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Acknowledgments

My study of Japanese tea culture first began when I was a Rotary International exchange student in Kuroishi City, Aomori Prefecture, in 1999. My host parents, Yamaguchi Gihaku and Hisako at Hōfukuji Temple, sent me off to attend a class with my host sister, Ami, at her aunt's house. Ichinohe sensei and her students welcomed me into their class, and to everyone's surprise I turned up week after week for twelve months, even after Ami had finished her lessons. Ichinohe sensei was a patient teacher, instructing me in the basics of *temae* (the procedures for making tea in *chanoyu* tea culture). Despite initial language barriers and my inability to sit *seiza* (sitting with the knees and tops of the feet flat on the floor, legs tucked underneath you) for very long, we somehow muddled through. My host father encouraged my interest in Japanese culture beyond the tearoom, helping me with calligraphy and answering my questions about Japanese history and Buddhism. When I returned home to Sydney, Australia, these interests compelled me to major in Japanese studies and history at the University of Sydney and to continue my tea lessons with Suzuki sensei, the representative of the Urasenke tea school in Sydney. Over the years as I moved between cities and countries for work and research, I have made many tea friends and studied with several teachers. They have all helped me learn about the practice of *chanoyu* (tea culture), and I thank them for that, as well as for many delicious bowls of tea. I would like to thank in particular Colette Morin, Tamako Matsuo, and Nancy Hamilton, who have been friends and teachers in the tearoom and have also shown an interest in my research and assisted me with it in various ways.

One thing that immediately struck me when I began practicing tea was the feminine image of tea culture, and the dominance of women as practitioners and teachers. Yet, as I began to read more and more histories of tea culture, I wondered where all the women were. My interest in women's history and feminist theory as a university student, combined with

these questions about tea history, presented me with a natural topic for PhD research. Elise Tipton, at the University of Sydney, helped me explore these topics through an honours year and then a PhD thesis. She mentored me from a keen undergraduate student in her Tokugawa history class through many more years of study. Her continual encouragement that I think about the implications of my research into pre-Meiji women's tea practice helped me formulate the central arguments of this book, which has also benefited from her thorough reading of the full manuscript.

My PhD research was funded by an Australian Postdoctoral Award and by one year as a Japan Foundation research fellow, which I spent at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken). I first encountered many of the primary sources that I used in this study during that year. At the University of Sydney, Olivier Ansart and Matthew Stavros provided advice and encouragement, always cheerfully answering my many questions. My fellow students Amelia Carlin and Rhiannon Paget became great friends who then and now have offered support whenever needed. At Nichibunken, Patricia Fister pointed me in the direction of several invaluable sources. Andrew Gerstle suggested I look at the edification guides for women that form the basis of the discussion in chapter 4. Tanimura Reiko helped me with my inquiries into the tea practice of women in the Ii household and helped me obtain copies of important sources. Tani Akira at Nomura Bijutsukan was also generous with his assistance in accessing sources. The staff at the Nichibunken Library were particularly helpful with obtaining copies of key sources, including the manuscript I discuss in chapter 2. I first met Morgan Pitelka at Nichibunken, when he came for a short conference. His work on Japanese tea culture set a new standard for those of us working in English, and he has been a generous mentor to me. To contact Stephanie Chun at the University of Hawai'i Press was one of the excellent pieces of advice he has given me over the years. Stephanie has been a pleasure to work with on this project, as has the whole team at UHP and my copy editor, Rosemary Wetherold.

This book was largely written while I was a postdoctoral fellow at the Center for East Asian Studies (CEAS), Stanford University. I cannot thank CEAS staff members John Groschwitz, Kristin Kutella Boyd, and Marna Romanoff enough for creating such a welcoming and comfortable environment in which to work for nearly two and a half years. To the center's director, Gordon Chang, and the East Asian Languages and Cultures (EALC) faculty who chose to award me the fellowship, I extend my sincerest thanks. This book would not have been possible

without it. CEAS gave me a forum to present my ideas on several occasions, and I am particularly indebted to Kären Wigen for sharing her thoughtful insights.

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I was also fortunate to meet Christina Laffin on the first Friday afternoon in Professor Carter's office and was excited to learn that she would be a visiting scholar at Stanford that year. I thank her for her mentorship and friendship. She has been tireless in her encouragement of this book, including reading and commenting on early drafts of several chapters and providing me with advice on the publishing process. Her invitation to speak at the University of British Columbia in 2015 helped me think about how to present my arguments in the book.

My time at Stanford was happy and productive, and for that I would like to thank my fellow CEAS postdocs Kevin Carrico, LeRon Harrison, and Cyrus Chen. Sharing an office with Cyrus, and many pots of tea over which we had long conversations, was a delight. Many friends among the broader postdoc community, as well as the CEAS and EALC student body, offered welcome distraction from my work, and the challenge of explaining my research to people from fields as different from my own as plant biology. Cheryl and Daniel Lilienstein provided me with a wonderful place to live and an extended family in California.

My own family cannot be thanked enough. My father, Ken, first piqued my interest in Japan when he was traveling there frequently for business while I was a child and a teenager. My mother, Wendy, filled our house with books when I was young, and let me follow my passion for studying history as a determined sixteen-year-old who declared that I did not need to study mathematics or science anymore. She allowed my brother, Lee, and me to follow our own interests and always supported me when I continually moved back and forth between Australia, Japan, and California, more often than not ending up living in her house.

Over the years many people I have worked with or asked for advice have helped me write this book, in ways small and large. My colleagues in the History Department at the University of California, Santa Cruz, read chapters from a very early draft manuscript. Anne Walthall and

Mary Elizabeth Berry both read very early drafts of the manuscript and made detailed comments and suggestions. I hope I have done some justice to the advice such eminent scholars have given me along the way. My friend Byron Smith read portions of the manuscript and offered editorial advice; he also persistently reminded me to keep working on it in the way only a dear friend can.

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Cultivating Femininity

Introduction

Tea culture in Japan encompasses many things, from the quotidian act of drinking a cup of leaf green tea with a meal to the precise ritual of preparing a bowl of powdered green tea in a prescribed manner, using specific utensils. This latter type of tea culture, *chanoyu,* has served a variety of purposes and held a range of meanings for its practitioners over the last five hundred years. For upstart warlords attempting to unify a war-torn realm in the sixteenth century, it was a way to enter elite culture and cement political ties. For upwardly mobile male commoners reaping the rewards of early modern Japan's economic growth in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, it was a vehicle for learning the manners, tastes, and behaviors of the elite and a way of creating social networks. To the political rulers of the Edo period—elite daimyo who had connections to the ruling Tokugawa shogunate—tea culture was understood as a means of training in etiquette and comportment as well as an articulation of statecraft. For the heads of the commoner tea schools—men who traced their descent through the Sen family lines back to the most celebrated of the early tea masters, Sen no Rikyū (1522–1591)—tea culture was a way to earn an income, and a family business. In the early twentieth century, Japanese intellectuals such as Okakura Kakuzō (1862–1913) found in tea culture an expression of a unique Japanese identity and aesthetic sensibility. Wealthy businessmen in Japan's emerging industrial economy used tea culture as a way to flaunt their wealth and express their national identity, as connoisseurs and collectors of art (in the form of tea utensils), and for creating political networks in a manner strikingly similar to the uses of tea culture by medieval warlords. For women in post–World War II Japan, tea culture has been a form of bridal training and potentially even a means of gender empowerment in the symbolic-cultural sphere. Indeed, it has been argued that postwar women's tea practice mirrors the tea practice of

male commoners in preceding centuries.[1] In the contemporary period, men continue to engage in tea practice for many of the same reasons as they have done for centuries: for cultivating business and political ties, as a family business, and as a means of displaying wealth and status. Tea culture then is not just one thing. At times it can be an arena where social markers such as status or class have no place, but it can also be a way of reinforcing such distinctions. The tearoom can be a world apart from politics and war, yet it can also be a stage on which politics is enacted. Since the sixteenth century when the procedures for making and drinking tea in the manner of *chanoyu* were developed, tea culture has been based around specific procedures for making and drinking powdered green tea. To whatever end it is put, for whatever reason it is practiced, this is the essence of *chanoyu*.

In the context of this book, tea culture specifically refers to a codified practice known by two terms in Japanese: *chanoyu* (hot water for tea) and *sadō/chadō* (the Way of Tea).[2] During the Edo period (1603–1868; also known as the Tokugawa period, or early modern Japan) *chanoyu* was the most commonly used term to refer to the practice of making powdered green tea according to established procedures known as *temae*. *Sadō/chadō* is a later term coined to evoke connotations of a spiritual path connected to tea practice. In English, "tea ceremony" has been the most widely used translation of *chanoyu*. Scholars have recently begun to move away from using this term, preferring instead to speak of "tea culture" to capture the breadth of *chanoyu* as a culture and practice that includes not only preparing and drinking tea but also art connoisseurship, food preparation, and architecture—a span not encompassed by the term "tea ceremony."[3] While *chanoyu* and *sadō/chadō* are the formal terms used to describe tea culture, in everyday life when most practitioners speak of or write about the practice, they simply refer to it as "tea" (*ocha*)—this is the case today and was also true in early modern Japan. Tea is a beverage, but it is also the practice itself; hence, tea is something one does. The beverage in this case is a bowl of powdered green tea (*matcha*) that has been mixed with hot water and either whisked to a thin consistency (*usucha*) or kneaded to a viscous consistency (*koicha*).

Standard Narratives

Women are notably absent in the standard narratives of tea culture history until the Meiji period (1868–1912), but this book exam-

ines women's participation in tea culture historically. Adding women to the picture opens up new ways of understanding the history of tea culture, the role women played in early modern cultural practices, connections between status and cultural practices in the Edo period, and contemporary women's tea practice. These arguments will be expanded below, but in order to place them into context, we must first consider the current thinking about women's place in *chanoyu,* historically and today. In particular, we should understand how persistent and pervasive the arguments are against the notion that women practiced tea prior to the Meiji period, for this informs both how contemporary women's practice is viewed, as well as the pre-Meiji history of tea culture.

Although women make up the majority of practitioners and teachers in contemporary Japan—something on the order of 90 percent by most estimates—they do not hold positions of power or authority in the largest tea schools, which now control much of the practice and discourse of tea culture. The position of head of a tea school such as Urasenke or Omotesenke is hereditary and passed down in a patrilineal system. This has been the case since the seventeenth century, when different branches of the Sen family line diverged and other tea masters also established their own schools and lineages. Immediately underneath the male heads are senior teachers who are also male. Women are marginalized in the institutions of tea culture financially and politically, being unable to ascend to the most senior positions. They are also marginalized in literature on tea culture, both popular and academic. Most scholars of tea culture in Japan do not perceive women's practice as a topic worthy of their attention. This is particularly the case when it comes to the history of Japanese tea culture, a problem fueled by the common misconception that women did not participate in tea culture until the late nineteenth century.

Indeed, the narrative of tea culture history as told by the tea schools, their students, and scholars is one of male activity. From the wealthy merchants who formalized the practice in the late sixteenth century to the warrior tea masters who continued to develop the practice and philosophy, and the military and political leaders they served, the people who feature in the standard narrative of Japanese tea history are all men. Only when we get to the Meiji period do women start to appear in the story. Yet today the majority of tea practitioners are women. How do we account for this shift?

In her study of contemporary women tea practitioners in Akita, Kaeko Chiba summarizes how the history of the largest modern tea school, Urasenke, is taught:

> Historically, Urasenke *chadō* was established in the sixteenth century and was only for men; only after the Sino-Japanese war (1894–95) did women begin to participate. During the Taishō period (1912–25), Urasenke *chadō* spread to girls' high schools. . . . Then, in the 1960s, the increasing availability of electrical household appliances also made it possible for housewives . . . to have more free time, and some of them started to practise. Nowadays, the majority of Urasenke *chadō* practitioners are women.[4]

Indeed, the idea that tea culture, at least within the Urasenke school, was not opened to women until the late nineteenth century, following the Meiji Restoration, is found in almost all popular publications on Japanese tea culture as well as many academic discussions.[5] In discussing the current literature on tea culture and history we must bear in mind that there are both an academic discourse and a popular one, the latter being aimed at the large population of tea practitioners in Japan and abroad who purchase many books, magazines, and journals as part of their practice. Indeed, teachers often encourage students to do so by facilitating their journal subscriptions and book purchases from tea-school-affiliated publishing houses such as Tankōsha, aligned with the Urasenke school. In the Japanese literature, many academic historians, including Kumakura Isao, Tani Akira, and Tanihata Akio, also write for this popular audience. The former head of the Urasenke school, Sen Sōshitsu XV (b. 1923), has himself authored numerous popular and semi-academic works on tea culture and history, in Japanese and English. In English, historian Paul Varley has likewise written for both an academic and a popular audience, working with Sen Sōshitsu XV in some cases. For his part, Varley says of the recovery of tea culture after its decline immediately following the Meiji Restoration:

> The most important step taken in this recovery, which was led by Urasenke, was the adding of *chanoyu* to the instructional curricula of public schools, especially women's schools. Before, *chanoyu* had been almost entirely a male pursuit. Viewed from this time as an essential

means for training young ladies in proper etiquette, bearing, and aesthetic taste, it became mainly an activity of women.[6]

When pre-Meiji women's tea practice is discussed in either the English or Japanese literature on tea culture, it is acknowledged to a limited extent. Overall, however, it is dismissed as a topic not worthy of consideration due to a perceived lack of evidence or lack of participation by women in the formal structures of tea, such as being enrolled as a student in a tea school or performing "in public."

In this approach to tea history, any evidence for Edo-period women's tea practice is treated in isolation, thus preventing the emergence of a big picture. We find what pioneering feminist historian Gerda Lerner identified as "compensatory" and "contributory" scholarship.[7] In this model, authors "acknowledge women's presence but in ways that leave the master narrative uncontaminated by substantive female presence."[8] This model of women's history was dominant in second-wave feminist work, where the attempt was merely to insert (or reinsert) women into histories from which they had been excluded. In the case of tea history, Edo-period women who practiced tea are held up as "exceptional" and as having been able to practice tea due to their high status—as wives of emperors, for example.[9] Such scholarship clearly fits the "compensatory" and "contributory" framework by adding some women to the narrative of tea history but not in a way that challenges or changes it; the narrative remains focused on men and male-dominated institutions. But as feminist historians have long argued, it is not enough just to have a standard narrative and then say there were also (some) women.

Here, in contrast, we will consider how the female presence alters our understanding of tea history in early modern Japan. In order to do so, we must first ask why women's tea practice prior to the Meiji period has been ignored or dismissed. We know that women were participants in tea culture during the Edo period—they may have studied formally with a teacher and been enrolled in a school, attended tea gatherings within their family, or read about tea culture in commercial edification guides. Female tea practitioners were also represented in popular art, literary works, and plays; that is, they were part of the popular culture. In the twentieth century, though, the idea that women did not practice tea at all prior to the Meiji period is repeated so often that for tea students it has become an unquestioned truth. Anthropologist Etsuko Kato records that when she

asked a contemporary female tea practitioner aged in her fifties if she thought women practiced tea in the Edo period, the practitioner replied, "Women started it after the Meiji Restoration. Before that only landlord warriors did it."[10] Scholars working in other fields of Japanese cultural history or women's history may find it entirely unsurprising, even obvious, that women participated in tea culture during the Edo period, knowing that women were involved in other cultural practices and the connections between tea culture and such arts. This study is intended to bridge the gap between work in other fields of Japanese cultural and women's history, on the one hand, and studies on Japanese tea culture, which have largely ignored women, on the other. The way that women have been written out of tea history can also tell us something about how such a gap can be created and perpetuated, and it reminds us about the larger ideas and goals of women's history.

Some recent English-language scholarship has questioned many of the long-held assumptions built into the narrative of tea culture history and sought to bring academic rigor and theoretical insights to a reading of its place in contemporary Japan. Standing out as excellent examples of such work are Morgan Pitelka's monograph *Handmade Culture: Raku Potters, Patrons, and Tea Practitioners in Japan;* the essays in *Japanese Tea Culture: Art, History, and Practice,* edited by Pitelka; and Kristin Surak's *Making Tea, Making Japan: Cultural Nationalism in Practice.* This study follows in their footsteps and also follows the path of feminist historians focusing on areas far afield from early modern Japanese history but who nonetheless share similar methodological and historiographical concerns, from the pioneering analyses by Gerda Lerner and Joan Scott to the more recent research by Judith Bennett.[11] These concerns include revising male-centered narratives by using nontraditional sources and reading against the grain of traditional sources. In the field of early modern Japanese women's history, scholars such as Patricia Fister, Peter Kornicki, Bettina Gramlich-Oka, and Laura Nenzi have shown that in spheres, such as art, literature, literacy, and travel, women's presence, contributions, and abilities were far greater than previously thought.[12] This book aims to bring the approach of feminist history to a field that is still very much dominated by a top-down and male-centered approach to history writing.

Writing Women Out of History

One way in which Edo-period women's tea practice has been dismissed is that a distinction has been drawn between official (or formal) participation and unofficial (informal) participation. Scholars dismiss any notion of there having been something we can speak of as "women's tea practice" in the Edo period, because of the limited evidence we have for women being enrolled in tea schools, which would constitute formal participation. It is highly likely that records of student enrollments are not representative of tea practitioner numbers in the Edo period; there may well have been many more students studying tea than were registered, because of the potential costs of registration, for example, or because they studied in an informal environment. Informal study, in the home or among a group of friends and family, may have been common for women, but because it went undocumented, we cannot be sure. Even if we discount such informal participation, records of tea school enrollments are not comprehensive enough to give a clear picture of formal participation. Only two tea schools have made their register of enrolled students prior to the twentieth century publicly available to researchers, the Horinouchi and Yabunouchi schools. In both cases the registers begin in the nineteenth century, so they do not give us any indication of the student makeup for much of the Edo period. Even in these two registers, however, women are listed as enrolled students.[13] Disregarding early modern women's tea practice on the basis of a lack of formal participation is therefore problematic on two counts.

In addition to the issue of enrollment in a tea school, the minimal presence of women in records of Edo-period tea gatherings has been used to argue that women's participation in tea culture at the time was largely insignificant.[14] Tea gatherings in the Edo period were generally small, intimate affairs, with a host and up to five guests, and records show that women did participate in such gatherings. Women are not the focus of these records, and often researchers know nothing about them except their name, if that, or who their husband or father was. The fact that women are present in the record at all can be easily overlooked. Such records may be scarce, but this is because women generally participated in tea gatherings within a family or household environment—this is a discernible pattern from the records we do have. Unless a prominent guest was present, then a family-based gathering was not likely to be recorded. In addition, only women from wealthy and elite households are recorded as having attended gather-

ings. Although they were certainly more able to invest the time and finances necessary for the study of tea than commoner women could, it is also the case that tea gatherings at which they were present were far more likely to be recorded precisely because it tended to be elite male practitioners who kept regular records of the tea gatherings they attended. Records kept by such men are also more likely to have survived and been located by modern scholars. There is thus every possibility that women participated in many more tea gatherings than extant records indicate, and did so since the practice of *chanoyu* was formalized in the sixteenth century. Indeed, it is widely acknowledged that the second wife of Sen no Rikyū, Sōōn, was conversant with the practice. The author of the text discussed in chapter 3, *A Woman's Handbook* (*Toji no tamoto,* 1721), states as much in the introduction as justification for writing a text about women's tea practice. The lack of a large body of evidence in itself cannot be taken as meaning that women were not practicing tea in early modern Japan. They may not have been doing so in the same ways as men, and certainly not in as large numbers, but they were participating in tea culture when they learned the ritualized *temae* procedures or sat as a guest at a tea gathering. Taken together these glimpses of women, gleaned from bits of information, however scant, can tell us something about when and where women most often practiced tea. What we find is that they most often practiced within a household context, Sōōn being a good example of this as a woman connected to a prominent male practitioner. Rather than focusing on women's limited presence in records of tea gatherings, another possibility is that we can see these women as examples from which we can surmise what may have been occurring more widely beyond just the recorded instances that have come down to us. By looking at writings on women's tea practice, this book draws connections between what was said about women's tea practice and examples of female tea practitioners that we know of. Such an approach allows us to say more than if we looked only at the records of tea gatherings and student enrollments.

This brings us to another issue we must grapple with when discussing women's participation in early modern tea culture: how do we define a tea practitioner? Is it someone who was registered with a tea school and appears regularly in records of tea gatherings? Or is it someone who understands the basic tea-making procedures through informal study, perhaps in a family environment? This point is not something addressed in histories of tea culture, but it is an underlying

assumption that registration with a school and participation in gatherings are required for an individual to be identified as a tea practitioner. This book instead argues that having knowledge of tea-making procedures, or *temae,* should be how we discern whether or not an individual was a tea practitioner. Following Etsuko Kato's lead, if we take the procedures for making tea as the basis of tea culture, then "mastery of *temae*" is what defines a tea practitioner.[15]

To be sure, there are differences in tea-making procedures among the schools of tea. Nevertheless, all *temae,* at their core, share certain elements, no matter who is doing them, and these are what mark the act as distinct from just making a cup (or bowl) of tea. Such elements include the specific placement of utensils and prescribed ways of handling them. Variations among schools include differences between men's and women's *temae*. To take a contemporary example from the Urasenke school, women pick up the lid of the kettle with a folded silk cloth, whereas men pick it up with their bare hand. The reason for the difference in this case is that men are supposed to be better able to tolerate the heat generated by the kettle.[16] It is not known precisely when such gender-based differences emerged, and of course opinion on this subject largely follows opinion on when women first began practicing tea. Historical evidence that does speak to this point—from *A Woman's Handbook,* for example—suggests there has long been concern over how to adapt existing procedures for women. Chapter 3 discusses in detail the modifications indicated in that text; suffice it to say here that they are not so extensive as to fundamentally change the *temae*. Rather, they are minor adjustments, made with the intention of saving women from (perceived) undue difficulty. It is worth noting that the author of that text also suggested modifications that could be made when children or the elderly did *temae*.

To return to the question of defining a tea practitioner, here, in contrast to Kato, it is argued that "mastery" is too restrictive and that "knowledge" is a more appropriate concept, since it includes even beginners, who cannot be said to have yet "mastered" even the most basic techniques but are nonetheless participating in something we can call tea culture. This definition also includes people who knew enough to serve in the role of guest but not necessarily host a tea gathering or perform every specific procedure. In a tea gathering, the guests, as well as the host, followed set rules and procedures for performing their role, and the guests interacted with each other and the host according to patterns governed by the specific procedure. To be a guest, one

therefore had to have knowledge of the guests' role in tea culture in general terms and, beyond that, knowledge of the guests' role for that specific tea procedure.

Indeed, this is precisely why late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century guides for women's edification, discussed in chapter 4, say things such as "these days everyone is enjoying tea, so it is good to learn at least how to drink it"—"learning how to drink it" meant knowing how to be a guest. Of course, you could just drink a bowl of tea any old way, but if you were an upwardly mobile woman, or aspiring to be, in the nineteenth century and you were invited to a tea gathering, you would have wanted to know the right way to drink a bowl of tea, eat the sweets, interact with the host, even enter the room and take your seat. Not knowing would be embarrassing—an experience familiar to many nonpracticing Japanese and foreigners today who have attended a tea gathering. As G. G. Rowley has noted in reference to *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*), in the Edo period knowledge of the fifty-four chapter titles seems to have been the minimum knowledge required of women wanting to present themselves as cultured.[17] Likewise, we can say that enough knowledge of tea-making procedures to perform the less formal and complicated procedures for making thin tea and to be a guest for the more complicated and formal procedures for making thick tea was the minimum required as far as tea culture was concerned. The distinction drawn between thin and thick tea also speaks to the difference between knowing the procedures and being able to perform them. The procedures for making thin tea are less formal and complicated than those for making thick tea. Generally, in tea study a student begins by learning the procedures for being a host and a guest for thin tea, then learns how to be a guest for thick tea (like the host's role, the guests' role for thick tea is more complicated than for thin tea), and finally learns how to be a host for thick tea. Along the way, a student also learns seasonal variations and variations dictated by using different utensils. In edification guides the emphasis on familiarity with rubrics rather than performance initiation is significant because it is part of how tea practice for women was framed in popular writings. A definition of a tea practitioner that is too restrictive easily obscures this.

As well as dismissing women's tea practice historically, scholars in Japan are also uninterested or have a negative view of women's tea practice in the contemporary period. A common criticism is that women's tea practice today is not serious or lacks spiritual motivation. This

assumption is one reason why scholars have not looked for evidence of Edo-period women's tea practice or have not tried to contextualize and analyze the evidence they have found. These scholars hold the view that there is a pure, authentic form of tea culture located in the past, in which women did not participate. For example, Yoshiaki Yamamura comments that "disappearance of Zen spirit was a necessary consequence of feminization of the tea ceremony."[18] At a broader level, the popular and social aspects of tea culture in the Edo period have also been viewed as a degradation of tea's true spirit and authentic traditions. Thus, scholars of tea culture have characterized its popularization from the late seventeenth century as a negative phenomenon.[19] Kumakura Isao has talked about the "illiteracy and buffoonery" of tea practitioners from the mid-Edo period, which led to tea culture's being "vulgarized."[20] Paul Varley describes the situation in late Edo in this way: "By its very intensity, the demand for training and participation in the elegant pastimes threatened to transform them into casual amusements for the masses. One reaction to this danger in *chanoyu* was the rise of a movement to reaffirm, if not restore, its essential traditions, especially those associated with Sen no Rikyū."[21]

Women were one group who participated in this popularization. They were among the consumers for the new texts on tea in the eighteenth century, which eroded the tradition of oral transmission from master to student. Historians have tended to overlook these more popular aspects of tea culture in early modern Japan. Instead, they have focused their attention on the "Rikyū revival" in the late seventeenth century and the strengthening of the Sen family schools in the eighteenth century, through the establishment of the "*iemoto* system." Women easily fall through the cracks in such an institutionally focused history. What we find here is similar to what Lori Meeks noted in respect to women and Buddhism in premodern Japan when she identified a difference between "Buddhism on the ground" and the Buddhism of scholars at elite monasteries.[22] Meeks argues that "the task of understanding how women understood and participated in Buddhism requires an interdisciplinary, intertextual approach that challenges the tendency of Buddhist studies to privilege doctrinal texts over social and ritual practice."[23] Such an approach is applicable to the aim of this study—namely, understanding how women understood and participated in Edo-period tea culture—pointing us to look beyond official texts and the writings of Sen-school-affiliated tea masters. Once we do this, we see that women were keen participants in tea culture at the

popular level, even though that may have meant they had a different understanding of tea culture than male practitioners occupying elite positions within the formal institutions of tea culture.

Particular features of the historiography of tea culture in modern Japan have also contributed to the neglect of women in tea history. In the modern period the three Sen schools of tea—Urasenke, Omotesenke, and Mushanokōjisenke—have dominated tea culture and research about it. The influence of tea schools on research has been considerable, given that they control many of the primary sources, who has access to them, and how and when they are published. They also have influence over the publishing of tea-related scholarship, through the publishing house Tankōsha, which is directly affiliated to the Urasenke school and publishes many books on tea history and culture. In addition, because most tea scholars are students of a tea school, they are unlikely to criticize or challenge the orthodox position on a given subject. In some ways, the contemporary dominance of the Urasenke school has been projected back into the past. Its history has become tea history. This has affected scholarship in a range of fields related to tea culture, not just women's history but also the history of ceramics and *kaiseki* (tea cuisine). As recent work by historians Morgan Pitelka and Eric Rath indicates, the role of supposed individual geniuses like Rikyū has been overstated to the extent that scholars have neglected "other people, texts, trends, and factual content."[24] Histories that start with the founders of tea culture and focus on tracing their lineages and important individuals within them through to the present day are essentially privileging the role of individual tea masters and ignoring the social and economic contexts in which they operated. The types of sources that best reveal the context of Edo-period women's participation in tea or the discourses on women and tea culture are not related to any specific school or individual (as commercially published guides are) and have been overlooked in the linear and institutionally focused approach to tea history.

It is in this historiographical tradition that focuses on individual tea masters—the "great men" of tea culture—that the role of Gengensai (1810–1877) is emphasized in the standard narrative of women in tea history. Gengensai was the head of the Urasenke school at the time of the Meiji Restoration. It is said by his descendants that he "was the first . . . to open the doors of tea to women."[25] This claim about Gengensai is often repeated in histories of tea culture. While it may mean something quite specific—that Gengensai was opening the door for

women to become officially registered Urasenke practitioners—it implies that women had not be able to study tea at all, in any school, until Gengensai allowed them to do so. To emphasize this, references to Gengensai's allowing women to study tea are often preceded or followed by references to the seventeenth-century tea master Sugiki Fusai (1628–1706), who banned women from studying tea. Clearly, the idea that Gengensai was the first tea master to allow women to study tea is false. Even if one Edo-period tea master did ban women from studying tea, there were many more who did not—there were those who, like Ōguchi Shōō (1689–1764) and Ii Naosuke (1815–1860), wrote and circulated instructional texts on tea for women; there were those who had women attend their tea gatherings; and there were at least two schools that officially registered women as students.

The emphasis on Gengensai in the story of how and when women started studying tea occurred because of a desire to construct for Gengensai the role of "liberator" of women within tea culture. As Atsuko Sakaki has said of Japanese women's literature from the Edo period, "it appears that [it] . . . has been conveniently forgotten in order to invent the notion of women's liberation in modern Japan."[26] So too has Edo-period women's tea practice been forgotten in order to invent the notion that Gengensai liberated women within the world of tea culture. In portraying its head as a liberator of women, the Urasenke school creates for itself a positive image, one that surely has currency among the millions of women who study tea today. This portrayal is part of how the Urasenke school has crafted an image for itself in modern Japan and the West, where it has been recruiting students since the 1950s. In histories of the Urasenke school and in general histories of tea culture, much attention has been given to how the Urasenke school under Gengensai transitioned tea culture from the Edo to the Meiji period by allowing women to study and by new innovations such as creating a tea procedure using tables and chairs. This book shows that Gengensai should not be understood as an individual genius who saw the light of modernity and single-handedly dragged the tea world toward it by bringing women, tables, and chairs into the fold.

Rereading History through Women: Tea, Gender, and Status

An analysis of Edo-period writings on women's tea practice would be a worthwhile project in and of itself, given that the existing

scholarship has neglected the subject, but this book aims to do that and more.[27] Adding women to the story of Edo-period tea culture alters, adds to, and helps us clarify both the history of Japanese tea culture and the history of women in early modern Japan. For example, by shifting our focus to women's participation, we are forced to look beyond official tea school records and records of formal participation. In so doing, the spread of tea culture as a popular activity becomes apparent. We see that the large schools of tea did not have a monopoly on the publication of information about tea culture, nor did they necessarily benefit from its rise in popularity if people were gaining their knowledge from commercial publications. In recent years our perception of Edo-period women's history has changed significantly. We now know that women participated in a range of cultural activities and could have high levels of learning and literacy. Adding tea culture to the range of activities in which we know women participated increases our understanding of the varied ways in which women were active participants in early modern culture. Examining writings on tea culture for women is another avenue for exploring women's learning and literacy. The link such writings reveal between learning tea culture and heightening one's status, through entering into service and through improving one's comportment, suggests that women had a significant role to play in the blurring of status boundaries in the late Edo period.

In addition to changing our understanding of tea culture and gender in the Edo period, this study has significance for analyzing the contemporary period. Women's tea practice in modern Japan has been the subject of recent research in anthropology by Etsuko Kato and Kaeko Chiba. Their work seeks to understand how, when, and why women study tea today and what their practice of tea means for their identity and Japan's national identity. Such analysis should be situated within a historical context. Currently, the history that anthropologists like Kato and Chiba draw on suggests that women's tea practice emerged out of a vacuum in the early twentieth century. This lack of historical perspective has meant that key features of the contemporary period are thought to be recent developments. Kato and Chiba both argue that tea is a vehicle for women to learn etiquette in contemporary Japan, and they see this as a modern, primarily post–World War II development. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writings on women's tea practice also advocated that tea was a vehicle for women to learn etiquette and manners. Both Kato and Chiba argue that the way women

in contemporary Japan acquire and use the symbolic and cultural capital accumulated through their tea practice is similar to the way that male commoners in the Edo period practiced tea to acquire symbolic and cultural capital. They make a clear link between male commoners in early modern Japan and middle-class women in Japan today; however, female commoners in early modern Japan are entirely left out of the equation because they are absent from the historical literature. Chiba goes further than Kato in making a case for tea culture's use in class empowerment as well as gender empowerment for women in contemporary Japan. But just like women in Japan today, women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries acquired symbolic and cultural capital through their knowledge of tea culture and used it to heighten their status. There is, then, a much longer history to this connection between tea and etiquette and the reasons why women learn tea or are encouraged to learn it, as well as how women's knowledge of tea can be used to improve their lives in other ways. This book does not go as far as Kato and Chiba in using the term "empowerment," in relation to either gender or status. Rather, it suggests that we should not see such a sharp divide between the Edo and Meiji periods, or even the pre– and post–World War II periods, as Kato and Chiba argue for.

In considering this connection between learning tea culture and etiquette, an obvious factor has been overlooked. The emphasis on controlling and moving the body in prescribed ways and on handling utensils and objects gracefully makes tea culture a natural way to learn etiquette and manners. The idea that tea was used historically to teach aspirational women and men how to comport themselves in the manner of their social superiors, and to teach women how to be feminine and refined, does not seem like a stretch. What is more surprising is that it has been supposed this connection did not happen or that it is a relatively recent development in tea culture. Why tea culture would *not* have had appeal among women in the Edo period, or why its obvious benefits for women would not have been touted, requires more explanation than arguing that this *was* the case. Of course, tea culture was not the only way to learn etiquette and manners. There were schools of etiquette, such as the Ogasawara school, and writings about nearly every cultural practice included some discussion of the "correct" way to do things, including holding the body. This was true for martial arts, poetry gatherings, musical pursuits, and dining at formal banquets.[28] In such a context, it is only natural that tea culture was likewise presented as a way to learn to comport oneself, and it was one

option among many presented in the edification guides discussed in chapter 4.

That such an obvious fact has been overlooked suggests the pervasiveness of the argument that "women did not practice tea prior to the Meiji period" and the stubbornness of those invested in perpetuating that narrative in the face of contrary evidence. Parallels can be drawn with the *sakoku/kaikoku* narrative in Japanese political history, in which a long-held dictum was that Japan was a closed country (*sakoku*) throughout the Edo period, and did not open (*kaikoku*) until the arrival of American commodore Matthew Perry in the mid-nineteenth century forced its hand. This idea persisted in academic circles for a long time, despite evidence to the contrary and the clearly Western-centric nature of this notion, given that the Tokugawa shogunate had maintained relations with China, Korea, and the Ryukyu Kingdom and indigenous Ainu populations to its north, as well as limited trade with the Dutch at Deshima. Not until the pioneering work of historian Ronald Toby did the "myth" of *sakoku* truly begin to unravel. Nonetheless, the idea holds such sway and presents such a simple, even romantic vision of Tokugawa Japan and its relations with the outside world that it remains current in popular perceptions to this day. Likewise, the notion that women did not practice tea prior to the Meiji period is a simple, neat story that can be easily repeated by tea practitioners and popular authors catering to them. The more complicated stories are a harder sell because they do not romanticize the past or serve particular ideological or political purposes. If women participated in tea culture prior to the Meiji period, then Gengensai is no longer a liberator of women, just as America cannot have opened a Japan that was never closed.

As well as altering the narrative of the history of tea culture, the story of how women have been written out of this narrative is important from the perspective of feminist history. For many decades now, historians have understood that in the process of writing history they exercise some judgment about their subjects of study. These judgments are informed by the politics and subjectivities of the historian. In a feminist iteration of this perspective, Adrienne Rich argued that feminist history is political in the same way that "the history of white men, as told by themselves, is political, having to do with the retention of power."[29] Expanding this line of thinking to the case of Japanese tea culture, it is worth considering that the history of tea culture and important individuals within tea culture has primarily been told by the

very institutions and individuals who hold power within that world. Therefore, when they write history, it is a political act that plays a role in the creation and retention of power among a small elite to which they belong. This can be seen in the way that the history of the Urasenke school, which is the largest and most powerful school of Japanese tea culture in the contemporary period, has become a stand-in for tea history. Although it would be a stretch to say that women have been deliberately left out of tea history in order to create or maintain power among a male elite, we can say that the limited power and influence women have within contemporary tea culture is reflected in their limited presence in tea history, as it has been told by elite men and male-dominated institutions. From the perspective of feminist history, recovering the history of Edo-period women's tea practice gives a voice and a past to contemporary women's tea practice, from which it can be shown that women have just as much of a place and a role within tea culture, its history and traditions, as do men.

A further reason for examining writings about tea practice for women from the Edo period is that is has implications for our understanding of the official status system that governed early modern society. One reason for the spread of tea practice among commoner women is that they used tea as a means of learning to comport themselves in the manner of the elite and thereby heighten the appearance of their status. In learning tea, women learned to sit, stand, carry objects, open and close doors, and eat and drink in an elegant and graceful manner. They could thus transform the way in which they performed the quotidian actions that in a subtle but powerful way convey one's accumulation of social and cultural capital. For this reason, learning tea was one form of preparation for going into service. And the elite households who employed female attendants valued their knowledge of tea culture as a symbol of their own capital accumulation. This capital could be displayed to other members of the family or household and to political associates at tea gatherings in which female attendants participated as hosts or guests. Through commoner women's accumulation of symbolic and cultural capital, the status gap between commoner and higher-ranking court aristocratic and samurai women was blurred. That is, the social boundaries between these status groups became less significant. This development was part of a "civilizing process" that occurred during the mid- to late Edo period.[30]

In using terms such as "elite" and "commoner," this study moves away from discussing Edo-period society using the terms usually as-

sociated with the status system (*mibunsei*). In this rendering of the social order, there were four principal status groups known as the *shi-nō-kō-shō* hierarchy: at the top were samurai warriors (*shi*); below them were peasants (*nō*), then artisans (*kō*), and merchants (*shō*) at the bottom. The status groups were assigned their place in the hierarchy according to a Confucian view of their contribution to society: samurai governed; peasants cultivated the land and fed the populace; artisans produced goods; and merchants were parasites who made money off the products created by others. In addition there were status groups on the margins of the official system, such as courtesans, monks and nuns, and the various outcaste groups known as *eta* and *hinin.* Following David Howell, this book identifies "commoners" as a single group, consisting of those who fell into the categories of "peasants," "artisans," and "merchants" in the above schema.[31] Commoners constituted approximately 90 percent of the population of early modern Japan.[32] "Elite" is used here to refer to those of warrior status (*bushi,* "warriors," or *buke,* "warrior houses"), approximately 6 to 8 percent of the population.[33] "Elite" also refers to the even smaller number of court aristocrats and members of the imperial family, some one thousand people. Grouping them together is not meant to imply that there was no awareness of difference within this idea of "elite." The difference in status between a member of the court aristocracy and a samurai warrior was apparent to everyone. But a distinction can be drawn between those who were part of a small elite and the majority of the population, who were nonelite. Status, or standing, within each group also mattered—one could be a high-ranking or low-ranking samurai, an urban commoner (*chōnin*) or a rural commoner (*hyakushō*); a wealthy commoner could be better off than a low-ranking samurai eking out a living as a petty bureaucrat or than a samurai who turned to mercantile activities for his livelihood;[34] a rural entrepreneur could live a significantly more comfortable lifestyle than a commoner in an urban tenement. The issue of social mobility and blurring of status boundaries is discussed in more detail later, but here it is important to make the point that "occupation rather than birth was the principal criterion for categorizing people."[35] This means that social mobility was a possibility, for status was not determined at birth and then fixed. Furthermore, status determined one's relationship and obligations to authorities but did not necessarily determine one's wealth or standard of living. Although this book makes no claims that learning tea culture, or any other one specific skill or cultural practice, specifically led

any one individual to cross status groups, it must be acknowledged that it was possible to bridge, or at least blur, status boundaries. This possibility particularly applied to women, who could change status upon marriage, because status was assigned to units of organization, such as the household, rather than to individuals.[36] Even if practicing tea did not result in raising one's status, acquiring the social and cultural capital associated with it could help individuals heighten their status, if we allow for the possibility of status being a social as well as legal category. Status in this sense can be understood as one's position or standing in society. With its focus on ways of moving the body, manners, and etiquette in interactions with others, tea culture was an especially strong candidate in the range of possible artistic or cultural pursuits one could follow to attain this end.

Finally, a focus on women helps us understand the history of tea culture in early modern Japan. The spread of tea among commoner women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did not occur directly as a result of policies put in place by the tea schools or at their behest. Rather, in edification guides that had no connection to the tea schools, tea was promoted as an art with which women should be familiar. Guides included illustrations and information about all of the main utensils used and step-by-step instructions for the basic procedures. The tea schools were probably not making any money out of women who simply read these guides. A woman who knew a little but not too much, which is what the guides advocated, was of no use to the tea schools. In fact, it is in this way that the popularization of tea posed a threat to the institutions that made money out of controlling the information and discourse on tea culture. Shifting our focus to women and popular writings on women's tea practice brings this into sharp relief. It also helps us see how ordinary people, particularly women, came to know about tea culture in the Edo period and possibly even begin practicing.

