him at the train station. To say the least, considering the impact of both Shibusawa and Morimura, more attention was given to women's higher education. Even if they had no interest, it wouldn't have been very beneficial for the people in the business community to oppose Shibusawa and Morimura's evaluations and openly criticize women's higher education. As a result, the explanations and various speeches given by Shibusawa and Morimura with strong influence to the people of the business community proved to be effective in achieving the legitimacy of women's education. Shibusawa's negative remarks on women's education were prone to stand out, but he actively supported women's higher education that agreed with his own ideals.

III Characteristics of the students of Japan women's university

In this section, I would like to elaborate on the characteristics of the students of Japan women's university from the Meiji Era to the Taisho Era (1910–1930). Specifically, I would like to use the questionnaire research of Yamamoto and Ochiai (1975) and Yamato, Ochiai, Shinbashi and Kawai (1984). I have summarized their research on the social class and professions of the families, future courses after graduation and characteristics of spouses in particular. I will expressly compare the Taisho era (1912–1926) and the beginning of the Showa period (1926–1940) and confirm whether there were any changes in the tendencies of the future courses or social classes.

The future courses of the graduates of the Japan women's university in the Taisho Era (1912–1926)

Characteristics of the families that students originate from are shown in Table 3. The students from agricultural families comprise the largest share at 16.1% of the total. It is believed that many were most likely from wealthy agricultural families in the region. However, it is also shown that a high percentage of the daughters were from families business with ties to business. Students from families in sales-related jobs total a 14.2% share. Additionally, if you

Table 3 Father's jobs of alumni in Japan womens university in Taishi era

Jobs		number	%
Business	company executives	39	0.8
	politician	14	0.3
	bureaucrats	329	6.5
	medical doctor (including pharmacist)	362	7.1
	teacher	217	4.3
	military man	97	1.9
	legal professional	68	1.3
	religious workers	59	1.2
	business man	518	10.2
	engineer	53	1
	artist	37	0.7
subtotal		1,793	35.2
farmer		819	16.1
fishery		18	0.4
mining		44	0.9
industry	manufacturing	111	2.2
	civil engineering	28	0.5
	brewing industry	118	2.3
	others	97	2.1
subtotal		354	7
commerce	retailing	723	14.2
	finance	42	0.8
	trading	23	0.5
	transportatin service	36	0.7
	others	52	1
subtotal		876	17.2
other jobs		17	0.3
disemployment		638	12.5
unknown		533	10.5
total ammount		5,092	100

add this share with the 10.2% of office worker and bank clerk families and the 2.2% share of manufacturing families, students from families related to business total 36.1%. This suggests that many of the daughters assemble had some kind of understanding for business. Moreover, it can be assumed that families that were making their daughters receive women's higher education had financial wherewithal. It is therefore appropriate to believe that to some extent there were daughters from business elite families gathered.

Next, I have summarized the future courses of the student right after graduating from Japan women's university. You can see that the number of graduates going into a preparation period for marriage and those getting employed are split about evenly in half. During the Taisho Era (1912–1926), the number of students getting married and becoming a housewife immediately after graduation decreased from 14% to just over 10%. However, if you put together “accomplishments for women,” “supporting family business,” and “domestic help,” which are all aspects of training for homemaking, it was 55.9% for the beginning of the Taisho Era (1912–1916), 32% for the middle of the Taisho Era (1917–1921), and 50.8% for the end of the Taisho Era (1922–1926). Although there is some variation in these numbers, they illustrate that about half of the graduates aimed to become housewives. On the other hand, it can be seen that a just under half of the graduates became employed. While under the umbrella of good wives and mothers education, it can be said that social progress had advanced. In the beginning of the Taisho Era 43% (1912–1916), 49% in the middle of the Taisho Era (1917–1921) and in the end of the Taisho Era 43.2% of graduates had been employed (1922–1926).

