Learning from Makiko

Background materials to accompany the video program *Makiko's New World*

Asian Educational Media Service

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Chronology of the Meiji Period, 1868-1912

1868	Emperor established as head of state, Emperor's Charter Oath
1869	Domains come under the direct authority of the Emperor
1870	Rikshaw invented in Tokyo
1872	First railway line in Japan established between Yokohama and Tokyo
1873	National conscription law enacted
1877	Satsuma Rebellion
1881	Decree promising constitution
1885	Ito Hirobumi becomes first Prime Minister
1887	First commercial scale electric generator put on line in Tokyo
1889	Promulgation of the Constitution; Yamagata Aritomo Prime Minister
1890	Imperial Rescript on Education, Makiko born
1884-1895	Sino-Japanese War
1895	First trolley line in Japan established in Kyoto
1899	Revision of the "Unequal Treaties" with Western Powers ending extraterritoriality, first automobile imported to Japan
1900	Marriage of Crown Prince Yoshihito to Kujo Sadako
1904-1905	Russo-Japanese War
1905	Treaty of Portsmouth cedes Russian holdings in the Liaotung Peninsula, Manchuria, and Southern Sakhalin Island to Japan, recognizes Japan's "paramount interests" in Korea

1907	Makiko married
1910	Annexation of Korea
1911	First airplane built in Japan
1912	Death of Emperor Meiji, first automobile produced domestically

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Diaries, the Individual, and the Family

By Anne Walthall

In western literary traditions, the diary is the ultimate expression of the individual self. Many diarists would feel violated were someone to steal a look at their most intimate secrets. With few exceptions, diaries are seldom read by others while their authors are still living. After death is another matter. Great diarists are assiduously read for insight into their personalities and their perspective on their times; other diaries become fodder for historians seeking clues to past practices. Japanese diaries, in contrast, have almost always presumed an audience. In *Makiko's Diary*, the audience is not just the author herself but her family and descendants.

Diaries constitute an important component of the Japanese literary tradition. As in the case of Makiko's diary and in contrast to the West, most were written by women. Within the confines of the imperial court of the tenth century and later, these diaries became a kind of public record. Because there was no formal mechanism for registering marriages and couples did not necessarily live together, diaries might provide a history of a relationship, perhaps even evidence of paternity, that had no other documentation. They were meant to be read by other people who copied them and circulated the copies.

Most diaries fall outside the literary tradition. In the eighteenth century wealthy rural entrepreneurs began to keep family diaries. Some were little more than glorified account books; others listed important events in a family's life and described the yearly round of ceremonies that marked the family's history. Many of these household heads were deliberately creating precedents for their family members. They kept diaries precisely in order to instruct their descendants in how family practices had been carried out in the past. Until recently these were ignored by historians because they were considered too particular to a single family to reflect larger historical trends. Makiko's diary belongs to this category. Like those written by men, it ignores events in the outside world unless these impinge directly on the family. Had the Pacific War not brought an end to the Nakano family business, she might have used it as evidence of the family's traditions in teaching a daughter-in-law the ways of the house.

About the time Makiko kept her diary, the major publishing company Hakubunkan started producing diaries targeted at housewives. Before the twentieth century, people made their own diaries out of scraps of paper sewn together. By the 1920s, publishers had taken over, selling different styles for different types of people. One provided a place for the commuting white collar worker to record what time he took the train every day. One called a "diary for beauties" listed movie theaters and restaurants to inform the young modern women of the cities where to go to be seen and what to see. The housewife's diary becomes further specialized into an infant's diary where the mother can record what she feeds the baby every day, when baby takes her first step, and what are baby's first words. There are school girls' diaries different in color, form and content from school boys' diaries. The habit of keeping a diary peaks around 1935. Makiko's diary is thus an early example of a major trend in modern Japan.

Diaries continue to be kept in Japan today. Teachers may require school children to keep a diary over the summer vacation to record their homework. In one bank, trainees keep diaries of their activities, not so much as an aid to remembering what they have learned as a spur to reflection and self-criticism. As Thomas Rohlen points out, "Self Reflection (*hansei*) is nothing unusual as part of moral education in Japan, and the use of a diary for this purpose is also common." (1) Makiko's occasional comments that she must learn to do better fit within this tradition. For her, keeping a diary becomes a form of self-discipline, a means by which she can polish her image as a model wife. Some teenage girls today will keep what is called an "exchange" (*kokan*) diary, in which each expects to read what the other has written according to predetermined categories such as "what I want to buy when I go shopping." (2) In the interests of deepening friendship, each partner is encouraged to expose her most intimate thoughts and feelings to the other's gaze.

People unused to getting information from a diary may be put off by its format. There is no plot; there is no narrative. Instead the repetition of categories such as the weather, correspondence in, correspondence out, produces a rhythm or a cadence of daily trivia underpinning against an occasional outburst of extraordinary events. There is no character development. There is nothing to lead the reader deeper into Makiko's psyche. The few glimpses we gain of her personality and the people around her remain just that. Nonetheless, by recording her daily activities and interactions, Makiko inadvertently exposes a great deal about herself and these others as well, although never so much as the curious might like. The diary presents a slice of life, leaving paths unexplored, questions unanswered, and edges untidy.

Makiko's Diary presents a window on the world we have lost. By excavating the nuggets of information it conceals on individual expectations, personal relationships and family life, we can begin to understand the way people lived their lives in 1910, the changes then occurring, and the differences between that lifestyle and urban lifestyles even fifteen years later. Vestiges of Makiko's world remain in Japan today, but they are disappearing so quickly that soon nothing will be left except written records.

Individual roles and human feelings

Makiko is a young woman of limited education. She is a wife, but she is not yet a mother. In that sense she is unrepresentative because she lacks the most important dimension generally considered essential to a woman of her time in her position. She has married because two families decided that uniting in this way would be an appropriate arrangement, beneficial to them and expected of her. Although she is not completely uninvolved in this decision, neither she nor her husband Chuhachi initiated it, nor did she have her choice of spouses. From her diary it appears that she feels no need to offer resistance to this system; instead she deals with the institution that dominates her life by performing spontaneous acts of pleasure.

In the romantic ideals regarding marriage common in the United States, the stereotypical assumption is always that only one person in the world can be the perfect mate, it is the individual's responsibility to find that person, and true love (preferably at first sight), is essential for a happy marriage. While friends may be helpful in performing introductions, a parent's approval is well nigh irrelevant and may even suffice to damn a potential spouse irredeemable. Most Japanese see things differently. Even today when the line between arranged (miai) and love (ren'ai) marriages has been substantially blurred through the use of company introductions and match-making services with each member of the couple possessing a much wider range of choices and stronger right of rejection that was the norm in prewar days, the opinion of parents is still important. After all, they are older and wiser in the ways of the world. Because marriage is supposed to last a lifetime, it is considered entirely appropriate for love to

develop over the history of the relationship. Regardless of whether Makiko loved Chuhachi when she wrote the diary, by the time they had grown old together, she would have certainly developed a deep and abiding affection for him indistinguishable from love.

By keeping a diary, Makiko demonstrates that she expects to fulfill certain expectations concerning the role of a housewife. In many ways she is training herself to be a good wife and wise mother. It could be said that she is participating in her own oppression under the prewar family system. On the other hand, becoming fully vested in this system gives her standing in her community and an ikigai, a reason for living. Not for her is the aimless freedom enjoyed by so many women in their twenties today. She finds it strange, for example, that her brother's fiancee commits a social gaffe of not visiting her in-laws before the wedding. Makiko herself would never have missed such an appointment important to her future and to the future of her household. She understands how important it is to take her responsibilities seriously, to meet her obligations because in doing so she builds a good reputation.

