

Abstract of PhD thesis

Mediating Modernity – Henry Black and narrated hybridity in Meiji Japan

By Ian McArthur

Henry Black was born in Adelaide in 1858, but arrived in Japan in 1864 after his father became editor of the *Japan Herald*. In the late 1870s, Henry Black addressed meetings of members of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement. His talks were inspired by nineteenth-century theories of natural rights. That experience led to his becoming a professional storyteller (*rakugoka*) affiliated with the San'yû school of storytelling (San'yûha).

Black's storytelling (*rakugo*) in the 1880s and 1890s was an attempt by the San'yûha to modernise *rakugo*. By adapting European sensation fiction, Black blended European and Japanese elements to create hybridised landscapes and characters as blueprints for audiences negotiating changes synonymous with modernity during the Meiji period. The narrations also portrayed the negative impacts of change wrought through emulation of nineteenth-century Britain's Industrial Revolution. His 1894 adaptation of *Oliver Twist* or his 1885 adaptation of Mary Braddon's *Flower and Weed*, for example, were early warnings about the evils of child labour and the exploitation of women in unregulated textile factories.

Black's *kabuki* performances parallel politically and artistically inspired attempts to reform *kabuki* by elevating its status as an art suitable for imperial and foreign patronage. The printing of his narrations in stenographic books (*sokkibon*) ensured that his ideas reached a wide audience.

Because he was not an officially hired foreigner (*yatoi*), and his narrations have not entered the *rakugo* canon, Black has largely been forgotten. A study of his role as a mediator of modernity during the 1880s and 1890s shows that he was an agent in the transfer to a mass audience of European ideas associated with modernity, frequently ahead of intellectuals and mainstream literature. An examination of Black's career helps broaden our knowledge of the role of foreigners and *rakugo* in shaping modern Japan.

Mediating Modernity

Henry Black and narrated hybridity in Meiji Japan

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts in fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

Ian Douglas McArthur

School of European, Asian, and Middle Eastern Languages and Studies

Faculty of Arts

University of Sydney

January 2002

Mediating Modernity

Henry Black and narrated hybridity in Meiji Japan

- i. Table of Contents
- ii. Acknowledgements
- iii. Note
- 1. Chapter One.....Introduction
- 29. Chapter Two.....The Early Years – Henry Black and the foreign community (1863-1878).
- 78. Chapter Three.....The Activist Years – taking the modernity debate to a wider audience.
- 123. Chapter Four.....The Creative Years – Black and the reform debate
- 169. Chapter Five.....Hybridity – blueprint for a new generation
- 214. Chapter Six.....A New Society – blueprint for social management
- 245. Chapter Seven.....The Later Years
- 268. Chapter Eight.....Conclusion
- 281. Appendix.....Synopsis of selected narrated stories by Henry Black
- 308. Bibliography (Japanese Language)
- 317. Bibliography (English and French language)

Acknowledgements

This thesis owes its origins to three people. The first is Associate Professor Nanette Gottlieb of the University of Queensland. In 1983, while in Tokyo as a correspondent for the Melbourne-based *Herald and Weekly Times* newspaper, I saw an advertisement for *Monumenta Nipponica* containing Dr. Gottlieb's paper on the Meiji period script reform movement. Wishing to read a paper by a scholar I had known while also at Queensland University in the late 1960s, I bought the journal. Leafing through it, I was startled to find, in an article by the Japanese scholars Professor Sasaki Miyoko and Dr. Morioka Heinz, a photograph of Henry Black dressed for a role in a kabuki play. Black's Australian origins, Scottish ancestry, and the fact that his father had been a journalist, were enough points in common with myself to stimulate my interest. I met the authors and wrote a story for the newspapers. That first contact with Black resulted in a fascination with his contribution to Japanese culture and has culminated in this thesis.

I would like to thank my supervisor, Associate Professor Elise Tipton at the University of Sydney School of European, Asian and Middle Eastern Languages and Studies, for her support and ability to recommend the right resource to read at the right time in the development of my thesis. Also at Sydney University, I would like to thank Associate Professor John Clark of the Department of Art History and Theory for his assistance during Dr. Tipton's absence on leave. My thanks go also to Associate Professor Sakuko Matsui and Dr. Yasuko Claremont for their assistance in my reading and translation of Black's stenographic books (*sokkibon*). Professor Neville Meaney at the Department of History also gave helpful suggestions on chapter structure at a crucial juncture. I am grateful to the University of Sydney for granting me a university scholarship during my work on the thesis.

In Japan, I must thank Mr. Asaoka Kunio for advice and scholarly insistence on accuracy throughout this project. Mr. Asaoka's interest in Henry Black and his father John Black, has led to new findings about the Blacks which he has generously shared with me. Professor Sasaki Miyoko and Dr. Morioka Heinz have given support and advice since my initial contact with them in 1983. I would like to acknowledge the pioneering work they have done on Black over the years, without which this thesis would not have been possible. Among others in Japan, I am particularly indebted to Professor Nobuhiro Shinji and Mr. Yoshizawa Hideaki for their advice on the relationship between *rakugo* and *sokkibon*. I must also thank San'yûtei Enraku whose willingness to set aside time in his busy schedule to meet with me on a number of occasions enabled me to gain insights into the real world of *rakugo* and to imagine what

it must have been like for Black.

I would also like to thank Ms. Inokoshi Noriko, who was librarian at the National Theater during my research trips to Tokyo. Her knowledge of the library's holdings and ability to trace resources in the limited time available proved invaluable. I should also mention Associate Professor J. Scott Miller at Brigham Young University, whose advice, also on the *sokkibon*, came at a crucial stage in the development of my thesis.

I also thank my parents-in-law, Kiyofumi and Kazuko Minami, who made their home available during my research trips to Japan. My wife, Mari Minami, and our daughter, Hillary, have also been a support. I thank them for their patience at times when it seemed that the thesis might never be completed.

Ian D. McArthur -- 8 January 2002

Note

I have followed the standard convention with Japanese personal names of using the surname first. With the names of non-Japanese nationals of Japanese ancestry, I have placed the surname last. Persons with stage names are referred to by the stage name. I have used macrons for long vowels in Japanese words, except in the case of well-known place names. Unless otherwise indicated, translations of original Japanese are mine.

Chapter One

Introduction

Much has been written about the tremendous changes experienced by the citizens of Japan as a result of the influx of new ideas during the Meiji period (1868-1912). Many studies of the transfer of ideas into Japan at this time have focused on the actions of the main political and intellectual protagonists. But despite the accumulation of data by social historians concerning the nature and rapidity of the changes which occurred as a result of the introduction of these new ideas, little is known about the mechanisms by which such ideas were transferred to the general populace. During the Meiji period, one of the main sources of popular entertainment, as well as information about the changes and commentary on their impact for the general populace, were theatres featuring professional storytellers. Few, if any, studies have delved in any detail into the role of the storyteller in bringing these new ideas to the attention of the nation. This represents a serious gap in our knowledge of the processes by which change was effected in the Meiji period.

In 1891, one of these popular storytellers, a man with Scottish ancestry and the stage name of Kairakutei Burakku, told Tokyo theatre audiences in fluent Japanese that compared to when he had arrived in their country at least 24 years before, ‘things had so completely changed that you wouldn’t think it was the same place.’¹ The remark was part of the preamble to the storyteller’s serialized tale *Eikoku Rondon – gekijô miyage* (Story from a London Theatre), an adaptation of the short story *Her Last Appearance* by the

¹ Eikokujin Burakku (1891), *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage*, Nomura Ginzaburô, Tokyo, p. 1.

British sensation fiction writer Mary Braddon. That this storyteller, whose birth certificate shows he was born Henry James Black in the British colony of South Australia on 22 December 1858,² should have been so popular at this moment in Japan's history is remarkable. But there is evidence to show that although many of his contemporaries also considered his career remarkable, Black's presence on the Tokyo stage was not altogether implausible. Henry Black lived in Japan at a time when a unique confluence of circumstances made it possible for the first time in the country's history for a foreign-born practitioner of the Japanese oral art of storytelling, known today by its generic term *rakugo*, to transfer new ideas to unprecedented numbers of people via stage and modern print media. By examining the role of Henry Black as an agent for the introduction of notions of modernity through the medium of *rakugo*, defined as 'a short humorous story ending in a punch line,'³ this study aims to augment our knowledge of how concepts of modernity entered Japan during the Meiji period.

Henry Black was almost seven years old when he arrived in Yokohama on 8 November 1865.⁴ By the time he arrived, Yokohama had been transformed from a swamp to a bustling centre of trade and commerce peopled by Japanese and foreigners, principally from China, Britain and the United States. The Black family lived in Yokohama for some years while Henry Black's father, John Reddie Black, edited a number of English-language newspapers for the expatriate community. In 1872, John Black moved his family to Tokyo to edit a Japanese-language newspaper with the

² I have in my possession a copy of Henry Black's birth certificate obtained from Canberra researcher D.C.S. Sissons. Sissons obtained his copy from the South Australian Registrar of Births.

³ Heinz Morioka and Sasaki Miyoko (1990), *Rakugo, the Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, Harvard East Asia Monographs, 138, pub. by the Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, and distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., p. 8.

⁴ Kunio Asaoka, 'Henrī J. Burakku no rainichi jiki', in *Kairakutei Burakku kenkyū*, No. 2, 19 Sept. 1987, Kairakutei Burakku Kenkyūkai, Yokohama, pp. 11-14.

backing of the government. But regulations gazetted in June 1875 barred foreigners like John Black from editing Japanese language newspapers and he was dismissed from government service in July of that year. In 1876, John Black left for Shanghai, where he edited the *Shanghai Mercury* until his return to Japan in June 1877.⁵ On his father's return, Henry Black began addressing meetings of political societies interested in reform and people's rights. His contacts with speakers at such meetings fostered a talent for storytelling. During his storyteller career, he also performed *kabuki* roles, conjuring, and hypnotism. In 1893, Black took Japanese citizenship, ensuring that the last thirty years of his life were spent as a Japanese citizen.

Black's forging of a career in *rakugo* and his adoption of Japanese citizenship suggest an affinity for his adopted country in excess of many foreigners who came during the Meiji years and never left. Apart from a brief journey to China, Black lived in Japan for virtually the entire Meiji period, dying in Tokyo in 1923, in the aftermath of the Great Kantô Earthquake which destroyed much of the city and Yokohama shortly before. His death came twelve years after the Emperor Meiji's death. He was thus one of the few foreigners who lived in Japan throughout the Meiji years and beyond.

When Black spoke in the preamble to his 1891 story of the vast changes he had witnessed, he cited the experience of fellow foreigners who, at the time of his arrival in Japan, had often ventured out at the risk of being cut down by sword-wielding samurai resentful of their very presence in their country. 'Going for a walk or taking the evening cool was a life-threatening thing,' Black told his audiences. 'Well, we might not necessarily have had to say our prayers (*nenbutsu*) while walking around, but it certainly

⁵ Hanazono Kanesada (1926), 'J.R. Black', in *Journalism in Japan and its Early Pioneers*, Ôsaka Shuppansha, Osaka, p. 77.

was a highly dangerous period.’⁶ In his preamble, Black listed a number of other signs of change. They included the aspiration on the part of many Japanese to own a Western-style brick home, ‘whether or not the breeze is bad and they are unbearably hot’, and the cultivation on the part of many men of a Western-style moustache, ‘even though it gets in the soup’.⁷ Such amusing and entertaining comments are typical of the many which Black interspersed throughout his stories with the aim of informing his audiences about Western customs and thought.

Black’s presence on the stage and his comments on the changes which Japan had undergone in the 23 years between the 1868 Meiji Restoration and 1891 are an indication of the enthusiasm with which many Japanese during that period embraced foreign things and ideas and actively participated in what they understood as the modernization of their country. Black lived in Japan at a time when the country was open to a flood of new ideas. With the nineteenth century, the flow of ideas from the West to the East increased as a consequence of European colonization of portions of Asia and the greater trade and travel opportunities brought on by the advent of steamships.

In 1868, in what became known as the Meiji Restoration, a coalition of forces consisting mainly of former low to medium level samurai from the southwestern domains, where contact with the West was historically longest, and where hostility to the Tokugawas had been maintained, succeeded in transferring power from the *bakufu* to a new arrangement whereby the emperor retained nominal power while the coalition of former samurai held the daily reins of government. To the new Meiji elite, the immediate attraction of modernization lay in strengthening their country against the possibility of it

⁶ Eikokujin Burakku, *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage*, p. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

being colonized by Western powers. A further motive was the achievement of a degree of modernity commensurate with that of the Western powers to justify the revision of a number of unequal treaties with these same powers. These treaties were signed between 1858 and 1869 with the United States and European powers, including Britain. Driven originally by the desire for coal to supply modern steamships which could traverse great distances at previously undreamt of speeds to service the China trade, the treaties ensured that foreigners had extraterritoriality in a limited number of treaty ports with immunity from Japanese judicial control while Japan's external trade was subjected to tariffs imposed by the foreign powers. These terms rankled with successive Japanese governments and motivated a decades-long drive on the part of governments and their opponents alike to end the treaties.⁸ The resulting drive on the part of many Japanese to import the trappings of what they understood as civilization in order to achieve cultural and economic parity with the same foreign treaty powers meant that many of the notions associated with modernity in the region were imported from the West. Many of the changes in Japan following the Restoration were therefore synonymous with Westernization.

To this end, during Black's childhood in Yokohama, hundreds of government-sponsored and private scholars and government officials spent periods in Europe and North America absorbing Western thought and technology and bringing it back to Japan. The returnees included members of the Iwakura Mission, led by senior minister Iwakura Tomomi, which visited the United States and Europe between 1871 and 1873 to examine

⁸ For summaries of the circumstances surrounding the early development of Yokohama as a treaty port see J.E. Hoare (1994), *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements: The Uninvited Guests, 1858-1899*, Japan Library, Folkestone, UK, pp. 1-17, and Marius B. Jansen, 'The Meiji Restoration', in Marius B. Jansen (ed.) (1995), *The Emergence of Meiji Japan*, Cambridge University Press, UK, pp. 283-285.

Western society and discuss the operation of the so-called ‘unequal treaties’. One estimate puts the number of Japanese students who studied in American institutions of higher learning alone between 1867 and 1902 at about 900.⁹

On the advice of these returnees, and others before such as Sakuma Shōzan who coined the motto ‘Japanese spirit, Western knowledge’ (*wakon yōsai*),¹⁰ the formula which Meiji governments eventually chose as their means to modernise was indeed a combination of Western scientific know-how and Japanese spirit. This formula emerged after several years of trial and error. While the governmental shapers of Meiji modernization did not have it all their own way, they at least attempted to control the process. Their aim was to achieve, as rapidly as possible, a society whose economic, bureaucratic, political, and defense capabilities would insulate it from Western dominance. To achieve this aim, they embarked on a program which included industrialization, the writing of a Prussian-style Constitution, the marshalling of patriotism directed at a reinstated and malleable figurehead emperor, and the inculcation through a new education system of new cultural and even religious beliefs and practices to underpin the aforesaid aims.

While not denying the impact of the large number of Japanese who travelled to and lived temporarily in the West soon after the Meiji Restoration, one further explanation for the changes and the dissemination of new ideas is found in the actions and impact of thousands of foreign residents, including the Black family. Such people, during the Meiji period, contributed their knowledge and experience to the development of the country.

⁹ Ardath Burks (1985), ‘Japan’s Outreach: The *Ryūgakusei*’, in Ardath W. Burks (ed.), *The Modernizers: Overseas Students, Foreign Employees, and Meiji Japan*, Westview Press, Boulder, London, p. 153.

¹⁰ ‘Sakuma Shōzan’ in *Japan – An Illustrated Encyclopedia* (1993), Kōdansha, Tokyo, pp. 1301 & 1304.

Many belonged to a class of officially invited foreign experts known as *yatoi*. Others who did not fit the *yatoi* category, but were similarly agents of change, were there as traders, as teachers, or as missionaries. Many contributed to the modernization of Japan either by design or by accident. A minority stayed permanently. Some, like Black, adopted Japanese citizenship.

Under the influence of these domestic and foreign agents of change, the Meiji period witnessed one of the most rapid modernizations of any country in the world at any time in history. It therefore serves as a prototype for similar cases in other nation states, of wholesale, rapid cultural and social change, and as ‘a test case for the study of world cultural history’.¹¹ For these reasons, the inflow of new ideas and the associated changes during the Meiji period continue to attract scholars seeking explanations for the manner in which humans adapt to the cluster of altered personal and collective circumstances associated with modernity. Their comprehensive studies have added to our knowledge of the manner in which modernization as a generic phenomenon occurs, and more specifically, to our knowledge of how modernization was understood and facilitated in Japan during the Meiji period.

While many Meiji Japanese at all levels described the process of modernization in terms of the achievement of reforms aimed at bringing civilization and enlightenment to their country, our own understanding of precisely what these terms meant has at times been flawed. Among the dangers in Western scholarship of attempting definitions of Meiji modernization is the equating of modernization with Westernization. Those familiar with the debate in the 1960s, mainly among American scholars of Japan, over

¹¹ Irokawa Daikichi (1985), *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, Marius B. Jansen (trans.), Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, p. 7.

modernization theory as it applied to Japan would know that judging change by the parameters of a liberal Western democracy can skew understanding of modernization processes in countries which do not share the same historical and cultural developments as these democracies. One of the major reasons for the interest in modernization theory, particularly among American scholars during the 1960s, was a desire to produce academic explanations, based on empirical evidence, for Japan's rapid modernization during the Meiji period and in the aftermath of the Pacific War. Explanations for the modernization were sought and found in the impact of the West on Japan during these two periods, as well as in developments during the preceding Tokugawa period. At the height of scholarly inquiry into the nature of modernization, theorists identified clusters of characteristics which suited their own definitions of modernity. In the main, such definitions accorded with modernization as it was understood in advanced Western industrialized nation-states. The clusters invariably contained the assumption that modernization was a process, a notion which accorded with the *a priori* conviction that modernization represented progress, usually of the nineteenth century English libertarian kind. Drawing upon this tradition, definitions of modernization proposed the inclusion of notions such as a belief in the primacy of scientific discovery, greater individual freedom, industrialization, and democracy as useful concepts and standards in analyses of modernity.

In response to this quest, a good deal of scholarship regarding modernization theory as it applied to the Meiji period flowed from a series of conferences on Japan organized by the Association for Asian Studies and held in Japan and the United States during the 1960s. The work of the conferences was subsequently published as a series by Princeton

University Press.¹² The conferences were an attempt to define modernization in Japan and contribute to a general theory of modernization, but the variety of opinion among participants showed there can be no unanimity over the definition of modernization.¹³ Some participants acknowledged that a number of preexisting, pre-modern characteristics also facilitated the subsequent modernization. Others focused on those characteristics associated with modernity in advanced Western industrialized nation-states with the result that many of their underlying assumptions were subsequently rejected as teleological and culturally biased.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the participants set a postwar benchmark for studies on the modernization of Japan.

In an attack on these assumptions, James L. Huffman noted that ‘some scholars’ considered that modernity ‘has such concepts as growth of democracy, spread of individualism, and full participation of all groups and classes in society’s social, economic and political life’.¹⁵ Huffman dismissed the concepts of democracy, individualism, and equality as too value-laden to be useful in formulating a definition of

¹² The Princeton volumes are a six-volume series of papers presented at the Conference on Modern Japan of the Association for Asian Studies, Inc. They are:

Marius B. Jansen (ed.) (1965), *Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization*.

William W. Lockwood (ed.) (1965), *The State and Economic Enterprise in Japan*.

R.P. Dore (ed.) (1967), *Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan*.

Robert E. Ward (ed.) (1968), *Political Development in Modern Japan*.

Donald H. Shively (ed.) (1971), *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*.

James William Morley (ed.) (1971), *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan*.

¹³ For a discussion of the criteria used in defining modernization and the problems inherent in this, see J. Whitney Hall’s ‘Changing Concepts of Modernization of Japan’, and Marius B. Jansen’s ‘Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization’ in Part One of the first of the Princeton volumes, Marius B. Jansen (ed.) (1965), *Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

¹⁴ Alluding to this problem in his introduction to *Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan*, Ronald Dore noted that the volume contained essays which ‘may be roughly characterized as postulating a movement toward greater equality, greater individuation, and greater rationality’, notions which were prompted by Japan’s post-Pacific War economic growth.

¹⁵ James L. Huffman, ‘Meiji 1-10: Takeoff Time for Modern Japan’, in Harry Wray and Hilary Conroy (eds.) (1983), *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, University of Hawaii Press, Hawaii, p.19.

modernity.¹⁶ John Hall, one of the conference participants, also summed up the problems inherent in the debate in his observation that our understanding of modernization is ‘subject to manipulation for political or ideological purposes’ and ‘subject to reinterpretation generation by generation.’¹⁷ Thomas R.H. Havens, not quite two decades after that series of conferences, noted that the concept of modernization ‘has been far more useful in understanding politics and economics than in clarifying the psychological and intellectual question of modernity.’¹⁸

In response to the debate prompted by the Princeton volumes, subsequent reassessments¹⁹ of the origins of Meiji modernity have taken account of preexisting conditions conducive to modernization. Representative of such reassessments is William Reynolds Braisted’s acknowledgement that although ‘the institutional vestiges of feudalism were destroyed to make way for the emergence of a modern state’ in the Western mould, a number of preexisting, premodern characteristics also facilitated the subsequent modernization.²⁰ As early as the Meiji period, many of the imported foreign experts, including Black’s father John Black, were quick to praise these preexisting characteristics which included a centralized bureaucracy, a large urban infrastructure, particularly in Tokyo and Osaka, well-developed modes of transport along roads and shipping lanes which facilitated trade links and communications, and a basic educational

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.19.

¹⁷ John Hall, ‘The Problem: When did Modern Japanese History Begin’, in Wray and Conroy, *Japan Examined*, p.12.

¹⁸ Thomas R.H. Havens, ‘Have “Modern” and “Modernization” been Overworked?’ in Wray and Conroy *Japan Examined*, p. 46.

¹⁹ For a good critique of modernization theory as it has been applied to Japan, see pages 80-81 of John W. Dower’s introductory chapter, ‘E.H. Norman, Japan and the Uses of History’, in John W. Dower (ed.) (1975), *Origins of the Modern Japanese State – Selected Writings of E.H. Norman*, Random House, Inc., New York, NY.

²⁰ William Reynolds Braisted (trans.) (1976), *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of Japanese Enlightenment*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, p. xix.

infrastructure in the form of schools for offspring of the samurai class. Writing in the early 1880s, John Black cited many such examples in his book *Young Japan*.²¹

Such observations are now the basis for scholarly consensus that definitions of modern and modernity are varied and contested in nature. Other recent work, in particular from Sheldon Garon, suggests that concepts of modernity in the Meiji period were as varied as there were persons who believed in such notions, though perhaps less contested than they were later on in the 1920s and 1930s.²² Nevertheless, despite their contested nature, notions of modernity were of vital importance to the Meiji government and people. Despite the abandonment by scholars of modernization theory as a tool for the analysis of the changes which occurred, the nature and significance of the changes remains a subject of debate.

In an attempt to avoid cultural bias and the pitfalls of superficially equating modernization with Westernization, Ronald Inglehart has posited the isolation of a ‘syndrome of changes linked with industrialization’ as the ‘essential core of modernization.’²³ Inglehart’s syndrome includes ‘urbanization, the application of science and technology, rapidly increasing occupational specialization, rising bureaucratization, and rising educational levels.’²⁴ Inglehart attributes the motivating force behind the whole process to ‘industrialization as a way to get rich.’²⁵ This is nevertheless contingent on our accepting that industrialization is the universally accepted way to get rich. His assessment

²¹ John Reddie Black, *Young Japan*, Trubner, London, 1880, and Baker & Pratt, New York, 1883 (Oxford University Press reprint, 1968).

²² Sheldon Garon (1987), *The State and Labor in Modern Japan*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif. In particular, chapters 1-6, which document the struggle between labor and government for control of the prewar reform agenda.

²³ Ronald Inglehart (1997), *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic and Political Change in 43 Societies*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, p. 24.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²⁵ Inglehart, *Modernization and Postmodernization*, p. 24.

of modernization treats the Industrial Revolution as the dividing point between the pre-modern and modern. Since Meiji governments considered industrialization a prerequisite for modernity, and since Industrial Revolution Britain was one of the chief prototypes studied by delegations such as the Iwakura Mission, such a dividing point would seem appropriate in the context of this study.

While some of the components of Inglehart's syndrome were in place during the Meiji period in Japan, the changes which occurred were different in time and place from those which he cites as universal in a more globalised late twentieth century and early twenty-first century world. One motive for modernization on the part of many Japanese in Meiji period Japan was to enrich themselves or their country, but the task was given added urgency by the pressing desire on the part of Japanese governments to ensure the country remained free of Western domination. George Wilson's observation²⁶ that the agents behind the Restoration were motivated by a desire for redemption suggests we need to allow for a complex mix of motives behind any syndrome of characteristics associated with modernization in a particular time and place. Modernization in Meiji Japan was initially a haphazard process carried on by a number of competing elements. It eventually became a highly directed process with many of the components of the syndrome chosen, imposed, and monitored by government, although not necessarily kept entirely under its control. The end result of this prolonged period of change has been characterized as a 'reinvention' of Japan as a modern nation-state complete with a bureaucratic and military infrastructure, and an empire, in the image of nation-states in

²⁶ George Wilson (1992), *Patriots and Redeemers in Japan*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

the West.²⁷ Many ordinary Japanese had no say in this process of reinvention. They could only grumble about the changes and get on with life as best they could under the circumstances. Protests by peasants over changes to the tax system, and the growth of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, initially among former samurai and later among local elites, in the 1880s testify to the breadth of dissatisfaction and resentment over the impact of the changes.²⁸

In the search for the psychological and personal impact of such change in Meiji Japan, a number of scholars have argued that modernization involves new ways of looking at the self. Their observations suggest a need to take account of the more intangible impact of the modernizing changes upon individuals in the compilation of any syndrome of modernization. Mikiso Hane maintains that socially, modernization involves 'a shift from the extended nuclear family, greater equality in income, education and opportunities, changes in the relationship between men and women, social integration facilitated by better means of communication and improved health.'²⁹ Psychologically, Hane maintains, 'modernization leads to a greater sense of individual freedom'.³⁰

The conclusions Hane reaches are perhaps optimistic in view of our subsequent understanding of the restrictions modernization can impose on individual freedom. But it should be remembered that such optimism also accompanied the opening up of Japan to outside ideas during the Meiji period. The changes during the Meiji period undoubtedly brought a degree of prosperity and material comfort to many Japanese, particularly from

²⁷ Takashi Fujitani (1996), *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan*, University of California Press, Berkeley, California.

²⁸ See for example Roger W. Bowen (1980), *Rebellion and Democracy in Meiji Japan - A Study of Commoners in the Popular Rights Movement*, University of California Press, Berkeley & Los Angeles, Calif.; Matsuo Shôichi (1990), *Jiyû minken shisô no kenkyû*, Nihon Keizai Hyôronsha, Tokyo; Naitô Seichû (1964), *Jiyû minken undô no kenkyû*, Aoki Shoten, Tokyo.

²⁹ Mikiso Hane, 'Introduction', in Part One of Wray and Conroy, *Japan Examined*, p. 6.

the mid-1880s.³¹ But any optimism which stemmed from this was offset later by warnings, from many including Henry Black, of the dangers involved in too heady a rush to modernise. The qualitative and psychological changes also have a darker side. Donald Shivley alludes to this darker side as ‘the pathology of modernization.’³² A number of studies have shown that in nineteenth century Japan it took the form of social dislocation caused by the drift to the cities or health problems brought on by unregulated work practices in the new industrial economy.³³ The hardships, including health problems, experienced by young women indentured into the spinning mills and licensed prostitution quarters during this period are among such examples. Inglehart notes that while modernization facilitates ‘economic growth, public order, and ever-increasing rationalization,’ the consequent industrialization and increased human productivity also brings the kind of ‘inhuman working conditions’ and ‘tremendous psychological costs’ cited by Karl Marx.³⁴ Irokawa Daikichi also noted this darker side when he acknowledged the amorality of modernization as ‘concerned with ends rather than means,’ as exemplified by the manner in which the rapid modernization of Japan in the Meiji period ‘led to popular traumatization and war.’³⁵ Given Black’s awareness of such

³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 6.

