

Research on the Formation and Development of the Area Centred on Jiyu Gakuen, focusing on the founders' Philosophy

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Abstract

In this study, we analyzed the formation and development of the area, focusing on the philosophy of those who created the area as one of the key points that led to the exposure, preservation, and transmission of cultural property values. The target area is centred on Jiyu Gakuen, located in Minamisawa, Higashikurume City, Tokyo. In Ikebukuro, the campus was created by the fusion between the philosophy of the couple of Motoko Hani and Yoshikazu Hani, the founder, and the architecture designed by Frank Lloyd Wright. Later, the philosophy was embodied through the school's social activities. After moving to Minamisawa, the new school town was built based on Hanis' philosophy. A multilayered community carried out the campus, the surrounding area, and the school town. The philosophy was developed into people who understood Hanis' philosophy. The architecture designed by Arata Endo, who understood Hanis' philosophy, became part of the area's landscape. After WWII, the region's urbanization transformed the school from an entity with urban elements to one that preserved the original regional landscape. Education and architecture were passed on to the next generation, who understood the philosophy. In recent years, the developed philosophy was clearly stated: cultural heritage and clarification.

Keywords

Philosophy, Garden City, Jiyu Gakuen, School Town, Settlement

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Fig. 1. Great Tokyo area (Around 1923).

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

In Japan, areas formed in the modern era based on the garden city philosophy introduced from abroad have been recognized as an indispensable subject for discussions on modern urban history. On the other hand, the environment is disappearing, including its cultural property value. Understanding their historical value while focusing on Japan's garden city philosophy localization may help stop it. This will help us understand today's value of the garden city philosophy. Therefore, this study aims to clarify some aspects of the localization of the garden city philosophy that is still being elucidated. The analysis will focus on the philosophy which exists in these planned areas. The philosophy is related to regional formation and development and is one of the key points leading to the cultural property values' formation, preservation, and transmission.

1.2 TARGET SETTING AND OVERVIEW

The target area is the school town centred on the educational Institute "Jiyu Gakuen," located mainly in Minamisawa, Higashikurume City, Tokyo. Jiyu Gakuen was launched by Motoko Hani (1873-1957) and Yoshikazu Hani (1880-1955). The school town (hereafter referred to as "Minamisawa Gakuen-Cho" or "Gakuen-Cho"), adjacent to Jiyu Gakuen, was formed under

the influence of the garden city philosophy. The area is considered to have the following conditions for analysis: the institute, which had the philosophy related to the area's formation and development, continues to be located in the area, and the urban community did not exist before the school town was formed in the area. Therefore, the subject is appropriate for the study. (Figure 1)

1.3 POSITIONING AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

Research on the garden cities in Japan has focused on cities developed by railroad and real estate companies^{1,2,3}. Research has also been conducted on the transformation of suburban residential areas^{1,2} and the formation of university towns⁵. However, research on cities influenced by the Taisho New Education Movement, especially Jiyu Gakuen, has been not common. The existing research on Jiyu Gakuen's school towns has been published in the book "Suburban Residential Areas in Modern Japan"⁶. Moreover, Jiyu Gakuen's school history book "100 Year History of Jiyu Gakuen"⁷ describes how they were formed. This study is novel because it analyzes the formation and development of the philosophy that contributed to the formation of the area over time. The study will use literature, historical documents, discourses of people involved, drawings, etc. The magazine "Fujin-no-Tomo" and materials from Fujin-no-Tomo's collection⁸ are essential references. The analysis will focus on the campus, the school town outside the campus, and the surrounding area. It will include research and analysis focusing on social conditions, school policies, related people and organizations, architectures, etc.

2. OVERVIEW OF JIYU GAKUEN

2.1 OUTLINE OF JIYU GAKUEN

The history of Jiyu Gakuen is detailed in "100 years of Jiyu Gakuen"⁸. The couple of Motoko Hani and Yoshikazu Hani decided to further achieve their goals as Christians and developed their activities through publishing and education with the death of their second daughter Ryoko in 1906. In 1908, they launched the magazine for women, "Fujin-no-Tomo," using their home as the publishing office. Jiyu Gakuen was founded near Ikebukuro Station in 1921. It was moved in stages to a new suburban location near Tanashimachi Station (later Hibarigaoka Station) from 1930. In the same year, "the Zenkoku Tomo-no-Kai, an organization ("Fujin-no-Tomo" readers association)" was also established. The three organizations created by Hanis, Fujin-no-Tomo, Jiyu Gakuen, and Tomo-no-Kai, continue to work together.