The two most important people in Makiko's life are her husband and her mother-in-law. Because she is attempting to record what is important for her to remember as the future female head of the household, she focuses on what they do more than her personal feelings. For this reason, she seldom speaks of them with any particular warmth, and this is particularly true when it comes to her husband. She is grateful for an unexpected kindness, she is angry when she is crossed, but because the diary is a place to record the household's activities, she says nothing about the couple's most intimate moments.

Even though we see 1910 Japan through the eyes of a woman, we learn a great deal about what men did at the time, in guises in which they would never think to portray themselves. How many men would make a note of buying dolls, for example? Partly because of Chuhachi's position as head of an old and well-established firm, it is natural for him, given his interests, to take the lead in organizing new activities for his friends and exploring the latest technologies. Despite the heavy responsibility of rebuilding the family business, not for him is the unrelenting drudgery of the full-time job. Instead, he finds the time to enjoy himself at all hours of the day or night and not necessarily just on weekends. He shares the fun with everyone around him. From the diary it would almost appear as though he sees Makiko as an indulged younger sister rather than a wife.

Although the diary shows Chuhachi at play and alludes to his work, it says nothing about his politics. It mentions that he was extremely active in the neighborhood association, he played a leading role in the pharmacy club and promoted the folktales club. He went to vote in an election, but which party did he vote for? Men of his class were often conservative and extremely nationalistic. Did the intransigence of the great powers in Asia make him angry? Evidence for a pro-western attitude is not hard to find in the diary, but whether it was confined to the arts and material culture is unknown.

Makiko receives her education in domestic science (also known as home economics) from her mother-in-law who teaches her the family's customary practices. In this she differs from the new middle class housewife who without a teacher in the house learns the scientific approach to nutrition and managing a budget by reading the household columns in women journals. Rather than the ogre stereotypically portrayed in folktales and TV dramas, Mine turns out to be kind and considerate. She teaches through example, she seldom scolds her daughter-in-law or harasses her by forcing her to rise exceptionally early, and she encourages Makiko to explore her own interests so long as these benefit the family. Having recently lost her own mother, Makiko is well aware of that women may die at a relatively early age. Demographers could have told her that her apprenticeship would last only five to seven years. Given this limited time span, it

behooves her to treat Mine with respect and learn as much from her as she can. In today's world, by contrast, a bride who moves in with her mother-in-law can expect to spend the first thirty years of marriage with her, a daunting prospect no matter how delightful the individual.

The Family

Prewar Japanese society was characterized by a particular form of family structure known as the *ie*. The individuals who happened to inhabit an ie at any one time were simply its caretakers. They were expected to maintain if not increase its property, preserve if not enhance its name, worship the generations who had come before and provide progeny to make sure more would come later. In the case of the Nakano family, seven generations structured their lives around maintaining a pharmacy. The head of the *ie* was expected to be male. He had the right and the obligation to make all major decisions for the family members" how much education they would receive and where, what kind of work they would perform, who they would marry, when they would go out. If he failed in his duty to regulate the household, its reputation would suffer, and it might well fail to carry out its mission to perpetuate itself. His was a heavy burden. His wife assisted him by managing the household, maintaining good relations with the neighbors, supporting his decisions and, if possible, having children. Sometimes, as with Mine, she was her parents' only surviving child and her husband was brought in as an adopted son-in-law. He, not she, represented the household to the outside world. In each generation there could only be one head of household. His brothers like his sisters would have to leave the house to get married; neither would expect to receive any of the family's major assets. Even today the imperative of *ie* continuity mandates consideration when there is property to inherit.

Makiko's family belongs to the old middle class of shopkeepers and merchants. In 1910 it contained long-established, relatively stable enterprises, some of which were to adapt and survive the vicissitudes of modern times while others did not. A multiplicity of roles for men and women, plus role sharing characterizes this type of family. It is different from the new middle class with its roots in the 1920s that comes to dominate the urban landscape in the postwar period. It is also distinctly different from the former samurai, farm family, and academic households, although as the Nakano family demonstrates, members of these different types of households often exchanged partners. Its remnants today may be found in the mom-and-pop stores that have earned the scorn of American economists for their inefficiency while continuing to provide daily necessities to neighborhood housewives.

The new middle class is characterized by a split between home and work, as demonstrated in the case of the Tanii family. Chuhachi's sister Yae and her husband Senjiro inhabit two complementary but largely separate spheres with a clear demarcation between her domestic realm and his publicly recognized activities. Each would have his or her own circle of friends often unknown to the other. In this type of family, the wife knows little about her husband's work and his associates, nor does she share his interests either at work or play. He meets his friends outside the house, often at a bar or restaurant near the train station, participating in what is known as "terminal culture." He may get home so late and rise so early that his wife sees him only while serving him breakfast or a late-night snack. He leaves the entire running of the household to her, including the household budget, repairs to the house, and its interactions with neighbors and relatives. His career is chosen for him not on the basis of what his father did but the education that he himself has attained. His income comes in the form of a salary. It increases as he gets older; it is not supposed to fluctuate owing to a downturn in the economy or a mistake in gauging the market. This kind of financial security was foreign to the old middle class.

In Makiko's case as in other shopkeeper households, the husband and wife spend

considerable time in each other's company. The store being an extension of the house, she knows a great deal about his work, even though she herself is not normally involved in the shop's day to day operations. She knows his friends because he often entertains at home. Chuhachi knows as much about her life as she does about his. He helps with pickle-making; he performs household repairs in what today would be seen as a confusion of gender roles. They go out together. In this setting, the interdependence of husband and wife is manifested by frequent interactions over the course of each day.

Another distinguishing mark of the old middle class is the constant coming and going of the extended family plus friends and neighbors at all hours of the day and night. Women in the new middle class lead much more isolated lives. They may set out the dolls for Girl's Day on the third of March and invite a relative or two to come to see them. But they are not going to have a steady stream of visitors, nor do family members generally live close enough to pay frequent visits. To entertain guests and demonstrate her suitability as the wife of the family head, Makiko has to pay a great deal of attention to festive observances. The preparations she makes to mark the New Year begin much earlier that they would for a wife in the new middle class. The celebrations continue much longer, they involve many more people, and they include an elaboration of food and rituals that requires time and space unavailable to a middle class household.

The relationship between couples in the old middle class resembles the patterns of life in farm family households. In both cases, men spend much more time in their wives' company than is true for the new middle class. Nevertheless, there are differences. The Nakano's Nishimura relatives had to get up with the dawn to take advantage of every hour of daylight. Even after electrification came to rural areas in the 1920s (and Japan led the world in bringing the electric lights to households exclaimed over by Makiko)(3), farmers continued to retire early. Only in urban areas would people stay up so late as Makiko's husband. Women are likely to take a much more active role in the business of farming; they are chiefly responsible for transplanting rice seedlings, and once the men have finished the harvest, women work with them in threshing and then drying the grains. At the same time women may have their own money-making enterprises, especially if the family raises silk worms. Even though Makiko knows generally what is going on in the pharmacy, the store's operation is left to managers who would resent her interference. In a family business with an old and well-established reputation, for a wife to seek ways to earn her own money would be tantamount to an admission of bankruptcy.

