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Romancing the Role Model: Florence Nightingale, *Shōjo* Manga, and the Literature of Self-Improvement

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Within the diverse world of Japanese print media, the genre of "educational manga" (*gakushū* manga) occupies a unique place between the seemingly incompatible spheres of education and entertainment. The subgenre of biographical manga straddles these domains, combining the emphasis of prewar *shūshin* (self-conduct) textbooks and *denki* (biography) novels on the lives and virtues of great figures with the storytelling techniques and readers' expectations of *shōjo* (girls') manga. This article examines manga depictions of Florence Nightingale (1820–1910), a staple of educational materials in Japan for decades, and explores how her inspirational story has been illustrated and adapted to suit the changing tastes of contemporary Japanese readers.

Keywords: manga マンガ 漫画, education 学習, school textbooks 教科書, biography 伝記, Florence Nightingale ナイチンゲール, self-help literature 自己啓発の文献

Within the diverse world of Japanese print media, the genre of educational (*gakushū* 学習) manga has aimed to reduce the distance between the seemingly disparate spheres of education and entertainment. Since the 1970s and 1980s, the rigid uniformity and questionable effectiveness of institutionalized education have spawned an entire industry devoted to filling curricular gaps and giving motivated students a "leg up" on their academic competition. Many elite and even average students have supplemented their school educations by attending cram schools and doing substantial outside reading. In this competitive, commercialized context, educational manga have thrived, making their way into school libraries and onto home bookshelves, as pleasurable vehicles for essential extracurricular learning.

According to critic Yonezawa Yoshihiro 米澤嘉博, the project of bridging entertainment value and educational intent within manga has been observable since the end of World War II. In the eastern region of Japan, centered on Tokyo, there were "conscientious manga for children," such as *Manga shōnen* 漫画少年 (Manga Boy) edited by former *Shōnen kurabu* 少年倶楽部 editor Katō Ken'ichi 加藤謙一 (1896–1975). In Western Japan, the mainstream

was the so-called *akahon* 赤本 (red book) manga, which grew out of the *kōdan* 講談 booklets from the 1930s. (Tezuka Osamu, one of the towering figures in the history of mainstream manga, was active in the latter.) Neither camp could claim any lasting victory. Yonezawa reports that although *Manga shōnen* was popular and financially successful, many other "conscientious manga" publications quickly foundered due to lack of popular support. At the same time, the genre of *akahon* was also eventually absorbed into the newly revamped *kashihon* 貸本 (rental books) genre. On the failure of "conscientious manga," Yonezawa cites its excessive preachiness and overt desire to shape what children *should* think and enjoy according to the values of its adult producers and purchasers. In contrast, child readers came to see manga as a way to "unleash their dreams and pass time enjoyably" rather than as a form of education (Yonezawa 2009: 115).[1]

Among the subcategories of *gakushū* manga, *denki* 伝記 (biographies) provide a unique perspective on the relationship between educational intent and entertainment value.[2] The readers' expectations for such works seem vague, since their contents do not necessarily correspond to easily identifiable school subjects. For young readers, reading *denki* manga does not lead directly to higher test scores or better grades at school; for parents who actually purchase the volumes, such manga offer no obvious remedy for such prevalent academic problems as avoidance of science (*rika banare* 理科離れ) and leisurely education (*yutori kyōiku* ゆとり教育).

In exploring the synergy between entertainment and education in educational manga, this article examines a distinct strain of *denki*—in particular, manga biographies of Florence Nightingale (1820–1910)—as a case study of how some educational manga incorporate the tropes and conventions of other manga forms in order to appeal to a targeted readership. Specifically, I argue that these biographies draw heavily upon the stylistic elements and narrative strategies of *shōjo* (girls') manga, the better to heighten the dramatic elements of Nightingale's life and cast her as an inspiring role model to whom young girls can relate. By reading such manga versions of Nightingale's life against pre-World War II self-conduct textbooks and conventional prose biographies, my aim is to show that *denki* manga offer an appealing and entertaining package that delivers content for the sort of moral education and self-improvement that is neither taught in classrooms nor assessed in exams, but is nonetheless crucial for academic success in contemporary Japan.

Biographies as Educational Manga

Denki manga have been a consistently popular genre within not only *gakushū* manga but also children's reading material in general. One ardent and faithful—and surprising, perhaps, considering her extremely utilitarian attitude—fan of the genre is Katsuma Kazuyo 勝間和代 (1968–), an economist and currently one of the bestselling authors of self-help books in Japan. In her many interviews and works, Katsuma has often described how she was inspired by her childhood reading of the biography of Marie Curie (1867–1934),

1 In my view, the educational mission of manga as a popular medium among school-age children gained new momentum in the 1970s, with the advent of hit series like *Himitsu shirīzu* ひみつシリーズ (Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1972–2003: *Shin himitsu shirīzu* 新ひみつシリーズ, 2003) and *Nyūmon hyakka* 入門百科 (Shōgakukan, 1970–). Although the latter did not necessarily employ manga to present its subject matter, it often featured illustrations in a sequential visual narrative.

2 In the larger research project of which this essay constitutes one part, I consider the forms and functions of the four dominant categories of educational manga: history, literature, science, and biographies.

especially the episode in which Marie as a poor science student piled pieces of furniture on herself to stay warm on cold Parisian evenings. This served her as an example of unglamorous efforts based on an iron will.[3]

Katsuma's endorsement of the genre suggests that on one level the purpose of *denki* is to impart to readers certain values by which to live. This supposed function is also reflected in the lineup of historical personages to whom these volumes are devoted. Traditionally the popular figures are those who overcame obstacles with determination and perseverance and came away with success, such as Helen Keller (1880–1968), Jean-Henri Fabre (1823–1915), and Albert Einstein (1879–1955), as well as the aforementioned Marie Curie. They tend to be figures from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when Japan was made aware of the presence of the Western imperial powers. Perhaps not surprisingly, these people mostly came from Europe and America, geographical areas with the greatest cultural influence upon Japan. Among Japanese figures in this genre, probably the most popular is Noguchi Hideyo 野口英世 (1876–1928), who suffered a disfiguring injury in his childhood but did not let it stop him from becoming a world-renowned bacteriologist. He would ultimately die while researching yellow fever in Ghana.[4] As the critic Saitō Minako 斎藤美奈子 puts it, these people were all "devoid of political, military, and personal ambition. They all kept their minds noble and lived life purely and simply in the pursuit of a single goal."[5] Their motivations were supposedly so pure and lofty that quite a few of them were chosen to be printed on money—ironically, the symbol of material pursuits—as if to remind the world that there are more important things in the world than wealth.[6]

Why do such narratives of the lives of great figures capture the imagination of high-achieving readers like Katsuma as well as others of more average achievements? The answer may lie in the modern tradition of reading biographies for models of self-motivation and self-discipline within and outside of the school curriculum. Self-motivation and self-discipline were considered two virtues necessary for *any* kind of success in the post–Meiji Restoration world where social mobility came to depend (at least nominally) on one's abilities. In the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, the Japanese translation of Samuel Smiles' *Self-Help* (1859) as well as noteworthy episodes described in *shūshin* 修身 or ethics textbooks instilled in their audience the value of hard work and devotion. In *Self-Help*, students and adults alike read moving stories of politicians, industrialists, as well as literary figures who accomplished great feats in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles. The textbooks depicted the admirable lives of great personages from all over the world, such as stories of how George Washington admitted to cutting down the cherry tree, how Benjamin Franklin rose above his humble background and devoted himself to the betterment of public life, how Christopher Columbus braved a dangerous sea voyage to reach a "new" continent,

3 Katsuma 2008, p. 46. Katsuma (2009) chooses Yamamoto's biography of Marie Curie (1982) as "one of the top ten titles to be read during the upcoming long weekend" (*Kono renkyū ni yonde okitai hon* この連休に読んでおきたい本). The furniture episode is a staple of almost all Marie Curie biographies; it can already be found in Minami 1955, pp. 70–72, and is mentioned in Curie 1987, p. 118. Cf. Curie 1986 [1937].

4 Critic Kihara Buichi (1989, p. 51) describes Noguchi and Thomas Edison as the two *yokozuna* 横綱 of the Japanese *denki* world, while Abraham Lincoln, Marie Curie, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Florence Nightingale are the four *ōzeki* 大関.

