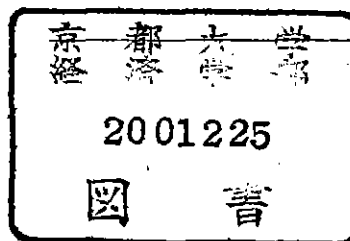


Kyoto University Economic Review

MEMOIRS OF
THE DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
IN
THE IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY OF KYOTO

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JULY 1926

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SUICIDE STATISTICS IN JAPAN CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SEX

There are two official sources of statistical information regarding suicides in Japan; the one is the data collected by the Imperial Statistical Bureau and the other those collected by the Home Office. The former gets reports from various official registration records, such as *Koseki* (a special Japanese institution, regarding the family system and the registration of births, deaths, marriages and divorces), notices of death ordered by the law of *Koseki*, diagnosis of mortality by physicians, reports on the inquests of dead bodies by the police. These reports are changed to lists of deaths, including information on the cause of death, by local registrar's offices and then delivered to the Imperial Statistical Bureau. Thus the Imperial Statistical Bureau inquire suicides according to the method of central abstraction of these lists. The latter's data are provided by the statistics of suicide, made up by the local police stations throughout the country, according to the method of distributive abstraction of the material.

The following is a brief comparative table of the statistics provided by these two sources: quoted from the *Daishijūichi Tokeinenkan* (The 41st Statistical Annual) of the Imperial Statistical Bureau, and the *Daisanjūkukai Koku-seiippan* (The 39th Brief Annual, regarding the state of country) of the Home Office.

Years	Report of the Home Office	Report of the Statistical Bureau
1916	11,797	9,599
1917	11,280	9,254
1918	12,624	10,101
1919	12,431	9,924
1920	13,347	10,630

STATISTICS SHOWING MOTIVE FOR SUICIDE IN JAPAN

Motive Assigned	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922
Mental disorders												
Males	2,069	2,081	1,977	2,142	2,066	1,912	1,779	1,910	2,109	2,039	2,045	1,816
Females	1,352	1,277	1,299	1,311	1,286	1,191	1,123	1,331	1,275	1,251	1,186	1,060
Physical diseases.....												
Males	1,271	1,297	1,481	1,640	1,626	1,667	1,637	1,880	1,715	1,934	1,984	1,841
Females	875	927	979	1,029	1,047	1,133	1,102	1,313	1,209	1,314	1,443	1,310
Weariness of life												
Males	614	714	892	1,056	1,049	911	862	1,029	1,114	1,151	1,143	1,126
Females	383	419	529	602	613	580	630	682	659	800	814	742
Melancholy												
Males	83	54	75	81	68	90	75	78	72	68	54	49
Females	62	55	72	67	99	73	61	61	54	71	74	50
Decrepitude												
Males	95	96	117	106	113	113	122	155	132	164	182	141
Females	65	81	79	83	107	93	106	131	112	100	129	104
Worry for Future												
Males	140	120	131	123	151	149	156	131	124	181	185	144
Females	98	99	101	76	88	96	102	98	77	136	116	108
Deformity												
Males	23	26	36	38	28	22	34	34	46	42	54	33
Females	28	19	17	19	29	23	22	33	35	16	31	36
Superstition												
Males	10	7	12	6	8	4	9	4	1	—	4	3
Females	5	2	7	6	1	3	4	2	—	6	3	10
Fear of detection of Crime.....												
Males	177	178	194	181	169	154	145	163	176	150	154	121
Females	18	35	25	33	30	23	17	37	26	19	20	28
Misery												
Males	567	605	659	633	702	531	426	458	360	323	375	287
Females	204	232	238	242	244	208	150	168	173	120	140	131
Loss of Trade and Debts.....												
Males	174	175	232	282	283	183	143	93	117	171	200	176
Females	10	14	20	22	22	10	17	10	13	26	21	16
Dissipation												
Males	169	198	170	179	168	133	158	127	146	204	234	162
Females	15	17	15	18	19	10	11	16	16	18	11	13
Regret and Shame.....												
Males	112	126	112	151	103	121	103	129	117	117	138	136
Females	44	47	45	42	42	49	46	47	56	48	61	54
Failure to Pass the examination for conscripts												
Males	1	2	3	4	4	4	3	3	—	3	2	5
Evasion of Army Service.....												
Males	10	10	12	16	10	11	11	9	13	16	16	13