2.2 TAISHO NEW EDUCATION MOVEMENT

From the Taisho era (1912-1926) to the early period of the Showa era (1926-1989), it was able to compare and contrast various educational methods advanced around the world in Japan. The Taisho New Education was characterized by its criticism of conventional educa-

tional methods and its insistence on respecting the individuality and initiative of the child⁹. The Taisho New Education was implemented by schools affiliated with normal and private schools. In addition, the new education was intensely conscious of the environment. Hiro-michi Ueno says that one of New Education's environmental awareness is moving schools to new environments like the countryside or mountains for education, rather than cities¹⁰. This type was combined with the garden city concept, which also came from abroad. It became a school town with a garden city philosophy and centred on educational institutions in Japan.

2.3 THE FOUNDING PERIOD OF JIYU GAKUEN (1921-1929)

Around 1910, Ikebukuro was perceived as a healthy suburb and an educational district, unlike today. Ikebukuro was gradually becoming urbanized and was expected to attract new middle-class residents.

In 1913, Hanis rented an area of 2,000 tsubos in Takada-machi, Ikebukuro, near Ikebukuro Station, and set up a residence and workplace of about 40 tsubos¹¹. In 1921, they founded Jiyu Gakuen, an ideal place for education as a girl's school with supporters, mainly readers of Fujin-no-Tomo. Frank Lloyd Wright designed the school's architecture through Arata Endo's mediation, a fellow member of Fujimi-Cho Church with Hanis and a Wright's disciple.

The purpose of founding Jiyu Gakuen was to provide the necessary education for women of the new era.¹³ Although Hanis regarded the school's founding as a project of their Christian faith, they did not directly advocate Christianity in its establishment¹³. Motoko Hani wanted education to be a place where children could create a new life for themselves, filled with "a revolutionary homely and friendly mood."¹⁴ She cited the reason as "the home-school" that Frank Lloyd Wright's aunt ran like a home¹⁵. The Jiyu Gakuen's school architecture took on a residential form¹⁶. The similarities between Hanis' and Wright's philosophies made it possible to express them in the architectural space.

One of the literature department's purposes was for those who wished to have the opportunity to be involved in social work¹⁶. The lecturer for the course "Social Work" was Takayuki Namae, a member of the Regional Bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs. The bureau's members wrote the book "Denen-Toshi (Garden City)¹⁷" (1907), which introduced Garden City and many social projects in Japan as one social reform movement. He had a deep knowledge of the garden city, and was friends with Ebenezer Howard.

When the Great Kanto Earthquake hit Japan in 1923, Jiyu Gakuen conducted various activities to help the sufferers and strengthened the need for social programs. In 1925, a report of Takada-Machi located the school as the graduation work was published.

After the earthquake, the area around the Ikebukuro campus became increasingly residential and too cramped. So Yoshikazu Hani soon began searching a large land¹⁸.

3 FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE AREA CENTERED ON JIYU GAKUEN IN MINAMISAWA

3.1 MINAMISAWA GAKUEN-CHO DEVELOPMENT STUDY AND BUILDING PERIOD (1924 AND 1925)

In 1924, Hanis advocated a new town centred on Jiyu Gakuen, initially with the school's farm, playground, forest school, and an ideal residential area¹⁹. They looked for land along the train line²⁰. As a result, he got an area of approximately 100,000 tsubos that used to be a pine forest near Tanashimachi Station²¹. The relocation area was rural and had no urban environment.

In May 1925, an intent letter was distributed to the parents and guarantors of Jiyu Gakuen. In July 1925, Motoko Hani said in Fujin-no-Tomo that she would like to ask the parents of Jiyu Gakuen firstly to purchase land and the readers of Fujin-no-Tomo who connected to Jiyu Gakuen secondly²². In the following August issue, Motoko Hani asked, "What kind of people will live there? It is an important question²³." On the other hand, she also proposed the idea of weekend villas.²⁴ It can be inferred that she did not need the area to be converted into a residential area immediately.