Women in the former samurai households, vividly depicted in Ishimoto Shidzue's autobiography, experience much greater restrictions on their daily activities than did Makiko (4). Makiko's mother came from such a family. When people disparage the prewar family for its oppression of individuals and especially women, this is the model that they usually have in mind. Ishimoto describes the isolation of a young bride, brought into a household of strangers, discouraged from even thinking about her parents and cut off from her friends. A common word for "wife" in Japan is okusan, the person of the interior. The more a samurai woman remains inside the family compound, the more respectable she becomes. The same is true of women who have the misfortune to marry high status families in small towns. In his memoir of small town life, Saga Jun'ichi relates how the wife of the town's leading citizen never ventures outside during the day. On those rare occasions when she leaves the house, she times her departure for dusk and she is accompanied by a male servant running along beside the rickshaw. So seldom does she appear that people will gather around the gate to watch for her to come out and she becomes an object of great curiosity (5).

In contrast to samurai women or those for whom female seclusion is a mark of family status, Makiko goes out whenever necessary, at all hours of the day or night, and she

goes out alone. She keeps up a lively correspondence with her friends, and her diary provides a glimpse of women's networks, parallel to those for men. She remains close to her natal family; perhaps because her widower father needs the help of his eldest daughter, more likely because it is expected. A woman's bilateral connections served both her and her in-laws; otherwise what would be the point of making a marriage alliance in the first place? The famous scenes in which her husband or her mother-in-law forbid Makiko to leave the house or go to Manchuria should not be allowed to obscure her many opportunities to get out, whether to go to cooking class or see a spectacle. The same is true for the other women she knew, married and unmarried. They all led busy, engaged lives.

Academics and other professionals in the prewar period constituting such a small and relatively elite portion of the population, their family structure has largely gone unstudied. Nevertheless, they are vividly depicted in famous novels of the early twentieth century, most notably in Natsume Soseki's Kokoro. As in the old middle class, the men perform most of their work at home, in a study or, in the case of doctors, a consulting room attached to the main building, which they hope to pass on to a son or an adopted son-in-law. While their wives may be ignorant in their spouse's specialty, they are always aware of where he is and what he is doing. At the same time, the husband will spend time outside, at a university, hospital, or law court which may require a long commute and in any case constitutes an all-male domain. Their income is much more secure than that of the old middle class. They thus span two worlds. In such settings students and other apprentices become almost part of the family; they know the wife as well as the husband and treat his residence as their second home, participating in festivities in much the same way that the shop assistants join in the Nakano family's celebrations.

Despite the insecurities of running a family business, insofar as Chuhachi and Makiko exemplify the old middle class, they have a good life. Neither has to spend his or her strength on the grueling hours of labor it takes to keep a farm going. They can afford to stay up late, and they spend many evenings at home together. They live in a stable, safe neighborhood with other families of similar status. Their community of friends and relatives provides them with a dense network to call upon in time of need. Makiko was not of such high status that she had to stay inside; she was not of such low status that she led a hand-to-mouth existence. She lived in a world that is fast disappearing as the maw of modern capitalism swallows up old family businesses, leaving chain stores in its wake.

Notes

1. Thomas P. Rohlen, For Harmony and Strength: Japanese WhiteCollar Organizations in Anthropological Perspective (University of California Press, 1974) pp.197-98.

2. Merry White, "The Marketing of Adolescence in Japan: Buying and Dreaming." Women, Media and Consumption in Japan, edited by Lise Skov and Brian Moeran (University of Hawai'i Press, 1995) pp. 262.

3. Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *The Technological Transformation of Japan from the Seventeenth to the Twenty-first Century*, p. 129 (Cambridge University Press, 1994).

4. Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto (Hirota), *Facing Two Ways: The Story of My Life* (New York: Farrar & Rhinehart, 1935); also published under the name Kato Shidzue with an introduction and afterward by Barbara Molony (Stanford University Press, 1984).

5. Jun'ichi Saga, *Memories of Silk and Straw: A Self-Portrait of Small-Town Japan*, translated by Garry O. Evans (Tokyo; New York: Kodansha International.

Suggested Readings

Gail L. Bernstein's *Haruko's World: A Japanese Farm Woman and Her Community* (Stanford University Press, 1983, new edition, 1996), provides an in-depth look at a postwar woman, her activities and her relations with her neighbors and relatives.

Nishikawa Yuko, "Diaries as Gendered Texts," *Women and Class in Japanese History* ed. by Hitomi Tonomura, Anne Walthall and Wakita Haruko (University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies, 1999), has many insights into the differences between Japanese and Western diaries as well as the history of the diary in Japan.

Inouye Jukichi's, *Home Life in Tokyo* (London; Boston: KPI, 1985) first printed in Tokyo in 1910, offers perhaps the first English-language guide to urban life in modern Japan.

Anne Walthall, "The Family Ideology of Rural Entrepreneurs in Early Nineteenth Century Japan" *Journal of Social History* 23.3 (Spring 1990): 463-483, discusses the household diaries kept by household heads and sometimes their wives.

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The Documentary Virtues of Makiko's Diary

By Yuuko Nishikawa

The journal of a twenty-year-old woman named Nakano Makiko is situated at an interesting moment of change in the history of Japanese diary-keeping. By 1910, the year of her diary, forty-three years have gone by since the Meiji Revolution. Japan has established a full array of institutions for governing a modern nation-state. The country has enacted a constitution, opened a parliament, set up a school system, developed modern industries, and completed its networks of railways and telecommunication services. About to come is a massive transformation in people's everyday lives, especially in the cities.

People are enjoying more opportunities to attend public performances--dramas, concerts, art exhibits, festivals--along with more opportunities simply to move around. Communicating by post and by telephone is becoming an ordinary everyday activity. Waves of modernization are washing across even historic cities such as Kyoto. If we look in under the Nakano roof to see what is happening there, we notice a cluster of people running a family business in shop spaces fronting the street, and eating and sleeping and relaxing in living quarters in the interior. Though they are carrying on within a framework of daily routines passed down from the early modern era by generations of predecessors who ran the family pharmaceutical firm, they have a forward-looking stance towards life. They are eager to take in what is New and to be in tune with the new era.

Makiko's account of daily lives--hers and that of people around her--is interesting not just for *what* she notices: it is interesting for the way she writes about events and for the way that the diary functions as a repository of knowledge. Her journal opens a window for us into a period of change in the history of Japanese diary-keeping. Let's examine the document itself--the binding and format, the writing implements she used, the events and rituals she records, the people she mentions--but also consider her reasons for writing, her style and her modes of discourse.

Binding and Format

Makiko writes in a bound volume whose pages had been formatted by the publisher with the day's date and a series of lines on each page. At the beginning of the year she writes with a brush and India ink; later she switches to a pen. Japanese of earlier eras wrote their diaries with brush and ink on rice paper. Those three technologies combine into a wonderful recording instrument because rice paper is durable in Japan's humid climate and India ink does not readily fade. Thanks to this triad, we have in Japan an archive of diaries that spans more than a thousand years and that includes records kept by people in many social classes.

Not all early diaries are bound in the same way, but the common practice was for an author to fold sheets of rice paper in half and to sew the loose ends together. In 1895 Hakubunkan, the largest publishing house of the Meiji Period, began issuing a portable

version it called *kaichuu nikki* or "pocket diary." It used Western paper, and included a pencil. It was a commercial success, so Hakubunkan next began selling a desktop version called *tooyoo nikki* or "standard diary." This was a smash hit. The standard diaries had a sturdy binding and high-quality Western paper that was suitable for pens and pencils. To boost sales the publishers added a supplement that offered instructions on how to conduct holiday rituals, plus an array of useful everyday information ranging from omnibus and railway schedules to menus and recipes as well as sayings and proverbs.

It is said that the *tooyoo nikki* was designed after a line of diaries issued by the Collins corporation of England, but improvements were added, time and again, to make the volumes more appealing to Japanese customers. In addition to Hakubunkan, many other publishers launched diary series, and as competition grew severe the books came to be crammed with gimmicks. Soon publishers were marketing to sub-populations, offering diaries tailored by age or gender or occupation. The end of each year saw advertising wars over diary sales.