³¹ Alan H. Gleason documents some of these material benefits in ‘Economic Growth and Consumption in Japan’, in William W. Lockwood (ed.) (1965), *The State and Economic Enterprise in Japan*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, pp. 391-444. A number of other writers in Chapter Two of this volume also examine Japan’s economic growth during the Meiji period. Kazushi Ohkawa and Henry Rosovsky, for example, argue (in ‘A Century of Japanese Growth’, pp. 47-92) that although ‘modern economic growth’ became a national objective from the time of the Restoration, such growth did not actually begin until after 1886 when the Matsukata deflation had run its course.

³² Donald H. Shivley (1971), *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, Princeton University Press, p. xvii.

³³ See for example E. Patricia Tsurumi (1990), *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey; Inumaru Giichi (ed.) *Shokkô jijô* (Vols. 1, 2, 3), (reprinted 1993) Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo; Takeo Yazaki (1968), *Social Change and the City in Japan* (David L. Swain, trans.), Japan Publications Inc., San Francisco, Calif.

³⁴ Inglehart, *Modernization and Postmodernization*, p. 23.

³⁵ Marius B. Jansen, ‘Editor’s Introduction’, in Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, p. xv.

problems, it is no coincidence that Charles Dickens, that most perceptive critic of social injustice in mid-nineteenth century Industrial Revolution Britain, was prominent among those whose works he adapted for his narrations.

In isolating the components of any ‘syndrome of change’ attributable to Meiji period Japan, one must sift through the tangible evidence for that change. Much initial analysis of the modernization process in Meiji Japan has focused on the activities and motives of the leading protagonists in the Meiji Restoration and its aftermath.³⁶ Such protagonists include politicians, disgruntled samurai, intellectuals and prominent foreign diplomats who played roles in forging the new Meiji state. In seeking to explain the motives of these protagonists, historians have turned to official documentation detailing the changes, including laws and ordinances legislated by the protagonists while in government or in positions of influence, or to their speeches and writings.

But if we are to widen the net beyond the main protagonists to understand what ordinary people felt about those changes, or what they desired through the changes, one must canvass statements and expressions of opinion on the part of more ordinary people. Recognising this need to widen the source base, a number of studies have examined more grass-roots level protagonists. Irokawa exemplifies this approach with his examination of popular movements for democracy in the countryside, and the links between these movements and more mainstream pro-democracy activists.³⁷ Irokawa’s attempts to recover and map the extent of the impact of the changes even in the countryside prompted other studies into the impact of the changes on ordinary citizens. Studies by

³⁶ See for example George Wilson, *Patriots and Redeemers in Japan*; Roger F. Hackett (1971), *Yamagata Aritomo in the Rise of Modern Japan, 1838-1922*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.; Marius B. Jansen, ‘The Meiji Restoration’, in Marius B. Jansen (ed.) (1995), *The Emergence of Meiji Japan*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

William W. Kelly³⁸ and Stephen Vlastos,³⁹ for example, into the impact on local communities of the mid-1870s land tax cadastre also contribute to the complex reality of ‘great structural diversity and fluctuation’⁴⁰ in grass-roots reaction to the bureaucratic reach of the new central government.

Other attempts to assess the Meiji period deal with intellectuals and writers as protagonists whose role was to reflect or document the changes and introduce new ideas into the debate about modernization. While these assessments have focused on mainstream writers and intellectuals, less attention has been accorded to the similarly communicative and educative role played by artists and entertainers working in popular forms of culture, a tendency only now being rectified by scholars reviewing the events of the period.⁴¹ During the Meiji period large sectors of the Japanese population, particularly those in cities and towns, sought their entertainment at neighbourhood theatres where professional storytellers satirised politicians and popular fads and at times incorporated information about the West into their stories.

In doing so, these artists pioneered the introduction of many new ideas to the masses, paving the way for their subsequent adoption into the mainstream literary and intellectual canon. Our knowledge of the intellectual and artistic developments associated with the modernization process during the Meiji period is therefore deficient unless we have an accurate picture of the role of such artists. In this regard, Henry Black served an

³⁷ Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*.

³⁸ William W. Kelly (1985), *Deference and Defiance in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

³⁹ See for example Stephen Vlastos ‘Opposition movements in early Meiji, 1868-1885’ in Jansen, *The Emergence of Meiji Japan*, pp. 203-267.

⁴⁰ Kelly, *Deference and Defiance*, p. 290

⁴¹ A recent example of this reassessment is Helen Hardacre (ed.) with Adam L. Kern (1997), *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, Brill, Leiden, New York, Köln. With reference to the impact of

important communicative role in informing the nation of the personal outcomes of modernization. As a storyteller, Black was a part of the reflexive processes inherent in change through his documentation of the impact of the changes in commentary embedded in his narrations. The oral art in which he forged a career ensured that he was also a protagonist who served to transfer ideas to his audiences.

As the son of a leading newspaper editor, Henry Black was familiar with many of the main protagonists in the debate over modernization during the Meiji period. Later, as a Japanese citizen, he shared his compatriots' experiences of the changes and possessed a participant's understanding of the direction and diversity of the debate over modernization. And as a foreign-born national, he had a dispassionate observer's eye for the impact of the changes and understood the Western origins of the influences causing those changes.

Despite his role as a mediator of modernity, Henry Black has largely been forgotten in the country he adopted. Only one scholarly Japanese-language book has been written about him.⁴² No serious attempt has been made to examine the corpus of Black's narrated stories to gauge his impact on audiences. There are a number of reasons for this. One is that in Japan, Black is appreciated more for his eccentricity as a foreigner who 'went native' and forged an unusual career on the stage than as a contributor to the development of the country. As a result, little is written about Black in histories of *rakugo*.⁴³ This can

popular culture, see in particular Section II 'Arts and Society', pp. 35-270, and J. Scott Miller 'Tale as Text: *Sokkibon* in the Diet Library Collection', pp. 581-589 in Section IV.

⁴² This is the 1986 ground-breaking study, *Kairakutei Burakku no Nippon: aoi me no rakugoka ga mita bunmei kaika no nihon to nihonjin* by Morioka Heinz and Sasaki Miyoko, published by PHP Kenkyūjo, Tokyo.

⁴³ For example, Black's *Eikoku no otoshibanashi* [A Tale from England] appears to have been accorded the status of a minor classic since it appears alongside other well-known narrated stories by famous *rakugoka* in Teruoka Yasutaka et al (eds.) (1980), *Kôen sokki – Meiji-Taishô rakugo shûsei*, Vol. 1, Kôdansha, Tokyo, pp. 451-456. This seven volume collection contains multiple examples of stories by Black's

be attributed to several factors, including belated recognition of the dual roles of popular culture in the introduction of new ideas to the populace and in the formation of mainstream Meiji culture. Another is the fact that Black was never considered by colleagues as a full-fledged member of the major *rakugo* school, San'yûha, since he came to *rakugo* as a foreigner in his twenties, without undergoing years of hard training via an apprenticeship. For this he was sometimes resented by colleagues who deemed him unworthy of consideration as a full professional. Such resentment surfaced in the later years of Black's career, especially after the death in 1900 of his mentor San'yûtei Enchô.⁴⁴ The limited body of work on Black may also stem from the fact that by the time his obituaries were penned in 1923, the changes during the 1880s and 1890s when he was at his peak as a storyteller, although seemingly extraordinary at the time, had paled into relative insignificance compared to the preoccupations and subsequent changes of the Taishô period (1912-1926).

In addition, there has been a tendency to downplay the importance of the cultural contribution made by foreigners during the Meiji period, a tendency only now being rectified by scholars reviewing the events of the period.⁴⁵ Conventional synoptic histories

colleagues and contemporaries, but Black's other, longer serialised narrations do not rate a mention. In an account of the history of *rakugo* in the Meiji period, in Ishii Akira (1999), *Rakugo wo tanoshimô*, Iwanami Junia Shinsho, Tokyo, p. 85, Ishii lists Black together with a number of his contemporaries whom he describes as having 'reigned over the world of *rakugo*', but does not elaborate. Two recent accounts of the life of Black's mentor San'yûtei Enchô, which purport to document Enchô's impact on Meiji *rakugo*, mention a number of Black's San'yûha colleagues, but make no mention of Black. These are Nagai Hiroo (1998), *San'yûtei Enchô* (new edition), Seiabô, Tokyo, and Yano Seiichi (1999), *San'yûtei Enchô no Meiji*, Bungei Shunju, Tokyo.

⁴⁴ See, for example, reference in Chapter Seven to an argument in 1895 between Black and San'yûtei Enshô in which Enshô insinuated that Black did not fit in because of his foreign birth.

⁴⁵ See Burks (ed.) (1985), *The Modernizers*; Hazel J. Jones (1980), *Live Machines* (1980), The University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, Canada; Neil Pedlar (1990), *The Imported Pioneers: Westerners Who Helped Build Modern Japan*, St. Martin's Press, New York; Edward Beauchamp & Iriye Akira (eds.) (1990), *Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado; J.E. Hoare (1994), *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements – The Uninvited Guests, 1858-1899*, Japan Library, Folkestone, Kent, UK.; Aramata Hiroshi (1991), *Kaika otsukuni suketto funsen ki*, Shôgakkan, Tokyo.

of the role of foreigners during the Meiji period have focused on *yatoi* and key figures in the pantheon of foreign contributors to the development of Japan for whom autobiographical or documentary material is plentiful. These conventional approaches allow some protagonists to fall between the cracks as not fitting the narrative. Black and *rakugo* have slipped between the cracks. But if we ignore all the players, we limit our understanding of the drama. Foreigners may have been mere bit players in Japan during the Meiji period, but one should not forget that minor players in a drama can have pivotal roles as counterpoints, devil's advocates, and even *agents provocateurs* or catalysts for the main action. Even a bit-player is rendered a central player if the focus of the drama is altered. This study therefore aims to augment that process of reassessment of the impact of popular culture and foreigners during the Meiji period by examining the role of Henry Black in the introduction into Japan of ideas of modernity.

All such studies are still fraught with value judgments since the choices made about the nature of the sources shape the findings. But by painting a more complex picture of events, such studies reinforce the fact that individuals and interest groups adopted different approaches to the issue of modernization during the Meiji period. In embracing as wide a range of views as possible among persons who lived through the changes, we can only enhance our understanding of human behaviour and of the period itself. That this thesis is concerned with a single protagonist, Henry Black, necessitates an approach which highlights those aspects of Black's role as a human agent for the kinds of change associated with modernity in Meiji Japan.

In the following chapters, an adaptation of methodologies applied by George Wilson⁴⁶ and Alex Callinicos,⁴⁷ two scholars with an interest in questions of agency, facilitates a more accurate picture of Black's motives and impact as an agent of modernization upon his audiences. Callinicos treats the individual as a 'historically situated agent,'⁴⁸ regarding social structures as the consequences of the actions of such agents. For Callinicos, structures provide a 'framework within which human agency can have free play' without necessarily limiting the actions of the human agent.⁴⁹ Wilson, however, accepts that structures are both limiting and enabling. By constructing a matrix of 'motivational determinants' Wilson has illustrated the perceptions and responses of four key groups of actors or protagonists in *bakumatsu* and post-Restoration Japan.⁵⁰ Further, the elements in the matrix facilitate an explanation of the causal relationship between the motives of the protagonists and the outcomes of the Restoration. By detailing the manner in which the four groups carried out their roles vis-à-vis the prevailing social structures, the matrix has done much to indicate the motives and ideologies of the protagonists behind the creation of a modernized Meiji state. Accordingly, while retaining the emphasis on individual agency, this study will show that it is these dual, limiting and enabling, properties of the structures which Black encountered -- expatriate society, the Japanese state, and the tradition-bound school of *rakugo* with which he affiliated, to name three -- which shaped the narrative of Black's life and the extent of his modernizing influence.

⁴⁶ Wilson, *Patriots and Redeemers*.

⁴⁷ Alex Callinicos (1987), *Making History*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 235.

⁵⁰ Wilson, *Patriots and Redeemers*, pp. 66-73.

This study uses a chronological approach in detailing Black's life, but applies Wilson's use of a matrix to include major related protagonists and structures within the chapter narrative. These other protagonists include Black's journalist father, his father's associates, members of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, other *rakugoka* (storytellers), and members of Black's adopted family. The structures referred to include the world of *rakugo*, the world of foreign residents in Yokohama and Tokyo during the Meiji period, and Japanese society in the broadest sense. Wilson's employment of this method as a device to obviate the epistemological problems associated with the study of 'relatively underdocumented popular phenomena'⁵¹ at a given time also fits with the need to overcome the underdocumented nature of Black's career. In presenting these other protagonists and structures, the chapters facilitate an explanation of the motives for, and outcomes of, Black's actions. The reciprocal nature of the relationships permits the focus to fall on what Geoffrey Klingsporn *et al* cite as 'the connections and interactions among historical actors,'⁵² with Black the main protagonist. The relationships are assigned to chapters which represent key stages in Black's life, allowing an examination of the settings and structures within which Black the agent operated.

Black's story is told in four parts. The first of these, Chapter Two, outlines Black's early contacts with expatriate foreigners, including his own father, as modernizers. Henry Black's childhood, which spanned the years between 1858 and 1872, was spent mainly in Yokohama and Tokyo surrounded by members of his own family and the expatriate

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵² Geoffrey Klingsporn et al. (1998), 'Conference Report on "The Next Social History: Practicing Space, Time, and Place"', in *Perspectives*, American Historical Association, November 1998, pp. 47-49. The report is a summation of the proceedings at a 1998 American Historical Association conference. The authors noted that a number of participants used maps, oral histories and memory as devices to 'shape their own stories' and that one participant pertinently remarked that the value of such nonlinear histories lies in their allowing the focus to fall on 'the connections and interactions among historical actors.'

community. The evidence indicates that during his adolescent years, Black also associated with storytellers, public speakers and political activists, initially as a result of his father's activities as a newspaper editor, and later of his own volition. The contacts contributed to an imbibing of certain attitudes toward modernization which are explicated in subsequent chapters. In reference to *yatoi* and other foreign residents, J.E. Hoare has with some justification claimed that foreign settlements had an essentially 'marginal' role in the development of Meiji Japan. Hoare's basis for the claim is that the Japanese had learned enough from foreign expatriates to run a nation-state confidently 'well before 1899.' He does, however, acknowledge that the existence of the foreign expatriates 'provided the stimulus for much of Japan's development in the late nineteenth century.'⁵³ While this assessment consigns foreign expatriates to the status of bit players in the main drama of the Meiji years, it does not address the anomaly of a British citizen-turned Japanese such as Henry Black working as a naturalized 'insider'. This issue is dealt with in subsequent chapters. Chapter Two will also contribute to our understanding of the Meiji government's treatment of foreigners.

Chapter Three examines the beginnings of Black's transition from foreigner to insider. This chapter deals with Black's contacts with the Freedom and People's Rights Movement (*jiyū minken undō*), a disparate collection of disaffected elements pressing for political and social reform. Such contact was instrumental in the development of Black's ability to address large audiences in Japanese, a major factor in his decision to become a storyteller. Black experienced a political awakening as a result of his involvement with the Freedom and People's Rights Movement. Government suppression of the movement and a talent for public speaking eventually prompted him to embark on a career in

⁵³ Hoare, *Japan's Treaty Ports*, p. 177.

storytelling. The chapter details the relationship between the Freedom and People's Rights Movement and the growth of the modern mediums of newspapers and stenographic books (*sokkibon*) which popularised the stories of *rakugoka*, including Black, bringing them to even greater audiences than could be reached through the theatres.

This leads into Chapter Four which discusses Black's entry into the world of *rakugo*, a move which ushered in his most creative period between the mid-1880s until the beginning of the twentieth century. These years correspond to the period of Black's greatest impact. This chapter focuses on *rakugo* as an art form, with particular emphasis on Black's perception of demands by intellectuals and other *rakugoka* for modernizing reforms in the theatre, especially *kabuki*, during the Meiji period.

Chapters Five and Six focus on Black's use in the 1880s and 1890s of the sensation fiction genre and its subgenre of crime fiction in newspapers and stenographic books, thanks to the commercial use of the newly introduced technique of stenography (*sokki*). Virtually none of Black's *sokkibon* have been analysed or translated into English. Treating the *sokkibon* as devices to substantiate the notion of agency in relation to Black, Chapters Five and Six analyse the *sokkibon* as tools in a discussion of the discourse related to modernity as it was understood by Black and his contemporaries. Although *rakugo* is not strictly speaking a form of discourse, there are elements of discourse in the processes by which the narrator and audience interact. Text analysis applies to that aspect of the *sokkibon* which serves as the active element in influencing or persuading readers.

The emphasis in Chapter Five is on themes which illustrate Black's blueprint for audience and reader survival amid an era of rapid change brought on by state-sponsored

reform. Since it also deals with Black's taking of Japanese citizenship, it will add to our understanding of notions of identity and citizenship as they developed in Japan in the latter half of the Meiji period. Chapter Six looks at Black's critical portrayal of the negative impact of modernity.

Black's observations on the nature of the modernization his compatriots were undergoing are found in the stories he narrated and in the comments he made to interviewers. Black was by no means a leading protagonist in the debate over modernization, but his artistic sensibility and talent for satire made him a critical participant and observer. As vehicles for the transfer of ideas and as reflections of the concerns and preoccupations of Japanese audiences, Black's stories are an integral part of the contemporary discourse on modernization. This is particularly so since Black's flair for using story material derived from Western sources, combined with his foreign-born status, made him a key vector in the transfer of Western culture to Japan at a time when, as the cited example from the preamble to Black's story shows, modernization was often equated with Westernization. There can be no doubt that the bulk of new ideas which flowed into Japan at the time, including those which Black introduced, originated in the West. The stories which Black adapted from Western sources as narrations, and their subsequent publication in book form, are among his greatest extant contributions to the debate about modernization. Since the stories Black told were for the consumption of ordinary citizens, they are a measure of the average citizen's understanding of the debate as well as an indication of the state of the debate at the time of their narration and publication. It is Black who shows us in his narrations what the terms 'enlightenment', 'reform', and 'civilization' may have meant to his listeners.

Chapter Seven covers Black's later years after his career went into decline. It deals with Black's role in the production of the first disc shaped records produced in Japan. Given the subsequent obscurity to which Black was relegated in histories of *rakugo* and of the Meiji period, it also raises questions about perceptions of Black's role. The final Chapter Eight gives conclusions, and an appendix contains summaries of a selection of Black's narrations.

The above analysis takes account of the evolving nature of the debate over modernization during the Meiji years, reflecting what Ann Waswo has encapsulated as a shift from initial enthusiasm to later ambivalence toward the notion of modernization as Westernization.⁵⁴ In his examination of the reasons for the Restoration, Wilson has suggested that the engineers of the Restoration were motivated by a desire for redemption and that once their initial aims were achieved, the instigators evolved into a clique known as the *genrô* which waged a conservative rear-guard action to retain their initial goals. Their aims were subsequently overtaken by events which led to new imperatives. Evidence from scholars, including Irokawa, shows that in the early stages of the Meiji period, the country's leaders were intent on learning as much as they could from the West in order to strengthen and enrich their country rather than on protecting their traditional culture.⁵⁵ Thus the Iwakura Mission which toured the United States and Europe between November 1871 and the middle of 1873, had a dual purpose: to 'conduct preliminary negotiations with a view to revising treaties' and to 'work out a vision for the future of Japan through firsthand observation of the advanced civilizations of the West.'⁵⁶ The first

⁵⁴ Ann Waswo (1996), *Modern Japanese Society, 1868-1994*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, pp. 90-95.

⁵⁵ Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, pp. 52-53

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

two decades of the Meiji period, the years between 1868 and 1888, were years when the authoritarian elite successfully defeated challenges from elements who instigated civil wars, proposed military adventures on the Korean peninsula, and promoted a nationwide opposition people's rights movement. The clash between the old guard and the new inspired much of the debate in Japan at the time about the nature and purpose of change. The debate found most common expression in calls for reform, but it was over the manner, timing and purpose in which such reform was to be achieved that the participants often differed.

The intensity of the debate reflects the fact that the changes created victims as well as beneficiaries. With the abolition of the old stratified classification which placed samurai at the top of the social and bureaucratic scale, entirely new classes of citizens were created. All had a stake in the future. Many *yatoi* also were involved in the debate. As a newspaper editor, Henry Black's father, John Black, was one of the more outspoken of the *yatoi*. This outspokenness eventually led to a falling out between him and government bureaucrats, resulting in him losing his job after the bureaucrats objected to his printing of information which exposed the seriousness of the divisions over reform. Henry Black also fell foul of the government's suppression of expressions of dissent in 1880 when the police prevented him from addressing meetings in Odawara organized by adherents of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement.

But Black's subsequent career as a storyteller and the mocking observations of the government's own agents, the bureaucrats, in his *sokkibon*, support Waswo's contention that while governments may have defeated their opponents in the political sphere, they never completely controlled the discourse of modernization unleashed after 1868.

Analysis of Black's major *sokkibon* dating from the mid 1880s to mid 1890s sheds further light on the extent of the continued ambivalence of popular sentiment over the reforms during these years. The shifts in this discourse reflected factors beyond the control of governments, including domestic and international circumstances, and the replacement of the old guard who ushered in the Meiji Restoration by a new generation whose preoccupation with imitating the West was not as great. As Waswo puts it, 'when one assumes that what is modern is also Western ...everything that exists in non-Western societies can then be perceived as non-Western and non-modern.'⁵⁷ This was certainly the case in the period during which the Iwakura Mission participants had their greatest impact. However, as the discourse about modernization shows, the emphasis shifted over time from the prevailing early Meiji view that what was Western was modern and desirable toward a concern associated with a new generation born in the 1850s and 1860s for what was both modern *and* Japanese.⁵⁸

This new generation was, in effect, the intellectual heir to the idealistic reforms set in train by the early Meiji elite.⁵⁹ Its members had imbibed the thoughts of Macaulay, Tocqueville, Spencer, Mill, Rousseau, Buckle, Carlyle, and Hegel.⁶⁰ They were prepared to appreciate the best that such Western philosophers and thinkers offered, but split over the extent of Westernization necessary for the modernization of their country. To some, modernization implied almost wholesale Westernization, while to others it implied a retention of Japanese values but synthesized with what they perceived were the best

⁵⁷ Waswo, *Modern Japanese Society*, p. 92.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 91-95.

⁵⁹ For a discussion of the problems associated with the formation of a new national identity and ideology in the aftermath of the Meiji Restoration, see also Kenneth B. Pyle (1969), *The New Generation in Meiji Japan – Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.

⁶⁰ Pyle, *The New Generation*, p.92-95.

aspects of the West. This debate reflected a greater maturity on the part of those engaged in the process of selection from the West. The variety of views on reform and modernity expressed in Black's major *sokkibon* issued in the 1880s and 1890s support Waswo's conclusion that the new generation 'concurred on the advisability of modernization' but not over 'what kind of modernization Japan needed.'⁶¹ By the onset of the twentieth century however, the success of the Meiji leadership in propounding an ideology which would 'justify its monopoly of power and the sacrifices required to achieve the nation's industrial and military goals'⁶² eventually began to stifle this debate. Black's inability to participate further in the debate as an adaptor and introducer of Western culture and ideas was a significant factor in his subsequent relegation to relative obscurity.

By examining the trajectory of Black's career in tandem with his statements about modernization and the opinions of others regarding Black, this study will add primarily to our understanding of the debate about modernization during the Meiji years. It should add to our understanding of developments in the field of popular culture during the period and to the impact of popular culture on ordinary people. It will thus enhance our understanding of the complicated relationship between the introduction of ideas and their eventual adoption or adaptation in Japan's modern era. It should also contribute to our knowledge of notions of identity and citizenship as they developed in Japan in the latter half of the Meiji period.

⁶¹ Waswo, *Modern Japanese Society*, p. 93.

⁶² Pyle, *The New Generation*, p. 194.

Chapter Two

The Early Years – Henry Black and the Foreign Community

(1863 - 78)

Introduction

Henry James Black arrived in Yokohama with his mother Elizabeth Black on the 561-ton *Granada* on 8 November 1865.¹ His father, John Reddie Black had arrived in Nagasaki two years earlier in 1863 ‘without having any intention of staying,’² but had soon found work as a newspaper editor in the port of Yokohama. For John and Elizabeth Black, Japan represented the geographic finishing point of a journey which had taken them first from London in 1854 to the British colony of South Australia and the goldfields of Victoria.

Henry Black spent his childhood years in Japan in the company of family members, as well as prominent members of the British and Japanese communities. Members of the Japanese community whom he knew during those years included newspaper staff, political activists, theatre personnel, orators, and storytellers. Through the events and personalities Henry Black encountered during his childhood years, he developed via his father and his father’s associates an interest in the modernization process, later expressed in critical comments on reform and fads such as the adoption of Western fashions. Black

¹ Asaoka Kunio, ‘Henri J. Burakku no rainichi jiki’, *Kairakutei Burakku kenkyū*, No. 2, 19 September 1987, pp. 11-14.

² In his book *Young Japan*, John Black recalled that he visited Japan out of curiosity en route elsewhere when circumstances contrived to entice him to stay. According to an obituary in the *Japan Chronicle* of 11 October 1922, on the occasion of the death of Elizabeth Black, John Black ‘arrived in Japan without having any intention of staying here.’ Hanazono Kanesada, in ‘J.R. Black’, *Journalism in Japan and its Early Pioneers*, Ōsaka Shuppansha, 1926, p.79, writes that John Black’s second son, John Black II claimed his

also imbibed his Freemason father's principles of nineteenth-century middle-class British liberalism, specifically a belief in equality before the law, as well as support for freedom of expression. Black's interest in performance may also have had its origins in his father's participation in soirées for the foreign community. An understanding of these influences is a prerequisite to appreciation of Black's application of these principles and talents in his narrations.

This chapter deals with Black's encounters with the pre- and post-Meiji Restoration debate over modernity between his arrival in Japan and his first stage performances in Yokohama and Tokyo in 1878. During this period, the threat of domination by foreign powers motivated the Meiji Restoration protagonists to create a centralized state modeled on those of Europe and North America. To do so, these protagonists sought the help of foreign experts from these same European and North American states. Other foreigners, including those who came seeking business opportunities, to teach, or to find Christian converts, also contributed. Through their actions and their words, these foreigners constituted important agents of modernization in the narrative of the Meiji period.

Once the aim of replacing the *bakufu* was achieved, divisions among the victors emerged over ways to achieve modernization. The ensuing debate over which path to modernity to choose at times took the form of civil disturbances. Since the debate also concerned the advisability of using foreigners, it affected the way in which foreign residents were treated.

Many foreigners residing in Japan were caught up in the debate. Some, like John Black, were able to participate in the debate directly. John Black did so through the pages of his newspapers and through associations with members of the government, the

father arrived in Japan in 1863.

bureaucracy and opposition figures. Foreigners also experienced personal danger at the hands of disgruntled former samurai whose privileges were abolished with the Restoration or who resented the foreign presence on their soil. The foreigners who arrived on Japanese soil as a consequence of treaties with Western nations were temporary sojourners. Their kinship and business links, allegiances, codes of law and world view, were all different from their Japanese hosts. This ensured that Japanese and foreigners frequently had differing views of the paths Japan should take toward modernization.

How these differences were, or were not, reconciled forms the background to Henry Black's early years in Japan. His contact as a child and adolescent with some of the participants in the debate, who were associates of his father, influenced his career as a storyteller. In particular, participants in the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, who urged Henry Black to address their gatherings, most specifically the retired naval officer Hori Ryûta, appear to have had a formative influence on Henry Black's later decision to become a storyteller. Shôrin Hakuen, the prominent exponent of the *kôdan* style of storytelling, also appreciated his ability to convey information orally, and advised him to become a storyteller.

This latter development, the use of a Japanese-speaking foreigner in popular vaudeville-style theatres known as *yose*, which took place in 1878, marked the beginning of an experiment in the oral transmission of Western ideas associated with modernity. Hakuen and other storytellers encouraged Black's storytelling abilities as an opportunity to modernize their art, but Black's family members and some of his associates considered it demeaning and inappropriate. This chapter lays the basis for an understanding of these

two divergent opinions. It also provides evidence that Black's commitment to storytelling derived from his father's own commitment to freedom of the press and the mission to bring Western notions of civilization to his readers. To comprehend the role of foreigners in Meiji Japan, studies must extend beyond the body of readily available data on officially hired foreigners.