5 Saitō 1998, pp. 73–74.

6 For instance, Noguchi Hideyo has graced the Japanese one thousand yen bill since 2004, and Florence Nightingale was depicted on the five pound note issued by the Bank of England between 1975 and 1994.

and how Edward Jenner was willing to risk his son's life to develop a vaccine for smallpox.[7]

The trend among children (and possibly grownups) seeking inspiration from the accomplishments of the past greats has been to consume various *denki* in manga form, no doubt both for convenience and entertainment. Manga versions of *denki*, which tend portray the lives of great men and women with dramatic flair, offer abundant material for visualization. All the aforementioned greats have enjoyed multiple visual representations in print over the years. There are, for example, currently three manga biographies of Noguchi Hideyo in print.[8] We can find interesting instances of the interplay between *gakushū* manga and regular manga in these representations. Whereas *gakushū* manga are intended for, and consumed by, both male and female audiences, *denki* manga audiences are predominantly female.[9] This may date back to prewar educational practices when, as historian of education Amano Ikuo argues, all elements of higher school education for girls were aimed at the vague goal of "elevating character" (*jinkaku o takameru* 人格を高める). Such an ambiguous and subjective purpose and its constant mantra-like evocation served to "expand limitlessly the scope for the goal and practice of female education."[10] *Denki* had a place in such an open curriculum since they promoted self-discipline and effort as the means to achieving a higher public good.

Manga biographies of great women have been influenced greatly by the conventions of *shōjo* manga. Given their ostensibly educational purpose and their intended consumption by both female and male readers, *denki* manga should not be considered a variety of *shōjo* manga; instead, I would argue that they draw upon a number of *shōjo* manga tropes and stylistic features, especially those found in the *otome chikku* 乙女チック (feminine; "girly") variety that might be considered the mainstream of *shōjo* manga. Critic Oshiyama Michiko 押山美知子 writes that since the emergence of *shōjo* manga as a distinct subgenre within manga, its object has often been to "create an attractive heroine with whom mainly teenage (*jūdai* 十代) readers can identify." Other observers like Wakui Kanako 和久井香菜子 state that *shōjo* manga readers traditionally seek the exposure of "women's true feelings (*onna no honne* 本音) and desires (*yokubō* 欲望)."[11] Likewise, the goal of *denki* manga is to provide a model with which the reader can identify and to which she can ultimately aspire. As a result, the genre has spawned multiple texts featuring such figures as Marie Curie, who dedicated her life to the advancement of science while dealing with family deaths and constant financial struggles, and Helen Keller, who overcame tremendous physical challenges to embody the limitless possibilities of a determined human mind.

As we shall see, the influence from prewar works of moral edification such as Smiles' *Self-Help* and *shūshin* textbooks is still felt today with the mutual influence between *denki* and *shōjo* manga. Manga biographies of Florence Nightingale exist at the confluence of these traditions. Nightingale was a staple figure in Japanese prewar *shūshin* textbooks, and is

7 This last episode is fiction. Jenner experimented not on his own son but on a boy named James Pipp. For more about Jenner's representation in Japanese *shūshin* texts, see Kawana 2008, pp. 116–20.

8 As of October 2010, they are as follows: *Noguchi Hideyo: Densenbyō ni tachimukatta igaku no chichi* 野口英世 伝染病にたちむかった医学の父 (Shūeisha, 1989), *Dr. Noguchi: Shin kaishaku no Noguchi Hideyo monogatari* Dr. Noguchi—新解釈の野口英世物語 (Kōdansha, 1994–95, and then 2005), and *Noguchi Hideyo: Densenbyō ni inochi o kaketa igaku no senshi* 野口英世—伝染病に命をかけた医学の戦士 (Shōgakukan). Of these, the Kōdansha biography is a multi-volume series. Originally published in 17 volumes, it was re-issued in 2005 in eight volumes.

9 Kashiwabara 2009. Kashiwabara is an editor at the Shōgakukan publishing house.

10 Amano 1991, p. 145.

11 Oshiyama 2007, p. 1 and Wakui 2010, pp. 3–6.

the reigning queen of postwar *denki* novels and manga. Nightingale forsook her privileged background and dedicated herself to helping others, displaying virtues that have been heralded ever since, especially in industrialized nations like Japan with acute social and economic disparities. She continues to dominate the *denki* subgenre more than a century after her first appearance, and this is to be explained not only by the greatness of her achievements and their supposed relevance to the modern world, but also by the conventions of *shūshin* and *shōjo* manga. One of the defining characteristics of educational manga is factual accuracy. *Denki* manga invariably cite a respectable academic general editor (*kanshū* 監修), often a prominent educator from a university or a prestigious high school, who supposedly has been consulted on all aspects of the work's production. They also typically carry a list of reference works at the end of the volume.[12] However, they take a certain creative license to render the story of their heroine's life more interesting, dramatic, and purposeful, often taking full advantage of real life episodes that have the potential of being defining moments. It is this thin line between irresponsible fantasy biography and admirably accurate record of one extraordinary person's life that *denki* manga tread.

Tradition of Perseverance and Public Service: *Shūshin* and Biographies

Prewar *shūshin* textbooks most typically featured short biographical episodes of great historical figures, such as emperors and politicians, and taught such values as discipline, effort, patience, public good (*kōeki* 公益), as well as social and personal responsibility. Many of them were designed to train readers to be dedicated citizens willing to surrender their lives for the good of the state and the emperor. Kaigo Tokiomi 海後宗臣 (1901–87), a professor at Tokyo Imperial University, testified after the war that "especially at elementary and middle school levels, *shūshin*, geography, and history in particular were effective" in disseminating imperialist ideology.[13] Kaigo's testimony refers to the fact that *shūshin*, *kokugo* 国語 (national language), and geography had been chosen as foci of "state designation" (*kokuteika* 国定化) already in the early 1900s, and educators actively sought to inter-relate the content of these disciplines to promote the goal of strong nation-building.[14] Considering these overt purposes, it is not surprising that after the war the Civil Information and Education (CIE) section of the Occupation authorities abolished *shūshin* altogether, purged *kokugo* of nationalistic and militaristic content, and subsumed geography into the more neutral and general subject of *shakai* 社会 (literally, "society"; social studies).

Shūshin was, however, reincarnated in 1951 as *dōtoku* 道徳 (morality), but *shūshin* and *dōtoku* are different in more than name. The substance of *dōtoku* was planned to comply with the overall aims of postwar moral education: "realizing a spirit of respect for human dignity, . . . endeavoring to create a culture that is rich in individuality and to develop a

12 For instance, Gakken's 1980 work and Shūeisha's 1984 works on Nightingale both identify as academic overseers supervisors former administrators of the Japanese Red Cross Society (Nihon Sekijūjisha 日本赤十字社). Shōgakukan's 1996 biography gives Hasegawa Toshihiko 長谷川敏彦, a professor at Nihon Medical School (日本医科大学). Kōdansha's *Atomu* and Shūeisha's *Chibi Maruko* both have Kodama Kazuko 小玉香津子, who was a professor and the head of the nursing department at Seibo University 聖母大学 and the former head of the nursing department at Nagoya City University. She is also the author of her own Nightingale biography in prose, *Naichingēru: Hito to shisō shiri-zu* ナイチンゲール 人と思想シリーズ (Shimizu Shoin, 1999).

13 Cited in Yamazumi 1987, p. 3.

14 Ibid., p. 76.

democratic society and state, training Japanese to be capable of contributing to a peaceful international society, and cultivating their morality as the foundation thereof."[15] As *dōtoku* consciously distanced itself from prewar nationalist and militarist ethics, figures who had made regular appearances in *shūshin* textbooks, such as Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成 (1294?–1336) and General Nogi Maresuke 乃木希典 (1849–1912). They sacrificed their lives for Emperors Godaigo 後醍醐 and Meiji 明治 respectively were substituted with lessons on the beauty of nature or solutions to everyday friendship problems.[16] In addition, schools were allowed to assign only minimum class time to this subject.[17]

The staple stories in *shūshin* textbooks were disqualified as suitable for post war education on account of their pre-war resonances. However, these stories endured most significantly in various *denki* publications outside of the school curriculum. While *dōtoku* came to be an amalgam of unglamorous, politically "safe" stories, several central values of *shūshin*—keen devotion to the public good, unsung sacrifice that saved many lives, and perseverance against all odds rather than nationalism and uncritical devotion to the emperor—continued to feature prominently in commercially published *denki*. In the process, the accounts are both sanitized and dramatized: "sanitized" in the sense that moral lessons have become less preachy and spiritually oriented; "dramatized" as the pursuit of entertainment value. At the same time, the consumption has become much greater, and the stories have become much more emotional.