Of the purchased land, the residential area was placed on the flat land, and the campus was placed on the undulating land at the back of the residential area. Gakuen-Cho was developed using the existing topography and roads. The new road was dug down, and a dirt road was built²⁵. Yoshikazu Hani described that the lots were conventional grids²⁶. It is characteristic that Yoshikazu expected prospective buyers to leave existing trees in the lots for the overall townscape²⁷.

3.2 MINAMISAWA GAKUEN-CHO DEVELOPMENT PERIOD (1925-1930)

During this period, there was a succession of construction projects in school town: the relocation to Kichijoji of Seikei Gakuen (1924), Seijo Gakuen (1925), and Tamagawa Gakuen (1929).

Campus: In 1930, an elementary school was moved to the Minamisawa campus. Arata Endo designed the architecture. The school emphasized the importance of Minamisawa's rich natural environment. "Educational practices in line with daily life," which Motoko Hani aimed for, was promoted.

Surrounding Area: After the students took special classes about social work around 1927, they started preparing "the Jiyu Gakuen Settlement" as one of the rural social reform movements in 1929. In 1930, the settlement house designed by Arata Endo was constructed at the northern end of the campus, which faced the village. The settlement official later said, "we are trying to build a bridge of reconciliation between two societies which seem the extremes exist so that there will be no unnecessary friction or misunderstanding between them as a progressive society "Jiyu Gakuen" moves into the purely agricultural village "Ku-

rumé Village (later Higashikurume City).” The settlement was chosen²⁸ It says that they would use the settlement to build relationships with the local community. During the year, they opened the settlement during the off-farm season and a day-care centre during the busy farming season.

Gakuen-Cho: In 1925, lots near Jiyu Gakuen, over 250 tsubos and a unit price of 12-15 yen per tsubo were put on the market and almost sold out. In 1926, 1927, and 1928, other lots, including 100 to 150 tsubos, were put on the market.

Therefore, in 1930, a town with three characteristics was born in Minamisawa: the Jiyu Gakuen Campus with its philosophy, the school town embodying the philosophy, and the settlement transmitting the philosophy. Part of the philosophy was embodied through the architecture designed by Arata Endo and the nature of the school town.

3.3 JIYU GAKUEN RELOCATION PERIOD (1931-1945)

The surrounding farming area underwent a gradual transformation under the influence of Nakajima Aircraft Manufacturing's affiliated factory installation from 1938, etc.

Campus: In 1933, a plan to relocate the entire Jiyu Gakuen was announced. In 1934, Girl's Department dining hall, auditorium, and gymnasium were completed, and the entire Jiyu Gakuen moved to Minamisawa. In 1935, Boy's Department was established, and in 1936, the Gymnastics Hall was completed. Arata Endo designed them.

Surrounding Area: After 1930, at the settlement, the Jiyu Gakuen Cooperative Association purchased village produce directly from the village and sold it to the various branches, and taught farmers their side jobs²⁹. The settlement also provided a school for children during the busy farming season, a school for young women during the agricultural off-season, a school for elementary school children, a clinic, and a health counselling centre.

Gakuen-Cho: Around 1935, the lots of the final fourth phase were put on the market³⁰. The first phase was about 80 lots, the second was 60, the third was 50, the fourth was 30, and the total was about 220³¹. The unit price per tsubo was generally higher in the third phase, followed by the first, second, and fourth, and corner lots were costly³². Plot sizes ranged from 100 tsubos to 1,000 tsubos. “Fujin-no-Tomo-Sha (the company published “Fujin-no-Tomo”)” Gakuen-Cho Management Department handled administrative procedures for land sales. A standing timber fee was charged according to the number²⁷. (Figure 2)

Many land purchasers were highly educated people and lived in Tokyo³³. In 1928, five houses were completed. The number of residents was still small. Moreover, in February 1935, the number gradually increased to 35 housing units and 131 persons³⁴. The houses were built in only about 20% of all lots. The houses designed by Arata Endo increased: the Kurosaki Residence (completed in 1928), the Tanaka Residence (1932), the Goro Hani Residence (1935), the Ikeguchi Residence (1936), the Komiya Residence (1937), and the Matsui Residence (1938)³⁵. The design by Arata Endo became one of the local landscape elements.