Shifting our focus away from male tea masters to women allows us to see the range of ways in which women participated in Edo-period tea culture and how their participation was supported or limited by other individuals and wider society. It shows us how women worked within and outside accepted paradigms of tea practice, revealing a story about women in early modern Japan that has not been told and complicating the history of Japanese tea culture. For example, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century popular writings on tea practice for women reveal the spread of tea culture outside the parameters set by

the schools. This was happening at the same time that the large tea schools were attempting to increase their control over all aspects of tea culture, including book production. The expansion of tea culture to new social groups occurred in a cascading process, first with commoner men emerging as an audience for written texts on tea in the seventeenth century, followed by elite women in the early eighteenth century, then commoner women from the mid-eighteenth century. Finally, this study considers the relationship between Edo- and Meiji-period writings on women's tea practice by looking at what changed and what did not when Japan began its transition to modernity in the late nineteenth century. It thus offers us a new perspective from which to understand the popularity of tea practice among women in twentieth-century Japan. In particular, we discover a long history behind linking tea culture to the cultivation of femininity. While training the body to be graceful has been articulated as a reason for women to study tea from at least the early eighteenth century, women's tea practice has also been framed as a way of cultivating the mind in both the early modern and modern periods. There is no single mode of tea practice for women; historically, women have participated in tea culture for a variety of reasons and in myriad ways. Writings about tea practice for women reveal multiple levels of practice and layers of meaning behind such practice, adding a rich texture to our understanding of women's involvement in *chanoyu* tea culture.

Chapter Outlines

By examining writings on women's tea practice that circulated during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this book puts women back into early modern tea history. Rather than looking at the few individual women who are known to have practiced tea at this time and have been held up as exceptions to the norm, our attention is turned to the ways in which tea practice for women was understood, articulated, and promoted in privately circulated and commercially published texts. In some cases the entire text was devoted to the subject of women and tea practice—for example, the privately circulated manuscript *A Woman's Handbook* (*Toji no tamoto*), which is the subject of chapters 2 and 3. It was penned by a tea master within a tea school that found its adherents among people of warrior status: those near the top of the social hierarchy. This was not a text on tea practice for all women; rather, it was intended for a select group of women. In both the early

eighteenth-century text and a later nineteenth-century transcription, the purpose behind elite women's study of tea culture is revealed—studying tea was a way of developing morals, ethics, and control over the mind. Other writings on women's tea practice were found in commercially published guides for women's edification that were aimed at a commoner audience. In these texts, the reasons for women to study tea were to cultivate genteel femininity by learning comportment, etiquette, and manners associated with the elite. Tea culture, however, was not the main subject of edification guides; the section on tea sat alongside sections on other cultural accomplishments such as playing musical instruments. These guides presented a package of information for the aspirational commoner woman that taught her the customs, manners, and skills of those she wished to emulate. Writings on women's tea practice thus differed in form, whether they were a single text or a portion of a larger text, and message, whether they framed women's tea practice as a means of cultivating the mind and inner self or as a means of cultivating a refined appearance. The differences in form and message can perhaps be attributed to the ultimate difference in audience, elite or commoner.

Understanding the discourses around women's tea practice prior to the Meiji period can then help to view the developments of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in a new light. The modern discourse on tea practice for women, which began in the Meiji period, was shaped in large part by the ideas circulating in Edo-period writings. The shift toward women being the majority of tea practitioners began to occur in the Meiji transition to modernity. In this new sociopolitical context the frameworks of the previous era converged: women were now encouraged to study tea to cultivate the mind, develop morals and ethics, and acquire gracefulness. They were also encouraged to study tea for a new reason: to develop or preserve the essence of a *Japanese* genteel femininity. That is, national identity-making now became part of the motivation behind women's tea practice, in addition to cultivation of the body and mind of an individual.

In focusing on early modern writings about women's tea practice that were aimed at samurai and commoner women, some groups of women tea practitioners were necessarily excluded from this study because they were not the target audience of such works. Courtesans, for example, were expected to be proficient in tea culture as one of the many arts they mastered and then deployed in the entertainment of their customers. Evidence from imperial convents indicates that tea

culture formed part of the salon culture at these cloistered aristocratic institutions. Itinerant and lay nuns also practiced tea culture.[37] In short, women of all social backgrounds engaged in tea culture during the Edo period to varying degrees and for a range of reasons. They could practice tea as a hobby, learning only the basics, or tea practice could be a lifelong pursuit to which much time, energy, and money were devoted. Although this book does present information about individual women who practiced tea in early modern Japan, its main focus is what was said about why women should study tea and how they should do so. The examples given of specific women are used to illustrate how the written word was put into practice.

Tea culture in the Edo period was not limited to *chanoyu*. But more so than *sencha* (Chinese-style steeped tea drinking), flower arrangement, or other arts in which many women participated, tea is uniquely positioned to provide us with insight into the body and bodily discipline. We can then consider how comportment, gender, and status were linked: for example, how an elite woman carried herself and how this mode of comportment was marketed to lower-status women. In this respect, consideration of masculinity within Edo-period tea culture would also be a useful area of analysis. The place of women in the history of Japanese tea culture has been so neglected that it seems necessary to first redress this imbalance before embarking on a wider consideration of gender vis-à-vis masculinity. The specific focus here is on femininity and tea culture. The issue of masculinity and how it was defined by or played a role within early modern tea culture, as well as how it operates within modern tea culture, demands consideration in a future study.

Chapter 1 sets the scene for the specific analysis of writings on women and tea culture that follows. It describes the landscape of tea culture in the Edo period; the context of economic transformation and a commercial publishing boom; and the popularization of tea culture as a result of this economic transformation. Records of women's participation in tea culture during the Edo period are introduced that reveal a pattern of household-based tea practice for women. Women's education and literacy during this period are also discussed, and the question of audience is addressed. The chapter ends with two literary examples of women tea practitioners.

In chapter 2 we turn our attention to the emergence of writings on women's tea practice by examining the eighteenth-century text *A Woman's Handbook,* the only extant text that in its entirety is about

women and tea culture. This handbook for women's tea, penned by a tea master of the Sekishū school, is explored in detail to reveal how women's tea practice was conceived. In the handbook, women's tea practice was framed with a focus on morality and modesty. The book was aimed at women of samurai status, and standards of "appropriate" or "correct" manners, tastes, and behavior were disseminated through the text. It was one stage in a civilizing process that saw the audience for written information on tea culture expand to include elite women.

Chapter 3 then considers this same handbook in the nineteenth century, as it was transcribed, amended, and put into practice by one influential daimyo tea master, Ii Naosuke. Using the tea practice of Ii household women as an example, we look at one particularly significant reason why women, especially those of lower samurai and commoner status, studied tea in the Edo period; learning tea was considered good preparation for going into service at an elite (that is, court aristocratic or samurai) household. In the latter half of the period, studying tea became an increasingly common form of marriage preparation and education for women. There appears to be a correlation between the rise of this practice and the increasing popularity of tea among women at this time. This chapter discusses the role that learning arts such as tea and entering into service played in blurring status boundaries.

Chapter 4 shifts our attention to popular writings on women's tea practice, which developed from the mid-eighteenth century in the next stage of the civilizing process. In guides for women's edification, tea culture was presented as essential knowledge for women, including those of commoner status, not just because it was a popular activity, but also because it taught women how to be graceful. Accumulation of symbolic and cultural capital was a significant motivating factor behind commoner women's tea practice. This popular framing of women's tea practice is further evidence of the blurring of status boundaries, with the spread of elite culture to commoners, and the popularization of tea culture to a broader segment of society occurring outside the control of the major tea schools.

Chapter 5 moves the discussion into the Meiji period, long considered the beginning of women's tea practice, investigating the ways in which modern writings both carried on, and differed from, their early modern period predecessors. While the idea that learning tea culture was a way of cultivating genteel femininity emerged in the Edo period, discussion of women's tea practice was taking place in an en-

tirely new social and cultural context by the early twentieth century. This new context is reflected in the changing terminology and reasons used to promote tea to women. In particular, tea became associated not only with femininity but also with national identity. Studying tea thus took on a new importance for women. Tea was no longer just a way to cultivate gender and status identity. It became a way to cultivate national identity too.

The epilogue discusses women and tea culture beyond the Meiji period and foreshadows developments of the modern period that have been discussed by other scholars in light of what we know of the Edo and Meiji periods from the preceding chapters.

Chapter 1

Women and Tea Culture in Early Modern Japan

The landscape of tea culture in the Edo period can be divided into two spheres: a highly codified and institutionalized sphere of elite tea practice for the heads of tea schools; and a popular world of practice in which tea culture was one cultural pursuit among many for the increasing number of people with the time and means to engage in it. The history of tea culture in the Edo period is most often told from the perspective of the elite sphere. In contrast, this chapter maps the entire tea culture landscape, examining both spheres and the overlap between the two. Two developments in particular are highlighted. One is the *iemoto* system, which led to greater control over the dissemination of information by the institutions of tea culture. Second is the commercial publication boom, which led to widespread dissemination of information about tea culture outside the control of those institutions.

Women were part of the audience for information on tea culture at both the elite and popular levels. But if there were both private and mass-market writings about tea culture that targeted a female audience, to what extent could women of different social backgrounds read these texts? Here women's education and literacy are examined in order to address this question. Further, what do we know about women's engagement in tea practice beyond what was written in these texts? Evidence from records of tea gatherings allows us to draw some conclusions about the context of women's practice, which appears to have been family or household based at the elite level. Finally, who were the women who participated in tea culture during the Edo period? Records of tea gatherings tell us very little beyond their name and family background, but examples from theatre can help flesh out a characterization. The chapter concludes with two such examples from the puppet theater and kabuki that help us imagine what types of women practiced tea and to what ends.

Tea Culture in Early Modern Japan

The practice of drinking tea had come to Japan from China in the Heian period (794–1185) through Buddhist monks who used it as an aid to meditation. It became popular when it was reintroduced by the monk Eisai in the Kamakura period (1185–1333). As tea drinking spread from the priesthood to the nobility in the Muromachi period (1336–1573), it became a form of leisure involving gambling and games in which different types of tea were classified and compared. During the later part of this period, and in the subsequent Azuchi-Momoyama period (1573–1603), tea culture became codified into the form we know today as *chanoyu*. Although tea culture emerged in Kyoto and its environs, the practice spread throughout the archipelago, especially to the newly established shogunal capital of Edo after 1603, as well as to provincial castle towns and cities. By the nineteenth century, tea culture was practiced in urban and rural areas throughout the Japanese islands by learned and cultured people of all social levels.

Tea culture was closely tied to the world of politics and war from the outset. At roughly the same time that Japan was emerging from decades of domestic warfare among rival warlords in the late sixteenth century, the basic structures of *chanoyu* as we know them today were codified and institutionalized. Over the course of this thirty-year period and into the first decades of the Edo period (1603–1868), a succession of powerful warrior leaders gradually pacified and unified other warlords under their hegemony. This process began with Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), followed by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598) and finally Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616), who established the Tokugawa shogunate. Among the earliest influential tea masters were merchants from the port city of Sakai—men such as Takeno Jōō (1502–1555) and Sen no Rikyū (1522–1591). These merchant tea masters were also political and aesthetic advisers to warlords such as Nobunaga and Hideyoshi. Later tea masters took up positions as advisers to the various daimyo and shoguns of the Tokugawa period. Some, such as Ii Naosuke (discussed in chapter 3), combined a career as a tea master with that of a politician and statesman. For their part, warlords like Hideyoshi, Nobunaga, and Ieyasu utilized tea culture as a way of gaining legitimacy in the cultural realm, and they forged political ties through the gifting and exchange of tea utensils.[1]

Through the patronage of military and political leaders, as well as the efforts of the early *chanoyu* masters, tea culture became an established and institutionalized part of aesthetic culture. Tea culture encom-

passed a range of art forms such as calligraphy, painting, ceramics, lacquerware, metalwork, woodwork, architecture, and gardening. It provided one of the main contexts for the patronage, creation, consumption, and display of art in the Edo period. This occurred through the collecting and commissioning of tea utensils by practitioners, the practice of exchanging tea utensils as gifts, and the display of utensils at tea gatherings. The practice of displaying utensils during a tea gathering after the preparation of tea allows for the guest to view them up close (*haiken*) and enter into a conversation with the host about them. For example, a guest may inquire about the shape and origin of a tea container or about any patterning on the lacquerware. The bamboo tea scoop typically has a poetic name (*gomei*), which the guests learn from the host during this exchange. The arrangement of utensils (*toriawase*) forms a story the host is telling to the guests. When both the hosts and guests are knowledgeable in tea and its material culture, the display of utensils functions as a way of conveying that knowledge, as well as the hosts' level of taste and wealth. The utensils used for a tea gathering are noted in a record (*chakaiki*) kept by the host, along with information about their maker, the materials used, and their names. Tea utensils such as tea bowls, tea caddies, and silk pouches became valued as art objects. Their provenance, history of ownership and use, and aesthetic value all contributed to the high monetary value placed on them. The act of participating in a tea gathering was also seen as an artistic or aesthetic practice, in the same way as a poetry gathering.[2]

The codification of tea culture as an aesthetic practice began with Jōō and Rikyū, but this process intensified with subsequent generations of tea masters. Institutionalization occurred as structures were set in place to ensure that the teachings and lineages of early tea masters continued on. A whole range of tea schools emerged in the seventeenth century, broadly divisible into two categories. First were those that were founded by and mainly served commoners. Second were those established by, and catering primarily to, warriors. All tea schools either traced themselves back to or in some way claimed to be the legitimate heirs of the early tea masters who "founded" tea culture, whether by blood descent or through connection to specific teachers and secret teachings. The Sen schools, which dominate the contemporary tea landscape, were established by the great-grandsons of the early tea master Sen no Rikyū. Their father, Sen Sōtan (1578–1658), wanted to ensure the stability and longevity of the Sen lineage. He did this by dividing the estate and property in Kyoto among his three sons and aligning each of

them with a daimyo household as their tea adviser.[3] Kōshin Sōsa (1613–1672) was given the front of the Sen family property, thereby giving his lineage the name "Omotesenke" (*omote,* meaning "front"). He was employed by the Kii branch of the Tokugawa House. Sensō Sōshitsu (1622–1697) inherited the rear, or *ura,* of the property, thus establishing the Urasenke lineage. He found employment with the Maeda domain. The part of the property bordering Mushanokōji street was inherited by Ichiō Sōshu (1605–1676), who served the Takamatsu domain and founded the Mushanokōjisenke school.

Aside from the Sen tea schools, which traced their lineage back to Rikyū, the other major tea schools established in the seventeenth century were founded by men who also claimed to be heirs to the traditions and teachings of the early masters but were not direct descendants. Many of these schools were founded by daimyo who were also tea masters in their own right, giving rise to the term *daimyo cha* (warlord tea).[4] Among these were the Sekishū, Enshū, Oribe, Horinouchi, and Yabunouchi schools. The term "warlord tea" is used because their style of tea practice is said to have been more ostentatious and therefore suited to the lifestyles of military and political leaders, as opposed to the simple, austere style of tea (known as *wabi cha*) practiced by the Sen schools.

Regardless of the school, the practice of tea was (and is) based in codified procedures for making tea (*temae*), of which there are numerous varieties. Slight differences between schools exist in manners, ways of moving, and the handling of utensils. With the same basic elements at their core, the procedures change according to the season and the types of utensils being used. The status of the guest, setting (indoor or outdoor, the size and layout of the tearoom), level of formality, and many other factors can go into determining which procedure is followed. Irrespective of the procedure followed for tea preparation, a formal tea gathering has some basic elements: the host lays charcoal; serves a meal (*kaiseki*); prepares a bowl of thick tea (*koicha*), shared by all the guests; and a bowl of thin tea (*usucha*) for each guest.

Today most tea practitioners experience *chanoyu* through classes first and foremost, with tea gatherings typically held for important events or celebrations. Such tea gatherings are usually large, public or semipublic affairs, and the tea preparation can amount to a performance, with the guests becoming more of an audience than actual participants in the proceedings. In the seventeenth–nineteenth centuries, by contrast, tea gatherings were typically small affairs, with a host and up to five guests. The large-scale tea gatherings that feature prominently on

the tea calendar today were rare. Classes were held, but it is difficult to know the actual details of how classes were run and what exactly was taught. Certainly, without the same means of mass communication and dissemination of information, it is unlikely that there was as much consistency among teachers as is found today.

That said, a major development in the seventeenth century was the emergence of a system to control the dissemination of information, license practitioners, and authenticate utensils: the *iemoto* system, as it has come to be known. By the late seventeenth century, tea culture had become popular in both senses of the word: it was practiced by many people and was part of the culture of the majority. In response to the increasing interest in studying tea among an ever-growing section of society, many of the large tea schools developed a new structure.[5] The *iemoto* system placed the head of the school (*iemoto*) in the position of a family patriarch who controlled the licensing system allowing people to practice tea, with licenses being awarded progressively through a structured curriculum. The head also set the standards on matters of taste and connoisseurship for the school, for example, by setting up patronage relationships with particular ateliers.[6] Under the head of each school were a number of high-ranking disciples, who in turn had their own students, and the pattern continued down the pyramid to the lowest level of students and teachers. Students and teachers all paid fees to the head according to rank, so the system gave the schools a measure of financial stability as well as allowing for continued growth in the number of practitioners while limiting power to the head at the top of each school. This prevented the establishment of new branch schools by each disciple, as had been occurring previously.

At this time, information on tea culture was disseminated orally, from teacher to student, or in writing.[7] Written texts on tea culture contained the teachings of one tea master and were for a select readership of disciples. They were circulated through private networks in manuscript form. Manuscript culture was central to many artistic, cultural, and intellectual pursuits in the Edo period.[8] Despite the rise of woodblock printing and a commercial publishing industry, manuscripts continued to be produced and circulated precisely because they ensured a limited audience for secret or restricted knowledge—for example, those who had attained appropriate licenses within a particular school of tea or poetry. Furuta Oribe's *Transmitted Secrets of the Way of Tea* (*Chadō hiden,* 1615) is one example of a privately circulated manuscript on tea culture.[9] By reading it, one gained access to the knowledge of the tea mas-

ter himself. Thus, dissemination of such texts was purposely limited. Within the structure of tea schools that developed under the *iemoto* system, information about tea culture and who had access to it could be tightly controlled. As in other art forms or cultural practices, such as *haikai* or *waka* poetry composition,[10] among the minutiae of differences between the schools the secrecy of such information often mattered more than what the information was.[11] Being admitted to the small circle of those who held such knowledge was a marker of status within that cultural sphere.

One tea school that did not follow the trend for consolidation and central control was the Sekishū school, out of which came the only extant text entirely devoted to the subject of tea practice for women: *A Woman's Handbook* (*Toji no tamoto,* 1721). The Sekishū school is therefore of particular interest for this study. Founded by Katagiri Sekishū (1605–1673), it was one of the major tea schools of the Edo period. Sekishū set himself up in opposition to the then head of the Sen family, Rikyū's grandson Sen Sōtan. Sekishū did not acknowledge the tradition of blood descent but instead stressed the importance of transmission from teacher to disciple.[12] The school was popular among daimyo in particular, and Sekishū served the fourth shogun, Tokugawa Ietsuna (1639–1680), as official tea master from 1665. Because of Sekishū's opposition to transmission through blood lineage, the school proliferated into many branches. Many daimyo adherents did not wish to submit themselves to the authority of a teacher and established their own lines.[13]

A Woman's Handbook (discussed at length in chapter 2), authored by a tea master in the Sekishū school, was a privately circulated manuscript. Like other manuscripts, it was intended not to be read widely but to be shared among like-minded practitioners within the same school. Several references in the text make it clear that the author, Ōguchi Shōō (1689–1764; also known as Gansui), was writing his instructions for women of samurai status, which was the status of most adherents of the Sekishū school. Therefore this manual on tea practice for women was meant not for women in general but for a specific group of women, those of samurai status who practiced the Sekishū style of tea.

Because adherents of the Sekishū style of tea practice were able to operate without control from a centralized hierarchy, they may have been more willing, receptive, or able to promote tea practice among women than practitioners in other schools were. However, the Sekishū school was not the only school in which women practiced tea. Records

of women attending tea gatherings (discussed in more detail below) come from a variety of schools, including the Sen schools.[14] In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century commercially published guides for women's edification (the subject of chapter 4), authors advocate that women learn tea. However, there is no mention of any particular school of tea or any suggestion that one must necessarily study with a licensed teacher. It is therefore difficult to say with any certainty what the tea school landscape looked like for women during the Edo period. It would appear that women tea practitioners, though limited in number, were associated with most, if not all, of the tea schools at this time. It is also quite likely that many women engaged in tea practice without having any formal ties to a tea school.

Popularization of Tea Culture

The practice of tea was one of a number of "polite arts" or "arts of play" (*yūgei*) that formed part of both the elite and popular cultures of the Edo period. At the same time that tea culture became institutionalized through the establishment of tea schools and the *iemoto* system, it also became popularized as knowledge about tea culture spread beyond the sphere controlled by tea school heads. This popularization was made possible by the publication of texts on tea, which were not necessarily sanctioned or produced by the tea schools. These texts targeted a wealthy commoner audience who increasingly had the means to participate in activities like tea and had the desire to do so because of its important place in aesthetic and political culture.

During the seventeenth century Japan experienced a period of major economic growth, including both agricultural and commercial expansion, resulting in population growth and urbanization. Over the course of the Edo period, long-term economic growth led to rising standards of living, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Increases in agricultural productivity, for example, meant that farmers could accumulate surpluses that they could use to invest further in agriculture, particularly new technologies or techniques, or to engage in commerce. While samurai were on fixed stipends, commoners derived their income from this agricultural and commercial activity and could thus accrue profit. In the cities a new stratum of wealthy merchants emerged, while in the countryside there was a new stratum of rural elite.[15] This new elite was able to invest time and money into

education and leisure activities, once the preserve of the court aristocracy and samurai.

Wealth and status (that is, one's position in the official social hierarchy), which theoretically went hand in hand, thus became disconnected. Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728) noted this problem, as he saw it, several times in *A Discourse on Government* (*Seidan,* ca. 1726):

> The profits of merchants in the last hundred years are quite unprecedented since the world began. . . . The military class, no longer thinking highly of rice and valuing only money, are being deprived of their wealth. They are being sucked dry by the merchants and forced day by day into greater poverty. . . .[16]
>
> The fact is, if only they have the money, even the lower classes can imitate the daimyo with impunity. It is very sad to notice how in today's world those who are without money feel of no account and how even men of high rank and virtue are, as a matter of course, humbled and treated with contempt.[17]

Although Sorai may have exaggerated his claims for rhetorical effect, given that he was promoting his own moral code for society, there is no doubt that samurai impoverishment vis-à-vis commoners was a real and increasing trend over the course of the Edo period.

A new, wealthy stratum thus emerged within the commoner status group. These wealthy commoners looked for ways they could live the lifestyle afforded by their wealth, a lifestyle above what was deemed appropriate to their sociopolitical position. Adopting a lifestyle associated with higher status was made possible by the commercialization of cultural activities such as tea. Participation was no longer limited to those who had the right status or connections but was open to anyone of financial means; they could purchase guides that detailed all aspects of elite culture, and they could pay for lessons and licenses.

Attempts at overturning the status quo by commoners living above their station were unsurprisingly condemned by the old elite. An adviser to the Maeda domain said of the situation in 1835: "Among the households of urban commoners . . . are many . . . who do not preserve their status. . . . [They] coveted the houses of those of higher status . . . . There are many who no longer observe the status regulations, who spend too much money, who have a poor sense of social responsibility."[18]

To limit the blurring of established social lines, the Tokugawa shogunate periodically issued sumptuary regulations, relating to what clothing members of each status group could wear and how they could decorate their houses, for example.[19] The shogunate's attempts to maintain social distinction in this way was symptomatic of the threat posed to the social and political order by the rise of wealthy commoners.[20] While commoners were, in many cases, becoming wealthier than their superiors, moving up the social ladder was still blocked by the official status hierarchy. A wealthy commoner could take on the lifestyle of an aristocrat or a samurai yet could not so easily become an aristocrat or a samurai in official terms. The trappings of success, such as clothing, cultural attributes, and manners, therefore became important markers of an alternative status hierarchy in which wealth and not sociopolitical rank defined one's position.[21] With economic growth came new and ever-increasing opportunities for communication across status boundaries, particularly as commoners began to engage in cultural arts that had once been the preserve of the elite. Commoners found it increasingly important to learn the appropriate modes of communication, both verbal and nonverbal, with which to communicate with their social superiors.

The world of aesthetic pastimes associated with the court aristocracy and samurai was particularly attractive to the upwardly mobile as an area in which their wealth and cultural learning could be displayed and as a means of learning elite manners and modes of communication. By the end of the seventeenth century, wealthy commoners had come to embrace cultural arts such as tea. The formal structure of a cultural or aesthetic gathering, such as for tea or poetry, was important because it regulated how social interaction occurred. Within this environment, contact across status lines became more common. Popular comic fiction author Ihara Saikaku (1642–1693) described this connection between upwardly mobile commoners and cultural arts associated with the elite:

> In general, the Osaka rich were not descendants of old families that had prospered for many generations. Most of them were the type of person who was formerly called "Kichizō" or "Sansuke" [typical "redneck" names] but now they strive to enrich themselves. They have learned to socialize with people from "good" families while learning poetry-making, playing kemari [a ball game], archery, koto-harp, flute, or drum music, the perfume game, or the tea-ceremony. By that time they have lost their countrified accents.[22]

Another popular author, Nishikawa Joken (1648–1724), also described the links between economic growth, status, and accomplishment in cultural arts:

> Now that the townspeople have piled up a lot of money, they proudly attempt to raise their status by aping the manners of the aristocracy and the samurai. When the rest of the people, whether educated or not, look at these newly refined city folk, they are consumed with envy and push themselves to the limit in order to imitate [their polite arts]. In this way, the behaviors associated with the polite arts became the custom of the country as a whole.[23]

Nishikawa also noted that an increasing number of masters of these arts came from commoner stock. Thus, artistic pursuits became popular as a way for upwardly mobile commoners to increase their social standing and have contact with others of higher status.

Tea culture was particularly suitable to those wishing to heighten their status through appearing refined and graceful. In an examination of the popular Ogasawara school of etiquette and manners, Eiko Ikegami notes that "the deployment of the body in acknowledging and expressing status differences was the most basic principle in Tokugawa manners."[24] Tea was one way of training the body because the procedures for making tea were learned through repetition of set body movements. Students would learn to control their body so as to appear graceful and elegant in each action they undertook. Students would also learn how to deploy their body to express status difference through actions such as bowing. Though in the popular image of tea culture promoted today it is said that status distinctions have no place inside the tearoom, preserving status distinctions was very much a part of tea culture in the Edo period. Thus, two purposes were achieved through studying tea: learning to appear elegant and graceful by controlling one's body movements, and learning to express status differences in interactions with others. It was therefore an appealing pastime to take up for upwardly mobile commoners wishing to increase their social cachet through their appearance. Indeed, tea had long been an art used by social climbers to demonstrate their new standing in society. One of the great unifiers, Hideyoshi, who rose from humble origins as the son of a farmer, famously employed tea culture in his quest to become cultured and "pursue legitimacy."[25]

Tea practice can be understood as what Pierre Bourdieu called symbolic capital and cultural capital.[26] Symbolic capital arises from the

prestige that tea has as an activity of the social elite; cultural capital arises from the tea practitioner's acquired knowledge and skills, which allow the practitioner to communicate and interact through a specific code rendered meaningless and unintelligible to outsiders. As Bourdieu has suggested, symbolic capital becomes particularly important when economic capital is not recognized.[27] In the Edo period, economic capital, though significant, was not recognized formally or institutionally as the most important form of capital accumulation. Symbolic capital thus took on particular significance for those who wished to deny the importance of others' economic capital—for example, samurai who became increasingly impoverished during the period but remained above commoners in terms of official status. Symbolic capital also served as a form of capital accumulation for those whose economic capital went unrecognized—for example, commoners who could amass significant wealth but remained at the bottom of the four-tier status system. As Etsuko Kato puts it, "*temae* has always been a means for nondominant groups to obtain symbolic-cultural capital, because *temae* enabled relatively disadvantaged but ambitious groups to acquire a type of self-discipline [of the body and mind] . . . usually associated with socially superordinate groups."[28]

Rather than raising their official status, commoners generally heightened their standing within the group to which they already belonged. That is to say, upward social mobility in the sense of actually crossing the boundaries from one status to another was rare. A distinction was made between material and social mobility, with the accumulation of material wealth not having the same impact on social status that it would in a society not bound by officially prescribed status distinctions. Thus, within the status group of commoners, a new stratum of a wealthy, cultured elite arose, who through the deployment of their economic capital were able to acquire the sort of symbolic and cultural capital that had previously been the sole preserve of the court aristocracy and the samurai. They could literally buy access to learning arts that taught them the manners, tastes, and skills that were invested with symbolic and cultural capital.

As tea gained popularity among commoners seeking to acquire cultural capital, the demand for information increased. This resulted in the publication of woodblock-printed texts detailing information about tea culture that had previously been passed down orally or in privately circulated manuscripts. The context for this change was a commercial publishing boom from the seventeenth century, along with a rise and

spread of literacy among the population.[29] Certain features of Edo-period publishing—such as the use of woodblock printing, which allowed for phonetic glossing of kanji in the text, and extensive illustrations accompanying the text—meant that most books were suitable for popular consumption.[30] And with approximately ten thousand books in print, "being sold or lent in more than seven hundred bookstores nationwide" by the late seventeenth century, popularly consumed they were.[31] The numbers of bookstores continued to grow, while lending libraries, sometimes consisting of a stack of books being carried around on a person's back, and credit systems operating in bookshops also made books available to a wider market.[32]

The market included a wide variety of books on assorted topics, from specialized works on tea culture (like those described below) and works dealing with the latest scientific and medical information coming from Europe, to guides to travel and the pleasure quarters, military handbooks and rosters of the shogunate, household encyclopedias, and various genres of popular fiction.[33] The plethora of genres and the seemingly insatiable appetite of the early modern reading public have led historian Mary Elizabeth Berry to describe the book market as a "library of public information."[34] One part of this library consisted of how-to books and guides to popular arts. That men were among the readership for new texts on tea culture, and therefore also likely participating in the practice of tea, has been well understood.[35] Female consumers and producers of tea culture have yet to figure in the analysis.

The first mass-market text dealing with tea culture was *Grass, Person, Tree* (*Sōjinboku,* 1626), which, in three volumes, detailed the procedures for making and serving tea and for handling the utensils, as well as the layout of the tearoom.[36] By making access to information on tea-making procedures available to anyone, *Grass, Person, Tree* departed markedly from the tradition of oral or manuscript transmission of information to a select group of adherents. In the late seventeenth century, more commercially produced books, such as *Complete Writings on the Way of Tea* (*Chadō zenshō,* 1693) and *A Collection of Tea Commentary* (*Chanoyu hyōrin taisei,* 1697), entered the market.[37] *Complete Writings on the Way of Tea,* carrying on from *Grass, Person, Tree,* represents a significant shift in the way information about tea culture was presented. The author of this encyclopedic text aimed to "bring together the secrets of every house, including . . . [Takeno] Jōō, Rikyū, Furuta [Oribe], Kobori [Enshū], Hosokawa [Sansai], Katagiri [Sekishū], and more."[38] It thus exposed the secret teachings of these famous tea masters to an

anonymous reading public. No longer was information about tea culture limited by school affiliation; now consumers could purchase knowledge from a range of tea masters.

The publication boom was not limited to books on tea procedures. Catalogs of utensils, such as *Diverse Domestic and Foreign Utensils* (*Wakan shodōgu,* 1694), were also popular, for they provided information on ideal utensil types for people who may not have had access to the real objects, as well as acting as catalogs and guides for people who could travel to Kyoto and purchase the original goods.[39] In addition, books that gave more weight to illustrations than text may have been popular among consumers with limited literacy. Some texts on tea utensils went beyond the scope of a catalog, giving guidance to amateurs on how to make their own utensils. Information on raku ceramics, popular among tea practitioners, was disseminated in this way.[40]

Starting with *Grass, Person, Tree* and then *Complete Writings on the Way of Tea,* commercially produced texts on tea culture thus contributed to the popularization of cultural and artistic activities among a wider segment of the population and in areas well beyond the cultural centers of Kyoto and Edo, because they made information on these pursuits readily available. The publication of such texts in the late seventeenth century was a sign of the increasing desire of commoners to participate in tea culture. This, in turn, was a contributing factor in the Sen tea schools' attempts to control the spread of tea culture through the *iemoto* system.[41] Yet, in spite of their attempts to limit the spread of information, tea practice and connoisseurship were occurring outside the purview of the tea schools.

Women as Readers and Consumers

Recent research has shown that women formed part of the new readership consisting of consumers and cultural producers who were targeted by commercial publishers from the seventeenth century. It is thought that women may even have been the main purchasers of books for the home from the mobile lending libraries.[42] Women may also have been involved in the publishing industry, as copyists, publishers, and booksellers.[43] A testament to the existence of a large female reading public is the proliferation of texts for women on a variety of topics, accompanied by debates among intellectuals on what constituted suitable reading for them. Indeed, a new category of "women's books" entered booksellers' catalogs in 1670: "a development that bespeaks profes-

sional recognition of a new class of reader, if not of purchaser, and identification of certain types of book as appropriate for women."[44]

Coinciding with and contributing to the commercial publishing boom was an increase in women's education, particularly from the eighteenth century. This growth in women's education can be linked to the economic growth of the period, in that families who had money and could forgo the potentially productive labor of their daughters were more likely to invest in education. In a story published in 1725 a father, reflecting on the opportunities available to his children that did not exist when he was young, comments, "Nowadays the world has changed, and even the daughter of a humble household like ours [they ran a rice-cleaning shop] can have lessons in writing and reading."[45] In *Primary School Handbook for Girls* (*Onna terako chōhōki,* 1806), the opening image is a scene from a school for girls (figure 1).[46] In the foreground two girls are practicing writing kanji on large scrolls while a younger girl looks on and an older girl, standing behind them, holds a scroll that reads "A Reading and Writing School for Girls." In the back of the picture, three girls are reading books. A woman, possibly a teacher, is peer-

Fig. 1. "A Reading and Writing School for Girls." In *Primary School Handbook for Girls*. 1806. National Institute of Japanese Literature.

ing around the door from the room where the girls are reading, looking in on those practicing writing. This image represents a school such as the daughter of the rice-cleaning shop owner may have attended.

Educational opportunities varied greatly across status and geographical lines, but as historian Peter Kornicki has observed, "by the early nineteenth century there were large numbers of institutions in most parts of Japan, rural and urban, offering some kind of basic education."[47] Girls studied at such institutions, including private academies and temple schools, as well as in the home. The variations were so great that it is impossible to generalize beyond individual cases except to say that girls could receive an education.[48] For the city of Edo, it is estimated that during the eighteenth century there were two or three temple schools in every ward, where middle- and lower-class commoner women could go to learn reading and writing. Further, about one in three of these schools had a female teacher, often a commoner or the wife of a masterless samurai.[49] Later data, from the early nineteenth century, also supports these findings, showing that female teachers or proprietors of schools were not uncommon in Edo and that women ran schools outside the capital too.[50]

Girls might also have lessons in reading and writing in the home, either from another family member or from a hired tutor. From at least the late seventeenth century, female tutors were hired to teach young girls in the home, if their family was wealthy enough to hire one and had books available for her to use. Even commoner girls might have access to books in the home. In 1736 the Sanda family from Kashiwara Village, Shiki County, in the suburbs of Osaka, had among their collection of 239 titles, consisting of 1,054 volumes, "texts for basic writing and books for instructing girls."[51] Many of the guides for women's edification that feature sections on tea also have sections on reading and writing.[52] For example, *Essential Knowledge for Women's Prosperity and Longevity* (*Joyō fukuju-dai,* 1774, 1785) includes a section on "essential sentences for women," accompanied by an image of a young girl about to begin practicing writing characters while an older girl sits opposite her with an open book on the floor in front of her.[53]

Shogunal authorities encouraged the spread of literacy among girls as well as boys through education. A proclamation to writing school teachers, issued as part of the Tenpō reforms of the 1840s, stated, "Everyone—boys and girls, high and low—should be able to read and write appropriate to their station. . . . For women *Onna Imagawa* [an illustrated primer in *kana* for girls], *Jokai* [a Chinese Confucian reader for

girls], and *Onna kōkyō* (Filial piety for women) are recommended along with writing practice."[54] The phrase "appropriate to their station" reminds us that status usually determined the type and amount of education people received, or were meant to receive, in the Edo period.

As well as status, gender was a factor affecting educational opportunities. In general, the rationale for women's education differed from that for men's. A woman's education was intended to assist her in marrying well and to provide her with the skills to manage her domestic and social responsibilities after marriage, whereas men's education was more intellectually oriented. Education was necessary to prepare girls not just for future roles as household managers but also for many of the occupations women took on. Women often contributed their labor to a family-run business in the case of merchants, but they possibly also engaged in paid work outside the home. Texts such as *A Record of Treasures for Women* (*Onna chōhōki,* 1692) and *A Treasure Chest of Greater Learning for Women* (*Onna daigaku takara bako,* 1716) show that women were employed in a wide range of occupations, from prostitution to farming, fishing, spinning, weaving and sewing, and working in service as attendants, wet nurses, and cooks, to name but a few.[55]

Access to education was of course determined by geography and family circumstances. Girls in Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka were far more likely than those in regional areas to attend school, and girls from wealthy families were far more likely to have a private tutor come to their home than girls from a poor family. Geography and class may have been far greater barriers to learning and literacy than gender.[56] As a general rule, women's literacy rates were higher in areas where male rates were also high. This does not mean, though, that women in rural areas were necessarily at a disadvantage to their urban sisters, for rural girls could also have the educational opportunities to become literate depending on their family's economic circumstances.[57]

Literacy could mean different things in the context of the Edo period.[58] Functional literacy could mean simply the ability to write one's own name, while full literacy might include the ability to read government documents and conduct commercial transactions written in complicated, epistolary-style hybrid Sino-Japanese. Therefore it is more appropriate to speak of literacies than literacy when discussing the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries.[59] Recent research conducted by Japanese scholars on women's diaries, including accounts of travel, as well as the study of letters written by women, indicates that literate women were not out of the ordinary by the later part of this period.[60]

Women reading *A Woman's Handbook,* for example, would have needed literacy in kanji because the text is written in a mixture of kanji and the phonetic kana script, without phonetic glossing for the kanji. For the purposes of reading commercially published edification guides, being literate in the phonetic kana script would have sufficed because kanji were used sparingly and, when used, were glossed with kana. As Richard Rubinger has suggested in regard to agricultural manuals published around the same time, "the *kana* glosses made these works ideal for oral presentation, enabling the content to be communicated with only *kana* literacy to those who could not read the phonetic script themselves."[61] The use of illustrations would also assist in the dissemination of information to those who did not have enough literacy to read the text. To make a comparison with the agricultural manuals again, Rubinger notes that "in terms of the dissemination of agricultural information and technology, it does not matter much whether 'ordinary farmers' actually read the books themselves or had the books read to them."[62] This also holds true for women and the dissemination of information about tea culture. It is possible, for example, that phonetic glossing was added to facilitate reading when copies were made of *A Woman's Handbook,* or that women who used this text had it read to them by someone else, such as a teacher (who may have been male or female). Edification guides may not have been read individually by women but in groups of friends or family members. By whatever means they received the information in these texts, women were being told that they should participate in tea culture and exactly what parts of tea practice they should master.

Records of Women's Participation in Tea Culture

Women did not just read about tea culture in manuscripts and commercial books. They also participated in culture through the actual practice of making tea in the prescribed manner of a *temae,* or by sitting as a guest and drinking tea in the prescribed manner. Tea gatherings were undoubtedly the most significant site for the practice and production of Edo-period tea culture. Participating in a tea gathering was a sign of one's status as a tea practitioner. During a gathering all of the guests' interactions with each other and the host were governed by procedures and rules of etiquette, as transmitted orally by tea masters in the *iemoto* system and as set down in manuscript and published texts on tea culture. Knowledge of tea culture, the defining characteristic of a tea practitioner, extended to guests as well as hosts at tea gatherings.

A host often kept a record of a tea gathering (*chakaiki*) that listed the names of guests and what order they sat in—the role of first guest, for example, being most important and usually given either to the person with the most knowledge of tea culture or to a person the host wished to honor. Sometimes it was not the host who kept a record but a guest. Prominent tea practitioners such as Sen Sōtan kept records of all gatherings they attended, for example.[63] In other cases, such records are not separate documents but part of a diary detailing the author's life beyond tea culture. These records are a commonly used source by tea historians, for they reveal very specific details about early modern tea practice and the networks forged by practitioners. When the records are read for evidence of women's presence at tea gatherings, as either hosts or guests, a clear pattern emerges: many of the gatherings were hosted or attended by prominent male tea practitioners; and women most often participated in family- or household-based networks of tea practice—for female attendants the network was based in the household where they worked rather than their family.

The diary of the head of Yoshida Shrine in Kyoto in the late sixteenth century, Yoshida Kanemi (1535–1610), is an example of this type of record. Yoshida Kanemi was an influential figure in Kyoto; he had a successful career at court and was an associate of the military leaders Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi.[64] He regularly attended tea gatherings, including many hosted by Satake Ushū, lord of Dewa Province (present-day Yamagata and Akita Prefectures). His diary details that his wife, Seijo, and daughter, Michiyo, sometimes accompanied him to tea gatherings. For example, on 1577/9/7 Kanemi, Seijo, and Michiyo were guests at a tea gathering held by Satake.[65] Seijo also attended another gathering held by Satake on 1579/9/3.[66]

Another diary, that of the sixteenth daughter of Emperor Gomizunoo (1596–1680; r. 1611–1629), Shinanomiya Tsuneko (1642–1702), details her participation in tea gatherings. The diary, *Mujōhōin-dono gonikki,* was written between 1666 and 1700. The first day of the diary records a tea gathering for opening the new jar of tea for the year (*kuchi kiri*). In attendance were retired emperor Gomizunoo, retired emperor Gosai (1637–1685; r. 1654), her half brother to whom she was extremely close, and several imperial princesses.[67] She was also a regular guest at tea gatherings held by Gosai.[68] Tanihata Akio has argued that while Shinanomiya serves as an example of women's involvement in tea during the Edo period, we cannot concretely know about the other women of aristocratic, samurai, and commoner families who may also

have practiced tea.[69] However, although Shinanomiya is certainly unique, because of the detailed accounts of her tea practice preserved in her diary, she is not the only example of an Edo-period female tea practitioner. In Shinanomiya's case, we know about her tea practice because her high status as a woman of the imperial family ensured that her diary was preserved. Likewise, other individual women for whom we have records of attendance at tea gatherings were also of high status, renowned in some way, or connected to prominent male tea practitioners, ensuring that such records are now available.