Censure by Relatives or Employer	Males	40	45	30	41	56	40	30	36	51	40	59	45
	Females	29	48	53	41	53	40	39	42	46	47	48	40
Mutual Suicide	Males	102	112	147	146	140	133	119	106	148	197	207	205
	Females	107	128	151	143	138	143	121	111	143	216	218	209
Love troubles, Jealousy	Males	124	100	97	95	88	73	63	52	47	58	66	56
	Females	140	134	135	139	111	97	106	92	83	95	132	109
Divorce	Males	17	30	18	20	18	23	24	25	18	19	32	26
	Females	50	57	63	67	62	53	51	47	57	70	85	77
Conception by Illegal Sex Relation	Males	—	—	5	2	—	1	1	2	1	1	3	—
	Females	52	55	54	68	58	60	51	57	58	67	64	56
Dislike of Marriage	Males	7	3	3	7	2	1	3	3	1	7	6	6
	Females	35	25	33	25	28	29	30	36	23	40	54	42
Disappointed Love	Males	?	?	23	39	45	39	37	46	41	49	82	97
	Females	?	?	25	37	36	49	64	47	50	78	99	88
Discord in Family or among Relatives	Males	102	98	145	149	162	135	132	145	134	159	164	178
	Females	146	170	176	233	228	256	230	269	249	274	252	279
Misconduct of Parents, or Husband, Wife, or Son	Males	18	17	24	20	20	32	10	19	21	21	12	27
	Females	23	40	42	35	24	29	33	43	34	35	42	18
Death of Parents or Relatives	Males	15	29	28	35	30	28	36	35	56	49	40	57
	Females	21	32	32	40	33	44	37	61	54	65	49	47
Illness of Parents or Relatives	Males	9	7	14	14	16	12	17	22	14	14	18	19
	Females	16	16	16	21	17	19	12	22	21	28	22	17
Miscellaneous	Males	?	?	56	45	46	48	58	63	137	176	122	131
	Females	?	?	31	34	28	27	40	46	59	80	57	67
Unknown	Males	673	713	788	826	768	669	665	796	686	699	503	539
	Females	205	238	224	204	182	220	217	269	263	275	157	208
Total	Males	6,711	6,915	7,481	8,078	7,939	7,239	6,858	7,553	7,586	8,052	7,560	7,440
	Females	4,042	4,213	4,461	4,627	4,625	4,558	4,422	5,071	4,845	5,295	4,883	4,919
Grand Total		10,753	11,128	11,942	12,705	12,564	11,797	11,280	12,624	12,431	13,347	12,443	12,359 ^(a)

(a) A great many cases from Tokyo and Kanagawa Prefectures are not included in the statistics of 1922.

It should be noted that the number of suicides given by the police stations every year exceeds those given by the Statistical Bureau. It is assumed that this difference is due mainly to the tendency of the relatives and friends of the dead to conceal suicides as far as possible, and to report a self-inflicted death as death brought about by some sickness or accident. This tendency is recognized also by some foreign scholars as existing in their own countries.¹⁾ The foregoing figures suggest that the principal cause of excessiveness of that from the former source, by about 20 percents, is the same circumstance. Of course, we cannot say that the material provided by the police stations is free from error. This becomes clear when one considers the difficulty with which the police are confronted in examining a dead person in order to decide whether he died a natural or an extraordinary death, or committed suicide, or was killed by somebody else. It is generally recognized by statisticians that such difficulty of ascertaining the cause of death makes statistics of suicides very uncertain and a comparative study most difficult.²⁾

Regarding this point Schnapper-Arndt says:³⁾

"The unwillingness of people to regard most cases of sudden deaths as suicides certainly results in lessening the number of suicides. The sworn jurors of Australia, for instance, have made it clear that they tend to regard suicides as other deaths as much as possible. This may perhaps explain the decrease in the number of suicides in many countries. However great the care and sincerity bestowed in the treatment of the statistical data of suicides, the margin of errors will always be very great. Take the case of Saxony for instance. In 1899 there were in that kingdom 25 cases the most of which could be regarded as suicides, and 39 uncertain cases, besides 1,221

¹⁾ Most, *Bevoelkerungswissenschaft* S. 124; v. Mayr, *Moralstatistik*, S. 260.

²⁾ Westergaard, *Theorie der Statistik*, S. 194.