Content

How did Makiko come to have this blank book? Did she buy it herself or might it have been a gift from her husband? We don't know for certain. Before he published his mother's diary, Professor Nakano had already used his grandfather's diary as a primary source for his study of the structure of pharmaceutical firms run by extended-household units. It is the diary of the head of the house and manager of the firm, and it mostly records what happened in the shop spaces of the house. Makiko's diary by contrast is the record of a shufu, the woman who manages the living spaces.

A year earlier, in 1909, Hakubunkan had begun issuing a housewife's diary (*shufu nikki*)--evidence that people had in mind a clear division of labor inside the house. *Shufu nikki* sold well, and years later they were also included as supplements to the new monthly magazines being edited and marketed for women. Makiko did not use a *shufu nikki* for her 1910 record, she used a *tooyoo nikki*: a version not tailored by gender but thought to have been intended primarily for men. It is possible that her husband had bought it.

There is no evidence to indicate that Makiko tried to hide her diary-keeping activities, so we can assume that her husband and his mother were well aware of what she was doing. Though she was in a large extended-family household, Makiko was able to preserve some personal time plus at least enough personal space for continuing to work on the diary.

The Nakanos encouraged her record-keeping not just because they had rather modern views about respecting personal freedom; they knew that the diary was a way for Makiko to preserve (by writing them down) the knowledge, the skills, the strategies that the previous *shufu*--Mine-san, her mother-in-law and wife of the preceding head of the house--had learned to use as manager of the living spaces. Across the span of a year we see documented, without omission, all the annual events this merchant household celebrates. Makiko learns menus from her mother-in-law, and recipes for pickling. The amounts of food are quite substantial: she has to provide enough for her husband, his mother, his siblings, the employees in the store, and the maids in the living quarters. Then there are monthly occasions when special foods such as sushi and rice-cakes must be distributed to every unit within the extended-household organization, which means that food enough for several families has to be prepared. And at each change of season the *shufu* of a merchant house is also responsible for having new workclothes ready for the employees.

Makiko's is not the usual kind of *shufu nikki* that focuses on family consumption

activities. Her house runs a productive enterprise, and so she mixes mention of shop operations with her reports of activities in the living quarters. She is taught household procedures by her mother-in-law. A few years later, in the women's magazines and the *shufu nikki* volumes, home economics experts began preaching modern ways of doing housework to their clientele--mainly graduates of the women's higher schools. The contradictions between what a wife learned in school, or from the magazines and handbooks, and what was taught by her husband's mother, became a root cause of the mother-in-law/daughter-in-law battles that recur so often in extended families in modern Japan. No such conflict is evident in Makiko's diary: she gives clear priority to her mother-in-law's teachings. Indeed, judging from the way Mine-san is presented in the diary, Makiko seems almost too eager to follow the example set by her husband's mother.

For Makiko the world of a merchant house in the pharmaceutical trade held few surprises: her natal family was in the same line of commerce. Her parental house and the Nakano house were linked as members of the pharmaceutical guild, and Makiko's older brother Manzoo became friends with her future husband when the two men were students. So Makiko's marriage came about through joint influences from old and new types of social networks, one via a traditional guild and one via the new school system.

A striking feature of Makiko's record is the large number of people it mentions. She is positioned firmly within a vast social network. Every few days, for example, she visits her natal home out of concern for her father and younger siblings, who are struggling on without the help of Makiko's mother, recently deceased. Makiko frets over securing good servants for her natal house; she helps with preparations for the wedding of her older brother, who is working on the continent and so on, to the point where you might think that the Nakanos have a bilateral kin network. Then too, Makiko's father comes over fairly often to visit the Nakano house, not just to see his daughter but also, presumably, to conduct pharmaceutical business.

As an alumnus, Makiko's husband is making efforts to support the School of Pharmacy, and he is active in local politics. In addition he is a member of the Folktale Club organized by Iwaya Sazanami, a noted performer of folktales from around the world; and he has wide circles of acquaintances connected with his interests in music and painting. He also is a key figure in the movement to transform the pharmaceutical guild into a modern professional association of pharmacists. If we classify the people mentioned in the diary, we see a double structure with old- and new-style social networks. Makiko is a flexible woman who cheerfully trains herself to be wife to this new kind of head of the house.

Style

Makiko uses a style of writing that was new at that time. For centuries after the Chinese script was borrowed, Japanese had been written very differently from the way it was spoken. But in the modern period there was a movement to unify spoken and written modes of expression. Makiko's diary entries are almost all in spoken phrasing. Hers is a Kyoto vocabulary filled with merchant-class phrases and idioms. But she often adds *wa* at the end of a phrase, along with other touches characteristic of female student speech in that era. Makiko herself did not have an opportunity to attend a women's higher school after she finished the required primary school course, but her younger sister was in a women's higher school at the time of the diary so it does not seem all that odd for Makiko to be talking like a student.

Makiko's colloquial phrases sound at times as though she were talking to or pleading with some person in particular. When she ponders memories of her late mother, or worries about whether her younger sister also misses their mother, or describes servant troubles that she is not reporting to her husband and mother-in-law, Makiko can be

very persuasive.

At times Makikio's writing is self-indulgent, sentimental, over-emotional; at other times she depicts objectively, even humorously, what she sees, including herself. The diary as a whole is both a factual record of household activities and a stage on which she can dramatize her inner worlds. The entries are, by and large, neutral and factual in the early months, only later does Makiko make comments she might not have wanted her husband or mother-in-law to read.

Conclusion

Makiko's diary is valuable primary source material for investigating a turning point in Japan's modernization. The diary incorporates both new and old features of the process of documentation, whether we look at the binding and the pens and other tools for recording, or look at motives for writing or the content of entries, or consider details of phrase-style and argumentation. Makiko lives in a large merchant household but already within it smaller worlds are forming--a world for herself and her husband, a nuclear family that will include children born later, and a private world all her own. Makiko's diary vividly portrays the lives of people in a social class that is shaping wider changes in Japanese society.

Only a limited number of people in those days could afford to buy diary books or find time for journal-jotting. Many of those who appear in Makiko's diary probably were not keeping diaries of their own. But sales for diary books increased every year after 1910, each publishing house boasting that it sold tens of thousands of copies, and eventually millions. Those expanding sales numbers map the expansion of the new middle classes within Japanese society. We can begin to glimpse their new world if we read carefully what Makiko records about hers.

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Translating a Life

By Kazuko Smith

It started as a retirement project. For three decades, on and off, I had been teaching Japanese language at Cornell University, and I was eager to try my hand at something else. In the advanced reading courses I offered in the later years of my career I often asked students to submit translations so I could see whether they had fully grasped the meaning of particularly difficult passages. What I grasped from reading their exercises was a new appreciation for the struggle one must go through when trying to do justice to an original text, and even more so to do justice to the life that gave birth to that text.

When Professor Nakano, Makiko's son, sent me a copy of his published edition of her diary I knew immediately that I had found my challenge. He gave me his permission to translate the book, and I slogged away at the task during school vacations for the next two or three years but eventually realized that the job required longer, uninterrupted stretches of time. So I set the project aside for some years, and returned to it only after I had retired from teaching. Translating the text of the diary took me almost a year. And another year's work went into writing the Introduction and preparing the footnotes.

Before then I never had done translating professionally or undertaken the task of translating a whole book. But I had an ambition to try out what I had learned from my students' struggles. Translating literary texts was not what I had in mind: I knew that many other people are better qualified than I to do that. However, over the years I had come to realize the value that personal documents can have for students and scholars of Japan, and I thought I might contribute translations of those kinds of documents.