As for the community of Gakuen-Cho, the Minamisawa Gakuen-Cho Housing Association existed in 1930³⁶. They did the application for residents' non-fare train tickets³⁷, the appeal on the noise problem at the Nakajima Aircraft Works' engine testing facility³⁸, etc. The August 1932 issue of Fujin-no-Tomo described Gakuen-Cho as a "neat town where neighbours can live together with a spirit of peace and mutual help"³⁹. The August 1936 issue of Fujin-no-Tomo described that the area was an educational and modern residential area, the residents shared a simple and sound philosophy, lifestyle, and hobbies, and this town's strongest spirits were fraternity and cooperation⁴⁰. The pamphlet of the lots' fourth phase described that they took turns being town commissioners, proceeded in consultation with the entire town, and there were no regulations or organization⁴¹. It is an example of the philosophy that the Tanaka Residence had a communal cooking kitchen. "Tomo-no-Kai (the Friend's Association, a group of "Fujin-no-Tomo" readers)" was also active in Minamisawa. Minamisawa's Tomo-no-Kai wanted to get to know the rural mothers better, and a clothing sale was held at the settlement house in 1930⁴². In 1932, a medical clinic was established in response to the settlement⁴³. They represent that the town by residents who shared Hanis' principles was realized to some extent.

As described above, Hanis' philosophy was developed multilayered by several organizations and communities that understood the philosophy. Part of the philosophy was also embodied through the design of Arata Endo.

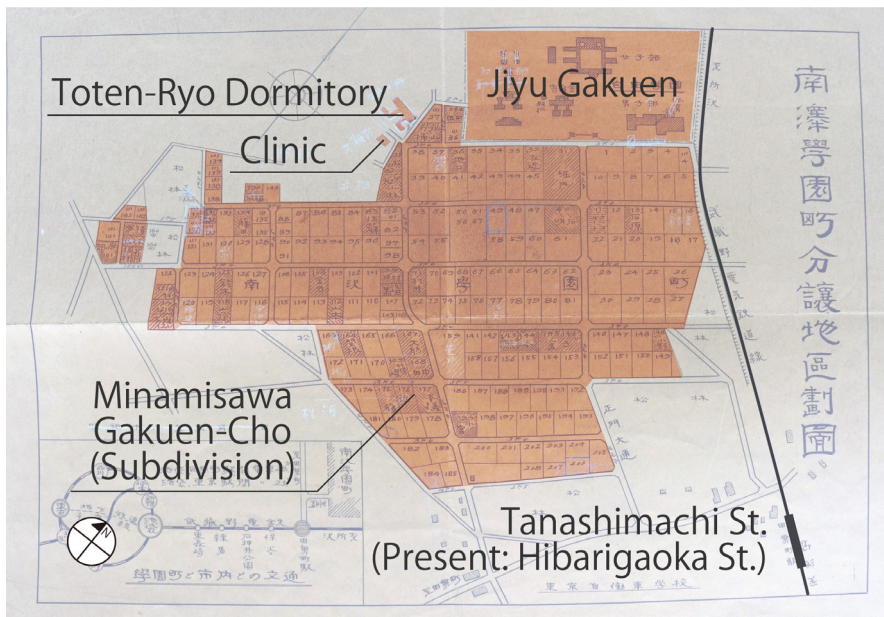


Fig. 2. Minamisawa Gakuen-Cho Subdivision Map after 1937.

3.4 AFTER WWII (1945-THE 1950S)

Hanis and Jiyu Gakuen worked to restore their liberal education during the chaotic period after WWII. When a new senior high school, based on the new school system, was approved for establishment in 1948, the Christian spirit was specified for the first time in the academic regulations. In 1949, the Jiyu Gakuen College was opened. They also created various other short-term educational schools to expand educational opportunities.⁴⁴**Campus:** In 1949, the mountain forests and residential areas centred on the school, about 85,000 tsubos, became a no-hunting zone⁴⁵. In 1950, the on-campus dormitory was eliminated⁴⁶. Thus, awareness of the natural environment within the school grounds became stronger.

The 30th-anniversary commemorative projects took place from 1949 to 1952. They included the completion of the architecture for the Boy's College, the expansion and renovation of the Seifu-Ryo Dormitory, the Economics Classroom, and the completion of the dining hall for the Boy's College⁴⁷. (Photo 1)

In 1955, Yoshikazu Hani passed away, and in 1957, Motoko Hani passed away. In 1957, Keiko Hani, the third daughter of Hanis, became the school's second principal, and Teiyu Amano became the third chairman. The school management changed from the founders to concerned parties who shared the founders' philosophy.