Biographies of Florence Nightingale

Nightingale's biography moved from the pages of *shūshin* textbooks in the prewar period to commercial publications during the postwar reform on moral education. Tales about Florence Nightingale were available as early as the late nineteenth century. A short translation of her life story was published in 1890, and two more versions followed in 1901.[18] After that, Nightingale enjoyed steady attention before and after her inclusion in the *shūshin* textbooks used in Japanese schools between 1910 and 1941. She made her first appearance in the second of six prewar editions (1910–17) to teach the need "for compassion for all living beings" (*ikimono o awareme* 生き物を哀れめ) and "philanthropy"

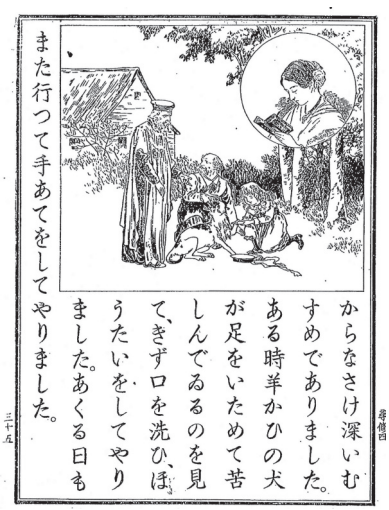

Figure 1. Nightingale tending to an injured dog. (Lesson 19, "To have compassion for all living beings" [*ikimono o awareme*], in volume 4 of *Dainiki jinjō shōgaku shūshinsho*, 35; in use 1910–1917)

15 Ministry of Education 1983, p. 111. Cited in Beauchamp 1999, p. 146.

16 Tanaka 2006 lists suggestions for postwar elementary school class plans (*Dōtoku gakushū shidō an* 道徳学習指導案) and gives two sample readings. One is a story about an Ainu boy with a gentle heart who became a bird upon his death; the other is a fictional tale of two girls who wrong each other without intending to (pp. 197–220).

17 Beauchamp 1999, p. 146. *Dōtoku* was set at one hour per week, or 35 classes per year from grades two through six, and 34 in grade one. In the prewar era, schools were allowed to allocate up to two hours per week specifically for *shūshin*. See Katsube and Shibukawa 1984, pp. 149 and 181.

18 The original author of the story from 1890 is "C. Kirkes" (Karukusu カルクス), and the translator is Kitayama Hatsutarō 北山初太郎. Two from 1901 were published by Keiseisha 警醒社 and Tōyōsha 東洋社.

(*hakuai* 博愛). The former discusses an episode in which young Florence nurses back to health a shepherd dog that had injured its leg; the latter concerns her more famous role leading a group of nurses to tend to wounded soldiers during the Crimean War.[19]

More detail is added in the third edition (1918–32), where she is now described as not only a caring soul but also a "daughter of a wealthy landowner," implying, perhaps, that she did not have to care about money and let it interfere with her pursuit and that she refused to go back to England even when she fell ill in the Crimea.[20] In the fourth edition (1933–40), the authors meshed previously discrete episodes as one lesson, and emphasized how others appreciated Nightingale's service. It is in this version that she makes her famous rounds in the hospital with her lamp, and the reader learns how the soldiers were comforted by her presence. There is also reference here to the establishment of a school for nurses.

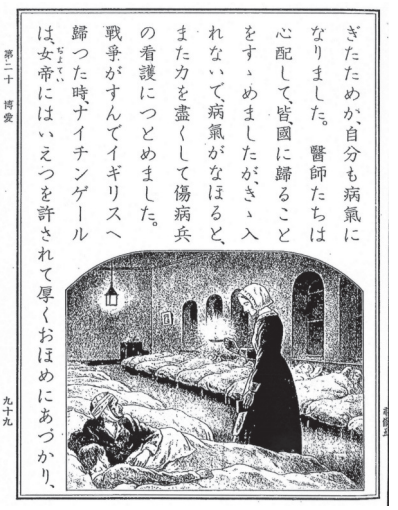

Figure 2. Nightingale making her rounds during the Crimean War. (Lesson 20, "Benevolence" [*hakuai*] in volume 5 of *Daiyonki jinjō shōgaku shūshinsho*, 99; in use 1933–1940)

The ultimate message of the story is that of benevolence and goodwill toward everyone:

> To love humanity broadly, this is the path that we should follow. To help not only the unfortunate who have met with disaster, but also those who suffer on the brink of death, those who are wounded and those who are sick, even if they are from an enemy country: this is how to realize the path of goodwill toward all.[21]

As if to offer a Japanese model that fulfills this ideal, the Nightingale episode is immediately followed in the fourth edition by the tale of Kamimura Hikonojō 上村彦之丞 (1849–1916), a Japanese naval officer who is famous for saving lives of not only Japanese but also Russian soldiers during the Russo-Japanese war.[22]

Nightingale is no longer a presence in the ultra-nationalist *shūshin* textbooks from 1941. However, she remained in the consciousness of the reading public thanks to the publisher Shufu no Tomosha, which included her in their *Sekai meisaku katei bunko* 世界名作家庭文庫 series in the same year.[23] During the war, knowledge of Nightingale endured through older copies of school textbooks, older commercial publications, and the Shufu no tomo series. After the war, Nightingale's biography was included in official educational sources

19 *Dainiki jinjō shōgaku shūshinsho*, vol. 4, pp. 35–37.
20 *Daisanki jinjō shōgaku shūshinsho*, vol. 4, pp. 48–53.
21 *Daiyonki jinjō shōgaku shūshinsho*, vol. 5, p. 100.
22 Ibid., pp. 100–101.
23 She was the subject of volume 14 in this series published between 1940 and 1941. Other volumes included a biography of Fabre, an abridged translation of the Chinese vernacular novel *Xiyouji* 西遊記 (Jp. *Saiyūki*; Journey to the West, 1590s), as well as Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and Maurice Maeterlinck's play *L'oiseau bleu* (1908).

only sporadically, perhaps as an attempt to avoid material used in prewar textbooks. In 1951, the textbook publisher Futaba 双葉社 included Nightingale in their *kokugo* textbook for fourth graders, but only as a topic for a book report.[24] After that, Nightingale's biography was included in only one *kokugo* textbook, but it was not taken up in any *dōtoku* materials.[25]

However, Nightingale has consistently been well represented in the wider publishing world. In 1948, Shufu no Tomosha once again published what seems to be the first postwar biography of Nightingale (*Naichingēru den* ナイチンゲール伝, by Okada Sadako 岡田禎子); she was included in the *Ijin bunko* 偉人文庫 by Kaiseisha 偕成社 in 1950 and Komine Shoten's 小峰書店 *Shōgakusei bunko* 小学生文庫 in the same year. Kōdansha followed with their own version in 1952 including her in their *Kōdansha no ichinensei bunko* 講談社の一年生文庫 series aimed at first grade students. When two major publishers, Popurasha ポプラ社 (specializing in children's materials) and Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店 (general interest), came up with their own series for children in 1953, both included Nightingale in their lineup. In total, she was the object of seventeen representations during the 1950s, including one revised edition. In the 1960s, she appeared sixteen times, including four revised editions (e.g., Kaiseisha's *Jidō denki zenshū* 児童伝記全集). The following decade saw eight new publications and three revisions, including the translation in 1972 of Cecil Woodham-Smith's seminal biography. The number of Nightingale biographies then went up again in the 1980s to seventeen, including three reprints and revisions of earlier popular titles. In the 1990s it finally shrank to eleven (including two revisions) with translations of Pam Brown's *Florence Nightingale: The Tough British Campaigner Who Was the Founder of Modern Nursing* (1988) and Richard Tames's *Florence Nightingale: Life Times* (1989). In the first decade of the twenty first century, the number of new publications has declined to five.

Nightingale in Manga

There have been at least five versions of Nightingale's life narrated completely as manga: Gakken in 1980, Shūeisha in 1984, Shōgakukan in 1996, Kōdansha in 2001, and Shūeisha (as part of another series) in 2004.[26] As the number of new prose biographies has decreased, so the importance of these manga versions has increased. Nightingale is by no means the

24 In the 1951 edition, Nightingale's story appears in the *Watashi no suki na hanashi* 私の好きな話 (Stories I Like) section along with two others; in the 1953 edition, the title of the section is slightly modified to *Watashi no yonda hon* 私の読んだ本 (The Books I Have Read); in the 1956 edition, the section is expanded to include five topics with the new title *Dokusho no kufū* 読書の工夫 (Applications of Reading).

25 *Naichingēru no denki o yonde* ナイチンゲールの伝記を読んで (On Reading the Biography of [Florence] Nightingale) appears in the *Monogatari o hanasu* 物語を話す (Talking about Stories) section of Nihon Shoseki's 1977 textbook for fifth graders.

26 Many of the early biographies are illustrated heavily, and some do have such explicit titles as *Hoikusha no ijin ebunko* 保育社の偉人絵文庫 (Hoikusha's Illustrated Pocket Series of Great Figures. Hoikusha, 1955) and *Nakayoshi ebunko* なかよし絵文庫 (Friends Illustrated Pocket Series. Kaiseisha, 1958). Concurrently, some other series even had explicit titles like *Denki manga bunko* 伝記漫画文庫 (Tōkyō Manga Shuppansha, 1954), *Omoshiro manga bunko*おもしろ漫画文庫 (Shūeisha, 1957), and *Gakushū manga bunko* 学習漫画文庫 (Shūeisha, 1959). After that, publishers seem to have shied away from using the word "manga" in their titles, perhaps reflecting the firmer establishment of the term in the common consciousness. The first complete manga version of Nightingale's life story seems to have been *Naichingēru: Senjō no tenshi* ナイチンゲール—戦場の天使 (1980) by Gakushū Kenkyūsha, better known as Gakken. The company had been enjoying the success of their all-manga *Himitsu* 秘密 series since the early 1970s and developed a corresponding series of biographies. Shūeisha followed suit with their own series of manga biographies in 1984, and included Nightingale as the third volume.

only historical personage to enjoy multiple representations in manga or prose. However, she is the undisputed queen among the female greats when it comes to frequency of appearance, outstripping Marie Curie, Helen Keller, and the newcomer, Mother Teresa. Why is this so?