Tagami Kikusha (1753–1826) is an example of a woman who achieved some renown in her lifetime and whose records of tea practice have been preserved. Kikusha was a nun in the Shin sect of Pure Land Buddhism who spent her life on the road, traveling all over the main Japanese islands for some thirty years after taking the tonsure at age twenty-seven. She was a poet in the *haikai* and *kanshi* genres, as well as a painter, calligrapher, musician, tea practitioner, and maker of tea utensils.[70] Records of tea gatherings that she kept show that she was an avid participant in tea culture who hosted many gatherings.[71] On 1796/12/3 for example, Kikusha hosted a tea gathering in Nagasaki.[72] This was a noon (*shōgo*) gathering, a standard type of formal tea gathering. It included a full *kaiseki* meal as well as the laying of the charcoal (*shoza*); a thick tea service (*koicha*); an intermission (*nakadachi*) when the guests retired from the tearoom to a waiting area; rebuilding of the charcoal (*goza*); and a thin tea service (*usucha*). Kikusha acted as the host for five guests. In the tenth month of 1808, Kikusha borrowed the premises of Ito Mokunojō (dates unknown) and held a tea gathering that lasted for an extraordinary twenty days.[73] In her case, her network of tea practice was not based on the family or household, for as a nun Kikusha was free of such ties.

Historian Tani Akira has identified numerous records of tea gatherings that women attended.[74] These records most clearly reveal the pattern of familial or household-based networks of practice for women. For example, on 1595/9/25 a gathering was held by Kobayakawa Takakage (1533–1597), a senior retainer of the warlord Hideyoshi who held the Imperial Court rank of Middle Councilor (*chūnagon*). Five days earlier Kobayakawa Hidetoshi (1577–1602), Takakage's adopted son and the nephew of Hideyoshi, had held a tea gathering in the tearoom of the Kobayakawa castle to mark his succession as the head of the family domain, Najima, in Chikuzen (present-day Fukuoka Prefecture). The guests at the subsequent gathering held by Takakage were Hidetoshi's

wife and five of her attendants,[75] as well as Hidetoshi and a Hakata merchant and associate of Rikyū and Hideyoshi, Kamiya Sōtan (1553–1635).[76] Sōtan was an avid chronicler of all tea gatherings he attended, and according to his record of this occasion in his diary, after Hidetoshi left his seat the remaining guests enjoyed themselves all day long, drinking sake, and listening to music.[77] Tani suggests that the purpose of this tea-gathering-cum-all-day-long-banquet must have been to recognize the women's service to the family.[78] Whatever the motivation, this was clearly a social occasion, and women participated in the proceedings as guests alongside a prominent male tea practitioner and male members of their family/household.

A common feature of all the records of women's participation in tea gatherings during the Edo period is that the women were from the same family/household as the host or from the same family/household as one of the male guests, as seen in the above examples. Other examples include gatherings at which daughters and granddaughters were present, in addition to wives and female attendants.[79] The records of Kawakami Fuhaku (1719–1807) also evidence this pattern. Fuhaku was a disciple of the seventh-generation head of the Omotesenke school, Joshinsai Tennen (1705–1751), who went to Edo to promote Omotesenke-style tea and founded his own school there, Edosenke. He is credited with increasing the popularity of Sen-style tea among commoners in Edo, as well as daimyo, among whom the Sekishū style had been dominant.[80] In the records of his tea gatherings, women were present on four occasions. On 1782/9/14 he held a gathering at which the guests were a Matsudaira Kuranosuke, his wife, and three of her attendants. Matsudaira, his wife, and her attendants also attended two other gatherings held by Fuhaku: later that same year, on 1782/11/24, and the following year, on 1783/2/12. At a gathering Fuhaku held on 1788/9/2 there were four guests: the wife of Lord Nakagawa, her female attendant, and two men, Hōshō Shinojō and Ano Yasoemon.[81] Lord Nakagawa refers to Nakagawa Shuri, the lord of Bungo-Takeda Province (present-day Oita Prefecture), who was a supporter of Fuhaku. Hōshō Shinojō was a Noh actor. The identity of Ano Yasuemon is unknown, but it has been suggested that he may have been a retainer of Nakagawa's.[82] Even if we assume that Nakagawa's wife was accompanied by one of her husband's retainers, this stands out as a rare instance of a wife attending a tea gathering without her husband. It also serves as an example of just how a tea gathering could operate as a space in which people from various social backgrounds came together—with a tea

master, a provincial lord's wife, her attendant, a Noh actor, and a samurai retainer all sharing tea together.

In many examples of women's participation in tea gatherings a wife was accompanied by her female attendants. Because the attendants are also recorded as having been guests at these gatherings, we can assume that they too were well versed in the procedures and etiquette of tea culture. Tea practice was not limited to women of elite status but was also an accomplishment of the lower-ranking women who served them. The tea practice of women in service is discussed in more detail in a later chapter. Important here is an observation we can draw from records of tea gatherings: that elite women who were tea practitioners would have expected some of their female attendants to be proficient at the art so that they could accompany their mistress to gatherings. That said, there are instances of female attendants attending a tea gathering alone. For example, Sumiyama Yoho, a student of Omotesenke tea under Joshinsai, held a gathering on 1848/12/16 whose guests included three female attendants of the Major Councilor of State (*dainagon*).[83]

That women seem to have participated in tea gatherings within a family or household environment may give a clue as to why more gatherings involving women are not recorded. Unless a prominent guest such as Kamiya Sōtan was present, then a family-based gathering was not so likely to be recorded or have its record survive. In addition, women who appear in such records were from wealthy and elite households. While they were certainly able to invest the time and finances necessary for the study of tea more than commoner women, it is also the case that tea gatherings at which they were present were far more likely to be recorded. There is every possibility that women participated in many more tea gatherings than extant records indicate. Yet, if commoner women were participating in tea gatherings, whether they were doing so in the same context as elite women—that is, within the family and a circle of close friends—is difficult to say without further evidence.

Those commoner women who went into service at an elite household and were tea practitioners were certainly participating in a household-based network of practice. In so doing, they were interacting with people beyond their immediate family and status in an intimate environment. It appears that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, commoner women's participation in tea culture increased, as did the numbers of women going into service. These trends were related, with studying tea being a means of preparation for going into service. Once in service, women may have continued their practice of tea: participating in

tea gatherings within their household or accompanying their mistress to tea gatherings outside the household, for example. Tea gatherings were thus spaces in which women of varying statuses could interact with each other and with men. These themes are expanded on in chapter 3.

As places where people from various backgrounds could interact, tea gatherings can be described as a form of "aesthetic socialization," along with activities such as gatherings for poetry writing, flower arrangement, and incense appreciation.[84] In what has been described as a salon culture, personal relations among people of various social backgrounds could be forged through mutual enjoyment of arts such as tea.[85] In this sphere of aesthetic social interaction, officially prescribed status identities could be left behind and artistic identities assumed, through the use of artistic names.[86] Artistic and cultural gatherings therefore provided sites where people of various social backgrounds could mingle freely for the pursuit of a common interest. Indeed, it may be that aesthetic pursuits became increasingly popular during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries because they provided a much-needed vehicle for social interaction among strangers in the large urban centers.[87] Tea culture was one such vehicle for social interaction. As the author of one guide for women's edification told his readers, "Tea has become very popular, so if you do not know the rules you cannot interact with people."[88] Tea, as a group activity, was thus an important form of social interaction in which a woman could display her learning to others. For elite women and those who served them, this aesthetic socialization and display usually occurred in a familial/household context.

In records of tea gatherings, we find only isolated instances of women participating in these sites of social interaction. Nonetheless, we can draw some conclusions about women's participation in tea culture from this. For a male practitioner, hosting a tea gathering at which his own wife, daughter, or granddaughters were present would have been a way of acknowledging their tea practice and displaying it to a select group of associates. Through the women's knowledge of tea, the family/household's accumulation of cultural and economic capital was on show for all to see. As historian Anne Walthall states, "In a status system designed to lock families in place, one arena in which competition took place was the aesthetic sphere; hence a highly cultivated woman could rebound with credit on her family's reputation."[89] Elite women displayed not only their personal accumulation of capital at occasions such as tea gatherings but that of their female attendants too, further enhancing their own prestige. Having attendants who were proficient in tea was

evidence of a household's economic and social status, for only the very affluent could afford to employ attendants who spent their time indulging in arts rather than productive labor. For a host, extending an invitation to a man's wife and her companions, rather than just to him alone, would have been a way of honoring both her and the husband. Tea gatherings, then, could serve as sites for the conspicuous display of capital, as embodied by women. They could also function as important occasions for socializing, even if only within the family and a close circle of friends. Personal and familial relationships were reinforced and strengthened through such gatherings, and women could play a role in these networks. These observations challenge the entrenched idea that women were not "serious" tea practitioners who participated in tea gatherings.

Eiko Ikegami argues that a common feature of all early modern cultural networks, be they centered around poetry or tea, was that "they created 'publics,' or spheres of socialization that represented intersections of various social and cognitive networks."[90] Through these networks not only did people of various backgrounds come into contact with each other, but also a common culture based on aesthetic values and common notions of civility developed. It is these developments that led Ikegami to the conclusion that "the growing popularization of aesthetic networking practices began to blur the outlines of the *mibun*-based [status-based] categories."[91] It did so because participation in "sites of aesthetic sociability required the temporary leaving of feudal official identities."[92] The practice of adopting artistic names most clearly evidences how feudal identities could be transcended through participation in the arts. A practitioner would adopt a name that would be used for all activities associated with a particular art; one person could have multiple names as he or she adopted a new one for each art form. Therefore the person's "real" identity in the context of the social status system was theoretically concealed. Much has been made of the ability for people to transcend their official identity through adopting artistic names, yet as Walthall has commented, "it is possible that even though samurai, artisan, merchant, and actor checked their identities at the door, they remained aware of them nonetheless."[93] In any case, cultural networks created a space in which interactions could take place that would not generally occur within the context of a hierarchically structured status system, whether or not people actually remained aware of their real-world identities in that space.

But what of gender identity within the context of cultural networks? Could gender identities be transcended or "checked at the

door" as status identities could? Ikegami, for one, suggests that women's participation in such networks was another form of boundary trespassing.[94] This would be true for tea culture if we assume, as many have done, that at one point it was an exclusively male domain. If this was the case, then women's participation would indeed have been a form of boundary trespassing. Certainly women's participation in tea culture did increase toward the end of the eighteenth century, and there were always some male practitioners who did not approve of this. Yet evidence shows that small numbers of women were participating in *chanoyu* tea culture from early on. This evidence suggests that women always participated in tea culture, even if only in small numbers initially, and that their participation did not require or lead them to transcend their gender identity. This is not to say, though, that the tearoom was a gender-equal environment. As we have seen, women were most often guests rather than hosts and were not usually the first or main guest at gatherings in which they participated. This suggests that gender hierarchies were maintained to a large extent within tea culture. The growth of female participation in tea culture, then, reflects the popularization of elite culture and the blurring of status boundaries more than it does the breakdown of gender boundaries.

The pattern of family- or household-based tea practice among women just described is further evidenced in theatrical depictions of women who were involved in tea culture. From the puppet theatre comes the example of Osai, a tea master's wife in the Chikamatsu play *Gonza the Lancer* who takes over the running of the tea "business" while her husband is away. Kabuki theatre gives us the example of Masaoka, a nursemaid in a daimyo household who displays dignity, loyalty, and courage—ideal characteristics of a samurai woman—in part through her knowledge of the procedures for making tea in *chanoyu*. Osai and Masaoka also represent the type of elite woman who may have accessed a privately circulated manuscript on tea culture and participated in tea gatherings. She is the type of woman the audience for commercially published writings were encouraged to emulate.

The Tea Master's Wife—A Literary Example

As records of tea gatherings indicate, the women who were most likely to participate in tea culture were from a family that included male practitioners. Osai, the wife of a tea master from the puppet play

Gonza the Lancer (*Yari no Gonza kasane katabira,* 1717), is a participant in a family-based network of tea culture. At the start of the play Ichinoshin is away in Edo, and Osai has responsibility for managing her husband's affairs, including those to do with tea. As the wife of a tea master, she possesses considerable knowledge about tea culture and can be entrusted to be the guardian of such knowledge in her husband's absence. It is also Osai who is responsible for instructing the younger members of the family in tea culture, including her son, who will one day take over his father's role as tea master. The play premiered in 1717 and was based on events that had occurred in Osaka that same year.[95] The story concerns a typical Chikamatsu theme of a double suicide by star-crossed lovers, in this case Osai and Gonza, a student of Ichinoshin.

Osai's position and responsibilities as the wife of a tea master are outlined in the following section of the play:

> Osai watches over Asaka Ichinoshin's house during his absence. Elegant and gay, as a tea master's wife should be, her slender and delicate build gives her a grace and charm that belie her thirty-seven years, though she is the mother of three children. She sweeps and dusts the tea room, never letting a maid inside, so devoted to tidiness that her broom never leaves her hand. Today she scatters pine needles along the path of stepping-stones to the teahouse.[96]

In addition to having charge of the maintenance of the teahouse and gardens, Osai also has responsibility for the upbringing of the children. Thus she instructs her ten-year-old-son:

> Now, while you're still young, you should learn how to hold the tea ladle and how to fold the napkins. I'll get a terrible reputation if people start saying that you children are being brought up badly while your father's away in Edo. I'll be mortified.[97]

It is thus implied that Osai will be the one to instruct her son in the basics of tea. Though the young son has not yet gained any skill in tea, her elder daughter, Okiku, has. The narrator tells us:

> Okiku is exactly as an eldest daughter should be [and suggests that her mother should rest awhile]. . . . She offers powdered tea in a cup of Otowa ware. Osai notices how grown up her manner has become.[98]

The most interesting part of the story, for our purposes, concerns the preparations for the performance of the *shin no daisu temae*—a method of preparing tea using the formal shelf unit for holding and displaying utensils. This performance is to happen at the celebrations for the marriage of the local daimyo's son. Because Ichinoshin is away in Edo, one of his students must perform the service. This particular method of preparing tea is one of the secret procedures that is generally transmitted only orally from father to son or possibly to a senior student. The service has not been transmitted to any of Ichinoshin's students. Gonza and another student, Bannojō, both desire to perform the tea procedure. The first approach to Gonza asking him to perform the procedure is made by Ichinoshin's father-in-law, Iwaki. After Gonza agrees, Iwaki hands over responsibility for making the decision to his daughter, Osai:

> It's nothing I can decide myself. My daughter, as you know, is Ichinoshin's wife, and she must be consulted. Any mistakes made about initiation into the formal ceremony will disgrace his lordship.[99]

Osai must have considerable knowledge of the procedures involved in order to be able to make the important decision as to whether Gonza can perform the procedure or not. As Iwaki indicates, this decision has ramifications for the reputations of not just those involved but the daimyo as well. Gonza then goes to see Osai and asks her to show him the scroll, and in doing so, "he bows his head to the matting with all the courtesy expected of a disciple."[100] By showing Osai all the respect that is accorded to Ichinoshin, Gonza acknowledges that she has taken over the position of Ichinoshin in his absence. She responds by saying:

> I admire your zeal and your unusual devotion. As you know, however, the secret teachings are transmitted within a family, and may be revealed only by the master to his son. In unavoidable cases a pupil may be shown the scroll, but only after a contract of marriage has been arranged with the master's daughter.[101]

Here Osai speaks with considerable authority in relaying to Gonza the protocol involved in transmission. She appears to be not merely a caretaker but someone with real knowledge who is capable of managing the affairs of a tea master. Osai then offers Gonza her daughter Okiku in marriage. Once this issue is resolved, Gonza, as the future

son-in-law of Ichinoshin, is able to be shown the scroll by Osai in a secret nighttime meeting.

The authority that Osai has in such an important matter is also reflected in the instructions of her father, once he has learned of Gonza and Osai's meeting:

> Remember, if he performs the ceremony badly, it will be blamed on Ichinoshin, and reflect unfortunately on his lordship. Let him learn all of the secret traditions. But you must not breathe a word of this even to the servants—not that they'd understand—it's much too important for our family.[102]

Clearly Osai is being entrusted with a matter that is extremely important for the local daimyo and her whole family. Even though her father has had some involvement in the preparations, most of the important work is being left to her. Her competence in handling this matter is shown when she hands over the scroll to Gonza and explains it to him:

> This is the illustrated scroll. Here, you see the tables used at weddings, manhood ceremonies, and departures for the front. This is a picture of a tea ceremony behind a screen of state. And this is the True Table ceremony [*shin no daisu temae*], performed on the occasion of an imperial visit. The three hanging scrolls, the three utensils, the placing of the decorative tea caddies—everything is explained in these scrolls of authorization. Once you've read them you won't need any oral instruction. Please compose yourself and read carefully.[103]

Once again, Osai is taking on the role of tea master with confidence and authority, even though she does not give any oral instruction as her husband would have.

Above all else, the story of Osai shows that a tea master's wife could have considerable knowledge of tea. Though she might not have been licensed to teach or perform all the procedures herself, Osai is familiar with tea culture and has knowledge of basic tea-making procedures. Her daughter Okiku is also proficient in tea, and it appears that it is Osai who has major, if not sole, responsibility for instructing both Okiku and her younger brother in tea. Moreover, even though Osai is not officially a teacher, she does, when it is appropriate and necessary, take on the role of tea master, and she is accorded due respect by her husband's pupil. Osai's knowledge of tea and ability to take over the

role of tea master are an integral part of the story and must have had some resonance with the intended audience for the play. As we find in writings on tea practice for women, it is familiarity with rubrics that is important for Osai. Without initiation to performance, she cannot be a tea master or perform the specific procedure in her own right, yet her familiarity with tea culture and even the secret teachings is enough to give her some authority and status within tea culture.

Aside from examples of tea masters' wives who we know instructed other women, such as Katagiri Sōtetsu (discussed in chapter 3), we also know that it was possible in Tokugawa Japan for a wife to take over the headship of the family when her husband was absent. In a 1705 record of residents in the castle town of Kasama, out of thirty-seven female household heads registered, in twenty-two cases the woman was temporarily serving as family head while her samurai husband was away on official duties.[104] In other cases, women are known to have taken over the running of the family business upon the death of a husband. In a discussion of raku potters, Morgan Pitelka notes that the term *amayaki* developed in reference "to the practice of a wife in the Raku household taking Buddhist vows after her husband's death and making ceramics."[105] As he suggests, we can assume that these women had prior knowledge of both pottery and tea culture (as raku ceramics were primarily used in tea culture), but a woman could not be "publicly acknowledged as a Raku potter" until she had no husband to "'front' the occupation."[106] Joyce Lebra has also discussed the circumstances under which women could succeed to the family headship of Osaka merchant houses during the early modern period.[107] She particularly focuses on the case of Tatsu'uma Kiyo, who, after learning about sake brewing as a child, ran the family business from 1842 to 1897 with great success, though never formally becoming the family head.

These examples can be thought of in terms of the "wife-as-deputy" phenomenon described by feminist scholar Gerda Lerner. In such situations, the wife-as-deputy has real influence in shaping events and power over both the men and women below them, yet they derive this power from "the male on whom they depend."[108] In the case of Osai in *Gonza the Lancer,* she took over her husband's role while he was away in Edo. Her power was derived from both Ichinoshin and her father, who entrusted her with making decisions about the performance of the tea procedure. Osai exerted influence and power over the events and over Gonza, forcing him to acquiesce to her wish that he marry her daughter,

for example. The extraordinary circumstances of needing to have a high-level procedure performed and having the family's reputation at stake warranted such action.

The Noble Samurai Woman—A Literary Example

A different theatrical depiction of a woman in a samurai household who had knowledge of tea-making procedures is found in the kabuki character Nursemaid Masaoka (Menoto Masaoka), who appears in the Date Sodo, or Sendai Hagi, lineage of plays.[109] Masaoka, who works in a daimyo household, participates in a household-based world of tea practice, following a school of *chanoyu* suitable to her household's standing as elite warriors. The plays in this lineage—for example, *The Precious Incense and Autumn Flowers of Sendai* (*Meiboku Sendai Hagi,* 1777)—feature a plot based on the 1660 attempted coup by retainers of the Date military household in the Sendai region of Japan. The lead female role of Masaoka, nursemaid to the young lord of the Ashikaga household, has become widely regarded as the "greatest and most difficult of all kabuki roles for a female-role specialist (*onnagata*)"—that is, the male actors who specialized in female roles.[110] The character is regarded as such because in performing her duty to protect the young lord, Masaoka sacrifices the life of her son, stoically watching his murder at the hands of the court lady Yashio.

The scene that concerns us here is titled "The Mansion" in *Precious Incense and Autumn Flowers* and is part of many plays within the same lineage. At the beginning of the scene Masaoka is preparing a meal of rice for her son, Senmatsu, and the young lord, Ashikaga Tsurukiyo (Tsuruchiyo). This is no ordinary meal, however, because Masaoka is concerned about the possibility of poison and so forces the two hungry boys to wait patiently as she prepares the rice in the manner of the procedures for making tea, according to the sixty-six steps of the Oribe school of tea. She thus prepares each utensil by ritually cleansing it according to the procedures for making tea—for example, wiping the brazier with a feather before laying charcoal. The scene is visually striking, as the audience feels Masaoka's pain throughout her focused and intricate preparation of the rice. Plate 1 is a woodblock print of this scene from another play within the Date, or Sendai, lineage, by the artist Utagawa Kunisada (1823–1880). It is one of many woodblock prints depicting Masaoka and the *temae* scene.[111] In this print we see utensils arranged in front of Masaoka as they would be for a *chanoyu temae*. She

is washing the rice between her hands while casting a watchful glance over her son and the young lord.

The choice of the Oribe style of tea reflects the household's status; "the famous Senke schools are thought to be too 'popular' for a high-ranking household."[112] Though there was differentiation among schools of tea according to status, this differentiation did not apply to gender. Women followed whatever style of tea was appropriate to their family or household. In this case, a woman serving in a samurai household followed a style of tea popular among those of samurai status.

The nobility and dignity with which Masaoka is often described stems in part from her intricate performance of the steps involved in the preparation of rice in the style of tea procedures while under extreme stress, as well as her heroic sacrifice of her son. There is thus an association made in this characterization between the attributes of a female attendant in a samurai household—nobility, dignity, and loyalty—and knowledge and performance of tea. Produced during the spring season, this play was designed to appeal to court ladies and female attendants in samurai households, who took their vacations at that time and would go to the theatre.[113] They expected to see characters and plots with which they could empathize. The connection between Masaoka's performance of *temae* and her noble character would have had resonance with female attendants in elite households. Indeed, her performance may well have been something they wished to emulate.

Patterns of Practice

As our attention turns to writings on women's tea practice in chapter 2, the examples of Osai and Masaoka might be kept in mind, just as women who saw these roles enacted before them in the theatre may have thought of them when they read texts that discussed tea culture. The knowledge of tea culture possessed by Osai and Masaoka demonstrates that being a tea practitioner did not necessarily require active participation in tea gatherings; having "knowledge" of tea-making procedures in *chanoyu* was enough to identify one as a tea practitioner. Osai's confident command of knowledge about tea culture, which she deployed in protecting her family's business and reputation, and Masaoka's stoicism and gracefulness under extreme pressure embody some of the attributes that women of samurai and commoner status aimed to cultivate. Studying tea culture was one way to achieve this, as writings on tea culture informed women.

Despite its institutionalization and the efforts of the large tea schools to establish control over it, tea culture in the Edo period was not static or monolithic. Economic growth, a thriving commercial publishing market, and an aspirational population of wealthy commoners created a climate in which tea culture was able to flourish as a popular activity. Previous scholarship has tended to focus on male participation in the popularization of tea culture and characterized it negatively. This chapter has demonstrated the conditions that also allowed women to be active consumers of this popular pastime—namely, increasing rates of education and literacy that gave them the tools to access information about tea culture. Women did not just consume information about tea culture, they were also participants at tea gatherings. Mining records of tea gatherings for what they can tell us about women's participation reveals a pattern of family- or household-based tea practice among elite women, as was the case with the theatrical characters Osai and Masaoka. We can surmise that commoner women's participation, which may well have been more limited by economic circumstances, followed a similar pattern.

Chapter 2

A Handbook for Elite Women's Tea in the Eighteenth Century

In 1721 an Osaka-based tea master in the Sekishū school, Ōguchi Shōō (1689–1764; also known as Gansui), wrote a text that was entirely devoted to the subject of tea practice for women: *A Woman's Handbook* (*Toji no tamoto,* 1721).[1] *A Woman's Handbook* provides evidence of one tea master's attempt to establish a framework for elite women's tea practice in the eighteenth century. Shōō was not writing a handbook for any woman who may have wished to study tea. Rather, his handbook was meant for women of aristocratic and samurai status, as seen in textual references that indicate the status of his intended readership. Significantly, the text addresses the potential criticisms of those who were opposed to women's tea practice. *A Woman's Handbook* reveals what one tea master thought were the reasons women should study tea, and what women must be aware of in their tea practice. Shōō envisions a subordinate role for women in the tea world while at the same time he advocated that women have the same capacity as men to participate in tea culture.

It is not entirely clear what Shōō's motivations were for promoting tea culture to women, but guiding his female audience along the right path seems to have been at the forefront of his concerns. Shōō appears to be particularly concerned that women who practice tea do so in the right way and for the right reasons, following Confucian-inspired moral and ethical principles. Although financial considerations cannot be discounted, for attracting new students meant more income for teachers, the diffuse nature of this school meant less financial reward for a tea master like Shōō than would have been the case for a tea master at the head of an *iemoto* school. It seems more likely that Shōō was motivated by social concerns and had a genuine interest in having a wider cross-section of society practice tea culture, in large part because he believed it had moral benefits for the practitioner. Women were not the only target of his efforts to expand the practitioner base for tea culture. He also

wrote texts addressing the elderly and the very young, showing how they can adapt tea procedures for their specific needs. Regarding women, the procedures for making tea outlined in *A Woman's Handbook* are the same as those for men. However, specific rules and movements are altered because tea culture was adapted to fit established norms of feminine behavior.

A Woman's Handbook was more than just a guide on how to make, serve, and drink tea in the formal manner of *chanoyu*. It was also a guide to morals and proper behavior for samurai women, which stressed the importance of modesty above all else. Repeatedly, Shōō indicates that the general instructions alone are not enough for women; women must be more conscious of not showing their knowledge, more cautious to behave properly, and morally virtuous. In this framework, the purpose of learning tea culture for women is to cultivate the mind and acquire ethics. Shōō employs various strategies to this end, including moral edification through anecdotes and fables and the didactic use of poetry. He draws on a range of philosophical and intellectual traditions, such as Buddhism, particularly Zen; Confucianism and neo-Confucianism; and Shinto, or nativism.

An Unexpected Request

In the tenth month of 1721 a visitor from Echigo (present-day Niigata Prefecture) requested that the tea master Ōguchi Shōō write a book on tea for women, because, he said, no book had been written on the subject.[2] In fact, *A Woman's Handbook* is the only extant text of its kind. Shōō studied tea in Osaka under his father-in-law, Ōnishi Kansai, also a tea master in the Sekishū school.[3] Ōnishi was of samurai origins, as were most practitioners in this school, and is regarded by modern scholars as having adhered to a warlord mode of tea favored by daimyo and samurai.[4] His son-in-law inherited this style of tea practice but is considered to have been less of an adherent to the warlord mode of tea.[5] Unlike other schools of tea, the Sekishū school was not centrally controlled by an *iemoto* system; instead each individual tea master created his own branch. Ōguchi Shōō thus established the Ōguchi school, a branch of the Sekishū school.

Shōō seems to have had a particular interest in popularizing tea culture by making information about rules and procedures more readily accessible through writings.[6] For example, in the text *Truthful Conversations, Contrary to Public Opinions* (*Gyakuryū gendan,* date unknown),

Shōō demonstrates his desire to share information on tea with a wide audience. The text covers topics such as the tea procedures for old, middle-aged, and young people—instructing old and young people (under the age of fifteen) to use a red cloth and to place utensils such as the cold water jar a little closer to themselves than normal (presumably because this would make them easier to reach).[7] Much of the content takes the form of hints or tips on particular aspects of tea culture, such as how best to cut fresh flowers according to their variety—wisteria and mountain hydrangeas should be cut with their stems immersed in boiling water, for example—or how to arrange the charcoal during midsummer so as to avoid making the room unduly warm.[8] Unlike *A Woman's Handbook,* in which moral teachings and advice on modesty and good behavior are interspersed throughout the instructions on tea procedures, *Truthful Conversations* is written in a matter-of-fact tone, providing only advice on tea culture. When taken together, Shōō's writings suggest that one motivating factor for him was to disseminate knowledge of tea practice among a wide spectrum of society. In addition, Shōō's ability to operate independently of any hierarchical school structure that dictated ideology from a central authority figure may have contributed to his willingness to write a book on tea culture for women. As he describes it, he made his decision to write *A Woman's Handbook* in consultation with friends but ultimately took individual responsibility for it.

A Woman's Handbook is composed of two volumes. As well as text, it includes numerous illustrations, particularly diagrams of the layout of the tearoom and the placement of utensils within it for specific *temae*. Shōō tells us the "reason for the name [*Toji no tamoto*] is that 'toji' is a popular name for women and 'tamoto' is a sleeve but also means something you have at hand."[9] Thus it is a "handbook" for women's tea.[10] Explaining his reasons for writing the book, Shōō indicates that he had not thought about the subject of women's tea practice in any detail prior to receiving the request from his visitor. He describes how he mulled things over before discussing the request with a close friend who was also a tea practitioner. The friend was not convinced, responding, "For tea practice, sensitivity (*kansei*—an ineffable feeling of being moved) is needed; therefore women should not practice tea."[11] This reminds us that even though women had been participating in tea for some time, their participation was not universally accepted. Shōō was more open to the idea than his friend. He suggested, "Even though there are no documents by our forbears constituting a written tradition, given that lacquerware utensil stands are among the items women have at hand,

women must be making tea; otherwise what use are these utensil stands?"[12] Shōō is referring to the custom that women may have had utensil stands among the items in their bridal trousseau or set up in their room, particularly in the households of aristocrats, daimyo, or the shogun. Such utensil stands are used in some procedures for making tea, with the cold water jar and other items used for preparing tea placed on the stand by the host prior to the guests' arrival in the tearoom.

There appears to have been a particular association between women and utensil stands, an association that Shōō draws on several times in *A Woman's Handbook*. For example, bridal trousseaus (*konrei dōgu*) and miniature representations of trousseaus in the form of doll's furniture (*hina dōgu*), often included tea utensils arranged on a stand. Typically the utensil stand and other utensils constituted a matching set all decorated with the family crest.[13] The utensils included tea bowls, particularly of the formal *tenmoku* variety (typically, *tenmoku* tea bowls have a short foot and are placed on a stand); tea caddies; braziers; kettles; waste water containers; and cold water jars. The stands were usually lacquerware, and the other utensils were often made of bronze or, in some cases, gold. A particularly beautiful example of tea utensils as part of a bridal trousseau comes from the Hatsune collection, created for the marriage in 1639 of Chiyohime (1637–1698), daughter of the third Tokugawa shogun, Iemitsu (1604–1651; r. 1623–1651), to Tokugawa Mitsumoto (1625–1700), second lord of Owari.[14]

In addition to raising the issue of utensil stands, Shōō took issue with his friend's point about the sensitivity required for practicing tea and the implication that women were lacking in this regard. He counters that "not only men have sensitivity" and gives examples of women of the past who have written poetry, adding that "women's sensitivity has not changed, even in this day."[15] Giving the example of Sen no Rikyū's second wife, Soon, who had an interest in the oil lamps used in tearooms and also carved tea scoops, Shōō says that such traditions of women participating in tea culture have been passed on to his house.

After hearing these arguments that women do have sensitivity and are already involved in tea culture through their possession of utensil stands, the friend agrees with Shōō: "It is helpful for women to enter the Way of Tea."[16] It was to assist women in following the Way correctly that Shōō then began writing *A Woman's Handbook*. He notes that it is a text not for experts but for beginners.[17] Shōō saw himself as continuing in the path of previous tea masters, but not following them blindly. He references famous tea masters of the past, such as Rikyū and Furuta

Oribe, but also says that he discards information that he sees as incorrect or not useful.[18] While forging his own path, he did not see himself as someone who was revolutionizing tea culture by encouraging women to practice. His reasoning was more pragmatic: if women were practicing tea, they needed access to the right information so as to follow the path correctly.

In the introduction to the book, then, we discover the circumstances of its production. There was a demand for such a text, clearly indicating that a reasonable number of women were studying tea by this time, even in the somewhat remote region of Echigo—if we take Shōō's account of his friend's request at face value. There was, however, no consensus on the appropriateness or necessity of women studying tea. Rather, there seem to have been multiple views, as represented by the three people involved in the book's conception. The visitor who requested that a book be written seems to have been completely accepting of women's tea practice. Indeed, this visitor wanted to encourage it, presumably among women of their acquaintance. Shōō seems not to have given the subject much thought prior to receiving the request but, once he considered the matter, came to a positive view. The friend was initially against women's tea practice but was persuaded by the arguments put forward by Shōō to change his mind. Of course we cannot discount the possibility that the friend was a straw man. No doubt Shōō included a summary of these events to explain why he wrote the book to any readers who might hold views similar to those of his friend (or straw man), in hopes of winning them over to a more positive view of women's involvement in tea culture.

A Woman's Handbook was not woodblock printed, and we can assume that it was not widely read or intended to be so. Rather, manuscripts would have been circulated among interested parties with people writing out their own copies. The text is written in a mixture of kanji and the phonetic kana script, without phonetic glossing for the kanji. It is difficult to know whether women read *A Woman's Handbook* themselves or whether it was read by teachers, who then transmitted the information to their female students through oral instruction. In all likelihood, both occurred. The lack of phonetic glossing for the kanji in extant copies of *A Woman's Handbook* suggests a high level of learning among the women who read it. That said, there is also the possibility that phonetic glossing could have been added when transcriptions were made, thereby making it available to an even wider audience who were kana literate. The audience of this text would also have included male

tea practitioners interested in fostering women's tea practice. Whether read by men or women, however, one thing is clear: *A Woman's Handbook* is about women's tea practice. That is, it is the content that marks this text as being associated with women, beyond any question of who actually read it.[19] As with many books aimed at a female audience, *A Woman's Handbook* had a didactic mission.[20] For example, Jamie Newhard describes how *The Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari*) was packaged for women in the Edo period with commentaries to explain the text. As in *A Woman's Handbook,* the authors of editions of *Ise* that were aimed at a female audience assumed that "even a rank beginner can learn . . . if given access to the necessary resources."[21]

That elite women of aristocratic and samurai status were the focus of Shōō's instructions was natural, given that the Sekishū style of tea was predominantly practiced by the elite. In a passage describing the appropriate clothing for women to wear in the tearoom, Shōō clearly indicates that he was writing for an elite audience: "A five-layered kimono (*itsutsu gasane*) is appropriate for women of the imperial palace; for samurai women a *kaidori* (a long outer robe worn on formal or ceremonial occasions) is recommended; or for those samurai women of slightly lower standing just an ordinary *uchikake* (a long outer robe similar to a *kaidori*) is fine."[22] Of note is that even within this elite group status distinctions were made with reference to clothing, indicating that the issue of status was ever present in the tearoom. Status and distinctions among women were perhaps as important as gender distinctions between men and women.

Although aimed at a narrow audience of elite practitioners belonging to one tea school, *A Woman's Handbook* could have reached a geographically wide audience. The Sekishū school spread throughout Japan, in part helped by its structure of semiautonomous branches. At least three handwritten copies of the text are known to exist today, held in Kyoto, Ehime, and Tokyo.[23] Whether *A Woman's Handbook* made its way to these different regions of Japan in the eighteenth century, however, is unclear. Presumably the text would have made its way from Osaka to Echigo at that time, in the hands of Shōō's visitor. It was also circulated throughout the next century, with a copy making it into the hands of the daimyo Ii Naosuke, probably while he was in Edo in the 1850s. Naosuke then circulated the text among the women of his household (discussed in greater depth in chapter 3). We can imagine that *A Woman's Handbook* was circulated in this way among a network of tea masters and practitioners affiliated with the Sekishū school.

A Handbook for Women's Tea

In many respects, the information presented in *A Woman's Handbook* differs little from that presented in other tea texts of the time, such as *Truthful Conversations*. This indicates that the actual method of preparing and serving tea as a host, and of receiving and drinking tea as a guest, was the same for women and men. A large portion of the first volume of *A Woman's Handbook* is devoted to explaining the placement of utensils in the room with accompanying diagrams. For instance, a two-page spread of text and diagram illustrates the arrangement of the tea container (*chaire*), tea bowl (*chawan*), and cold water jar (*mizusashi*) in a four-and-a-half-mat room (figure 2).[24] The first volume also contains information for guests at a tea gathering. The second volume covers the role of the host, including how to serve the *kaiseki* meal, how to lay the charcoal, and how to make thick tea and thin tea. The instructions on how to prepare thin tea include all the basic information one

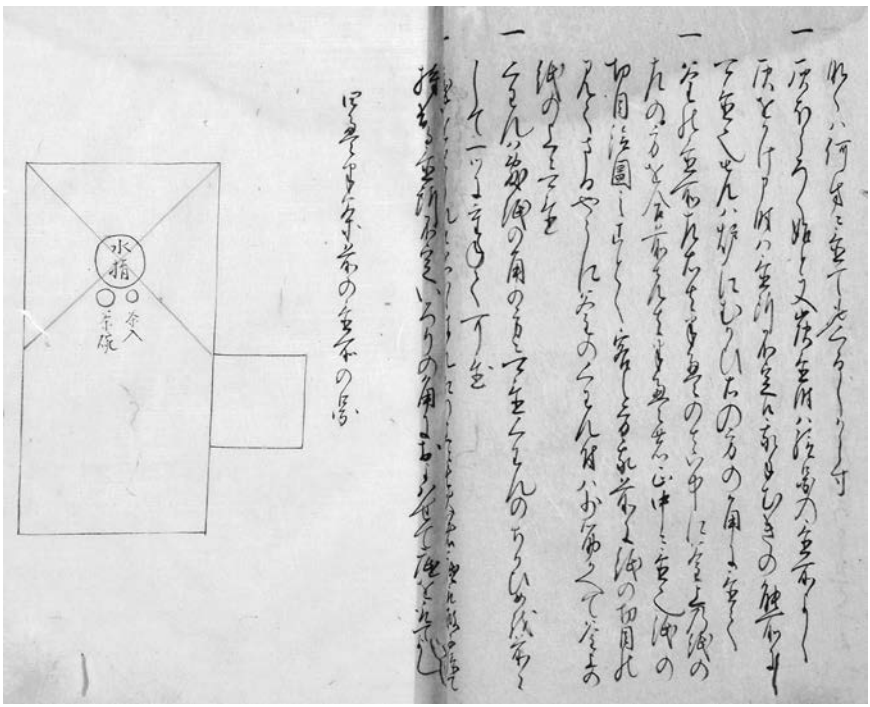

Fig. 2. Placement of the cold water jar, tea caddy, and tea bowl in a four-and-a-half-mat room. In *A Woman's Handbook*. 1721. Imabari City Kono Art Museum.

would expect in a handbook for tea, such as where to place the utensils, the order in which to wipe them, the method for scooping tea from the tea caddy into the tea bowl, ladling hot water from the kettle into the tea bowl, whisking the tea, and presenting it to the guests.

Instructions that state a different or somewhat altered procedure for women evidence a concern for elegance and propriety, therein articulating a specifically feminine mode of tea practice. For example, Shōō advises, "When women are making tea, it is not good to stand up in the tearoom continually and carry in utensils."[25] Rather, they should have the utensils set up on a utensil stand.[26] A diagram of the arrangement of utensils on a stand appears in this section of the manuscript (figure 3). The importance of utensil stands for women was that using one allowed the host to have all of the utensils in place so that she did not have to stand up and bring in each utensil one by one, a process that might not be elegant. The jar for holding cold water, for example, could be a ceramic jar filled with one to

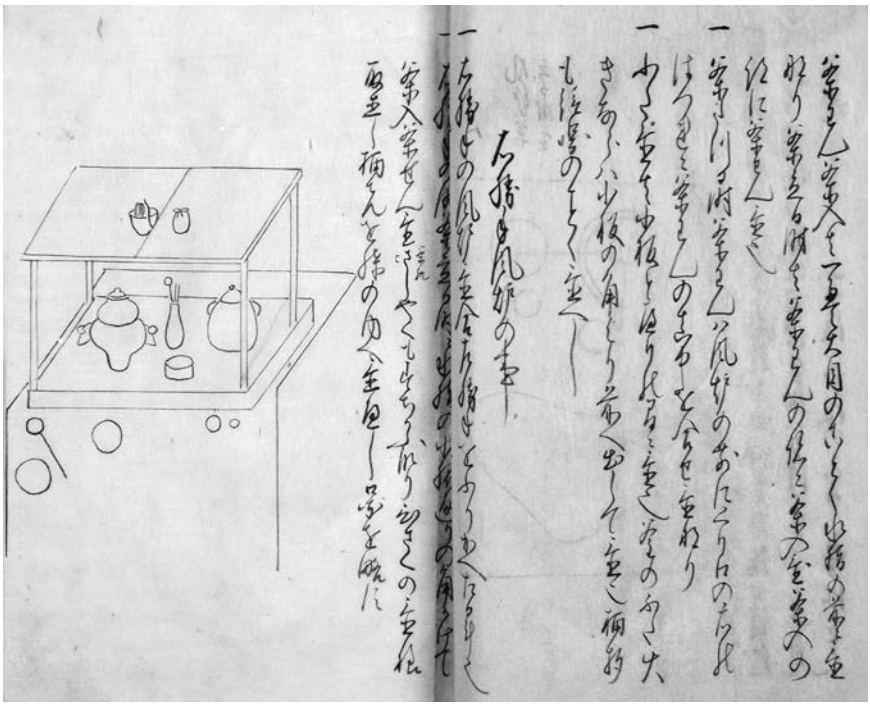

Fig. 3. Arrangement of tea-making utensils on a stand. In *A Woman's Handbook*. 1721. Imabari City Kono Art Museum.

two liters of water, covered by a lid. If the host was not using a utensil stand, she would have to sit in the kneeling position by the doorway with the cold water jar placed on the floor, then pick up the jar in both hands, stand up from the kneeling position while holding the jar, enter the tearoom and walk toward the tea preparation area, return to the kneeling position, and finally set the cold water jar down in its correct position adjacent to the brazier. When a utensil stand was used, the cold water jar could be placed on the base of the stand ahead of the guests entering the tearoom, thereby avoiding the above steps of lifting, carrying, and setting down the jar in front of the guests. In another example, the lip of a bowl of thick tea had to be wiped clean before it was passed to another guest to drink from, but Shōō states, "A woman should not wipe the lip of the bowl with her hand[;] it is best to take out paper from your pocket and wipe it with that."[27] In both examples it is a concern for women to appear elegant that governs the particular instructions, and only minor adjustments to regular procedures are needed to accomplish that.