Encountering Japan

A knowledge of Black's parents' origins helps explain the cultural and intellectual milieu which influenced him during his childhood. His father, John Reddie Black, was born in Scotland,³ educated in London at Christ's Hospital, and later joined the Royal Navy. John's wife Elizabeth Charlotte was English.⁴ In July 1854, John and Elizabeth Black left London for Australia on the barque *Irene*, arriving off Adelaide on October 29 that year.⁵ Despite Henry Black's claims that he was born in Brighton or London, England,⁶ his birth certificate shows he was born in North Adelaide, in Australia on 22 December 1858. Little is known of the Blacks' activities in Australia other than that they were at the gold diggings at Ballarat in Victoria in 1858, the year of Henry's birth.⁷

³ An extract, dated 28 August 1975, from an entry in 'an Old Parochial Register' in the Parish of Dysart in the County of Fife, Scotland, and held at the Registrar Of Births and Baptisms, at the General Register Office, New Register House, Edinburgh, indicates that John Reddie Black was born on the 8 January 1826 to parents, John Reddie Black and Sophia K.I. Hurdies. The younger John Reddie Black, was baptized in the Episcopal Chapel, Kirkcaldy. The extract states that his sponsors were Sir Walt John Tierney Bart, and G. Spence Esq. The original extract is in the possession of Henry Black's niece, Mrs. Joy Currie.

⁴ Letter from Henry Black's niece, Mrs. Joy Currie, to Ian McArthur, 28 October 1993. According to Mrs. Currie, Elizabeth's maiden name was Bonwell.

⁵ *The Adelaide Times* of 30 October 1854, lists the Blacks in the ship's passenger list. The ship was engaged in the transport of wool and gold as well as passengers. In a memorandum dated October 28 and published several days later in the same newspaper, the Blacks and 15 other passengers expressed their appreciation and gratitude to the ship's captain, D. Bruce, for conveying them safely to Australia.

⁶ In Nishûbashi Sei, 'Kairakutei Burakkku' in *Bungei kurabu*, Vol. 11, No.14, October 1905, p. 293, Black claimed he was born in Brighton. In Nyorai An, 'Shunpû Kanwa: Kairakutei Burakkku', in *Yomiuri shinbun*, 30 April 1896, Black claimed his homeland (*sato*) was London.

⁷ John Reddie Black, *Young Japan*, Trubner, London, 1880, and Baker & Pratt, New York, 1883 (Oxford University Press reprint, 1968), Vol. 1, p. 402.

Harold Williams notes of John Black that ‘although unlucky and unsuccessful as a miner he did achieve considerable distinction’ as a concert singer on the goldfields’.⁸

There is no first-hand account of the timing and reason for John Black’s departure from Australia after an eight- or nine-year stay and his eventual arrival in Japan. A *Japan Herald* obituary marking John Black’s death in 1880 cited ‘business with him taking an unprosperous turn’ as the reason for departure from Australia. It stated that he reached Japan ‘after traveling through the Australian colonies, India, and China’.⁹ John Black himself offered no evidence of a burgeoning interest in Japan prior to his arrival there.¹⁰

John Black recalled that he ‘arrived on a visit, without an idea of becoming a permanent resident.’¹¹ Nevertheless, his subsequent transfer of wife and son to Yokohama suggests he was among Europeans whom Irokawa Daikichi notes arrived in the *bakumatsu* period and early Meiji years inquisitive to know if Japan could ‘surpass China and endure the trials of modernization.’¹² In *Young Japan*, a compilation of recollections penned in 1880, John Black admitted that his ‘own personal sympathies [were] so strongly with Japan and the Japanese’¹³ and that visitors such as himself ‘found everything strange, and every human being he met, full of interests and attraction.’¹⁴ *Young Japan* gives the impression that John Black was impressed with the determination

⁸ Possibly Williams based his comment about J.R. Black’s poor luck and good singing abilities displayed on the goldfields on a comment in the *Japan Herald* obituary. The obituary stated that while in Australia, ‘business with him taking an unprosperous turn, he [J.R. Black] was induced to turn his fine vocal powers to account...’

⁹ J.R. Black obituary in *Japan Herald*, 11 June 1880. Extract in Harold S. Williams Collection, National Library of Australia.

¹⁰ In Ballarat in 1862, the year before his arrival in Japan, he met ‘a gentleman’ who related his experiences in Japan to him, but recalled that ‘nothing my new friend told me imparted to me any special desire to go there; for at the time my thoughts were turned in a totally different direction’. See John Black, *Young Japan*, Vol. 1, p. 248.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

¹² Irokawa, Daikichi (1985), *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, p 7.

¹³ John Reddie Black, *Young Japan*, Vol. 1, p. vii.

of members of the samurai class, whom he encountered, to achieve modernity. His enthusiasm for this task motivated involvement, through newspaper publication, in the discourse over modernity in which this class was engaged.

John Black's 1863 arrival coincided with a weakened *bakufu* under strain from the foreign threat. In 1863, the southwestern domain of Chôshû shelled foreign ships in Shimonoseki Straits and the English navy shelled the town of Kagoshima, also in the southwest. The following year, English, French, American and Dutch ships shelled Chôshû batteries at Shimonoseki.¹⁵ The skirmishes were symptomatic of a loosening of control by the shogunate. Elements among the samurai who resented the treaties and the presence of foreigners instigated the skirmishes. Foreign retaliation merely emphasised to the domainal rulers the strength of the Western powers. Although perceptive samurai were alerted to the need to end old feudal domainal divisions and to develop a centralized government able to withstand foreign threats and adapt Western technology, it was to be some years before they could achieve their aims in the form of the Meiji Restoration of 1868.

It appears that the offer of a job as editor-in-chief of the English-language *Japan Herald* enticed John Black to settle in the growing treaty port of Yokohama. The offer came from Albert W. Hansard, head of an auction and commission business. Hansard had launched the *Japan Herald* on 23 November 1861. Grace Fox describes it as 'the official organ for the publications of the legations of the treaty powers in Japan' offering 'kindly

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁵ Marius B. Jansen, 'Introduction' in Marius B. Jansen (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Vol. 5, Cambridge, England & New York, N.Y., pp. 22-23.

criticism of the Shogun's government'.¹⁶ It was published every Saturday evening. From December 1863, John Black also edited the *Daily Japan Herald*.¹⁷

When Henry Black arrived in Yokohama in December 1865, the *bakufu* was still under challenge from southwestern domains. In 1865, the Satsuma domain broke with a *bakufu* rule against contact with the West to send fifteen students to England, while the *bakufu* ordered a second military expedition against the Chôshû domain.¹⁸ Henry Black was almost seven years old when he arrived. The family was to live in Yokohama for seven years until moving to Tokyo in 1872. A younger brother, John Reddie Black II, was born on 6 April 1867, when Henry was nine years old. A sister, Pauline, was born on 25 July 1869.¹⁹

During these years, Yokohama's foreign residents were occasionally targeted by sword-wielding nationalists who perceived them as a threat to Japanese sovereignty and sensibilities. In narrations and interviews in the 1880s and 1890s, Henry Black used references to such incidents to illustrate the extent of the subsequent modernizing changes. In one interview, he recalled how two drunken samurai drew swords as he and his mother alighted with American consular staff from a carriage, but were pacified by 'an official'.²⁰

¹⁶ Grace Fox 'Introduction', in John Black, *Young Japan*, Vol. 1, p. viii.

¹⁷ 'Merchants, Professions, Trades etc.', *Chronicle and Directory for China, Japan, and The Philippines* (1866), The Daily Press, Shanghai, China, p. 235, lists John Black for the first time as a resident of Yokohama. He is shown as working at A.W. Hansard and Co., auctioneers, *Japan Herald* office. Since the chronicle was published in January of each year, the listing would actually account for his workplace in 1865. See also Grace Fox 'Introduction', in John Black, *Young Japan*, (Oxford U.P. reprint, 1968) Vol. 1, p. vii, for additional detail about John Black's relationship with Hansard and the *Japan Herald*.

¹⁸ Marius B. Jansen 'Introduction', in Jansen (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Vol. 5, p. 23.

¹⁹ Henry Black rarely referred to his childhood in interviews. Although his father wrote of the period in *Young Japan*, he did not mention family details. According to Henry Black's niece, Mrs. Joy Currie, documents which might have shed light on this period in the family life were lost in Japanese raids on Singapore in World War II.

²⁰ Nishûbashi, 'Kairakutei Burakkku', *Bungei kurabu*, p. 294.

The decade following Henry Black's arrival was one of considerable political turmoil in Japan. Having overthrown the *bakufu*, samurai from the southwest embarked on a program of modernization. The consensus among these new rulers was that the domainal structure should be dismantled and power concentrated in a centralised administrative capital. This was achieved symbolically with the emperor's transfer from Kyoto to Edo which was renamed Tokyo (eastern capital). Henry's younger brother John recalled how he and Henry witnessed Emperor Meiji coming to Tokyo from Kyoto in the spring of 1869,²¹ although it is unlikely that John could have remembered this, since he was only 2 years old at the time.

By the time Henry Black arrived in Yokohama, the former village on the edge of a swamp was transforming into a busy port town. As Japan's window on the world, Yokohama prospered, such that by the late 1870s its foreign population would surpass 3,000. Over half were Chinese. The largest European contingent were the British, including those who, like the Blacks, came via Australia²² and other British colonies.²³ This strong British presence was a natural consequence of Japan's entry to the world trade system at a time when Britain's rate of economic growth was at a peak and its

²¹ Hanazono Kanesada (1926), 'J.R. Black', *Journalism in Japan and its Early Pioneers*, Ôsaka Shuppansha, p.78.

²² The question of the impact on Japan of Britons from nearby colonies, in particular Australia, has been explored by Endo Masako and Harold S. Williams. See Endô Masako (1985), *Nazo no ikokusen*, Sanshûsha, Tokyo; Harold S. Williams (1963), *Foreigners in Mikadoland*, Charles E. Tuttle Company, Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo, Japan; Harold S. Williams (1958), *Foreign Settlements in Japan*, Charles E. Tuttle Company, Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo, Japan.

²³ Neville Meaney notes that this early trickle of British or mainland European-born foreigners into Japan via Australia was to reflect a growing perception among European migrants to Australia of Japan as 'central to both their understanding of Asia and the definition of themselves. The few Australians who in the latter part of the nineteenth-century experienced Japan were fascinated by this "Oriental" nation which, instead of succumbing to the superior power of the European empires, had preserved its independence by learning Western ways and converting itself into a modern state.' See Neville Meaney (1999), *Towards a New Vision*, Kangaroo Press, Sydney, Australia, p. 10.

Industrial Revolution was powering trade expansion.²⁴ The second largest number of foreign nationals were Americans.

Foreign expatriates maintained lifestyles to which they were accustomed. The Blacks lived ‘quite a luxurious life’ typified by John Black’s fondness for ‘a large joint of meat on a dish’, which he would carve for the family.²⁵ Beef was a rarity in the early days. Williams records that during the 1860s cattle were slaughtered at two ‘odiferous cow-yards’ within the foreign settlement at Yokohama, but by 1872, beef was being shipped to Yokohama from Kobe ‘on the hoof’ at the rate of ‘forty or so head of cattle per steamer.’²⁶ Entertainment for expatriates included wild geese hunts, although this was officially discouraged because of sensitivities toward the Japanese. British residents staged foxhunts using mongrel dogs. A foreign circus or acrobat troupe occasionally visited, but members of the foreign community otherwise provided their own entertainment with soirées in their homes.²⁷ John Black was an enthusiastic participant on these occasions. A cartoon depicting him as a kilted Bonnie Prince Charlie at St. Andrew’s Day commemorations in a September 1873 edition of *Japan Punch*²⁸ attests to his penchant for amateur entertainment, a possible factor influencing Henry’s later stage appearances. The Scottish traveler and diarist, John Francis Campbell (1822-1886), who visited Japan in 1874, referring to John Black as ‘that Scottish Lion of the Press’, also mentioned his ability to ‘sing old Scotch songs like a born musician, and jingle Japanese

²⁴ Marius B. Jansen, ‘The Meiji Restoration’ in Marius B. Jansen (ed.) (1995), *The Emergence of Meiji Japan*, Cambridge University Press, UK, pp. 174.

²⁵ Hanazono, ‘J.R. Black’, *Journalism in Japan and its Early Pioneers*, p.78.

²⁶ Williams, *Foreigners in Mikado Land*, pp. 96-97.

²⁷ For these and other details on expatriate life in Yokohama at this time, see Williams, *Tales of the Foreign Settlements in Japan*, pp. 51-52.

²⁸ *Japan Punch*, Sept. 1873. The cartoon is reproduced in Morioka Heinz and Sasaki Miyoko, ‘The Blue-Eyed Storyteller: Henry Black and his *Rakugo* Career’, *Monumenta Nipponica* Vol. 38, No. 2, Summer 1983, p. 137.

ditties on a piano and denounce them.’²⁹ The *Kobe Weekly Chronicle*, in December 1901, alluded to this influence, quoting an unidentified reader as recollecting that John Reddie Black,

the father of the gentleman who is now a storyteller in Japanese theatres, was...also very in the habit of giving public readings and concerts. He possessed a fine personality and commanding presence on the stage, with a powerful, clear and sonorous voice, and most old residents will remember his famous renderings of favorite Scotch songs. His son, it appears, inherited his father’s gift for public readings.³⁰

The passage confirms that by 1901, Henry Black was well enough known among the foreign community as a storyteller to be the subject of newspaper comment.

Foreign agents of modernity

Foreigners in Meiji Japan were agents of change whose presence during Henry Black’s childhood years brought new ideas and inspired reactions including hostility, curiosity, and fear of cultural violation.³¹ Such feelings translated into differences over the degree to which Japan should be opened to foreigners and foreign influence, making the foreign presence a litmus test of government control over the nature of progress toward modernity. Post-Restoration importation of foreign experts resulted from recommendations made after a series of investigative missions to Western capitals. One of the most important of these missions was the Iwakura Mission to the United States and Europe between 1871 and 1873. One of its tasks was to contribute proposals on a program of modernization suited to Japan. What impressed mission members were the

²⁹ John Francis Campbell, (1876), *My Circular Notes: Extracts from Journals, Letters Sent Home, Geological and Other Notes, Written While Traveling Westwards Round the World, From July 6, 1874, to July 6, 1875*, in 2 Vols., Letter XXIX, p. 247.

³⁰ *The Kobe Weekly Chronicle*, 24 December, 1901. The Harold S. Williams Collection, National Library of Australia.

practical trappings of the modern Western nations they visited -- national education systems, large-scale mechanized factories, constitutional forms of government, centrally organized bureaucracies, and conscripted military forces.

The findings of the Iwakura Mission and subsequent similar missions shaped a program of modernization whose planks within the first decade of the Meiji period included bureaucratic efficiency, industrialization, mass education, networks of efficient communication and transportation, a stable currency, and the strengthening of the country's military and technical prowess. 'Civilization' and 'enlightenment' became the government mantras as it worked toward the 'paraphernalia of modernity'³² through the establishment of a national conscript army to replace the domainal samurai armies, the regularization of government income through a land tax, the establishment of national banking and currency systems, and the initiation of moves toward the promulgation of a constitution. A degree of social engineering also occurred as the government laid the basis for the establishment of legal and social equality of the Emperor's subjects through the Charter Oath of April 1868, and abolition of the feudal four-class system.³³

Two key planks in the strategy to achieve modernity were the importation of foreign hired employees (*oyatoi gaikokujin*) as advisors and educators, and the sending of Japanese students overseas (*ryūgakusei*).³⁴ Of these two strategies, for the first decade and a half of the Meiji period, the hiring of foreigners received priority.³⁵ Studies by

³¹ Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, p. 38.

³² Carol Gluck (1985), *Japan's Modern Myths*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, p. 24.

³³ Ann Waswo (1996), *Modern Japanese Society 1868-1994*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, p. 8.

³⁴ See two chapters by Ardath W. Burks in Ardath W. Burks (ed.), *The Modernizers: Overseas Students, Foreign Employees, and Meiji Japan*, Westview Press, Boulder & London, 1985. For details on *oyatoi gaikokujin*, see 'The West's Inreach: The *Oyatoi Gaikokujin*', pp. 187-206. For details on *ryūgakusei*, see 'Japan's Outreach: The *Ryūgakusei*', pp. 145-160.

³⁵ Hazel J. Jones (1980), *Live Machines: Hired Foreigners and Meiji Japan*, University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, Canada, pp. xv and 21-23.

Ardath W. Burks³⁶ and Ishizuki Minoru³⁷ show that both strategies were aimed at speeding up the importation of ideas. Although the hiring of foreigners as advisors or instructors was Meiji government policy, Westerners had been in Japan in semi-official and semi-private employment from the seventeenth century in spite of a policy of exclusion pursued by the *bakufu*.³⁸ Such employment of Westerners increased in the mid-1800s. The *bakufu* was the main employer, but domainal authorities also used foreigners. Most were employed for their technological expertise or as language teachers.³⁹ After 1868, such persons were known as *yatoi*, a word which became a Meiji neologism for ‘government foreign employee.’

A literal translation of *oyatoi gaikokujin*, honorable foreign menial or hireling, would suggest that initially the term was derogatory.... It referred to a foreigner hired to do a job, but the treatment accorded that foreigner often surpassed the treatment accorded his Japanese counterpart or superior. Thus the derogatory aspect lost much of its force but the expression suggested the underlying distaste for foreign tutelage.⁴⁰

Japanese attitudes toward foreigners evolved over time, but never shed the ambivalence evoked by a *bakufu* bureaucrat’s 1862 description of *yatoi* as ‘live machines’,⁴¹ a portrayal which Jones suggests illustrated a perception of them as a necessary evil. It also suggests that *yatoi* were considered expendable, an attitude which John Black encountered when sacked from the bureaucracy in 1875. Also symptomatic of this ambivalence was the ban on non-*yatoi* foreigners outside treaty ports, a rule which later hampered the development of Henry Black’s career as a storyteller.

³⁶ Ardath W. Burks, ‘Japan’s Outreach: The *Ryūgakusei*’, in Burks (ed.), *The Modernizers*, pp. 145-160.

³⁷ Ishizuki Minoru, ‘Overseas Study by Japanese in the Early Meiji Period’, in Burks (ed.), *The Modernizers*, pp. 161-186.

³⁸ Jones, *Live Machines*, pp. 1-2.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁴⁰ Jones, ‘The Griffis Thesis and Meiji Policy Toward Hired Foreigners’, in Burks (ed.), *The Modernizers*, p. 248.

The foreign presence was intrinsically linked to control of the debate over reform. Since the government's reform program, which included limited opening of Japan to foreigners, stimulated debate over definitions of modernity among those with a stake in the reform process, attitudes toward the foreign presence were as varied as there were definitions of modernity. Scholars looking at the psychological impact of the extent and rapidity of the changes set in train by the reforms, and the unsettling nature of the ensuing debate, have concluded that it led to anxiety and uncertainty of the kind which Henry Black later addressed in his speeches and narrations. Jansen, for one, has concluded that 'the fact that the slogan "uphold the national essence" had such a powerful hold over Japanese hearts is undoubtedly also closely related to this psychological problem.'⁴²

The large number of foreigners in Japan during the Meiji period has prompted historians to assess it as perhaps unprecedented in the history of cultural borrowing. Jones estimates that *yatoi* alone may have numbered 4,000 'in all areas of government' with the largest groups being British, French, American and German.⁴³ Figures indicate that in 1868, there were 92 *yatoi*. Numbers rose rapidly following the Restoration to peak at 854 in 1874, the year when John Black himself was employed as a *yatoi* in the Translation Bureau of the *Sa-in*, the left chamber of the *Dajōkan* (Council of State). Numbers then fell steadily through 479 in 1878 and 368 in 1880 to below 200 for the first time in 1883 when it was 196, and dwindled to 58 by 1900. The largest single number throughout this period were the British. Toshio Yokoyama's study of Japanese images idealising Britain in the 1870s as 'the apex of Western civilization' and the fact that many Japanese

⁴¹ Jones, *Live Machines*, p. 125.

⁴² Hirakawa Sukehiro (1989), 'Japan's Turn to the West', in Jansen (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Vol. 5, p. 498.

⁴³ Jones, 'The Griffis Thesis', in Burks, *The Modernizers*, p. 225.

intellectuals at this time read John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* and Samuel Smiles' *Self Help* is evidence of support for a pervasive British influence.⁴⁴ It also explains the acceptance of John and Henry Black as conveyors of British ideas via newspaper and stage.

In the late 1970s, a number of American scholars, responding to attempts to assess the Meiji period in the light of contemporary reaction against the application of modernization theories, initiated analyses of *yatoi* data.⁴⁵ These studies reflected renewed interest in foreigners as an essential component of narratives concerning modernization of nineteenth-century Japan. As Burks claimed of the earliest of these studies, they helped 'set the subjects in historical background; to add analysis to increasingly rich data; and to bring together in proper relationship the role of the hired foreigners...and the evolving policy of Meiji Japan.'⁴⁶ While these studies stimulated interest in the role of foreigners in Meiji Japan, they took the argument beyond Jansen's assertion of innate Japanese ability to assimilate and pointed to a need, as Garon noted, to take a more all-encompassing approach and 'examine the process of Japanese emulation from a comparative perspective without, of course, denying the existence of indigenous innovation and adaptation.'⁴⁷ More recent assessments acknowledge that the presence of foreigners, both as observers and participants in the modernization process is integral to our understanding of the Meiji period.

⁴⁴ Toshio Yokoyama (1987), *Japan in the Victorian Mind*, Macmillan Press, Basingstoke and London, p. xxii.

⁴⁵ See in particular the Westview Press collections of essays and papers: Burks, *The Modernizers*; Edward R. Beauchamp and Akira Iriye (eds.) (1990), *Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, Westview Press, Boulder, San Francisco, & London. *The Modernizers* resulted from a 1967 conference at Rutgers University. This conference was probably the first on the subject of hired foreigners in Japan during the Meiji Period. *Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, is the outcome of a second conference on hired foreigners held in Fukui in 1985.

⁴⁶ Burks, *The Modernizers*, p. 4.

⁴⁷ Sheldon Garon, *The State and Labor in Modern Japan*, University of California Press, Berkeley & Los Angeles, California. 1987. p.7.

In a 1987 appraisal of where modernization theory had led Western scholarship since the 1960s on the question of the role of foreigners in the Meiji period, Sheldon Garon pointed out that borrowing is a feature of modern industrial societies, but that researchers had tended to ‘minimise the impact of foreign influences on Japanese society’ and to argue that Japanese leaders ‘did not slavishly imitate; rather they engaged in “selective borrowing,” whereby they selected what was necessary from various Western models and then skillfully adapted it to their native culture.’⁴⁸ Jansen reflected similar sentiment with the claim that ‘Japan has had, and still has, internal resources that make slavish acceptance of Western modernity unnecessary.’⁴⁹

The earlier studies of the *yatoi* and foreigners who played prominent roles in the Meiji narrative are valuable for their raising of themes such as Japanese attitudes toward foreigners and on the role of foreigners in bringing modernity. But the wider focus of studies since the late 1970s recognises the variety of cultural and intellectual components implied in what Irokawa has defined as the ‘chromatic change’ effected by ideas introduced by Europeans and Japanese who traveled abroad in the Meiji period. Irokawa has likened this change to the impact on Japan’s gardens of the introduction of European flowers during the period.⁵⁰ Neil Pedlar, using a similar horticultural allegory, refers to foreigners in Meiji Japan as...

...a set which does not fall into the realm of any one nation, except Japan, and Japan would prefer to group them as assistants who were interesting, but insignificant. The Western nations from whence they came tend to ignore them and regard them as weird eccentrics because their experiences are so far removed from the norm...But what fantastic catalysts these

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴⁹ Marius B. Jansen, ‘Introduction’, in Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, p. xv.

⁵⁰ Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, p. 38.

men are! What expert farmers to sow the seeds of the West in the East and have them grow so steadily.⁵¹

As a newspaper editor, John Black played a role in promoting this ‘chromatic change’. This role made him a focus of attention by the government and its opponents, and brought Henry Black into contact with the political issues of the day. While the view of Europe had become ‘a complex composite’⁵² culled from the ‘the cumulative experience’ of students, emissaries, writers, and intellectuals who had visited and stayed there,⁵³ curiosity and proximity ensured that Yokohama’s foreign population assumed the quality of an exhibit. In the final years of the *bakufu* and the early years of the Meiji period, foreigners had been perceived as ‘cultural imperialists,’⁵⁴ given their association with the unequal treaties, and the perceived privileges of extraterritoriality and exclusive trade arrangements. But with the later equating of modernity with Westernization, the thirst for knowledge of the West fueled curiosity.

Outside Yokohama, this curiosity was catered to in the 1870s through exhibitions (*hakurankai*) at which Japanese could view the products of foreign cultures as representations of modernity.⁵⁵ Similarly, wood-block print artists made scrutiny of Yokohama’s foreigners possible with the production of a genre known as *Yokohama-e* (Yokohama pictures). These portrayed foreigners engaged in pastimes such as the balls,

⁵¹ Neil Pedlar (1990), *The Imported Pioneers: Westerners Who Helped Build Japan*, St. Martin’s Press, New York, p. 8.

⁵² Marie Conte-Helm, (1996), *The Japanese and Europe*, The Athlone Press, London and Atlantic Highlands, NJ, p. 20.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵⁴ Burks, ‘The Yatoi Phenomenon: An Early Experiment in Technical Assistance’, in Beauchamp & Iriye (eds.), *Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, p. 12.

⁵⁵ Kentaro Tomio ‘Expositions and Museums in Meiji Japan’ in Helen Hardacre (ed.), *New Directions*, p. 724.

picnics and country excursions which John Black wrote of in *Young Japan*.⁵⁶ As reflexive expressions of the Japanese view of foreigners, the prints were ‘instruments for satisfying curiosity and conveying information.’⁵⁷

By the 1870s, Yokohama’s newspapers, including those John Black edited, were acknowledged as sources of information about overseas events and customs. Yokohama’s foreign-language press and large concentration of foreign residents ensured that the town was an important element in the projection, both domestically and overseas, of the image of treaty ports. Mindful of this, the government monitored the foreign-language press and subsidized a number of foreign-language papers ‘to make sure that its views were made known to the wider world and to counteract the hostility of many foreign-language newspapers.’⁵⁸ This continued the policy of the shogunate which had ordered Japanese-language translations of foreign-language newspapers (*hon’yaku hissha shinbun*) for distribution to domainal officials around Japan.⁵⁹

The foreign presence in Yokohama also inspired the pro-democracy movement in surrounding Kanagawa Prefecture. The prefecture developed a reputation for progressive and enlightened governors. One of these, Nakajima Nobuyuki, who served from January 1874 to March 1876, played a key role in introducing a system of local popular assemblies.⁶⁰ As a newspaper editor, John Black cultivated contacts with the movement’s members. An awareness of this abiding sense of curiosity toward things foreign, and of the role of foreigners in this movement, informed Henry Black’s later narrations.

⁵⁶ John R. Black, *Young Japan*, Vol. 1, p. 380

⁵⁷ Keiko Suzuki, ‘*Yokohama-e* and *Kaika-e* Prints’, in Hardacre (ed.), *New Directions*, p. 684.

⁵⁸ J.E. Hoare (1994), *Japan’s Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements: The Uninvited Guests 1858-1899*, Japan Library, Folkestone, Kent, UK, p. 141.

⁵⁹ Edward Neilan, ‘Yokohama: Cradle of Journalism’ in *No. 1 Shinbun*, 15 Sept 1993, pp. 4-5, reprinted from *Waves* (magazine of the Yokohama Grand Inter-Continental Hotel).

⁶⁰ *The History of Kanagawa*, Kanagawa Prefectural Government, Yokohama, 1984, p. 188.

The debate over modernity – Japanese and foreign perspectives

As the son of a prominent newspaper editor who associated with prominent Japanese, and as a capable speaker of Japanese, Henry Black had access to the opinions of both foreigners and Japanese over questions of reform and modernity. The path to modernity was neither smooth nor even, and attitudes to these questions on the part of both varied over time reflecting continuous reassessment of the modernization process by all involved.⁶¹ Within that debate which these differences provoked, the nineteenth-century British liberal tradition imbibed by the Blacks established them as allies of the emergent Freedom and People's Rights Movement opposed to the governing elite. Henry Black's affinity with this movement was to shape his later choice of narrated material.