What I had in mind was to introduce western readers to the lives of ordinary Japanese by transmitting as directly as I could their stories as they told them. As a woman I am more interested in the lives of Japanese women than those of men. But when I reviewed the sources available in English I soon found that very few of them are about ordinary Japanese women. Almost all of the translated personal accounts of Japanese family life have been written by women of elite social classes or individuals who had distinguished themselves in public life or in the arts.

Makiko's diary was different. It contained a treasury of ethnographic information about Japanese life in the late Meiji period as seen through the eyes of a young woman in a merchant household in Kyoto. Personally I was curious about how women got along in such large and complex households a century ago, and about city life then as ordinary people experienced it. In my Introduction I sketch the preconceptions I had held about "Meiji Women" and how reading the diary made me aware of the ways that I had become a prisoner of cliches. And that led me to try to publish the diary, not just because it is a good read and a great primary source for researchers, but because many other people are tangled in the same web of cliches.

One difficulty in translating from the Japanese is that the subject of a sentence may not be stated. Personal documents such as diaries compound the ambiguity since they tend to be written in a telegraphic, shorthand style whose meaning one cannot pin down with certainty. I was able to solve most such puzzling passages (with a few exceptions) by paying careful attention to the immediate context of the event: to what had happened just previously and what came right after. The difficult but fun part of the work was when I had to assemble pieces of information and reconstruct the sequence of events in order to clarify an obscure entry in the diary. Because Makiko did her recording at night, after long and busy days, she sometimes dashed off short phrases and sentences that seemed to have no connection with one another. That made my job like detective work in many ways, and I always felt a little thrill when the pieces fell into place and I could say to myself, You have the answer!

There is a limit to what guesswork can accomplish, though. My goal was to leave nothing vague, but the reader of my translation will come across a few footnotes that say "Unidentified."

Manifold issues arise when one has to deal with a Japanese noun that has no direct counterpart in English. How should one identify vegetables and plants and fish unnamed in English? The Latin and Greek scientific names given in dictionaries mean nothing to most ordinary readers, and even if there is a vernacular English word for some item the word may be obscure or antiquated. An obvious example from the Diary is a common vegetable that Japanese call fuki. "Butterbur" according to the dictionaries-but I have never met an American who has heard of it. A translator can provide glosses ("it's a bit like asparagus") but they seldom are satisfying. The task has become a little easier in recent years now that Japanese words such as tofu and sushi have settled into the everyday English vocabulary alongside their ancestors geisha and samurai.

A personal document needs to be read against the background of its time and social setting, including the history and composition of the diarist's family. Before embarking on my journey with Makiko I read some nineteeth-century diaries of American women, and I came to realize that the more an editor or translator can paint in the background scenery the more that a diary will stand out.

My task would be fairly easy, I thought at first, because in the Japanese edition of Makiko's diary Professor Nakano includes a thorough introduction plus footnotes that offer details which only could be provided by a social scientist who knows the diarist and her life intimately. But his materials posed a problem for me because they were written for a Japanese reader who could be presumed to know at least the outlines of Meiji history and culture. For me it was informative, particularly his Introduction, but I felt certain that a direct translation of it would only baffle most English readers. So I ended up writing a new Introduction for the English edition. It is a longish one but I enjoyed preparing it, and reviewers have commented that for them it is the best part of the book.

Also I had to increase the number of footnotes since many of those by Professor Nakano explain too little about mundane customs and events familiar to most Japanese but known to only a limited number of English readers. The task propelled me into doing many hours of library research, communicating many times by fax and letter with Professor Nakano, and ultimately visiting him in his house in the Tokyo suburbs. The number of footnotes swelled to 800, and they were brought back under control only by the efforts of a persevering editor. She deftly reduced redundant items and incorporated others into the body of the text until the total came down to 600.

Professor Nakano was generous about supplying family photographs to use in my book but the one picture I wanted more than any other was simply not available. It was a

portrait of Makiko. We see her in many group photos of family and friends but she seems never to have been photographed alone. I had to ask a studio to crop and airbrush a shot of Makiko and her sister-in-law in order to create a portrait. I conclude from this that in 1910 a married woman seldom posed for an individual portrait. Snapshots still were uncommon then; and studio photographs were expensive and almost always included a group or at least a couple.

I knew-because I had seen them in books-that period photographs of Kyoto exist. Finding appropriate ones, and obtaining permission to use them, launched me on yet another quest. Checking through all the books and albums and magazines relating to the Meiji period in the Cornell University library left me frustrated. Almost all photos of Japan late in the 19th- and early 20th-centuries had been taken in Tokyo or Yokohama.

The Kyoto Prefectural Archive has the best collection of photos of Kyoto in Makiko's time but very few of them show indoor scenes. Disappointed in my search, I returned home to find that the Cornell University Museum also has a collection of photos of Meiji Era Japan and that quite a few of them appear to have been taken indoors. These are so-called "souvenir pictures" and sets of them are known as "Yokohama Albums."

They were made by professional photographers (both Japanese and Western) and typically were sold to foreign tourists as they left Yokohama after their sojourns in Exotic Japan. A number of the pictures show home-like scenes. But judging from their costumes and body-language the women in them were geisha or prostitutes brought to studios and paid to mimic the behavior of ordinary housewives. I rejected using them, and in the end was unable to document visually the kinds of family activities that Makiko sketches verbally.

I was not pleased by the decision to use some of those "souvenir pictures" in Makiko's New World. They perpetuate stereotypes. However, hearing the reactions of non-Japanese viewers-to whom it did not matter who the women were-I understand how it may be acceptable to use posed photos of geisha and all in order to afford viewers at least some sense of what domestic interiors looked like in Makiko's lifetime.

A teacher who used my book in class wrote to tell me, "Students' questions and comments demonstrate the book's ability to link a single individual's activities to many of the major themes in Japanese culture. When students ask if Makiko had more of a business relationship than a loving relationship with her husband, they are indeed asking a profound question about the nature of Japanese social structure, ethics, priorities and they are asking for an explanation of just what exactly a family is in the Japanese context. The question serves also as a challenge for the instructor to build a cultural bridg...to encourage students to see life from other people's perspective...to expand student appreciation of human diversity." It is the kind of comment that makes the strain of translation worthwhile.

Makiko was not in the least the kind of early twentieth-century Japanese woman you usually find in novels and films: passive, obedient, with no will of her own. Makiko had many duties and was subject to many restrictions-but that was in a time when women around the world were given secondary roles, with no part in public affairs, and did not enjoy equal opportunities with men. At that time the Japanese government was promoting as its ideal woman the "good wife/wise mother," and Makiko strove to live up to that ideal. But there were moments when she was not entirely won over by it. At one point she wrote, rather plaintively, "Why do women have to cook all the time?"

"But was she happy?" American students want to know, and "Did she love her husband?" My answer is that she was quite content with her situation, including her relationship with her husband. Such questions seem to me beside the point when one wants to understand this young woman and her appetite for living.

My experience with Makiko's diary convinced me that translation is indeed a creative act. Computers and mechanical word-processing may serve to render scientific and technical articles into more or less comprehensible prose. But I can't imagine them translating a life. The hand and mind of the translator will always show in the decisions she made and the options she exercised.

More than all the sociological details in the text it was Makiko's personality that attracted me, and I vowed to do my best to make that vitality come through in translation. The Makiko I see dramatized in Makiko's New World is not quite the Makiko I imagined-but my image of her has been influenced by those old family photographs. Throughout the time I was doing the translation she was so much alive in my mind that I could not see her in less than three dimensions. When difficult passages left me frustrated I found myself trying to think like her; and that often resolved the problem for me.