The instructions on wiping the lip of the bowl, as well those for eating, were related to general rules of etiquette at the time, rather than being specific to tea culture. In this way, the text functioned as a general guide to proper conduct for women, as well as a handbook on tea. The inclusion of such instructions on eating and manners suggest that learning tea was part of a broader civilizing process. As Norbert Elias has shown, manners and etiquette relating to eating were a particularly important part of what he called the "civilizing process" in medieval and early modern Europe, for both the military class of knights and, gradually, the lower classes.[28] Similarly, in the Edo period samurai were "civilized" according to the standards of the aristocracy (*kuge*), in a process Toshio Yokoyama has called "kugefication."[29] These courtly modes of behavior and manners were then disseminated to commoners in the latter part of the period. Thus, *A Woman's Handbook* included explanations of manners and etiquette for eating the *kaiseki* meal that served to disseminate the elite standards of the day to samurai women, particularly those at the lower end of this status group and perhaps those living in more remote areas (such as Echigo) who were not privy to the latest fashions at the imperial court or in Edo. For example, *A Woman's Handbook* states:

> In the old days, it was good to take hot water and clean the dish completely, not leaving anything remaining, when you had finished eating what had been served. Having said this, even if there is something left it is acceptable. Rather than eating everything reluctantly, it is best

> not to pick it up with your chopsticks from the start. If you do not finish eating something, place the lid on the dish without anyone seeing; this is considerate and looks gracious. Until the time of Furuta Oribe, any remains were cleaned with hot water in this way. But [these days] you should not pour hot water into a dish that you have eaten from completely[;] this is particularly something women should refrain from doing.[30]

"Table manners" had changed over time, and the current standards of politeness and refinement had to be taught to samurai women. Tea was a vehicle for teaching such elite manners.

In addition to the focus on elegance and propriety, modesty was a major theme in *A Woman's Handbook*. In an introductory discussion about famous women of the past, such as Murasaki Shikibu (author of *The Tale of Genji*), Shōō recounts the story of how Murasaki learned classical Chinese by overhearing her older brother's lessons, but still pretended in public that she could not read Chinese. The lesson was that even if a woman had knowledge and talent, she should not show it off. Shōō indicates that, in his opinion, the women of his day did unfortunately show off. In regard to women's tea practice, he says, "It is desirable for women's tea to seem as though it is lacking something; the impression should not be perfect."[31] Shōō then goes on to say, "From looking at you[,] people can see if you know tea or not."[32] The importance of learning etiquette and deportment through tea was that it influenced how people viewed women.

Shōō gave his readers several examples of upstanding women to follow, one of whom was Keikyō. An old man happened to go to her house when her husband was not home. Seeing that the man was very thirsty, Keikyō laid charcoal and served him tea. The old man thought she was a wonderful woman.[33] The lesson for readers to learn from this story, and from the other similar examples given, is that a woman should know how to do tea but be modest about it. She should not go out into the world showing off her knowledge, but if the occasion arose when it would be appropriate to do tea, she should be prepared to do so.

We get a sense of the quiet demeanor that was expected of women when Shōō recounts the sayings "Hens do not cry in the morning, so if one does, then bad things will happen to your house" and "If a woman talks too much, then bad things will happen to your house."[34] A Lady Konoe, the reader is told, once said, "She who does not use many

words and is amiable is the best woman."[35] Shōō stresses that women must be modest not only in their behavior but also in their dress. "Even young women," he says, "should not wear fancy robes."[36]

Shōō cautions the inexperienced that although they must prepare themselves properly before attending a tea gathering, when it comes to the actual event they "should leave things to those who are experienced," and "this, women must learn."[37] Despite his claims in the conclusion that aside from physical difference men and women are the same, Shōō envisions a subordinate role for women within the world of tea—he implies that the "experts" are men. Indeed, the notion that women should appear to be ignorant is repeated throughout *A Woman's Handbook*. For example, when discussing the placement of the kettle, Shōō says that someone who is learning should have an experienced person check it and fix the positioning if it is unbalanced. "Beginners should act as though they know nothing if the kettle is unbalanced. All the more so, women should appear to know nothing."[38] Thus, among male practitioners there was a division between those who were experienced and beginners, while for women no such division existed. Women were always to appear ignorant, as though they were beginners. Similarly, in the context of putting out the utensils for display, "women should not show their intentions."[39] That is to say, women should not act with great purpose or appear confident, even if they know what they are doing. Women's presence in the tearoom could clearly cause some disquiet among male practitioners. By encouraging women to be modest, Shōō was helping them alleviate such concerns.

In *A Woman's Handbook,* Shōō deals with various issues that arise when women participate in tea culture. Some are dealt with quite easily, as in the examples discussed above of how women can adapt procedures so as to appear elegant or how women can display humility. Others are a little more complex. On the subject of how the order of seating among guests is determined, Shōō explains that generally the most experienced people take the positions of first and last guest, with beginners seated in between so that they can either follow the lead of the first guest or leave things to the last guest. When women are guests, the order in which to seat them should be "determined by their husband's court rank," for "women have no court rank."[40] This rule, which Shōō says is based on the *Book of Rites* (*Liji,* a classic work of the Chinese Confucian cannon), dictates, "If the man is of high position, or if he is lowly, then so too will she be, and this goes for the order of seating too."[41] Another consider-

ation is the husband's age: "If the man is of advanced age then the wife should be seated higher, and the wife of a younger man seated lower."[42] In the case of an unmarried woman, her own age is considered, with older women being seated higher. Or her father's position could be considered, so that regardless of age it is possible to determine the seating positions of unmarried women.

Gender and status are also considerations for the host when greeting guests. As a general rule, the host should greet the guests in the garden and then open the side gate a little. However, Shōō notes that "it is generally not good for women to go out and greet guests"; rather, "they should send a servant to welcome them."[43] Yet, the proper procedure for greeting a guest "also depends on the social position of the host and guest."[44] That is to say, there may be occasions when either the status of the guests or that of the female host makes it appropriate for her to greet the guests herself.

Another issue that requires attention is how to deal with the physical proximity of men and women in a tearoom. This issue is first addressed in relation to the *kaiseki* meal: "When passing a side dish to a woman, if the host is male then he does not have to hand it to her directly. If the guest is male and the host female, then it is needless for her to pass it to him by hand."[45] The same holds for passing the tea bowl among guests: "A woman must not pass a tea bowl to a man by hand; it should also be placed down [on the tatami]."[46] This injunction against male-female intimacy is developed further: "Women, both young and old, cannot invite a man on his own [to a tea gathering]. Men also cannot invite a woman on her own."[47] Following these guidelines, Shōō says, will avoid arousing people's suspicions. To emphasize this point, Shōō quotes the Chinese sayings "Do not adjust your shoes in a melon field and do not tidy your hat under the plum trees" (so as to avoid suspicion that you are stealing) and "Women going out at night should carry a torchlight" (so that they can be seen).[48] General lessons on morality and good behavior are included alongside specific rules for tea, which in this case are aimed at avoiding potentially inappropriate situations.

The connection between learning tea and proper conduct is made explicit by Shōō in a passage that begins with two poems from classical imperial poetry anthologies. These poems were adapted by later generations to describe the concept of rustic simplicity (*wabi*), the core aesthetic and philosophical principle of early modern tea culture. The first, by Fujiwara no Teika (1162–1241), was selected by the tea master Tak-

eno Jōō as representative of this aesthetic ideal, with the understanding that the poem could help one gain understanding of tea culture.

Miwataseba	Looking far, I see
Hana mo momiji mo	no sign of cherry blossoms
Nakarikeri	or crimson leaves.
Ura no tomoya no	A reed-thatched hut on a bay
Aki no yūgure.	on an evening in autumn.[49]

The second poem, by Fujiwara no Ietaka (1158–1237), was selected by the tea master Sen no Rikyū:

Hana o nomi	To those who await
Matsuran hito ni	only flowers as their sign,
Yamazato no	I would show another spring
Yukima no kusa mo	grass pushing up through the snow
Haru o misebaya.	in a mountain village.[50]

For Shōō too, these poems encapsulate the essence of tea culture and the *wabi* aesthetic; his discussion of the poems in respect to aesthetic discourses is in this sense entirely conventional. He makes a new connection, though, in arguing that these poems act as a guide for correct behavior:

> Women, in particular, will behave with modesty if they take these poems to heart: from their hair to their clothes and manner of speaking. Those who put on a showy front will capture men's hearts and have the love of others for the time being, but will eventually lose that love and be abandoned. Women who put their hearts into tea even a little will not be showy [but] will possess natural dignity. This is ideal. Even if it is a small matter, you will not be doubted by others and thought badly of. Even if you are not closely connected to tea,[51] you will succeed in the Way of Tea.[52]

Shōō adapts an established aesthetic discourse around these two poems to create a model of feminine behavior, similar to the way in which a gendered moral discourse emerged around texts such as *Genji* and *Ise* in the later part of the early modern period, once a substantial number of women were reading them.[53] Understated or modest behavior was expected for men as well as women, not just in tea culture but

across a range of arts, such as poetry. What is different in Shōō's writing is that he sees practicing tea in accordance with the spirit of these poems as a corrective to women's natural inclinations. In suggesting that women need to avoid being showy and thought badly of, one is reminded of sections of *Essays in Idleness* (*Tsurezuregusa,* ca. 1330) in which the author discusses women's flawed nature. For example:

> The fact is that women are by nature perverse—self-centered in the extreme, intensely greedy, and with no concept of reason. Their fickle hearts are quick to follow delusion; and their words flow too easily for one moment, only to cease the next, when one asks for a response to even the most innocent question. And don't think this silence shows reserve, either, for they may also come forth with the most astonishing things without even being asked. . . . Only when you let her wiles become your master does a woman seem attractive and worthy of attention.[54]

Indeed, what Shōō advocated was quite a practical way for women to approach tea. He was addressing the question, "How can you practice tea and be accepted [as a woman]?" The answer was to overcome her innate nature as a woman. Approaching her tea practice through the moral framework advocated in *A Woman's Handbook* helped a woman to do this. Shōō was not alone in his assertion that acquiring knowledge of tea culture could lead to the moral improvement of women. The late seventeenth-century text *Women's Treasury* (*Onna chōhōki,* 1693) claimed that studying tea, along with poetry, calligraphy, and classic works of literature such as *Genji* would help compensate for women's natural inclination to enjoy vices such as talking too much and attending the theatre.[55]

In the conclusion to *A Woman's Handbook,* Shōō returns to the theme of women's ability to follow the Way of Tea, discussed in his introduction, and draws from several philosophical traditions to make his case. Shōō states, for instance, "If you internalize this text by having the two volumes at hand you will reach the depths and innermost dimensions of the Way of Tea"; and "Women have the same sincere intent as men."[56] Referencing several Buddhist teachings such as the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* (*Yuimagyō,* a sutra on nondualism that also emphasizes the equal role of women in Buddhism), Shōō states that "there is no man and no woman."[57] That is to say, all are born in the same body, and therefore women have the same capacity or sincere intent (*kokorozashi*) to learn

tea as do men. Moving on to how the path should be followed, Shōō turns his attention to poetry and Zen:

> It is written in the precepts of the Sekishū school that the Way of Tea and Way of Poetry are found together in the Way of Buddhism [that is to say, they should be comprehended together]. . . . The Way of Poetry is a Way of Gods in our country and found within this Way is scholarship on poetry. Through understanding *waka* poetry, Rikyū and Jōō were able to elevate tea from something vulgar. . . . In Shuko's writings, he said in your desire to become a connoisseur, you should use exactly the same methods of the Zen school [that is, concentrate all your energy and maintain absolute discipline]. . . . At the end of his life Jōō said, "Tea comes from Zen, there are secret teachings, in tea it is the same thing"; that is, there are secret teachings. [Thus] tea is a path without written words.[58]

This is an explicit attempt to link tea to Zen practices—not the doctrines of Zen but the style of practice, in particular the way understanding is transmitted orally rather than in writing.

At the same time as connecting tea culture with Zen Buddhist practice, Shōō's writing also features a Confucian vocabulary. For example, he discusses the idea that words are a vessel (*uku*) or vehicle that can help one in one's way along the path, but words alone are not enough to get one to the end, to true understanding. Thus, although "words are a great treasure to make progress in the Way," they should not be relied on too heavily. Shōō acknowledges that Mencius said it best: "It is better not to have books at all than to believe everything written in books."[59] Nonetheless, Shōō indicates that books, such as his own writings, are necessary for beginners. He also urges his readers to go deeper into the study of tea beyond simply following the specific instructions for various tea-making procedures that he has set down for them. This contrasts strikingly with later popular writings for women that emphasized that women needed to know only the basics of tea culture, which they could learn from written texts alone. Shōō was interested in fostering women's tea practice for the purpose of moral and spiritual cultivation, more than for learning etiquette and comportment; hence his desire for his female readership to use his words merely as a starting point.

Turning one last time to the issue of whether women should even be participating in tea culture at all, Shōō states that "in Chi-

nese books there are also women doing tea because there is a poem that says women should not serve tea to monks";[60] therefore, women must have been serving tea to others. The implied meaning of the poem is that for a woman to serve tea to a monk would be to sully him and that the woman too might be under suspicion, so she should be discreet in her actions. In referring to the poem, Shōō further implies that a woman who does not understand that such problems exist for women is inviting criticism. Thus, while he certainly argues that women faced no impediment in following the path of tea culture with the same sincere intent as men, and that doing so could have benefits for their moral, ethical, and spiritual well-being, Shōō is well aware that he was operating in an environment where such ideas could get him into trouble. He cautions:

> If women are not prepared against negative reactions [from people] and enjoy tea as a kind of amusement, this will invite the ridicule of people. It is a very heavy sin if someone is critical of the Way [and, it is implied, the woman who invites this criticism is responsible]. I ask you three times, please be very, very careful in the way you practice, because I am leaving myself open to criticism, for I am the person who is writing this down, encouraging women to enjoy tea in the true way.[61]

Of course, the idea that the behavior of a careless student will reflect badly on the teacher is also something that would have been said to male students. Shōō makes it clear, however, that there was an extra layer of difficulty for women and their teachers that they all had to accept.

A Woman's Handbook may be seen as a way in which one tea master was attempting to come to terms with the implications of women's tea practice. If women were already studying tea, then it was necessary to develop a framework that supported this, while making sure women were guided along the right path; hence the focus on morality and modesty. Even as Shōō advocated women's tea practice, his keenness to ensure that women who studied tea maintained the highest moral standards suggests a lingering sense of unease about the task that had been requested of him. It would appear, then, that there was not complete acceptance of women's tea practice in the early eighteenth century, even though women had been practicing tea for some time. The view held by his friend that "women should not do tea" was perhaps in the back of Shōō's mind as he wrote a text that said they should.

Creating a Model of Genteel Femininity

By focusing on moral guidance and modesty in *A Woman's Handbook,* Ōguchi Shōō developed a distinctively feminine framework for tea practice. Significantly, his text presents a strong and clear argument in favor of women's tea practice by stating that women have the same capacity as men for following the Way and by providing guidelines for women to participate in tea gatherings as both hosts and guests. As Shōō himself said, there were no writings on tea practice for women at the time he wrote *A Woman's Handbook*. Yet, it is clear that he was not establishing a tradition of women practicing tea but, rather, establishing a tradition of writing about their practice. Records of tea gatherings show that aristocratic and high-ranking samurai women were participating in tea throughout the seventeenth century. *A Woman's Handbook* was clearly directed at such women. By the early eighteenth century, tea was an established social and cultural activity among elite women, despite the reservations still held by some people. *A Woman's Handbook* was a reflection of this. It may also have led to the further spread of women's tea by sanctioning it, as it were, although circulation of the text probably remained limited to those in the Sekishū school.

Alongside published texts aimed at a wide audience, privately produced and circulated manuscripts like *A Woman's Handbook* helped popularize tea among an even larger audience. While commercial tea texts were influential in the spread of tea among a new status group, commoner men, *A Woman's Handbook* contributed to the spread of tea among a new group within the already dominant status group in the tea world: women of aristocratic and samurai status. It was not until later in the eighteenth century that women of the lower, commoner status group would also become the subject and audience of writings on tea practice. The information presented to women was not confined merely to the basics of making, serving, and drinking tea. Information about tea culture was included in such writings as part of a process in which the manners, behavior, and morals of a small elite became the standard for others to aspire and adhere to; a model of genteel femininity was being created and disseminated. For *A Woman's Handbook* it was women of samurai status who were the target audience of this civilizing mission. Later, commoner women became the focus of this civilizing process—as had commoner men before them.

Yet, while commoner women would also become an audience for writings on tea culture and part of this civilizing process, those popular writings would have key differences from *A Woman's Handbook*. In the

Handbook, women are advised on how to move gracefully within the tearoom, but this was not the main reason given for why they should study tea. Rather, the study of tea was, in Shōō's rendering, part of a wider moral and ethical code for elite women to follow. It was the mind, more than the body, that was his focus. Moving into the nineteenth century and Ii Naosuke's transcription of *A Woman's Handbook,* we see this same focus on the mind, but we also see the connection between women participating in tea culture and women being in service at elite households. We might see this connection as a link between the elite and popular writings on women's tea practice. One of the reasons commoner women were told they should study tea was that it could help them gain a position in service, and one of the principle ways that commoner women acquired genteel femininity through the civilizing process was being in service.

Chapter 3

A Handbook for Women's Tea in the Nineteenth Century

Records of tea gatherings show that female attendants occasionally accompanied their mistresses at these events (discussed in chapter 1). At tea gatherings, women usually sat alongside men, both those from the same household and outsiders. These gatherings were thus a space in which female attendants could interact socially with others in a household-based network of tea practice. High-ranking wives who were tea practitioners themselves may have expected their female attendants also to be proficient at the art. Perhaps prospective employees may have had to demonstrate their ability to do tea at their interview. Lessons may have been given to attendants within the household from a tea master or an experienced female practitioner. On *sugoroku* board games, depictions of attendants engaging in tea practice suggest that private study of tea could be part of the lives of female attendants in elite households. Who were the women who went into service at elite households, and what did being in service entail? This chapter addresses these questions and examines the motivations for women to enter into service, before moving on to discuss the connection between tea culture and service specifically.

The chapter concludes with a case study of tea practice among women of the Ii household in the nineteenth century. The handbook for women's tea penned by Oguchi Shōō in the eighteenth century was privately circulated among like-minded samurai tea practitioners in manuscript form. In the nineteenth century, the daimyo and tea master Ii Naosuke transcribed and amended his own copy of *A Woman's Handbook,* which he circulated among the women of his household, including family members and female attendants. The transmission of the text points to the enduring significance of the framework for women's tea practice initially articulated by Shōō. Taking the nineteenth-century transcription of *A Woman's Handbook* as a starting point, this chapter considers the relationship between the written word and practice in this

daimyo household where both women of the family and serving women participated in a household-based network of tea practice.

Women in Service

After the Tokugawa shogunate was established in 1603, a number of policies were implemented that had far-reaching consequences for the sociocultural landscape of Japan over the next two and a half centuries. One such policy was the alternate attendance system (*sankin kōtai*), which mandated that all daimyo maintain a residence in their castle town and a residence in the shogunal seat of power, Edo (modern-day Tokyo).[1] They were to reside in Edo every other year, while their wives and children remained in Edo permanently. It was essentially a form of political hostage-taking in order to lessen the likelihood of rebellion, as well as imposing a significant financial burden on daimyo required to maintain multiple residences and bear the cost of travel between them. At both their Edo mansions (some wealthy daimyo even had multiple mansions in Edo) and their domain castles, daimyo employed and housed a large staff of retainers and servants. Female attendants of various ranks, collectively known as *jochū,* occupied an interior space within the castle or mansion—the inner quarters (*oku*).

The largest of these inner quarters was the Great Interior (Ōoku) of the Main Enceinte of Edo castle.[2] According to a record from the 1850s, some one thousand women resided in the inner quarters of Edo castle during the time of the thirteenth shogun, Tokugawa Iesada (1824–1858).[3] Of these, approximately 185 would have been attendants in the service of the shogun.[4] In addition, there were women who served the shogun's wife and mother, as well as the servants these attendants personally employed using their own income. Records from Iesada's household indicate that female attendants received income in various forms, such as money, coal, firewood, and oil. Their income also included rice, which was paid in two ways: *kirimai,* calculated according to units of rice; and *fuchi,* calculated according to units of people (i.e., the ration of rice deemed necessary to support one person).[5] Within the category of female attendants was a range of positions, each carrying its own duties and responsibilities, from the top position of senior matron down to chambermaids. Between them were some eighteen other positions.[6] The amount of remuneration received by the women depended on their position within this hierarchy. Senior matrons, of whom there were three under Iesada, each received fifty

koku of rice, sixty *ryō* of gold, and ten *fuchi* of rice per annum.[7] At the bottom of the ladder, chambermaids, of whom there were thirty-five, received only four *koku* of rice, two *ryō* of gold, and one *fuchi* of rice.[8] The income of the women at the lower end was comparable to that of low-ranking samurai men in the position of footmen or a page/secretary, who received around two *ryō* a year.[9]

The pattern at other noble and samurai households was more or less the same as in the shogun's inner quarters: the immediate family members were served by samurai women, who in turn had lower-ranking samurai and commoner women in their direct service.[10] For female attendants, the benefits of being in service included learning how to run a large household, learning elite manners and tastes, and gaining practice in the skills and accomplishments of elite women. This was in addition to receiving financial remuneration, lodging, and meals. Serving in an elite household was a way of gaining "life experience" before marriage for young women.[11] The chance to experience life in the city was considered particularly attractive. A *bakufu* official, Uezaki Kuhachirō (dates unknown), wrote in 1787: "So far as the girls are concerned, their parents send them out to domestic service in Edo, in order to satisfy their wish to see Edo and life there. . . . All vie with one another in dispatching their daughters to Edo."[12] Exact numbers are not available, though estimates are that up to 10 percent of the population in Edo were servants of samurai throughout the Edo period. The three Edo mansions of the Kaga daimyo, for example, employed a staff of around one thousand servants.[13] These figures suggest that the numbers of women who went into service in elite households were not insignificant. It has even been suggested that the large number of young women employed as attendants was partly responsible for the rising age of women at marriage in the latter part of the Edo period.[14] As indicated by Uezaki's comment, many of these women migrated to the city or to castle towns to find a position in service. The age of female attendants varied greatly, depending on the position as well as the girls' personal circumstances. There are examples from literature and other sources of girls younger than ten being in service, as well as women in their twenties and thirties.[15] Girls from both samurai and commoner families took up employment as attendants, with most of them undertaking their first post during their teens. Sekiguchi Tōemon (1764–1849), a rural entrepreneur, for example, sent all three of his daughters to be employed at daimyo mansions, and one even ended up serving in the shogun's quarters.[16]

Historian Ujiie Mikito argues that financial reasons, in particular, were behind the trend of going into service, a trend he says started among girls from poorer families.[17] It is difficult to say precisely what the income would have been for female attendants in elite households, aside from those in the shogun's inner quarters described above. Nonetheless, an estimate can be made on the basis of available data. First, it would appear that the wages of men and women were not vastly different. Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728),[18] writing in the 1720s, stated, "Some forty or fifty years ago the wage of a *wakatō* retainer was about 2 *ryō,* a *chūgen* footman 1 *ryō,* a seamstress 1 *ryō,* and a servant girl 1 or 2 *bu.* But now a *wakatō* retainer gets more than 3 or 4 *ryō,* a *chūgen* footman gets 2 *ryō* plus 2 or 3 *bu* or 3 *ryō,* a seamstress 3 to 4 *ryō,* and a servant girl about 2 *ryō.*"[19] That is, in the eighteenth century a seamstress earned a wage comparable to that of a retainer, and wages of a servant girl and a footman were also comparable. Second, there was a wide range of income levels among female attendants. As discussed above, female attendants in the shogun's inner quarters in the 1850s could receive as much as fifty *koku* of rice per annum or as little as four *koku,* depending on their position. By comparison, Gary Leupp cites the example of chambermaids in the Numano household, a commoner family in Wakayama, in the same period, who received the equivalent of 1.3 *koku* of rice in annual wages.[20] Estimates of a woman's minimum yearly expenses at the time are between 1.1 and 1.4 *koku,* while the estimate for men is 1.8 *koku.*[21] We can place the income of female attendants in elite households as somewhere between the income of Iesada's attendants and the Numano chambermaids. Certainly, they would have been receiving a "comfortable" income above the minimum living wage of 1.4 *koku.* Yet, as Anne Walthall's discussion of the letters of one commoner girl serving in a daimyo mansion in Edo reveal, the expenses associated with being in service were not always met by her income. She often requested her parents to send money and clothing; "I'm really short of pocket money" was a constant refrain.[22] In her case, she was also able to supplement her income by selling goods, such as cloth, to the women she worked with.[23]

The potential for earning income and gaining life experience made going into service an attractive option for young women. In guides such as *A Pocket Mirror of Female Attendants in Noble Households* (*Okujochū sode kagami,* 1858), readers could study the attire and hairstyles of female attendants. This guide also listed three reasons why young women should want to go into service in an elite household. First, young girls

from poor families could gain an education. Second, girls from families who were not poor but had many children could feed themselves until marriage (and thereby relieve the burden on their parents). Third, they would learn about the world and experience hardship, which would help them manage a household when they got married. The same guide also listed two reasons why older women should want to go into service: it was a way for married women with a poor husband to support themselves and their husband; and it was a way for older women to avoid becoming a burden to their children.[24]

Ujiie sees these various financial, educational, and social reasons for going into service as an indication of the desire of commoner women to improve their situation in life and, more broadly, of the spread of service as a social trend. He argues that we should therefore not view samurai and commoner society and culture as vastly different by the latter part of the Edo period. Rather, the examples of commoner girls learning "refined" arts and serving in elite households evidence interaction between status groups and a merging of elite and popular culture.[25] This interaction was occasionally the focus of kabuki plays, themselves an area where status groups merged and clashed.[26] The play *Mirror Mountain: A Woman's Treasury of Loyalty* (*Kagamiyama kokyō no nishiki-e,* 1782), for example, centers on the tensions between a female samurai attendant at a daimyo mansion and another attendant who is a commoner's daughter and does not have the same training in martial arts as the women raised in samurai households.[27] Despite such occasional conflicts, the positive interplay between elite and popular culture that occurred as a result of the growing number of people going into service has led Leupp, following the lead of European historians, to describe attendants as belonging to a "bridging class"[28]—that is, "in their employment careers, they bridged town and village, and . . . commoner and samurai classes."[29] The daughters of Sekiguchi Tōemon, mentioned above, provide a clear example of women bridging status and rural-urban divides through their service careers.

Several intellectuals of the period, such as Ogyū Sorai and Ishida Baigan (1685–1744), deplored this social phenomenon.[30] In particular, Sorai advocated a return to the older system of hereditary employment, which had largely been replaced by hiring servants on short-term contracts.[31] What Sorai objected to above all were the migration of servants between rural and urban areas and the lack of loyalty shown by hired as opposed to hereditary servants. Furthermore, he feared that samurai values were being replaced with the "thinking and attitudes of the

townspeople," because people raised outside a samurai house were having increasing contact with those of samurai status. Thus, Sorai suggested, "the disappearance of hereditary servants and the resultant ubiquity of hired servants presage the decline of the military way, a trend exceedingly harmful to the military class."[32] A return to the old system did not occur, and the "bridging class" of wealthy commoners and lower samurai who served in elite households continued to grow throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The flow of culture was not as one-sided as Sorai suggested, though, with the influence of elite culture on commoners being equally strong.

Being in service allowed women to create a livelihood for themselves, as well as provide support for their families. At the same time, they increased their marriageability by gaining new skills—in household management, for example. Serving in an elite household has thus been described as akin to attending a finishing school or a women's junior college in contemporary Japan.[33] Doubtless, financial considerations were important, but improving girls' manners was perhaps also in the back of many parents' minds when they sent their daughters to find employment. This was true for one of the commoner mothers in the comic fiction book (*kokkeibon*) *Floating-World Bathhouse* (*Ukiyoburo,* 1809), by Shikitei Sanba (1776–1822). The mother says, "Service is a real blessing. They don't call it discipline. But [the experience] improves their manners. At home no matter how often you scold them, you don't really correct their bad habits, but when you get them into a [samurai] mansion, they begin to change completely."[34] Indeed, while the financial benefits, even if limited to having one less mouth to feed, were attractive to poor families, it appears that the other benefits and social prestige of having a daughter in service were so great that some well-to-do families were paying for the privilege.[35]

Beyond the Years Spent in Service

The position of women within the status system of the Edo period was less clearly defined than for men. Women were not bound by the status system in the same way as men because they were not assigned status in their own right. Rather, status was assigned to units of organization such as households, usually headed by men.[36] It was therefore easier for women to move around within the system. Marriage, in particular, provided women with an opportunity for upward social mobility—in the true sense of moving from one status group to another—which

was not so readily available to men (although the practice of adopting sons-in-law did provide men with this opportunity). Therefore, parents were willing to invest in their daughters' education in the hope that it might pay dividends in the form of a good marriage. Though the status of a woman's natal household was not directly affected by her upward rise in status through marriage, the household received indirect benefits, such as access to goods and services and acquiring prestige within the local community.[37]

Successful matches of women after service in elite households were not unknown. Yoshino Michi (1808–1883), for example, was the daughter of a rural peasant family who, "during her years as a maid-in-waiting," first at the Tayasu mansion, then at the Hitotsubashi mansion, "crafted herself into an altogether appropriate bride for a samurai."[38] Her husband, Tamura Motonaga, was a low-ranking samurai doctor. It appears that Michi's skills at household management and feminine modesty were what made her an attractive second wife in the eyes of the Tamura family.[39] Tadano Makuzu (1763–1825), an author and the daughter of a physician scholar (nonsamurai), served in two daimyo residences over a ten-year period, including the Hikone mansion of the Ii family (discussed below). This was part of her "task of bringing social capital to the household."[40] She then fulfilled this task through two marriages to samurai men.[41]

A less likely possibility, though one that surely captured people's imaginations, was marriage "into the purple"—that is, the highest echelons of elite society. Susanne Formanek cites the example of Keishōin (1627–1705), "the daughter of a Kyoto-based greengrocer who, via her getting appointed to the service of a lord who had access to the shogunal residence, managed to enter service in the shogun's palace itself, became the lesser wife of the third shogun Iemitsu and upon her son Tsunayoshi being appointed to the fifth shogun, became one of the most influential female figures in the realm."[42] That such rags-to-riches stories were a rare occurrence probably did little to limit their appeal; dreams of becoming the next Keishōin may well have filled the minds of many a young girl upon entering into service. Another possibility was becoming the concubine of a lord. This, too, was seen as a possible route to future security.

Ideas about routes to security and happiness circulated in many forms. Formanek has analyzed the way such ideas were presented in a subgenre of *sugoroku* board games dealing with women's career or success stories. *Sugoroku*—or more specifically, the pictorial *sugoroku*

that will be discussed here—are a "genre of printed board-games" that consisted of "woodblock-printed sheets pasted together" and were popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The aim of the game was to reach a "goal" square, which was done by rolling dice and following the instructions on the squares as to where to proceed next. *Sugoroku* had developed from Buddhist origins to become commercial products in various subgenres covering theatre, history, and travel, to name a few. They were often illustrated by celebrated woodblock artists, such as Utagawa Kunisada (1786–1865; also known as Toyokuni III;), and featured text by well-known authors, such as Mantei Ōga (1818–1890).[43]

One such "text,"[44] *Sugoroku for Women's Edification: How to Make One's Way in Life* (*Onna kyōkun shusse sugoroku,* 1847–1852), reveals that there was a "widespread range of possible life courses available to a woman born as a commoner daughter," yet there was "no secure position" that guaranteed she would reach the goal. In this case the goal was becoming a "retired old lady blessed with fortune and good luck."[45] On *Sugoroku for Women's Edification,* becoming a concubine after entering service provided the quickest route to the goal, suggesting that concubinage was viewed as a good route for a woman to take in order to secure her future.[46] Another possibility was to become the lord's wife, which was often the goal on *sugoroku* that focused specifically on the subject of serving in an aristocratic or daimyo household.[47]

Another possible life course, aside from marriage, was to become a teacher upon retirement from service, which by the latter part of the early modern period had become a common occupation. Certainly, enough women were engaged in teaching *shamisen* (a three-stringed musical instrument) and *jōruri* (a form of ballad chanting) for the Tokugawa shogunate to include controls on it in the Tempō reforms of the 1840s.[48] Uezaki suggested that those who migrated to the city for service would "soon come to imitate the manners of the Edo people and to detest life in their native provinces," yet this was not always the outcome.[49] Walthall gives several examples of women who, after perfecting their preferred arts while in service, returned to their hometown to instruct local children. They brought their knowledge of elite and city culture with them, thereby blurring not only status but also regional differences. For example, a commoner girl named Sayo learned reading, writing, and *shamisen* while she was employed at a daimyo mansion. She later returned to her hometown and supported her ailing parents by teaching local girls basic literacy skills.[50] In another case, Tamura Kajiko went

into service at the shogun's palace when she was seventeen. At age thirty-one she returned home and began instructing local children in poetry writing, manners and etiquette, and *shamisen.*[51]

Learning Tea as Preparation for Service

Both commoner and samurai families invested in their daughter's education, in particular in the arts that would stand them in good stead for gaining a position in a noble or samurai household. Tea was one such art. When Nishimiya Hide, the sixteen-year-old daughter of a low-ranking samurai, applied for a position as an attendant to Yoshiko, the wife of Mito domain lord Tokugawa Nariaki (1800–1860), she put to use her training in tea. In two interviews Hide's personal appearance, ability to compose a poem, and skill at tea were all scrutinized by Yoshiko herself.[52] Yoshiko was the daughter of an imperial prince, as well as the wife of a daimyo. Her serving women would have been expected to be refined and graceful. Being an accomplished tea practitioner demonstrated that Hide possessed these qualities, as it did for the nursemaid Masaoka in *The Precious Incense and Autumn Flowers of Sendai,* described in chapter 1. After being accepted for the position, Hide "spent the next nineteen years in service to Yoshiko, refining her social skills and embodying gentility."[53]

Like Hide, girls often "had to demonstrate their cultural competence at what amounted to job interviews."[54] This meant that already having skill at an art such as tea gave a girl a better chance for gaining a position as an attendant. The diaries of the daimyo of Yamato Kōriyama (a small domain of 150,000 *koku,* present-day Nara Prefecture), Yanagisawa Nobutoki (1724–1792), attest to the eagerness of girls to serve in a daimyo household. In the course of the diaries, written between 1773 and 1791, approximately 240 girls, ranging in age from early teens through to mid-twenties, presented themselves at the Yanagisawa household wishing to be employed as an attendant.[55] At these interviews the applicants would demonstrate their skill in at least two arts. The most common combinations were *jōruri* and *shamisen,* and dance and *shamisen.* Some girls demonstrated ability in three or more arts, such as seventeen-year-old Imo, who presented herself for an interview in the twelfth month of 1783 and demonstrated her skills in calligraphy, *gidayū* (a form of ballad chanting), playing the koto (a string instrument), *chanoyu* tea, and sewing. Even with all of these skills, however, Imo was not employed.[56]

It appears that in some instances the applicants were interviewing prospective employers as much as they were being interviewed themselves. Again, the book *Floating-World Bathhouse* provides an illustrative example. One of the mothers, who has so far been unsuccessful in her bid to place her daughter in service, says to her more successful friend, whose daughter has been an attendant at a samurai household since she was six: "If they're not meant to be, those service opportunities will slip away from you. When I think, 'Let's place her here,' the other party thinks she won't quite do. And when they take a liking to her, I have my doubts about them! We've gone to interviews any number of times, but there's always been some hitch. Ha ha ha! What a lot of trouble it is!"[57] A girl of good background or with exceptional talent at certain arts may well have been in a strong position to negotiate favorable working conditions with an employer of her choice.[58]

If one were to rank the arts girls learned in order of popularity, or at least the frequency with which they appear in the sources, then playing *shamisen* would be near the top. As Ikegami and others have noted, although *shamisen* was considered an art form more suited to commoners than to samurai, "aesthetic 'slumming' was not uncommon," and samurai did enjoy arts associated with commoners such as *shamisen* and kabuki.[59] Tea culture would probably be somewhere in the middle of the list. Having knowledge of tea culture was certainly recognized as an accomplishment that could help a girl gain a position as an attendant. At the Great Interior of Edo castle, secondary attendants (*otsugi*) were responsible for selecting and arranging utensils for tea gatherings, assisted by antechamber attendants.[60] Women of secondary attendant rank were from high-ranking (*hatamoto*) samurai families and would have been highly accomplished in cultural practices such as tea, as well as ikebana (flower arranging) and playing music. Likewise at daimyo mansions there would also have been serving women who had responsibility for and oversight of the hosting of tea gatherings within the inner quarters. Women who entered into service in such households, being of lower status than *hatamoto,* would not have been as accomplished as the women entering into service at Edo castle, for whom it was even more important to learn the social graces and cultural accomplishments that would help them perform the duties of a serving woman. Hence, the edification guide *Poetry Recitation for Women's Learning* (*Onna rōei kyōkunka,* 1753) informed its readers: "Low-status women who will enter into service [in an elite household] should study tea."[61] Most girls learned a range of arts, of which tea would have been just one. For

example, the Shingaku scholar Shibata Kyūō (1783–1839) "described how wealthy commoners in Ikeda, a town fifteen kilometers northwest of Osaka, forced their fourteen-year-old daughter to study flower arranging, painting, tea ceremony, and *koto*."[62] Apparently Shibata did not think such an education was appropriate. Yet we see the keenness with which even commoner girls studied cultural arts, whether of their own accord or at their parents' behest.

Each of these arts would have had its own appealing feature to a young woman. We can imagine that tea, with its focus on elegant carriage, etiquette, and manners, would have seemed suited to the task of preparing a girl to enter an elite household. More than any of the other arts studied by young women, tea had a specific focus on the body. Through the study of tea a girl learned not just how to prepare and serve tea as a host and how to receive it as a guest; she also learned how to move and manipulate her body so as to appear elegant at all times. As writings on women's tea practice indicated, sitting, standing, walking, bowing, and carrying utensils were studied in detail. Tea was, then, not so much an art practiced for the purpose of specific skills—although making, serving, and receiving tea in the appropriate manner were of course useful skills in their own right. Rather, its significance lay in the repetition of these seemingly automatic acts, which in combination and after a reasonable period of training could transform the way in which a girl carried herself. Learning tea was a way of learning to be graceful.

Once a woman gained employment, her education in the cultural arts may have continued. Of course, this depended on her position and on the particular household in which she served. A *sugoroku* of the genre that focused on women's service in noble households, Sugoroku *of Success as an Attendant in Service in the Inner Quarters* (*Oku-bōkō shusse sugoroku,* 1844–1864), shows the types of activities (such as playing koto) and jobs (such as arranging hair) engaged in by female attendants (plate 2).[63] Tea was one of these activities. The text on the square showing a woman practicing tea (second square from the top on the far right row) also reveals the importance of marriage prospects for female attendants: the attendant doing tea is interrupted by a woman telling her to swap her duties for the next day because the matchmaking information has come. In another game of a similar period, Sugoroku *of Success in Artistic Accomplishments for Girls* (*Musume shogei shusse sugoroku,* 1843–1847), tea is recommended as an art for girls wishing to be successful—that is, to gain a position in service in an elite household (plate 3). Tea was depicted here (third square from the bottom on the far

left row, and second square from the top in the third row in from the left) along with activities such as koto, *shamisen,* flower arranging, and incense appreciation. These depictions of tea on women's success-story *sugoroku* indicate the important role of this art for female attendants in elite households. Though these games were designed more for entertainment than for edification, they reinforced the message found in writings on women's tea practice that knowledge of tea culture was an accomplishment of a successful woman.

Of course, not all female attendants would have been engaged in tea practice. Far from it, the majority would have been occupied with rudimentary domestic tasks. For the well-bred, high-ranking serving women in elite households, though, arts such as tea could be part of their everyday lives, whether as part of their job or for leisure. It was a reflection of the high status of a household to have women with skill in the cultural arts in their employ and to be able to afford them the time to indulge in "conspicuous leisure" such as tea practice.[64] Engaging in tea within the inner quarters itself was not a conspicuous activity. However, when female attendants participated in tea gatherings with family members and outsiders, they displayed their learning and refinement. As popular fiction author Ihara Saikaku indicated in *The Life of an Amorous Man* (*Kōshoku ichidai otoko,* 1682), a master's status could be judged by the appearance and qualities of his attendant.[65] Female attendants who were trained in arts such as tea were a reflection of the even finer breeding of those for whom they worked.