One answer may be that her biography is the most conducive to manga conversion, especially given its adaptability to the styles and conventions of *shōjo* manga. While many early *shōjo* manga placed Japanese protagonists in gut-wrenching situations such as dire poverty and as orphans, a number of other works routinely used foreign settings (real or fictional), and consequently featured protagonists who were non-Japanese.[27] An example would be the works of Mizuno Hideko 水野英子 (1939–), considered the female successor of Tezuka Osamu 手塚治虫 (1928–89), and the only female resident of the now legendary Tokiwa sō トキワ荘 boarding house, where many important manga authors resided together in the 1950s, including Tezuka, Akatsuka Fujio 赤塚不二夫 (1935–2008), and Fujiko Fujio A 藤子不二雄A (Abiko Motoo 安孫子素雄, 1934–) and Fujiko F Fujio 藤子・F・不二雄 (Fujimoto Hiroshi 藤本弘, 1933–96). One of her earliest works was *Hanī Hanī no sutekina bōken* ハニーハニーのすてきな冒険 (The Wonderful Adventures of Honey-Honey, 1966–67), in which an orphan girl is pursued by the infamous gentleman thief, Phoenix, because her cat Mimī swallowed a diamond he covets. The story originates in Vienna and then shifts to Italy, France, England, and other countries, with characters who are apparently European. The villain chases the protagonist around the world, stopping in Japan only temporarily in the process. During the journey, Hanī Hanī realizes that she is the lost princess of the small kingdom of Purishira, and fights the arrogant princess, Furōreru (whose arrogance offers a dramatic contrast to the humility of Hanī Hanī), only to discover that they are actually sisters.

Nightingale's life story, after some rearrangement or dramatization, easily satisfies many of the *shōjo* manga conventions of self-liberation and self-empowerment evident in this story. As Ōgi Fusami notes, *shōjo* manga are not self-delusional; rather, their episodes and plots offer more empowering solutions than an escape from reality.[28] Nightingale was a British national who lived during the Victorian era, the height of the British empire. She was a daughter of a wealthy family, which was the next best thing to being a princess, and she wore ornate dresses. From her early life, she was a frequent visitor to the continent; she was in fact born in the city of Florence, Italy (1820), later toured Europe as a teenager (1837), traveled again in her twenties to Italy and especially to Rome (1847), and in her thirtieth year to Greece and Egypt (1849–50). The last trip was particularly exciting, as she secretly made a detour to Kaiserswerth-am-Rhein to see the deaconess clinic known for its training of nurses. This is certainly not as spectacular as Hanī Hanī's tour around the world, but still it allows the manga author to showcase her wealth and highlight the exoticism of her story.

That the job of the first manga adaptation of Nightingale's biography went to Yokota Tokuo よこたとくお (1936–), one of Mizuno's "flat mates" at the Tokiwa sō, was significant because Yokota was a male author known for his "gag" (ギャグ) manga. Although Yokota's style seems incompatible with both Nightingale's life story and *shōjo* manga, he was

27 A number of examples of the former category are listed in "Kanashiku fushiawase na shōjo dorama" 悲しく不幸せな少女ドラマ in Yonezawa 2004, pp. 34–55. These include Yamada Eiji 山田えいじ, *Pesu yo o o fure* ペスよ尾をふれ (1957–59) and Ishinomori Shōtarō 石ノ森章太郎, *Emiko sutōrī* 江美子ストーリー (1962). Examples of the latter include Tezuka Osamu's *Ribon no kishi* リボンの騎士 (1953–56; 1963–66) and Igarashi Yumiko いがらしゆみこ, *Kyandi-Kyandi* キャンディ・キャンディ (1975–79).

28 Ōgi 2010, especially pp. 116–124.

actually one of the forerunners of the *shōjo* manga genre in 1960s. Before *shōjo* manga was established as a distinct genre with specific rules and conventions, it was common for manga authors to find their individual style by working in what are now considered separate genres. In its early phases, *shōjo* manga were produced by mainly male authors, including Tezuka Osamu. Yokota himself serialized *Māgaretto chan* マーガレットちゃん, the eponymous heroine of the magazine *Shūkan Māgaretto* 週刊マーガレット (Weekly Margaret) between 1963 and 1971. *Māgaretto chan* detailed the everyday happenings in the life of this half-American and half-Japanese girl. Her biracial background shared exoticism with Mizuno Hideko's works; it could be classified as gag manga in terms of storyline and drawing style, but could also be seen as a prototypical *shōjo* manga because of its publishing venue and the cosmopolitan background of its protagonist. In addition, the choice of Yokota was occasioned by the general migration of gag manga authors to educational manga from the early 1970s.[29] Prior to the Nightingale biography, Yokota had authored several volumes in the Gakken *Himitsu shirīzu* and a manga biography of Helen Keller, so his appointment as author of the first manga adaptation of the Nightingale story made sense.

Family Struggles

Manga accounts of Nightingale share other characteristics with *shōjo* manga. Yonezawa Yoshihiro suggests that in early *shōjo* manga, the ideal family is depicted as "healthy and wanting for nothing" (*kenzen de kesson no nai kazoku* 健全で欠損のない家族).[30] Before the pursuit of romantic desires became the central theme in manga works among a maturing readership from pre-teens to teenagers—in other words, before it was time for the female protagonist to value romantic relationships ahead of familial ties—the heroine's main source of both happiness and struggle was her place within her native home.[31] Manga depictions of Nightingale's early life duly refer constantly to her conflicts with her family, especially her mother and sister, and also ultimately with her father. Such themes of familial conflict in manga draw heavily from similar accounts of family life given in print biographies; for example, Cecil Woodham-Smith's *Florence Nightingale 1820–1910* (1950) and Pam Brown's book (1988) emphasize Florence's familial struggles before her rise to fame, offering scenes of dramatic conflict that found their way into Japanese translations and, ultimately, manga adaptations. Brown's account gives special attention to young Florence's turbulent home life, and is listed as a source by all Nightingale manga biographies that came after the Japanese translation of Brown's work appeared in 1991. Brown's biography is a short book of less than a hundred pages, and is by no means comprehensive, but its overly dramatized nature greatly influenced all three manga versions that came out after it.[32] It emphasizes events and people in Nightingale's life to which other biographies referred only in passing, often

29 The choice of Yokota also has to do with the general crossover (*kuragae* 鞍替え) of gag manga authors in the 1960s and 1970s, when the genre started to fall out of fashion. The advent of *gekiga* 劇画 (dramatic style), the inauguration of *Biggu komikku* ビッグコミック in 1968, and the cancellation of *Manga dokuhon* 漫画読本 in 1970 seem to have made many former gag manga authors gravitate toward educational manga. This is a development I plan to investigate further in the future.

30 Yonezawa 2004, p. 35.

31 Yonezawa 2007, p. 107.

32 The works that refer specifically to Brown's translation were published by Shōgakukan, Kōdansha, and Shūeisha (Miyahara 2004).

inaccurately so. However, as we shall see, Brown's account offered fertile ground for *denki* influenced by *shōjo* manga.

In Brown's version, Nightingale's mother Fanny and sister Parthenope appear as antagonists to young Florence. They act hysterically when Florence intimates her ambition to be a nurse, for example,[33] and again after Florence returns from a two week study trip to Kaiserswerth-am-Rhein,[34] and when she suggests that she might study at a Roman Catholic hospital.[35] Such incidents typically end with Florence's mother and sister shouting at her for her lack of filiality. In her short and less than comprehensive narrative, Brown chronicles how young Florence eventually had to drive them out of her life in order not to be deterred by their opposition. First, she detaches herself emotionally (by ceasing to seek their approval),[36] and later removes herself physically (by asking her Aunt May to tell them that she is too sick to see them).[37]

For Brown's Nightingale, achieving her goal necessitated accepting the gulf between her and her family: "I must expect no sympathy or help from them. . . . I have so long craved for their sympathy that I can hardly reconcile myself to this. . . . I have so long been treated as a child, and have so long allowed myself to be treated as a child."[38] This prolonged struggle against her family offered great material for dramatization of the sort expected by the readership of *shōjo* manga, and confirmed Nightingale's status as the queen of *denki*. Other female greats are blessed with family support early in their lives. For example, when young Agnes (the future Mother Teresa) decides to pursue the life of a nun relatively early in her life in Shōgakukan's *Mazā Teresa* マザー・テレサ (1997), she meets only slight opposition from her family reluctant to lose their daughter and little sister to a life of isolation; it is nothing compared to the conflict between the young Florence and her family. In the Shōgakukan volume, young Agnes receives their blessings within a few frames of expressing her intention to pursue the religious life, and her family members show more understanding and encouragement as they see her off to Ireland to receive religious training. In reality, Agnes was indeed able to leave home much earlier in life (at the age of 18) than Nightingale, who was 31 when she visited Kaiserswerth, and 34 when she left for the Crimea.