Now let us examine the places of employment and marriage. I have divided the graduates' occupations in Table 5. In Table 6, I have classified the occupations of the graduates' spouses. If you look at Table 5, you can see that 50–60% found employment as teachers for girls' high schools. If you include teachers of elementary schools or preschools and school staff, that percentage reaches 76.9%. The reason for this may be that the students of the department of domestic sciences – the teacher-training institute – makes up for more than half of the student body, but still it can be considered a high number. Compared to this, the number of graduates that became office workers showed a slight increasing trend, but only amounted to less than 4%. Including new reporters, the share of graduates who chose private-sector corporations as a place of employment was only 8.2%. Businesses were not chosen to be a place of employment, and most likely there was no demand from businesses either. If you are to point out the social progress of the graduates of the Japan women's university, the supply of female human capital was strong for secondary education institutions, but not for business.

Table 6 plots the occupations of the spouses that graduates married. Office workers were

Table 4 the career options of Japan womens university almuni in Taishi era

	keep on studying	taking a job	social activity	accomplishments for women	supporting family business	a domestic help	marrying	unknown	numbers	%
eras	17.2	43	4.3	17.2	3.2	21.5	14	7.5	93	127.9
	13.5	49.2	4.3	6.5	1.1	13	11.4	10.8	185	109.8
	7	43.2	5.4	18.1	2.7	19.5	10.5	8.1	370	114.5
The Faculty of Human Sciences and Design	10.6	28.5	5.1	22.6	3	26.4	14	5.5	235	115.7
The Faculty of Science	9.3	61.7	5.3	10.1	2.2	11.9	10.6	8.4	227	119.5
The Faculty of Japanese Literature	4.8	57.1	6	7.1	3.6	11.9	8.3	13.1	84	111.9
The Faculty of English literature	16.7	36.1	2.8	15.3	N.A.	19.4	6.9	16.7	72	113.9
The Faculty of Social Works	16.7	53.3	3.3	6.7	N.A.	10	13.3	6.7	30	110
total sum	10.3	45.8	4.9	14.7	2.3	17.9	11.3	8.8	648	116

Yamamoto and Ochiai, 245.

Table 5 a job category of alumni

	executives	subpro-fessional	teachers at womens highs school	teachers at elementary school	school staffs	bureaucrats	business person	press person	nutritionist	alumni club	no response	number	%
eras		8.3	69.5		5.6		2.8			2.8	11.1	36	100
		8.5	57.4	4.3	5.3	2.1	3.2	4.3		6.4	8.5	94	100
	0.7	6	55	7.9	7.3	9.3	4.6	5.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	51	100
The Faculty of Human Sciences and Design		6.3	35.9	12.5	9.4	9.4	4.7	1.5	3.1	10.9	6.3	64	100
The Faculty of Science		9.1	71.2	2.3	5.3	0.8	2.3	0.8		1.5	6.8	132	100
The Faculty of Japanese Literature		2.2	66.7	4.4	2.2	4.4	2.2	15.6			2.2	45	100
The Faculty of English literature	4.2	12.5	58.3		8.3		8.3	8.3				24	100
The Faculty of Social Works			6.3	18.8	12.5	43.8	12.5	6.3				16	100
total sum	0.4	7.1	57.7	5.7	6.4	5.7	3.9	4.3	0.7	3.2	5	281	100

Yamamoto and Ochiai, 247.

Table 6 marital partner's jobs

marital partner's jobs	%
business man	30.9
bureaucrats	14.7
professors	13.2
medical doctor	9.4
military man	6.3
teachers at high schools	6.3
engineers	2.3
commerce	2.3
judicial officer	1.7
artist	1.8
churchman and Buddhist monk	1.3
press person	1.3
fishery and farmer	0.7
university students	2
disemployment	1.5
others	0.7
no response	3.3
total sum	100

Yamamoto and Ochiai, 251.
the total number is 605.

the largest share at 30.9%. Adding engineers (2.3%) and commercial workers (2.3%) to this, the percentage of families with spouses who work in business reaches 35.5%. Incidentally, you can see that many had marital relations with those of comparatively higher social class such as government officials (14.7%), college professors (13.2%), and medical doctors (9.4%). In Table 9, which summarizes the occupations of spouses in the beginning of the Showa period (1926–1940), the item for office worker is replaced with administrative work. It is considered most likely that the white-collar workers are represented there. The business world may not have been chosen as the place of employment, but it may have been an attractive place to marry into.