Early Meiji debates among intellectuals and government figures over the nature of Westernization and the meaning of enlightened civilization were aimed at defining priorities for national development. But divisions caused by disparate dialects and historical allegiances to regional *han* and cultures were obstacles to any immediate or unanimous resolution to the debate.⁶² Even within the governing elite, factionalism resulted in policy confusion, including policy toward *yatoi*. Despite general agreement on the need for modernization, Jones estimates that policy confusion delayed civil reform by five years and the establishment of central government authority by a further five years. Burks opts for a longer period, describing the first two decades of trial-and-error policy-making as 'a period of dialectical discourse.'⁶³ Despite factional disagreements, a process

⁶¹ See Kenneth B. Pyle (1969), *The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, p. 4.

⁶² John W. Hall (1983), 'The Problem: When did Modern Japanese History Begin?', in Harry Wray & Hilary Conroy (eds.) *Japan Examined*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, p. 10.

⁶³ Burks, 'The Role of Education in Modernization', *The Modernizers*, p. 257.

of compromise and ‘decision by a kind of bureaucratic collegial consent’ resulted in the emergence of an official response to policy imperatives.⁶⁴

By the end of the first ten years of policy confusion, the Meiji government was growing more adept at controlling dissent. It relied on the newly conscripted army to stifle rebellion and issued a stream of edicts and regulations aimed at stifling opposition and encouraging what the elite perceived as the modernization of political, social and economic structures. For ordinary people, however, the Restoration had little immediate impact, although it served to raise expectations. There existed a large perception gap at the time of the Restoration between ordinary people and elite former samurai who had assumed government positions. For ordinary people, the replacement after the Restoration of one group of samurai rulers with another from the same class inspired distrust and suspicion,⁶⁵ feelings which Black later tapped in his narrations in critical asides directed at a bureaucracy staffed largely from the ranks of former samurai. This gap was reinforced by the wording of the 1868 Charter Oath and other edicts. While the Charter Oath stated that ‘knowledge shall be sought all over the world, and the foundations of imperial rule shall be strengthened,’ in practice it was the former samurai class who possessed the wherewithal to travel or to bolster their own positions of control.⁶⁶ Furthermore, although the same document mandated ‘open discussion’ of ‘all measures’, and was predicated on an assumption that ‘high and low shall be of one mind’, in actual practice, the participation of the non-samurai classes was not immediately facilitated. But the implications for the general populace were enormous over time. By mid-Meiji, any indifference on the part of the general populace had changed as the

⁶⁴ For a description of this process see Jones, *Live Machines*, pp. 26-27.

⁶⁵ Waswo, *Modern Japanese Society*, p. 24.

government's policies began to involve the entire population in a makeover of the nation in the image of a modern Western nation-state. Black's narrations were to address this involvement with the presentation of characters who were confused or victimized by reforms and innovations associated with modernity.

Ann Waswo has characterized the impact of this imposition of reform by the former samurai class as a 'partial samuraization of Japan'. One result on a practical level was that 'the patriarchal family became the model for all families, displacing in law, if not always in reality, the looser, more flexible practices of marriage and inheritance that had long prevailed among commoners especially in the countryside.'⁶⁷ References Black made to Western marriage customs and inheritance laws in his narrations were within this context. The new mass education policy also helped promote participation on the part of the people with its 'subversive doctrine' that the entire population should share in the same education ideals once restricted to the samurai class.⁶⁸ Changes to samurai ranking systems and the elimination of many samurai privileges also helped reduce inequities based on social status.⁶⁹

Topographical changes occurred. Formerly quiet rural villages were transformed by the train or linked by the telegraph wire. Such changes 'assisted in the birth of a modern individual consciousness in everyday life'⁷⁰ by providing new opportunities for movement and human contact. Such tangible forms of modernity which extended their influence throughout Henry Black's childhood years also featured in his narrations.

⁶⁶ Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, p. 25.

⁶⁷ Ann Waswo, *Modern Japanese Society*, p. 22

⁶⁸ Burks, 'The Role of Education in Modernization', in Burks, *The Modernizers*, p. 255.

⁶⁹ Yazaki Takeo (1968), *Social Change and the City in Japan: From Earliest Times Through the Industrial Revolution*, Japan Publications, Tokyo, p. 299.

⁷⁰ Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, p. 37.

The openness to new ideas in the 1870s brands them as ‘one of the most stimulating and optimistic eras in modern Japanese history.’⁷¹ Symptomatic of enthusiasm for Western ideas was the formation by intellectuals of societies to propagate Western ideals of progress and equality. The Blacks counted a number of members of such societies as acquaintances or friends, including the prominent intellectual Fukuzawa Yukichi.⁷² The publication by the societies of journals contributed to dialogue over the nature of modernization. One of the more prominent of the societies, the Meirokusha, was established in 1874 by Mori Arinori, Japan’s first diplomatic representative to Washington, and a number of like-minded scholars of Western studies, including Fukuzawa. The Meirokusha members promoted the slogans of ‘civilization’ and ‘enlightenment’ and campaigned against ‘everything that smacked of bigotry and superstition in Old Japan.’⁷³ Members’ writings and lectures covered a variety of themes associated with the promotion of Western learning. These included the separation of church and state, the status of women, economic policy, the uses and benefits of chemistry, and language reform.⁷⁴ While the promotion of education was the society’s official aim, members used their journal *Meiroku zasshi* to define the then popular slogans of ‘civilization and enlightenment’ (*bunmei kaika*) and ‘prosperous country and strong army’ (*fukoku kyôhei*). In an essay in the journal’s ninth issue, for example, Mitsukuri Rinshô examined the use of the word ‘liberty’ from its early Latin origins to Mill’s *On Liberty*. Tsuda Mamichi in Issue twenty-four argued that an easing of the

⁷¹ William Reynolds Braisted (1976), ‘Introduction’, in William Reynolds Braisted (trans.) *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, p.xviii.

⁷² Henry’s sister, Pauline, taught English to Fukuzawa’s offspring in her later years. See Morioka Heinz and Sasaki Miyoko (1986), *Kairakutei Burakku no Nippon*, PHP, Tokyo, p. 65.

⁷³ Braisted, ‘Introduction’. in Braisted (trans.), *Meiroku Zasshi*, p. xix.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xix.

government's restriction on foreigners traveling throughout the country would help bring enlightenment to more people.⁷⁵ Irokawa's discoveries of Fukuzawa's early works in rural storehouses during research into the pro-democracy movement indicate that Fukuzawa gained a wide and sympathetic audience among its adherents. Fukuzawa taught a rationalist, pragmatic approach to modernization and encouraged the questioning of authority, but ultimately favored compromise with the government and opposed early establishment of a national assembly, one of the planks of the movement.⁷⁶

In the debate over modernity, foreigners were not mere passive onlookers. Among foreigners in Japan, opinion on the merits of modernization also varied. Some foreigners, like Basil Hall Chamberlain, the English Navy School teacher and later instructor in Japanese language and linguistics at Tokyo University who was in Japan between 1873 and 1911, displayed mixed feelings over the passing of 'Old Japan'. By 1904, Chamberlain declared that 'Old Japan' was 'dead and gone', citing 'the steam-whistle, the newspaper, the voting paper, the pillar post at every street corner and even in remote villages, the clerk in shop or bank or public office hastily summoned from our side to answer the ring of the telephone bell, the railway replacing the palanquin...'⁷⁷

The Blacks, however, welcomed change with equanimity. The Blacks shared with many foreigners a sense of progress which was implicit in their understanding of modernization. This prompted them to see their role as the bearers of civilization. John Black perceived the samurai class as allies in this task. He praised the samurai for a number of traits, including their administrative abilities, which he considered

⁷⁵ Braisted (trans.), *Meiroku Zasshi*, pp. 298-301.

⁷⁶ Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, p. 67.

⁷⁷ Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Japanese Things*, Charles E. Tuttle Company, Inc., Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo, p. 7. (This is a 1984 reprint of the 1905 fifth revised edition of Chamberlain's original *Things Japanese*.)

prerequisites for the attainment of modernity. But he was also scathing of their ignorance of the outside world and domination of the rest of the population.

They knew, with a few honorable exceptions, nothing whatever of the outside world; and were puffed up with the conceit that Japan was – if not the world, at all events the greatest country in it....The very existence of the samurai was a frequent curse to the respectable citizens and commoners; and if the exclusion from foreign intercourse was productive of ignorance, that ignorance was – anything but innocence, and certainly not – bliss.⁷⁸

Those who lamented the passing of ‘Old Japan’ under the impact of the foreign influence, feared that modernity would destroy the Japanese identity. Diaries and accounts of visits published in Britain abetted this fear by idealizing aspects of ‘Old Japan’ as a ‘paradise’ rapidly fading.⁷⁹ An examination of such literature shows ‘uneasiness’ over the changes, since British institutions frequently served as prototypes for Meiji government reformers.⁸⁰ Campbell, for example, who met the Blacks in 1874, found the Japanese exotic and wrote that he was ‘so vastly amused by this strange, wild country.’

It is so utterly unlike anything I ever saw or dreamed of. The people are the most polite. The landlord goes down on all fours and knocks his noddle on the ground, and grins and gives a parting gift to each guest....Truly the manners and customs of these amiable seals are wonderful. I have some sketches, but really I have little time to do anything but rush about, and gape open-mouthed at everything and everybody like a fresh-caught greenhorn.⁸¹

⁷⁸ John Reddie Black, *Young Japan* Vol. 1, pp. 150-151.

⁷⁹ Toshio Yokoyama, (1987), *Japan in the Victorian Mind*, Macmillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England, U.K. p. 150.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁸¹ Campbell, *My Circular Notes*, Letter XXIII, pp. 183-184.

Campbell found it odd that old and the new coexisted. Writing of the fad for ‘toy-books’ illustrating life in Tokyo, he commented that it was a ‘strange thing’ to see in them depictions of such symbols of modernity as...

...photographic cameras, carriages, horses, and European clothes jumbled up with the manners and customs and costumes of old Japan. It is all true to nature. Polo is on one page; a native naked in a bath on another. That is the modern taste.⁸²

The composite of Western and Japanese traits which Campbell described evoked an evolving version of modernity as a hybridization of European and Japanese influences which Henry Black incorporated into his narrations.

Concern about the loss of Old Japan also reflected ‘growing anxiety about Britain’s “Mission of Civilization” in the Far East’ as ordinary Britons became increasingly aware of their country’s involvement in the China opium trade.⁸³ Misgivings over the direction in which the Meiji Restoration would take Japan also may have reflected British concerns over the revolutionary nature of the 1871 Paris Commune.⁸⁴

The sense of mission with which many *yatoi* imbued their presence in Japan had, according to Jones, two schools of thought – those who felt they were ‘answering a specific call in almost an evangelical sense and perceived their role as “helpers and servants”’ and those who considered themselves ‘the creator(s) of the New Japan.’⁸⁵ The view that foreigners were ‘the makers of modern Japan’ ignores the extent to which premodern Japan possessed a number of characteristics which prepared it for modernity, and that the Japanese ‘controlled the transformation’ of their country during the Meiji

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

⁸³ Yokoyama, *Japan in the Victorian Mind*, p. 163.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁸⁵ Jones, ‘The Griffis Thesis and Meiji Policy Toward Hired Foreigners’ in Burks, *The Modernizers*, p. 221. Jones’s analysis is based on responses to postcards sent to hundreds of *yatoi* ‘soliciting information

period. Nevertheless, both the above interpretations accord with Burks's understanding of the *yatoi* as people driven by a secular mission 'to convert Japan into a modern nation'.⁸⁶

John Black and the modernity debate

John and Henry Black considered themselves among the makers and civilizers of the new Japan. John Black's writings in *Young Japan* suggest that his involvement with the debate over modernity via his newspapers and with key Meiji protagonists like Fukuzawa and Kido Takayoshi, sustained his commitment to Japan and motivated his decision to stay, even when in 1867 Hansard sold the *Japan Herald* and *Daily Japan Herald* to return to England. Underpinning this commitment was his unstated, and as-yet undocumented, dedication to the nineteenth-century Freemasons' code of equality. John Black was the mid-nineteenth century intellectual and religious inheritor of what Walter Houghton has characterized as an 'age of transition', less from the preceding eighteenth century or the then still relatively recent 'Romantic period' than from the Middle Ages with their medieval tradition of 'Christian orthodoxy under the rule of the church and civil government under the rule of king and nobility; the social structure of fixed classes, each with its recognized rights and duties; and the economic organization of village agriculture and town guilds.'⁸⁷ The irrevocable nature of the transition which the Victorians experienced was ensured by the development of individualism which facilitated an erosion in belief in absolute truths.⁸⁸ Despite this erosion of belief,

regarding their activities during and after Japanese government employment' from the American teacher, William Elliot Griffis, in Japan between 1870 and 1874.

⁸⁶ Burks 'The *Yatoi* Phenomenon: An Early Experiment in Technical Assistance,' in Beauchamp & Iriye, *Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, p. 12.

⁸⁷ Walter E. Houghton (1957), *The Victorian Frame of Mind*, Yale University Press for Wellesley College, New Haven & London, p. 2.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.16.

skepticism was not yet completely undermined by the subsequent relativism and rationalism of early twentieth-century sociology, anthropology and psychology.⁸⁹

This nineteenth-century egalitarian and liberalist legacy equipped the Blacks for the social and intellectual changes they encountered in Japan. By the 1850s, a number of other forces set in train by the Industrial Revolution had also reinforced their notion of a civilizing mission. The Blacks were from a generation of Britons who believed in the positive influence of manufacture, free trade, individualism and self-help. They also belonged to a newly literate middle class whose numbers increased rapidly during the nineteenth century and who increasingly exhibited concern for the poor. Such concern derived from a belief that the wellbeing of the poorer classes could be improved if they followed a middle-class example of ‘sobriety, thrift, hard work, piety and respectability’.⁹⁰ For the nineteenth century British middle class, godliness was also a prerequisite for respectability.⁹¹ Henry Black’s mother Elizabeth and sister Pauline exemplified this, taking an interest in Christian missionary activities while in Japan. Pauline at one stage contemplated working as a missionary in the Ogasawara Islands.⁹² The increased concern among the middle class over the plight of the poor resulted in pressure for more state responsibility for social welfare and an acceptance of a greater state role in social regulation. Henry Black later gave expression to many of these notions in speeches at gatherings of supporters of the Freedom and Peoples’ Rights Movement and in narrations.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.13.

⁹⁰ Christopher Hibbert (1988), *The English: A Social History 1066-1945*, Paladin Grafton Books, Collins Publishing Group, London, UK, p. 601.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 602.

⁹² Interview with Morioka Heinz and Sasaki Miyoko, Tokyo, 25 June 1985.

John Black's own comments, frequently repeated in his book *Young Japan*, as well as his actions, attest to his own sense of mission to civilise the Japanese. The book's title echoes sentiment expressed throughout its pages that the Japanese had responded well to tutelage from the West and were by the time of its authorship in 1880 finally 'born into the family of nations' on the occasion of the signing of 'the Treaties of Mr. Harris and Lord Elgin.'⁹³ Japan had on that occasion 'experienced a new birth'.

She now attains her majority!

Then, boasting herself as one of the most ancient Empires in the world, with an Imperial Dynasty extending over two thousand five hundred years, she was for the first time born into the family of nations. In the most literal sense may she have been said previously to speak and think and act as a child; but now she is of age she has put away childish things.⁹⁴

A source of inspiration for John Black's own sense of mission was membership of the Freemasons, a fraternity which encouraged in its members a belief in self-improvement and education and a rejection of ecclesiastical authority.⁹⁵ Such membership inspired the zeal with which many British and American expatriates approached the task of bringing Western civilization to Japan.⁹⁶ Freemasonry dates its origins to fourteenth century Europe after the Knights Templar fled France for sanctuary in Scotland where their philosophical successors established links to the Stuarts, the

⁹³ John Black, *Young Japan*, Vol. 1, p. v.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁹⁵ Jeremy Black (1990), *Eighteenth Century Europe 1700-1789*, Macmillan, London, p. 397.

⁹⁶ See 'Freemasonry in Japan', in *The Ashlar*, Vol. 1, No. 4, April 1947, United Grand Lodge of Freemasons, Brisbane, Queensland, Australia, pp. 13-14. In an address printed in *The Ashlar*, attributed to 'Brother Apgar' and delivered at a meeting of Tokyo Bay Masonic Club in Yokohama on 22 Nov., 1945, Brother Apgar claimed that the first Freemason Lodge in Japan was known as Sphinx Lodge. He claimed that Sphinx Lodge operated 'under the Grand Lodge of Ireland in the years 1862 to 1865 a few years after the opening of the [treaty] ports of Japan by Commodore Perry.' He stated that Yokohama Lodge secured its charter from the Grand Lodge of England on 26 June 1866 and that Otentosama Lodge received its charter on 28 July 1894, under the Grand Lodge of England. Brother Apgar warned, however, that the dates given 'may be somewhat inaccurate' because records had been confiscated by the Japanese authorities at the outbreak of the Pacific War.'

dynasty which held the sovereignty of Scotland for over three centuries between 1371 and 1688. British institutional Freemasonry later spread to the European continent and the United States.

Michael Baigent and Richard Leigh argue that Freemasonry's significance as a disseminator of such ideals as civic responsibility and egalitarianism has been 'overlooked by orthodox historians' documenting the history of the nineteenth century.⁹⁷ Baigent and Leigh assert that by the eighteenth century, Freemason egalitarianism and strictures against religious and political prejudice 'suffused the whole of English society', exerting 'a profound influence on the great reformers of the eighteenth century.' This egalitarianism gave the middle class the social freedoms which stimulated Britain's rise to commercial and industrial success in the nineteenth century.

John Black served as organist and director of ceremonies at the Yokohama Masonic Lodge in 1870 and 1871 and as senior warden and worshipful master of the Otentosama Lodge from 1872.⁹⁸ The presence of the Freemason's insignia upon a significant number of gravestones, including that of John Black, in the oldest section of the Yokohama Foreigners' Cemetery, attests to the influence of Freemasonry among those of John Black's generation who lived and died in Japan.⁹⁹

When Hansard sold the *Japan Herald* and *Daily Japan Herald*, John Black saw an opportunity to add his voice to the debate over modernity via a newspaper of his own.

⁹⁷ Michael Baigent and Richard Leigh (1990), *The Temple and the Lodge*, Corgi Books, London, UK, p. 248.

⁹⁸ The 1870 edition of the *Chronicle and Directory for China, Japan, and The Philippines* lists him as organist at the Yokohama Masonic Lodge. The 1871 edition lists him as its organist and director of ceremonies. The 1873 edition lists him as the senior warden of the O'Tentosama [sic] Lodge. The 1874 edition lists him as 'worshipful master' of the O'Tentosama Lodge. The 1875 directory also notes his 'membership' with the same lodge.

⁹⁹ John Black refers to the early presence of Freemasonry in Yokohama in *Young Japan*. See Vol. 2, p. 15-16.

He quit the *Japan Herald* and set up the first of a number of his own newspapers, Yokohama's first evening newspaper, the *Japan Gazette*. The move suggests a commitment to a lengthy stay in Japan and indicates a high degree of interest in developments in the country. The first edition appeared on 12 October 1867. The *Japan Gazette* also issued a fortnightly summary, the *Japan Gazette Fortnightly*, and an annual *Hong List and Directory*.

As a newspaper editor, John Black met a number of *bakumatsu* and post-Restoration leaders, and counted a number of them among his friends and acquaintances. One of the more prominent figures whom Black met was Kido Takayoshi (1833-1877), who as a representative of the Chôshû domain, negotiated the secret alliance with the Satsuma domain that eventually overthrew the Tokugawa shogunate and ushered in the Meiji Restoration. Kido was a conservative who later worked against the development of the opposition Freedom and People's Rights Movement, but played a pivotal role in the abolition of the feudal system and the establishment of a centralized bureaucracy.¹⁰⁰ John Black met Kido in 1869. In a diary entry for 11 April that year, written while Kido and Black were aboard the *Costa Rica* on a sea journey from Yokohama to Kobe, Kido recorded that 'inasmuch as the Englishman Black is fluent in Japanese, I talked about world affairs with him.'¹⁰¹ In 1869, Kido was responsible for directing the surrender of domain registers (*hanseki hôkan*)¹⁰² in a move which involved the Satsuma, Chôshû, and Tosa domains asking the court to accept the return of their registers.¹⁰³ The surrender of

¹⁰⁰ 'Kido Takayoshi' in *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, Kodansha, Tokyo, (1993), p. 776.

¹⁰¹ Sidney Devere Brown & Akiko Hirota (trans.) (1986), *The Diary of Kido Takayoshi* Vol. 1: 1868-1871, University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo, p. 457.

¹⁰² 'Kido Takayoshi' in *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, p. 776.

¹⁰³ Marius B. Jansen, 'Introduction', in Jansen (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Vol. 5, p. 28.

the registers was part of a strategy to convert the domains into prefectures within a centralized government.

While John Black did not mention his meeting with Kido in *Young Japan*, he documents Kido's journey to Yamaguchi, the Chôshû domain capital, in 1869 to persuade a number of key domainal figures to agree to the dismantling of the feudal system. In a later diary entry on 26 February 1871, Kido recalled that his purpose in instigating the return of the domainal registers was 'to put the nation on a course of building a still stronger foundation that we may be able to stand side by side with the rest of the nations of the world.'¹⁰⁴ In an assessment of Kido's actions, John Black wrote of their 'absolute necessity for centralization'... 'for feudalism and constitutionalism could not exist together.'¹⁰⁵

As an editor with access to persons of the status of Kido and Fukuzawa, Black understood that he was uniquely positioned to tell the outside world about Japan. Although the *Chronicle and Directory for China, Japan, and the Philippines* lists him as editor of the *Japan Gazette* until 1874,¹⁰⁶ in all practicality John Black had relinquished its editorship in 1870 to devote himself to the publication of the illustrated literary journal *The Far East*. His stated motive for initiating these publications was the encouragement of interest in Japan among foreigners resident there and overseas. The first issue came out on 30 May 1870. Initially a fortnightly publication, it went monthly in 1873.¹⁰⁷ The last issue was dated 31 August 1875.

¹⁰⁴ Brown & Hirota (trans.), *The Diary of Kido Takayoshi* Vol. 1, p. 457.

¹⁰⁵ John Black, *Young Japan*, Vol. 2, p. 252.

¹⁰⁶ The 1869 to 1875 editions of the *Chronicle and Directory for China, Japan, and The Philippines* list John Black as the editor of the *Japan Gazette*.

¹⁰⁷ Grace Fox 'Introduction', in John Black, *Young Japan*, Vol. 1, p. ix.

In 1872, John Black put into practice his conviction that former samurai were allies in the mission to civilise by employing some in a new project, the publication of a Japanese-language newspaper, the *Nisshin shinjishi*. The first edition was dated 17 March 1872. Henry Black was 13 years old at the time. In a comment indicative of his sense of mission to instruct and edify readers and publishers of Japanese-language newspapers, John Black disparaged two earlier attempts at creating Japanese-language newspapers, the *Mainichi shinbun* published in Yokohama and the *Nichi nichu shinbun* published in Tokyo. He explained that he intended to show Japanese readers what a true Western newspaper was in style and content.

Neither [the *Mainichi shinbun* nor the *Nichi nichu shinbun*] dared to write leading articles nor to comment seriously on the occurrences of the day; and their columns were always defaced with such filthy paragraphs as to render them worse than contemptible in the eyes of foreigners; though they appeared to be enjoyed by the Japanese, who, for the most part, had no conception what a newspaper was, nor what were its uses.¹⁰⁸

Crucial to the venture was a Macao-born Portuguese resident and former editor of the *Japan Commercial News*, Mr. F. da Roza, then a ‘commercial merchant’ residing in the foreign concession of Tsukiji in Tokyo.¹⁰⁹ Da Roza arranged for the *kanji* characters used for type-setting to be fashioned from boxwood, and introduced Black to the authorities in the Monbu-Kiyo (Secretary of State of the Education Department) where he gained the necessary license.¹¹⁰ The newspaper began its life in Tsukiji. In July 1872, the government began buying copies for distribution to all prefectural

¹⁰⁸ John Black, *Young Japan*, Vol. 1, p.364.

¹⁰⁹ ‘Hong List and Directory’, *Japan Gazette* (1872) lists F. da Roza as a ‘commercial Merchant’ residing in the foreign concession of Tsukiji in Tokyo. The 1875 and 1877 editions list him as a resident of Moto Bizen Yashiki, Ozakimura, in Tokyo. The 1878 edition lists him as resident at Kiu-Bizen [sic] Yashiki, Shinagawa.

headquarters. Then on October 20, the *Sa-in*¹¹¹ contracted the newspaper for three years to publish its announcements and articles about its proceedings, a development which James L. Huffman claims ensured that the paper became ‘a paragon of government-press symbiosis.’¹¹² The record of *Sa-in* proceedings shows that the chamber decided to use the *Nisshin shinjishi* in this way for the purpose of ‘ensuring prosperity and strength by leading the people to enlightenment.’¹¹³ Huffman claims that this permission owed more to the government’s agreement with Black to help with the publication of the paper since Black was ‘pressed for finances’.¹¹⁴

The *Sa-in* was at the time investigating the possibility of establishing a bicameral legislative assembly and its members saw Black’s newspaper as a way to publicise their motives for the new parliamentary structure. Several other newspapers were available for the *Sa-in* to use in this manner, but a number of factors, including its daily publication in Tokyo, Black’s access to overseas news, its use of moveable type rather than a single carved wood block per page, and its use of editorial comment, rendered *Nisshin shinjishi* the newspaper of choice for the *Sa-in*.¹¹⁵ In an interview, Henry Black described his father’s status at this time as *yatoi*.¹¹⁶

Direct government support for newspapers was not unusual. From 1872, the government had begun supporting a number of newspapers financially through Finance

¹¹⁰ John Black, *Young Japan*, Vol. 1, pp. 367-372.

¹¹¹ The *Sa-in* was the left chamber of the *Dajōkan* (Council of State). It was ‘nominally an appointed legislature’ which together with the *U-in* (Right Chamber) advised the *Sei-in* (Central Chamber). The *Sei-in* advised the Emperor. See W.G. Beasley, ‘Meiji Political Institutions’ in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Vol. 5, p. 641.

¹¹² James L. Huffman (1997), *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, p. 53.

¹¹³ This version of events is from Satō Kō (1989), ‘Meiji shoki shinbun seisaku shi no ikkō sai: sain to J.R. burakku to no kankei wo chūshin ni,’ in *Yokohama Archives of History Review* No. 7, p. 14-16.

¹¹⁴ Huffman, *Creating a Public*, p. 53.

¹¹⁵ Satō Kō, ‘Meiji shoki shinbun seisaku shi’, p.19.

Ministry (*Ôkurashô*) purchases of copies of the *Shinbun zasshi*, the *Tôkyô nichichi shinbun*, and the *Yokohama mainichi shinbun* for distribution to every prefectural headquarters. From 1873, the ministry also guaranteed free mailed delivery of journalists' articles for inclusion in newspapers.¹¹⁷ The government also promoted the use of newspapers in schools as educational aids. Ôkuma Shigenobu, who was Finance Ministry head from 1873, used *The Japan Mail* to print government spending and income details for the perusal of foreign nations.

In Black's case, the government also supplied a Japanese editor and, over the objections of the municipality of Tokyo,¹¹⁸ a residence and printing premises in the Genkôin Temple within the Zôjôji Temple complex.¹¹⁹ At one time, the complex had 66 hectares of land with over 100 buildings and 3,000 novices training for the priesthood.¹²⁰ While the Blacks were there, some of these buildings were rented out to foreigners. In a diary entry covering several days prior to 4 December 1874, Campbell gave a vivid description of the scene at the Zôjôji offices of the paper.¹²¹

The compositors were all on the floor, and they were all gentlemen of the soldier class in their national dress. They were Samurai, well-educated men of good family, employed about literature. The Japanese characters in use amount to thousands, and their number grows continually.¹²²

¹¹⁶ Nishûbashi, 'Kairakutei Burakku', *Bungei kurabu*, p. 294.

¹¹⁷ Satô Kô, 'Meiji shoki shinbun seisaku shi', p. 15.

¹¹⁸ Campbell, *My Circular Notes*, Letter XXIX, p. 243.