³⁾ Schnapper-Arndt, *Sozialstatistik*. SS. 577, 578.

surely ascertained suicides. The number of uncertain cases in Denmark has been exceptionally great, partly because that country has a long coast line and in consequence many dead bodies, with uncertain cause of death, have been found along the line. In 1899 there were 485 suicides and 659 sudden deaths in that country, but of the latter number 162 were doubtful. But also in a city like Berlin, which is not bordering on a sea, there have been reported many cases, according to Boeckh, of which it was difficult to determine whether they were suicides or not."

As to our country, suicides are carefully examined by the police, and the margin of error must be slight. For this reason, and notwithstanding my acknowledgment of the unexactness of the data, I have decided to base my study mainly upon the reports made by the police.

The following figures were taken from the 35th and 39th Brief Annual of the Home Office (op. cit.) and the Jiji Directory of 1923, showing the sex distribution of suicides in recent years: (exclusive of the date of Taiwan, Chosen, Karafuto and Kwantung Province).

Years	No. of Males	No. of Females
1911	6,711	4,042
1912	6,915	4,213
1913	7,481	4,461
1914	8,078	4,627
1915	7,939	4,625
Average in the semidecade.		
	7,425	4,374
1916	7,239	4,558
1917	6,858	4,422
1918	7,553	5,071
1919	7,586	4,845
1920	8,052	6,295
Average in the semidecade.		
	7,458	4,838

The foregoing figures show that the ratio between the numbers of male and of female suicides is 6-4 which is also

the case in the more formerly ascertained data from the years 1890 to 1904.⁴⁾ This fact naturally raises two questions. The first is whether or not such a phenomenon of the excess of male suicides is also found in other countries, and the second is whether the above-stated ratio is greater or smaller than that of other countries. The most desirable method in this investigation will be to compare the number of male suicides for every 1,000 (or 1,000,000) of the male population and that of female suicides for every 1,000 (or 1,000,000) of the female population (cf. Newsholme, 1923, p. 380), but at present I adopt the usual and simpler method of comparing the number of male suicides for every 1,000 female suicides. The following are figures cited by two authorities, v. Mayr and Morselli.⁵⁾

Countries	by v. Mayr	by Morselli
Japan	1,695	—
England	2,915	2,861
Russia	3,195	3,878
Europe	3,650	—
Austria	3,650	4,586
France	3,663	3,695
Germany	3,673	—
Italy	4,132	4,000

Thus the fact that the number of male suicides exceeds that of female suicides is common to all nations. Oettingen has given the following reasons for the phenomenon:—⁶⁾

1. Because of the fact that men engage in occupations, they have more temptations and causes for facing despair in life.
2. Men usually have the responsibility of supporting their families.
3. Men must struggle for existence.
4. Men have the responsibility and necessity, in their

⁴⁾ *Bunso Kure, Jissai Tokeigaku* (Practical Statistics) (吳文聰實際統計學) p. 589.

⁵⁾ Schnapper-Arndt, op. cit S. 582.

⁶⁾ Oettingen. *Die Moralstatistik*, 3. Aufl. 5, 770.

own hands, of forming their own conception of the world in which they live and of developing critically such a view. Thus they differ from women, who usually follow the customs without murmur, and daily repeat the routine of home affairs.

5. Men possess courage, which is necessary for them to decide to kill themselves, while women usually lack such courage.

These reasons perhaps are not without truth. Mayo-Smith,⁷⁾ on the other hand, gives the following reasons: men's responsibilities and care are heavier than those of women; they are more ambitious; are less willing to acquiesce in defeat; allow themselves to be the victims of vice and dissipation; they are also, as a rule, braver than women. These reasons also perhaps contain some measure of truth. However, these reasons would be too general if we are to inquire more deeply into the causes, carefully analysing the real facts of several countries. It must be remarked that it would be more desirable to inquire more minutely, for instance, into the ages of suicides, the seasons, and localities in which suicides take place.

At any rate I think we must pay attention to the fact that the degree of the sex inequality of suicides is not the same for all countries, as the foregoing figures show. Generally speaking, the absolute number of male suicides in European countries is from three to five times that of female suicides. (In the German Empire for every 100 male suicides there was the average number of 28.3 female suicides for the nine years, 1901-8.)⁸⁾ However the proportion between female and male suicides greatly differ with different countries in Europe itself. According to Rehfish the European country which has the least ratio of women suicides is Switzerland where the number of male suicides

⁷⁾ Mayo-Smith, *Statistics and Sociology*, p. 247.