Surrounding Area: In 1948, students chose the theme "My living Village" as their graduate study. They conducted the schools of clothing, food, and housing during the agricultural off-season, the infant health counselling centre, and the rural infant living group. Meanwhile, they became interested in a village house with various functions in the village and presented the plan under the guidance of Arata Endo⁴⁸. Jiyu Gakuen became conscious of the regional community again after WWII.

In 1947, as part of their graduate studies, students held the schools of clothing, food, and housing at the locations not in Minamisawa. In 1948, the schools were held in Kurume Village. From 1949 to 1952, Tomo-no-Kai held the schools across Japan, including Kurume Village. But, in Kurume Village, their need disappeared due to the decrease and dual occupation of farmers and the region's urbanization, as discussed later in this paper.

In 1956, students held an out-of-door children's party in Kurume Village⁴⁹ and opened two agricultural day-care centres with an average 88 children per day and eight of whom were taken care of each day⁵⁰.

Gakuen-Cho: After WWII, there were property taxes (1946), inheritance taxes (1947), and wealth taxes (1951). In many cases, house owners could not maintain their land and houses due to the taxation system and had to pay property to the government⁵¹. In 1950, Motoko Hani attended the Minamisawa Tomo-no-Kai's meeting and asked them to clean up in Gakuen-Cho for Jiyu Gakuen's 30th anniversary in 1951⁵². It shows that the Tomo-no-Kai was active in Gakuen-Cho after WWII.



Fig. 3. Jiyu Gakuen (Minamisawa) (around 1963).

3.5 PERIOD OF ECONOMIC GROWTH (THE 1960S-1980S)

The total population of Higashikurume City surged from approximately 20,000 in 1960 to over 100,000 in 1980. During this period, huge apartment complexes increased in the city. Especially Hibarigaoka-Danchi with 2714 units was constructed near Gakuen-Cho in 1960. (Figure 3)

Meanwhile, the number of farm households in the area declined slowly from 765 in 1950 to 531 in 1980. The number of full-time farmers declined sharply from 553 in 1950 to 60 in 1980, while the number of dual-income farmers increased. The percentage of farm households in the population decreased from 50.1% in 1950 to 1.6% in 1980. After the 1950s, the area was converted from a farming village to a suburban residential area. It indicates that Jiyu Gakuen's position changed from a newcomer to an oldcomer in the area.

At Jiyu Gakuen, Keiko Hani, Teiyu Amano and officials, who knew Hanis' educational principles and past activities, took steps to strengthen the previous philosophy. In addition, despite the period of population growth in Japan, the number of students in each grade remained the same.

Campus: Architecture was extended and renovated from time to time with the 50th and 60th-anniversary commemorative projects. Designed by Raku Endo, the second son of Arata Endo and a graduate of Jiyu Gakuen, the architectures were constructed as follows: the Physics Classroom of the Boy's College in 1960, the Hani Memorial Library in 1966, the Children Life Group's architecture in 1967, the former Toten-Ryo Dormitory in 1973, etc. These architectures have reinforced the school's internal philosophy.