¹¹⁹ *The Chronicle and Directory for China, Japan, and The Philippines* (1875), p. 55 lists John Reddie Black as residing at Genkoin, Shiba, Sannai' in Tokyo.

¹²⁰ Paul Waley (1984), *Tokyo Now and Then: An Explorer's Guide*, Weatherhill, New York & Tokyo, pp. 361-364.

¹²¹ Campbell, *My Circular Notes*, Letter XXIX, p. 245. Campbell describes himself as 'from Islay'. He was on a world tour at the time.

¹²² Campbell, *My Circular Notes*, Letter XXIX, p. 242.

Campbell also mentioned John Black's continued editorship of the *Far East* and his role as photographer during an observation of the 9 December 1874 transit of Venus.¹²³

Since Henry Black conducted Campbell to the temple on the visit referred to, Campbell's diary fortuitously contains the earliest extant English-language record of Henry Black knowing 'a professional storyteller.' Campbell refers to Henry Black as 'Harry', an appellation his family members also used.

One of these mornings Mr. Harry Black conducted me to the office of the Japanese newspaper, of which his father is editor. We walked to the Buddhist temple, in which the Jupiter of Tokio lodges, and walked thence through the main streets. My guide carried a magnificent hunting hawk on his wrist. It had no hood and gazed about composedly at the sun and the crowds of people. The falconer followed. He was a Japanese gentleman and looked like it. We were seeking a professional storyteller. He was off his beat, so we went on, hawk and all, to the editor's room, and the equivalent of the Queen's Printers.¹²⁴

Henry Black was almost 16 years old at the time. There are no details identifying the storyteller or the nature of the link with the storyteller. The presence of the hawk and the falconer are indicative of an interest in Japanese culture, such hunting being a samurai pastime.

In describing his work as a journalist some years later, John Black recalled how in the *Nisshin shinjishi* in particular, he had created a forum for topical political discussion with a strong editorial flavour. He recalled that if he approved of the behaviour of the police, he praised them, taking pains to explain to those police who later came to thank him that in the future he might even have cause to censure them. The 12 May 1875 issue of the *Nisshin shinjishi* was no exception. It criticized the Japanese

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

government for spending vast sums of money on the railways over the previous four years for what amounted to very little in track length, and claimed that the shoddy construction of telegraph lines was giving the government a poor reputation.¹²⁵

He was also critical of behaviour he considered uncivilized by British standards. In 1872 when Black accompanied da Roza to apply for the licence to publish the *Nisshin shinjishi*, the two entered a tiny wayside entertainment booth where they paid to witness a boy devouring a raw rabbit. The boy's dogteeth 'were extraordinarily long and dog-like,' prompting Black to conclude that 'this may have given his parents the idea of training him accordingly, with a view to exhibition.' Shocked, Black investigated the state of 'street exhibitions,' concluding that many were 'indecent and objectionable.' He then printed 'a very strong paragraph on the subject' with the result that 'within three or four days, every one of them was swept away; and never since has any such obscenity been permitted in any part of Tokio.'¹²⁶ This approach gave the *Nisshin shinjishi* a reputation as 'a model of the first "modern" newspaper, one of the best published, with Japan's first editorial columns and a broader range of articles than could be found in other newspapers.'¹²⁷

In 1926, a writer for the *Mainichi shinbun*, summing up John Black's contribution to Japanese journalism wrote that he had been a 'realist' who had 'understood the useful function that a newspaper can discharge.'

While the *Chûgai shinbun*, the *Moshihogusa*, and the *Kôko shinbun* dealt principally in very unsophisticated political discussion and strange jottings reminiscent of the preceding era, Black told his readers of the vicissitudes of farming, of prices, of

¹²⁵ Okitsu, Kaname, 'Burakku no chichi Jon Reddî Burakku' in *Kairakutei Burakku kenkyû*, Vol. 2, 19 Sept. 1987, p. 5-7.

¹²⁶ John Black, *Young Japan* Vol. 2, p.369-370.

¹²⁷ Huffman, *Creating a Public*, p. 53.

new inventions, of exports and imports, of transactions as far apart as the sale of upland pastures and the purchase of battleships. No doubt the readers could tell from this that it was a real newspaper and could see the scrupulous care with which he treated everything. His was the first newspaper to list exports and imports at Yokohama and the time-table and fares of the railway... It is apparent that its strength was that it caused people to realize that newspapers are useful.¹²⁸

Henry Black worked closely with his father in the venture, frequently commuting on horseback between Tokyo and Yokohama on errands for the newspaper. In an interview, he recalled how on one such occasion, traveling to Yokohama to arrange for the supply of newsprint, he was followed by a mysterious man on horseback. Afraid of the stranger, he spurred on his horse only to find that the stranger did the same until he arrived safely at his destination. He later learned that the stranger had followed him because he was worried for his safety as a foreign boy alone. The incident attests to the dangers which still attended foreigners in Japan in the 1870s and the risks taken in gathering news.¹²⁹ It also indicates that Henry Black was acquainted with news-gathering from an early age. The ability to gather together the strands of a story was to serve him well in later years.

The work at the *Nisshin shinjishi* increased the contact John and Henry Black had with a number of prominent post-Restoration figures. In an interview, Henry Black listed these people.

Around that time, my father was on familiar terms with Saigô Takamori, Count Itagaki, Count Gotô, Count Kawamura, and other well-known Chôya figures. Etô Shinpei and others used

¹²⁸ This translation is used by D.C.S. Sissons in a 55-page mimeograph titled *Australian-Japanese Relations: The First Phase 1859-91*, 3rd edition 1978, pp. 7-8. The original of the translation is in A. Ôdawara, 'Burakku', in T. Kubota (1930), *Nijûichi senkaku kisha den*, Mainichi Shinbunsha, Osaka, p. 222.

¹²⁹ Nishûbashi, 'Kairakutei Burakku', *Bungei kurabu*, p. 294.

to come quite often to our place, and he even came for dinner the night before he returned to Saga.¹³⁰

Saigô Takamori (1827-1877) led the movement for the overthrow of the *bakufu*. He served as head of a caretaker government while members of the Iwakura Mission were overseas, but resigned after mission members refused to support his proposal for a military expedition to Korea. Disappointed, Saigô returned to his domainal home of Kagoshima from where he led an army of disaffected former samurai against the central government. The army was defeated and Saigô committed suicide on 24 September 1877.¹³¹

Itagaki Taisuke (1837-1919) was a former samurai who supported Saigô Takamori in attempts to get rid of the *bakufu* prior to the Restoration. Itagaki joined the post-Restoration government, but like Saigô, resigned over the government's refusal to become embroiled in Korea. Itagaki was a founding member of the Aikoku Kôtô (Public Party of Patriots)¹³² and a leader of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement.

Gotô Shôjirô (1857-1929) was a former samurai from the Tosa domain who also urged the *bakufu* to hand power to the emperor. He was appointed to a government position after the Restoration, but resigned over the government's refusal to sanction a military expedition to Korea. Gotô joined Itagaki in forming the Aikoku Kôtô and again joined him in 1881 to form the Jiyûtô (Liberal Party).¹³³

Etô Shinpei (1834-1874) was a former samurai from Saga Prefecture who, following his appointment as Minister of Justice in 1872, accomplished a number of

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

¹³¹ 'Saigô Takamori' in Alan Campbell and David S. Noble (executive eds.) (1993), *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, Kodansha, Tokyo, p. 1293.

¹³² 'Itagaki Taisuke', in *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, p. 635.

legal reforms, including the drafting of the penal code.¹³⁴ He also resigned from government service in 1873 out of dissatisfaction over the government's refusal to mount a military expedition to Korea. Etô then returned to Saga where he led an unsuccessful samurai rebellion in 1874 against the government.

John Black's campaigning style and preparedness to criticize the government and its representatives via what its officials considered their own funded mouthpiece, eventually alienated the government. The rift had its origins in the unsuccessful proposal put by Saigô, Itagaki, Gotô, and Etô in the autumn of 1873 for a punitive military expedition to Korea. Iwakura and Ôkubo opposed the proposal, prompting Saigô, Itagaki, Gotô and Etô to leave the government. The following year, on 17 January 1874, eight disgruntled former government members, including Gotô and Etô, presented an appeal to the *Sa-in* for an elected assembly. Black 'overstepped discretion'¹³⁵ and printed it the following day, prompting other newspapers to take up the issue.¹³⁶ D. Sissons has described the 'indiscretion' as a 'scoop.'¹³⁷ Black's revelation prompted a nation-wide debate involving other newspapers over the question of an elected assembly. Indicative of John Black's influence via the *Nisshin shinjishi* in the debate over modernity was an article by *Meiropusha* member Sakatani Shiroshi in the June 1874 issue of *Meiropusha zasshi* about the debate in the paper over an elected assembly.¹³⁸

The leaking of the manifesto to John Black and his decision to publish it were a defining moment in the history of Japanese politics and journalism. Black's refusal to

¹³³ 'Gotô Shôjirô', in *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, p. 470.

¹³⁴ 'Etô Shinpei', in *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, p. 351.

¹³⁵ Grace Fox 'Introduction', in John Black, *Young Japan* Vol. 1, pp. x-xi.

¹³⁶ For an account of these events, see Asaoka Kunio 'Nihon ni okeru J.R. Burakku no Katsudô' in *Yokohama Archives of History*, 25 March 1989, pp. 50-63.

¹³⁷ D.C.S. Sissons, mimeograph. *Australian-Japanese Relations: The First Phase 1859-91*, 3rd edition 1978, pp. 7-8.

toe the line and his preparedness to publish opposing viewpoints galvanized the government into developing harsher penalties against its critics in the press. Till then, the government had treated newspapers as a means for reaching the public with its enlightenment policies and legislative decisions. Its attitude to the press now swung from one of using it to project its authority through the presentation of official notices to one of suppression.

While John Black's printing of the manifesto upset the government, it was symptomatic of a trend for which he was at least partly responsible. The first regulations issued by the Meiji government pertaining to the print media, although paternalistic and proscriptive, were promulgated in 1869. They had dealt specifically with the publication of books and not newspapers, attesting to a delay in the government's perception of newspapers as a threat to public order. An analysis of the government's Book and Press Regulations pertaining to newspapers between 1871 and 1873 indicates that the regulations were initially aimed at encouraging the growth of the newspaper industry. But with mid-1873 as a turning point, they thereafter grew progressively draconian and restrictive.¹³⁹ More draconian measures reflected instability within the government affecting its ability to control the modernization process. Newspaper regulations issued in October 1873 specified that newspapers must have 'no evil tendency'. The legislation listed permissible topics, including translations of foreign writings and official notifications, but stated that no newspaper could be established without official permission and prohibited attacks on the Constitution, the discussion of laws, or the

¹³⁸ Sakatani Shiroshi, 'A Certain Question', in Braisted (trans.), *Meioku Zasshi*, p. 149.

¹³⁹ Asaoka, 'Nihon ni okeru J.R. Burakku', p. 55. See also Richard Mitchell (1983), *Censorship in Imperial Japan*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, pp. 13-100.

casting of ‘obstacles in the way of the working of the national institutions by the persistent advocacy of foreign ideas.’¹⁴⁰

With Black’s newspaper serving as an example of the manner in which the press could be made to work for a cause, the government’s critics, including powerful, but disgruntled bureaucrats and other personalities who wished to make their views on the meaning of civilization and enlightenment known set about establishing their own newspapers. Reflecting continued divisions within the government over modernization policy, Japan now entered a phase where even powerful bureaucrats established newspapers as vehicles for the projection of power in the struggle for control over the modernization processes. Laurie Anne Freeman characterises John Black’s actions as a defining moment in Japanese journalism since the events he precipitated ‘marked the beginnings of the movement for popular rights’ and even ‘brought about a temporary shift in the newspaper world toward a more issue-oriented, politicized front page.’¹⁴¹ It also resulted in a ‘de facto split within the newspaper industry,’ which ultimately worked to the advantage of Henry Black. The split led to the creation of two different types of newspapers, the *ôshinbun* (major newspapers) which focused on political issues and catered to elites, and the more apolitical *koshinbun* (minor newspapers) which focused on entertainment and sensation in catering to the masses.¹⁴² The *ôshinbun* became vehicles for debate over the proposal for a popularly elected legislature.¹⁴³ The *koshinbun* specialized in sensationalist reporting of crime and gossip as entertainment.

¹⁴⁰ ‘The Newspaper Press Law, Notification No. 352, Oct. 19, 1873’, in W.W. McLaren (ed.) (1979), *Japanese Government Documents* Vol. II, Asiatic Society of Japan, Tokyo, p. 534.

¹⁴¹ Laurie Anne Freeman (2000), *Closing the Shop: Information Cartels and Japan’s Mass Media*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, p. 35.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁴³ Satô Kô (1989), ‘Meiji shoki shinbun seisaku shi’, p. 14.

Their focus on entertainment meant that they brought to readers the modernizing concepts which Henry Black propounded by publishing his narrated stories.

A number of other factors combined to ensure the inevitability of this reaction. Whereas the Finance Ministry had promoted the use of newspapers as an aid to enlightenment, this responsibility was taken from it in November 1873 and given to the powerful new Home Ministry. Formation of this ministry was part of the government's attempt to restructure local government. The stage was set for pro- and anti-government factions to seek to voice their opinions via the *ôshinbun*. The events lend weight to Huffman's suggestion that the process of devising these more oppressive regulations stemmed more from bureaucratic wrangling than from agreement within the government.¹⁴⁴

In an indication that government did not relish criticism by non-Japanese of the program for modernization, the government reacted by maneuvering John Black out of editorship of the *Nisshin shijishi*. It began with the enticement of an offer of work as foreign advisor to the Administrative Section of the *Sa-in*. Black was urged to resign the editorship of the paper to take the job. He at first refused, but was later convinced that the *Sa-in* would shortly be abolished and replaced with an elected legislature which would continue to patronize the paper. In January, 1875, John Black resigned as *Nisshin shinjishi* editor to take the new post.¹⁴⁵ Then in June 1875, having maneuvered him out of the newspaper editorship, the government promulgated its Defamation Law and Press

¹⁴⁴ Huffman, *Creating a Public*, p.55.

¹⁴⁵ Asaoka 'Nihon ni okeru J.R. Burakku', p. 56.

Regulations prohibiting criticism of government policy and specifying that ‘no other persons than Japanese subjects can be proprietors or directors, editor or chief editor.’¹⁴⁶

The move fits with a pattern of mounting overt and covert control which the Meiji government had begun to exert around this time in its attempt to integrate policy toward *oyatoi* and *ryūgakusei*.¹⁴⁷ A week after promulgating the Defamation Law and Press Regulations, John Black was transferred from the Administrative Section of the *Sa-in* to languish in the Translation Bureau. Then in July 1875, the government dismissed him from this bureau. It had effectively silenced him.¹⁴⁸ Huffman notes the irony that Black’s Japanese editor colleagues did not complain about his ‘martyrdom’ since ‘they had long resented his special privileges and had promoted the rule against foreign ownership of vernacular papers.’¹⁴⁹ The increasing limits placed on newspapers as the Meiji years passed reflected the strengthening control which the government exerted over the populace and its desire to reach into the hearts and minds of the masses in its attempt to reinvent the nation.

In January 1876, John Black attempted to establish another Japanese-language newspaper, *Bankoku shinbun*. But the government immediately invoked its press regulations, penalizing the printer and ending its publication. John Black appealed unsuccessfully through the British consul, Harry Parkes, for compensation from the government.¹⁵⁰ In April 1876, with little prospect of employment in Japan, John Black

¹⁴⁶ ‘The Newspaper Press Law, Notification No. 101, June 28, 1875’, in McLaren (ed.), *Japanese Government Documents* Vol. II, p. 593.

¹⁴⁷ Burks, ‘Japan’s Outreach: The *Ryūgakusei*’, in Burks, *The Modernizers*, pp. 145-160.

¹⁴⁸ For an account of these events, see Morioka and Sasaki, ‘The Blue-eyed Storyteller’, pp. 134-136.

¹⁴⁹ Huffman, *Creating a Public*, p. 81

¹⁵⁰ Asaoka ‘Nihon ni okeru J.R. Burakku’, p. 57.

left for Shanghai where he edited the *Shanghai Mercury* until his return to Japan in June 1879.¹⁵¹

John Black left a considerable legacy for Japan's modernizing newspaper industry. In 1926, the *Osaka Mainichi*, commenting on John Black's role in journalism in Japan, praised his introduction of such new newspaper features as listing railway fares and timetables for the Tokyo to Yokohama rail link, the concept of the editorial, and his encouragement of the writing of letters to the editor and of rising politicians who wanted to expound their views in his newspaper columns.¹⁵²

Henry Black on stage

Despite later claims by Henry Black consistent with the projection of a public persona as a foreign-born entertainer that while his father was in China he and his mother stayed with her relatives in Seattle or London,¹⁵³ the timing of his early stage performances suggests that he probably remained in Japan throughout his father's absence. In July 1876, Henry Black gave his first stage performance at the Yoshikawa Theatre in Asakusa. It was a performance of magic. He also performed at the Seizôin Hall in 1876, but this reportedly did not meet with the success of the previous performance.¹⁵⁴ Henry Black did not mention these performances when discussing in

¹⁵¹ Hanazono, 'J.R. Black', p. 77. The date of John Black's return to Japan from China is given in his preface to his book *Young Japan*.

¹⁵² Hanazono, 'J.R. Black', p. 77.

¹⁵³ In Nishûbashi, 'Kairakutei Burakku', *Bungei kurabu*, p. 295, Black claims to have spent this time with his mother and her relatives in Seattle. Henry Black stated that Seattle relatives urged him to become a businessman (*jistugyôka*) or to go into banking, but that he felt the apprenticeship required to enter these fields was too long if compared to the option of working with his father in Japan. Black stated that he then decided to return to Japan to work with his father. Black's niece has told me that she is unaware of any of the family's relatives having settled in the Seattle area. In Nyorai An, 'Shunpû Kanwa: Kairakutei Burakku', in *Yomiuri shinbun*, 30 April 1896, Black claimed to have spent the time with his mother in London.

¹⁵⁴ For reports of the July performance which appeared in the 13 July 1876 edition of *Yûbin hôchi shinbun* and 8 July edition of *Yomiuri shinbun*, see Kurata Yoshihiro (1981), *Meiji no engei* Vol. 1, Kokuritsu Gekijô, Tokyo, p. 157. Morioka and Sasaki mention the Seizôin Hall performance in 'The Blue-eyed Storyteller', p. 136. They cite *Tokyo hanauta*, 25 October 1876, in Kurata Yoshihiro (1980), *Meiji Taishô minshû goraku*,

interviews how he came to his storyteller career. According to Henry Black, he came to public speaking through his father's acquaintance, the retired naval officer Hori Ryûta, who was himself a speech maker.

He [Hori] said to me; 'you're used to Japanese. Why don't you make a speech?' I was young and foolish at the time, so devoid of political thoughts or opinions as I was, I said I would, and took on the task. So I made a speech before the public and that was at the Yûraku Theatre, which no longer exists, in Kôjimachi.¹⁵⁵

The date of the Yûraku Theatre performance is unclear, but it appears to have been during his father's stay in China.

The experience led to contact with Shôrin Hakuen (1831-1905), the prominent exponent of the *kôdan* style of storytelling who coached him in the art. Henry Black credited Hakuen as influential in his career. Following the coaching from Hakuen, his next reported stage appearance was in December 1878, at Tomitake Theatre in Yokohama's main entertainment and theatre street of Bashamichi when he was 20 years old. On that occasion, he spoke about Joan of Arc, and the exiled pretender to the Scottish throne, Charles Edward Stuart. The owner of the Tomitake Hall was Takeuchi Takejirô, the operator of three other *yose* in Yokohama, all on Bashamichi.¹⁵⁶ The theatre opened in December 1878, making it possible that Black's appearance was part of its inaugural program.

The stories of two mythologised and tragic nationalist heroes fit well with the didactic *kôdan* presentation style, which in the early Meiji years, was more popular than

Iwanami Shinsho, Tokyo, p. 85.

¹⁵⁵ Nishûbashi, 'Kairakutei Burakku', *Bungei kurabu*, p. 296.

¹⁵⁶ 'Tomitake jidai', in *Yokohama shi shikô fûzoku hen* (Dai 5 sô, dai 2 setsu, yose 2, Yokohama Shiyakusho (1973), pp. 252-254.

rakugo. Kôdan drew from a long narrative tradition which included stories of the lives of Buddhist saints, ‘tales of heroic protectors of the common people’, and tales of military prowess.¹⁵⁷ Given Henry Black’s Scottish ancestry and the timing of the performance, it is not surprising that he should have chosen the stories of the Scottish prince, Charles Stuart, and Joan of Arc. His father’s Freemasonry traced links to the Stuarts from when the Knights Templar had fled France for sanctuary in Scotland.¹⁵⁸ Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Scotland and France were united by treaty in opposition to England. Scottish soldiers manned the upper ranks of French armies, while Scottish families also supplied courtiers, emissaries and ambassadors to French courts.¹⁵⁹

Scottish participation in French affairs and the struggle of Joan of Arc were manifestations of anti-English nationalism. What is more, the mythologisation of Charles Stuart and Joan of Arc as prototype nineteenth-century nationalist heroes was not necessarily lost on audiences for whom the quest for a national identity was already integral to the discourse on modernity. The tragedies of the nationalist heroes were similar to that of Black family confidant, Saigô Takamori. The stories also served as warnings to listeners about the threat of colonization by the British, whose military prowess had largely English philosophical underpinnings. These links suggest that Black was already sensitive to the nationalist cause as among the attributes of the kind of civilization associated with modernity and the nineteenth-century European nation-state to which Japanese aspired.

¹⁵⁷ Morioka Heinz and Sasaki Miyoko (1990), *Rakugo, the Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, pubd. by the Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. & London, p. 5.

¹⁵⁸ Michael Baigent and Richard Leigh (1990), *The Temple and the Lodge*, Corgi Books, London, UK.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 148-152.

Other factors were also at work in determining his relationship with audiences. Black was, from the beginning, aware of the novelty of his status as a foreign-born performer and that this was one reason for his early appeal to audiences. In comments to the journalist Nishûbashi, he told of his early public speech, at the urging of Hori Ryûta at the Yûraku Theatre, as being ‘well received’ by the audience.¹⁶⁰ In an interview with Nyorai An in 1896, Black explained that he still had some way to go before polishing his ability as a storyteller. Foreignness alone was not yet enough to guarantee an entertaining and professional performance. The Yûraku Theatre experience later led to his sharing the bill at speech meetings with the narrator Shôrin Hakuen. According to Black, his initial reception was due to the presence of Hakuen since ‘when Hakuen didn’t appear, we only got a few customers, so I appeared all the time with Hakuen.’ Later in the spring of 1879, however, when Black visited Hakuen at the Tomitake Theatre in Yokohama, Hakuen spontaneously asked Black to give a speech during a break in his performance. Black responded by delivering a humorous talk (*kokkei banashi*) with the result that ‘there was tremendous applause and it was a great success.’¹⁶¹ In the Nishûbashi interview, in reference to his narration of the lives of Scottish Prince Charles I and Joan of Arc at the Tomitake Theatre, Black attributed the ‘full house’ to the novel (*mezurashii*) nature of the topic and the speaker.¹⁶²

The novelty of Black’s sourcing of material from the West was without doubt a major reason for his initial success with audiences. No other narrator possessed the qualities of European ancestry and mastery of the Japanese language and a developing

¹⁶⁰ In Nishûbashi, ‘Kairakutei Burakku’, p. 296, Black tells Nishûbashi: ‘itchô no enzetsu wo itashimashita tokoro ga, kyaku ga ouke ni uketa...’

¹⁶¹ Nyorai An, ‘Shunpû kanwa: Kairakutei Burakku’, *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 1 May 1896, p. 1.

¹⁶² Nishûbashi, ‘Kairakutei Burakku’, p. 296. Black tells the interviewer: ‘Chârusu issei no hanashi to ka,

ability to tell a tale. Black had become a sought-after commodity and his audiences showed their appreciation with applause. When he recalled this period in an interview in 1896, he explained that his performances of Western history stories (*seiyô no rekishi banashi*) led to his becoming ‘quite popular’ (*jûbun ninki ga yoku nariyashita*).¹⁶³

Conclusion

While John Black suffered from the government ban on his participation in the media, his chief legacy was the transformation of the media into a lively participant in the dialogue with the government over modernity. His printing of the manifesto and the swift banning of all foreigners from involvement in the publication of Japanese-language newspapers, indicates the extent to which the government felt compromised by the actions of a foreigner. It also indicates the strength of government determination to gain control of the modernization agenda. Recent studies¹⁶⁴ have portrayed the incident as a decisive moment, helping to determine a more intrusive government role in the defining of a path to modernity. These assessments of this event as pivotal to the development of the relationship between the Meiji government and the media contribute to our understanding of the role of foreigners like John Black in the debate over reform in the Meiji period.

For the press, the incident resulted in a transition from papers being ‘well-tamed chroniclers of enlightenment’ to becoming ‘organs of public dialogue,’ and participants in a national debate over the nature of the nation and its citizens.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, while the bureaucracies, and certain powerful bureaucrats had originally backed selected

mata wa furansu no jon [sic] daku no den nado wo yarimasuto, mezurashii no de koi ga sono hijyô no ôiri.’

¹⁶³ Nyorai An, ‘Shunpû Kanwa: Kairakutei Burakku’, in *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 30 April 1896.

¹⁶⁴ See Huffman, *Creating a Public*, p. 81, and Freeman *Closing the Shop*, p. 35.

¹⁶⁵ Huffman, *Creating a Public*, p. 72.

newspapers by favouring them with leaks and privileged information, they now found that editors were beyond their control. As Huffman notes, by 1874, ‘the op-ed piece had moved to the centre of Tokyo journalism...making the press an instigator as much as a conveyor of political ideas.’¹⁶⁶ The debate over a national assembly ensured that editorial staff at the *ôshinbun* ‘no longer saw themselves as mere scribes of enlightenment; they had become participants, men compelled by training and profession to help determine what was best for their “people”.’¹⁶⁷

While the government successfully eliminated foreign influence from the vernacular press, John Black had revitalized journalism as a medium for carrying on the debate over modernity. Whereas until the mid-1870s, the Meiji government had only local opposition movements to contend with, after the mid-1870s, its opponents began to demand ‘alternative institutions’ with the backing of the popular press. The oligarchs responded by restricting the right to free speech and assembly.¹⁶⁸

The government ban served notice that it was unwilling to tolerate outspoken foreign participation in the reform debate. It was an early warning to Henry Black that the government would not brook interference from foreigners. The incident stiffened the government’s resolve to rein in foreigners. A later hardening of the policy eventually terminated Henry Black’s direct involvement with the pro-democracy movement, but ironically influenced his decision to avoid confrontation and become a *rakugoka*.

Henry Black’s 1878 Tomitake Theatre performances in effect marked the beginning of a career. They also show the influence of family, and of the foreign and

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁶⁸ Stephen Vlastos, ‘Opposition movements in early Meiji, 1868-1885’, in Jansen (ed.), *The Emergence of Meiji Japan*, p. 247.

Japanese communities, as well as his early engagement with the debate over modernity which involved all three of these entities. The Yokohama performances were one outcome of John Black's contacts with prominent Japanese who were prepared to mentor his son and prepare him for audiences, ensuring that the 'Englishman Black' emerged on the stage as an object of public curiosity. As a member of the British community and as the son of an editor and dedicated Freemason, Henry Black experienced the intellectual and religious consequences of the mid-nineteenth century Industrial Revolution. By the time he took to the stage in Yokohama, he had assumed the mission to civilise which scholars have identified among *yatoi* and other foreign residents. The portrayal of the Scottish and French heroes of nationalist struggles was Henry Black's earliest tangible and recorded application of this mission to civilise. Black's choice of these examples of nineteenth century nationalism shows an innate appreciation of the need for a set of national myths, one element of the syndrome constituting modernity as it was understood by many Japanese at that time.

By 1878, Henry Black had also acquired many of the attributes which he would utilize through his career in storytelling – fluency and confidence in the Japanese language before audiences, a knowledge of domestic and international affairs and of Western and Japanese cultures, and a talent for gathering story material which would appeal to Japanese audiences. Driven by a sense of mission to civilise, these abilities were to serve him well as he reached adulthood and increasingly engaged with the debate over a path to modernity.