Another female *denki* great, Marie Curie, had no opposition from her family to her academic career; rather, the source of her struggle was financial. Her family were supportive, and all Curie's biographies highlight the open-mindedness of her father and the closeness of the siblings, as young Marie and her older sister help each other, one working while the other studies in Paris. Such collaboration was absent from the relationship between Florence and her older sister. Parthenope Nightingale actively tried to derail Florence's plans to educate herself and achieve self-realization, and in the Shōgakukan version, Parthenope tears pages from Florence's books on nursing that were smuggled to her through helpful friends.

In real life, Parthenope failed to be her younger sister's confidante and supporter in time

33 Brown 1988, p. 14; Chino 1991, p. 32. The dramatic elements of Brown's biography are further amplified in Chino Midori's Japanese translation, from which most manga versions have been derived. For purposes of comparison, references to Brown's work here are accompanied by the corresponding pages in Chino's translation.

34 Brown 1988, p. 17; Chino 1991, p. 44.

35 Brown 1988, p. 20; Chino 1991, p. 53.

36 Brown 1988, p. 19; Chino 1991, p. 50.

37 Brown 1988, p. 45; Chino 1991, p. 126.

38 Brown 1988, pp. 18–19; Chino 1991, p. 48.

of need, and such antagonism and rivalry are common motifs in *shōjo* manga. One of the genre's most important critics, Fujimoto Yukari 藤本由香里, defines a main motif of the genre as the search for "one's place" (*ibasho* 居場所). In other words, the *shōjo* manga heroine possesses "the desire to be accepted by someone for who she is" (*dareka ni sono mama no jibun o ukeirete hoshii to iu negai* 誰かにそのままの自分を受け入れて欲しいという願い).[39] Fujimoto argues that this struggle is most often shared by characters from "families with complex issues," but reminds us that even girls from affluent two-parent households like Florence's can suffer from instability, especially when their parents deny their individuality by comparing them to their siblings. As examples, Fujimoto lists Kobayashi Hiromi's 小林博美 *Call Me. . . !* (1991), in which the protagonist is constantly compared to her well-to-do older sister and gets scolded even for attempting suicide in her despair; and twin sister stories like Hagio Moto's 萩尾望都 *Hanshin* 半神 (Half God, 1984) and Yamagishi Ryōko's 山岸凉子 *Naraku: Tarutarosu* 奈落——タルタロス (1988), which depict deep hatred and blurred identities between two sisters.

For the historical Florence Nightingale, the two main sources of contention in her life were marriage and her career as a nurse. For a woman to work for financial gain when she was already wealthy was considered "distasteful" by the members of her social class, and to many of her station the nursing profession was hardly worthy of respect or aspiration. It is known that in real life Florence had at least two serious suitors, her cousin Henry Nicholson and a family friend, Richard Mockton Milnes (1809–85). Florence had no intention of marrying the former, but was less resolved about the latter. In the end, Florence also turned her back on a union with Milnes. Pam Brown's version dramatically reports that "it nearly broke [Florence's] heart" and that her mother, Fanny, "was absolutely furious."[40] However, Mark Bostridge, the author of the most recent, and perhaps most detailed, biography of Nightingale to date, points out that as far as existing correspondence is concerned, Fanny never actually tried to force her daughter to accept marriage even though she herself would have coveted their union: "To be fair to Fanny, she had apparently never attempted to influence Florence in Milnes's direction."[41]

In manga accounts, Florence's mother Fanny is portrayed as particularly anxious for her daughters to marry well and they tend to construct a more hysterical image of the mother, using tidbits from the biographies of Brown and Woodham-Smith. In Woodham-Smith's biography, Fanny reacted very emotionally to Florence's request that she be sent to learn nursing at Salisbury Infirmary, a well-known hospital a few miles from her home, whose head physician was a family friend. According to Woodham-Smith, Florence's request was met with vehement opposition, and Florence was falsely accused of having an affair with a surgeon there.[42] Fanny demonstrates her disappointment in an almost hysteric way when Florence turns down Milnes' proposition. In one version, she throws a teacup at her, screaming "Shame on you!"[43]

Fujimoto Yukari suggests that one root of dramatic conflict in *shōjo* manga is the feeling of being negated by one's family, and no female great was more negated by her family than Florence.[44] Fanny may have been a reasonably understanding mother in real life, as suggested by

39 Fujimoto 2008, p. 143.
40 Brown 1988, p. 16.
41 Bostridge 2008, p. 130.
42 Woodham-Smith 1950, p. 38.
43 Miyahara 2004, p. 100.
44 Interview with Yoshida Akimi in Fujimoto 2000, p. 136.

Bostridge's account, but she is never depicted in manga in this way as it lacks the requisite drama. Such is one of the restrictions that *shōjō* manga conventions impose on the Nightingale story.

Thou Shalt Be Beautiful

The tension between dramatization and accuracy can also be detected in manga descriptions of the heroine's physical appearance. Though none of the female greats are known for their physical beauty, in manga *denki* texts it is crucial that the heroine, whether the prototype of a nurse or a scientist, be physically attractive. In addition to the saint-like qualities that all traditional personae of *denki* series share, Saitō Minako lists three characteristics that all female greats must possess: 1), they are "crimson soldiers" (*kurenai no senshi* 紅の戦士), women that is who achieve outstanding success in the male-dominated world; 2), they tend to be "holy mothers" (*seinaru haha* 聖なる母) figures, who make good use of their "womanly sensibilities" (*josei nara dewa no kansei* 女性ならではの感性), in order to help and save other people; 3), they tend to be eternal "magic girls" (*mahō shōjo* 魔法少女), who have certain "girlish" qualities that allow them to stay true to their inner girl; that is they are "pure," unaffected by the negative influences of male-dominated society and able to think objectively and act rationally. I would add to this list a kind of physical beauty, with which the females in question achieve more than other women in the same situation (financially, intellectually, or even spiritually). In the world of *denki*, the physical appearance of male protagonists like Noguchi Hideyo and Thomas Edison is less important than that of Marie Curie and Florence Nightingale. Such biographical accounts never talk about how handsome (or unattractive) great men were. Their charm may be more appropriately described in real life or in print biographies as some intangible quality like charisma, but women in *denki* manga are always depicted as physically beautiful and it is this beauty that strikes the men around them even before they have accomplished anything in life. For a *shōjo* manga heroine, "attractive" (*miryokuteki* 魅力的) as in Oshiyama's earlier quotation means possessing certain "likable" qualities, and heroines always end up being recognized, however humble they are.

Critic Hashimoto Osamu 橋本治 suggests that the *otome chikku* variety of *shōjo* manga, in which an average girl is picked by the most desirable male in her circle without trying to get his attention, invariably with the killer phrase "I like you just the way you are" (*sonna kimi ga suki da yo* そんな君が好きだよ) is a kind of "pornography for girls" in which they find what they want to see and hear.[45] I tend to agree with this assertion, although the *otome chikku* style of *shōjo* manga is "pornography" that depicts the desires of its readers even as it is devoid of graphic depictions of sexuality. While other subgenres of *shōjo* manga—such as BL ("boys love" stories featuring male-male sexual relationships) and *yuri* 百合 (featuring female-female

45 Hashimoto Osamu 1984, vol. 2, p. 126. Wakui 2010 also compares *otome chikku* style *shōjo* manga to "AV" (adult video アダルトビデオ). Referring to plotlines in Hosokawa Chieko 細川智栄子, *Ōke no monshō* 王家の紋章 (Crest of the Royal Family, 1976–77), she states: "With every man [the female protagonist] meets falling in love [with her], and with [her] gaining power without making any effort, these are all delusions that do not happen in reality. This is why women become absorbed in *shōjo* manga: they express women's desires directly and make their dreams come true. This is pretty much like the plots of adult videos, where storylines are pushed in the direction where any situation…can lead to sex. In the case of *shōjo* manga, where female adoration [*onna no moe* 女の萌え] is not the only theme, and the more unrealistic the situation, the better, because women's desires are latent in such developments" (Wakui 2010, pp. 4–5).

relationships)—depict the struggles and expressions of non-heterosexual desires, *otome chikku* presupposes heterosexuality as the norm and monogamy as an ideal. Typically, the focus shifts from concerns about the superficial aspects of identity to inner qualities, with both ultimately affirmed by romantic success during the protagonist(s)'s journey. In *otome chikku*, we are often told by the heroine herself that she lacks universally appealing physical features, but she still is depicted as desirable because of the dictates of the "aesthetics of *shōjo* manga," however contradictory they are. Heroines of *denki* manga are thus often described as being "beautiful," whatever the reality.