⁸⁾ Haushofer, *Statistik*. 2. Aufl. S. 475; Mayo-Smith, *op. cit.*; Elster, *Woerterbuch der Volkswirtschaft*, 3. Aufl. II. S. 786; Masaryk, *Der Selbstmord*.⁹⁾ S. 23.

for every one woman suicide is five, more correctly 5.8%. The same percentage is found in the case of Belgium, Baden, Wurtemberg & Finland. The ratio of 4-1 is found in Prussia, Bavaria, and Denmark. In the district or country where many women workers are found, the percentage of women suicides is greater. It is, thus between 3-1 and 3.5-1 in Berlin, France, Austria, Saxony, Sweden and Norway. In Berlin the ratio is indeed 2.8-1. This is because there are many women workers in that city who are thus exposed to the same circumstances as men.⁹⁾ The writer's opinion is to emphasize the influence of occupation upon suicide, but I cannot hastily accept that view. At any rate in England where suicide is regarded as a criminal act, and thus official records of suicides are subject to a great suspicion, the stated ratio of women suicides is comparatively great. The ratio is 3-1 as is shown in the preceding figures. According to Mayo-Smith, there were 1891 male suicides to 1,863 female in the country; Schnapper-Arndt ascribes this to the fact that British women are emancipated more than those of other countries.

The percentage of female suicides in Japan far exceeds those of European nations. The foregoing figures show that the average number of female suicides in the five years, 1911-15, for every 1,000 male suicides, is 1,698, and that of the five years, 1916-20, 1,542. Obviously the fact that the number of males in the Japanese population is greater than that of females, in contrast to the fact of the greater number of the latter in the populations of European nations, has something to do with the above stated phenomenon. But the fact that the female ratio of our suicides is higher than that of European countries, cannot, in my opinion, be explained by this sole fact. I suggest that there are many other special and strong causes. Here it may specially be remarked, that, in studying the motives of Japanese suicides, v. Mayr emphatically points out in his book on moral

⁹⁾ cit. in Rost, *Der Selbstmord*, '05 SS.-25, 26.

statistics love troubles, sex jealousies, and disappointed love as the causes and that he thinks the influential condition as a special varied condition and a special type of the direct motives of suicide. He leans to this view from the fact, that the Japanese statistics on the motives of suicides in the years 1897 & 1907, show a marked coincidence in the number of the items of several motives of suicide.¹⁰⁾

In this connection we must consider v. Mayr's attitude in the ethical criticism of suicides in general. He somewhat dogmatically asserts that a perspicuous impression of suicides, shown in modern statistics, is the egoistic feelings or considerations, as much accumulated as to kill one's own life, viewed from the moral point of view.¹¹⁾ Thus, he considers, mutual suicides, committed either simultaneously or otherwise, are varied types of such an egoism in the same way. However opinions do not always agree even on the moral value of the single fact of mutual suicide, specially between a man and woman. It is sometimes blamed in a simple way as an act of folly, the last resort of those who allow themselves to be victims of some foul passion. On the other hand, it is sometimes held as the most worthy act of those who dare to sacrifice their earthly lives for their holy love in this world full of shame. I shall dwell on this question a little further.

Statistics of suicides give facts indicating the extension of various feelings, sentiments, joy and melancholy, tranquillity of mind and excitement, and deal with the manifestations which these feelings and passions give rise to. But the statistics cannot immediately decide the facts into moral or unmoral, good or bad, right or wrong, actions. In fact Inama-Sternegg declared,¹²⁾ in rather extreme language, that special moral treatment is no more needed for suicide statistics because the moral or socio-ethical quality of suicides

¹⁰⁾ v. Mayr, op. cit. S. 388.

¹¹⁾ v. Mayr, op. cit. S. 259.

¹²⁾ cf. v. Inama-Sternegg, *Neue Probleme des modernen Kulturlebens*, S. 313.

is not the same in all cases. For this reason, we have to take into consideration the standard of the social morality dominant in a particular time or place if we are to criticize a suicide from a moral standpoint; and in doing this, the critic eventually is guided by his own moral judgment, especially by his ideas of life and death.