Chapter Three

The Activist Years (1878-1886)

Taking the modernity debate to a wider audience

Introduction

In the eight years following his first performances in 1878 until he affiliated with the San'yû school of *rakugo* (San'yûha) in 1886, Henry Black joined former samurai, who were opponents of the governing oligarchy, as well as their sympathizers, in taking the debate over reforms associated with modernity to a wider audience. Between 1878 and 1886 these protagonists, who constituted the Freedom and People's Rights Movement (*jiyû minken undô*), sought to spread their ideas through speeches given at meetings at venues in Tokyo and in the countryside. They also began to establish their own newspapers as vehicles for transmitting their ideas. Their movement was both a struggle for power and a struggle for control over definitions of modernity.

As this movement grew in strength and influence, the government reacted by progressively restricting the right of assembly and freedom of the press. The government also partially met some of the movement's demands. In particular its decision to accede to the demand for the establishment of an elected assembly and a constitution eventually split the movement.

As a keynote speaker at meetings of the movement's adherents in the late 1870s, Henry Black played an important role in shaping definitions of modernity at this time. In

1880, when prevented by police from participation in the debate over modernity, he spent several years with a *gundan* (martial story) group. At the age of 21, in 1880, Henry Black also encountered a major personal milestone in the death of his father. This event left him entirely dependent upon his own resources and skills for a living. In the aftermath of his father's death, Black engaged in the illicit brewing of *sake* and temporarily yielded to pressure from disapproving friends and family to take up a career as an English teacher. But in 1886, he decisively reverted to storytelling with the support of members of the San'yûha. Finally, in 1886, the development of stenography and the entrepreneurial application of this skill to the publication in mass circulation newspapers and magazines of stories by professional storytellers provided the conditions conducive to launching a career in storytelling.

Although Black spent the eight years between 1878 and 1886 in a number of different occupations, he maintained an interest in people's rights through his continued participation in the discourse on reform and modernity. The transition Black made from being a public speaker to becoming a published professional storyteller during this period shows that while the government had initial success in its suppression of the pro-democracy movement, many of the movement's adherents, including Black, successfully shifted the locus of their operations under the impact of that suppression. Ironically, Black's move to a *gundan* group was an attempt to continue to reach audiences under another guise. Even an English grammar and vocabulary primer produced when he taught English contains evidence of an interest in reform in *kabuki* and of a continued mission to civilise by explaining the West. And, finally, in 1886, Black's commencement of a full-time career in *rakugo* signals the start of an experiment with the new medium of the

stenographic book, essentially a new form of packaging for the same pro-democracy message. Ironically, then, the effect of the government's actions was to shift the debate over reform and modernity beyond the minority of intellectuals attending gatherings organized by elite political pressure groups, to an alternative, but even wider audience in the popular theatres.

In response to government suppression, many of the movement's sympathizers and adherents set up their own newspapers to use as vehicles to carry forward their campaigns, while some, like Black, transferred their skill to the art of storytelling. By 1886, the shared interest and objectives of these former participants and sympathizers resulted in the beginnings of cooperation between the practitioners of these oral and written mediums, as the new newspapers and magazines sought out the stories of the narrators such as Black as examples of modernity and as a means to increase circulation. Under the influence of the storytellers, this cross-fertilization resulted in the development of vernacular forms of Japanese in the modern medium of newspapers and the modern novel.

Debating modernity – orators, newspapers, and people's rights

By June of 1879, within six months of Henry Black's performances at the Tomitake Theatre in Yokohama, his father returned to Japan from China to recuperate from an illness. The family were together again in Japan. In John Black's absence, the discourse about modernization had further evolved. Many of the early leaders of the Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement, including Itagaki Taisuke and Gotô Shôjirô who were known to John Black, were at least as much interested in gaining or regaining political power from the ruling oligarchy as in enlightening the masses as to their democratic rights.¹ But

¹ Marius B. Jansen (1995), *The Emergence of Meiji Japan*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, pp. 243-244.

despite their mixed motives, their calls for a representative assembly had by 1878 attracted increasing numbers of adherents from outside the samurai class. The movement had developed a momentum of its own with its adherents seeking new ways of reaching a wider audience via the press and oratory.

The press had undergone a number of changes in reaction to the imposition of government regulations. In the early Meiji years, editors and journalists – John Black included – had displayed a relatively uncritical propensity to support the government through a shared sense of urgency over a perceived need to inculcate ideas of progress and enlightenment in readers. However, from around 1874, in its reaction to government restrictions imposed in part as a response to John Black's own actions, the press spent the following several years cultivating a more independent stand on issues.² This situation was to be resolved between 1881 and 1886 when there was an additional shift in the role of the press denoted by the growth of partisanship, whereby a significant number of influential newspapers began to serve newly formed political parties. An important outcome of the government's increasingly draconian restrictions on the press was to drive editors to identify less with the government's interests and more with alternative elements, including activists with the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, although this shift in emphasis remained in essence a struggle involving members of the elite over the reform agenda.³ Even John Black, who described the government's actions as at times amounting to 'persecution', noted that the measures 'seemed to strengthen the growth and importance of the Press'.⁴

² James L. Huffman (1997), *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, Hawaii, pp. 68-71.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴ John Reddie Black, *Young Japan: Yokohama and Yedo, 1858-79*, Trubner, London, 1880, and Baker &

The new preparedness on the part of newspaper editors to criticize the government, in spite of legal restrictions, paralleled a rapid increase in the number of popular rights societies around the country. These developments, which began around 1878 and culminated in the formation of the Jiyûtô in October 1881 were indicative of a period of promotion and organization by participants in the Freedom and People's Rights Movement.⁵ Japanese scholars find it hard to quantify the number of these popular rights societies, but Irokawa Daikichi cites evidence covering the period between 1878 and 1881 that there were 'more than 150 "well-known political societies at this time"'.⁶ The figure approximates the finding by Gotô Yasushi that 149 political societies affiliated with the Jiyûtô upon its formation in October 1881, and that by November 1880, these 149 societies managed to mobilize over 135,000 people for a petition advocating establishment of a national assembly.⁷ In 1879, Tokyo had twelve societies, second only to Kôchi which had seventeen.⁸

Many of the societies and political parties were started by ex-samurai whose ostensible aim was to achieve a representative assembly as a way of eliminating what they portrayed as unrepresentative rule by an oligarchy dominated by former samurai from domains in the south-west.⁹ But leaders of this movement were far from being radical revolutionaries. The early democracy movement was very much a power struggle with its adherents mostly favoring a constitutional monarchy and endorsing the

Pratt, New York, 1883 (Oxford University Press reprint, 1968), London, Vol. 2, p. 448

⁵ Roger W. Bowen, *Rebellion and Democracy in Meiji Japan*, (1980), University of California Press, Berkeley, p. 109.

⁶ Irokawa Daikichi, 'Freedom and the Concept of People's Rights', in *Japan Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 2, April-June 1976, p. 176.

⁷ Bowen, *Rebellion and Democracy*, p. 113.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

patronizing view of Fukuzawa Yukuchi that ‘liberal ideas such as freedom and independence had to be instilled in the people’.¹⁰

The societies used the rhetoric of natural rights to garner support for campaigns for self-government, local autonomy, and class equality.¹¹ The doctrine of natural rights, articulated by John Locke in his *Second Treatise*, and subsequently by Rousseau and Jefferson, had given expression to a drive throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for the gradual replacement of feudal society ‘based on custom, status and the authoritarian allocation of work and rewards with a new, liberal market society’ giving primacy to ‘individual mobility, contracts, and the impersonal market allocation of work and rewards.’¹² In Europe, governments which came about to ensure the efficient working of such a liberal market society invariably consisted of the propertied class. Non-participants were no more trusted than they had been under previous feudal regimes, although they could aspire to participate if they could acquire property. Property ownership was considered to imbue its owner with the rights, duties and obligations which accompanied participation in a nineteenth-century liberal market economy.¹³ This basic lack of trust in ordinary people explains why the many leaders of the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement could appear both democratic and illiberal.

But the story of Meiji democracy is more than the history of the political parties and prominent leaders of the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement. At a grass-roots level, there were large numbers of people who were inspired by the introduction of new ideas,

¹⁰ Hane, Mikiso ‘The Movement for Liberty and Popular Rights’, in Hillary Wray and H. Conroy (eds.) (1983), *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, Hawaii, p.92.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

including those of Fukuzawa, to imagine that they could aspire to a new Constitution which guaranteed them individual freedoms.¹⁴ This indicates that the dialogue the leaders of the movement had initiated in the late 1870s was joined irrevocably by increasing numbers of disaffected persons, including journalists, ex-samurai and intellectuals equipped to use the medium of language to reach listeners and readers. These persons, many of them skilled orators, took the message of natural rights and their demand for a new constitution to meetings across the country.

A number of political societies served as vehicles for these demands. The larger, more famous political societies were the early liberal society *Ômeisha*, and *Aikokusha*. There was also the *Seikyôsha* whose members studied political science, economics, history and even natural sciences and held regular weekly meetings at which they discussed such classics of Western political thought as *On Liberty*, *The Spirit of Laws*, *The History of English Civilization*, and the *Social Contract*.¹⁵ Such meetings were increasingly common in the mid 1870s. Public lectures were associated with this phenomenon around this time, having been pioneered by Fukuzawa Yukichi at his school Keiô Gijuku in mid 1874. Fukuzawa's proposal to the Meirokusha that it also hold public meetings had been a resounding success.¹⁶

Between May and November 1879, Henry Black addressed a number of such meetings organized by several political societies. He had already proven his ability to address a large audience in Japanese the previous year when he spoke at the Yûraku Theatre in Kôjimachi at the request of his father's acquaintance, the orator and retired

¹⁴ Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*.

¹⁵ Jansen, *The Emergence of Meiji Japan*, p. 243.

¹⁶ William Reynolds Braisted (trans.) (1976), 'Introduction' in William Reynolds Braisted (trans.) *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment*, Harvard University Press Cambridge, Mass. 1976, p. xxii.

naval officer Hori Ryûta. He had also earned a successful reputation as a capable protégé of the storyteller Shôrin Hakuen as a result of his narrations of the lives of Scottish King Charles and Joan of Arc at a Yokohama theatre the previous December. On a number of occasions over the coming months, both these speakers shared the stage at speech meetings with Henry Black.

The first documented meeting at which Black spoke was advertised in the *Chôya shinbun* of 30 May 1879.¹⁷ The advertisement listed Black as one of the speakers at a meeting of the Kun'yûsha at Yûrakuchô on June 1. The advertisement stated that Black would address the meeting in Japanese regarding the topic of a theory of people's rights (*minkenron*).¹⁸ The listing of Hori Ryûta as a speaker at the same meeting lends support to Henry Black's claim that Hori introduced him to public speaking.¹⁹ Subsequent advertisements in the *Chôya shinbun* in June attest to Black addressing a meeting of the Kun'yûsha at two venues, including Fukagawa, on the topics of 'revision of the treaties' (*jôyaku kaisei*) and the 'pros and cons of a prison system' (*kangoku no zehi*). Later advertisements in the newspaper show he addressed a July 6 meeting of the Kun'yûsha regarding 'defamation' (*zanbô no setsu*) and a July 11 meeting regarding 'a theory of Napoleon' (*napoleon no ron*). In this and subsequent advertisements promoting his speeches, he was described as 'the Englishman Black' (*eijin Burakku*). Subsequent advertisements show the following dates and topics in 1879.

19 July (For Kun'yûsha): An argument in favor of abolishing the Yoshiwara.

¹⁷ *Chôya shinbun*, 30 May 1879. See Oizuru Yoshiya, 'Chôya shinbun: kôkoku ran ni miru Burakku' in *Kairakutei kenkyû* No. 1, 19 September 1986, pp. 10-11.

¹⁸ For details on the advertisements see Oizuru, 'Chôya shinbun: kôkoku ran ni miru Burakku', pp. 10-11. Henry Black was listed as *Hâre Burakku*, a reflection of the fact that his immediate family called him Harry, not Henry.

¹⁹ Nishûbashi Sei, 'Kairakutei Burakku', *Bungei Kurabu* Vol. 11, No. 14, October 1905, p. 295.

- 26 July (For Kun'yûsha): The demerits of opening up Japan (*nihon kaika no gai*).
- 27 July (For Kun'yûsha): Topic undecided
- 30 July (For Kun'yûsha): The cost of opening up Japan (*nihon kaika no tsuie*).
- 1 August (For Hokushinsha): An argument in favor of production (*seisanron*).
- 2 August: An argument in favor of produce (*bussan ron*).
- 6 August: Extraterritoriality (*jigai hôken*).
- 9 August: Criminal procedures (*keiji ron*).
- 21 August: Cholera prevention (*korera yobô no setsu*).
- 22 August: Juries (*baishin ron*).
- 27 August: Topic chosen by self.
- 28 August: (At Kôyôgakusha) Governance (*seitai ron*).
- 23 September: Taxation (*sozei ron*).
- 27 September: On the abolition of jails (*kangoku kahatsu ron*).
- 28 September: Trial by testimony (*shôko saiban no setsu*)
- 4 October (For Hokushinsha): rice price hike (*beika tôki*).
- 12 October: With Yamakawa Zentarô and Arakawa Takatoshi, spoke on topic of Intervention (*kanshō ron*).
- 16 October: Monopoly licensing (*senbai menkyo*).²⁰

At a 5 November meeting, John Black was the speaker and the topic was ‘Sino-Japanese Relations’. On the 8 November, at a meeting of the Sanrakusha, which had succeeded the Kun'yûsha, the two Blacks spoke. John Black spoke on ‘A Theory of People’s Rights’ (*minken ron*), and Henry Black spoke on ‘The Source of a Country’s Prosperity’ (*kuni wo sakan ni suru no gen'in*). John Black also attended a meeting with Doi Kôka in Urawa just north of Tokyo on 9 November. Sanrakusha meetings on 23 and 24 November show that Henry Black spoke on ‘The Relationship Between the People and Government’ (*jinmin to seifu no kankei*), while John Black spoke on ‘The Rights of a Nation’ (*kokken ron*). John Black’s surname, which was written phonetically in *kanji* was in large type together with the name of the other speaker at the Sanrakusha meeting, the

²⁰ The above are as listed in Oizuru, ‘*Chôya shinbun*’, pp. 10-11.

professional storyteller Shôrin Hakuen. John Black was billed as a newspaper editor in Shanghai.

The topics which Henry Black spoke about show a preoccupation with many of the practical aspects of social and legal reform aimed at achieving what the movement's adherents understood as modernity, reflected in the popular slogan 'civilization and enlightenment' (*bunmei kaika*). The topics divide into the categories of legal code reform, health and hygiene, governance and public administration, the opening up of Japan, and women's rights. These were important themes and preoccupations which recurred in the narrations Black later delivered to audiences as a professional storyteller.

The interest in Napoleon stemmed from the contemporary interest in European experiments in styles of governance, legal codes, and the reconfiguration of Tokyo along the lines of Paris. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had become president of France in 1851, and the country's emperor, Napoleon III, the following year. His administration was conservative by comparison to the preceding liberal revolution. But many historians have evaluated his regime as enlightened, stressing that it found its expression in the digging or widening of canals and rivers to improve the country's transportation network, and the hiring of city planner Baron Georges Haussmann (1809-1891), whose remodeling of Paris gave the city the grand boulevards and monuments deemed appropriate to a modern metropolis which could serve as the center of a great empire. Under Haussmann's bold initiatives, open spaces and vistas were created around monuments by leveling dwellings to create the now famous Place de l'Opera, the Étoile, and the Place de la Nation.²¹ Under Napoleon III, Paris became a transportation hub at the convergence of six railway lines

²¹ 'Haussmann, Georges Eugene, Baron', The Learning Network Inc., (8 Sept, 2000), <http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/people/A0822972.html>

and hosted two world's fairs, while newly created lending institutions stimulated agrarian and industrial development.²² Napoleonic law was used as a model for the framing of many of post-Restoration Japan's laws following the new government's employment in 1876 of the French jurist Gustave Boissonade as a *yatoi* to supervise the compilation of a new penal code.²³

The topics, 'defamation', 'criminal procedures', 'juries,' and 'the abolition of jails' reflect the contemporary interest in law reform. One reason for support for the incorporation of these topics on the reform agenda was the experience by a number of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement adherents of imprisonment while samurai in the 1840s and 1850s. These former samurai campaigned to revise early Meiji penal codes which still reflected the *bakumatsu* practice of prescribing methods of torture and punishments linked to a criminal's social status.²⁴ As a result of the pressure for prison reform, the first Western style penal code was introduced into Japan in 1880.²⁵ Its establishment reflected a new epistemology of the jail system, to which Black may well have contributed at the speech meetings the year before. The reforms were one result of a new psychology of prisoners as reformable humans. Umemori Naoyuki maintains that this new psychology stemmed from new definitions of the self in the Meiji period under the impact of the European natural rights philosophers. A further revised penal code promulgated in 1890 eliminated discriminatory punishments based on social rank,

²² Richard Lehan (1998), *The City in Literature: An Intellectual and Cultural History*, University of California Press, Berkeley & Los Angeles, Calif., pp. 60-61.

²³ Gregory M. Pflugfelder (1999), *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse 1600-1950*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, p. 170.

²⁴ Umemori Naoyuki, 'Spatial Configuration and Subject Formation: The Establishment of the Modern Penitentiary System in Meiji Japan', in Helen Hardacre (ed.) with Adam L. Kern (1997), *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, Brill, Leiden, New York, Köln, p. 735.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 735.

affirmed that a crime and its penalty should be mandated under law, and enshrined the notion of the protection of private property.²⁶

These were all themes which Henry Black took up later in a number of his narrated stories. The prime example is *Shachû no Dokubari* (1891) (The Poisoned Pin in the Coach)²⁷ where, in spite of his high social status, the retired and respectable opera-going businessman Mr. Yamada is jailed as an accomplice in the death of his niece. In the new legal code framed with the help of Boissonade, and in the Paris of *Shachû no Dokubari*, all were equal before the same law to which a judge could refer to determine appropriate sentencing. The appropriate disposal of an inheritance (in this instance private property) is at the heart of *Shachû no Dokubari*. The penal code reforms and Henry Black's inclusion of such themes in his narrations attest to the extent of government and audience acceptance of these new definitions of the self. Black's reference to the topic in his 1879 speech, and twelve years later in his 1891 narration illustrate the manner and timing of the transfer of such concepts beyond an educated elite to a broader audience in the *yose* or at home reading subsequent published versions of the story.

The issue of abolition of Tokyo's brothel quarter Yoshiwara, the topic of the July 19 meeting, was the subject of newspaper editorials during this period. It was not unusual at the time for poor families to sell their daughters into prostitution, many serving out contracts in licensed quarters like Yoshiwara. The practice of setting aside land for licensed brothels originated in pre-Meiji times in a number of feudal domains, but became a nation-wide practice under the centralized government after the Meiji Restoration. Most of the brothel inmates in Tokyo, which was home to the largest single

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 747.

²⁷ Eijin Burakku (1892), *Shachû no Dokubari* (The Poisoned Pin in the Coach), Suzuki Kinho, Tokyo.

number of licensed prostitutes in Japan at the time,²⁸ were there because their parents were usually in dire economic straits. Prostitutes in such quarters worked long hours. Their lack of sleep left them subject to numerous illnesses. Contracts were difficult to fulfill because of the high overheads imposed on them by employers. Women wanting to flee the licensed quarters found it physically difficult because the quarters were fenced in and guarded.²⁹ The incorporation by the movement of the issue of abolition of licensed brothel quarters like Yoshiwara reflected sentiments voiced in an article by Tsuda Mamichi in Issue 42 of the *Mei roku zasshi* in which he denounced the practice as inappropriate for a nation desirous of enlightenment. In his article, published in October 1875, Tsuda acknowledged the high level of indifference or hostility toward his proposal, concluding that ‘the public generally may only laugh scornfully and that even men of intellect may reject my views as empty theories easy to set forth but impossible to carry out.’³⁰ It also presaged press campaigns orchestrated by Christian groups in the late 1890s and the independent press in the early 1900s against prostitution. Henry Black incorporated the debate³¹ into his 1891 narration *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage* (Story From a London Stage),³² his adaptation of Mary Braddon’s 1877 short story *Her Last Appearance*. In the tale, Black digressed from his story to refer to the debate over prostitution, noting the harm caused to families and society by men who squander their money at the Yoshiwara licensed quarters. He also mentioned the tricks pimps and others

²⁸ E. Patricia Tsurumi (1990), *Factory Girls*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, pp. 181-182.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-187.

³⁰ Tsuda Mamichi ‘On Destroying Prostitution’ in *Mei roku zasshi* Issue 42, October 1875, in Braisted (ed.), *Mei roku Zasshi*, p. 518.

³¹ For a discussion of the debate, see Sheldon Garon (1997), ‘The World’s Oldest Debate? Regulating Prostitution and Illicit Sexuality’, in Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, pp. 88-114.

³² Eikokujin Burakku (1891), *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage*, Nomura Ginzaburô, Tokyo.

used there to fleece customers and told listeners that the British parliament had passed a law banning gambling dens and brothels.

The extraterritoriality of foreign residents, revision of the treaties with the Western powers, and the demerits of opening up Japan were interrelated issues for all Japanese. They were, for example, preoccupations shared by members of the Meirokusha, the fifth issue of whose journal *Meiroku zasshi* in 1874 contained an essay by Tsuda Mamichi deploring the large outflows of capital as a result of the high level of imports and protective tariff regime established by the treaties.³³ Movement adherents constantly railed against the injustices of the treaties and were active in the nationwide movement to abolish them. Extraterritoriality rankled with many Japanese because it resulted in foreigners remaining outside Japanese law and subject only to the laws of their respective countries in spite of crimes they might commit in Japan. Henry Black himself was later to find that his British nationality, although an advantage in this sense, was to become a hindrance when he wished to travel freely around Japan to perform as a *rakugoka*.

Taxation and rice prices were topics of concern to hard-pressed farmers. In 1873, the government had promulgated a new law restructuring the old feudal land tax system. The new system rationalized tax assessment based on the value of farm land rather than the old Tokugawa land tax which had been based on estimated rice production.³⁴ Since the formula for calculating farm land values included assessments of land fertility and even commodity prices, the drastic overhaul of the taxation system led to a number of protests by farmers who disputed the valuations accorded their land by bureaucrats. The

³³ Tsuda Mamichi 'In Opposition to Protective Tariffs' in *Meiroku zasshi* Issue Five (undated) 1874, in Braisted (ed.), *Meiroku Zasshi*, pp. 56-59.

issue of rice prices also concerned *gônô* (wealthy farmers), many of whom were entering the ranks of the movement's adherents around this time as it expanded its base to become a 'predominantly rural and increasingly mass-based movement'.³⁵

The final report of speech-making by John and Henry Black was in *Tôkyô e-iri shinbun* of 4 January 1880. Further corroboration of the Blacks' participation in speech meetings comes from the journalist Miyatake Gaikotsu (1867-1955) who wrote in a collection of memoirs, that 'John Black delivered some speeches in public' in 1879.³⁶ Although Miyatake would have been aged around 12 at the time, he encountered Henry Black several years later, so may have learned of the meetings on that occasion.

The societies associated with the meetings at which Black spoke, the protagonists who organized or participated in them, and the proprietors of the newspapers which advertised the meetings, were interlinked in a web of personal friendships and alliances indicative of the extent of the personal links maintained by the Blacks with members of the movement and of the impact Henry Black may have had as a speaker at the meetings. The Hokushinsha, for example, was a Fukushima-based society which was 'in correspondence' with the Sanshinsha in Miharu.³⁷ The founding president of the Sanshinsha was Kôno Hironaka, an ex-samurai from the Miharu domain. Kôno helped organize the Sanshisha in the town, together with several of the town's dignitaries in 1878. Two years earlier in 1876, Kôno also organized and served as founding president of the Seikyôsha (Open Society of Ishikawa) 'in Ishikawa district while serving there as

³⁴ Jansen, *The Emergence of Meiji Japan*, p. 210.

³⁵ Bowen, *Rebellion and Democracy*, p. 108.

³⁶ See Morioka and Sasaki, 'The Blue-eyed Storyteller'. In footnote No. 19, p. 138, they refer to this quoting the source as Miyatake Gaikotsu (1928) 'Eijin Burakku to *Nisshin Shinji Shi*', in *Meiji bunka kenkyû*, Sanseidô, p. 69.

³⁷ Bowen, *Rebellion and Democracy*, p. 219.

kuchô (ward chief). Bowen's analysis of the rules of the Seikyôsha and Sanshinsha show they owed much for their inspiration to the English doctrine of natural rights. Since as president Kôno was responsible for correspondence with other societies, it can be assumed that Hokushinsha also drew from similar philosophical origins.³⁸ Hironaka went on to become a founding member of the national Jiyûtô (Liberal Party) in October 1881.

The *Chôya shinbun*, which published the advertisements announcing the meetings, was known as *Kôbun tsûshi* at its inception in January in 1872. It had earned praise from John Black for seeking to appeal to a broad audience by using *furigana* to indicate the pronunciation of the more difficult *kanji* words. But in keeping with the move toward political partisanship in the nation's press, when it was renamed *Chôya shinbun* in September 1874 upon Narishima Ryûhoku assuming the chairmanship, the paper revamped its pages and began to campaign on behalf of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement. Narishima eliminated *furigana*, in keeping with the *ôshinbun* nature of the paper, but in a break with previous custom, introduced an editorial section ahead of other vernacular papers, and placed official announcements and general news on the front page.³⁹

Henry Black later confirmed in an interview that he associated during this period with the orators Numa Morikazu, Takanashi Tetsujirô, Arakawa Takatoshi, and Doi Kôka.⁴⁰ As a young man, Numa (1844-90) was a student of Western military science. Although he sided with the Tokugawa shogunate in the Boshin Civil War and was briefly imprisoned, he joined the new government following the Meiji Restoration in

³⁸ For a detailed discussion of these developments and links see Bowen, *Rebellion and Democracy*, pp. 216-220

³⁹ This information on the *Chôya shinbun* comes from Oizuru, 'Chôya shinbun: kôkoku ran ni miru Burakku', pp. 10-11.

1868. He later disagreed with the government over its policies on freedom of speech, resigned from the Genrōin (Chamber of Elders), and devoted himself to the Freedom and People's Rights' Movement. He did this by purchasing the *Yokohama mainichi shinbun* in 1879, moving it to Tokyo, and renaming it the *Tokyo Yokohama mainichi shinbun*. The paper became an organ of the intellectual organization Ômeisha⁴¹ which railed against the fact that nearly two-thirds of government higher officials came from the four domains that had led the Meiji Restoration.⁴² Numa also organized debates. In 1881, Numa became a founding member of the Jiyûtô (Liberal Party), but later left to join Ôkuma Shigenobu's Kikken Kaishintô (Constitutional Reform Party).⁴³

Huffman describes Numa as 'one of the period's half dozen most influential journalists' who fervently believed in the power of journalism to cultivate debate and bring enlightenment. Numa was typical of many *ôshinbun* owners at the time who used their papers and organized study groups to promote their version of freedom and people's rights.⁴⁴ In 1880, Numa's paper was an active participant in a debate with the rival *Tôkyô nichichi* over the nature of Japanese sovereignty. The debate took place within the context of a wider one over the need for a Constitution. Numerous proposals for a constitution which circulated at the time contained varying statements related to sovereignty, prompting the newspapers to weigh in to the debate. On 9 November 1881, for example, Numa's paper posited sovereignty in terms of justice, and on 18 January 1882, it editorialized in support of a constitutional monarchy, urging Japanese to emulate England 'where the assembly discusses and agrees upon the bills, the king approves ...

⁴⁰ Nishûbashi, 'Kairakutei Burakku', p. 296.

⁴¹ Huffman, *Creating a Public*, p.103.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p.75.

⁴³ 'Numa Morikazu', *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, (1993), Kodansha, Tokyo, p. 1118.

and society is kept in order'.⁴⁵

Another of the protagonists mentioned by Black, Takanashi Tetsujirô, possessed a voice capable of projecting his words some distance. In December 1890, the *Jiyû shinbun*, commenting on one of his speeches in the Diet, noted that he employed 'extremely powerful means, including a voice of far-reaching stentorian quality.'