The notion that learning one of the arts represented in *sugoroku* board games gave a girl the chance to find employment and secure her future is reflected in the use of the word "success" in the titles. This success, though, did not stop at being employed in an elite household. Beyond that, there was the possibility of making a good match or becoming an independent teacher. These games were one way of disseminating the idea that learning how to participate in tea culture was important for gaining a position in service. Because *sugoroku* had visual appeal and the phonetic kana script was used, they could be read and played by almost anyone with a basic education. They were also an easy way for masters of various arts to spread information about the utensils and attire necessary for study.[66] It may be that the potential outcomes of learning an art were thus overstated to heighten the appeal of study, yet the message itself must have had some resonance, even if only in the realm of dreams rather than reality. Learning tea was one rung on the ladder of success, both in the games and, potentially, in life.

Women and Tea Culture in the Ii Household

The Ii household in the mid-nineteenth century provides a particularly detailed example of how women's tea practice could function in a daimyo household. Records of tea gatherings indicate that women of the Ii family, as well as a large number of female attendants, regularly attended gatherings in the familial/household context. They did so under the leadership and guidance of the head of the household, Ii Naosuke (1815–1860). While not every daimyo or large elite household would have been engaged in tea culture to the same extent as the Ii household, tea culture was part of the general cultural milieu that daimyo and other samurai families participated in. Records discussed in chapter 1 indicate that women of elite households participated in tea gatherings with men both from their household and outside it. Generally such women participated when the male head of the household was also a tea practitioner, as was the case with Naosuke—for example, the wife of Kobayakawa Takakage and her five attendants. The Ii household is an example of the top end of possibilities for women's tea practice in elite households, which could have been emulated lower down the scale.

The focus here is not on examining Naosuke's philosophy or personal tea practice, as other scholars have done. It is necessary, however, to have some understanding of certain aspects of Naosuke's philosophy of tea practice, particularly that which relates to gender, in order to understand the context in which the women of his household engaged in tea practice. Naosuke was born the fourteenth son of the daimyo of Hikone (currently located in Shiga Prefecture), Ii Naonaka (1766–1831). As a younger son of a daimyo, he was set up in a separate residence outside Hikone castle known as Umoreginoya (House of Buried Wood) from the age of seventeen, where he lived in relative isolation for fifteen years. In 1846, Naosuke was suddenly declared heir apparent and four years later became daimyo. Naosuke's term as daimyo of Hikone was eventful, particularly in the few years he served as chief minister of the Tokugawa shogunate from 1857. This was a period of political turmoil when internal and external forces were testing the system that had governed Japan for over two hundred years. Naosuke was involved in a succession dispute within the Tokugawa household and subsequently led a purge against officials in the unsuccessful faction. Already facing hostility, Naosuke signed an international trade treaty with the Americans in 1858 (who had arrived in 1853, demanding a trade treaty and the opening of Japanese ports to US ships). Naosuke signed the treaty

without having imperial approval, which was theoretically required despite the political impotence of the imperial court. This caused widespread anger and hostility among imperial loyalists, and many others who thought Naosuke had overreached the limits of his position. As a result of opposition to his policies and approach, Naosuke was assassinated by political enemies in 1860.

At the same time as being a key political player who held unpopular views that set him apart from his peers, Naosuke was also a man of culture and the arts, something he shared in common with many daimyo. During the so-called Umoreginoya period, Naosuke had devoted himself to artistic and intellectual study, including tea culture. He established his own branch of the Sekishū school of tea toward the end of this period and began writing about his tea philosophy, focusing on how the study of tea contributed to both self-cultivation and state governance.[67] In tea culture, Naosuke saw the answer to what he perceived to be the ills of his day—namely, "the collapse of warrior-class tea and . . . the disintegration of the warrior spirit in general."[68] His later writings on tea culture, such as the well-known *Collection for a Tea Gathering* (*Chanoyu ichie shū,* ca. 1856), were his response to this perceived crisis.[69] In *Collection for a Tea Gathering,* Naosuke outlined the two most famous aspects of his tea philosophy: "one time, one meeting" (*ichigo, ichie*) and "the importance of sitting alone in meditation (*dokuza kannen*)."[70] Historians have tended to focus on these aspects of the text.[71] As Reiko Tanimura has shown, however, there is much more to this text than just an explanation of Naosuke's philosophy. It is, in fact, "a manual of practical manners for the warrior class organized around tea practice."[72] Naosuke did not limit his advice on practical manners and explication of his tea philosophy to male practitioners. Women of samurai status were also addressed in this text. For example, Naosuke describes the proper attire for women when attending tea gatherings.[73]

Tanimura has shown that the frequent inclusion of women in his tea gatherings and in his writings on women and tea culture—*Collection for a Tea Gathering* and his transcription of *A Woman's Handbook*—is a distinctive feature of Naosuke's tea practice and philosophy. The tea gatherings involving women of the Ii household were of an intimate, familial nature. This characteristic is thought to contrast with the nature of gatherings he held involving other daimyo and their servants, which were of a political nature. According to Tanimura, the gatherings involving women conformed more to Naosuke's ideal of tea, while the political gatherings were born of necessity.[74]

Naosuke's transcription of *A Woman's Handbook* can be assumed to date from around 1850, based on intertextual comparisons with his other writings and anecdotal evidence from a former attendant. It is unlikely that Naosuke would have had access to the text during his years of relative isolation in the Umoreginoya. He probably accessed it after 1846, possibly while he was in Edo on duty as heir apparent or daimyo. One of the female attendants who had served at Hikone castle, Takeuchi Masuo, later recalled that around 1852 Naosuke gave the women tea books to read, most likely including *A Woman's Handbook*.[75] It thus seems probable that, sometime after 1846 and before 1852, Naosuke borrowed *A Woman's Handbook* from someone and made a copy of it for his own use and for use in the instruction of his female family members and attendants. Certainly he had read *A Woman's Handbook* by the time he wrote *Collection for a Tea Gathering* in approximately 1856, as the passage detailing appropriate clothes for women to wear to a tea gathering betrays the influence of Oguchi Shōō's text. In any case, it is clear that *A Woman's Handbook* was being read and disseminated among Sekishū adherents more than a century after Shōō penned it, demonstrating that the demand for a handbook on women's tea had not diminished.

In his transcription of the text, Naosuke made numerous omissions, which were clearly intended and indicated as such, and added annotations. In some places he responded to the text by adding editorial notes in the margins. For example, where the source text says that the order of seating among guests is determined by a man's social position, with women's seating following that of their husband or father, Naosuke disagreed. He wrote, "This is not the Way of Tea; social position has no place in the tearoom; the positions are determined by that day's main guest."[76] Indeed, in *Collection for a Tea Gathering* Naosuke indicated that in "an ideal tea gathering every guest was to be treated impartially regardless of rank." Yet, because of the political realities of his day, he could not always put ideals into practice. Forty-one passages of this same book "refer to the special treatment to be afforded to high-ranking warriors and nobles in tea gatherings."[77]

It appears that when Naosuke commented, "Social position has no place in the tearoom," he was specifically referring to the issue of status and not gender. That is, it was not the notion of women following their husband's rank that Naosuke took issue with, but the notion of rank being a guide to seating order. For example, the women of the Ii household often attended tea gatherings at which male guests were also pres-

ent, including Naosuke himself and his vassals. In these mixed-sex gatherings men usually filled the most important position of the first, or main, guest. Most often it was Naosuke himself taking this role, but on three occasions the first guest was one of his retainers. There were two occasions out of all Naosuke's recorded tea gatherings when women acted as the main guest: these women were his wife, Masako, and his adoptive mother, Yōkyō'in.[78] Their high position within the household would likely have outweighed any gender considerations. The remaining guest positions do not seem to have been filled with any particular reference to gender, and there were occasions when women were seated both above and below men. Naosuke saw no problem in having men and women seated side by side in the small space of a tearoom, sharing a bowl of tea; however, he does seem to have had a preference for seating men as the first guest.

Other passages from the source text were left out altogether by Naosuke in his transcription of *A Woman's Handbook,* suggesting he disagreed with their sentiment. For example, the sayings "Women talking too much, like hen's crying in the morning, will bring bad things to your house" and "She who does not use many words and is amiable is the best woman" are not found. Nor is the proscription against men and women inviting a member of the opposite sex to a tea gathering on their own. The concluding remarks that women who just enjoy tea as an amusement are leaving themselves open to suspicion and slander are also not found in Naosuke's transcription. Even though some of the sentiment did not seem relevant to his day or went against his own philosophy, *A Woman's Handbook* must still have been an important and influential work to have made its way into Naosuke's hands and for him to transcribe it. Despite the changes, omissions, and editorial comments made by Naosuke, the focus of the text remained on tea practice as a way for women to cultivate the mind, acquire a moral and ethical framework, and learn comportment.

A Woman's Handbook was not Naosuke's sole influence, however. His own teacher, Katagiri Sōen (1774–1864), held tea gatherings in which women participated. In seven gatherings held in 1847 and 1848, female participants were present.[79] Seventeen women altogether were listed in records of Sōen's tea gatherings, two of whom were members of the Katagiri family. In all but one gathering, two or three women attended together, and male guests were at the same gatherings. These gatherings thus follow the familiar pattern of women's participation in tea gatherings discussed in chapter 1. Naosuke, then, had a precedent

from his own teacher for including women alongside men at tea gatherings, as well as being part of a school that had a tradition of encouraging women's tea practice dating back at least to Oguchi Shōō.

Putting Theory into Practice

Ii household women had lessons in tea culture from 1852. The former attendant Masuo, when interviewed later in her life, recalled that she and other female attendants were taught tea by Katagiri Sōtetsu.[80] Sōtetsu was called on to instruct the women because of the interest shown in tea by Naosuke's adoptive mother, Yōkyō'in. Sōtetsu was, according to Masuo, asked to teach them because she was accomplished in the style of tea associated with her husband, Katagiri Sōen. Indeed, she was probably the tea master Sōgyū who appears in the records of Naosuke's tea gatherings ("Sōgyū" presumably being her tea name).[81] This kind of concrete example of female-to-female transmission of tea culture is rare. Given that we have very few records related to actual tea classes for women, however, we may infer that women may often have learned tea from other, more experienced women. This may have been particularly the case in large daimyo households in which most aspects of women's education were conducted internally, within the women's quarters.

Ii household women were also occasionally instructed by Naosuke, who would join in their lessons when he was in "good humor," according to Masuo. He would "kindly correct their mistakes," with the agreement of Sōtetsu, and also talk intimately with Yōkyō'in. When he attended the women's lessons, he came on a palanquin and, aside from the official gifts, brought sweets and cooked dishes, presented in a nest of lacquered boxes.[82]

As well as studying in person with a teacher, the women read texts such as *A Woman's Handbook* as part of their tea practice. As mentioned, Masuo recalled that Naosuke gave her and the other women in the inner quarters tea books to read at the same time that they were taking lessons from Sōtetsu.[83] It is likely that Naosuke's motivation for transcribing the text was as much for the edification of the women of his household as for his own education. The extant copy of Naosuke's *A Woman's Handbook* is written with a mixture of kanji with and without phonetic glossing in kana. Whereas Shōō's text is written mostly in kana, Naosuke's copy has a greater use of kanji. It must be assumed that what the women read was Naosuke's transcribed version of *A Woman's Handbook,* for it would be

unlikely that he would give them Shōō's manuscript when he clearly disagreed with sections of it. Therefore, it seems that the women of the Ii household could read kanji as well as kana. Masuo recalled that she and the other attendants not only read but made transcriptions of these tea books for themselves, keeping them at hand so they could learn from them.[84] This suggests they could write kanji as well as kana, though of course they might not have copied it out exactly as Naosuke wrote it. The women also followed other written instructions about tea gatherings prepared by Naosuke, according to Masuo.

From Masuo's account a picture emerges of an intimate circle of female tea practitioners, led by Yōkyō'in and under the tutelage of Sōtetsu. Naosuke, too, participated in their study circle, acting as a sort of patron. The women's involvement in tea, however, was not limited to private study in the inner quarters. They also attended tea gatherings with Naosuke and a wide circle of participants. Masuo herself attended a gathering on 1857/12/7 in Edo along with Yōkyō'in, Sōgyū, and two other female attendants, Mutsu and Kuni, with Naosuke acting as host.[85]

The tea gatherings involving Ii household women are recorded in five separate records. The largest record is *Kaiseki-fu* (author unknown), which lists seventy-eight gatherings held in both Hikone and Edo from 1852/2/20 to 1858/2/28.[86] The other records—*Ansei 6 Mizuya-chō* (written by Naosuke),[87] *Ansei Manen Mizuya-chō* (author unknown),[88] *Tōto Mizuya-chō* (written by Naosuke),[89] and *Maikai Mizuya-chō* (written by Naosuke)[90]—list gatherings ranging in date from 1852 to 1860, also held in both Hikone and Edo. Like all records of tea gatherings, these detail who the host and guests were at each gathering, where it was held, and what utensils were used. They therefore provide us with a clear picture of the context of women's tea practice in a daimyo household. At the majority of the gatherings, Naosuke was the first guest. The host and other guests were drawn from his private circle of family and friends, including priests of temples in Hikone, male retainers, and female attendants.

In all, some thirty women of the Ii household attended Naosuke's tea gatherings. These included his daughter, Yachiyo; his wife, Masako; his mother, Yōkyō'in; and the tea master Sōgyū. In addition, Naosuke's concubines were regular participants: Shizu, who was Yachiyo's mother; and Sato, the mother of his son Yoshimaro. The majority of women who participated in the gatherings were attendants, women we know only by their first names, such as Tase and Makio. These attendants were not

merely studying tea and attending gatherings as companions to the women they served; they were listed as guests in their own right, and some were even hosts on occasion. Thus, they sat alongside the daimyo and his retainers (some of whom were accomplished practitioners with tea names) as equal participants in the social network. The tea gatherings were an opportunity to put into practice what had been learned in lessons, spaces to affirm the participants' status as tea practitioners, and an opportunity to forge and cement social and political ties. There would have been many more women employed as attendants in the Ii household than those who participated in tea. It was a select group of women who were part of this circle.

Records of Naosuke's tea gatherings give us a glimpse of the involvement of women of the Ii household in tea culture within the familial/household context. Yachiyo, Naosuke's daughter, was a frequent participant in his tea gatherings. She was born in 1846 and must have studied tea from a very young age, for the first record we come across of her in the *Kaiseki-fu* is from 1855/2/19, when she was just nine years old. On this occasion she acted as host for a gathering at which the head purveyor to the inner quarters was the main guest.[91] Among the guests were also three female attendants, Tatsuo, Maki, and Makio. The gathering was held in the Tenkō tearoom, within the upper mansion at Hikone castle.[92] Perhaps this was a debut for Yachiyo into the world of tea.

Over the next three years, Yachiyo acted as a host on two more occasions, and she appears as a guest twelve times in the records. On 1857/11/7 she acted as host for a gathering held in Edo at which Naosuke's wife, Masako, was the main guest, and Sōgyū the last guest.[93] She then acted as a host for five men at a gathering in Edo on 1858/3/1.[94] These men were a group of retainers who studied tea with Naosuke.[95] They all had tea names, which had probably been given to them by Naosuke as their teacher. Between them, they took turns at hosting and being guests at all the gatherings listed in the *Maikai Mizuya-chō* record. At this particular gathering, the main guest was a house elder; the other guests all held positions as vassals to Naosuke, such as chamberlain or steward.[96] This gathering was a little more than one month before Yachiyo's marriage took place. Just as the gathering three years earlier can be thought of as her debut into the tea world, this last gathering may have been a farewell to the Ii tea network for Yachiyo. It would have been a culmination of her years of study to host a gathering for five accomplished practitioners, who were also important political associates and retainers of her father.

At the other gatherings Yachiyo attended during these three years, she was generally the second guest, seated after Naosuke as the main guest. They were joined by a range of people, such as her mother, female attendants, and various male retainers. On 1855/5/10 the guests, in order of seating, were Naosuke; Yachiyo; her mother, Shizu; and Nakamura Kyūji, a purveyor to Naosuke. The host was Ogata Seian, a physician who attended several other gatherings with Ii household women.[97] The following month she again sat alongside her father at a gathering in the Tenkō tearoom at Hikone castle. The other guests were a female attendant, a male attendant, and a steward of the inner quarters. Their host was a male vassal.[98]

From 1856 to 1857 Naosuke and Yachiyo were joined by Naosuke's son, Yoshimaro, at several gatherings. On 1856/8/27 he was the third guest, after Naosuke and Yachiyo, followed by the children's mothers, Shizu and Sato. This was very much a family gathering. Their host in the Tenkō tearoom was Aoyama Yogozaemon, head steward of the inner quarters.[99] Naosuke, Yachiyo, and Yoshimaro were also guests on 1856/9/10, along with a female attendant and a male vassal. Their host was a male attendant.[100] On 1856/12/16 Yoshimaro took the role of second guest, with Yachiyo moving to the third guest spot and Shizu and Sato joining them again. Their host was one of the vassals whom Yachiyo would host two years later at the tea gathering shortly before her marriage.[101] Naosuke, Yoshimaro, and Yachiyo again sat together at a gathering on 1857/2/9 along with two female attendants who were frequent participants at Naosuke's tea gatherings, Tase and Makio. They were hosted by a physician to the inner quarters.[102] On 1857/3/24 Yachiyo and her father were joined by Shizu, Tase, and Makio. Their host was a male attendant.[103] On 1857/4/29 Shizu and Tase again joined Naosuke and Yachiyo, along with one of the stewards of the inner quarters. They were hosted by another steward.[104] On 1857/8/10 Naosuke, Yachiyo, Yoshimaro, Makio, and Sato were the guests of a male attendant. This was the last gathering Yachiyo attended at Hikone castle.

The following month Naosuke and Yachiyo were again joined by Makio and another female attendant, as well the head steward of the inner quarters, but this time the gathering took place in the Shingoseki tearoom in Edo.[105] The head steward of the inner quarters, Aoyama Yogozaemon, as well as several other retainers who attended gatherings with the women in Hikone, had accompanied the women when they went to Edo in 1855.[106] Aoyama joined Naosuke and Yachiyo again for a gathering on 1858/1/29, along with a female attendant and the head

purveyor to the inner quarters.[107] Finally, Yachiyo was the second guest at a gathering on 1858/2/18. Her father was again the first guest, two female attendants sat as third and fourth guests, and the physician Ogata sat as the last guest. This gathering, like the previous one, took place in the four-and-a-half-mat tearoom in the Edo mansion. The host was a male attendant.[108]

Naosuke likely would have had a tremendous sense of pride in being able to show off his young daughter's accomplishments in tea culture to his family and retainers. For those who participated in these gatherings with Yachiyo, it would have been a great honor and a symbol of their connection to the family to sit together with the young daughter of the daimyo, sharing the experience of a tea gathering with her and with Naosuke. Yachiyo, at age twelve, married Matsudaira Yoritoshi (1834–1903), heir of Takamatsu domain (present-day Kagawa Prefecture), on 1858/4/21. Though the records of Yachiyo's participation in tea gatherings end with her marriage, it is likely her tea practice did not. The items in her bridal trousseau, preserved in the form of miniatures as "doll's utensils" in the Hikone Castle Museum collection, include many tea utensils: a black lacquer utensil stand with a set of utensils, including kettle, cold water jar, lid rest, tea caddy, tea bowl, and tea scoop.[109] As with all the other items in her trousseau, such as clothing stands, dishes, and trays, these tea utensils were intended to be items for use by Yachiyo in her life as a high-ranking samurai's wife. With her training in tea she surely put them to good use.

At every gathering Yachiyo attended as a guest, she was joined by at least one other woman—often her mother, Shizu, or otherwise the attendant Makio—while the attendants Sato and Tase regularly joined in the gatherings too. In addition to participating in gatherings with Yachiyo, female attendants such as Tase and Makio attended other gatherings where no female member of the Ii family was present. These two female attendants were clearly regarded as accomplished tea practitioners by Naosuke. Tase, for example, hosted two tea gatherings. The first was on 1856/1/26 in a three-mat tearoom in Edo.[110] The second occasion was later that same year in the same room.[111] Although no guests are listed for either gathering, we can presume that Naosuke was the main guest, as he was for most gatherings recorded in the *Kaiseki-fu* record. Tase was herself a guest at a gathering held six days before the second tea she hosted. On that occasion Naosuke was the main guest, Shizu the second guest, Tase the third, and two male vassals the fourth and fifth guests. The gathering was held in the Ichiroken tearoom in Edo

and hosted by the physician Ogata.[112] On 1856/4/4 Tase and Makio were guests at a gathering held in the same room, along with Naosuke and another female attendant.[113]

Makio was the most active of all the female attendants, participating in twelve gatherings altogether. One of these was as a host for Naosuke, Sato, and two other female attendants, Mutsu and Kishi, in 1859.[114] At the other eleven gatherings, held in either Hikone and Edo beginning in 1855 and continuing until 1860 (the year of Naosuke's assassination), Makio was a guest. Naosuke was of course present at most of these gatherings, as were Yachiyo, Yoshimaro, Shizu, Sato, numerous female attendants, and many of the male retainers and vassals who participated in the other gatherings already described.[115]

The activities of Tase and Makio indicate that they were part of a large social network centered on tea practice that included the lord; his daughter, son, wife, and concubines; other female attendants; and male retainers of varying occupations connected to the household. While the network was broad in the number, gender, and rank of participants, it was also quite intimate. For example, the retainers who participated in this network held positions connected to the inner quarters or to Naosuke directly. The women were not therefore participating in tea gatherings with men to whom they had little or no connection. Rather, a picture emerges of a social network involving women and men in the employ of the Ii household, centered on tea culture. In this respect, the tea practice among women of the Ii household mirrors that of other elite women and their attendants described in chapter 1.

In summary, Naosuke's writings and the records of his tea gatherings are an example of how women's tea practice in a daimyo household could function in the Edo period. In this case, samurai women and their attendants, who may have been of either samurai or commoner status, studied tea privately within the household. Their study was in the form of reading and transcribing texts on tea, such as *A Woman's Handbook,* which in this case had been copied and adapted for them by the head of the household. They also took lessons with a female teacher who was the wife of a tea master close to the family. Finally, they participated in tea gatherings, both as hosts and guests, in a familial/household context at both the domain castle and the Edo mansion.

Returning to the topic of Naosuke's tea philosophy, scholars have seen the participation of Ii household women in tea culture as unique and attributed it to the particulars of Naosuke's philosophy and personal character.[116] Involving the women of his household in

tea may have been an extension of Naosuke's philosophical ideals, but this practice was not an isolated instance. Records discussed in chapter 1 indicate there was female participation in tea gatherings throughout the Edo period. Like the gatherings of the Ii household, women of a family participated alongside male family members, often with female attendants joining in. Many of these records are also connected to men who were prominent tea practitioners, like Naosuke. In those records, though, there are no other examples of women acting as hosts. Yet this absence of female hosts in those records should not lead us to assume that women never acted as hosts outside of the few specific examples we know. Rather, it is far more likely that there were elite women who hosted tea gatherings for members of their family/household and that these gatherings were simply not recorded. It also seems highly probable, from the depictions on *sugoroku,* that tea was practiced among female attendants in elite households, in the form of both lessons and gatherings.

What is distinct about the involvement of Ii household women in tea culture is that we have such detailed records of it. Rather than a unique or rare example of Edo-period women's tea practice, this should be seen as an example of how women in court and samurai households, both the immediate family members and their attendants, could have learned about and participated in tea culture. We know that acquiring knowledge of tea culture was considered to be an accomplishment that would prepare young women for going into service in an elite household. We also know that once employed, female attendants could practice tea privately within the inner quarters, and female attendants could accompany members of the families they served at tea gatherings. The Ii household case study illustrates this pattern, which is also apparent from a close reading of the records of women's participation in tea culture discussed in chapter 1. It may well be that Ii household women, under Naosuke's leadership, were more prolific in their tea practice than women in other elite households, but the ways in which they engaged with tea culture appear to have been similar.

Tea and Service

Ii household women's participation in tea culture highlights the ways in which writings on women's tea practice, such as *A Woman's Handbook,* were put into practice, as well as the close connection between studying tea and serving in elite households. One reason why

women, especially lower-ranking samurai and wealthy commoners, studied tea with increasing enthusiasm in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was as preparation for serving in an elite household. Studying tea was useful preparation for two reasons: because a woman learned to be graceful and embody an ideal of genteel femininity; and because elite women who were tea practitioners themselves would have wanted some of their attendants to be proficient too so that those attendants could accompany them at tea gatherings. In addition to studying tea as preparation for going into service, women may also have learned tea while employed as attendants, as occurred in the Ii household. Practicing tea and serving in an elite household were both ways in which women could heighten their status. Their aspirations to do so were targeted in popular media such as *sugoroku* board games. The perceptible increase in both the numbers of women practicing tea and the numbers of women going into service, which were both outcomes of the long-term economic growth of the Edo period, point to a blurring of the status system whereby the social boundaries between groups became less significant. Women played a significant role in this process in two ways, whether consciously or not. First, they were able to blur, sometimes even bridge, status boundaries through marriage or by entering into other relationships with men such as concubinage. Second, they played a role as capital-bearing objects, for both themselves and their families/households.

Therefore, significant implications resulted from women's tea practice and their service in elite households. Both of these developments were connected to the broader phenomenon of the gradual blurring of status boundaries between people of samurai and commoner status. Through learning tea and going into service, samurai and wealthy commoner women were able to deploy their bodies in the pursuit of status—either heightening their status (within the status group to which they already belonged) or, less likely but nonetheless possible, raising their status (by moving into a higher status group through marriage). The connection between practicing tea and entering into service formed part of the framework in which Edo-period women's tea practice was understood and occurred. This relationship between tea culture and service was made explicit in popular writings, to which we now turn.

Chapter 4

Guides for Cultivating Femininity

This chapter shifts the focus away from manuscript texts on tea culture aimed at an elite female audience to popular writings on women's tea practice. These popular writings were published in guides for women's edification from the mid-eighteenth century. They represent the next stage of a "civilizing process" of "kugefication," by which knowledge about tea culture spread throughout society. What we see at work here is part of a larger process that occurred in the publishing industry whereby knowledge of fields such as divination, medicine, and calculation was initially spread through specialized writings aimed at a narrow audience, then later became the subject of popular texts aimed at beginners.[1] Significantly, edification guides did not advocate one school of tea over another, nor did they suggest that women needed to go to a teacher or become officially registered with a tea school. Instead, sections on tea culture in these guides were intended to provide enough information for the aspirational commoner woman to equip herself with the requisite knowledge.

Three main reasons were given for why women should study tea in these guides: the knowledge was essential for those wishing to be up-to-date with the latest social customs; readers would learn to be graceful; and studying tea was useful preparation for going into service in an elite household. Wealthy commoner women thus learned tea in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for reasons similar to those for women in modern Japan—tea taught manners, deportment, and etiquette. The underlying intention was to acquire the appearance of genteel femininity, associated with those of higher status. The popular framing of women's tea practice presented in guides for women's edification further evidences the blurring of status boundaries, as described in the previous chapter.

Guides for Women's Edification

With a substantial population of literate women and a thriving commercial publishing industry in Japan by the mid-eighteenth century, an extensive body of literature aimed at a female audience entered the market. These included edification guides (*jokun/jokunsho*).[2] These guides shared many similarities with other genres of texts within the same broad category of instructional books, such as "dictionaries" (*setsuyoshū*); "illustrated encyclopedias" or "illustrated lexicons for the ignorant" (*kinmōzui*); "treasuries" (*chōhōki*); and "primers" or "textbooks" (*ōraimono*).[3] Such texts constituted a substantial part of the print market by the early nineteenth century. Within this genre of instruction books or edification guides was a wide variety of texts aimed at different audiences.[4] Some discussed specific skills or cultural practices, such as calligraphy or letter writing, while others were of a more encyclopedic nature. Often the groupings of subjects were made on the basis of what was deemed relevant to the intended audience—for example, newlyweds. The texts discussed in this chapter are of this type, for they cover a range of skills, practices, and bits of common wisdom packaged together for commoner women. Topics include letter writing, etiquette, playing various musical instruments, and practicing tea culture. None of the topics are covered in great detail; only a few pages are devoted to any one practice. Similar guides were available for men too, but texts for women were differentiated by the tone of their content and made extensive use of phonetic glossing for kanji, indicating a lower level of literacy among their target audience.

An early example of such a guide is *An Illustrated Encyclopedia for Women* (*Onna yō kinmōzui,* 1687), which visually depicts the arts and skills of elite women. The reader is presented with illustrations of "women's tools" (*onna kizai*) such as screens; *shamisen;* games, like *sugoroku* and go; implements used for hair and makeup; dishes; dolls and other toys; types of vehicles, such as a palanquin; types of clothing; and tools used for spinning and weaving. Tea utensils (*chanoyu no gu*) are also represented under the category of women's tools (figure 4).[5] Included here are a utensil stand set up with a cold water jar on the bottom shelf (bottom right square), and various kinds of tea containers and tea bowls (bottom left square). Simple descriptions accompany the illustrations, with phonetic notation alongside the kanji. The basic nature of the information makes it likely that the intended audience is women who are unfamiliar with the objects and have limited literacy.

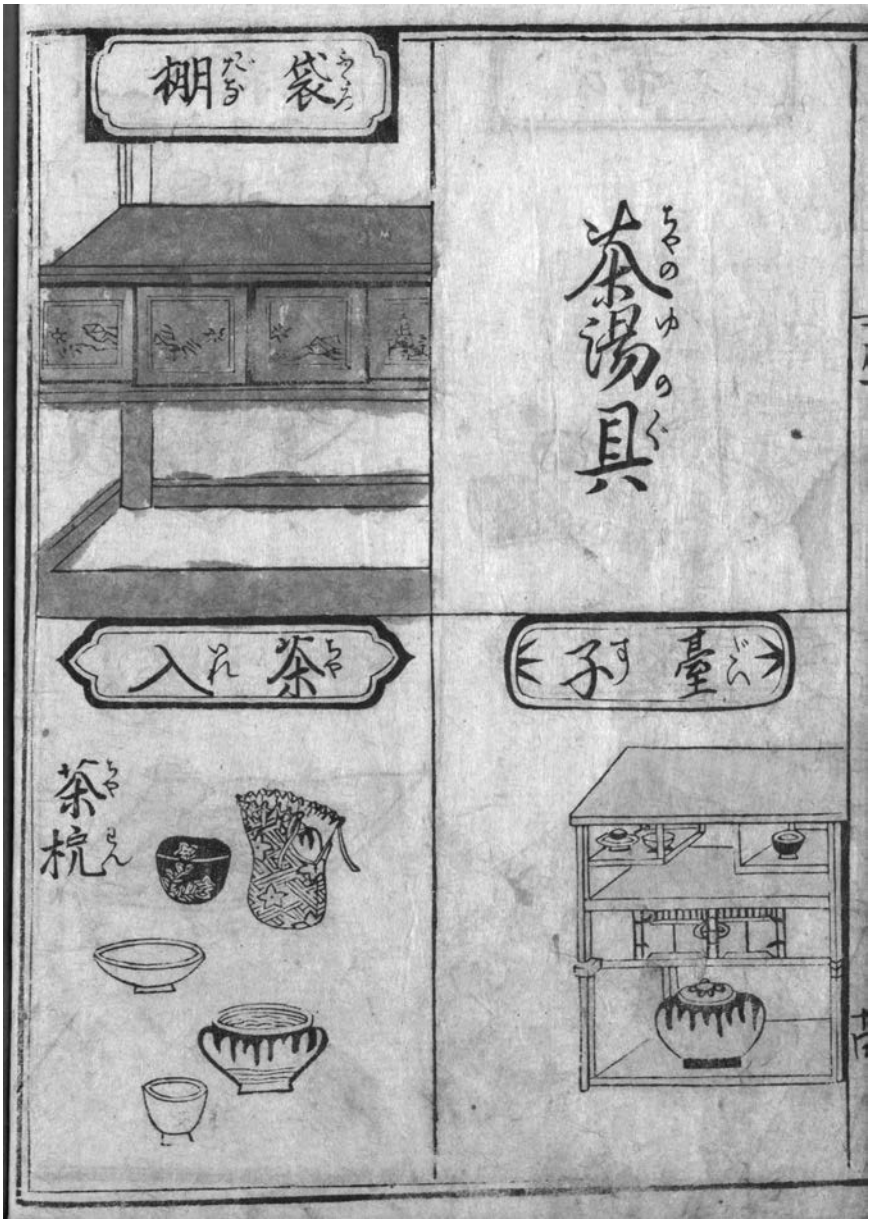

Fig. 4. Illustrations of tea utensils. In *An Illustrated Encyclopedia for Women*. 1687. National Diet Library of Japan.

Plate 1. Actors Iwai Kumejirō as Young Lord Tsurukiyo (Tsurukiyo no kimi), Onoe Baikō IV as Lady-in-Waiting (Tsubone) Masaoka, and Ichikawa Anpei as Her Son (Isshi) Senmatsu. Utagawa Kunisada I (Toyokuni III). 1853. Tsubochi Memorial Theatre Museum, item no. 100–7058.

Plate 2. Sugoroku *of Success as an Attendant in Noble Service*. Toyokuni III. 1844–1864. Edo-Tokyo Museum, item no. 88208551.

Plate 3. Sugoroku *of Success in Artistic Accomplishments for Girls*. Utagawa Hiroshige I. 1843–1847. Edo-Tokyo Museum, item no. 96201945.

From the 1750s, edification guides for women constituted their own distinct genre.[6] A large market was necessary to sustain such guides, which were remarkably similar in content. Many guides were reprinted multiple times, also suggesting enduring popularity and a large market.[7] (In fact, guides for women's edification were so popular that they generated a spin-off genre of erotic parodies.[8]) Together the edification guides formed what could be described as a canon of "civilized knowledge."[9] As Martha Tocco argues, such texts "provided an element of commonality to women's education at a time when education was not standardized."[10] Women of all backgrounds and in all regions could potentially access the same information through reading. Moreover, as Peter Kornicki shows, conduct books or edification guides could be among trousseau items, and individual women may have made their own copies of published works in manuscript form.[11]

Rather than focusing on who read these books, how many women read them, and how women interpreted the information therein, our concern here is what these texts presented to the women who were their primary audience. That is, the framing of why women should practice tea is of interest, not the degree to which women were actually practicing tea. To become a tea practitioner able to perform all or many of the procedures for making tea required more than just reading about tea in a book and seeing images of tea utensils; it required face-to-face lessons with a teacher. The guides discussed here should thus be taken as a reflection of the information presented to women and of the aspirations women held. The information about tea presented an ideal. Women would have interpreted and adapted it to suit their own situation.[12] A woman who read these guides may never have had the chance to participate physically in tea culture, yet she may have internalized the attitudes and values inherent in the text.

Morgan Pitelka has suggested that commercially published books about arts such as tea culture "increased the attraction of joining a school" because that brought "recognition of being an official practitioner."[13] In the case of women, whether or not they went on to practice tea and join a school after reading the texts described here is not something we can say on the basis of available evidence. Certainly, from available evidence, it seems that the numbers of women who were officially enrolled in tea schools was quite low throughout the Edo period. It is more likely that women's tea practice was conducted

informally outside tea schools. This education may have taken place at temple schools or in the homes of local women who were proficient enough in tea to be teachers but were not licensed as such. As we saw in the previous chapter, women could also learn tea while in service in an elite household.

Guides for women's edification were sources of information on elite practices and tastes for aspirational commoner women, even those who may not have been highly literate. The content of these guides is indicative of a thirst for knowledge about the lifestyles of the elite among commoner women, as well as the existence of a market that catered to this by presenting upward social mobility as something to aspire to—whether that be moving up within one's current status or, less common, moving to a higher status. As Joshua Mostow has argued, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was an "overwhelming desire by members of the warrior (*buke*) and townsman (*chōnin*) class for their daughters to acquire cultural capital associated with the aristocracy," a desire that affected a number of cultural spheres and the publishing industry.[14] For example, "the ability to read and compose *waka* became a sine qua non," and that led to greater numbers of women wanting to read classical texts such as *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*) and *The Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari*) because familiarity with such texts was requisite knowledge for composing *waka*.[15] This in turn led to a rise in the number of illustrated printed editions of such texts aimed at a female readership being published, and a decrease in scholarly debates about the acceptability of women reading such texts.[16] The cultural capital of aristocratic women in the Edo period included tea culture, as well as knowledge of classical texts, as exemplified by the tea practice of imperial women such as Tōfukumon'in Masako (1607–1678) and Shinanomiya Tsuneko (1642–1702).

The guide *Essential Knowledge for Women's Prosperity and Longevity* (*Joyō fukuju-dai,* 1774, 1785), by Takada Seibe'e, typifies the style and intent of eighteenth-century guides for women's edification. As the title suggests, it is billed as a collection of essential knowledge for women. It covers topics such as marriage and protocol for the wedding ceremony, along with appropriate gifts for a wedding and how to present them. It also gives advice on how to blacken one's teeth, a symbol of beauty and refinement in premodern Japan. There is a table on *yamato kotoba* (native Japanese words), which gives examples of classical and elegant words for everyday things such as wa-

ter, miso, tofu, walking, children, and money. *Essential Knowledge* explains how to participate in a range of artistic and cultural pursuits, such as how to compose *waka* poetry.[17] The section on tea culture consists of several pages of explanation and illustrations. The range of subjects clearly indicates that *Essential Knowledge* was a handbook for those aspiring "to belong to and succeed among the dominant class."[18] As Jorge Arditi has said of European etiquette books, they "are not written for the dominant classes, for whom knowledge of the infrastructure comes naturally."[19] The early modern Japanese guides were, similarly, for women aspiring to be part of the elite. Elite women would have learned a classical vocabulary, how to blacken their teeth, and wedding protocol as part of their upbringing and therefore had little need for such texts. Through a "civilizing process," such elite knowledge spread from the court aristocracy, down to the warrior aristocracy, and eventually to commoners through guides such as *Essential Knowledge*.

Essential Knowledge of Tea Culture

The section on tea culture in *Essential Knowledge* begins with an introduction covering the seasons and types of tea procedures, and it encourages the study of tea through practice rather than from books alone. We get a sense of the popularity that tea had gained by the late eighteenth century when the author says that "these days everyone is enjoying tea, so it is good to learn at least how to drink it," a statement echoed in later guides.[20] The text then goes on to describe briefly the manner for drinking thick tea before commenting that it is necessary for both host and guest to know about the procedures for making tea. The pages that follow have extensive illustrations of tea utensils, "for the benefit of beginners," and list the name of each item and the material it is made from.[21] The upper register of each page has brief explanations of general etiquette related to tea culture, such as manners for washing hands, how to open and close the sliding doors, how to drink thick tea, how to return the bowl to the host, incense appreciation (which can be part of a tea gathering), and letter writing (for invitations and letters of thanks). The reader could thus get a sense of what tea culture involved, before possibly going on to study it in greater depth. The illustrations gave readers who did not have access to the actual objects or the means to acquire them the chance to imagine what such items looked like and to have basic knowledge about them.

Figures 5 and 6, for example, illustrate an assortment of tea utensils. Each item's name is written next to it, with brief explanatory information in some cases. Should a reader ever be in a position to view, use, or even purchase tea utensils, this information would be of great help. In Figure 5, we see the kettle, brazier, and basket for charcoal, among other items. In Figure 6, we see the cold water jar, differently shaped tea bowls, the small cloth for wiping a tea bowl, a tea scoop, a whisk, and several types of tea containers.

In *Essential Knowledge,* as in *A Woman's Handbook,* utensil stands are front and center for women's tea practice. The first page of utensil illustrations is a diagram of how the utensils are arranged on a stand (figure 7).[22] The setup here shows a tea container and a tea bowl with whisk and tea scoop on the top shelf of the stand. On the base is a cold

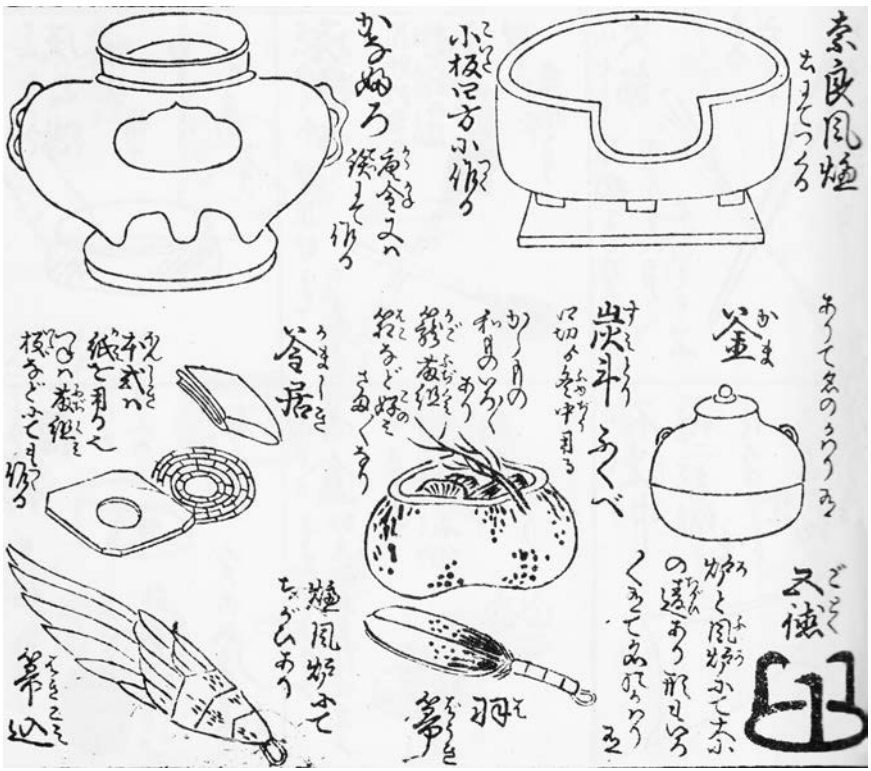

Fig. 5. Illustrations of tea utensils. In *Essential Knowledge for Women's Prosperity and Longevity.* 1774, 1785. Ōzorasha Publishing.