Deep into the project there were periods when I could not separate myself from her, for I lived with her every day for a very long while. I still cannot talk about her in the past tense. My meeting with Makiko has enriched my retirement years by bringing me a translation prize, but what matters so much more is that it has brought me Makiko herself.

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About My Mother's Diary from Her Younger Days

By Takashi Nakano

I am her second son and was born in 1920, ten years after my mother kept the daily record that later was translated into English and published as *Makiko's Diary*. So I am in my eighties in this new millennium, an emeritus professor of sociology from Chiba and Chuukyoo Universities.

It was in 1943 while I was an undergraduate sociology major in Tokyo University that I happened upon my mother's old diary, read it for the first time, and realized what an interesting document it is and how useful it can be for those who study the social history and social anthropology of Japan.

The war interrupted my research on merchant households but I was fortunate, I returned home from overseas alive and well. I resumed my investigation in October of 1946, this time as a graduate student; and I began field studies in Kyoto. The challenge I set for myself was to document and analyze the *doozoku* system found among merchants in the pharmaceutical trades. A doozoku is an extended-household unit consisting of a main house and its branch houses, some of them populated by relatives of the main house, others by non-kin who are business associates. My focus was on the social organization of the pharmaceutical business and the families involved in it over the decades from late Tokugawa times (1603-1868) through the Meiji era (1868-1912), Taisho era (1912-1925) and into the early part of the Showa period (1925-1986).

The doctoral dissertation that I submitted in 1962 was published by Miraisha two years later under the title *A Study of Merchant Doozoku: Field Research in a Pharmaceutical Community*. For primary source materials I relied heavily on my grandfather's diary, which covers the period of the Meiji Restoration (1860s and l870s), and on my mother's diary for the year 1910.

My mother's diary is an especially valuable 'personal document' because it provides such a vivid account of the life-routines of a young wife in a Kyoto merchant household early in the 20th century. So using her diary in my dissertation---as a way to put depth into the portrait of merchant household culture---wasn't enough, I felt: I wanted the diary to be published as a book. Mother gave her permission but frankly I am not convinced that she believed me when I told her what a rich source it is, what a treasure it offer to scholars in sociology, social history, and social anthropology.

Because she had joined the Nakano household only a short while earlier, mother is able in 1910 to record its daily activities, and her own experiences, with fresh eyes and ears. As she does so she also provides a running account of monthly events (for example, on the first day of every month a representative from each branch house, whether kin-branch or business-branch, came to pay a courtesy call on the head of the main house) as well as annual events (such as those carried on during New Year's or the equinoxes or on the last day of December).

Preparing the book for publication took up far more of my time than I had anticipated. Where it seemed necessary I inserted notes into her text, and I included a certain amount of sociological analysis in my Foreword and Afterword. Finally in 1981 the Shin'yoosha Company of Tokyo published the volume with the title *Kyoto in Meiji 43: Diary of a Young Wife in a Merchant Household*. Mother had been filled with pleasurable anticipation as she waited to see the diary in print, but sad to say she never saw the finished product, having died in 1978 at the age of 88.

When my old friend the Cornell University anthropologist Robert J. Smith and his wife Kazuko read the Japanese version, and especially when Kazuko asked if she might translate it into English, I certainly was pleased and just as certainly caught off guard. As she worked on the translation Kazuko wrote me asking all sorts of questions. She is fully qualified as a translator: Japan-born but a U.S. resident ever since she was married. Not only has she mastered American speech patterns, for many years she taught Japanese-language courses in Cornell University. Even so, she had to ask fairly often about the meaning of some of the peculiar words in the text, words whose local or period meanings aren't evident even to those who are fluent and in good general command of the Japanese language. I also sent her more information about points on which my notes to the Japanese edition were insufficient for a foreign reader; and she conveys that material deftly in her translation.

Her English version of the text is masterful. And her Introduction and Epilogue are right on target, crafted by someone who knows exactly what needs to be explained for an English reader. (They are completely different from the Foreward and Afterword in my Japanese edition). Without her Introduction an English reader would not, I think, grasp adequately what the diary is about.

The idea never even would have occurred to me that a diary kept by my mother when she was young might some day be translated into English and published by the famous Stanford University Press. You can imagine how astonished, overjoyed, Mother would be if she knew. She did not seem to understand when I talked to her about how diaries and other 'personal documents' can be such powerful ways to evoke the tang and breath of a different culture---the constant challenge to any practicioner of sociology, social anthropology or social history. "How could a diary written by anybody like me when young be of possible use to scholars?" If only there were a way to send a message to her, to let her know about the effort that was put into the translation, and about the widespread praise for the English edition---how that would please her---and me.

Mother continued her daily record into 1911 until about the middle of May. If we examine the whole text, across its span of seventeen months, what are the main topics that this *shufu* ("chief woman" in a household) writes about?

The role of *shufu* in a merchant house involves far more than just coordinating the activities of twenty or more people---family members, live-in employees (clerks, maids, apprentices)---though that in itself is complicated. She is responsible for food, of course: planning the meals, supervising the maids as they prepare dishes, taking special care about cuisine for guests. Makiko's house is host to an exceptionally broad array of visitors, and they are there just at dinnertime much more often than one might expect. Overnight guests, too, are anything but rare, and arrangements need to be made so they can eat breakfast with the family.

When there are guests it is the *shufu's* responsibility to play hostess. Another of her duties is to conduct social calls, as prescribed by etiquette, to the houses of relatives. And she is responsible for recording and remembering which gift was received from whom on all of these occasions, and for choosing the form and value of gifts that must be given in return.

Makiko often comments in her diary that there were so many guests on hand that she "couldn't get the work done". The work she usually has in mind is "the sewing"---the maids and the women of the house had to cut and assemble Japanese-style clothing, including cotton-padded garments for the winter months. They had to do this not only for members of the family, they also had to make work-clothes for the clerks and apprentices. Similarly they made and repaired *tabi*, split-toed cloth footwear.

Store managers also could request some kinds of help from the household. Envelopes had to be cut and pasted for holding the medicinal powders made and sold by the Nakano Company, and small cloths bags had to be cut and sewn for inserting medicinal herbs. Here again the shufu was responsible for production, supervising the maids.

At the time of the diary Makiko had not yet given birth so she records nothing about the responsibilities of child-rearing. Her duties, though, included attending to the needs of her husband's younger brothers and sisters. A shufu also must shoulder the burden of looking after the general comfort of family members and live-in employees. Makiko enrols in a Western cooking class in 1910 so she will be able to offer a more diverse variety of dishes to her household and its guests.

As a treat for guests, particularly ones who had not been expected, the Nakano house often prepared a sukiyaki meal with beef or chicken. And the third Sunday of each month was Beef Day, with a beef sukiyaki dinner for everyone, including the managers (who lived elsewhere) as well as the live-in employees. Makiko's husband Chuuhachi had initiated the event. Ordinarily, managers ate only breakfast at home; they were given lunch and dinner at work, and did not return home until late evening. On *sekki* days, at the end of the month when account books had to be balanced, shop duties extended into the deep night. When the work was almost done, bowls of noodles were ordered from a noodle shop nearby, and the whole household sat down to a light meal. Here too it was the shufu's job to ask everybody what they wanted, and then place the order.

And there's more. Once a year the *shufu* was in charge of buying a large supply of daikon, adding the right amounts of salt and rice-bran powder, and making pickles. And when the season was about to turn, or an annual event was about to occur, it was up to the shufu to take down the scroll hanging in the parlor alcove (*tokonoma*) and replace it with a painting or a piece of calligraphy appropriate to the oncoming occasion.