All manga versions depict Florence as a woman of "beautiful" or "above average" physical appearance, but the Shōgakukan version places the most emphasis on her physical beauty. It is a mystifying move for a *denki* manga, especially since this version features her real and most recognized portrait on the cover. Here she appears stern, serious and determined, and neither sweet nor pretty.

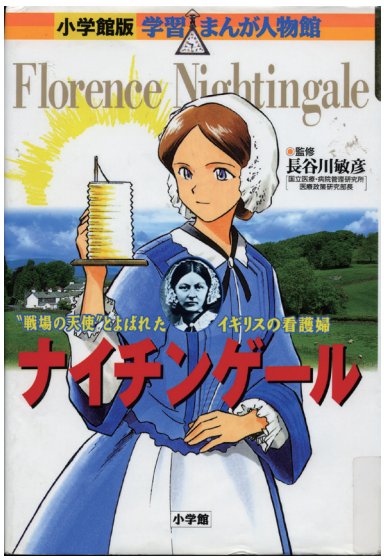

Figure 3. Cover of *Naichingēru: "Senjō no tenshi" to yobareta Igirisu no kangofu* (Mato 1996). Courtesy of Shōgakukan. (Reproduced with permission)

However, in the actual manga, the fourteen year old Nightingale is an eye-catching belle whose beauty is commented on by guests at her parents' ball.[46] Also, when poet, politician, and future suitor Richard Monckton Milnes meets her, he comments that she is the most beautiful of all the people who attended the ball that night.[47]

Celibacy and *Shōjo* Manga

When the re-creators of Nightingale's life story bring physical appeal into the storyline, they raise the question of successful romance and marriage. The stated themes of manga serialized in *Shūkan shōnen janpu* 週刊少年ジャンプ (Weekly Boys' Jump, 1968–), the enduring schoolboys' manga, are "friendship, perseverance, and victory" (*yūjō* 友情, *doryoku* 努力, *shōri* 勝利).[48] By way of contrast, the common themes of *shōjo* manga may be defined as "romance, struggle, and stability" (*ren'ai* 恋愛, *shiren* 試練, *antei* 安定). A romance with a member of the opposite sex is a must for the *shōjo* manga heroine of the *otome chikku* school. As Hashimoto Osamu suggests, the heroine *needs* to be assured of her success as a woman in the form of a romantic declaration by a desirable male who is often the boy she herself likes. The closer Nightingale manga biographies move toward *shōjo* manga, the greater their need to deal with the issue of romance.

Portraying Florence's lifelong celibacy to a readership trained to respond to romance-heavy *shōjo* manga has constituted a challenge for the creators of Nightingale manga who presume an audience of pre-teen to low-teen females. In reality, it was not unheard of

46 Mato 2004, p. 15.
47 Ibid., p. 22.
48 Nishimura 1997, pp. 31–32.

for women of Nightingale's social status to remain single throughout their lives. Indeed, Nightingale had several close female relatives, including her aunts, who stayed unmarried. However, the conventions of traditional *shōjo* manga demand the heroine enjoy a fulfilling and happy romantic relationship. As Ueno Chizuko points out, the modern romantic discourse dictates that both men and women "mate, or you are worthless" (*tsugae, tsugawanakereba omae wa mu da* 番え、番わなければ、お前は無だ).[49] Such a view is alive and well in recent successful series like *NANA* ナナ (1999–2009, Yazawa Ai 矢沢あい) and *Hachimitsu to Kurōbā* ハチミツとクローバー (Honey and Clover, 2000–2006, Umino Chika 羽海野チカ). In both series, the female characters struggle to gain romantic happiness and some form of self-realization, whether as a singer or artist. When all-time classic *Berusaiyu no bara* ベルサイユのばら (The Rose of Versailles, 1972–73) by Ikeda Riyoko 池田理代子 depicted the life of Marie Antoinette, it focused on the compromises and sacrifices she made for her true love, Hans Axel von Fersen (1755–1810), on account of her political status as the Queen of France.[50] Nightingale's beauty in combination with her celibacy might enhance the strength of her resolve to become a nurse and later a devoted military and hospital reformer, but it undoubtedly makes her an unapproachable figure for ordinary readers.

On this point, Nightingale may seem a less relatable figure than her *denki* manga runner-up, Marie Curie. The details of her romance with Pierre Curie are reminiscent of various romantic mentor-disciple relationships common in *shōjo* manga. The masterpieces of the *shōjo* manga *bildungs roman* (or *bildungs* manga), Yamagishi Ryōko's *Arabesuku* アラベスク (1971–73, and then 1974–75) and Yamamoto Sumika's 山本鈴美香 *Ēsu o nerae!* エースをねらえ! (1973–75, and 1978–80), both feature austere, strict, quasi-sadistic but ultimately caring male mentors who first recognize the female heroines as diamonds in the rough with whom they ultimately fall in love.[51] In Marie Curie's life, Pierre Curie could have easily played that role. When Marie met Pierre, she was 27 and had just graduated from the Sorbonne, while he was 35 and already an established scientist who gave her his own monograph as a first present. He also had a monk-like air of reclusion; having lost his love fifteen years ealirer, he now devoted himself to science and renounced all worldly pursuits, including romance. On Marie's end, she had also suffered a heartbreaking separation with another lover toward the end of her teenage years, during her stay in Ciechanów. Because of these circumstances, it is easy to decorate their encounter in a very *shōjo* manga way. In Shōgakukan's version, when Marie meets Pierre for the first time, she mistakes him for an assistant, assuming a scientist of his record to be a much older, grey haired man.

Such a gap between expectation and reality is usually a prelude to a long romance. When young Marie blushes at her mistake, the readers are comforted that the future two-time Nobel prize winning scientist is a "girl" who fits the preexisting mold established by

49 Ueno 1991, p. 255.

50 Referring to the popularity of *Berusaiyu*, critic Wakui Kanako suggests: "It is hard to find anyone who grew up in the 1970s and 80s and was not influenced by it" (Wakui 2010, p. 59). The story actually features two heroines, the queen Marie-Antoinette and the head of her Royal Guard, Oscar François de Jarjayer, who is actually a woman. Ikeda reportedly originally intended to make the former the sole heroine, but the audiences responded more strongly to Oscar. For the details of this work, see Shamoon 2007. Cf. Ōgi 2001.

51 Yamagishi's *Arabesuku* is about a ballet student from Kiev who had been the ugly duckling of her family (always compared to her superior sister), but who is scouted by a top male dancer to study ballet in Leningrad. Yamamoto's Ēsu is a tale of an underdog female tennis player who is discovered and trained by a Spartan (but ultimately caring) coach to become the top tennis player in the world.

the conventions of *shōjo* manga. In real life, Nightingale never had her Pierre Curie. It is true that she enjoyed the friendship of several men in high positions like Sydney Herbert, whose favor she gained in order to further her cause, but even Pam Brown, who exercised some creative license in depicting Florence's domestic life, explicitly states that there was no romantic relationship.[52]

Another convention in *shōjo* manga has the heroine's biggest enemy becoming her ultimate suitor. The more antagonistic they are at first, the better, as they are bound to grow intensely fond of each other after they reconcile their differences, get beyond initial skepticism, and realize they share the same values and goals. Nightingale did have antagonists such as Fox Maule-Ramsay (a.k.a. Lord Panmure, 1801–74) and John Hall (1795–1866). The former was an apparent sexist who sought to derail Nightingale's plans by delaying the organization of the committee for army reform, even after Queen Victoria ordered it be convened; the latter wrote a false report on the behavior of Nightingale's nurses during their stay in the Crimea in an attempt to tarnish their reputation.[53] However, the requisite romantic conversion happened neither to the real Nightingale nor to her opponents in real life, so it could not feature in *denki* manga, even if they routinely take creative liberties in molding her according to the conventions of the genre.