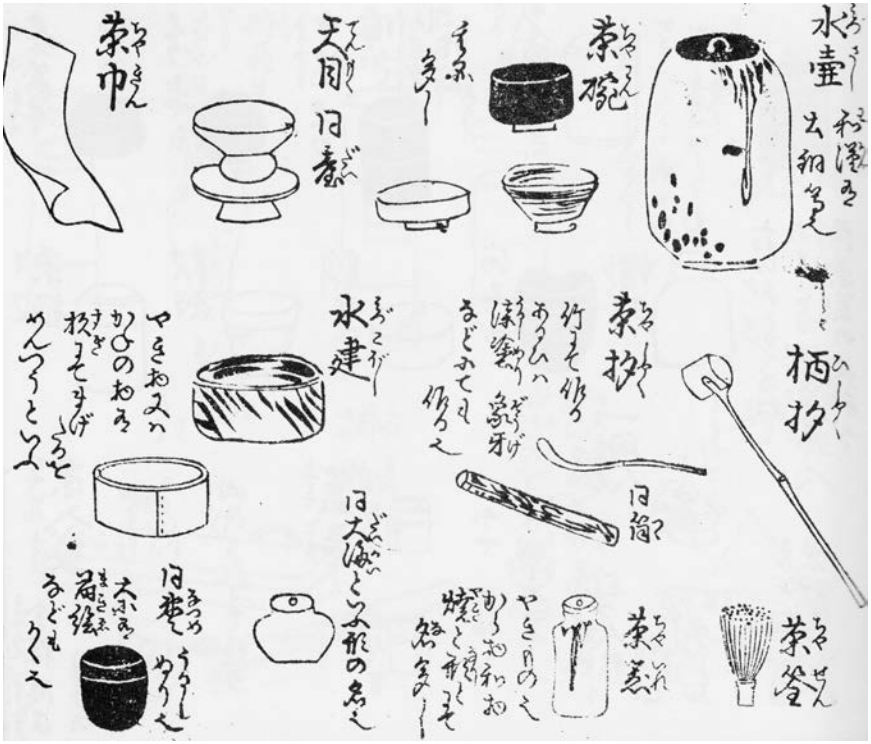

Fig. 6. Illustrations of tea utensils. In *Essential Knowledge for Women's Prosperity and Longevity.* 1774, 1785. Ōzorasha Publishing.

water jar, a container holding the chopsticks for lifting charcoal and a ladle for scooping water, and the kettle for boiling water atop a brazier. The text running alongside this image instructs readers that "if a woman is going to place a utensil stand in her room, there are black lacquer or vermilion lacquer varieties [that should be used]."[23] This further reinforces the association between utensil stands and women's tea practice because having a stand allowed the female host to arrange the utensils on it before the guests entered the tearoom, rather than having to carry in each utensil as part of the procedure. One of the varieties of lacquer recommended in *Essential Knowledge,* vermilion, is the type that was designed for Empress Tōfukumon'in by the tea master Sen Sōtan. Thus, the guide was holding up an elite female tea practitioner like Tōfukumon'in as a model for other women to emulate, with the vermillion utensil stand, in particular, being associated with her.

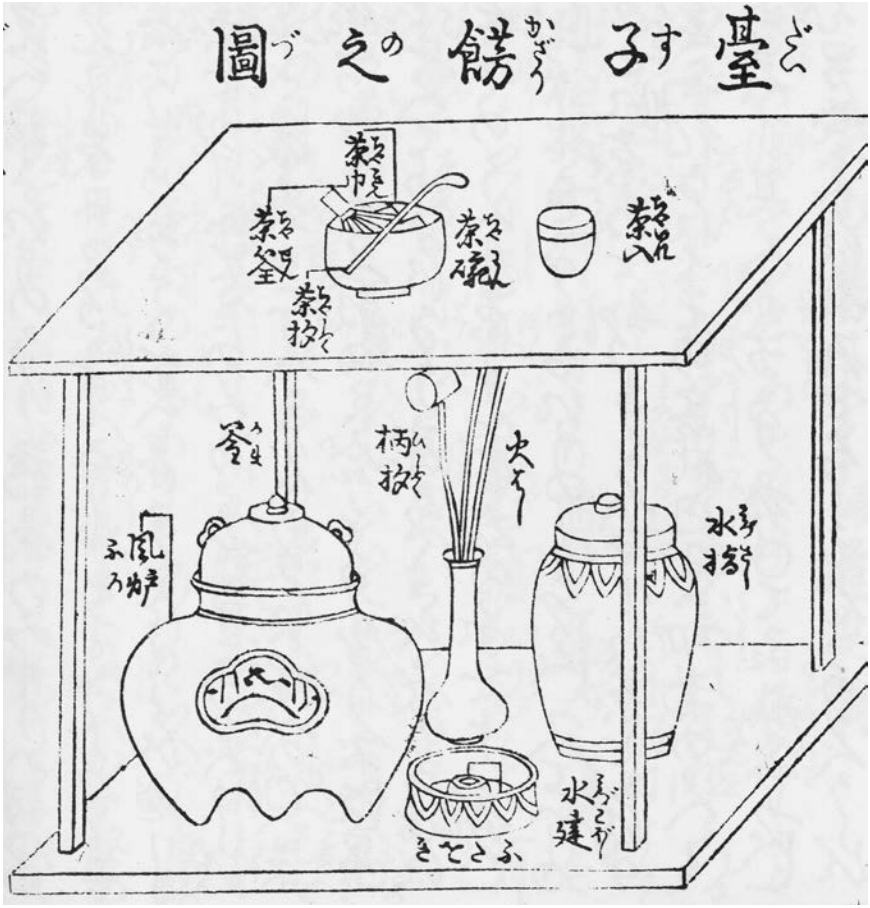

Fig. 7. Arrangement of tea utensils on a stand. In *Essential Knowledge for Women's Prosperity and Longevity.* 1774, 1785. Ōzorasha Publishing.

It is clear that with the growing popularity of tea came a desire for this kind of basic information to be available in printed form. By the 1840s the *New Enlarged Edition of the Brocade of Women's Manners* (*Shinzō onna shorei ayanishiki,* 1841) commented, "Recently, many detailed books about customs, such as tea etiquette [*charei*], are being published."[24] The author describes a recent change in the rules of serving thick tea, from the "orthodox way of one bowl per person" to "one bowl for everyone." Though the author himself disapproves of this new way, he acknowledges that "this is the latest fashion, so it is also accepted as

one of the proper ways."[25] Such explanations of new developments in tea procedures would be useful for the novice and the more experienced practitioner alike. Both popular tea texts and private tea texts produced by tea masters had been available since the seventeenth century, but the market they aimed at was different from the targeted market for guides for women's edification. Women who read a guide such as *New Brocade of Women's Manners* may have wanted to get a sense of what was entailed before beginning formal study under a teacher, which, as *Essential Knowledge* suggested, was really the best way to learn. The author of *New Brocade of Women's Manners* claimed that the information it contained (which was very similar to that in *Essential Knowledge*) was enough for a woman who had not learned tea.[26] Rather than being interested in devoting themselves to tea practice, some readers may simply have wanted to gain a sufficient grasp of the procedures and utensils involved so as to be able to participate should they be invited to a tea gathering. One guide stated that information on tea culture was being presented "because tea has become extremely popular."[27]

Tea, as an art of interaction among people, requires the participants to possess "cultural competence" in order to derive meaning from the experience—they need to be able to read "the code."[28] A participant who does not have this competence will "feel lost" and will therefore be unable to interact with the other participants in a meaningful way. According to *A Woman's Handbook,* a lack of experience in tea could lead to an uncomfortable situation if one was invited to a tea gathering at which experienced practitioners were also to be guests. In such cases people might even pretend to be sick because they felt embarrassed.[29] By the mid-nineteenth century the situation was such that the author of *New Brocade of Women's Manners* stated, "Tea has become very popular, so if you don't know the rules, you cannot interact with people."[30] Tea was a vehicle for social interaction, and women were being warned not to let an opportunity pass them by because they lacked appropriate knowledge. By the late eighteenth century, knowledge of tea had become part of a shared grammar of comportment and etiquette that extended to commoner men and women. Having a basic understanding of tea culture was necessary for participating in social life, and the guides provided precisely this.

Tea culture was also a vehicle for learning manners and etiquette in general, because tea culture encompasses far more than just drinking a beverage—through studying tea, one learns how to open and close sliding doors, to sit and stand, to walk gracefully. Commoner women were

being swept up in the civilizing process, with guides for women's edification and tea culture providing them with the tools to conduct themselves in a "civilized" manner. Thus, within their section on tea culture, guides like *Essential Knowledge* and *New Brocade of Women's Manners* describe procedures such as how to use a fan, how to bow when sitting, and how to open and close sliding doors and screens.[31] On this last subject, for instance, *Essential Knowledge* gives the reader this instruction for sliding doors: "Putting your left knee on the floor, with your right knee raised up, place your hands on the wood at the base of the door and slide."[32]

Civilized standards for eating were also outlined in these guides, as they had been in *A Woman's Handbook*. *New Brocade of Women's Manners,* for example, explains how to drink the hot water served during the *kaiseki* meal: "Holding the chopsticks in your right hand, place that hand on your knee, then drink."[33] In the same guide, the reader learns the correct way for eating rice softened with hot water and rice gruel: "First drink your soup; it is best not to pour the soup over the rice gruel. You should not leave of any of this unfinished."[34] In a separate section from that on tea culture, *Essential Knowledge* details the manners for washing one's hands, asking for seconds of soup, cutting fish, and serving steamed buns with filling to children ("Put some paper down, cut it into three pieces, give them one piece, then a second, and leave the last piece as it is").[35] Actions like opening and closing a door, washing one's hands, and eating can be done without reading how to do so, but there is a correct and elegant way to perform these quotidian actions that marks one as refined and genteel. This is what the guides presented to commoner women, and what studying tea could teach them.

Knowledge of tea culture was, of course, essential not only for women but also for men in the Edo period. As *Essential Knowledge* put it, "Both men and women should have knowledge of tea."[36] Texts aimed at a male audience, such as *The Gentleman's Treasury* (*Nan chōhōki* [*Otoko chōhōki*], 1693), explained the procedures for making and drinking tea in the manner of *chanoyu,* without giving reasons why one must study tea or expounding the benefits of doing so.[37] *The Gentleman's Treasury* was aimed primarily at a warrior (*bushi*) audience, and this may be why it presumed that its readers understood that they needed to be familiar with tea culture. Even texts aimed at a male commoner audience presented tea culture and related activities without comment on why such study was necessary. For example, guides for men included basic instructions for the correct way to open and close a sliding door, just as guides for women did.[38] Yet, inherent in all writings aimed at a

female audience is a relentless instrumentality that is not present in texts aimed at men. Women needed to study tea for a reason. Such study had to have some practical benefit that justified why they should engage in it. That women should learn the basics of tea culture was not taken as a given, as it was for men, nor were women encouraged to know any more than the basics. It was tea, but not for tea's sake.

The section on "women's arts" in *Poetry Recitation for Women's Learning* (*Onna rōei kyōkunka,* 1753) outlines three core aspects of the popular framework for women's tea practice. The text above an image of a woman making tea for two female guests (figure 8) states:

> There are many schools of tea and it seems to be difficult but women should learn at least how to do the procedures for making thin tea. They should also understand the greetings and method for the thick tea service. Even the so-called lowliest of the low women who may enter into service [in an elite household] should study tea; if you have some knowledge of tea your movements will become graceful.[39]

Fig. 8. Women's arts. In *Poetry Recitation for Women's Learning*. 1753. Ōzorasha Publishing.

First, women are being encouraged to learn only a small portion of tea procedures, those that are of the most basic and informal type known for making thin tea. Second, the text implies that women who want to be part of "proper" society should study tea; it is promoted as an activity through which women can become graceful. Third, *Poetry Recitation for Women's Learning* links learning tea with the potential for women to enter into service in an elite household, a notion also found in other guides.[40] In alluding to this possibility, the text is appealing to women's aspirations to better themselves and improve their social standing through service in an elite household. Tea was an activity through which a woman could display that she was cultured and accomplished.

Learning the Basics

Many guides concur with *Poetry Recitation for Women's Learning* that women need only know the basics of tea practice, consisting of the procedures for making thin tea and how to be a guest for the thick tea service. *Bookmark of One Hundred Beautiful Poems by One Hundred Poets* (*Shūgyoku hyakunin isshu ogura shiori,* 1836), for example, concurs on this point: "Women, many of whom may enter into service, should at least study a little and, even without knowing the inmost secret teachings, learn up to the level of the procedures for making thin tea. They should have general knowledge of the methods for greetings in the thick tea service."[41] *Women's Multiplication Voices* (*Onna kuku no koe,* 1787) expresses the sentiment most strongly: "It can be said that it is not improper for men to enter the path of tea; the same cannot be said for women. Yet, for women to know nothing is not to be recommended; they should at least know a little. . . . [W]hen you have free time, study *chanoyu,* but women should not become immersed in it."[42] Accompanying this text, in the upper register, are two images of women engaging in tea practice (figure 9). At the top left, a woman prepares tea for two female guests in the winter style. In the lower register, a woman uses a utensil stand as she prepares tea for one female guest. Incidentally, this "information on tea" is attached to the multiplication equation "3 × 7 = 21." This unusual combination of subjects indicates that essential knowledge for women included mathematics, a skill particularly useful for commoners from merchant households who may have had to help run the family business.[43]

The authors of edification all agreed that women should know the basics of tea culture and that the basics were enough knowledge (for a

Fig. 9. Information on tea. In *Women's Multiplication Voices*. 1787. Ōzorasha Publishing.

woman). The intention, at least in the eyes of those writing about it, was for women to learn etiquette and deportment. There was no need for women to go further into the study of tea—by mastering the thick tea procedures, for example—because these aspects could be learned without formal study. In the edification guides, no spiritual or moral motivation, which would require a deeper level of practice, was conceived for women's tea. Rather, the main reasons presented for why women should study tea were that they would become graceful, which in turn would be useful preparation for going into service in an elite household.

This somewhat ambivalent attitude to women's tea practice may suggest that the authors were trying to come to grips with a new social phenomenon of increasing participation in tea by women. The didactic tone of the statement "When you have free time, study *chanoyu,* but women should not become immersed in it" suggests that there may well have been women who were becoming too immersed in the world of tea, at least for the author's liking. In a similar vein, the "guide to women's tea" in *Compendium of a Small Library for Women's Education* (*Jokyō taizen himebunko,* 1776) begins by saying: "*Chanoyu* is a path of correct customs in human relations. Women's tea should not appear to be too detailed; it should not be sharp or rough."[44] That is to say, women's tea should be smooth and simple, with the implication that women's knowledge of tea should be general, not deep and thorough. This sentiment resembles that expressed in *A Woman's Handbook*. The authors of both *Essential Knowledge* and *New Brocade of Women's Manners* also caution against women going too far into the study of tea of their own accord, stating that a married woman should not learn that which her husband does not learn or enjoy.[45] Indeed, according to *New Brocade of Women's Manners,* a woman should always put her duties as a daughter and wife before enjoyment of arts such as tea.[46] All of this may simply have been empty rhetoric, designed to placate voices of opposition who held a more conservative view. The similarities with the position Ōguchi Shōō found himself in are apparent—wanting to encourage women's tea practice on the one hand, but not wanting to be seen as inciting immoral or socially disruptive behavior on the other. Or the notion that women's tea practice should be limited in scope and content may have been a widely held opinion.

Encouraging women to learn tea within limits might also be a reflection of the regulatory nature of Tokugawa government, which sporadically sought to reduce what it deemed to be extravagance and the frivolous pursuit of enjoyment through leisure activities. For example, in the 1830s the daimyo of the Mito domain (present-day

Ibaraki Prefecture), Tokugawa Nariaki (1800–1860), banned samurai girls from engaging in the practice of tea, as well as flower arrangement and playing the koto.[47] This prohibition was part of a wide-ranging reform program aimed at restoring the spirit and morale of the domain's samurai. Tea was targeted along with other activities regarded as "frivolous or extravagant," a strong contrast with the philosophy of tea culture espoused by Ii Naosuke described previously.[48] The wider intellectual climate also discouraged women from becoming too deeply involved in specific activities. The thoughts of female writer Tadano Makuzu reflect such an ideology. She suggested that if a "weak-minded woman" focuses her attention on one thing, "she will neglect others, and the housework will suffer"; and she declared, "It is better for a woman who will become a wife not to study things too deeply."[49] In such a climate the authors of edification guides may well have felt that they could not wholeheartedly encourage women to pursue the study of tea, lest they be considered to be encouraging women to neglect their duties as wives and daughters and indulge in frivolity instead. The author of *New Brocade of Women's Manners* seems to have been particularly wary of attracting such criticism, warning women that if they neglect their duty as a daughter or wife in favor of learning arts, "it would be as if you had learned no arts." Conversely, he claims that a woman who has learned no arts and has no special talents, but who is respectful to her parents and faithful to her husband, cannot be called inferior to the woman who has learned many arts. Only then, and "only because it is so popular," does the author give instructions on how to drink tea in the manner of *chanoyu*.[50]

The categorization of tea as a frivolous activity may seem at odds with the assertion that it was a skill associated with well-bred women. Yet the popularization of arts such as tea, which occurred because of their association with elite culture, gradually led to the debasement of their image. When what was once a socially exclusive practice becomes ubiquitous and open to all classes and genders, it can lose some of its appeal. A member of the village elite in Edo-period Japan learned this only too well when he turned his back on *haikai* poetry in favor of the more aristocratic *waka* form, once it became so popular that "even women, children, and lowlifes" became involved.[51] Opting out for a less popular pastime may have been an option for those who were firmly entrenched in the elite and familiar with the activity in question. For those aspiring to heighten their status, however, it was not a matter of choice. Once something becomes so popular that "everyone" is doing it,

those who do not become conspicuous by their absence. This was likely the case with tea culture in the latter part of the Edo period; hence, its popularity continued to grow, while at the same time it lost some of its aura of exclusivity. By the late eighteenth century, knowledge of tea culture had become indispensable for any woman wanting to present herself as cultured, well-bred, and up-to-date.

While most guides suggest that women should focus on learning thin tea procedures, and in some cases explicitly state that women do not need to know more, several do include significant discussion of thick tea procedures. Edification guides with lengthy discussions of tea culture, such as *Essential Knowledge* and *New Brocade of Women's Manners,* feature numerous illustrations of tea utensils, including those used for thick tea. *Essential Knowledge* also explains the thick tea procedures.[52] So does *Compendium of a Small Library,* which gives a detailed, step-by-step description of a winter-style thick tea procedure under the heading "guide to women's tea."[53] *New Brocade of Women's Manners* also presents information on aspects of tea culture that went beyond what was required to perform the thin tea procedures and be a guest for the thick tea service—from how to lay the charcoal, for example, to how to roll up and tie a knot on the hanging scroll that is displayed in the alcove during a tea gathering.[54] This information would still have been relevant for women learning to be a guest and does not necessarily indicate encouragement of women to learn to perform the thick tea procedures or become deeply involved in tea culture. Nevertheless, it may indicate that a demand among women for information about all aspects of tea, including the thick tea procedures and the various aspects of hosting a gathering, even if such knowledge was not deemed essential.

Becoming Graceful

Poetry Recitation for Women's Learning clearly states that a primary reason for women to study tea is that they will learn to be graceful. This is a recurring theme in guides for women's edification, as it was in *A Woman's Handbook*. The reader of *Bookmark of One Hundred Beautiful Poems* is told that by "studying this path [of tea], how to stand, and sit, and how to use all of the utensils gracefully, you may become genteel in appearance."[55] If she reads *Poetry Recitation for Women's Learning,* she is told, "If you have some knowledge of tea, your movements will become graceful."[56] Given that this is a primary reason presented for why women should learn tea, studying the thin tea procedures alone would suffice,

because all the basic body movements can be learned through the handling of utensils in these procedures.

The purpose of learning to be graceful was not primarily to perform an attractive *temae*. Rather, learning tea was a way of learning to control the body so as to move gracefully with ease in both the tearoom and beyond. The process of constant repetition of specific physical movements was common to many arts in early modern Japan. Its ultimate purpose was "internalization of the technique in question as second nature."[57] This was the process at work in tea; hence the connection made between handling of utensils and graceful appearance in *Bookmark of One Hundred Beautiful Poems*. Through learning tea, a woman could be confident that she would be able to behave appropriately in all social situations that required her to be graceful, especially interactions with social superiors. Once internalized, the repetition of these movements and acts ceases to be a conscious performance and becomes instead a natural part of one's bearing. It is in this respect that the instructions for opening and closing doors and for eating in a polite, refined way took on particular importance. Women's bodies were being trained, through the study of tea, to be graceful at all times. This links the discourse on women's tea in these early modern guides to the "*temae* as *sahō*" discourse—that is, a discourse in which learning the procedures for making tea (*temae*) is a way of learning etiquette (*sahō*)—which Etsuko Kato has identified as a major trend in twentieth-century Japan.[58]

Appearance, in the form of clothing, manners, etiquette, and deportment, was a very public indicator of social status in the Edo period.[59] The importance placed on a woman's appearance is evident in a comment made by kabuki actor Yoshizawa when describing how a female role specialist should portray an ideal samurai woman: "It is unbecoming for the wife of a samurai, for example, to be stiff and awkward."[60] That is to say, a samurai wife should be graceful in her movements and therefore not appear vulgar or of commoner status. On the one hand, samurai women had to ensure that they maintained the appearance of elite status, even if their wealth was being outstripped by that of commoner families. Wealthy commoner women, on the other hand, substituted the appearance of being elite, through their clothing and carriage, in lieu of having the official status.

With the spread of elite culture to the broader population, the education of an aristocratic or samurai woman was available even to a commoner from the provinces if her family was wealthy enough. Yoshida Ito (b. 1824), the daughter of a provincial artisan family, began her formal

education at a local school from age eight, among other students ranging in age from eight to fourteen, both boys and girls.[61] At this school she studied subjects such as etiquette, manners, and poetry, and she practiced reading the *iroha* poem,[62] a range of textbooks, and the Kokinshū, an Imperial poetry anthology from the Heian period. Ito's education in her youth was filled with learning etiquette and deportment (which likely included studying tea), as well as poetry and the writing of Japanese characters. Her education paralleled the education and lifestyle of the women's quarters at the shogun's palace in Edo.[63] Then, in 1838, fifteen-year-old Ito went to Edo to further her learning of, among other things, women's arts, studying under the National Learning scholar Tachibana Moribe (1781–1849).[64] Her education under Moribe included keeping a journal and studying poetry, arts (such as koto, *shamisen,* calligraphy, and flower arrangement), and practical skills such as sewing and housekeeping. We know from her letters that Ito studied tea diligently with the wife of a temple priest and was an enthusiastic student who enjoyed her lessons thoroughly.[65] We can assume that the role of tea in this education program was that it inculcated the attributes of a well-bred woman, such as how to move gracefully. Ito may have been a provincial commoner, but that did not stop her learning the accomplishments of an aristocratic or samurai woman raised in the imperial capital of Kyoto or a large daimyo household.

In addition to acquiring gracefulness, another, more practical reason why a woman in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would have studied tea is outlined in *Four Pictorial Books for Women* (*Onna shisho geibun zue,* 1835). This guide stated that a wife must always be ready to receive a guest or guests of her husband, serve them tea, and then, watching and anticipating what they may need, serve them a meal.[66] The implication, as in the story of Keikyō in *A Woman's Handbook,* is that a good wife should have knowledge of tea and always be prepared to put that knowledge to use when necessary. The picture accompanying the text shows a woman in a back room making tea according to the established procedures, while her husband and his guest are having a discussion in the front room (figure 10). In this case, the household is of samurai status, though we can assume that in wealthy commoner households the same etiquette may have been followed. One area outside the tearoom in which women could display their skills was in the home, assisting their husbands by playing an integral behind-the-scenes role in hosting guests. Through the wife's physical act of *temae,* symbolizing her acquisition of symbolic-cultural capital, the household's accumulation of economic capital could

Fig. 10. A wife making tea for her husband and his guest. In *Four Pictorial Books for Women,* 1835. Ōzorasha Publishing.

thus be displayed—perhaps not to the husband's guest in the next room but certainly to the viewer of the picture.

Another type of text within the category of guides for women's edification was catalogs of bridal trousseau items. An example of such a text is *Illustrated Collection of Bridal Trousseau Items* (*Konrei dōgu zushū,* ca. 1790).[67] The bridal trousseaus of elite women, as well as those for the debut of a courtesan, often included tea utensils. In a guide like *Illustrated Collection of Bridal Trousseau Items,* commoner women could see extensive illustrations of these items. For the category of tea utensils alone, some forty-five pages cover items ranging from utensil stands to tea bowls, cold water jars, and tea caddies.[68] This guide, then, was a reference book for commoner women that informed them of what to aspire to in terms of material possessions, whereas other guides that included this information focused more specifically on cultivating physical appearance. Combined with written information and the illustrations in other guides, *Illustrated Collection of Bridal Trousseau Items* gave a commoner woman all the information she would need to equip herself, or possibly her daughter, with the accouterments of genteel femininity.

In presenting tea as a way of learning to be graceful, edification guides were appealing to commoner women's aspirations to acquire genteel femininity. In the Edo period, femininity was understood, as in many societies, not as something that a woman naturally possessed by the mere fact of inhabiting a female body. Rather, femininity needed to be cultivated. Moreover, there was no single, monolithic concept of femininity. Instead it was tied to status, resulting in different types and degrees of femininity.[69] Genteel femininity was one type of femininity. Though once cultivated exclusively by women of elite status, it gradually came to be the model to which wealthy commoner women also aspired. As Beverly Skeggs has argued, gender, when symbolically legitimated via class, can become a form of cultural capital.[70] In this way, genteel femininity became a form of symbolic-cultural capital in itself in the Edo period.

In relation to women in particular, sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has noted that they play the role of capital-bearing objects. They are repositories of the value and capital accrued by men.[71] In Bourdieu's analysis, "women . . . play the lead role in converting economic capital into symbolic capital for their families through the display of cultural taste."[72] In considering the lavish displays of fashion by wealthy commoner women in what often amounted to "fashion contests" in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Japan, we can see an example of women serving as capital-bearing objects.[73] An extreme example of this was the wife of a wealthy Edo merchant, Ishikawa Rokubei. Dressed elaborately and accompanied by attendants, she watched the shogun's procession in 1681 from a room overlooking the street, as if "showing off her tasteful dress to the shogun."[74] The shogun subsequently confiscated the family's property as punishment for the crimes of pride and extravagance.[75] Ishikawa's wife was displaying the economic capital of her husband through her actions and dress. The shogun was so offended precisely because this display showed the extent of the capital accumulation of merchants, with which many daimyo, and especially lesser samurai, could not compete. Similarly, women's bodies themselves could serve as capital-bearing objects. When a commoner woman moved with the grace and refinement usually associated with a samurai or court woman, she displayed her cultivation of genteel femininity. Tea, with its focus on the physical movements of walking, sitting, bowing, and handling of utensils, was a particularly suitable method of cultivation. Whether or not a woman could actually climb the social ladder through marriage, she could at the very least assume the appearance of higher status.

While Bourdieu's work helps us understand women's roles as capital-bearing objects in the Edo period, it is important to note that his work has been criticized by feminist scholars for seeing women only as capital-bearing objects and not as subjects who could accumulate capital in their own right.[76] At the same time, these scholars acknowledge that "it is not always easy to distinguish the difference between women's 'capital accumulating strategies' and the use of women by others as bearers of capital value for their families and kin."[77] In the case of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Japan, it is difficult to determine whether women were choosing to study tea of their own accord, for their own benefit, or whether they were encouraged to do so by their family for the benefit of others, particularly male family members. Most likely, it was never one or the other but a combination of both. Whatever the motivations were, female tea practitioners were accruing symbolic and cultural capital through their study of this art. That this served to enhance both their prestige and that of their families can be of no doubt.[78] According to Kato, women in post–World War II Japan have used the symbolic-cultural capital accrued through their study of tea "as a means of equilibrating themselves with, and at once defying, the economic and cultural (educational) capital unequally distributed to men—especially to their male family members."[79] In contrast, women in the Edo period, through their acquisition of this symbolic-cultural capital, appear to have been elevating themselves, not in relation to men, but in relation to other women who were their social superiors. It was a capital accumulation strategy aimed at bridging a status gap rather than a gender gap.

Displaying Civility

Economic growth led to an increasing number of women having access to education and leisure time, prerequisites for engaging in cultural practices like tea. Sections on tea culture in guides for women's edification evidence the popularization and commercialization of tea, as a refined cultural practice spread beyond a small elite to new social groups, including commoner women. This process was similar to the way in which works of court literature such as *The Tale of Genji* and *The Tales of Ise* came to be accepted as works valuable for commoner/non-elite women to read.[80] The spread of tea culture to commoner women was occurring at the same time that the large schools of tea, such as the Sen schools, were putting in place systems to develop greater control

over tea culture and to benefit from its popularization. Sections on tea culture in edification guides betray no hint of tea school involvement, however. They do not advocate any particular tea schools for women to study in. In fact, many guides suggest that their section on tea culture alone will provide all of the necessary information for a woman to become knowledgeable in tea culture. This suggests that the popularization of tea culture among women was occurring despite the emergence of the *iemoto* system, and that women were becoming participants in tea culture without officially joining a tea school.

At the same time that tea culture was popularized among commoner women, genteel femininity became a form of symbolic-cultural capital in itself, and knowledge of tea was one component of this model of femininity. Through edification guides, this model was held up for commoner women to emulate. Tea thus became "essential knowledge" for all women wanting to insinuate themselves into "proper" society in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Japan. It was no longer just an accomplishment for elite women of the court and military aristocracy.

The reasons presented to women for studying tea, as well as the limited range of tea practice recommended for women, indicate that the purpose of women's tea practice, as conceived in edification guides, was to learn etiquette and deportment. Thus, what Kato calls the *temae* as *sahō* discourse can actually be seen to have earlier roots than the period of Westernization and nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Kato argues it was developed.[81] In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the "nondominant group" using tea "to obtain symbolic-cultural capital" was not women as a whole but lower-status women who were aiming to "equilibrate" themselves with higher-status women. To reiterate an earlier point, it was a capital accumulation strategy aimed at a bridging a status gap rather than a gender gap.

The development of women's tea practice in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is therefore less a reflection of changing gender norms or ideology than it is a reflection of the commercialization and popularization of tea culture. The spread of writings on women's tea practice—from *A Woman's Handbook,* which was specifically addressed to women of the imperial and military aristocracy, to guides for women's edification aimed at wealthy commoners—reflects this trend. More broadly, this development can be described as part of a "civilizing process" whereby norms of social behavior and appearance, particularly comportment and manners, were disseminated from the elite to wealthy commoners, or from the upper class to the middle class. "Civility" was

part of "the equation of common learning."[82] The body was one site for this civilizing process, and women's bodies in particular could serve as capital-bearing objects that displayed both their individual acquisition of civility and that of their families. By the late Edo period, then, writings on tea practice for women contained all of the ideas we have come to associate with the modern (post-Edo-period) discourse on tea practice for women.

Chapter 5

Guides for Modern Life

Over the course of the Meiji period (1868–1912), tea culture became reinvented as traditional, Japanese, and feminine. New reasons for why women should practice tea appeared. The extent and nature of this change become clear only when we view the Meiji period in a wider frame that includes the preceding Edo period.[1] In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, heightening one's status was a desired outcome of learning tea for women of lower samurai and commoner status. In the Meiji period, status took on a new meaning, as the Tokugawa status system was abolished and as changing values ascribed even more importance to the accumulation of wealth through entrepreneurial activity. There was a new and growing middle class who were upwardly mobile and aspired to acquire some of the values, tastes, and modes of behavior of the old court and warrior elite, while at the same time combining them with modern values and tastes.

Guides for women's edification continued to play to women's aspirations to acquire genteel femininity—a genteel femininity that was specifically branded Japanese. In a social context of modernization and national identity-making, edification guides presented tea practice to women as a way of creating a harmonious home, a form of self-cultivation, and an occupation (as a tea teacher). Popular writings linked learning tea with modern, rational values, particularly for women of the lower classes. For example, learning tea was linked with efficient household management.

Situating Tea Culture in Meiji Japan

At the end of the nineteenth century, Japan began a rapid transition to a modern nation-state. The Meiji Restoration of 1868 installed the emperor as the head of a new political structure, replacing the

previous system of government that split rule between the shogun and daimyo. This political revolution ushered in a raft of changes at all levels of society. It is important to understand these changes, and the cultural policies and politics of the Meiji period, in order to contextualize the history of tea culture at this time. In 1871 the domains that governed the Tokugawa polity were abolished, and prefectures established in their place. The status system established by the Tokugawa shogunate was officially dismantled in 1872. A new aristocracy now included the upper strata of former samurai. The commoner class expanded, with many lower-ranking former samurai joining that class, as did former outcastes (*eta* and *hinin*), who were now raised to commoner status.[2] Former samurai also lost their stipends after conscription was introduced in the 1870s, along with any suggestion that they performed a military function. Whereas status had been a key organizing principle of Tokugawa society, in Meiji Japan almost all members of society were now on equal footing legally as imperial subjects. Nonetheless, status in the sense of how others in society perceive a person and that person's standing relative to others remained important. This was relevant for tea culture, which maintained its connection to elite society and values, so that even those of lower socioeconomic status who participated benefited from this association.

The cornerstone of Meiji social and cultural policy was "civilization and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*), with Western norms being the standard by which these were measured. Markers of samurai difference that smacked of the old era, such as the wearing of swords and topknots by men, fell out of favor and were eventually proscribed. Women stopped blackening their teeth and shaving their eyebrows, with Empress Haruko (1849–1914; also known as Shōken) leading the way in giving up these customs. Education was a key part of the drive for civilization and enlightenment. In 1872, sixteen months of compulsory education was introduced, and in 1886 this education requirement was extended to four years. These reforms had a significant impact on opportunities for girls in particular, yet it is clear that education for girls in Meiji Japan was built on foundations laid in the Edo period.[3]

The aim for girls' education was to prepare them for their roles as "good wives and wise mothers" (*ryōsai kenbo*), another key ideology of the Meiji state that gained currency from the 1890s. A curriculum oriented around this ideology found its way into primary schools and, from 1899, into girls' higher schools, which were established in every prefecture.[4] In reality, this was an ideal only for middle- and upper-class

women, because women's education and roles were defined according to class. Lower-class women in both urban and rural areas were expected to work and contribute to the newly industrialized economy. For the aspirational middle class, no longer bound by an official status system, "good wife, wise mother" became the new model of genteel femininity to be emulated, where once the model was court and warrior aristocratic women.

A typical example of good-wife, wise-mother ideology put into practice can be found in the aims stated by the Chiba Prefectural Girls' High School in 1900: "Training in the qualities of grace and nobility together with the knowledge in the skills of arts and sciences necessary for life, as well as the cultivation of the virtues of gentleness and feminine modesty and imparting the good customs of diligence and economy in order to one day become good wives and wise mothers."[5] As the first education minister, Mori Arinori (1847–1889), explained, there was a clear link between the development of good wives and wise mothers and "national tranquility."[6] Women bore the responsibility of creating harmonious homes and thereby ensuring tranquility in the nation, for the home was considered the foundation on which the nation was built.[7] In contrast to Western countries at the time, the home in Japan was understood as belonging to the public, rather than private, sphere.[8] We will see below how these ideas about women's roles in the home figured in popular discourses on tea culture in Meiji Japan.

Good-wife, wise-mother ideology had much in common with Edo-period notions of femininity for women of samurai and upper commoner status. It is no coincidence that such traits were part of public discourse from the 1890s, for the preceding decade had seen a shift in state and public thinking about the place of Japanese culture and values in this new, modern society. The early years of the Meiji period saw a turn toward Western customs, values, and cultural practices, but from the 1880s (or what is often described as "mid-Meiji"), a more nuanced and complex discussion emerged around the question of Japanese identity. The contrast between the outward-looking view espoused in the Imperial Charter Oath of 1868, which "discarded" the "evil practices of the past," and the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education, which reinforced Confucian values, is often pointed to by historians as signifying the mid-Meiji shift toward an emphasis on the Japanese past as a way to build for the future. As a reaction against perceived rampant and indiscriminate Westernization, there was a movement to "return" to native Japanese culture and practices.[9] Japan was also more confident in its

place in the world, having survived the initial threat of Western imperialism and become a successful military power itself, with the defeat of China in 1895 and Russia in 1905. A 1906 edification guide, for example, referred to a recent rise in popularity of tea culture, which it attributed to "a reaction against the fashion for European things and political reform, as a result of the temporary lull after the war [the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905]."[10]

Japan's increased presence on the international stage also played a role in Meiji-period efforts to establish Japan's national identity. While Japanese artists began to train under and emulate Western painters at new fine arts schools, Western painters such as Claude Monet found inspiration in traditional Japanese woodblock prints and aesthetics. The high opinion held by international audiences about Japanese art and culture helped fuel the rise of aesthetic nationalism. Tea culture, including its architecture, crafts, and aesthetic sensibilities such as rustic simplicity, was one of the traditional arts that was held up as a quintessentially Japanese practice, through which one could come to understand Japanese culture and identity. This view became a selling point in promoting knowledge or experiences of tea culture to foreign audiences and the study of tea culture to domestic audiences.

This mid-Meiji remaking of Japanese tradition offered tea schools an opportunity to reposition themselves. It was an opportunity they needed, because the changing political landscape of Meiji Japan negatively affected the institutions of tea culture. As described in chapter 1, for example, the three Sen schools had each held a hereditary position as the tea advisers for specific domains. With the abolition of the shogunate and the daimyo, these hereditary posts and their associated income also disappeared. The tea schools faced something of a crisis. They needed new students to increase their income, and they had to compete for these students in a marketplace that now included Western cultural activities. The Sen schools took advantage of the new climate more successfully than other schools, laying the foundation for their dominance in the post–World War II landscape of tea culture. Gengensai, the head of Urasenke, led the initial revival of the Sen, petitioning against the categorization of tea masters as "entertainers" by the Kyoto prefectural government in 1872.[11] In his letter, known as "The Basic Idea of the Way of Tea" (Chado no geni'i), Gengensai rejected the notion that tea was an entertainment and instead advocated its neo-Confucian credentials: "The original meaning of the way of tea lies in diligent pursuit of the five virtues, filial conduct and loyalty."[12] Gengensai also seized the

opportunity to open tea up to new markets. For example, he created a tea procedure that could be done using tables and chairs for an International Exposition held in Kyoto in 1872, to appeal both to Westerners and to the Japanese among whom Western things were in vogue.[13] Large-scale tea gatherings and ceremonial tea offerings at shrines were another new format that attracted a large number of participant observers and gave the schools that organized them wide exposure.[14]

The revival of tea culture was due in part to the interest shown in tea culture by the "new daimyo." These were wealthy businessmen, such as Masuda Takashi (1848–1938) of the Mitsui Trading Company, who used fortunes amassed through involvement in the new industrial, capitalist economy to acquire culture and learning, much as people had purchased access to cultural capital in the Edo period. The new daimyo were interested in a variety of Japanese arts, including tea culture. As daimyo had done before them, the new daimyo bought, gifted, sold, and displayed tea utensils and hosted tea gatherings as ways of exhibiting their wealth and forging connections.[15] Masuda saw himself as part of a continuum of "great men" who had "a taste for tea."[16] The interest in tea culture shown by men such as Masuda helped reelevate the status of tea culture in the early twentieth century, so that is was seen as an elite activity that belonged in the same sphere as big business and high-stakes politics.

Interest in tea culture within Japan was also fueled by international recognition that tea culture was a specifically Japanese cultural practice and aesthetic. Within Japan, this recognition elevated the image of tea culture to that of national symbol, initiating a circular process that continued to generate interest in tea. Particularly following the mid-Meiji cultural shift, the Japanese government, intellectuals, and tea masters sought to tell foreign and domestic audiences alike that *chanoyu* was a uniquely Japanese cultural practice and that the objects used in tea culture could be valued as art in the same way that Western paintings were. As Western audiences became more and more interested in tea culture, their enthusiasm was noticed in Japan, further fueling domestic discourses that associated the cultural practice with national identity. Tea was featured at Japanese exhibits in numerous world's fairs and international exhibitions, such as the Philadelphia fair of 1876, the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893, and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904.[17]

The publication in English of Okakura Kakuzō's *The Book of Tea* in 1906 introduced tea to a Western audience.[18] In addition, it gave the

Japanese a guide on how to explain tea to Westerners, particularly after it was translated into Japanese in 1929. In this work, Okakura set up a fundamental opposition between Japanese aesthetics, epitomized by tea culture, and Western aesthetics. He implied that tea culture was something intuitively understood by all Japanese, whether they practiced or not: "Our home and habits, costume and cuisine, porcelain, lacquer, painting—our very literature—all have been subject to its [tea culture's] influence. . . . Our peasants have learned to arrange flowers, our meanest labourer to offer his salutation to the rocks and waters."[19] Okakura believed that Westerners were incapable of understanding tea culture in the same way as Japanese: "The average Westerner, in his sleek complacency, will see in the tea ceremony but another instance of the thousand and one oddities which constitute the quaintness and childishness of the East to him."[20] It is hard to overestimate the impact of Okakura's work on how non-Japanese and Japanese alike see tea culture to this day and on the vocabulary used to describe tea culture.