The majority of Western critics regard human life as the most important, the very truest source of all things, although there are some who do not regard it as such, and thus the late Bishop of Durham (Dr. H. C. G. Plimeli) regarded suicide as "the low ebb of national vitality." (cit. in Most, *Bevoelkerungs-wissenschaft*, S. 124.) Max Haushofer, who exercised much influence over the Japanese statistic experts during the *Meiji* Era, expressed distinctly a similar idea when he declared: "Corporeal existence which is an essential condition for all successful efforts to attain perfection is also a moral good. The action for preserving this life originates itself from the instinct of self-preservation which is also an inherent quality of all animals; and itself is not moral. But moral courage and patience make this struggle for existence a moral action. On the contrary, all actions impairing human life is decidedly immoral."¹³⁾ Such an idea as this is widely accepted in our country by those who uncritically adopt western ideas and thought. Mr. *Totsudo Kato*, "*Shiseimondai* 1923. p. 668," (加藤咄堂, 死生問題), who seems to have studied the philosophies of sages in ancient and modern times throughout the world, for instance, says:

"The majority of suicides seem to have been led to resort to their despairing actions because of their egoistic desire to escape from the present privations of this life. As ordinarily men dislike death, they must undergo a severe mental struggle before resorting to this desperate step. At the same time it must be said that many of them had no courage to face the battle of this life and were too weak-

¹³⁾ cf. Haushofer, *Statistik* 2. Aufl. SS. 474, 475.

mind to follow the ways of a righteous life. They have thus committed a great immoral and unrighteous action in killing themselves in order to give peace to themselves and in thus causing great suffering to others."

But it should be noted that Mr. Kato qualifies his statement by saying that the "majority of suicides," and not all of them, are guilty of the immoral action of which he accuses them. We have often seen that the self-inflicted tragic end of the heroine of the tragedy "Madam Butterfly" has much impressed the minds of the western audiences who are usually regarded as egoistic. Is it not evident that such a dignified chastity, such a self-sacrificing action drives even in the minds of the western audiences, in the moment of the high tide of feeling, the hidden fact that there is a life eternal after death? Nor is it only a sentimental expression of the temporal sympathy upon the death of one's kind? We must now dwell on the Oriental ideas of human life and death so far as those ideas are related to the present enquiry.

Issai Sato, whom Professor Tetsujiro Inoue believes to be one of the greatest thinkers of Japan, and who lived from 1772-1859, declares in one of his essays: "Life is the beginning of death, while death is the end of life. If there were no birth, there would be no death. If there were no death, there would be no life. Life is indeed life, but death is also life. This is why life is considered to be ever renewing in the famous volume of the ancient classics, I Ching, or Book of changes." He continues his argument, "Men are prone to forget the days of their past youth and trouble themselves with the life after death. Such is the commonest of the common traits of men. This is why Buddhists and other religionists try to sway men to their views of annihilation. But in our Confucian doctrine or I Ching, we enquire into a transcendental origin in order to reach the ultimate conclusion. Nothing can be more clear and explicit than our doctrine of life and death."

As has been pointed out by one of my colleagues, Prof.

Takase, in his previous work upon Japanese disciples of Wang Yang-Ming, the foregoing view of Sato is based upon the idea of the I Ching and has for its aim the severe rejection of the Buddhistic views of the next life. Nevertheless that his views also resemble those of Ching Ming-Tao is seen in the words: "Day and night are like death and life; waking and sleeping, like death and life; and inhaling and exhaling, are alike death and life." These words are akin to the following words of the above-mentioned Chinese philosopher: "Speaking and silence are like night and day; day and night are so like death and life." Sato's view on the identity of life and death, it seems (cf. Kato's *Shiseimondai*, p. 422), must have been affected by the teaching of the School of Ching and Chutze which, attacking Buddhism in some respects, accepts it in other respects. At any rate, our Oriental thought is full of such views of human life and death. It is clear that such views are likely to create patience and courage which enable men to suffer great privations in order to realize their highest spiritual aspirations and ideals, and in the same time, men holding such views will gladly embrace death if it is deemed necessary for the sake of society and mankind, regarding "death as light as feathers and justice as weighty as a mountain."