The survey research presented above from the Taisho Era can be summarized into the following points :

- ① Students from families with ties to business make up more than 30%
- ② About half of the graduates aimed to get married, while the remaining half became employed
- ③ The place of employment for graduates was mostly as teachers of secondary education institutions

Table 7 the career options of Japan womens university alumni in Showa era

		studying	taking a job	social activity	accomplishments for women	supporting family business	a domestic help	marrying	unknown	no response	total sum
era	1926-1930	2	30	1.5	15.5	1.1	8.2	30.5	1.1	10.1	547
	1931-1936	3.5	36.3	0.5	15.6	1.3	7.8	24.4	0.8	9.6	396
	1937-1940	2.4	55.4	0.4	4.2	2.2	5.2	22.1	0.7	7.4	542
faculty	Human Sciences and Design	1.1	23.9	1.1	14.8	1.4	10.4	34.9	1.1	11.3	364
	teachers' school	1.4	49.9	0.4	10.1	1.1	6.7	23	0.8	6.7	565
	Social Works	7.2	48.6	2.7	3.6	4.5	5.4	18.9	0.9	8.1	111
	Japanese literature	2.8	42.6	0.7	12	2.5	4.6	25	1.1	8.8	284
	English literature	6.2	39.8	0.6	13		5.6	21.7	0.6	12.4	161
	high school	15.4	19.2	3.8	7.7	3.8	3.8	26.9	7.6	11.5	26
	liberal arts course	11.5	42.3		7.7		3.8	26.9		7.7	26
	total sum	2.9	40.6	0.8	11.3	1.6	6.9	25.9	1	9	1537

Yamamoto, Ochiai, Mabashi and Kawai, 236.

- ④ Graduates would not choose business for place of employment but it had the highest share for getting married into

Table 7 summarizes the future courses of students after graduation of the Japan women's university in the beginning of the Showa Period. Observing this summary, there is a different trend in the selections of future courses compared to the Taisho Era. In the Taisho Era, marriage and employment rates were split in half. However, there is a slight change at the beginning of the Showa period. The number of students choosing employment increased through the Taisho era. The percentage of increase notably rises from 30% (beginning period), to 36.5% (middle period), and then to 55.4% (end period). In comparison to this, rates of those who married immediately after graduation gradually decreased from 30.5% (beginning period), to 24.4%, then to 22.1%. Even if training in homemaking occupations is added, such as family business, housework, or lessons, the percentage will not change, decreasing from 55.3% (beginning period), 49.1% (middle period) and 33.7% (end period). It can be considered that the feeling of wanting to experience working in society was shared amongst a certain level of students, even if they were to eventually become housewives.

Table 8 summarizes the place for employment of graduates at the beginning of the Showa period. Seeing this, the place of employment for the Showa period is almost the same trend as the future course selection of the Taisho era, but the large increase in graduates choosing to become employed in so-called businesses is notable. Even in the beginning of the Showa Era, the percentage of graduates becoming employed in education-related occupations was still highest, and particularly included employment at girls' high schools, which outstood others at

Table 8 a job category of alumni in Showa era

		%	number
bureaucrats	exectives	0.2	1
	lower clerk	5.7	37
specialist job	professor	5.2	34
	researcher	6.3	41
	religious workers	0.2	1
secretary	interpreter	1.1	7
	press person	6	39
	librarian	2.2	14
	typist	2	13
	office worker	10.7	66
education	childminder	1.8	12
	primary school teacher	2.2	14
	women igh school teacher	35.7	232
	teachers at other schools	2.9	19
welfare	welfare	1.1	7
	health	0.2	1
	nutritionist	2	13
commerce	retailings	0.8	1
	manufacturings	0.3	2
military	forced to work in the military	7.4	48
	forced to work in thepublic office	1.4	9
	forced to work in companies	3.7	20
unkown		1.5	10
total sum		100	624

Yamamoto, Ochiai, Mabashi and Kawai, 250.