With both hands gripping the lectern, he looks at it and does not fix his eyes on the audience. With long flowing hair covering his back, when he gets to the climax of his speech, neither head nor hands nor body move, his voice extends its reach and becomes rich and smooth, and at that moment, his entire being transforms so that he becomes a veritable amplifier... On such an occasion, he is less speech-maker than the speech itself, less the orator than the actual oration.

The article praised Takanashi's enthusiasm, but ended by cautioning him not to get too carried away by scaling the lectern when he got angry.⁴⁶

Doi Kôka (1847-1918) was born in a village in Awaji. He became a teacher at Tokushima clan school and subsequently was a public speaker, becoming head of the Hokushinsha and then president of the Gakunan Jiyûtô. He later became editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Tôkai gyôshô shinpô*. Doi authored a number of books, and produced a translation of Henry Thomas Buckle's *Introduction to the History of Civilization in England*.⁴⁷ Such works by European natural rights proponents were considered dangerous by the oligarchy which banned from schools in 1881 the Japanese translation of *On*

⁴⁴ Huffman, *Creating a Public*, p. 103.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.132.

⁴⁶ Details, including *Jiyû shinbun* extract collated from *Meiji bungaku zenshû* (1967), Vol. 13, p. 391 & Vol. 36, p. 311 Chikuma Shobô, Tokyo.

⁴⁷ See Matsuô Shôichi, (1990), *Jiyû minken shisô kenkyû*, Nihon keizai Hyôron sha, Tokyo, p. 96; 'Doi Kôka' (1981) *Meiji ishû jinmei jiten*, Nihon Rekishigakkai, Tokyo, p. 648; 'Doi Kôka' (1954), *Dai jinmei jiten dai yon maki*, Heibonsha, Tokyo, p. 393.

Liberty.⁴⁸

Victim of suppression

The unease felt by the governing oligarchy over the growth of the opposition movement deepened in the early eighties as the movement's adherents became more organized and more voluble. The government, which had already introduced a number of restrictive measures covering the press, further reacted by introducing increasingly draconian regulations pertaining to political gatherings, including the type of meetings Henry Black addressed. The first of these measures, the Ordinance on Public Meetings (*shūkai jōrei*), was promulgated on 5 April 1880. It gave police sweeping powers to investigate and regulate political parties and to ban public meetings.

In an article on 12 April 1880 critical of the fifteen articles which composed the regulations, the *Mainichi shinbun* spoke for the opposition when it claimed that the government's purpose was to stifle its opposition. 'It appears evident,' the paper said, 'that they are to be applied to political meetings.' The newspaper also criticised the regulations for their vagueness and for the manner in which they placed police officers in positions of authority over the content of the meetings and their potential to infringe 'public welfare.' The paper complained that 'the meeting regulations are quite inconsistent with the principles of law, for the character of a political discussion or lecture is to be judged by the police authorities, and police officers will have to know all that may, in a future time, happen to enter the minds of the members of a political society.'⁴⁹ Among the reasons that police officers could cite for forbidding the holding of a meeting, the paper listed content of debate 'pernicious to the public welfare or

⁴⁸ Jean-Pierre Lehmann (1982), *The Roots of Modern Japan*, The Macmillan Press, London UK, p. 246.

⁴⁹ *Mainichi shinbun*, (no date given) as translated in *The Japan Daily Herald*, 12 April 1880. Extract in

conducive to the committal of offences against the established laws; or if persons who are not allowed to attend the meeting are present and refuse to leave when ordered to do so.’⁵⁰

The English-language *Japan Weekly Mail* took a more conservative stand on the issue. In an editorial on 10 April, it claimed that ‘the Government was right in restricting the number, and exercising some control over the nature, of written discussions and treatises on the difficult subject of popular representation.’ Commenting on a proposed gathering in Shimane to urge the establishment of a national parliament, the paper declared that the gathering was ‘undesirable’ and that the authorities were to be justified ‘in the very interests of the people themselves, to prevent them from being disquieted in their minds, and interrupted in their peaceful avocations, by the declamatory nonsense which is pretty certain to form the substance of communications proposed to be addressed to them.’⁵¹

Despite the regulations, and with his father busy on the compilation of his book *Young Japan* from January 1880, Henry Black maintained his interest in the reform movement by embarking in early April on a speaking tour of parts of Kanagawa Prefecture, including Odawara, about 70 kilometers south-west of Tokyo where the Tōkaidō, the main trunk route between Tokyo and the Kansai region, passes through the foothills of Mount Fuji near Sagami Bay. Here, police enforced the new regulations by

Harold S. Williams Collection, National Library of Australia.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *The Japan Weekly Mail*, 10 April 1880. Extract in Harold S. Williams Collection, National Library of Australia.

intervening to prevent a meeting he was to have addressed. *The Japan Daily Herald*, quoting from the vernacular *Kinji hyōron*⁵² on 28 April gave an account of the incident.

It has not unfrequently happened that Japanese have been prohibited from delivering lectures, but we hear, for the first time, of the suspension of a lecture delivered by a foreigner, and an Englishman, Mr. Black, is the first who has been restricted by our police authorities from the liberty of speech...At any rate we believe that our police authorities would not without reason, have suspended the lecture of Mr. Black; and we are unable to state when and on what grounds the said Mr. Black intends to sue the chief of the police station at Odawara, on his return to the capital...

Mr. Black had delivered lectures in several places, and at one time he proceeded to Odawara, where he lectured upon the effects of a national convention, and upon the subjects respecting the laws of conscription. On the third day of his lecture, he was officially ordered by the police authorities to abstain from lecturing, but in opposition to this order, he again announced his work. This time again, on the third day, a similar order was given him. Utterly disgusted at the proceedings of the officials, he immediately set out for Hakone, and after having taken the baths there for a few days, he quitted that place on the 19th instant. It is said that soon after his arrival in the metropolis, he will bring an action against the chief of police at Odawara for having suspended his lecture.⁵³

Police records indicate that 131 political meetings were disbanded in 1881 and 282 in 1882. Many other meetings did not take place at all because police simply denied permits to the organizers.⁵⁴

Seeking other outlets

Two months after he was prevented from addressing the Odawara meetings, personal tragedy struck on 11 June 1880 with the sudden death of Henry Black's father,

⁵² *Kinji hyōron* No. 263, 28 April 1880. The translation in *The Japan Daily Herald* is an accurate reflection of the original. Extract in Harold S. Williams Collection, National Library of Australia.

⁵³ *The Japan Daily Herald*, 28 April 1880, quoted from the *Kinji Hioron* [sic] No. 263, 28 April 1880.

⁵⁴ Stephen Vlastos, 'Opposition Movements in Early Meiji, 1868-1885', in Marius B. Jansen (ed.) (1995), *The Emergence of Meiji Japan*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, p. 248.

John. His father died with the manuscript for his book *Young Japan* incomplete. Henry Black was 21 at the time of his father's death. He later told the journalist Hanazono Kanesada that when after his father's death he 'did not know what to do,' he became a storyteller 'on the advice and persuasion' of his father's colleague, Numa Morikazu.⁵⁵ Numa by this stage was owner of the Ômeisha organ, *Tokyo Yokohama mainichi shinbun*. An obituary in the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* marking Henry Black's death in 1923 alluded to Numa's influence as well as to Black's style of speech presentation. It stated that Black's political addresses had 'a wealth of anecdote and the interest they aroused raised the suggestion that he should appear as a professional story teller.'⁵⁶ Henry Black initially circumvented the restrictions by joining a *gundan* (military stories) group under Hokyûsha Tôrin.⁵⁷ *Gundan* originated in the early Edo period when masterless samurai read war tales to audiences in towns. Their inspiration was the *Taiheiki* (The Chronicle of Great Peace) a fourteenth century war chronicle.⁵⁸

An indication that he embarked on such a career is found in the *Asahi shinbun* of 7 September 1883, which refers to him giving *gundan* performances with Shôrin Hakuen in Osaka.⁵⁹ The performances outside Tokyo imply considerable commitment to a career in storytelling. There is also mention of Black appearing in a number of *yose* in the 7 March 1884 edition of *Jiji shinpô*. The same article mentioned that he was to be seen in the *Tôkyô keizai saibanjo* (Tokyo Court of Petty Sessions) where he was 'taking detailed

⁵⁵ Hanazono Kanesada (1926), 'J.R. Black', *Journalism in Japan and its Early Pioneers*, Osaka Shuppansha, Osaka, p. 75.

⁵⁶ *Japan Weekly Chronicle*, 11 October 1923. Extract in Harold S. Williams Collection, National Library of Australia.

⁵⁷ *Tôkyô akebono shinbun*, 28 May 1880, in Kurata Yoshihiro (ed.) (1983), *Meiji no engai*, Kokuritsu gekijô chôsa ikuseibu geinô chôsa shitsu, Tokyo, Vol. 2, p. 96.

⁵⁸ Morioka Heinz and Sasaki Miyoko (1990), *Rakugo, the Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., p. 5.

⁵⁹ Mentioned by Morioka and Sasaki in 'The Blue-Eyed Storyteller', p. 139.

notes with a view to producing one or two narrations.⁶⁰

Henry Black's entry into the *gundan* genre was symptomatic of the growing links between proponents of democratic reform and the users of vernacular Japanese as a vehicle for reaching ordinary people. The nation-wide oppression of political orators resulted in similar crossovers between oratory and storytelling elsewhere around this time. A typical case was that of the political novelist and civil rights activist Sakasaki Shiran (1853-1912) who embodied a crossover between oratory, storytelling, and later, written Japanese. Barred from making political speeches in Kôchi in 1881, Sakasaki reacted by organising his own group of storytellers who presented 'accounts of European liberals and the French Revolution.'⁶¹ Sakasaki applied the narrator's conversational style in spreading the pro-democracy message when he later joined the newspaper *Jiyû no tomoshibi* where he became an editorial writer.⁶² The newspaper was the antecedent to the *Tôkyô asahi shinbun*.

The Black family remained in Japan after John Black's death. Two years after his death, in a diary entry dated 2 June 1882, the adventurer and traveler, Arthur H. Crow, recorded a visit in the company of English diplomat, linguist and scholar Ernest Satow (1843-1929) to Henry's mother, Elizabeth Black. Crow wrote that she lived in 'a purely Japanese house, but with, of course, European furniture' which was 'some miles away' from Kaizenji Temple. The temple is in present-day Tokyo's Taito Ward. There is no mention of Henry Black or his siblings in Crow's diary entry, but in an indication that the government respected John Black's contribution to journalism, Crow noted that Mrs.

⁶⁰ *Jiji Shinpô*, 7 March 1884. In Kurata (ed.), *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 3 p. 81.

⁶¹ Nanette Twine (1991), *Language and the Modern State: The Reform of Written Japanese*, Routledge, London & New York, p. 127.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 127.

Black was allowed to live outside the foreign concession of Tsukiji ‘by special favour of the Government.’⁶³

A May 1885 newspaper report indicates that by that year, Black was residing apart from his family and may have been experiencing financial difficulties after his father’s death. The report stated that Black was living at No. 2 Shinsakae Chô in Tsukiji, where he was engaged in an illegal *sake* brewing enterprise.⁶⁴ The venture may have been designed to earn money, although since there are also indications that at least in his later years Black was a heavy drinker, it may simply have been an attempt to provide a cheap source of alcoholic refreshment. In a letter to the British consul on 23 July 1885, Black apologised for the *sake* brewing and promised ‘that in future I will have nothing to do with any such business.’⁶⁵

In February 1886, Henry Black temporarily ceased storytelling under the *gundan* banner to take up English teaching at an institution known as Tôkyô Gakkan. In a later interview, he told of how he ceased storytelling due to opposition from friends who suggested that a career in storytelling was ‘disreputable’ (*gaibun ga warui*) and would bring shame on his father.⁶⁶ In his account of the reasons given by his friends, Black stated that they questioned whether being a performer in a *yose* (*yose geinin*) was an appropriate occupation. Black does not explain whether the friends were Japanese or

⁶³ Arthur H. Crow (1883), *Highways and Byeways in Japan, the Experiences of Two Pedestrian Tourists*, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, London, pp. 26-27. (The house was probably at the Yamato-cho, Kanda address cited in the 1983 and 1984 editions of the *Japan Directory*.)

⁶⁴ *The Japan Weekly Mail*, 30 May 1885. Harold S. Williams Collection, National Library of Australia.

⁶⁵ A copy of this letter was supplied to me by Asaoka Kunio. The copy is a hand-written transcription of Black’s original letter. It was transcribed by the then Assistant Vice Consul J. C. Hale. Black’s original letter was transcribed into the consulate’s official documentation together with a notation on the opposite page stating that the case was a result of a ‘complaint by the Japanese government.’ Black’s letter misspells his place of residence as ‘Shinsakei-cho’.

⁶⁶ Nishûbashi, ‘Kairakutei Burakku’, p. 297.

foreign. But the reasons cited reflect opinion among both Japanese and foreigner alike that although *yose* were popular venues of entertainment, the entertainers themselves suffered from a form of discrimination which rendered them ‘low class’.⁶⁷

Advertisements for the school, announcing the fact that Black would teach there appeared on January 26 and 29 in the *Chôya shinbun*.⁶⁸ At the height of his teaching career, Black also taught at another school at the same time as at the Tôkyô Gakkan. Black claimed in an interview that he had at one stage been extremely busy as an English teacher working from 9 a.m. to 10 p.m. on some days to meet demand.

Black’s work at the school may have facilitated an association with the young Miyatake Gaikotsu,⁶⁹ who was later to become a prominent journalist and cultural historian. The school was run by Miyatake Nanbai, an elder brother of Gaikotsu. Black was 29 and Gaikotsu was 19 when the two would have encountered each other at the school where Gaikotsu helped his brother after coming to Tokyo from the country. In November 1886, Gaikotsu began *E-iri kôkoku shinbun*, the first of many of his satirical newspapers and magazines. The first edition of the newspaper stated that it had the official endorsement of several *rakugo* luminaries including Henry Black and the prominent *rakugoka* San’yûtei Enchô, who was the head of the San’yûha. This is possibly the first time that the names of Henry Black and Enchô shared the same page. It is an indicator of the timing of commencement of Black’s association with members of

⁶⁷ Morioka and Sasaki, *Rakugo, the Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, p. 3. The authors note that ‘a *yose* performer is proud of being called a *geinin*, artiste of the common people, although the expression *geinin* – because of its association with “low class” – has been included in the list of “discriminatory vocabulary” which should be avoided in public.’ The list has been compiled by mass-media associations since 1973.

⁶⁸ *Chôya shinbun*, January 26 and 29, 1886. The advertisements appeared on the front page of the paper.

⁶⁹ ‘Miyatake Gaikotsu’, *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, Kodansha, Tokyo, 1993, p. 989.

the San'yûha and also indicates that Black retained an association with storytellers in spite of his English teaching.

The following year, Gaikotsu founded his signature witty magazine *Tonchii kyôkai zasshi*. Henry Black always maintained an interest in Gaikotsu. After Gaikotsu ran foul of the government on a charge of *lèse-majesté* over a parody in *Tonchii kyôkai zasshi* on the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution and was jailed in 1889 for three years, Black was among the group of friends and relatives who were waiting to welcome him on his release.⁷⁰ Black's friendship with, and support for, Gaikotsu suggest that although he had turned to English teaching as a means of financial support, his sympathies were still with pro-democracy opponents of the government and with the notions of freedom of the press and artistic license to criticize government actions.

One outcome of Black's period as an English teacher was the editorship in 1887 by Black of a 100-page English grammar book.⁷¹ The book includes some 700 items of vocabulary in fourteen lessons devoted to topics which include 'Relationships', 'Parts of the Body', and 'The Weather'. The book's contents suggest that the author saw himself as a purveyor not only of the English language but also of a culture, in keeping with the sense of mission shared by many of his fellow expatriates. The book also suggests a burgeoning interest by Black in *kabuki*. Several sentences mention *kabuki* actors and the differences in style between English and Japanese drama, presaging Black's subsequent performances of *kabuki* roles.⁷²

⁷⁰ Asaoka Kunio (1986), 'Kairakutei Burakku to Miyatake Gaikotsu', *Kairakutei Burakku kenkyû* 1, 19 September 1986, pp. 2-3. Asaoka also cites Gaikotsu himself writing in *Meiji Bunka kenkyû* (No. 4, Jan. 1928) about Black being among the persons to welcome him on his release from the jail.

⁷¹ Henri Zeemusu Burakku (Henry James Black) (ed.) (1886), *Yôï dokushû: Eiwa kaiwa hen* (Easy self study – English-Japanese conversation edition), Lesson 15, Chûgaidô, Tokyo.

⁷² *Ibid.*

But by late 1886, work as an English teacher became more difficult due, according to Black, to widespread resentment of foreigners over postponement of the revision of treaties concluded with Western powers in the 1850s and 1860s. Public opinion also turned against foreigners that year following the sinking of a British ship off the Japanese coast. In the incident the British crew were saved, but all Japanese passengers drowned.⁷³ Black claimed that the resentment led to a dramatic fall in the number of students learning English. Given these circumstances, he was amenable to a proposal to reenter the world of *rakugo* by affiliating with the San'yûha. According to Black, it was the *rakugoka* Gorin no Ennosuke who invited him to affiliate with the school, while the school's leaders, San'yûtei Enchô I and San'yûtei Enchô IV readily agreed to the idea.⁷⁴ Describing his return to storytelling, Henry Black credited his friend and *rakugoka* Dokyôtei Ryûba with having introduced him to two San'yûha-affiliated *yose*. These were the Tachibanaya Hall in Ryôgoku and the Kiharatei Hall in Nihonbashi, both in Tokyo. Black claimed that his narrations at the two *yose* were well received, in part because of the novelty of a foreigner presenting them.

That such a move could have been possible implies a commitment to Japan and the culture of *rakugo*, as well as a conscious decision to ignore the disapproval of some friends. The anti-foreign feeling which led to Black's return to storytelling was also the catalyst for a change in the nature of the debate over modernity. The change was an outcome of the coming of age of a new generation of Japanese born after the Meiji Restoration. This new generation was a product of a new education system put in place after the Restoration. While for this new generation, the notion of modernization was

⁷³ Lehmann, *The Roots of Modern Japan*, p. 293.

⁷⁴ Nishûbashi, 'Kairakutei Burakku', pp. 293-300.

beyond question, its members sought to take stock of the achievements of the revolutionaries who had engineered the Meiji Restoration and overseen the transition from centralized feudalism to centralized nation-statehood. This new generation agreed on the need for modernization, but by the 1880s, faced a dilemma over the direction of that modernization. They were, as Kenneth B. Pyle has noted, ‘caught in a confrontation of circumstances that intensified awareness of their heritage and at the same time disparaged it.’ The process of taking stock was to last a decade or more, commencing around 1886 when Henry Black decisively embarked on a storytelling career. The debate was waged in print and on the stage, and shared many characteristics with advocates of modernization in other spheres, including politics and literature, ranging from those favouring thoroughgoing and unfettered westernization to others favouring ‘a Japanese path to modernity that did not necessarily preclude Western values.’⁷⁵ One of the ironies of Black’s reentry to storytelling was that it was prompted by anti-foreign sentiment. The foreign-born Black was about to become an important protagonist in the debate over modernity which was carried out by this new generation.

A new medium for the discourse on modernity

A number of developments had occurred elsewhere which contributed to making storytelling a medium conducive to the expressions of modernity which Black was to include in his narrations. These developments had their genesis in the splintering of the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement soon after Black joined a *gundan* group under Hōgyūsha Tōrin. The impetus for the movement’s demise was the government’s decision to concede to one of the movement’s principal aims in October 1881 by announcing its intention to produce a constitution and convene a national assembly

⁷⁵ Ann Waswo (1996), *Modern Japanese Society 1868-1994*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, p. 93.

within the decade. The oligarchy's decision to accede to the demand robbed the movement of much of its impetus.⁷⁶ In the immediate aftermath of the announcement, Itagaki formed the Jiyûtô (Liberal Party) as a means to further the movement's aims. In March 1882, Ôkuma announced the formation of the Rikken Kaishintô (Constitutional Reform Party). Within days of that announcement, Fukuchi announced the formation of the Rikken Teishintô (Constitutional Imperial Party). The formation of the parties began a period of intense political jostling, which ended with the dissolution of the Jiyûtô in the face of increased government suppression of its activities in late October 1884.⁷⁷

But the new situation resulted in spreading the discourse on modernity to a wider, and by now better-educated audience. The government's action splintered the movement, driving more radical adherents to more desperate measures. Some of the movement's more moderate adherents and sympathizers began experimenting with political novels. Typical of the experimentation was the 1886 Suehiro Tetchô novel *Setchûbai* (Plum Blossoms in Snow), which used the relatively novel device of a romantic triangle to make its political and ideological message more appealing.⁷⁸ But even writers in this genre struggled to devise new colloquial forms acceptable to their readers.

Other moderates established their own newspapers through which they continued to project their views. With the nation's political debate already centered in their editorial columns by the mid-1870s, and a rising literacy rate reflecting steadily increasing school enrollment rates throughout the 1870s,⁷⁹ newspapers were beginning to attract increasing

⁷⁶ Jansen *The Emergence of Meiji Japan*, p. 249.

⁷⁷ Bowen, *Rebellion and Democracy*, pp. 228-280.

⁷⁸ Kyoko Kurita, 'The Romantic Triangle in Meiji Literature' in Hardacre (ed.), *New Directions*, p. 231. In this case the message concerned a woman who was a financial patron of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement.

⁷⁹ Richard Rubinger, 'Education: From One Room to One System', in Marius B. Jansen and Gilbert Rozman (eds.) (1986), *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji*, Princeton University Press, Princeton,

readership. By the mid-1880s, Japan had two types of newspapers – *koshinbun* (minor newspapers) and *ôshinbun* (major newspapers). The *koshinbun* used glossed characters and focused on racy entertainment-oriented stories of scandal and gossip catering to the newly transformed populations in the cities.

The importance of the *koshinbun* lay in their influence, in terms of language, style and presentation, on the more mainstream press which had the eye of the country's leaders.⁸⁰ The *koshinbun*, which had begun as mediums for the recording and discussion of events of public interest, soon expanded their range to include scandal and gossip. They were an easier read than the *ôshinbun* whose turgid prose, aimed at the educated classes, served instead to maintain the divisions between the classes. By 1877, the archetypal early *koshinbun*, the *Kanayomi shinbun* had moved from pure reportage to the serialization of its gossip-oriented news stories with direct quotations inserted to enliven the contents. The emphasis was on reportage and entertainment, but articles had to sustain reader interest over several days.⁸¹ Although *koshinbun* proprietors were universally interested in edification of the masses, they quickly learned that they could sweeten the message with sensational accounts of court proceedings and real life events. While the *koshinbun* rarely contained serious political discussion, their 'disengagement with the highly refined literary forms of the past'⁸² was a new phenomenon which provided the common people with access to contact with their nation and a window onto the modernization process via their own vernacular forms of speech.

Then in 1884, *rakugo* effectively rescued the debate about reform and modernity

New Jersey, pp. 210-213.

⁸⁰ Huffman, *Creating a Public*, pp. 10-11.

⁸¹ Okitsu Kaname, 'Bunmei kaika no jânarizumu', in Okitsu Kaname (1997), *Meiji shinbun koto hajime*, Taishûkan Shoten, Tokyo, p. 79

from government domination in a development which altered the face of book and newspaper publishing in Japan by radically reshaping the language of these mediums. The development could not have occurred without the demand for stenographically recorded accounts of political debates, including those in the Diet, whose establishment resulted from the government's compromise with the Freedom and People's Rights Movement. The stenographic method used was based on Graham stenography (*sokki*), then popular in the West. The development was the publication of the first and best-known example of a stenographic book (*sokkibon*), San'yûtei Enchô's *Botan dôrô* (The Peony Lantern).⁸³ The story was transcribed by the stenographers Wakabayashi Kanzô and Sakai Shôzô, and printed as a book by Haishi Shuppansha. It became one of Enchô's most famous *kaidan banashi* (ghost stories). It was told in 12 consecutive episodes. The book was so successful that five more *sokkibon* versions of Enchô's stories were published the following year.⁸⁴

Such books were printed on cheap paper, were bought by lending libraries, and circulated relatively widely. Few *sokkibon* have survived intact. Asaoka Kunio, who has researched the extent of the distribution of *sokkibon* in Meiji lending libraries, maintains that research into distribution is hampered by haphazard documentation by the original library owners, the poor quality of paper used in the books, and the lack of regard in which they were held at the time.⁸⁵ Consequently, figures on *sokkibon* distribution throughout the Meiji period are virtually nonexistent. The appeal of *sokkibon* lay in the

⁸² Twine, *Language and The Modern State*, p. 130-131.

⁸³ 'Kaidan botan dôrô' (The Peony Lantern), in *Meiji bungaku zenshû - San'yûtei Enchô shû*, (1965), Chikuma Shobô, Tokyo.

⁸⁴ J. Scott Miller, 'Tale as Text: *Sokkibon* in the Diet Library Collection', in Hardacre (ed.), *New Directions*, p. 582-583.

⁸⁵ Asaoka Kunio, interview with Ian McArthur, Tokyo, 9 February 1998.

use by the storytellers of vernacular Japanese. Publishers of *sokkibon* capitalised on the relatively high rate of literacy even prior to the Meiji Restoration.⁸⁶ In effect, *sokkibon* served as ‘reading primers for the minimally literate masses, thereby aiding state efforts at mass literacy.’⁸⁷

The appearance of *The Peony Lantern* galvanized the publishing industry, such that Miller characterizes *sokkibon* as marking the point ‘when an oral narrative tradition suddenly enters the written domain,’⁸⁸ and Anne Sakai describes *The Peony Lantern* as ‘the point of departure for modern Japanese literature.’⁸⁹ Critics of the movement for reform of the written language had argued that such reform would render the written word too colloquial and ‘oral.’ They were appalled at the thought that the language of the *rakugoka* should find its way into the novel.⁹⁰ But whereas initial inroads made by the vernacular into the areas of education, the press, and the political novel, had been compromised by the series of repressive government measures introduced from 1877 against Freedom and People’s Rights Movement adherents,⁹¹ *The Peony Lantern* and the interest it sparked in reading among a mass audience now renewed interest in stylistic reform in the print media.

Among writers searching for a new vernacular style was Tsubouchi Shōyō. In a preface to the second edition of *The Peony Lantern*, Tsubouchi extolled the virtues of the colloquial,⁹² attributing the book’s success to its use of language in exploring ‘the essence

⁸⁶ Ronald Philip Dore (1965), *Education in Tokugawa Japan* (1965), Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

⁸⁷ Miller, ‘Tale as Text’, p. 583.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 584.

⁸⁹ Anne Sakai (1992), *La Parole Comme Art: Le rakugo japonais*, L’Harmattan, Paris, p. 91.

⁹⁰ Takanori Li, *Hyōshō kūkan no gendai*, Shin’yōsha, Tokyo, 1996.

⁹¹ Twine, *Language and the Modern State*, p. 74.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 136.

of *ninjō*' (human nature),⁹³ a theme which is at the heart of *rakugo*. Tsubouchi used his treatise *Shōsetsu shinzui* (*The Essence of the Novel*), whose first chapter was published in 1885, to set out the case for raising the status of novel writing.

Tsubouchi and other writers in the late 1870s and early 1880s faced considerable opposition in convincing intellectuals and the public that the novel was not useless. This opposition was exemplified by persons such as Nakamura Masanao (1832-1891), translator of Samuel Smiles's *Self Help*, who in 1876 published two denunciations of the novel as morally and educationally damaging.⁹⁴ Typifying the other side of this argument, the political novelist and journalist Sakurada Momoe (1857?-1883) felt obliged to note in the preface to his novel *Jiyū no nishiki* (*Brocade of Freedom*), written in 1881 and posthumously published in 1883, that the novel was a useful device for promoting social reform.⁹⁵ By the late 1880s, the hard evidence for this was available in the form of the *sokkibon*, including those of Henry Black.