Not least, her job description includes performing the ancestral rites, placing fresh offerings on the household altar every day and polishing its Buddhist utensils before any major ritual was to be celebrated. On Buddhist holy days we watch a twenty-year-old Makiko conducting official visits to the family graves in the cemetary of Higashi Ootani Temple, substituting for her very busy husband.

These are the major duties that Makiko in her diary records having carried out as shufu during the year 1910.

Makiko's Diary: A Merchant Wife in 1910 Kyoto certainly is a fine example of the art of translation but it is not completely free from errors. There are a few points that somehow I missed while vetting the text in draft. On page 64, for example, *Yakusookai* is rendered as "The Association for Herbal Medicine" when it should be 'The Alumni Association of the School of Pharmacy' because the term is an abbreviation for *Yakugakkoo no doosookai*.

I was not able to examine the videotape of *Makiko's New World* before it was released, so it contains quite a few mistakes. One example is the scene where senior manager Moriguchi misunderstands Makiko's intentions and refuses the plate of Western food

she offers him at dinnertime. (She had prepared the food during her cooking class and had brought it home to serve to younger brother Hidesaburoo but he did not return home for dinner.) The video re-enactment shows Moriguchi being treated like a high-status guest, dining alone at a table in a separate room with Makiko kneeling to serve him.

That's seriously incorrect. To be sure it was normal for managers, clerks and apprentices to go from the shop into the living quarters for their meals. But managers lined up along one side of a long, narrow table in the kitchen area. Opposite them was a huge tub of steamed rice, and one or two junior employees were on each side of it ready to serve their supervisors. Senior manager Moriguchi would have sat in the number one seat on the extreme right, and Makiko would have served the plate of Western food from the right side. The head of the house, family members, and guests took meals in the small, interior rooms, but managers and employees never did.

Another error that Japanese viewers will catch immediately and find disturbing is a scene where the wrong kind of photo has been inserted. It is the scene where Makiko is sitting alone on a cold November day waiting for Mine-san to return. Suddenly we are shown an old photo of three women slouching around a charcoal brazier. You can tell at a glance from the way they sit, kimono in disarray, that they are geisha---or loose women of some kind. Women of good family never would comport themselves in such a slovenly manner. I wish that that picture could be eliminated from the program.

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Makiko's New World: Reviews

by James L. Huffman: Wittenberg University

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University of Illinois anthropologist David Plath never has had much patience with plodding, traditional portrayals of elite society. For years, he has given us fresh, sometimes whimsical written narratives of ordinary lives: middles-aged housewives, or urban salarymen seeking entertainment. More recently, that interest in the lives of "real" people has led him into visual narratives, to studying photographic records of both aristocrats and commoners, and to video studies of urban shopkeepers and abalone divers.

Plath has reached a visual peak with his latest production, a fifty-six-minute video of the world of Nakano Makiko, a Kyoto pharmacist's wife whose 1910 journal has won awards as *Makiko's Diary* (Kazuko Smith, translator, Stanford University Press, 1995). Drawing on Makiko's daily recollections, interviews with Japanese and American scholars, and a great deal of film footage, both archival and contemporary, producer Plath has produced a rich, unusual glimpse into urban life nearly a century ago.

A historian might wish for a fuller sketch of the public world in which Makiko lived. One gets little sense, for example, of why her brother Manzo might be off in Manchuria or what had motivated Tokyo intellectuals to plot an assassination of Emperor Meiji that year. The "big' world of politics and public rarely inserts itself into this account. It would be unfair to quibble about that too much, though. Though a bit more context might slack the scholar's thirst, the sparseness of the comment probably gives us a more accurate understanding of Makiko's life. Her world may have been comfortable and affluent, filled with social and cultural events, but it moved along quite nicely without politics or public policy.

One of the strengths of *Makiko's New World* lies in a the skillful intertwining of visual images, both modern and archival, of traditional Kyoto: the kitchen of a merchant's house, visits to leading shrines, the construction of an underground water system, family photographs, drinking parties, a wedding at Heian Shrine. The frames may lack the million dollar sophistication of MTV's "real World," but they take us far more honestly--and successfully--into the family quarters of a major Meiji city. For teachers of today's visually minded students, they are a string of gems.

Plath's decision to organize the film topically rather than chronologically makes sense. What we lose in the chronological flow of Makiko's life, we more than gain in the video's usefulness as a teaching tool. Each topic is introduced by graphics and often provocative comments by scholars: Plath; diary translator Kazuko Smith; historian Anne Walthall; Makiko's son, the sociologist Nakano Takashi; and historian Nishikawa Yuko. There are sections on New Urban Lifestyles, the Nakano House, Diaries and

Women's Lives, The Tricky Triangle (wife, husband, mother-in-law), Western Food, and The Birth Family, among others.

Walthall's discussion of the contrast between Japanese and Westerner's diaries is typically thought provoking. While the latter use externalities to explore people's inner selves, she says, Makiko uses them to examine the role of self as housewife. This thus becomes much more than Makiko's story; it is a "household diary." In the section of continuities, Walthall points out that Makiko's early difficulty in becoming pregnant was not the crisis we might have expected, because her crucial role was home management, not rearing children. If she failed to give birth, an heir could be adopted. At the same time, Walthall notes in a later section, Makiko's activities--taking excursions, planning menus, visiting theaters, gardens and relatives--do not differ greatly from those of a woman of her class in the United States at the same time.

One of *Makiko's* greatest delights lies in Plath's eye for whimsical or colorful stories. His comments about the propensity for calling servers in Western-style restaurants "boy-san" whether they were male of female, highlights one of the themes of the video: the unending preoccupation of Kyoto's merchant class with the onrush of Western-oriented modernity. So does the long segment on Makiko's serious row with a Mr. Moriguchi who became angry when she served him Western food, yelling that he would not "touch the stuff!" She cried herself to sleep that night, wrote about it continually for nearly a week, even wished for death over the humiliation-then never mentioned it again. The episode reveals complex layers of experience and meaning, and ought to provoke a similarly lively discussion in the classroom.

Asian-oriented scholars have begun, thankfully, to focus more on the classroom in recent years, to give to teaching of both graduates and undergraduates the attention it should have received decades ago. *Makiko's New World* is an example of the kind of nuanced, graphic, and understandable materials this new approach can give us. It makes the daily world of a rather ordinary Meiji woman accessible to students at all levels, without resorting to cliches or sacrificing analysis.

by Richard Chalfen: Temple University, Japan
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David Plath and the Media Production Group at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign have done us a great service with the emergence of this film. *Makiko's New World* presents viewers with an audio-visual version of an extraordinary view of everyday life in 1910 Kyoto, Japan as understood and selectively recorded by the 20-year-old young wife in a 200-year-old merchant household. The original text, its translation and new film are all remarkable documents for several significant reasons.

We are presented with a refreshingly clever relationship of published written material and the subsequent audio-visual version of that material. The original subject matter for this film is a diary written by Makiko Nakano in 1910; the first published pieces of the diary, edited by her son, Takashi (a noted Professor of Sociology, now retired) appeared in 1965. A book-length Japanese edition of the diary appeared in 1981, three years after Makiko dies at the auspicious ages of 88. Then Cornell University's Kazuko Smith translated the diary and published *Makiko's Diary: A Merchant's Wife in 1910 Kyoto* with Stanford University Press in 1995; and this film appears in 1999.

The skeleton of the film's storyline is sequenced and sutured in a pattern of several layers. This structural strategy includes a rough chronology, regular periodic readings from Makiko's diary, a series of ten topics akin to chapter headings sometimes focused

on specific subjects, other times events or topics, e.g. Rescued Memories, Diaries and Women's Lives, Her Birth Family, Western Food, etc. The structure is enhanced by periodic exposition by social scientists Plath and Nakano as well as historians Yoko Nishikawa, Yasuhiro Tanaka and Anne Walthall. We also hear and see comments on Makiko's life by translator Smith. And we hear and see Makiko's niece, Kikuko Matsui as she speaks of her wise and modern Auntie while looking over the pages of a family photograph album. All provide very rich pieces of contextual commentary.