Okakura's work also inspired later English-language publications such as Fukukita Yasunosuke's *Chanoyu: Tea Cult of Japan* and Arthur Sadler's *Chanoyu: The Japanese Tea Ceremony,* both of which were published in the 1930s.[21] As sociologist Kristin Surak has shown, the role of intellectuals such as Okakura was instrumental in creating "the now commonsense understanding, not only of the tea ceremony as self-evidently Japanese, but of its status as a symbol of the country."[22] So evident was this understanding that in 1934 the aforementioned Fukukita stated, "Nothing is more closely associated with the arts and crafts of Japan than *Cha-no-yu.*"[23]

Around the same time that the process was under way by which tea culture came to be seen as quintessentially Japanese, tea began to be incorporated into formal school curricula for both public and private girls' schools. This timing also aligned with the implementation of the "good wife, wise mother"–oriented curriculum for girls' education. The inclusion of tea in the curriculum of girls' schools during the Meiji period is well documented, so it will not be dealt with in great detail here.[24] Suffice it to say that schools such as the Atomi Girls' School in Tokyo (established by Atomi Kakei [1840–1926]), Atomi Gakuen, and what would become the Kyoto Prefectural Girls' School included the study of tea as an addition to, and sometimes a replacement for, general etiquette courses from the 1870s.[25] As Yoshiho Kobayashi and Kristin Surak have discussed, tea classes were even one way in which Japaneseness was instilled in young women studying at schools in the outer reaches of the

nation (places such as Hokkaido) and, later, of the empire (Taiwan, for example).[26] Within a context of national identity-making centered on a return to native practices, and of gender identity-making focused on women's proper behavior and role in the home, tea was well positioned to play a role in girls' education. Indeed, in Meiji edification guides the ability to create a harmonious home—one of the duties of a good wife and wise mother—was promoted as an outcome of tea practice. It is to these guides that our discussion now turns, for more than anything else, popular writings of the Meiji period reveal the continuities and changes between Edo and Meiji frameworks for women's tea practice.

Meiji Writings on Women's Tea Practice

In their visual style and content, many Meiji edification guides reflected their debt to the Edo-period publishing industry. The practice of dividing the pages into a narrow upper section and a larger lower section was still widely used, for example. Phonetic glossing continued to be provided for kanji in most guides. Early modern popular writings included tea culture alongside other topics related to elite women's education and upbringing, such as playing the koto and *shamisen,* incense appreciation, *waka* poetry composition, and teeth blackening. In the Meiji period this type of publication continued to find a market, although in the new climate topics like teeth blackening, which quickly fell out of favor after Westerners commented negatively on it, were gone.[27] In their place were sections on Western cooking, Western clothing, or Western manners. Many of the subjects in early modern edification guides still had a place in their Meiji counterparts, only now they were categorized as Japanese cooking, Japanese clothing, and Japanese manners. Tea was a topic that easily made the transition from early modern to Meiji guides. It still had its place among other traditional subjects such as *waka* poetry composition, flower arrangement, and incense appreciation. By subsuming the topic of tea under headings like "Japanese manners" and "Japanese customs," these guides positioned tea culture within what Surak calls a national framework.[28]

Edification guides featuring sections on tea culture began to reappear from the late 1880s, timing that fits with the revival of tea culture as outlined above. The firm Hakubunkan was tapping into an eager market in the 1890s when it published guides such as *Japanese Women's Etiquette* (*Nihon joreishiki,* 1891) and *Compendium of Japanese Women's Etiquette* (*Nihon joreishiki taizen,* 1897).[29] The earlier of these two works

presents an eclectic mix of modern and more traditional topics, and Japanese customs are contrasted with both Western and Chinese. Tea is covered in a chapter titled "The Arts," which also contains information on *waka* poetry composition, koto playing, and incense appreciation. Other chapters include "Childbirth," "Education," "Cooking" (both Japanese and Western), and "Business/Finance." The chapter "Marriage" is divided into three sections: "Japanese marriage customs," "Western marriage customs," and "Chinese marriage customs."

The chapter on tea in *Japanese Women's Etiquette,* entitled "Learning about the Way of Tea," begins with basic information about the "founder" of tea, Sen no Rikyū, and the two seasons in tea, winter and summer. This is followed by three pages of illustrations of all the main utensils used in tea. Finally, detailed, step-by-step, instructions are given for various tea procedures, such as laying the charcoal and ash; the basic procedures for the summer and winter seasons; and the procedure for making thick tea in a four-and-a-half-mat room. With thirty-seven pages of information on tea, much of which is taken up with the minutiae of specific tea procedures, this was surely intended to be a practical, hands-on guide to tea practice.[30] The later work, *Compendium of Japanese Women's Etiquette,* is divided into two volumes but has fewer pages than the earlier work, and the content and organization of the material has some variations. The section on tea, entitled "Information about the Way of Tea," is slightly longer and goes into even greater detail about aspects of tea culture not covered in the earlier book, such as the sequence of a tea gathering, how to conduct and attend a tea gathering, and tearoom layouts. It also retains some of the same step-by-step instructions of procedures from the earlier work.[31]

In addition to new texts featuring information on tea for women, some earlier texts were reprinted in the mid-Meiji period. Okamoto Katei's *Woman's Treasury* (*Johō*), for example, was published by the firm Kin'ōdō in 1891, some forty-one years after the author's death in 1850.[32] The publisher must have felt that an early nineteenth-century guide for women was still relevant at the close of the century, despite the monumental changes in social life that had occurred in the intervening decades. The text has information on child-rearing practices, sewing clothes, knitting with wool, gifts for the four seasons, women's etiquette, playing the *shamisen,* and flower arrangement, as well as tea culture. The chapter on tea, which covers some fifty-six pages, is divided into twelve subsections on how to make a garden for a teahouse; the wood used for a teahouse arbor; the walls and fittings used in a teahouse; the tatami mats; the size

and layout of tearooms; and specific aspects of tea gatherings, such as the *kaiseki* meal and the roles of host and guest.[33] Finally, there are instructions on how to prepare both thin and thick tea and how to lay the charcoal. Much of the information in this guide is similar to that found in Meiji-period texts, even though it was written approximately half a century before. This suggests not only continuity in the content and style of presentation but also the enduring popularity of such works.

Edo-period edification guides tended toward conveying general information about tea culture and often stated that it was enough for women to learn how to make thin tea and be a guest for thick tea. By contrast, Meiji guides are extremely detailed and give step-by-step instructions on each particular part of tea culture. They do not limit the information women should know to making thin tea but also include information on making thick tea, the *kaiseki* meal, laying the charcoal, and the layout of tearooms and gardens. In some cases, the texts are so detailed they amount to teaching manuals. These Meiji writings continue to advocate the importance, even necessity, of women studying tea, with statements such as, "The Way of Tea is particularly something that women must have knowledge of."[34] Significantly, Meiji guides also provide far more lengthy and detailed information on the history of Japanese tea culture, a topic Edo-period guides never dwelt on. For example, the section on tea in *Compendium of Japanese Women's Etiquette* begins by outlining the history of *chanoyu* tea culture in "our country," from the Ashikaga shogunate, continuing through the lives of tea masters such as Murata Shukō (1423–1502) and Sen no Rikyū, then naming the various schools that emerged in the Edo period.[35] As Surak suggests, the focus on history in Meiji popular writings for women inserted tea culture into a "national narrative."[36] Analyzing this interest in tea history within a broader Edo-Meiji frame, we can see that it was a new development that clearly linked the practice of tea with the cultivation of national identity.

Another guide, *Women's Kingdom* (*Joshi no ōkoku,* 1903), told readers that the skills learned in tea were applicable to the lives of all women, regardless of class. For example, for lower-class women who spent much of their time in the kitchen, having even a little knowledge of the procedures for making tea would help them organize their kitchen better.[37] The famous Meiji-period educator Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901), by contrast, wrote, "One cannot apply the elegance of music, tea ceremony, and flower arrangement to the kitchen . . . [and therefore] to indulge in them, after all, is a kind of pleasurable pastime, since these

arts are not of actual use in everyday living or in the actual management of the home."[38] According to the author of *Women's Kingdom,* though, even women who did not spend time in the kitchen cooking (presumably those of the upper class) would benefit from learning how to lay charcoal, boil water, and make tea.[39] The author did not elaborate on why, though we may assume that the benefits of learning tea for upper-class women were, as in the early modern period, connected to status and appearance. In her 1905 book, *Japanese Girls and Women,* American author Alice Mabel Bacon noted, "It is said by Japanese versed in the most refined ways that a woman who has learned the tea ceremony thoroughly is easily known by her superior bearing and manner on all occasions."[40] Such reasoning had been expressed by authors of guides for women's edification since the eighteenth century. It still had resonance in the Meiji period.

Like their earlier counterparts, Meiji edification guides were not produced by specific tea schools, and sections on tea culture were part of texts dealing with various subjects thought to be of interest to women. *Handy Manual for Sewing Japanese Clothes* (*Wafuku saihō tehodoki,* 1907), for example, devoted seventy pages to information on tea culture—detailing every aspect of a tea gathering, from the arrangements beforehand to the farewells at the end—although the primary subject of the text, as the title indicates, was sewing.[41] Probably because the guides were produced by educators, special interest associations, and commercial publishing firms, very few of them advocated one school of tea over another. The majority listed the names of numerous schools, and some noted that the Sen schools were the most popular at the time. *A Precious Mirror for Women's Daily Use in the Home* (*Katei nichiyō fujo hōkan,* 1912), for example, mentioned twelve schools of tea but noted that Edosenke was especially popular because it did not follow the complicated styles of old but was simple and therefore suited to the current mood.[42]

In addition to the continued publication of guides for women's edification, a new type of publication for women emerged in the Meiji period—magazines. The magazine industry was diverse, but some of the same companies that produced the guides, such as Hakubunkan, were also involved in publishing women's magazines. *Schoolgirls' World* (*Jogaku sekai*) was one of that firm's top-selling magazines from 1900 to 1925. The cost (20 sen per issue) meant the magazine was "not suited to the average young woman's pocketbook."[43] Its audience would largely have consisted of girls in higher schools, who were a small elite.[44] In its

aim and contents *Schoolgirls' World* shared many similarities with guides for women's edification. In the second issue of the magazine, the editor stated its purpose:

> [*Schoolgirls' World* aims] to supplement those areas that are lacking in women's education today. By soliciting articles from authorities in the field of education, we will cover all facets of knowledge that a woman needs in order to become enlightened and knowledgeable in the necessary techniques required for understanding her household work. We hope to help form wise mothers and good wives.[45]

In line with this aim, *Schoolgirls' World* featured articles on "traditional" subjects, like tea. In 1901 it carried a series of four articles entitled "Tea Manual" (Chanoyu tebiki), for example.[46] These articles, written by the head of the relatively small Rikyū tea school, presented similar information to that covered in guides such as *Japanese Women's Etiquette*. The first article covered the times of day, seasons, and rooms for tea gatherings; the greetings between host and guest; and how to enter and sit in a tearoom. This information, according to the author, was enough to hold a regular tea gathering.[47] The following month's article covered the placement of the utensils, the procedures for laying charcoal, and the *kaiseki* meal. In the third installment, the basic procedure for making thick tea was explained, and in the final article the topic was the procedure for making thin tea.

Women's Education Magazine (*Jogaku zasshi*) targeted a middle- and upper-class audience of "enlightened Meiji youth."[48] It aimed "to improve women's condition by combining the Western ideals of the emancipated woman with native ideals of feminine grace."[49] As part of these efforts, the magazine featured articles on subjects such as tea culture, flower arrangement, and *waka* poetry composition, particularly in the early years of its publication, 1885 and 1886.[50] Articles on tea were briefer but similar in tone and content to those found in *Schoolgirls' World*.[51] Whether in edification guides or magazines, basic information on tea culture—its history, utensils, tea gatherings, and procedures—was disseminated to women through commercial publications in the mid- to late Meiji period.

Sugoroku board games also continued to provide a visual counterpart to the information discussed in guides. As in the Edo period, Meiji-period *sugoroku* depicted women engaged in activities such as playing the koto and making tea. Sugoroku *of the Shogun's Inner Quarters* (*Matsu*

toku aoi nigi ōoku sugoroku, 1895) reflected the interest in native Japanese activities in mid-Meiji, particularly those associated with elite women of leisure. Both its imagery and title, which harked back to the previous era, evinced a certain level of nostalgia for the past.[52]

Tea and Modern Life

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the demand continued among women for guides featuring information on tea culture, flower arrangement, *waka* poetry composition, cooking, and manners. In the case of tea, the basic information continued to be presented in much the same way, but more commentary was given on the relationship between tea and contemporary society than previously (in either the mid-Meiji or the Edo period).[53] One guide, *Instructions on Housework for Women* (*Joshi kajikun jōkan,* 1901–1903), specifically referred to the growth in women's tea practice. Noting that tea used to be practiced by samurai men as a way of learning to move gently and to cultivate a calm heart, its author observed, "In recent times many women have attained mastery [of tea]. It must be because it is well suited to their naturally graceful disposition."[54] Thus, the connection between women's practicing tea and attaining gracefulness, which featured in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century popular writings on tea culture for women, continued into the twentieth century. There was also an awareness that the gender demographics of the tea world were changing.

A new area of discussion that emerged in popular writings about tea practice for women was the relationship between tea and household management. *Katei* (home) was a term introduced in the popular media in the late 1880s and 1890s.[55] In contrast with the earlier term *ie* (household), *katei* had connotations of Westernization and industrialization.[56] The work of a good wife and wise mother in the home was a matter not of private interest but of public interest and became the focus of reform efforts by educators and public intellectuals. Magazines featured statements such as, "Women must strive to make the family pleasant and harmonious so as to create a place to educate a fine national citizenry"[57] and "Our aim is to teach the methods by which to achieve a harmonious home, thereby promoting the development of the dignity and morality of the national citizenry."[58]

The term *katei* enjoyed such popularity that it was purportedly used in magazine and book titles to boost sales, with one observer commenting, "Soon even *onna gidayū* [women's ballad chanting] and *rakugo*

[comic storytelling] will be crowned by the word *katei.*"[59] He was not far off; tea, for instance, was included as a *katei*-related topic in several late Meiji edification guides bearing this term in their title.[60]

The connection between tea and the home was explained in the guide *Women's Self-Improvement and Practicality* (*Fujin shūyō to jissai,* 1911):

> If you incorporate the spirit of the manners and etiquette of the tea-room into the home, and apply this to the family's day-to-day behavior and deportment, the organization of the home will be put in perfect order. You will naturally acquire manners toward your superiors, the husband and wife will grow closer together, and siblings will not fight; the pleasure of a happy family will be made all the more splendid.[61]

Here, knowledge of tea culture was described as one way to bring happiness and harmony to the home. In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writings, cultivation of the individual woman was a touted outcome of tea practice. In the early twentieth century, the benefits of an individual woman's tea practice extended beyond her to the family (consisting of husband, wife, and children) and home life. Given that the home was a microcosm of the national polity, this harmony would then extend to the nation.

Women's Self-Improvement and Practicality also connected tea with another modern idea—self-improvement (*shūyō*). This term came into vogue in the early twentieth century and "encompassed a variety of different meanings, evoking connotations of 'character building,' 'moral training,' and 'spiritual and cultural growth.'"[62] In this particular guide, the meaning of "self-improvement" is best described as "spiritual and cultural growth." According to its authors, women could achieve this growth through the study of tea: "The Way of Tea is an excellent form of etiquette that women should certainly study." As Ōguchi Shōō had done, the authors of this text drew explicit links between tea culture and "the three philosophies of Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism." Despite this similarity, in the early twentieth century, it was no longer necessary to justify writing about women's tea practice, as Shōō had done: "Today the Way of Tea has become a woman's accomplishment."[63] Instead, the authors of *Women's Self-Improvement and Practicality* were wary of criticism that tea was about no more than "etiquette": "Essentially, what is called *chanoyu* has as its true aim the cultivation of the spirit. . . . It is a mistake to think that it is a tool of etiquette or a tool of society."[64]

The guide then goes on to make explicit connections between studying tea and improving one's day-to-day manners and behavior and, beyond that, one's character or spirit:

> To master tea thoroughly is difficult, but even with a little knowledge you will be possessed with natural manners, and because your behavior will become elegant, without any effort your heart will become gentle. Manners towards your superiors and loving benevolence as well, these I think, will surely develop through the Way of Tea. Sitting in one tea-room and participating together in tea with pure and innocent hearts, you will be mastering the same path together. Needless to say, there will be no distinction between male or female, young or old, high or low, rich or poor. As everyone's hearts will come to understand each other, it is a self-evident truth that mutual love and affection will develop.[65]

A strong argument in favor of learning tea for the purposes of self-cultivation is put forward in *Women's Self-Improvement and Practicality.* Learning tea would improve a woman's manners and etiquette but, more importantly, it would cultivate her soul and give her tools for life.

Nonetheless, the image of tea in society was not entirely positive at this time, and the authors of *Women's Self-Improvement and Practicality* took great pains to respond to criticism that participating in tea culture required one to own expensive utensils: "This is an absolute misunderstanding of the true aim of the Way of Tea. Indeed, tea utensils are the same as school teaching materials. . . . People who say that you cannot master the Way of Tea without utensils are completely mistaken."[66] To counteract the criticisms leveled at tea culture by some, the authors emphasized modesty. Not needing expensive utensils, for example, would help women cultivate the virtue of frugality, which was one of the feminine virtues identified by the state and educators.[67]

Thus, whereas Edo-period popular writings gave women very practical reasons to study tea—because it was popular, it would help a woman become graceful, and it could help a woman gain a position in service—some late Meiji guides presented a more philosophical and spiritual reasoning. They suggested that etiquette and deportment were not the sole purpose of study. Cultural and spiritual cultivation was the primary goal—for the individual woman, for her family, and for the nation. As in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it was still not taken for granted that women should study tea, although there was recognition of the changing demographics of tea practitioners. Women's in-

volvement still needed to be justified through articulation of the benefits gained from learning tea. In the Edo period, tea had been described as a hobby that a woman could take up if she had spare time and if she ensured that she put her duty as a wife and mother first. Now, in the late Meiji period, studying tea was promoted as part of a woman's role as a wife and mother. It would help her fulfill her obligations to her family and the nation. These ideas were expressed through modern concepts such as "home" and "self-improvement."

Teaching Tea

The possibility of turning knowledge of tea culture into a livelihood was a new topic in Meiji-period writings on tea practice for women. *Guide to Occupations for Women* (*Joshi shokugyō annai,* 1906), for example, carried a section on being a tea teacher (*sadō kyōshi*).[68] The text was published by Hakubunkan and written by Kondō Shōichi, an educator and the author of numerous works for women on subjects such as the home and education. At least one of his guides, *Handbook for the Home* (*Katei hōten,* 1906), featured a section on tea.[69] Other livelihoods discussed in *Guide to Occupations for Women* included schoolteacher, musician, flower arrangement teacher, photographer, midwife, post office clerk, telephone operator, instructor of Noh music for women, seamstress and sewing teacher, and factory worker. That is, it presented a mixture of modern and more traditional occupations for women.

With respect to tea culture, this guide echoes *Women's Self-Improvement and Practicality* in explaining why tea teachers are held in low opinion by some segments of society:

> From the time of the Restoration until Meiji 14 or 15 [1881/1882], such things as tea were perceived by society to be useless jobs done purely by men of leisure; there was no one who would talk about tea. Also, so-called tea people [*chajin*] have from long ago had biases of many kinds, such as toward utensils that look dirty or sooty, as well as rejoicing in types of utensils that are excessive, sparing no expense [on them].[70]

Nevertheless, *Guide to Occupations for Women* encourages women to see the benefits of studying tea culture:

> When making inquiries about marriage and so forth, if you can say that you can do tea, it is said that your value as a very fine bride will

> increase, so nowadays optional courses of study or elective courses are being included as subjects in girls' schools. . . . Especially for schoolgirls, for learning deportment, tea is all the more necessary.[71]

Turning to the specific subject of the book, occupations, the author tells readers:

> *Chanoyu*—that is, making tea—is in an extremely popular period, so upper-class women first of all, down to women of the middle class and below, are learning it. So we are in a state where those teachers [of tea] are flourishing innumerably with great prosperity these [past] three years. This is the situation, so it is becoming all the more fashionable, no matter which school. . . . It can be rightly said that it is a fine thing [for women to do].[72]

Next, the guide gives a brief outline of tea culture, focusing on the different schools in particular. The text criticizes those teachers and students who simply buy and sell certificates of proficiency without regard for the practitioner's skill level. Finally, specific advice is given for women considering becoming a tea teacher:

> Now, to become a regular tea teacher at a girls' school or to be able to put up a sign outside your house for teaching tea to neighborhood girls, it is enough to know the information on the basic tea-making procedure [*hirademae*], using the sunken hearth and brazier, and how to put out the *kaiseki* meal. It can be said that it is not necessary to have learned up to the level of the thick tea procedures. But it is also fine to have an understanding of thick tea procedures; this is enough to be counted among those within the category of extremely good master. Nowadays, those who instruct in the Way of Tea who have knowledge of [higher-level] *daitenmoku* or *shin no daisu* procedures . . . are few, because there are not many people taking lessons in these procedures. So, though calling yourself a teacher, it is not necessary to know these things. In order to be able to teach people the regular procedures for making thin tea, if you have fairly frequent classes, with one or one and a half years' learning you can generally become a teacher and hang up a sign. But of course it depends on each person's skill or lack of skill. In saying this, though, there are people who think it is difficult to become a very good teacher and will say months and years of learning are not enough, five or ten years of tea lessons are vital, but this is an

> old-fashioned way of thinking. In this busy time . . . when it is possible to graduate from university in four or five years, there is no fool who would waste time studying the Way of Tea for a long period of time. Even if you do not do this, you can study very well.[73]

Becoming a tea teacher thus appears to have been an attractive choice; a woman could reach the necessary level of knowledge within a short time frame and choose to work either from home or at a school. Interestingly, no mention is made of the costs involved in setting oneself up as a tea teacher, such as investment in utensils and a tearoom. The author does, however, spend considerable time covering the practical matter of income:

> Usually the monthly fee for one class per week is fifty sen. There is also a separate fee for "outside classes"—that is, when the teacher goes out from her home to teach. If it is a class within the teacher's home, the monthly fee is one yen, or two yen for an outside class, at the lower end of the scale. Over that, if you are asked out to a wealthy person's house there may be no limit; [you might receive] one yen per time or at an even better house around two yen plus money to cover the sweets and your transport. . . . If you have ten students coming to classes in your home, you can live a good lifestyle. . . . You cannot say so simply how much a tea teacher earns in a month, for it depends on the number of students, and on the type of students, but at the least it will be ten yen or more, up to eleven or twelve yen; the middle ground would be twenty yen. Contrary to one's expectations, the income is not much.[74] A teacher of tea alone may have a difficult lifestyle, so many are teachers of flower arrangement or etiquette at the same time. . . . Then there are those people who have regular lessons once or twice a week at a girls' school who will receive at least ten yen, if not up to twelve yen . . . and on other days they can also teach lessons in their home. . . . Those who are teachers at one or two schools have a regular monthly income, so it stands to reason that there some tea teachers who eagerly work at a school.[75]

While some promoters of tea culture focused on more idealistic goals of self-cultivation and creating a harmonious home, *Guide to Occupations for Women* advocated pragmatic reasons for women to study. Of course, a student of tea would learn manners, etiquette, and deportment, thereby becoming an attractive catch in the marriage market. The

study of tea could also lead to a financially comfortable lifestyle through teaching, though teaching tea alone may not have provided enough income.[76] By way of comparison, the incomes suggested for other occupations were as follows: a primary schoolteacher could receive on average thirty-five to forty yen a month, though the amount could be as little as ten yen or as high as seventy-five yen a month, depending on her level;[77] a photographer could earn on average fifteen to seventeen yen a month, and as much as forty-five yen a month if she was particularly talented;[78] a post office clerk's daily wages could be between fifteen and forty-five sen;[79] and a factory worker's daily wages could be between seventeen and twenty-five sen, and even up to fifty to sixty sen for a highly skilled worker.[80] A tea teacher's average income of between twelve and twenty yen a month was thus in the middle range for women, and her income could move toward the higher end if she supplemented it by teaching other subjects such as flower arranging.

Even limited knowledge was apparently enough to become a tea teacher, suggesting that there must have been a proliferation of teachers and a high demand for their services. A student's average monthly fee of fifty sen for tea classes, as listed in *Guide to Occupations for Women,* would have been affordable for a woman of an established middle-class family or above. According to one estimate, the "typical middle-class family had a monthly income of one hundred yen or more" in 1900, while for the "new middle class, composed of government officials and company employees" it was about fifty to one hundred yen, with real expenses totaling around forty-seven yen.[81] For the new middle class and working class, with an average monthly income of sixteen to twenty yen in 1910, studying tea may have been more of an aspiration than a reality.[82] Yet, for those who could afford to study for a few years, the chance to become a teacher and supplement the family income with up to twenty yen a month was perhaps an attractive option.

Expanding the Frame

The modern associations of women's tea practice with Japaneseness, femininity, and self-cultivation developed in the context of monumental social and political change. Although the popularity of tea culture and the finances of the schools that taught it came under threat in the early Meiji rush to modernize and Westernize, this was short-lived. Coinciding with a renewed interest in "traditional" Japanese culture domestically and the positive evaluation of that culture in the West

was a focus on the cultivation of "good wives and wise mothers" in girls' education. This context made the conditions ripe for promoting tea culture as a way of learning to become a good Japanese woman. Yet, as in the Edo period, the dissemination of such ideas was undertaken not only by tea schools. The message was also taken up by popular writers, educators, magazine editors, and popular organizations such as the Japan Household Economy Association. They linked tea culture to modern ideas about the home and self-cultivation and presented tea culture within a national narrative that was increasingly gendered as female.

Although the Meiji period was clearly a time of major transformation in tea culture as women came to study in large numbers and as tea was linked with Japanese national identity, the significance of the former development seems to have been overstated in existing scholarship. Neglecting to include the tea practice of Edo period women in the narrative of tea culture history makes the overwhelmingly female practice of tea in modern Japan appear to be at odds with the early modern past. Writings on tea practice for women from the Edo period reveal that associations with feminine cultivation predate the Meiji period by some 150 years. As we have seen, these associations were framed in different ways: for elite women, tea practice was linked to the development of morals and spiritual growth; for commoner women, tea practice was touted as a way to learn comportment and etiquette. In both cases genteel femininity was connected to tea culture. This was not the only way tea culture was understood, to be sure. Yet this connection shows that the contrast between the Edo and Meiji periods is not so much in the development of a feminine discourse on tea culture but rather that this feminine discourse came to be the dominant framework. The impact of social and political developments in the Meiji period added several new elements to this framework, notably the cultivation of national identity and the practical benefits of skillful household management, self-improvement, and teaching tea as an occupation.

Epilogue

By the early decades of the twentieth century, tea, femininity, and Japaneseness were inextricably linked in the popular imagination. These links continue to this day. In contemporary Japan, tea culture is associated with bridal training for young women and is seen as a hobby for middle-aged and older women. The association between tea culture and femininity is so strong today that male practitioners often go to great lengths to justify their participation, reminding others that tea culture was once a manly activity practiced by samurai warriors. Many male practitioners and male scholars of tea culture portray the feminization of tea culture as a negative phenomenon. A divide is perceived between men's tea practice, thought to be focused on an intellectual or philosophical understanding of tea culture and engagement with tea practice as a form of art connoisseurship, and women's tea practice. Women's tea practice is regarded as not having the rational, intellectual, or aesthetic dimensions that men's practice has. Rather, women's practice is thought to be focused only on learning comportment, etiquette, and manners.[1] The question of how tea culture came to be regarded as a feminine activity has not been sufficiently addressed in existing scholarship, nor has the question of why studying tea does not make men feminine and graceful if it is perceived as having such an effect for women.

Tea culture and the reasons why people should study it have always been linked to social values and expectations. In eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century popular writings, the accumulation of social and cultural capital in the form of genteel femininity was promoted as a reason for women to learn tea. In the late nineteenth century, women were told that tea practice was a form of self-cultivation linked to creating a positive home life. Then, in the 1910s and 1920s, self-cultivation came to include "modern" activities, such as reading novels and working outside the home. Yet "traditional" pursuits like tea still had a place,

depending on the individual woman's interpretation of the term "self-cultivation." A female office worker surveyed in 1922 explained, "For me, self-cultivation entails attending a nightly sewing class and taking lessons in tea ceremony and flower arrangement on the weekends."[2]

An article that appeared in the magazine *Schoolgirls' World* in 1916 made explicit the relationship between tea and self-cultivation. In "Cultivation of the Mind and Spirit through Tea" (Chadō to seishin shūyō), a tea master of the Tahogawa Enshū-gonomi school connected the learning of practical skills and etiquette with the attainment of spiritual enlightenment:

> The point of the Way of Tea is to reform women's behavior and cultivate the mind, especially to master the essence of Zen, so that they become accomplished in etiquette. . . . The meaning of tea—namely, this beautiful grace—is to create ladylike brightness, which is one kind of cultivation of the mind. . . . While it is necessary to brush up the techniques for being the housewife of the family, it should not be forgotten that the most important thing is to achieve a calm heart and compassion.[3]

Female educator Miwata Masako (1843–1927), the founder of Miwata Women's Higher School and the author of several books on women's education, also connected learning tea, self-cultivation, and Zen. In a chapter on women's amusements in a book on self-cultivation before marriage, Miwata wrote that tea, "having a trace of the flavor of Zen, is a place in which it is said that, in the midst of silence, comes peacefulness for the body and mind."[4] The link she makes between tea and Zen and the effects that tea study can have is strikingly similar to the discourse in *A Woman's Handbook,* the early eighteenth-century text discussed in chapters 2 and 3. Although we tend to associate studying tea with a form of self-cultivation for middle- and upper-class women in the early twentieth century, it appears that working-class women shared similar aspirations: "A recruitment flyer for Tokyo Muslin [a cloth-making factory] boasted that the moral benefits of employment included 'becoming a magnificent person' because they [employees] would receive training in 'sewing, flower arranging, tea ceremony, etiquette and manners.'"[5]

The interwar years of the 1920s were a time when the "good wife, wise mother" ideal for women was perceived to be under threat, from the apparently corrupting influence of the modern girl. The modern girl,

economically and emotionally independent, represented mainstream society's fears and anxieties about social change.[6] In this context, the image of the traditional Japanese woman was juxtaposed with the modern girl, while in reality many women's lives lay somewhere in between. For those who went outside the home to work, as increasing numbers of middle-class women did, it became important to cultivate the feminine and Japanese part of themselves.[7] As one tea master put it, "The young ladies of today, if they are looked at from the point of view of women of the past, are living vigorous and wise lives, but they should also have some beautiful and feminine part of themselves."[8] And as Miwata Masako reminded her readers, "[Tea] is not found in the West; it is, of course, a Japanese pastime."[9] From the clothing she wore to her style of makeup, the working woman was advised not to stray too far into the territory of a modern girl.[10] One magazine stated, "Only if the working women do not look like typical working women can they become truly thoughtful and aware women."[11] The painter Fujita Tsuguji (1886–1968) said, "When dressed in Japanese costume, [women] must behave according to Japanese customs of modesty and quiet, and it is wrong for them to imitate American movie actresses."[12] In her manners and deportment a woman could also express her identity. For those who wished to convey an image closer to that of the traditional Japanese woman than the modern girl, learning tea was one way to cultivate this identity.

A process that had begun in the eighteenth century and gained strength in the nineteenth century, whereby tea became associated with femininity, was fully developed by the 1930s. In 1935, concerns were raised that the members of the Takarazuka Revue, an all-female theatre troupe, were behaving "in a manly fashion in their daily lives," because these actresses were well-known for performing male roles. In order to quash such concerns, a senior female actor of male roles stated that she and the other actors were "all just 'ordinary girls' . . . who practice the tea ceremony and flower arrangement when not performing onstage."[13] Where once those writing about women's tea practice had to justify why they were encouraging women to study, now women tea practitioners themselves were articulating that a primary reason for their involvement in tea culture was to cultivate their gender identity as *feminine* women.

In order to fully comprehend how tea culture is linked to modern ideas of Japanese femininity, we need to look to the past. There were multiple ideas and ideals of femininity in the Edo period. Knowledge of tea culture was connected to these various ideals, represented at each extreme by the courtesan and the elite wife. Thus, there were different

types of women who practiced tea in different ways: the courtesan, who was flamboyant, flirtatious, and extravagant; nuns, who were independent and artistic; aristocratic and samurai women, who were graceful, accomplished, and demure. Gradually, commoner women also began to participate in tea culture. They followed the latter model of genteel femininity. It was this model that came to be most closely associated with women's tea practice in modern Japan, rather than a model associated with courtesans or nuns. This expansion of an elite ideal of femininity to a broader status and various classes of women, which was made possible through the writings discussed in this study, was a precursor to the expansion of the "good wife, wise mother" ideal in the early twentieth century. In modern Japan, tea culture became equated with this model of middle- and upper-class femininity.

In a discussion of the issue of women's literacy in seventeenth-century Japan, Peter Kornicki has commented that "there has obviously been a misprision of the social, cultural, and economic participation of women in the burgeoning urban and literate cultures of seventeenth-century Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo which have hitherto been cast as essentially male."[14] He concludes, "It is undeniable that women were reading. . . . Not, of course, all women by a long way, but enough to matter, even in the seventeenth century."[15] The same can be said of women's participation in tea culture. It is undeniable that women were practicing tea throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. To continue to deny the significance of women's participation in Japanese tea culture prior to the Meiji period is a misguided reading of tea history and women's history. Not all women were tea practitioners in the Edo period, but there were enough to matter. Their history warrants our attention. This book is a first step in recovering that history. In so doing, we increase our understanding of the history of Japanese tea culture, the position of women in Edo-period society, and the history behind the growth of women's tea practice in modern Japan. Acknowledging the history of women's participation in Edo-period tea culture opens up avenues for exploring women's engagement with various cultural practices across Japanese history.

Notes

Introduction

1. Kato, *Tea Ceremony.*
2. The Chinese character for tea 茶 can be read in Japanese as either "sa" or "cha." The older and more common reading of 茶道 is *sadō,* however, in the post–World War II period the Urasenke school began using the reading *chadō.*
3. See, for example, Pitelka, *Japanese Tea Culture.*
4. Chiba, *Japanese Women,* 1.
5. Although academic works present a more nuanced picture, the overall impression given is that women began practicing tea in the Meiji period. This is particularly the case in English-language academic studies that focus on women and tea culture, such as Kato, *The Tea Ceremony and Women's Empowerment;* Chiba, *Japanese Women, Class and the Tea Ceremony;* and Mori, "Women in a Traditional Art." In Japanese-language academic discussions of women and tea culture, women's participation during the Edo period is usually mentioned; however, it is treated as insignificant to understanding the broader landscape of early modern tea culture and has therefore had little impact on the field of Japanese tea history. For example, see Tani, "Chakai-ki ni okeru josei gunzō"; Tanihata, *Kinsei chadō shi,* 245–247; Yokota Yaemi, "Josei to chadō kyōiku"; and Ii, "Oku jochū no chanoyu."
6. Varley, foreword to *Japanese Way of Tea,* x.
7. Lerner, "Placing Women in History" (*Feminist Studies*); Lerner, "Placing Women in History" (in *Majority Finds Its Past*).
8. Greene and Kahn, "Feminist Scholarship," 13.
9. Kagotani, *Josei to chanoyu,* is an example of such scholarship. It presents biographies of famous women who practiced tea from the sixteenth century, such as members of the imperial family.
10. Kato, *Tea Ceremony,* 148.

11. Lerner, "Placing Women in History" (*Feminist Studies*); Scott, "Women's History"; Bennett, *History Matters*.
12. See, for example, Fister and Yamamoto, *Japanese Women Artists;* Kornicki, Patessio, and Rowley, *Female as Subject;* Gramlich-Oka, *Thinking like a Man;* and Nenzi, *Excursions in Identity.*
13. In the Horinouchi record, *Horinouchi-ke monjinroku,* the names of ten women were entered between 1825 and 1851. In the Yabunouchi record, *Yabunouchi-ke monjinroku,* the names of eight women were entered between 1845 and 1873.
14. Tani, "Chakai-ki ni okeru josei gunzō."
15. Kato, *Tea Ceremony,* 25–26.
16. If the kettle lid is extremely hot, however, men may also use a folded silk cloth.
17. Rowley, "*Tale of Genji.*"
18. Yamamura, *Cha no kōzō,* 268, translated in Kato, *Tea Ceremony,* 12.
19. This has parallels in considering the consequences of popularization of other social and cultural pursuits. For example, the decline and eventual disappearance of *tayu* rank in the pleasure quarters, the decline of artistic quality of ukiyo-e prints, and the popularization of *haikai* poetry writing. Although among tea scholars the trend has been to see popularization negatively, other scholars have seen it as evidence of the development of a unified national culture. For example, see Berry, *Japan in Print* and Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility.*
20. Kumakura, "History of Chanoyu," 8.
21. Varley, "*Chanoyu,*" 165.
22. Meeks, *Hokkeji,* 8.
23. Meeks, *Hokkeji,* 8.
24. Rath, "Reevaluating Rikyū," 96.
25. Sen, "Autobiographical Essay 3," 6.
26. Sakaki, "Sliding Doors," 4. Unless otherwise indicated, all bracketed interpolations in quotations are mine.
27. Previous versions of some of the research presented in this book have appeared in the following journal articles: "Learning to Be Graceful: Tea in Early Modern Guides for Women's Edification," *Japanese Studies* 29, no. 1 (2009): 81–94; and "Crafting Identity as Tea Practitioner in Early Modern Japan: Ōtagaki Rengetsu and Tagami Kikusha," *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal* 47 (2014): 3–27. I am grateful to Professor Carolyn Stevens as editor in chief of *Japanese Studies* and to Professor Koichi Haga as faculty adviser at Josai University for the *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal* for their permission to include them here.

28. For discussion of such examples, see Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility;* and Rath, *Food and Fantasy.*
29. Rich, *Blood, Bread, and Poetry,* 149.
30. Elias, *Civilizing Process.*
31. Howell, *Geographies of Identity,* 24–25.
32. Howell, *Geographies of Identity,* 28.
33. Howell, *Geographies of Identity,* 28.
34. As David Howell argues, "the impoverished warrior [samurai] who assembled umbrellas to support himself" was a stock figure in popular culture by the late Edo period. Such a figure was emblematic of the underemployed men who nominally held samurai status but turned to handicrafts or mercantile activities to make ends meet because their stipends were insufficient. Howell, *Geographies of Identity,* 57.
35. Howell, *Geographies of Identity,* 25.
36. Howell, *Geographies of Identity,* 27.
37. See Corbett, "Crafting Identity."

Chapter 1: Women and Tea Culture in Early Modern Japan

1. See Pitelka, *Spectacular Accumulation,* for a landmark study of how the collection, display, and exchange of tea utensils was a political practice.
2. On poetry gatherings as artistic spaces, see Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility.*
3. See Demura-Devore, "Institutionalization of Tea Specialists."
4. For a detailed discussion of the term "daimyo cha," see Nakano-Holmes, "Furuta Oribe," 48–52. Some scholars question this division between warlord tea and rustic tea, regarding it as too simplistic. See Kumakura, *Kan'ei bunka no kenkyū,* 161–162, 198, 240; and Tanihata, "Daimyō chadō no tenkai," 36.
5. Many other traditional Japanese arts, including flower arranging, incense appreciation, and various styles of dance and music, are also structured around an *iemoto* system. On the development of the *iemoto* system, particularly as it relates to tea culture, see Nishiyama, *Iemoto no kenkyū;* Pitelka, *Handmade Culture,* 90–109; and Surak, *Making Tea,* 91–118.
6. See Pitelka, "Tea Taste."
7. In this book, dates prior to the first year of the Meiji period (1868) have been converted to their approximate year by the Western calendar, following the reference list created by Michael Geoffrey Watson at Meiji Gakuin University. So, for example, the Japanese date of the thirteenth day of the twelfth month of Bunsei is 1825/12/13.

8. On manuscript culture in early modern Japan, see Kornicki, "Manuscript, Not Print."
9. Pitelka, *Handmade Culture,* 114.
10. *Haikai* poetry, known today as haiku, is a poetic form consisting of 17 syllables, grouped into three lines of 5–7–5 syllables. *Waka* are 31-syllable poems whose lines follow a pattern of 5–7–5–7–7 syllables.
11. On the transmission of secret knowledge, see Morinaga, *Secrecy in Japanese Arts*.
12. Nomura, *Sekishū ryū,* 72–99.
13. See Nomura, *Sekishū ryū,* 100–256.
14. Yūgensai Ittō (1719–1771), the eighth-generation head of the Urasenke school, for example, held a gathering on 1758/11/10, at which the guests were his wife, Shina, and daughter, Chie, as well as three nuns: Sorin; Sosen, who was the younger sister of Rikkansai Taisō (1694–1726; sixth-generation head of Urasenke); and Soshun. This was one of the gatherings held for the one-hundred-year memorial for a previous head of the school, Sen Sōtan. In the Omotesenke school the tenth-generation head, Kyūkōsai (1818–1860), held a gathering on 1838/3/13 at which his second wife, the second wife of a Morita, and Risai (head of the Kamazawa family of Sen-school-affiliated woodworkers) were guests. The first example is in *Chanoyu: Kenkyū to shiryō* 1 (1969), 71–72. The second example is in *Kyūkōsai sōshō chakaiki,* a privately owned document. It is listed in the compiled records of women in the records of tea gatherings of Tani Akira, Nomura Museum, Kyoto, viewed July 3 and 11, 2006.
15. On economic growth, see Hanley and Yamamura, *Economic and Demographic Change;* Smitka, *Japanese Economy;* Nakai and McClain, "Commercial Change," 519–590; and Totman, *Early Modern Japan,* 140–159.
16. Ogyū, *Seidan,* 140.
17. Ogyū, *Seidan,* 149.
18. Quoted in Nakai and McClain, "Commercial Change," 594.
19. See Shively, "Sumptuary Regulation," 123–164.
20. Shively, "Sumptuary Regulation," 124; and Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 258.
21. See David Howell's discussion of customs and "other elements of outward appearance" and status in his *Geographies of Identity,* 15–16, 25–39.
22. Quoted in Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 150. The bracketed interpolations are Ikegami's.