35.7%. If you add university and vocational education workers (5.2%) and researchers (6.3%), the number climbs to 54.1%. This shows that more than half of graduates chose education-related occupations. However, compared to the Taisho era, employment into education-related jobs, which was the top for place of employment, decreased from 76.9% to 54.1%. Meanwhile, the rates of employment into standard office work, which was a mere 4% in the Taisho era, increased dramatically to 10.7%. Employment in private-sector businesses, including publishing- and media-related jobs, became 19.8%. Compared to rates in the Taisho era, this constitutes an increase of 2.5 times.

Table 9 summarizes the occupations of the spouses of those Japan women's university graduates who chose marriage in the beginning of the Showa period. In most of the percentages, administrative work averages out to reach 37.9%. It is reasonable to consider this the same entry as office worker in Table 6, but it is believed that in either case there was a high

Table 9 marital partner's jobs in Showa era

	1926-1930	1931-1935	1936-1940
office work	35.9	39.3	38.9
bureaucrat	15.4	15	13.7
medical dovtor	11.7	15.3	12.1
professor	5.5	6.3	7.8
military man	4.2	5.7	8
teachers in high school and junior high school	4.1	2.2	1.2
teachers in professional school	1.8	1.4	3.9
press person	3.4	1.4	1.4
researcher	2.3	1.1	1.8

Yamamoto, Ochiai, Mabashi and Kawai, 245.

possibility of marriage with a man who was a white-collar worker. I would like to further examine this point with more detail in the next section. Following administrative work, civil servants (14.7%), doctors (12.8%), and university professors (6.5%) were the next most common occupations. Similar to the Taisho Era, there were those who had marital relations with men who had occupations that are comparatively high in social class.

Tables 10 and 11 summarize the educational backgrounds of the parents of the families the students are from. The percentage of students whose parents had received higher education is comparatively high in the families that send their daughters to Japan women's university. If you look at Table 10, the educational background of the fathers was most commonly college graduate (34%) and vocational school graduate (26%), with both of the categories accounting for 60%. Next looking at Table 11, the educational background for mothers was most commonly girls' high school, which comprised 50.2%. The 21.7% of mothers who had received higher education from such places as Japan women's university (9.0%), vocational school (7.8%), Teacher Training College (4.5%), university (0.3%) and graduate school (0.1%) were the about the same as mothers who stopped at primary education. If you consider women's education in those times, it can be said that it was distinctive that mothers who had received higher education had gathered at such rates. It can be observed that there were many daughters that had come together, reared in families where not only the father but also the mother had received high level education.

Tables 12 and 13 classify the occupations of parents from households of origin. These classifications demonstrate the following points. The occupations of fathers vary widely. Fathers in professional and specialized employment compromised the greatest share, with 18.5% of the total. Continuing, the next most common occupations were self-employed workers (17.0%),

Table 10 Father's educational record of alumni in Japan womens university in Showa era