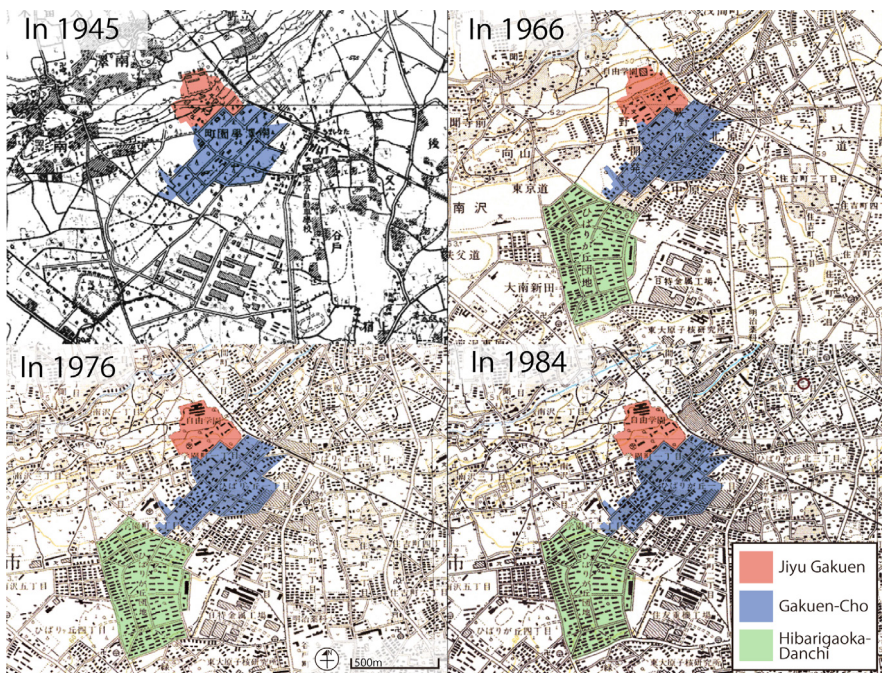


Fig. 4. Minamisawa Map from 1945 to 1984.

Surrounding Area: During the period, the school provided childcare and early childhood education to the surrounding community through some activities. The school wanted to contribute to the local community through children, like in the past. From 1954, the natural environment initiative such as the gnat's research, the water quality, flood control research in Tatsuno River, etc.,⁵³ were conducted. In the 1970s, books on the natural environment of the surrounding area by the school's teachers were published⁵⁴. The school's increased position in protecting the area's natural environment resulted in a structure that contrasted with the increasing density of the surrounding residential areas. It means that the school has evolved from existence with an urban element to an existence that preserved the area's original landscape.

Gakuen-Cho: In 1974, the Gakuen-Cho Neighbourhood Association in Higashikurume City established a constitution and decided the chairman's term of office would be two years and reappointment would be possible. Some of the subsequent chairmen served for more than ten years. The base for activities overtime was established.

In 1951, Arata Endo passed away. During the period, Raku Endo designed about 10 architectures, and Toh Endo (Arata's third son) designed about 15 architectures in the Gakuen-Cho area. Raku and Toh were graduates of Jiyu Gakuen, and the clients included some of their classmates. Their architecture shared similarities with their father's design, such as the hanging wall, the cream colour and wood, the horizontal lines of the hip wall, the gate, etc.

3.6 AFTER ECONOMIC GROWTH (THE 1990S ONWARD)

The average daily ridership of Hibarigaoka station remained around 33,000. The region's development has slowed down since the 1990s.

At the school, Gyo Hani (nephew of Yoshikazu Hani) became the third principal in 1990 and rediscovered the importance of placing Christianity at the school's foundation and aimed to be actively involved in the international and local communities⁵⁵ In 1999, the College was reorganized as a four-year co-educational institution. In 2000, the principal term of office was set at four-year.

Campus: Since 1999, some architectures have been designated as Tokyo Cultural Properties. In 2020, the Minamisawa Campus was selected as DOCOMOMO Japan Selected architecture. The cultural property values were expressed in not only nature but also the architecture.

Surrounding Area: In 2011, the former Toten-Ryo dormitory was renovated to open the local community facility "Club House Shinonome-Ryo." The architecture connects the school and the community with the Gakuen-Cho Neighborhood Association's office, coffee shop, exhibition space, rental rooms, various activities places for children and families, etc.

Gakuen-Cho: The Gakuen-Cho Neighborhood Association in Higashikurume City strengthened its disaster prevention activities after the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake in 1995. In 2006, The Association launched the first issue of its regional newspaper "Kawara-Ban." After following local environmental issues in 2007, the Association enacted the Gakuen-Cho Charter in 2008. The charter outlines are that existing trees should be preserved as much as possible in new construction and development, tree planting and hedges should be encouraged even in small spaces, and good living manners should be observed. The Association works to protect the local environment by explaining the charter and making remarks based on the charter at the time of real estate development.

From the 1980s, Architects who were members of the design firm of Arata Endo's son built architecture in Gakuen-Cho: Akitaka Miyai, a former member of Toh Endo's architectural office, Yoko Fujikawa, a former member of Raku Endo's architectural office, etc. The architectural philosophy was passed down from Arata Endo's sons to his apprentices. In addition, companies that constructed architecture designed by Endo's son and architects not associated with Endo also began to share design codes with architecture designed by architects associated with Endo in Gakuen-Cho. The architectural philosophy, which began from Arata Endo, and Frank Lloyd Wright by extension, was propagated further.