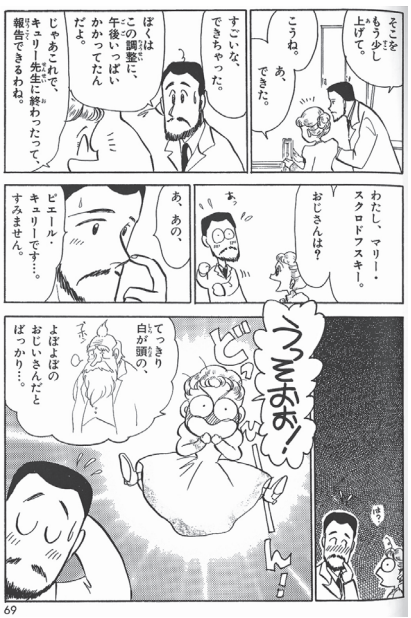

Figure 4. Marie Curie jumping in surprise (Abe 1996, p. 69). Courtesy of Shōgakukan. (Reproduced with permission)

As there is no trace of romance in Nightingale's life after she becomes a public figure, the aforementioned incident with Richard Mockton Milnes is stressed in all manga biographies. Milnes was in reality a family friend, an accomplished poet, and a peer, so the union between the two would have been considered a great match. Manga biographies play up Milnes's character so much that Florence's declining his proposal can only have appeared puzzling. Florence's early infatuation with the man is documented in the Woodham-Smith biography: "Her dreams centered upon Richard Monckton Milnes. She imagined herself married to him, performing heroic deeds with him."[54] Two manga versions accordingly depict Milnes as one of the few people who genuinely understands Florence's ardent desire to help the less fortunate. In one of these versions, Milnes smuggles to Florence medical books and other literature that her mother would frown upon, and praises her high-mindedness.[55] The real-life Milnes was engaged in helping the less fortunate, particularly advocating young criminals be sent to reformatories instead of prisons. So it was natural for Florence to enter-

52 Brown 1988, p. 16.

53 The falseness of Hall's report was later proven, but he was not blamed for wrong doing and instead received a medal for his service, while Nightingale's achievement was simply acknowledged. For depictions of these two figures, see Purojekuto shin ijinden 2009, pp. 58–59.

54 Woodham-Smith 1950, p. 43.

55 Miyahara 2004, p. 65–66.

tain the possibility of joining their interests and forces together. But she rejected his advances.

In manga versions, Florence's refusal of marriage is motivated by a conviction that marriage would free her from her family, but ultimately not allow her to achieve self-realization through work. Florence calmly explains this to the man, and sheds some tears afterward over the difficulty of her decision. One version depicts Florence leaving Milnes in a hurry as she is unable to look him in the eye after the refusal.[56] The treatment of Milnes, however, is hardly consistent even in Nightingale biographies in English. For instance, Edward Cook's untranslated but influential biography *Life of Florence Nightingale* (1913) never mentions Milnes as a suitor to Florence.[57] Hugh Small's biography *Florence Nightingale: Avenging Angel* (1998) paints Milnes as an ardent admirer who courted Florence for nine long years. However, he also mentions that once he was declined, he "immediately married someone else."[58] Small also quotes Florence's own words from her thirtieth birthday to suggest that she was yet unsure of her life purpose though she had forsaken the option of marriage, thus refuting the myth that she chose career over romance.[59]

Perhaps the most comprehensive account of the relationship between Nightingale and Milnes can be found in the most recent biography by Mark Bostridge. According to Bostridge, Florence's refusal was not as heartbreaking as depicted in some manga versions, which have Milnes typically portrayed as a caring soul who recognizes Florence's qualities and willingly withdraws when she chooses to pursue her career. However, Bostridge's research reveals that his devotion to Florence—or his attitude toward romance, at least—was not as pure as had been thought. If anyone was truly hurt by Florence's stubborn refusal of marriage, it was her cousin Henry Nicholson, who unsuccessfully proposed to her in 1843–44.[60] Milnes did marry someone else immediately after Florence jilted him, but Nicholson remained single throughout his life. Woodham-Smith's biography cites Florence's private note in which she discusses a possible moral disagreement between her and Milnes, and her fear of being confined in the expected role of "spending a life with him in making society and arranging domestic things."[61]

Perhaps this moral disagreement was related to the fact that in real life Milnes was an avid collector of erotica and a fan of the infamous Marquis de Sade. He left an extraordinary library of pornography upon his death. It is a fact referred to by Woodham-Smith, albeit only in passing: "The humane lover of children, the connoisseur of literature was also the man who introduced Swinburne to the works of the Marquis de Sade."[62] Milnes was apparently very open about his collection and often shared it with his friends. Given the prevailing social mores of the time and Florence's personal proximity to them, it is likely that she also knew

56 Ibid., pp. 98–99.
57 Milnes is mostly mentioned as a supporter for public causes (e.g., the Nightingale Fund, which she established for the building of training school for nurses).
58 Small 1998, p. 12.
59 "Today I am thirty—the age Christ began his Mission. Now no more childish things, no more vain things, no more love, no more marriage. Now, Lord, let me only think of Thy will." This appears without citation in Small 1998, pp. 12–13.
60 Bostridge 2008, p. 77.
61 Woodham-Smith 1950, p. 51.
62 Ibid., p. 30.

about his hobby and factored it in to her verdict on their possible union.[63] Assuming that Florence was aware of Milnes' literary (and perhaps sexual) preferences, this knowledge may have prompted her to say in a private note after declining his proposal: "I have a moral, an active, [*sic*] nature which requires satisfaction and that would not find it in his life."[64]

With the moral overtones of *denki* manga and the status of these texts as educational material (and not as *shōjo* manga that are educational), this side of Milnes is never discussed. Moreover, no matter the different views of their courtship that appear in new biographies like Bostridge's, the episode of the failed marriage proposal from Milnes would remain in Nightingale's *denki* manga. As long as *denki* manga on Nightingale are influenced by *shōjo* manga—purveying "pornography for girls"—and the end-product projects itself as *gakushū* manga, a prince charming who turned out to be the collector of pornography was never likely to feature.

Other, non-manga biographies may one day take into consideration the new findings from Bostridge's painstaking work, but *denki* manga—as long as the convention of romantic competition retains the current level of importance in contemporary *shōjo* manga—will continue to depict the incident as a young Florence turning down a flawless gentleman's ardent proposal for marriage. Such an explanation underscores her achievement as a young woman, "proto-feminist" in her refusal to buy into a heterosexual union just because it was expected of her. Her rejection also gives her more credibility and makes the path she ultimately chooses to pursue (that is, celibacy, and devotion to work) more worthwhile because she did not choose it by default; it thus presents her decision as pro-active.

Hashimoto Osamu points out that the heroine in *shōjo* manga is a "Cinderella" who is yet unaware of her virtues (*bishitsu* 美質) as a woman, until her male suitor makes her realize them.[65] Her realization that she is naïve and is lacking self-awareness depends on this awakening, and is completed by a union with her prince charming. In Nightingale's real-life case, when Henry Nicholson and, more importantly, Milnes acknowledge Florence's worthiness as a woman by proposing to her, her growth from girl to woman is affirmed. When she went off to the Crimea as the Superintendent of the Female Nursing Establishment of the English General Hospitals in Turkey, among her few personal papers was a letter from Milnes, in which he wrote: "I hear you are going to the East,… you can undertake that, when you could not undertake me."[66] The real motivation for Florence to take such a letter by a jilted suitor is uncertain. She may have felt a longing for the life she rejected as a married woman with all kinds of material comfort. On the other hand, she may have used the letter as a reminder to herself that she had once been thought desirable. But such details have no place in a biography framed by the conventions of *shōjo* manga. When she refuses the completion of self-realization through marriage and instead chooses self-realization through work—however sad forsaking the alternative might be—this refusal has to be decisive, since only such determination would allow her to achieve greatness.

63 Mark Bostridge writes that Milnes was "apparently very relaxed about pointing out the choicest selections of his erotic library to guests staying at Fryston before setting off for Sunday service at the local church" (2008, p. 129, note).
64 Cited in Woodham-Smith 1950, p. 51.
65 Hashimoto Osamu 1984, vol. 1, p. 183.
66 Cited in Woodham-Smith 1950, p. 95.

Divine Intervention

The variety in the treatment of Milnes' proposal reminds us that no matter how much Nightingale biographies insist on their authenticity, they are prone to distortion, exaggeration, and omission of certain facts. The manga Nightingale has to proceed with her life with conviction and deal with her new task of being the first socially respected nurse. Fujimoto Yukari points out that in *shōjo* manga there is a kind of illusion (*mōsō* 妄想) that "persistent love always wins" (*ichizu na ai wa kanarazu shōri suru* 一途な愛は必ず勝利する).[67] By receiving and subsequently rejecting Milnes' marriage proposal, Nightingale can satisfy the requirements of a *shōjo* manga heroine, and readily switch the object of her persistent effort from romance to career.

In reality, Nightingale attributed the strength of her resolve largely to having heard the "voice of God" on 7 February 1837 while staying at her family's summer home of Embley.[68] Nightingale insisted that it happened, and most of her prose biographies refer to the event. Probably because of this coverage, some manga versions (two from Shūeisha, as well as the original Gakken) do include this episode in their accounts.[69] However, other versions forego the episode, fearing perhaps it risks making her and ultimately her achievement "unapproachable" to the reader. Divine intervention might make her future success seem predetermined or beyond her own control. In the Shōgakukan version, the episode is altogether omitted and the suggestion is that her resolve comes from her boredom and anger with social life in the upper class. Kōdansha's version inserts a dramatic moment of realization: when she returns to England from a trip in Europe in 1842, she witnesses the devastation and suffering of the people in her village; starving children, dying adults, dilapidated buildings, and ailing patients.