The written diary is referenced many times throughout the film, as we see many reconstructed scenes of kimono-clad Makiko using brush and ink to write her diary with voice-over statements of her own words. The 1910 diary itself provides us with many details of everyday life as seen and recorded by the middle class wife of the head of a Kyoto pharmacy business. This pictorial version brings the material so much to life--contributing new life to an old life in memorable ways.

Minimally we are offered time and opportunity to reflect on the diary as both a symbolic form and a mediated form of communication--certainly not everything is written about, begging attention to historical and cultural variations of inclusion and exclusion. Then we are asked to speculate on what changes might be introduced when cameras, as increasingly popular and available consumer technology, are added to brush and ink as means of depicting and indeed remembering details of everyday life.

Historical lessons are offered as viewers see and hear several people commenting on the diary tradition in Japan, including availability of diary types, ways to interpret such period materials, the general historical context and significance of such diaries and why Makiko Nakano has offered us such an interesting example.

On camera, David Plath makes the point that during this year, the Nakano family bought "a used snapshot camera" for 23 yen. Many such families could then, for the first time, begin to record themselves visually. Nishikawa comments that when publishing houses started printing blank diaries, people started writing diaries in numbers never seen before, and we later hear that diaries became "an instrument of popular education." The implication is that this transition from the verbal/written to the visual/pictorial seemed like such a natural thing to do. Makiko's original diary in fact makes several references to studio and backyard camera-aided events. The important point is that a diary tradition was firmly in place before the availability of mass consumer cameras. We also know that when cameras became available on a popular scale, people started taking pictures, literally and figuratively, like never seen before. Details of how photographs supplement and/or replacediaristic written words remains to be studied.

We frequently hear that Japanese people are famous for a broad range of pictorial productions, both historically and in contemporary times, from representations found in scrolls, to ukiyo-e prints to manga to the films of Kurosawa and Ozu, and now Print Club, just to mention a few. In this context, there are important lessons to be learned and passed on about the creative integration of alternative visual forms. *Makiko's New World* takes full advantage of the popularity of photographic representation in Japan as we see the inclusion of many studio portraits and informal snapshot-like images. In turn, Plath has supervised the integration and juxtaposition of a rich and beautiful fabric of alternative visual formats. For instance we see the inclusion of old photographs; we are offered aerial and ground level views; we see black and white still images combined with hand-tinted color stills; we find clips of historic black and white footage from before and during World War Two combined with nicely composed original contemporary color footage; we see studio portraits, large exterior group photographs and old family albums; and we see a series of well acted and haze-filtered 1910 reenactments combined with 1998 on-camera posed interviews.

Culture change is also an important theme of *Makiko's New World*. In addition to providing information on what is old, Plath points out the Makiko's dairy gives us information about what is new at a time when 20th century material culture was rapidly spreading throughout the world. We hear commentary on changes in clothing, house design and furniture, transportation (rubber-tired rickshaws), music, as well as food preparation and presentation and even on changes in light levels produced by the introduction of electricity--reminiscent of Tanizaki's 1933 comments found in *In Praise of Shadows*. We are even given examples of how diary types and formats have changed during this period.

The visual rendition of this diary material with its impressive visuality of images and accompanying commentary represent major contributions to an enhanced understanding of this time period and cultural setting. Here the film medium offers instructors and students valuable lessons in how the same film can have multiple alternative uses. The film offers important lessons to students of Japanese history and ethnography, visual studies and media practice, visual anthropology, material culture, culture change, narrative studies and life history, and even memory studies. I strongly recommend that *Makiko's New World* be made available to students for study as part of several screenings. I was even drawn back into Smith's book to review what else has been recorded for specific days cited in the film. These points will be further enhanced by the two study guides currently in preparation.

Such finely crafted examples as *Makiko's New World* will further a growing attention to the fact that lives come, are given and can be taken in multi-modal ways, and that visual renderings of life find an integrated and meaningful position alongside their previous logocentric models. This film provides a wonderful starting point to substantiate these points. Combined attention to both written and audio-visual renditions of Makiko's Diary will provide many valuable contributions and learning experiences.

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Makiko's New World: Suggested Readings

Makiko wrote her diary as Japan was undergoing massive political, economic, social, and cultural change. To better appreciate Makiko's world there are a number of histories and translations available that explore this exciting time in Japanese history:

Duus, Peter. *Modern Japan*. Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998.
Offers a comprehensive survey of politics, society and economy from the late Tokugawa era (1603-1868) through the post-war period.

Gluck, Carol. *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.
Examines the ideological landscape of late-Meiji politics.

Irokawa Daikichi. *The Culture of the Meiji Period*. Marius Jansen, ed. and trans. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.
Offers a number of insightful essays about changes during the Meiji period and how they were perceived by average Japanese.

Jansen, Marius B., ed. *The Emergence of Meiji Japan: Cambridge History of Japan*. Selections. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
Chronicles the transition from Tokugawa rule, and the political process that finally ended centuries of warrior rule, as well as the events which indirectly resulted in the Meiji Constitution of 1889.

Kornicki, Peter F., ed. *Meiji Japan: Political, Economic and Social History, 1868-1912*. London, New York: Routledge, 1998.
Offers selections by a number of scholars on women's history over a broad range of Japanese history. Includes essays on women in the Meiji period.

Tamanoi, Mariko. *Under the Shadow of Nationalism: Politics and Poetics of Rural Japanese Women*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998.

Tanaka, Yukiko, ed. *To Live and to Write: Selections by Japanese Women Writers, 1913-1938*. Seattle: Seal Press, 1987.
Translations of original works by Japanese women just after the Meiji period.

Tipton, Elise K. and John Clark , eds. *Being Modern in Japan: Culture and Society from the 1910s to the 1930s*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000.
Provides examples of current scholarship on the Japanese negotiation of cultural and social modernity during the Meiji period.

Tonomura, Hitomi, Anne Walthall, and Haruko Wakita, eds. *Women and Class in Japanese History*. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1999.
The result of a collaborative effort between Japanese and Western scholars, Women

and Class explores the historical and contemporary constructions of gender in Japan.

Tsurumi, Patricia. *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
Explores the lives of women recruited into the newly formed industrial workforce.

Uno, Kathleen. *Passages to Modernity: Motherhood, Childhood, and Social Reform in Early Twentieth Century Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999.
Discusses the role of womanhood in the political constructions of Meiji ideology.

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Makiko's New World: About the Book

If you like the movie, be sure to read the book, Makiko's Diary: a Merchant Wife in 1910 Kyoto. The video program taps only 46 of the 365 daily entries in Nakano Makiko's journal for 1910. And the program spotlights only one or two events among the several that she recorded on most days. As the saying goes, the video interpretation is "based on" the journal but is a prism that bends and distorts the components of its source.

In composing the program script I selected days and moments that accent lessons I think the journal offers to us a century later and an ocean away. The program reflects my agenda for teaching about Japanese life and history, not Makiko's personal agenda for learning the ways of the Nakano house.

So that you will have other perspectives on the journal and its significance, in making the program we interviewed several authorities on Japanese history, diaries, and women's lives. Only a few of their perceptive comments survived the editorial hatchet and are included in the video. So we invited each of these experts to write a few pages on what they regard as the larger significance of Makiko's record of life in her micro-world.

David W. Plath, Producer

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