23. Quoted in Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 150.
24. Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 332.
25. See Varley and Elison, "Culture of Tea"; Elison, "Hideyoshi"; Berry, *Hideyoshi,* 189–191; and Ludwig, "Chanoyu and Momoyama."
26. Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice,* 112–120; and Bourdieu, *Distinction,* 1–3.
27. Bourdieu, *Logic of Practice,* 118.
28. Kato, *Tea Ceremony,* 4.
29. See Kornicki, *The Book in Japan,* 169–207; and Berry, *Japan in Print.*
30. Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 291–294; Keene, *World within Walls,* 1–7; and Rubinger, *Popular Literacy,* 80–85.
31. Rubinger, *Popular Literacy,* 83.
32. Rubinger, *Popular Literacy,* 83–84.
33. For examples of such texts, see Berry, *Japan in Print;* Yokoyama, "Illustrated Household Encyclopedias"; and Yokoyama, "In Quest of Civility."
34. Berry, *Japan in Print,* 13–53.
35. As Ikegami suggests, the popularity of such texts across a variety of cultural practices indicates that readers were participants in the practices, not just recipients of information about them. Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 298.
36. Hayashiya, "Chadō zensho no seiritsu," 375–376; Tsutsui, *Chasho no keifu,* 31–36; and Pitelka, *Handmade Culture,* 113. *Sōjinboku,* transcribed by Horiguchi Sutemi in *Bunken hen,* vol. 12 of Iguchi, *Chadō zenshū.*
37. *Chadō zenshō* (1693) is transcribed in *Chanoyu bunka gaku* 2 (March 1995): 81–185. *Chanoyu hyōrin taisei* (1697) is in the collection of the Kyōto Furitsu Shiryōkan.
38. Pitelka, *Handmade Culture,* 113–114. The bracketed interpolations are Pitelka's.
39. *Wakan shodōgu,* vol. 8 of *Banpō zenshū,* transcribed in *Kibutsu hen* 4, vol. 15 of Iguchi, *Chadō zenshū.*
40. Pitelka, *Handmade Culture,* 112–131.
41. Pitelka, *Handmade Culture,* 92, 197.
42. Gerstle, *Kinsei enpon shiryō shūsei* 4:127.
43. Kornicki, *The Book in Japan,* 178–179.
44. Kornicki, "Unsuitable Books for Women?," 160.
45. Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 302.
46. Ikeda Tōri, *Onna terako chōhōki,* reprinted in Nagatomo, *Chōhōki shiryō shūsei* 8:119.
47. Kornicki, "Women, Education, and Literacy," 14.

48. See Kornicki, "Women, Education, and Literacy"; and Sugano Noriko, "Terakoya to onna shishō."
49. Seki, *Edo kōki no joseitachi,* 36–37.
50. Discussed in Sugano, "Terakoya to onna shishō."
51. Rubinger, *Popular Literacy,* 96.
52. For a sample of sections from guides for women's edification dealing with reading and writing, see Emori, *Edo jidai josei seikatsu ezu daijiten* 4:2–90.
53. Takada, *Joyō fukuju-dai.* For several different versions of this image, see Emori, *Edo jidai josei seikatsu ezu daijiten* 4:4–5.
54. Rubinger, *Popular Literacy,* 117. The bracketed and parenthetical interpolations are Rubinger's.
55. Yokota Fuyuhiko, "Imagining Working Women."
56. Rubinger, *Popular Literacy,* 136, 169; Walthall, "Women and Literacy," 219.
57. See, for example, Anne Walthall's discussion of female literacy among rural entrepreneurs in her "Family Ideology of Rural Entrepreneurs," 471–472.
58. Rubinger, *Popular Literacy.*
59. Kornicki, "Women, Education, and Literacy," 17.
60. See Shiba, "Tabi nikki"; Shiba, *Kinsei onna tabi nikki;* Yabuta, *Otoko to onna no kinseishi;* Amano, *Joshi shosokugata;* and Rubinger, *Popular Literacy,* 159–160.
61. Rubinger, *Popular Literacy,* 89.
62. Rubinger, *Popular Literacy,* 90.
63. See Kamiya, *Sōtan nikki.*
64. He was also related through blood and marriage to Hosokawa Fujitaka (Yūsai), the father of Hosokawa Sansai (Tadaoki), who is discussed below in the text.
65. Yoshida, *Kanemi kyōki* 1:124.
66. Yoshida, *Kanemi kyōki* 1:124, 180.
67. The diary is discussed in Tanihata, *Kinsei chadō shi,* 139–140; Tanihata, *Kuge chadō no kenkyū,* 281–282; and Seigle, *Kōjo Shina no Miya no nichijō seikatsu.*
68. Tanihata, *Kinsei chadōshi,* 140; Tanihata, *Kuge chadō no kenkyū,* 282–283.
69. Tanihata, *Kinsei chadōshi,* 145.
70. See Corbett, "Crafting Identity."
71. These records have been published in Yoshimura, "Kikusha no chakaiki o yomu."

72. Yoshimura, "Kikusha no chakaiki o yomu," 20–21.
73. Kikusha compiled a record of the gathering entitled "Kūgetsuan muda bukuro" to thank Ito. Reprinted in Nakagawa, *Joryū haijin Tagami Kikusha,* 113.
74. Tani, "Chakaiki ni okeru josei gunzō," 93–95.
75. The word *nyōbō* is used to describe them and indicates that these women may have served at the imperial or shogunal court. However, because this term also meant "wife," it is difficult to be certain. Here I have used the English "attendants" for them, and for the word *jochū,* which appears in other records, because the women appear to have been attendants to Takakage's wife, who herself may have served as a lady-in-waiting at court, given her title *tsubone.*
76. Sen, *Chadō koten zenshū* 6, 311. Also discussed in Tani, "Chakai-ki ni okeru josei gunzō," 93.
77. Sen, *Chadō koten zenshū* 6, 311.
78. Tani, "Chakai-ki ni okeru josei gunzō," 93.
79. For example, at a gathering on 1642/5/14 hosted by Hosokawa Sansai (Tadaoki) (1563–1646), who was one of the famed tea master Rikyū's "seven disciples," a female grandchild is recorded as having attended. Sen, *Chadō koten zenshū* 9:402.
80. Murai, "Ō Edo no cha."
81. Kusama, *Chaki meibutsu zui,* 618–619.
82. Tani, "Chakai-ki ni okeru josei gunzō," 94–95.
83. *Kyūkōsai sōshō chakaiki,* privately owned document. Included in catalogs compiled by Tani Akira, Nomura Museum, Kyoto, viewed July 3 and 11, 2006.
84. Ikegami uses the term "aesthetic socialization" in *Bonds of Civility.*
85. Kumakura, "Kan'ei Culture and *Chanoyu,*" 155–157.
86. Nishiyama, "Kinsei no yūgei-ron," 613–614.
87. Moriya, "Yūgei and Chōnin Society," 44–45.
88. Kimura, *Shinzō onna shorei ayanishiki,* reprinted in Aikawa, *Edo jidai josei bunko,* 40:2, 18. Translations are mine unless otherwise specified in a note or a bibliographic reference.
89. Walthall, "Women and Literacy," 224.
90. Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 158.
91. Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 153.
92. Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 41.
93. Walthall, "Networking," 102.
94. Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 153–155.
95. Keene, *Major Plays of Chikamatsu,* 270.

96. Chikamatsu, *Yari no Gonza Kasane Katabira,* translated in Keene, *Major Plays of Chikamatsu,* 278.
97. Keene, *Major Plays of Chikamatsu,* 279.
98. Keene, *Major Plays of Chikamatsu,* 279.
99. Keene, *Major Plays of Chikamatsu,* 277.
100. Keene, *Major Plays of Chikamatsu,* 283.
101. Keene, *Major Plays of Chikamatsu,* 283.
102. Keene, *Major Plays of Chikamatsu,* 287.
103. Keene, *Major Plays of Chikamatsu,* 289.
104. Leupp, "Population Registers," 70.
105. Pitelka, *Handmade Culture,* 127.
106. Pitelka, *Handmade Culture,* 127.
107. Lebra, "Women in an All-Male Industry," 136–137.
108. Lerner, *Creation of Patriarchy,* 74.
109. On the nature of Edo kabuki productions, the development of plays before they were textualized and anthologized in the modern period, and characters appearing in plays with different titles, see Shimazaki, *Edo Kabuki in Transition.*
110. Johnson, introduction to *Meiboku Sendai Hagi,* 50–52.
111. Another example is "Actors Onkichi as Tsurukiyo, Saizaburō as Senmatsu, and Onoe Kikujirō II as Nurse (Menoto) Masaoka" (1849), by Utagawa Kuniyoshi, held at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, accession no. 11.38081a–b.
112. Johnson, introduction to *Meiboku Sendai Hagi,* 51.
113. Brandon and Leiter, *Kabuki Plays on Stage* 2:9; Shively, "Social Environment of Tokugawa Kabuki," 29.

Chapter 2: A Handbook for Elite Women's Tea in the Eighteenth Century

1. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* reprinted in Nomura, *Teihon Sekishū ryū* 2: *Sekishū-ke chajin,* 188–223. This transcription is based on the manuscript copy of the text made by Nakajima Munetaka, held at the National Diet Library, Tokyo. I have also consulted a microfilm edition from the National Institute of Japanese Literature, which is from a manuscript copy held at the Imabari City Kono Art Museum, Ehime Prefecture. This edition is signed, "By Yōkōsai of Naniwa, Ōguchi Gansui." It does not show any significant difference from the version transcribed in Nomura, *Teihon Sekishū ryū* 2.
2. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 188.
3. Nomura, *Teihon Sekishū ryū* 2:171.

4. On tea practice among the samurai, see Tanimura, "Tea of the Warrior"; Tanihata, "Daimyō chadō no tenkai"; and Demura-Devore, "Institutionalization of Tea Specialists."
5. Nomura, *Teihon Sekishū ryū* 2:172.
6. Nomura, *Teihon Sekishū ryū* 2:172.
7. Ōguchi, *Gyakuryū gendan,* reprinted in Nomura, *Teihon Sekishū ryū* 2: *Sekishū-ke chajin,* 173.
8. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 173–174.
9. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 223.
10. Kimono sleeves were often used to hold items, in much the same way as pockets in Western clothing are used; therefore, "something you have at hand" and "sleeve" are closely related.
11. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 188.
12. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 188.
13. See, for example, Ibaraki Kenritsu Rekishikan, *Tokugawa-ke denrai ningyō,* 40–42; and Sendai-shi Hakubutsukan, *Daimyō-ke no konrei,* 67.
14. Tokugawa Bijutsukan, *Hatsune no chōdo;* Wilson, "Chiyohime Dowry."
15. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 188.
16. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 188.
17. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 188.
18. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 188. Making reference to famous masters of the past, especially Rikyū, was common in texts on tea culture because it lent an air of legitimacy to the author.
19. Joshua Mostow, Peter Kornicki, and Jamie Newhard have all discussed issues around establishing what texts or editions of specific texts were aimed at a female audience in the Edo period, who actually read these texts (men, women, or both), as well as debates around what women should be reading. See Mostow, "Illustrated Classical Texts"; Kornicki, "Unsuitable Books for Women?"; and Newhard, *Knowing the Amorous Man,* 171–179. Their discussions all center on new editions of classical texts, notably *The Tale of Genji* and *The Tales of Ise.*
20. See Kornicki, "Women, Education, and Literacy," 25.
21. Newhard, *Knowing the Amorous Man,* 173.
22. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 202. For descriptions and illustrations of different types of kimono robes, see Gluckman and Takeda, *When Art Became Fashion.*
23. They are held at the National Diet Library, Tokyo; the Imabari City Kono Art Museum, Ehime Prefecture; and the Urasenke Konnichian Library, Kyoto.

24. The size of a tearoom is typically described in terms of the number of tatami mats. One tatami mat is roughly 90 by 180 centimeters, but these dimensions can vary according to region.
25. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 191.
26. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 191.
27. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 208.
28. Elias, *Civilizing Process.*
29. Yokoyama, "In Quest of Civility."
30. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 206.
31. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 190.
32. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 191.
33. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 190.
34. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 204.
35. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 204.
36. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 202.
37. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 202.
38. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 205.
39. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 211.
40. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 203.
41. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 203. The notion of determining the seating order of guests by their social status or court rank may seem to be at odds with the supposedly egalitarian ideals of tea. However, in the context of the Edo period—and in the Sekishū school in particular, popular as it was among daimyo—the maintenance of status distinctions inside the tearoom was important. There was thus an inherent conflict between the ideals of tea and the accommodation to sociopolitical realities.
42. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 203.
43. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 210.
44. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 210.
45. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 205.
46. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 208.
47. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 217.
48. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 217–218.
49. *Shin kokinshū,* 363, translated in Carter, *Traditional Japanese Poetry,* 197.
50. *Gosenshū,* 204, translated in Carter, *Waiting for the Wind,* 41.
51. Whether the disconnection is due to distance or to lack of personal connections is not clear, but Shōō may be referring to provincial women here.

52. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 220.
53. See Mostow, "Illustrated Classical Texts"; Kornicki, "Unsuitable Books for Women?"; and Newhard, *Knowing the Amorous Man,* 171–179.
54. Translated in McCullough, *Classical Japanese Prose,* 409.
55. Nagatomo, *Onna chōhōki, Otoko chōhōki,* 10–22.
56. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 223.
57. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 223.
58. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 223.
59. Quoted in Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 223.
60. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 223.
61. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 223.

Chapter 3: A Handbook for Women's Tea in the Nineteenth Century

1. See Vaporis, *Tour of Duty.*
2. See Seigle and Chance, *Ōoku;* and Beerens, "Interview with Two Ladies."
3. Oguchi, "Tokugawa Shōgun's 'Court'," 214. Anna Beerens states that "by the bakumatsu period, the Ōoku of the Main Enceinte was inhabited by some seven hundred to one thousand women, at the most." Beerens, "Interview with Two Ladies," 270. The numbers had apparently been greater earlier in the Edo period, with one record suggesting that more than 3,700 women were dismissed from the shogun's inner quarters as an economizing measure in 1651. See Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers,* 38.
4. Hata, *Edo okujochū monogatari,* 67.
5. Hata, *Edo okujochū monogatari,* 67; Nagashima and Ōta, *Teihon Edojō ōoku,* 121–122.
6. See Hata, "Servants of the Inner Quarters," especially table 9.1. Beerens also provides a table translating all of the titles of female attendants mentioned in a Meiji period interview with two former attendants in the Ōoku of the Main Enceinte. Beerens, "Interview with Two Ladies," 278.
7. *Ryō* was the gold currency unit used in the Edo period. *Koku* was a measurement in rice of approximately 180 liters, which was said to be the amount needed to feed one adult male for a year. In general, one *ryō* of gold could buy one *koku* of rice.
8. Hata, *Edo okujochū monogatari,* 67.
9. Ono, *Edo bukka jiten,* 111.
10. See, for example, the description of Yoshino Michi's duties in the service of noble women who managed the Hitotsubashi household in Walthall, "From Peasant Daughter to Samurai Wife," 97.

11. Walthall, "Edo bunka ni okeru Ō-oku," 56.
12. Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers,* 67.
13. Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers,* 29.
14. Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers,* 64.
15. In the case of the Great Interior of the Main Enceinte, women who worked in the highest positions, who were from court or high-ranking samurai families, were employed for life.
16. Walthall, "Family Ideology of Rural Entrepreneurs," 473.
17. Ujiie, *Edo no shōnen,* 143.
18. For biographical information on Sorai, see Flueckiger, *Imagining Harmony,* 61–65.
19. Ogyū, *Seidan,* 119–120.
20. Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers,* 104.
21. Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers,* 104.
22. Walthall, "From Peasant Daughter to Samurai Wife," 98.
23. Walthall, "From Peasant Daughter to Samurai Wife," 99.
24. Ujiie, *Edo no shōnen,* 148–149. It appears, then, that older, married women could also enter into service, though they were probably in the minority.
25. Ujiie, *Edo no shōnen,* 163.
26. See Gerstle, "Flowers of Edo," 33–50.
27. See Brandon and Leiter, *Kabuki Plays on Stage,* vol. 2.
28. Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers,* 120–122.
29. Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers,* 121.
30. For Ishida Baigan's views, see Shively, "Sumptuary Regulation," 157–158. See also Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers,* 121.
31. Ogyū, *Seidan,* 123.
32. Ogyū, *Seidan,* 122–123.
33. See, for example, Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 155; Walthall, "Edo bunka ni okeru Ō-oku," 56; and Hata, *Edo okujochū monogatari,* 22.
34. Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers,* 68. See also Shirane and Brandon, *Early Modern Japanese Literature,* 747–759.
35. Walthall, "From Peasant Daughter to Samurai Wife," 97.
36. Howell, *Geographies of Identity,* 27.
37. For example, see Anne Walthall's discussion of the positive benefits for Yoshino Michi's parents, both during her time in service and after her marriage to a samurai. Walthall, "From Peasant Daughter to Samurai Wife," 99–102.
38. Walthall, "From Peasant Daughter to Samurai Wife," 100.
39. Walthall, "From Peasant Daughter to Samurai Wife," 100.

40. Gramlich-Oka, *Thinking like a Man,* 67.
41. Gramlich-Oka, *Thinking like a Man,* 67.
42. Formanek, "'Spectacle' of Womanhood," 103.
43. Formanek, "'Spectacle' of Womanhood," 73–82.
44. For Formanek, *sugoroku* can be read as "texts" in multiple ways—for example, by looking at what is represented on the squares and also by looking at the possible moves and where they will take you (closer to the goal or its negative counterpole). Formanek, "'Spectacle' of Womanhood," 79.
45. Formanek, "'Spectacle' of Womanhood," 80–82.
46. Formanek, "'Spectacle' of Womanhood," 81.
47. Formanek lists several *sugoroku* of the latter type. Formanek, "'Spectacle' of Womanhood," 85.
48. Formanek, "'Spectacle' of Womanhood," 56.
49. Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers,* 67.
50. Walthall, "Edo bunka ni okeru Ō-oku," 56.
51. Walthall, "Edo bunka ni okeru Ō-oku," 56.
52. Walthall, "Nishimiya Hide," 47.
53. Walthall, "Nishimiya Hide," 47.
54. Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 155.
55. Described in Ujiie, *Edo no shōnen,* 150–155.
56. Ujiie, *Edo no shōnen,* 153.
57. Translated in Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers,* 68.
58. Leupp suggests that conditions such as regular days off, as well as wages, could be negotiated by employees and provides an example of a standard contract from 1693. Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers,* 100–105.
59. Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 157. See also Gerstle, "Flowers of Edo," 33–50.
60. Nagashima and Ōta, *Teihon Edojō ōoku,* 101–124.
61. Naitō, *Onna rōei kyōkunka.*
62. Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers,* 63.
63. For a detailed discussion of this particular *sugoroku,* see Iwaki, "'E-sugoroku' ni miru."
64. The term "conspicuous leisure" is taken from Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class,* 28–48.
65. Saikaku, *Kōshoku ichidai otoko,* 152.
66. Walthall, "Edo bunka ni okeru Ō-oku," 57.
67. Tanimura, *Ii Naosuke,* 58–74.
68. Tanimura, *Ii Naosuke,* 6.

69. Ii Naosuke, *Chanoyu ichie shū*. For a detailed discussion of this work, see Tanimura, *Ii Naosuke,* 112–142.
70. Tanimura, *Ii Naosuke,* 125.
71. See, for example, Varley, "*Chanoyu*," 184–188.
72. Tanimura, "Tea of the Warrior," 145–146.
73. Sen, *Chadō koten zenshū,* 340.
74. Tanimura, *Ii Naosuke,* 197–204. Ii Hiroko makes a similar argument in "Oku jochū no chanoyu," 202, 217–225.
75. Nakamura, *Ii Tairō sadō dan,* 41.
76. Ii Naosuke, "Toji no tamoto," Hikone Castle Museum, document no. 6699, search no. 28223.
77. Tanimura, "Tea of the Warrior," 146.
78. Gatherings on 1857/11/7 and 1857/12/7. Ii Naosuke, *Tōto Mizuya-chō,* reprinted in Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke chakai-ki," 64, 67.
79. Personal correspondence from Tani Akira, Nomura Museum, Kyoto.
80. Nakamura, *Ii Tairō sadō dan,* 40–41.
81. The assumption that Sōgyū is the tea name (*chamei*) of Katagiri Sōtetsu is based on the following: a tea master by the name of Sōgyū often appears in the records at the same gatherings as the women of the Ii household; as the women's teacher, Sōtetsu would likely have been present at some of their gatherings; and as Sōtetsu was evidently accomplished enough in tea to teach, she most likely would have had a tea name. See Tanimura, *Ii Naosuke,* 197; Ii Hiroko, "Oku jochū no chanoyu," 213, 227; and Rai, "Ii Naosuke no chanoyu no shishō," 248.
82. Nakamura, *Ii Tairō sadō dan,* 41.
83. Nakamura, *Ii Tairō sadō dan,* 41.
84. Nakamura, *Ii Tairō sadō dan,* 41.
85. Gathering on 1857/12/7. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke chakai-ki," 167. When the host is not mentioned in his records of tea gatherings, scholars presume that it was Naosuke himself.
86. *Kaiseki-fu,* reprinted in Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 121–174.
87. Ii Naosuke, *Ansei 6 Mizuya-chō* (1859/8/24–1859/10/07), reprinted in Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 174–177.
88. *Ansei Manen Mizuya-chō* (1859/2/19–1860/2/19), reprinted in Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 177–183.
89. Ii Naosuke, *Tōto Mizuya-chō,* 46–75.
90. Ii Naosuke, *Maikai Mizuya-chō* (1857/11/1–1859/2/13), reprinted in Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 97–112.
91. The information that follows in the text on the positions of the various vassals is from Kumakura, *Shiryō,* 291–293.

92. Gathering on 1855/2/19. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 124.
93. Gathering on 1857/11/7. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 164.
94. Gathering on 1858/3/1. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 105.
95. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 84.
96. Translations of the vassals' positions are based on those in Ravina, *Land and Lordship*.
97. Gathering on 1855/5/10. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 128.
98. Gathering on 1855/6/?. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 128.
99. Gathering on 1856/8/27. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 143.
100. Gathering on 1856/9/10. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 145.
101. Gathering on 1856/12/16. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 148.
102. Gathering on 1857/2/9. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 152.
103. Gathering on 1857/3/24. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 156.
104. Gathering on 1857/4/29. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 163.
105. Gathering on 1857/11/24. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 169.
106. Ii Hiroko, "Oku jochū no chanoyu," 214.
107. Gathering on 1858/1/29. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 171.
108. Gathering on 1858/2/18. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 173.
109. *Hina to Hina-dōgu,* plate 50.
110. Gathering on 1856/1/26. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 130.
111. Gathering on 1856/3/19. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 136.
112. Gathering on 1856/3/13. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 134.
113. Gathering on 1856/4/4. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 139.
114. Gathering on 1859/?/27. Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 175.
115. Gatherings on 1855/2/19, 1856/3/16, 1856/4/4, 1856/9/10, 1857/2/9, 1857/3/24, 1857/8/10, and 1857/11/24: Tanihata, "Ii Naosuke no chakai-ki," 124, 133, 139, 145, 152, 156, 168, 169. Gatherings on 1859/10/10, 1859/12/24, and 1860/1/26: *Ansei Manen Mizuya-chō,* 178, 181, 182.
116. Ii Hiroko, "Oku jochū no chanoyu," 202, 214–225; Tanimura, *Ii Naosuke,* 202–204.

Chapter 4: Guides for Cultivating Femininity

1. See, for example, Hayek, "Esoteric Tools to Handbooks."
2. Many of the texts discussed in this chapter are categorized in the Japanese literature as *ōraimono* or *joshi yō ōraimono* because they were largely aimed at a female audience. The term *ōraimono* is variously translated as "textbook," "primer," "manual," or "moral guide." Some of the texts examined here, however, could be categorized under other terms, such as *kinmōzui* or *chōhōki* (which will be defined shortly).

Here they are grouped together as "guides for women's edification" to indicate the similarities between them and their common purpose, which was to provide information and instructions on the lifestyles of elite women for the improvement (moral, intellectual, and social) of lower-status women. Another possible term suggested by William Lindsey is "women's lifestyle guides." See Lindsey, *Fertility and Pleasure,* 10. Peter Kornicki has referred to them as "conduct books for women." See Kornicki, "Unsuitable Books for Women?," 182. For an outline of the history of the term *ōraimono,* see Ishikawa, *Joshiyō ōraimono bunrui mokuroku,* 1–10; and Rüttermann, "What Does 'Literature of Correspondence' Mean?"

3. For definitions and descriptions of the terms, see Berry, *Japan in Print,* 196; Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 38; and Kinski, "Treasure Boxes, Fabrics, and Mirrors."
4. See Berry, *Japan in Print,* 196.
5. Okuda, *Onna yō kinmōzui.*
6. Ishikawa, *Joshiyō ōraimono bunrui mokuroku,* 9–13.
7. Unfortunately, no data are available on print runs and prices for such texts to establish just how accessible they were. See Kornicki, *The Book in Japan,* 184–187.
8. See Hayakawa et al., *Nichibunken shozō kinsei enpon shiryō shūsei* 4.
9. Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 328. Similarly, Anne Walthall uses the phrase "cultural database of civilized knowledge" in her "Networking for Pleasure and Profit," 96.
10. Tocco, "Norms and Texts," 197.
11. Kornicki, "Women, Education, and Literacy," 29–30.
12. Lindsey has suggested this in regard to information about betrothal presents too. See Lindsey, *Fertility and Pleasure,* 141.
13. Pitelka, *Handmade Culture,* 93.
14. Mostow, "Illustrated Classical Texts," 59.
15. Mostow, "Illustrated Classical Texts," 59. Nakano Setsuko has argued that cultivating gentility (*yasashisa*) was an apparent benefit of studying *waka* for commoner women. She discusses various edification guides that promoted the study of classical poetry for such reasons. Nakano, *Kangaeru onnatachi,* 79–110.
16. See Kornicki, "Unsuitable Books for Women?"; and Mostow, "Illustrated Classical Texts."
17. Joshua Mostow discusses the presentation of the *Hyakunin isshu* poetry anthology in *Essential Knowledge.* Mostow, "Illustrated Classical Texts," 77–79.

18. Arditi, *Genealogy of Manners,* 15.
19. Arditi, *Genealogy of Manners,* 15.
20. Takada, *Joyō fukuju-dai,* 18. See the similarities with Kimura, *Shinzō onna shorei ayanishiki,* 2:18.
21. Takada, *Joyō fukuju-dai,* 19.
22. The guide *Shinzō onna shorei ayanishiki* (discussed below) also has a diagram of the arrangement of utensils on a stand as its first illustration in the section on utensils. Kimura, *Shinzō onna shorei ayanishiki,* 2:24.
23. Takada, *Joyō fukuju-dai,* 19.
24. This was a new, expanded edition of an earlier guide by Kitao Tokinobu, *Treasury of the Brocade of Women's Manners for Daily Life* (*Nichiyō chōhō onna shorei ayanishiki*). Kimura, *Shinzō onna shorei ayanishiki,* 2:22.
25. Kimura, *Shinzō onna shorei ayanishiki,* 2:20.
26. Kimura, *Shinzō onna shorei ayanishiki,* 2:18.
27. Kimura, *Shinzō onna shorei ayanishiki,* 2:19.
28. Bourdieu, *Distinction,* 2.
29. Ōguchi, *Toji no tamoto,* 202.
30. Kimura, *Shinzō onna shorei ayanishiki,* 2:18.
31. Kimura, *Shinzō onna shorei ayanishiki,* 2:13–14.
32. Kimura, *Shinzō onna shorei ayanishiki,* 2:19.
33. Kimura, *Shinzō onna shorei ayanishiki,* 2:17.
34. Kimura, *Shinzō onna shorei ayanishiki,* 2:17.
35. Takada, *Joyō fukuju-dai,* 18–19.
36. Takada, *Joyō fukuju-dai,* 18.
37. *Nan chōhōki,* 266–275.
38. See Kinski, "Basic Japanese Etiquette Rules," 80.
39. Naitō, *Onna rōei kyōkunka.*
40. See, for example, Ikeda Tōri, *Shūgyoku hyakunin isshu ogura shiori,* 290.
41. Ikeda Tōri, *Shūgyoku hyakunin isshu ogura shiori,* 290.
42. Shimokōbe, *Onna kuku no koe,* 296–297.
43. Gary Leupp discusses the example of the wife of Numano Rokubei, a pawnshop operator. She kept a record on the employment of maidservants from 1838 to 1858 that listed yearly and daily wages, along other information. Leupp suggests, "Clearly the woman maintaining this record was not only numerate; she aimed for precision in remunerating her employees." Leupp, "Population Registers," 75.
44. Ume, *Jokyō taizen himebunko,* 291.

45. Takada, *Joyō fukuju-dai,* 18; Kimura, *Shinzō onna shorei ayanishiki,* 2:19.
46. Kimura, *Shinzō onna shorei ayanishiki,* 2:19.
47. Yamakawa, *Women of the Mito Domain,* 19.
48. Yamakawa, *Women of the Mito Domain,* xiv–xv.
49. Gramlich-Oka, *Thinking like a Man,* 197.
50. Kimura, *Shinzō onna shorei ayanishiki,* 2:19.
51. Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 151.
52. Takada, *Joyō fukuju-dai,* 18.
53. Ume, *Jokyō taizen himebunko,* 291–294.
54. Kimura, *Shinzō onna shorei ayanishiki,* 2:13, 16.
55. Ikeda Tōri, *Shūgyoku hyakunin isshu ogura shiori,* 290.
56. Naitō, *Onna rōei kyōkunka.*
57. Morinaga, "Gender of *Onnagata,*" 268.
58. Kato, *Tea Ceremony,* 67.
59. See Ogyū Sorai's comments on this in Ogyū, *Seidan,* 148–149.
60. Griswold, "Sexuality, Textuality," 72.
61. Takai, "Tenpōki no aru shōnen to shōjo," 147; Takai, *Tenpōki shōnen shōjo,* 20–21; Tocco, "Norms and Texts," 207–208.
62. The *iroha* is a classical Japanese poem learned and recited to memorize the Japanese syllabary.
63. Takai, "Tenpōki no aru shōnen to shōjo," 149.
64. Takai, *Tenpōki shōnen shōjo,* 27.
65. Takai, *Tenpōki shōnen shōjo,* 37–38, 41.
66. *Onna shisho geibun zue.*
67. Okada, *Konrei dōgu zushū.*
68. Okada, *Konrei dōgu zushū,* 60–105.
69. Morinaga discusses the idea of "degrees" of femininity in "Gender of *Onnagata,*" 262.
70. Skeggs, "Context and Background," 5–6.
71. Lovell, "Thinking Feminism," 20–21; Skeggs, "Context and Background," 10–11.
72. Lovell, "Thinking Feminism," 23.
73. For examples of such contests, see Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 273.
74. Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 273–274.
75. Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility,* 274. Although this was the ostensible reason, other motivations may in fact have been behind the confiscation of the family's property.
76. Lovell, "Thinking Feminism," 20–21.
77. Lovell, "Thinking Feminism," 24.

78. From a contemporary feminist perspective, it is tempting to read this process of training of the body as potentially constraining for women. In presenting a positive evaluation of this process, I do not mean to discount the possibility of such an interpretation. Rather, I mean to show that for women at that time, and their families, it was regarded positively.
79. Kato, *Tea Ceremony,* 5.
80. Kornicki, "Unsuitable Books for Women?"; Rowley, "*Tale of Genji.*"
81. Kato, *Tea Ceremony,* 67.
82. Berry, *Japan in Print,* 207.

Chapter 5: Guides for Modern Life

1. The idea of an "Edo-Meiji" frame comes from Carol Gluck, "'Meiji' for Our Time," 23.
2. Despite the abolition of outcaste categories, however, discrimination remained pervasive and is still an issue in contemporary Japan for descendants of these groups.
3. See Tocco, "Made in Japan."
4. Nolte and Hastings, "Meiji State's Policy toward Women," 158; Kathleen S. Uno, "Death of 'Good Wife, Wise Mother'?," 298–299.
5. Newell, "Women Primary School Teachers," 25.
6. Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan,* 25; Surak, *Making Tea,* 73–74.
7. Tipton, "How to Manage a Household."
8. Tipton, *Modern Japan,* 71.
9. See Shively, "Japanization"; Pyle, *New Generation;* Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths,* 23–26; and Tipton, *Modern Japan,* 65–83.
10. Kondō, *Katei hōten,* 101.
11. Kumakura, *Kindai chadō shi no kenkyū,* 115–116.
12. Kramer, "Tea Cult in History," 145.
13. Kumakura, *Kindai chadō shi no kenkyū,* 116–117.
14. Kumakura, *Kindai chadō shi no kenkyū,* 164–165.
15. See Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry;* and Surak, *Making Tea,* 69–72.
16. Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry,* 94.
17. Harris, "All the World a Melting Pot?" 29, 43, 49.
18. Okakura, *Book of Tea.*
19. Okakura, *Book of Tea,* 4.
20. Okakura, *Book of Tea,* 6.
21. Both authors indicate that they were inspired by Okakura to write about tea for a Western audience.
22. Surak, *Making Tea,* 79–90.

23. Fukukita, *Tea Cult of Japan,* 12.
24. See, for example, Kumakura, *Kindai chadō shi no kenkyū,* 296–304; Kumakura, "History of Chanoyu," 20; Kobayashi Yoshiho, "Kōtō jogakkō ni okeru 'hana/cha' no juyō," 45–59; Kobayashi Yoshiho, "Meiji sho/chūki, joshi chūtō kyōiku ni okeru 'hana/cha' no juyō," 12–22; Yokota Yaemi, "Josei to chadō kyōiku"; Kato, "'Art' for Men," 142; and Kato, *Tea Ceremony,* 63–64.
25. Kumakura, *Kindai chadō shi no kenkyū,* 296–304. On Atomi Gakuen, see Kagotani, *Josei to chanoyu,* 209–210; and Mehl, "Women Educators." On the Kyoto Prefectural Girls' School, see Kobayashi Yoshiho, "Meiji sho/chūki, joshi chūtō kyōiku ni okeru 'hana/cha' no juyō," 12–13; and Yokota Yaemi, "Josei to chadō kyōiku," 86.
26. Surak, *Making Tea,* 77–78; Kobayashi Yoshiho, "Shokuminchi Taiwan no kōtō jogakkō."
27. For example, see Fukuzawa Yukichi's satirical fable criticizing the practices of eyebrow shaving and teeth blackening among Japanese women. Fukuzawa, "Katawa musume"; Eiichi, *Fukuzawa Yukichi,* 3–5.
28. Surak, *Making Tea,* 75.
29. Tsuboya, *Nihon joreishiki;* Tsuboya, *Nihon joreishiki taizen.*
30. Tsuboya, *Nihon joreishiki,* 317–384.
31. Tsuboya, *Nihon joreishiki taizen,* 2:36–85.
32. Okamoto, *Johō.*
33. Okamoto, *Johō,* 1–56.
34. Kokubu, *Katei nichiyō fujo hōkan,* 1248. A similar statement is found in Imperial Women's Association, *Fujoshi no honbun,* 138.
35. Tsuboya, *Nihon joreishiki taizen,* 2:36.
36. Surak, *Making Tea,* 75–76.
37. Ikeda Tsunetarō, *Joshi no ōkoku,* 102–103.
38. Fukuzawa, "Shin onna daigaku"; Eiichi, *Fukuzawa Yukichi,* 224.
39. Ikeda Tsunetarō, *Joshi no ōkoku,* 102–103.
40. Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women,* 432.
41. Harada, *Wafuku saihō tehodoki,* 4:1–70.
42. Kokubu, *Katei nichiyō fujo hōkan,* 1247–1248.
43. Sato, *New Japanese Woman,* 92. One hundred sen = one yen.
44. From the late 1890s to the mid-1910s, approximately 2 to 3 percent of girls went on to postprimary education; by the 1920s the percentage had risen to around 10 percent. Sand, *House and Home,* 60. On students in girls' higher schools in this period, see Hiraishi, "'Jogakusei shinwa' no tanjō o megutte," 33–50.

45. Sato, *New Japanese Woman,* 91.
46. Rikyū-ryū, "Chanoyu tebiki" 1, no. 9, 88–91; no. 10, 88–93; no. 11, 85–89; no. 14, 87–90.
47. Rikyū-ryū, "Chanoyu tebiki" 1, no. 9, 88.
48. Copeland, *Lost Leaves,* 8.
49. Copeland, *Lost Leaves,* 13.
50. Iwahori, "*Jogaku zasshi* (The Women's Magazine)," 401–402.
51. For example, see "Chanoyu no koto," 157; and "Chanoyu no haisubeshi," 24.
52. *Matsu toku aoi nigi Ōoku sugoroku*, Edo-Tokyo Museum, item no. 96201764.
53. Guides from the first decade of the twentieth century that present basic information on tea culture—including instructions on the procedures for making, serving, and drinking tea—but contain no specific discussion of tea's place in society include Matsui, *Fujo no shiori,* 204–206; Kaneko, *Joshi no tomo,* 130–139; Japan Household Economy Association, *Katei hōten,* 1, 459–615; Harada, *Wafuku saihō tehodoki,* 1–70; Uno Chōji, *Katei no takara,* 856–880; Kotani, *Katei jitsuyō hyakka daien,* 343–410; and Senior Institute for Girls' Sewing, *Katei setsuyō,* 173–179.
54. Miwata, *Joshi kajikun jōkan,* 1, 26.
55. Sand, *House and Home*, 25–27; Ambaras, "Social Knowledge," 25; Muta, "Images of the Family," 54; Nishikawa Yūko, "Changing Form of Dwellings," 21.
56. Muta, "Images of the Family," 54.
57. Muta, "Images of the Family," 63.
58. This slogan was affixed to the "Home" column in each issue of the magazine *The Sun* (*Taiyō*). Muta, "Images of the Family in Meiji Periodicals," 64.
59. Ambaras, "Social Knowledge," 25.
60. For example, Japan Association for Household Economy, *Katei hōten* 1, 459–615; Kondō, *Katei hōten,* 101–155; Uno Chōji, *Katei no takara,* 856–880; Kotani, *Katei jitsuyō hyakka daien,* 343–410; Senior Institute for Girls' Sewing, *Katei setsuyō,* 173–179; and Kokubu, *Katei nichiyō fujo hōkan,* 1246–1280.
61. Kobayashi Hikogorō and Harada, *Fujin shūyō to jissai,* 107.
62. Sato, *New Japanese Woman,* 134.
63. Kobayashi Hikogorō and Harada, *Fujin shūyō to jissai,* 102.
64. Kobayashi Hikogorō and Harada, *Fujin shūyō to jissai,* 102.
65. Kobayashi Hikogorō and Harada, *Fujin shūyō to jissai,* 103–104.

66. Kobayashi Hikogorō and Harada, *Fujin shūyō to jissai,* 105–106.
67. Nolte and Hastings, "Meiji State's Policy toward Women," 172.
68. Kondō, *Joshi shokugyō annai,* 193–201.
69. Kondō, *Katei hōten,* 101–155.
70. Kondō, *Joshi shokugyō annai,* 193. Another guide also gave a scathing criticism of contemporary tea masters as "professional entertainers" who simply used tea to make money, going against the true spirit of tea. See Ikeda Tsunetarō, *Joshi no ōkoku,* 103–105.
71. Kondō, *Joshi shokugyō annai,* 194.
72. Kondō, *Joshi shokugyō annai,* 194–195.
73. Kondō, *Joshi shokugyō annai,* 196–199.
74. It is not clear why the author shifts here to saying how little the income would be when earlier he said if a tea teacher had ten students, she could live a good lifestyle.
75. Kondō, *Joshi shokugyō annai,* 199–201.
76. Tea teaching is not mentioned as being a suitable occupation for widows, although that was sometimes suggested as a reason why women went into teaching. See Nishiyama, *Iemoto no kenkyū,* 146; Iwao, *Japanese Woman,* 35; and Kato, *Tea Ceremony,* 67.
77. Kondō, *Joshi shokugyō annai,* 43.
78. Kondō, *Joshi shokugyō annai,* 178.
79. Kondō, *Joshi shokugyō annai,* 318.
80. Kondō, *Joshi shokugyō annai,* 455.
81. Chimoto, "Birth of the Full-Time Housewife," 55. Because no national census was conducted at the time, these figures are not entirely accurate.
82. Chimoto, "Birth of the Full-Time Housewife," 48.

Epilogue

1. See Kato, *Tea Ceremony;* and Corbett, "Crafting Identity."
2. Sato, *New Japanese Woman,* 134.
3. Hoshi, "Chadō to seishin shūyō," 68.
4. Miwata, "Shinsan o home tsukushite," 154.
5. Kathleen S. Uno, "Death of 'Good Wife, Wise Mother'?," 301.
6. See Sato, *New Japanese Woman,* 45–77; and Silverberg, "Modern Girl as Militant."
7. While the numbers of working middle-class women increased during the 1920s, they still constituted a minority of women and a minority of the entire workforce. They did, however, become the subject of much attention because of concerns held by conservative bureaucrats

and social commentators about how middle-class women working outside the home would affect the family and social stability. See Nagy, "Middle-Class Working Women."

8. Hoshi, "Chadō to seishin shūyō," 68.
9. Miwata, "Shinsan o home tsukushite," 154.
10. On working women (*shokugyō fujin*), see Murakami, *Taishōki no shokugyō fujin*.
11. Ashikari, "Memory of the Women's White Faces," 69.
12. Cited in Brown, "Flowers of Taishō," 21. The bracketed interpolation is Brown's.
13. Robertson, *Takarazuka,* 73.
14. Kornicki, "Unsuitable Books for Women?," 182.
15. Kornicki, "Unsuitable Books for Women?," 183.

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