	Faculty								era		
	Human Sciences and Design	teachers' school	Social Works	Japanese literature	English literature	high school	liberal arts course	total sum	1926-1930	1931-1935	1936-1940
graduate school	0.3		0.9	0.4	0.6			0.3	0.2	0.3	0.4
under graduate	37.4	29.9	38.7	31.7	44.1	30.8	19.2	34.0	24.4	41.9	38.7
Army Academy	0.8	0.7	0.9	0.7	0.6			0.7	0.7	0.3	1.1
high schools	0.3	1.1		0.4				0.5	0.5	0.3	0.7
professional school	26.9	28.1	24.3	25.4	19.3	15.4	30.8	26.0	27.2	21.2	28.0
Army War College	3.3	2.1	0.9	1.8	2.5		7.7	2.3	1.8	2.8	2.6
teacher's school	1.6	6.0	5.4	2.1	2.5	3.8	3.8	3.8	4.2	4.5	2.8
junior high school	11.5	12.4	11.7	9.2	8.1	11.5	7.7	11.0	9.7	12.4	11.4
commercial colledge	3.6	2.1	0.9	3.2	2.5	3.8	3.8	2.7	3.0	1.8	3.0
elementary school	8.2	10.8	5.4	15.1	9.3	15.4	7.7	10.5	15.4	6.6	7.9
temple school and private school	0.8	0.4	0.9	3.2	1.9	3.8	3.8	1.3	2.2	1.3	0.4
unknown]	6.4	9.9	7.0	8.7	15.4	15.4	7.0	10.9	6.8	3.0
total sum	364	565	111	284	161	26	26	1,537	599	396	542

Yamamoto, Ochiai, Mabashi and Kawai, 236.

Table 11 Mother's jobs of alumni in Japan womens university in Showa era

	Faculty								era		
	Human Sciences and Design	teachers' school	Social Works	Japanese literature	English literature	high school	liberal arts course	total sum	1926-1930	1931-1935	1936-1940
graduate school								0.1		0.3	
under graduate school		29.9			1.2			0.3		0.5	0.6
Janan women university	11.5	0.7	6.3	7.4	13	11.5		9	9.8	8.1	8.9
professional school	5.5	28.1	3.6	8.5	6.8	11.5	3.8	7.8	5.7	7.6	10.3
teacher's schoo	2.5	6	4.5	2.5	5		7.7	4.5	3.7	5.6	4.6
women high school	56.6	12.4	61.3	47.9	44.7	19.2	30.8	50.2	38.7	54	60
domestic science school	4.4	2.1	2.7	4.9	0.6	7.7	3.8	4	5	3.3	3.5
elementary school	12.6	10.8	12.6	21.8	16.1	26.9	30.8	15.9	22.7	13.9	10
temple school and private school	1.4	0.4		0.7	3.1	3.8	3.8	1.1	2.5	0.5	
unknown	5.5	6.4	9	6.3	9.3	19.2	19.2	7	11.9	6.3	2.2
total sum	364	565	111	284	161	26	26	1537	599	396	542

Yamamoto, Ochiai, Mabashi and Kawai, 185.

managers (16.3%), secretarial and technical workers (15.0%), and finally civil servants (13.3%). If one focuses on the self-employed and managerial worker categories, it can be seen that while self-employed workers had not received a much higher education, managerial workers had. Although fathers employed at corporations was a large share at 33.3%, it can be said that a correlation cannot be found between corporate employment and rates of college graduation, nor with the likelihood that those fathers would send their daughters to higher educa-

Table 12 Father's jobs and their educational records in Showa era

	Father's jobs											
	executives	bureaucrat	professionals	artist	secretary	education	human services	other professional	independent business	others	inoccupation	unknown
graduate school	25		75									
under graduate school	17.4	16.3	32.8	0.8	18.6	3.3	0.8		3.3	1.3	5.6	
Army Academy	9.1	90.9										
high schools	12.5	25		12.5	12.5				12.5	12.5	12.5	
professional school	22.3	8.5	23.1	1	18.3	7	0.8		11.3	2.3	5.3	0.3
Army War College	5.6	69.4			8.3						16.7	
teacher's school	6.9	12.1			5.2	51.7	3.4		6.9	1.7	10.3	
junior high school	18.3	13	1.8	1.7	8.9	1.2			37.3	9.5	9.5	
commercial colledge	17.1	12.2	2.4	0.6	19.5	4.9		2.4	31.7	2.4	4.9	
elementary school	11.8	2.5	2.5	2.4	12.4		0.6		59.6	6.2	4.3	
temple school and private school	10	10	5		10				35	10	20	
unkown	2.8	8.3	9.3		7.4	1.9			13.9	0.9	55.6	
total sum	16.3	13.3	18.5	0.8	15	5.3	0.7	0.1	17	3.1	9.9	0.1

Yamamoto, Ochiai, Mabashi and Kawai, 183.