It is easy to see, therefore, that not all of the modern suicides in our country, fostered by such views during many years, can be regarded as egoistic ones. There are notable cases in which justice is regarded as superior to mere corporeal existence. Really the noble fact would be established by a careful and scientific study of the motives of suicides, statistics in this respect supplying us with important materials. It is not to be denied also that it often happens that persons take their own lives on account of some trivial motive without a moral reason and without realizing the importance of human life. Many such cases are found, especially among women suicides, in our country, where the defects of our old family system cause women to resort to this violent action. The social effects of such a

view to make light of life are particularly great in China. The great number of infanticides, the maltreatment of beggars, the easiness with which capital punishment is inflicted on criminals, these are some of the more important manifestations of the view in that country. The same view would often drive persons to foresake the worldly life, while many housewives commit suicide because of the unbearable privations resulting from the complicated large family system. In especial their slavlike condition to their mother-in-law. These facts arise from the same origin of Masculinism, the tendency to regard women as inferior to men, which tendency also gave rise to the custom of wives suttee and are to be considered simultaneously as social evils.¹⁴⁾

Furthermore, some suicides in China are traceable to the effects of Buddhism. Popular sermons on the transmigration of human souls have the effect of rather encouraging suicide among the unthinking masses who wish to obtain happiness in the next life.¹⁵⁾ The same thing can be said to be true at least to some extent in Japan, although some believe that Japanese Buddhism has no such effective influence, inasmuch as it aims to teach people to secure satisfaction of life and peacefulness of mind. At any rate the fact that no mutual suicide (suicide of a man and woman) is found among Koreans who have a strong craving for the momentary things of this life and who have no belief in the future life, presents an enlightening as well as interesting contrast to the above example. Some of our promising youths of today seem to commit mutual suicide, indulging in a vain dream of the future transmigration of both souls in one lotus. In brief, 10 or more years ago a woman committed suicide following the selfinflicted death of her noble husband, the late General Nogi, leaving a last note in which she showed her loyal sentiment for the Emperor.

¹⁴⁾ J. D. Ball, *Things Chinese*, p. 664; Ross, *The Principles of Sociology*, p. 679.

¹⁵⁾ Ball, *op. cit.*

Japanese girls and women are also still taught the example of the brave woman Kesa-Gozen, who killed herself during the turbulent feudal days to fulfil her own genuine sense of the duty of filial piety and womanly honour. Thus it may be perhaps supposed that special moral obligations imposed upon women in the days of old have still a strong influence on women suicides in present-day Japan. Or considering the question from the opposite side, we may perhaps also assume, the extraordinarily large number of suicides means that the social status of women in this country is much inferior to that of men and they have not yet realized their emancipation to the full extent. At any rate abundant materials for the study of social psychology and of social ethics, as well for literary writers and educationists are included, it can not be denied, in a single shot of statistics, and several questions may arise from a sole centre of it.

For the study of the causes of suicides, profound researches into the motives of individual cases, according to the method of so-called typical monography, which can be compared to a clinic of psycho-and socio-pathology, will be much more effective, as has been performed by Chamberlain in his *Things Japanese*, (5ed. '05. pp. 219-222 Art. Harakiri) But we can put forward also several suggestions for the same object from the very high rate of our female suicide statistics in its interpretation, specially referring to the motive for suicide as officially assigned to individual acts of suicide. Of course I am firmly convincing that the statistics of motives of suicide, of police origin, are full of as many errors as the statistics of suicide at large. Moreover it may be supposed that the former figures are more inaccurate than the latter. In particular I am doubting whether the official schema of the classification of motives itself is clear and distinct. But I avoid a severe criticism of it from the scientific statistical point of view, and proceed to the inquiry of the numerical features of the motives in the main. As the accompanying figures of suicides committed during the 12 years, 1911-1922 inclusive, (sources are the same as

above-mentioned, but supplemented by the 37th Stat. Annual of the Home Office) show, we can distinctly classify the figures into four groups. Some motives are mostly found among the women suicides, while 2 groups are particularly powerful or alone mentioned in the cases of male suicides, while the third group is found equally powerful for both sexes. It must be admitted that three powerful causes, mental disorders, physical diseases, and weariness of life are the main motives for women suicides, as also for the male suicide, but love affairs and tragedies from unhappy family life are also powerful motives. Indeed I am convinced that special attention must be centered on the first mentioned group of motives, which seem to bear witness to the advantages of the female morals in our traditional family life as well as their defects. Several interesting conclusions should be suggested from this source. Durkheim, the noted scholar who has made a deep study in this field, and Ross who follows the main thesis of the former, laid much emphasis on the effectiveness of firm and continuous ties of relationship, especially family ties, as strong remedies for preventing suicides.¹⁶⁾ I am of the opinion that their view is somewhat endorsed by the figures herein given. But at the same time I cannot confirm the view distinctly by analysis of the figures. My principal object is to point out the fact of the very high ratio of female suicide in our country.

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¹⁶⁾ E.A. Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 104.