4. CONCLUSION

In Ikebukuro, the space of Jiyu Gakuen was created by the fusion of Hanis' philosophy and the architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright. Later, they understood social work to better the local community through the school's activities. In Minamisawa, a new town was created based on

Hanis' philosophy. A multilayered community carried out the Jiyu Gakuen campus, the surrounding community, and the formation of the school town. The philosophy was developed by related persons who understood Hanis' philosophy. The architecture designed by Arata Endo which understood Hanis' philosophy, became part of the area's landscape. After WWII, the region's urbanization transformed the school from urban elements to the original regional landscape of the region. Education and architecture were passed on to the next generation, who understood the philosophy. In recent years, those who share the philosophy have further developed. There was a renewed awareness of the connection between the school and the local community. The developed philosophy was clearly stated: making the architecture's cultural property in the school area and establishing the Gakuen-Cho charter in Gakuen-Cho. Thus, it can be said that the philosophy is transformed by the generational change of those who had the philosophy and by the region's urbanization. It was also important that Jiyu Gakuen, the core of the philosophy, continued to be in the region to prevent the philosophy's disappearance. Depending on the social changes in the future, it may be effective to develop initiatives to share the philosophy or clarify it.

Future research will include more detailed surveys of the area and comparisons with other areas and will lead to proposals that will contribute to the preservation and succession of the local environment.

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DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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9. Fujin-no-Tomo-Sha Gakuen-Cho Keiei-Bu, "Shouwa yo nen go gatsu minamisawa gakuen cho (1929) (May 1929 Minamisawa Gakuen-Cho (1929))," Collection of Fujin-no-Tomo-Sha.

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Katagi, *juutakuchi*. 160-162.

10. Calculated based on Figure 1. Parcel numbers go up to 208, but there are several numbers that are separated, such as 161(1) and 161(2).

11. Calculated based on Fig. 1 and "Jinmei betsu daichou (Name list)" Collection of Fujin-no-Tomo-Sha.

) Katagi, *juutakuchi*. 164-165.

12. Yoshikazu Hani, *Zoushigaya tanshin jou*. 58.

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13. Fujin-no-Tomo-Sha Gakuen-Cho Keiei-Bu, "Minamisawa ni kansuru mono ji shouwa go nen roku gatsu nijuugo nichi (1930-1931) (Matters concerning Minamisawa from June 25, 1930 (1930-1931))," Collection of Fujin-no-Tomo-Sha.

14. ¹bid.

Tanashi Shi Shi Hensan Iinkai ed., *Tanashi shi shi dai ni kan kindai gendai shiryou hen (Tanashi City history,*

Volume 2: *Modern and contemporary materials*) (Tokyo: Thanashi shi, 1992).547.

15. Fujin-no-tomo-sha, *Fujin no tomo 26 8* (Tokyo: Fujin-no-Tomo-Sha, 1932). 148.
16. Fujin-no-tomo-sha, *Fujin no tomo 30 8* (Tokyo: Fujin-no-Tomo-Sha, 1936). 135.
17. Fujin-no-Tomo-Sha Gakuen-Cho Keiei-Bu, "Minamisawa gakuen cho shin bunjou chi annai (Minamisawa Gakuen-Cho new subdivision guide)," Collection of Fujin-no-Tomo-Sha.
18. Fujin-no-tomo-sha, *Fujin no tomo 24 10* (Tokyo: Fujin-no-Tomo-Sha, 1930). 218-219.
19. Fujin-no-tomo-sha, *Fujin no tomo 26 9* (Tokyo: Fujin-no-Tomo-Sha, 1932).
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20. Ibid. 312-313.
Jiyu Gakuen, *hyakunenshi*. 173.
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21. Ibid. 390.
22. Ibid. 408.
Yoichi Sato, *Zusetsu senryou ka no toukyou* (Illustration: Occupied Tokyo) (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 2006)
23. Hani, ge. 318-319.
Jiyu Gakuen, *hyakunenshi*. 176-177.
24. Ibid. 177.
25. Ibid. 188-207.

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