Table 13 Mother's job in Taisho era

	faculty								era		
	Human Sciences and Design	teachers' school	Social Works	Japanese literature	English literature	high school	liberal arts course	total sum	1926-1930	1931-1935	1936-1940
executives	0.3	0.4	0.9		0.6			0.3	0.2	0.3	0.6
bureaucrat		0.2		0.7				0.2	0.2	0.5	
professionals	0.3	0.7	1.8		1.2			0.6	0.5	1	0.4
artist											
secretary	0.3	0.9		0.7		3.8		0.6	0.3	1	0.6
education	10.7	17.9	14.4	9.9	13	7.7	15.4	13.7	13	13.4	14.8
human services	1.1	0.9		0.7		7.7	3.8	0.9	1.5	0.3	0.7
other professional				0.4	1.2	3.8		0.3	0.5	0.3	
independent business	1.9	0.9	1.8	2.5			3.8	1.4	2.3	1	0.7
others	1.1	0.2		0.4				0.4	0.5	0.5	0.2
inoccupation	84.3	77.7	80.2	84.2	83.9	76.9	76.9	81.3	81	81.3	81.5
unkown		0.4	0.9	0.7				0.3		0.5	0.6
total sum	364	565	111	284	161	26	26	1537	599	396	542

Yamamoto, Ochiai, Mabashi and Kawai, 185.

tion. As shown in Table 11, 81.5% of mothers were unemployed, and thought to be filling a so-called housewife role. Education-related occupations (14.8%) were the only real occupations for mothers. It is difficult to generalize the path mothers who had received higher educa-

tion were likely to have hoped for their daughters ; however, as a reflection of general society, it is imaginable that they aspired for their daughters to marry and enter the household. This classification of parental occupations may demonstrate that girls from a wide range of working classes may have entered Japan women's university.

To summarize the results of the analysis presented up to this point, the following points can be offered.

- ① There was a shared awareness among students that whether or not one will enter the household, one should have the experience of entering society and working at least once.
- ② Although employment in education-related occupations was significant to begin with, employment in private companies, and particularly in general office occupations, grew by almost 2.5 times in the early period of Shouwa compared to the Taisho period.
- ③ White collar men and marriage often went hand-in-hand.
- ④ Fathers with higher education were about 60%, while mothers with higher education were about 20%.
- ⑤ Approximately 30% of fathers were involved in business, while the majority of mothers were housewives.

IV Conclusion

This thesis attempts to understand Eiichi Shibusawa's contribution to women's education in Japan. These discoveries are as follows.

First, this confirms that Shibusawa attempted to contribute to the spread of women's education using his reputation. Specifically, Shibusawa travelled around the Hokuetsu and Kansai regions, where women's education was relatively unknown, popularizing women's education accompanied by the financial giant, Ichizaemon Morimura. Although it is difficult to specify the result of such tours, it is thought at least that an understanding regarding women's education spread among the industrialists of the region. Moreover, it is clear that Eiichi Shibusawa was strongly committed to women's pedagogy.

Second, it grasped the career path of Japanese female university graduates as stressed by Shibusawa. Results of a comparison between data from the Taisho era (1912–1926) and the beginning of the Showa period (1926~) show a gradual change in the career path of gradu-

ates. The ratio of graduates engaging in office work, so called white-collar work, increased. However, this does not mean that many of the graduates continued with their career. Rather, the majority were children from households basically engaged in business, and many female university graduates followed to marry the business elite. After marriage many left work, and devoted themselves to the education of their children.

It can be seen from these 2 discoveries that Shibusawa's ideal, the nurturing of good mothers who are passionate about children's education was being advanced thanks to girl's higher education,. Eiichi's strong desire to promote female education was based on the desire of systematically producing good mothers who would support family education.

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