Within the page, the scenes of starving children and an ailing old man are juxtaposed with those of the high society ball and banquet, and they overlap to shock Florence. Just a few pages before, Florence was enjoying parties and witty conversation with the members of her social class. Now, however, she once again becomes ill at ease with the frivolous lifestyle of the people of her class. During her visit, a dying old woman calls her a "lady like an angel" as she holds her hand at the moment of death. Just before the old woman passes away, Florence seeks to ease her pain, but lacks the proper knowledge of medicine and patient care. This version also does away with the episodes of young Florence caring for injured animals in her family's estate (namely Cap the sheepdog, and Peggy the horse) that are routinely used to suggest that nursing was somehow in her nature. Instead, this manga version inserts the entirely fictional incident with an old woman. It is soon after this encounter that Nightingale finds her mission to become a nurse. By positioning contrasts and omitting famous and true but trivial incidents and replacing them with fiction, this version suggests that Nightingale was no different from other teenage girls at one point in her life, and only became a nurse and an able activist through training and effort. The juxtaposition of lower class suffering and upper class extravagance effectively elucidates the dilemma she is likely to have felt, and serves as the driving force behind her endeavor.

67 Fujimoto 2008, p. 36.
68 Cook 1913, p. 15.
69 Yokota 1979, pp. 67–68; Yoshikawa 1989, pp. 40–43; Miyahara 2004, pp. 39–41.

Conclusion: Nightingale and *Denki* Today

So what educational value can a Japanese student derive from a manga work that gives a highly dramatized and embellished account of a nineteenth century British woman's life? The functions of, and expectations for, *denki* manga are not as clear as for other educational genres. School entrance exams are unlikely to ask students to describe the Nightingale family's dynamics or to give a chronology of Florence's emotional development. As successors to prewar *shūshin* textbooks and self-improvement literature, *denki* manga serve as sources of inspiration for readers looking to expand their knowledge and better themselves. If other genres of educational manga help students to remember historical facts or understand scientific theories, then *denki* manga may be thought to provide models of discipline and hard work to motivate them through the daily grind of exam preparation and schoolwork. In other words, if other genres of educational manga teach "what to study," then *denki* manga can help students understand "how to study" and "why to study." By learning about the perseverance and determination of figures who overcame adversity to achieve their personal goals, readers of *denki* manga can acquire the emotional and intellectual tools to pursue their higher aspirations, be they admission to the most prestigious school or employment at the best company.

The number of new Nightingale biographies may have decreased, but this does not mean that interest in her has entirely waned. Four of the aforementioned manga biographies are still in print. In July 2010, Gakken, the publisher of the first Nightingale *denki* manga, published a sixth version of her life story as part of its *Gakken manga denki shirīzu* 学研まんが伝記シリーズ (Gakken's Biographies in Manga Series).[70] She is included as the only female great, among four prominent *sengoku* 戦国 period daimyo (Takeda Shingen 武田信玄, Oda Nobunaga 織田信長, Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉, and Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康) and Sakamoto Ryōma 坂本龍馬 (1836–67), whose popularity has seen a recent surge thanks to the 2010 NHK epic drama series. Nightingale is currently not just the only female, but also the only Western figure in the series.

She has been included in other new, more recent *denki* series, both manga and otherwise, because her story is considered a canonical classic of the genre, not because of the newness of her ideas nor because Japan suffers from a chronic shortage of (able) nurses. Perhaps it is in such quasi-automatic inclusion that we can see a certain independence of the genre from the material it treats. If Noguchi Hideyo and Jean-Henri Fabre were to be added to a lineup of notable personages today, their inclusion would not be proof of the longevity of their discoveries in bacteriology and entomology. Many of their discoveries and hypotheses have since been refuted, and their present fame is rendered meaningful by their perseverance and dedication.[71] Noguchi was born in to a poor, single-parent household, and Fabre left home when he was fourteen as his parents could no longer support him. Despite such material scarcity, they achieved great feats. Nightingale did not want for material wealth, but she suffered from a lack of emotional fulfillment.

Recently there has been a conscious effort to diversify the kinds of people featured in

70 Cf. Mizui 2010.
71 On Fabre, see in Yokota 1978, pp. 94–101.

the *denki* manga genre.[72] The inclusion of the Meiji period female author Higuchi Ichiyō 樋口一葉 (1872–96) in the Shūeisha series featuring cartoon character Chibi Maruko chan ちびまる子ちゃん is a case in point. Female literary talent has till now lacked representation. Rebecca Copeland and Melek Ortabasi point out that when critics in Meiji Japan sought precursors and models for contemporary women writers in the remote world of Heian, the achievements of women writers in between ended up being relegated to obscurity.[73] The trend certainly was visible in biographies of great women in educational manga. Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部 enjoys multiple versions, but she is an exception. Among those manga devoted to women as "historical figures," Shūeisha has Himiko 卑弥呼, shaman queen of the ancient state of Yamatai 邪馬台国, and Kasuga no Tsubone 春日局, the wetnurse for the third Tokugawa shogun Iemitsu 家光, and Shōgakukan has Himiko as part of the *Shōnen shōjo jinbutsu Nihon no rekishi* 少年少女人物日本の歴史 series.[74]

The choice of Ichiyō is perhaps a natural one given the ability of her life story to appeal to young people today. In addition to the sheer excellence of her literary works and her constant struggle to carve a place for herself in a male-dominated world, she fought poverty all her life. Her real life story reads like a *shōjo* manga. Just like Nightingale, Ichiyō's disapproving mother famously opposed sending her to higher school even after she finished elementary school with excellent marks, and always valued Ichiyō's little sister's talent (and willingness) in sewing and other domestic skills over Ichiyō's penchant for learning and letters. In addition, Ichiyō's romance with her mentor Nakarai Tōsui 半井桃水 (1861–1926) invite endless debate, and so allows a certain degree of creative license for a manga author. Shōgakukan's *Gakushū manga jinbutsukan* 学習まんが人物館 has also recently added Tsuda Umeko 津田梅子 (1864–1929), one of the first female students to study abroad, who sought to disseminate new modes of education during the Meiji and Taishō periods.

To understand *denki* manga as the successor of *Self-Help* and prewar *shūshin* stories as well as a sister to *shōjo* manga can help solve many mysteries regarding the genre's popularity.[75] If *denki* are about people with extraordinary determination and selfless devotion, and are to be read by highly motivated children and grownups, it is no surprise that biographies

72 The genre continues to expand its scope and reach, with recent volumes on non-Japanese, non-Western males appearing in multiple languages. One example is the manga biography of the fourteenth Dalai Lama (1935–). This volume is particularly significant as it has already received much attention overseas since its publication in 2009. The text was originally published in English by Emotional Content LLC, and then in Japanese by the well-known publisher Magazine House, and later again in English (and on a larger scale) by Penguin. Other figures include Che Guevara and Mahatma Gandhi.

73 Copeland 2006, especially pp. 2 and 21.

74 However, this version is a largely fictional account focused on her successor Iyo 壹興, Himiko's relative and a priestess who brought peace to Yamatai after Himiko's passing and subsequent period of uncertainty. The volume therefore is an account of how the Yamatai people may have lived based on archeological findings to date, rather than Himiko's personal biography.

75 Translations of *Self-Help* are still in active print today. For instance, the book ranks 1,098 among bestsellers at amazon.co.jp, with 71 reviews (accessed September 3, 2010). In addition, *Self-Help* is one of the titles that aforementioned contemporary self-help guru Katsuma and scientist-philosopher-motivator Takeuchi Hitoshi 竹内均 (1920–2004) regularly recommend as a timeless classic. Takeuchi also advocated the revival of *shūshin* in his 1981 book *Shūshin no susume*「修身」のすすめ (An Encouragement of *Shūshin*; the title parodies Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Gakumon no susume* 学問のすすめ, 1872–76), and published a modern translation of *Self-Help* in 1985; Katsuma regularly includes it in her "must-read" list, along with contemporary titles like Phil McGraw's book *Life Strategies: Doing What Works, Doing What Matters* (published in Japan as: *Shijō saikyō no jinsei senryaku manyuaru* 史上最強の人生戦略マニュアル, 2008) and Stephen Covey's *The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People* (*Nanatsu no shūkan: Seikō ni wa gensoku ga atta!* 7つの習慣—成功には原則があった!, 1996).

for young readers work at a more abstract level than improving their academic performance. They are designed rather to teach readers how to conduct themselves and suggest future vocations while demonstrating basic patterns of conduct. Katsuma's appreciation of the *denki* genre may be surprising at first glance, since she places "efficiency" as the foundational virtue of everything she preaches. But her pursuit of efficiency pertains primarily to work, so that her readers can make time to enjoy such seemingly "inefficient" books as *denki*. As in the case of Katsuma and Marie Curie, at least one function of *denki* is to leave on its readers a lasting impression: the triumph of perseverance in the face of hardship. This may be why *denki* is especially prone to fabrication, or at least exaggeration, of historical facts. And in this creative adaptation lies the magic of *denki* manga.

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