Futabatei Shimei later put Tsubouchi's ideas into practice in the novel *Ukigumo* (*Drifting Clouds*) which came out in installments between 1887 and 1889. With its psychological realism and simple language in the *genbun itchi* (unification of the spoken and written language) style stripped of old-fashioned classical elegance, critics consider it Japan's first modern novel. After Futabatei urged Yamada Bimyō to use the language in Enchō's stories as a model for his writing, Bimyō explained in his preface to *Fūkin shirabe no hitofushi* (*Notes from an Organ Melody*) that the story's style was 'a slightly more ornamental version of that of the raconteur's love stories.'⁹⁶ Other novelists who

⁹³ Peter Kornicki (1982), *The Reform of Fiction in Meiji Japan*, Ithaca Press, London, p. 28.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12. Kornicki notes that Nakamura was probably referring to late Tokugawa literature.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁹⁶ Twine, *Language and the Modern State*, p. 145.

benefited from this loosening of constraints on the use of the vernacular in literature include Higuchi Ichiyô and Ozaki Kôyô.⁹⁷ The interest the writer Natsume Sôseki took in *rakugo* as a child and as a student also shows in his novels, in particular *Wagahai wa neko de aru* (I Am a Cat), which contains numerous themes derived from narrations attributable to San'yûtei Enyû.⁹⁸

The *genbun itchi* movement adherents sought to modernise the language of Meiji literature to engage readers more effectively in the social and political transformation their country was experiencing. The ultimate success of their movement can in part be attributed to the recognition by people like Tsubouchi, Futabatei, and Sôseki that *rakugo* had the wherewithal to do this. What *sokkibon* storytellers like Black pioneered, the novelists who were heirs to the *genbun itchi* debate then finessed into a more sophisticated product. The *sokkibon* were the crucible into which the writers of the *genbun itchi* movement dipped their pens in search of inspiration.⁹⁹

It was some years before mainstream literature in the Meiji era emerged in its final form from the debate which raged over style and content as a result of the impact of Western literary forms, but there can be no denying that the *sokkibon*, which encapsulated *rakugo* stories on paper for the first time, greatly hastened the debate. The flexibility and consequent popularity of *rakugo* as a vehicle for ideas attracted the interest of proponents of the reform of fiction not just because the debate centered on the technicalities of fiction writing but also because it was concerned with morality and the

⁹⁷ Cited by Miller, 'Tale as Text', in Hardacre (ed.), *New Directions*, p. 581.

⁹⁸ Okitsu Kaname (1979), 'Natsume Soseki to rakugo' in *Rakugo: Edo kara kindai he*, Ôfûsha, Tokyo, pp 101-116.

⁹⁹ For a discussion of the role of Western rhetoric in the development of the *genbun itchi* movement see Massimiliano Tomasi, 'Quest for a New Written Language: Western Rhetoric and the *Genbun Itchi* Movement', in *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol, 54, No. 3, Autumn 1999, Sophia University, Tokyo, pp. 333-355.

transmission of ideas. The new generation of writers wanted desperately to express the ideas of their fictional characters, ‘the ins and outs of an ordinary person’s psyche’¹⁰⁰ in language comprehensible to their readers. The reception accorded the *sokkibon* had proved that this was possible.¹⁰¹

The new development was to serve Black well. In 1886, at the invitation of Gorin no Ennosuke, and with the support of San’yûtei Enchô I and San’yûtei Encho IV, Black made an astute decision. In accordance with current practice, he produced a serialized story, but for his subject matter, he turned not to the established *rakugo* classics, but to the then popular British author Mary Elizabeth Braddon’s (1837-1915) novel *Flower and Weed*. It was a masterstroke, which set the tone for much of his coming work. The story was taken down in shorthand and published under the title *Kusaba no tsuyu* (Dew by the Graveside)¹⁰² the same year. It was published as a Braddon work, with Black given credit for ‘dictation’ (*kôjutsu*). Braddon was not altogether unknown. Already in 1882, the regional newspaper *Doyô shinbun* had printed a serialised translation of Braddon’s celebrated work *Lady Audley’s Secret* as *Eikoku kidan – dokufu Ôdoroku koden* (A Strange Tale from England – The Wicked Woman Ôdoroku).¹⁰³ Publication of the paper was suspended before the episodes were completed, but the novel was published in serialised form in its entirety in the *Kokkai shinbun* in 1883.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Twine, *Language and the Modern State*, p. 137.

¹⁰¹ *Botan dôrô* was presented as a *kabuki* play in August 1887 at the Haruki Theatre in Tokyo. For statistics on *sokkibon* trends over two decades, see Miller’s ‘Tale as Text’ in Hardacre (ed.), *New Directions*, p. 586-589.

¹⁰² Buradon [Mary Braddon], (Burakku, dictation) (1886), *Kusaba no Tsuyu* (Dew by the Graveside), Nisshûsha, Tokyo.

¹⁰³ Yanagida Izumi (1961) (2nd edition 1966), *Meiji bungaku kenkyû Dai 5 maku – Meiji shoki hon’yaku bungaku no kenkyû*, Shunjûsha, Tokyo, p. 33.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

In the preface of the printed version of *Kusaba no tsuyu*, Shitô Kenkichi described ‘the Englishman Black,’ as ‘having lived a long time in Japan, and being fluent in Japanese and familiar with the customs of Japan, has for many years now wanted to venture into the field of novels, but till now has not had the chance to do so.’¹⁰⁵ Unlike later *sokkibon* versions of Black’s stories which usually accord space at the beginning or end of the book for mention of the name of a stenographer, *Kusaba no tsuyu* cites Shitô Kenkichi for ‘note taking’ (*hikki*) and not stenography. This ensures that *Kusaba no tsuyu* was not a *sokkibon* in the strict sense. It suggests that *Kusaba no tsuyu* was produced by Black relating his own Japanese-language version and Shitô transcribing this onto paper with his elaborations upon Black’s Japanese. Given the more vernacular style of Black’s subsequent works, it would appear that Shitô took liberties with the language. In the preface, Shitô explained that the adaptation contained bracketed commentary from Black,

‘for explanation or where the writer, fearing that it might be difficult to comprehend the differences in customs and emotion (*ninjô*) between Japan and England, which are thousands of miles apart from each other, has each time queried Mr. Black and had him clarify the situation in his own country.’¹⁰⁶

Kusaba no tsuyu faithfully adheres to Braddon’s rags-to-riches tale about a female protagonist who escapes the slums of London and displays a natural talent for acquiring the ways of the upper class. The 1886 publication of the story as a *sokkibon* came only four years after the original Braddon story was published in London in 1882 in the annual Christmas magazine *Mistletoe Bough* which Braddon founded in 1878.¹⁰⁷ Unlike most

¹⁰⁵ Buradon, (Burakku, dictation), *Kusaba no Tsuyu*. The preface is unpaginated, but the comment is on pp. 7-8 of the unnumbered pages inside the cover.

¹⁰⁶ Buradon, (Burakku, narrator), *Kusaba no Tsuyu*, pages 7-8 of the unnumbered pages inside the cover.

¹⁰⁷ *Flower and Weed* was subsequently reprinted in a book of short stories titled *Flower and Weed and*

subsequent adaptations where characters bear Japanese names, Black retained the original names of the Braddon characters with only minor variations due to transliteration into Japanese. In spite of Black's strict adherence to the original Braddon plot, *Kusaba no tsuyu*, with its explanatory digressions and exotic setting was an early response to audience demand. The digressions are relatively few compared to later works. But in method, the tale constituted a personal prototype for what was to become a successful formula which satisfied the dual purposes of Meiji *rakugo* for enlightenment and entertainment over coming years. Its success also demonstrates that Black had come to *rakugo* at an opportune moment in its history. Black and Meiji *rakugo* were products of their times. Black left no indication of how he encountered *Flower and Weed*. This information awaits more scholarly research into the mechanisms by which foreign literature passed through the hands of foreign residents to the Japanese at the time.

Another feature which sets *Kusaba no tsuyu* apart from later adaptations is its lack of vernacular language. The 'flowery style of early Meiji literature'¹⁰⁸ found in the *sokkibon* version of *Kusaba no tsuyu* has much in common with the experimental *wa-kan-yô-setchû* (mixed Japanese, Chinese and Western style) and *gabun* (decorous elegant style) styles.¹⁰⁹ It evokes the melodramatic delivery associated with *kabuki*. Morioka and Sasaki suggest that in *Kusaba no tsuyu* 'whether intentional or not, the vocabulary is at times archaic, thus evoking the world of the Edo period and thereby imparting a quaint, old-fashioned aura.' Later works by Black show a definite transition toward a more

Other Tales published in 1884.

¹⁰⁸ Morioka and Sasaki, 'The Blue-Eyed Storyteller', p. 155.

¹⁰⁹ Miyoshi Masao (1974), *Accomplices of Silence: The Modern Japanese Novel*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif., p. 38. According to Miyoshi, although *Maihime* (The Dancing Girl), written by Mori Ôgai and published in 1890, earned a reputation at the time as a book in the *wa-kan-yô-setchû* style because of its use of Germanic words and names, it is more accurately described as *gabun* style. This latter style was noted for its heavy use of ideograms, but contained a more native vocabulary and syntax which

colloquial style both in the speech of the characters portrayed and in Black's own narrative.

At around the same time, newspaper proprietors were also developing an interest in using stenographically recorded stories. The first newspaper to rely on stenography to run a serialized story from a *rakugoka* was the *Yamato shinbun* with episodes of Enchō's *Matsu no misao bijin no ikiume* (A Beauty Buried Alive) beginning with its founding edition on 7 October 1886.¹¹⁰ Black's ability to adapt a good story from foreign sources, combined with his affinity with newspaper proprietors, was to serve him well in the coming years as these newspaper proprietors began to realise that the publication of stories by *rakugoka* could help increase the circulation of their newspapers.

Conclusion

In its early stages, the Freedom and People's Rights Movement was not mass democracy. The audiences at meetings organized by its adherents were limited initially to former samurai and intellectuals, but later included upper and middle-ranking farmers and businessmen. In the press, the spread of modern ideas was also initially limited by outmoded forms of written language. Despite the tremendous strides made in literacy after the 1868 Restoration, and although the press was the largest, single medium for the transmission of ideas, there were only an estimated 50,000 readers of daily newspapers around the country by 1890.¹¹¹ This ensured that at this point in the country's development, direct participation in political debate was an intellectual activity limited to an informed elite.¹¹² The large number of *yose* in Tokyo at this time¹¹³ attests to the fact

was looser than the old *kanbun*.

¹¹⁰ Yoshizawa Hideaki (1981), *Taishū geinō shiryō shūsei* Vol. 5, Sanjū-ichi shobō, Tokyo p. 315.

¹¹¹ Huffman (1997), *Creating a Public*, p. 170.

¹¹² Lehmann, *The Roots of Modern Japan*, The Macmillan Press, London, UK, p. 247.

that *rakugoka* who performed in them would have reached more people than newspaper editorial writers could. Nevertheless, by the early 1880s, reform minded intellectuals like Fukuzawa and enlightenment journalists and orators, including John and Henry Black and their colleagues, were engaged in an important and far-reaching dialogue over modernization.

The campaign by pro-democracy forces, and the government's response to pressure from these forces to introduce a Constitution, galvanized many people to become active protagonists in the debate over reform and modernity. In spite of the government's attempts to control the debate over modernity, the proponents of the pro-democracy movement were eventually able to carry their campaign to new mediums. The pro-democracy cause, in which ideas identified with democracy and modernity were promoted, was put initially by political societies and charismatic individuals using speech meetings and later via the new medium of mass circulation newspapers.

The dialogue eventually began to transcend the limitations of the pages of these journals and newspapers and was carried to the countryside where new forms of transport made it possible for speakers to reach into regions previously never visited. Henry Black had in all likelihood used the train to reach Odawara when he made his speaking tour there in 1880. That Henry Black and other activist orator members of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement were able and prepared to take their message to regions outside the capital supports Jansen's assertion that the movement assumed cultural dimensions even in the countryside where the message from its adherents stimulated people's desire 'to transcend the narrow world of feudal culture' by opening

¹¹³ Tokyo had 163 *yose* in 1880, 120 in 1884, 199 in 1885, and 230 in 1886. See Morioka and Sasaki (1990), *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, p. 251-252.

up intellectual and social ‘avenues of activity long denied to commoners.’¹¹⁴

In the post-Restoration national debate over the nature of modernity, the movement’s adherents initially succeeded in forcing the pace and setting the agenda for reform. But conservative members of the government soon perceived the dialogue these activists carried to all parts of the nation in this manner as a direct affront to their ability to control the pace and direction of modernization. To regain control of the debate the government produced its trump card – its announcement that a constitution and a representative assembly would be in place within a decade. This prompted a regrouping of the opposition movement into a number of major political parties which aimed at participating in the debate over the nature of the constitution and the degree of representation in the new parliament. Having bought time from many of the movement’s supporters with the prospect of participation in an elected assembly, further attempts by the government to control the more radical members of the movement began to show results. These attempts consisted of direct suppression of the press and the curtailment of the right to freedom of assembly.

By the 1880s, the government, through a prolonged process of trial and error, had fashioned a double-edged policy of buying off members of the opposition with promises of reform on the one hand, and repression on the other hand. It had begun to set the rules of debate. Where the state wanted compliant subjects, the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement wanted citizens. This was one of the crucial differences between the government and its allies and the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement. Even with regard to the introduction of new technologies, the choice was made by the government

¹¹⁴ Jansen, in Jansen (ed.), *The Emergence of Meiji Japan*, p. 244.

in the interests of national policy rather than ordinary citizens.¹¹⁵ The government wanted a free hand to carry out its program of modernization on its own terms.

But the government's placing of limits on the freedom of assembly ironically resulted in a foreigner versed in the rhetoric of the pro-democracy movement entering the ranks of the storytellers. Despite a brief flirtation with English teaching, Black's mission to modernize was ultimately carried into the theatres and onto the pages of books where, aided by stenography, he continued to participate in the discourse on modernity. With the benefit of hindsight, the transition which Black made from a speaker at pro-democracy meetings through English teacher, and *gundan* narrator, to *rakugoka*, amounted to a prolonged experimentation with forms of expression.

By 1886, Henry Black was a full-fledged *rakugoka*. In the eight years between his first amateur storytelling performances in 1878 until he reentered storytelling with the support of members of the San'yûha, he had honed his abilities to address large audiences in Japanese. Black's decision to embark on a storytelling career may not have been a sudden and momentous one. For Black, equipped as he was with knowledge of the Japanese language and a degree of understanding of the philosophies to which his Freedom and People's Rights Movement friends looked for their inspiration, the decision may well have been part of a natural progression. Nevertheless, Black's entry to *rakugo* at this point was a consequence of the impact of the government's restrictions on freedom of assembly and of expression and occurred within the context of the wider debate over reforms aimed at achieving modernity.

That the leaders of the prominent San'yûha actively encouraged Black's entry into the ranks of *rakugoka* in full knowledge of his status as a British citizen versed in the

¹¹⁵ Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, p. 71.

rhetoric of the pro-democracy movement indicates the degree to which his mentors wanted to modernize their art form. It is also a clear indication that they interpreted one of the essential ingredients of the modernization of their art at this time as the introduction of Western ideas, many of which they associated with the prodemocracy movement. When Francis McCullagh, a contemporary of Black who witnessed his performances, wrote that the survival of *rakugo* in the face of Meiji social reform was due to attempts by *rakugoka* to identify themselves with ‘the reform movement,’¹¹⁶ McCullagh was acknowledging a link which has not been sufficiently documented. Black epitomized that link. Black’s fortunes are thus a valuable barometer of Japanese tolerance of foreigners and of foreign ideas at a time when much scholarly research indicates that a new generation was beginning to reject foreign influence in coming to terms with the earlier wholesale importation of foreign ideas unleashed by the instigators of the Meiji Restoration.

Japan during the first few decades after the Restoration is a study in the coming into being of a new nation-state after the style of other nineteenth-century European nation-states. During the 1870s and 1880s, this process was understood by government and opposition Freedom and People’s Rights Movement adherents alike as modernization. In his discussion of the meaning of ‘nation’, Prasenjit Duara distinguishes between the two categories of ‘discursive meaning’ and ‘symbolic meaning’.¹¹⁷ Duara has proposed that ‘the coming into being of a nation is a complex event in which an entire cultural apparatus – the realm of symbolic meaning – is mobilized in the task of forming a

¹¹⁶ Francis McCullagh (1902), ‘The Story-Teller in Japan’, *The East of Asia Magazine*, Vol. 1, North China Herald Office, Shanghai, p. 207.

¹¹⁷ Prasenjit Duara, ‘De-constructing the Chinese Nation’, in Jonathan Unger (ed.) (1996), *Chinese Nationalism*, in the Contemporary China Papers series, Australian National University, published by M.E.

distinctive political community.’¹¹⁸ Duara interprets this ‘symbolic meaning’ as the ‘cultural practices of a group such as rituals, festivals, kinship forms, and culinary habits – traditionally subjects of the social historian or anthropologist,’ so that ‘in this sense, the nation is the embodiment of the cultural marks of its distinctiveness.’¹¹⁹ The ‘complex events’ of the Meiji years, which had as their object the formation of a new nation-state out of what had previously been an agglomeration of feudal domains sometimes described as centralized feudalism, were understood by those who experienced them as modernization. Under the impact of outside ideas, the fate of many of those cultural practices associated with Duara’s ‘symbolic meaning’ of nation were rendered the subject of heated debate. From the late 1860s until the early 1880s, post-Restoration Japan experienced relatively free and robust debate, at least among intellectuals and government figures over the ‘symbolic meaning’ of the nation.

Such robust debate is the essence of Duara’s second category of ‘discursive meaning’ in which he maintains that ‘the nation is the product of the rhetoric and ideas of nationalist intellectuals and pamphleteers.’¹²⁰ In this sense, it was the orators and the newspaper publishers, and by the late 1880s, also the *rakugoka*, who carried on this debate. But since the ideas which the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement adherents propagated came mainly from the West, they did not immediately strike a chord with the masses. Hane Mikiso claims that in the end, ‘liberty was equated with license. Insistence on individual rights seemed to be a sign of selfishness. In the battle for the minds of the

Sharpe, Armonk, New York, NY, and London, England, pp. 44-45.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

masses, the *jiyû minken* advocates lost out to the proponents of *chûkun* (loyalty to the sovereign) and *aikoku* (love of nation).¹²¹

But as Henry Black's move into *gundan* and later into *rakugo* indicates, in spite of its attempts to limit public assembly and the press, the government never completely gained control of this 'discursive meaning' of the nation. The debate initiated by the intellectuals merely sought out other mediums once its protagonists encountered police suppression. These other forms included the political novel, and the equivalent of Duara's 'pamphleteers' – the orators, editors of *koshinbun*, and ultimately, sympathetic storytellers including Henry Black. The *koshinbun*, which catered to the less educated, in particular became vehicles for the stories of narrators. The vernacular language employed by the narrators in turn stimulated the push for a simplified written form of Japanese.

As a young man in his twenties, Henry Black sympathised with the pro-democracy movement's adherents and spoke at gatherings on their behalf. By 1886, unable to teach English, and unable to read and write Japanese, Henry Black proved that he could use his cultural origins and an ability to marshal a wealth of anecdote in his orations to become a storyteller. The friendships Black possessed with adherents of the pro-democracy movement alone did not make him unique as a narrator. But as a foreigner, he was unusual, and it was this combination of foreign origins and affinity with audiences which was to carry him through the coming decades. The arrival of Henry Black as a regular performer in Tokyo's theatres coincided with the advent of a new generation willing to debate the direction in which modernization was taking them. The dialogue had now

¹²¹ Hane Mikiso, 'The Movement for Liberty and Popular Rights', in Wray & Conroy (eds.), *Japan Examined*, p. 96.

escaped the confines of newspapers and select meetings of intellectuals. In the guise of mass entertainment, it was now about to enter the hearts and minds of a mass audience.

Chapter Four

The Creative Years: Black and the reform debate

‘The first foreigner on the Japanese boards’

In August 1892, audiences at the Haruki Theatre in Tokyo enthusiastically applauded performances of *kabuki* extracts by storytellers (*kôdan shibai*), including Henry Black in the role of Banzuin Chôbei, the leader of a band of downtrodden *machiyakko* who fights a group of samurai suppressing local townspeople. Such performances showcased storytellers, allowing them to broaden their appeal. Black took his role seriously, training under the *kabuki* master, Ichikawa Danjûrô IX (1839-1903). The performances saw Black at the peak of his creative ability.

The English-language *Japan Weekly Mail*, announcing ‘the appearance of, probably, the first foreigner on the Japanese boards,’ described Black’s acting as ‘a clever and conscientious rendering of a difficult part.’

The unique spectacle of an Englishman essaying such a role drew large audiences, who showed their feelings in ways thoroughly characteristic of the people. Black had evidently made a study of Danjûrô in the part, and every successful imitation of that popular actor evoked a spontaneous burst of applause; on the other hand, any marked lapse from the stereotyped rendering caused the house to shake from end to end with irrepressible mirth.¹

The *Tôkyô asahi* praised his bombastic *aragoto* style of acting for its ‘fine declamation, foot stamping, stance, and robust glare’² and the *Chûô shinbun* stated that the

¹ *Japan Weekly Mail*, 3 September, 1892. Extract in Harold S. Williams Collection, National Library of Australia.

² *Tôkyô asahi*, 5 August 1892. In Kurata Yoshihiro (ed.) (1983), *Meiji no engei*, Kokuritsu gekijô chôsa

performances were ‘unexpectedly well received’.³ The former *Yomiuri shinbun* journalist Yamamoto Shôgetsu, in a collection of memoirs, also described Black’s performance.

Black appeared after lifting aside the curtain on the *kago* (palanquin), and suddenly stood up with a gesture that looked as if he might be about to shake someone’s hand. When he spoke his lines with that characteristically familiar foreigner’s manner of speech, the theatre erupted in applause. It was an accomplished Black-style performance.⁴

In subsequent years, Black performed other *kabuki* roles, including female ones, but the role of Banzuin Chôbei was to become his most famous.

The *kôdan shibai* performances indicate a high degree of acting skill as well as acceptance of Black by his *rakugoka* colleagues and his audiences. Black’s appearance in *kabuki* roles was built upon his popularity as a narrator. It also indicated his engagement in the discourse of modernity. No foreigner had previously accomplished such feats, and none has since done so. Black accomplished these feats because he lived in Japan at a time of tremendous change when the stories he told and his participation in *kabuki* performances were treated as representations of modernity.

In explaining how these accomplishments were possible, this chapter outlines the state of the reform debate, focusing on Black’s creative period between 1886 and the late 1890s. These years saw intense debate over the choice of paths to modernity. By the 1880s, a new generation of Japanese who were the adult product of the post-Restoration education system, engaged in that debate via newspapers and the journals and meetings of a number of societies established to promote Western ideas associated with modernity.

ikuseibu geinô chôsa shitsu, Tokyo, Vol. 5, p. 154.

³ *Chûô shinbun*, 20 August, 1892. Kurata (ed.), *Meiji no engei*, Tokyo, Vol. 5, p. 156.

⁴ Yamamoto Shôgetsu (1936), ‘Hana peko no yaegaki hime’ in *Meiji sesô hyakuwa*, Dai-ichi shobô, Tokyo,

Although school attendance rates were still low prior to and during these years, members of this newly educated minority were among the crowds who sought entertainment and enlightenment at *yose* where *rakugoka*, including Black, performed.⁵

Black's career peaked while *rakugo* flourished as an accessible medium of entertainment and information for people who migrated to the cities and towns following social dislocation unleashed by the Meiji Restoration. This and the following chapters also explain how through *rakugo*, Black continued to give the same support to the processes of modernization which he had given at Freedom and People's Rights Movement meetings. His prominence then and later when working as a professional storyteller was due to his status as a foreigner and his ability to edify audiences through the transfer of information about the West.

The debate over reform in the arts and elsewhere ensured that Black's involvement in *kabuki* and *rakugo* was associated with modernity during the 1880s and 1890s. Black came to both performance arts at a time when their practitioners were willing to accept him as part of the reform process. In particular, Black's participation in *kabuki* helped raise its status at a time when even politicians were encouraging its transformation into an art worthy of the label 'civilised'. In *rakugo*, Black seized the opportunity offered by colleagues to adapt material from European sources as serialized representations of modernity containing the key elements of suspense and humour.

This and the following chapters relate developments in the reform debate to Black's career, noting his contribution to the debate and exploring the notion of agency as it

pp. 96-97.

⁵ Nishiyama Matsunosuke (1997), *Edo Culture: Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600-1868*, (Gerald Groemer, trans.), University of Hawaii Press, p 247.

applies to his impact on Meiji society. By introducing in his narrations themes which recurred in debates over modernity, Black ensured that he was a participant and a protagonist in the discourse over an appropriate path to modernity. A more detailed analysis of published versions of Black's narrations is reserved for the following chapters.

As part of the history of Black's own engagement with *rakugo*, this chapter details his relationships with figures in the narrative and performance arts who played key roles in shaping Meiji *rakugo* and Black's career in it. The chapter will show how Black perceived the issue of reform in *rakugo*. Although Black affiliated with the San'yûha, he retained his own opinions on questions of reform. The chapter will detail the changes within Meiji *rakugo* when Black encountered it as a prelude to addressing more fully in Chapter Seven points of difference which developed between Black and other San'yûha members in later years. Throughout his career, Black's statements, presentation style, and choice of subject matter in narrations reflected his appreciation of *rakugo* as an important medium for the transmission of ideas.

***Rakugo* and the quest for modernity in the 1880s and 1890s**

Becoming a *yose geinin* (theatre entertainer) involved Black in the debate about the choice of paths to modernity. Black's 1892 performances of Banzuin Chôbei were part of a career made possible by a new generation⁶ of Japanese prepared to accept a foreigner in the country's oral and stage arts. In the years after 1886, Black's acquisition of citizenship, his storytelling, *kabuki* performances, and even authorship of a book on hygiene, were expressions of, and a means of, bringing modernity to this new generation.

⁶ See Kenneth B. Pyle (1969), *The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif. for an account of identity and attitudes toward

While the protagonists in the reform debate frequently took opposing views, they tended to draw from the same sources, particularly from Herbert Spencer. Those whom Ann Waswo terms ‘westernizers’⁷ favored Spencer’s view that societies were evolving unilinearly from a militarised to an industrial phase and that it was only a matter of time and effort before Japan would come to resemble prototypes such as Britain, France and the United States. Those seeking ‘a Japanese path to modernity’⁸ looked to the Darwinism in Spencer’s thought, arguing that Japan could make its own special contribution to improving world civilization, but that it could only do so if it were to ‘preserve and develop its unique qualities.’ By the mid-1890s, those favouring a Japanese path to modernity had achieved ‘a qualified victory’, a development attributable to disillusionment with the West and with Spencerian views of development.⁹ This debate roughly coincides with the period when Black produced his most creative narratives. Importantly, this debate extended to the arts, including *kabuki* and *rakugo*.

By the time of Black’s first major narrative, the 1886 *Kusaba no tsuyu*, the precondition for his success – an audience receptive toward a foreigner and involved in the reform debate – was in place. But by 1886, the issues which shaped the debate over modernity among Black’s *yose* audiences were different from those which had propelled Black into speech meetings in Tokyo and in Odawara on behalf of the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement in 1879 and 1880. A new set of political imperatives included a promised new constitution which was in place by 1889, while the first general election was due in 1890. From the 1880s, Japan had begun to experience an ‘outburst of nation-

Westernization during this period.

⁷ Ann Waswo (1996), *Modern Japanese Society 1868-1994*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, p. 94.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

mindedness' exemplified by the sudden and frequent use of the words *kokka* (nation) and *kokumin* (people) in the media and popular discourse accompanying examinations of nation's place in the world.¹⁰

In Tokyo and other major cities, new forms of communication such as the telephone and telegraph, new forms of transport, such as the railway and the horse-drawn omnibus, and the incorporation of Western styles in housing, began to transform people's way of life. In addition, new job opportunities began to transform the way people related to each other. New laws transformed their understanding of their rights to justice, to inheritance, and to marriage, and even to their place in the family and the modern nation-state. Demographic changes wrought by new land tax laws and the end of the alternate attendance system resulted in changes in the composition of the population of the metropolis and other key towns and cities, impacting on urban life and the composition of *yose* audiences in Tokyo.

It was the people of Tokyo who had to absorb the changes first. The city had undergone a social, political, and architectural metamorphosis accompanying its transformation from the seat of the *shōgun* to the renamed metropolis of Tokyo, the capital city of a modern nation-state. This role for the city became more pronounced as the government built a case for revision of the unequal treaties. In the rush to create a modern metropolis on the grounds that Tokyo had to be 'presentable to foreigners,'¹¹ the government introduced the Municipal Improvement Act in 1888. The inspiration for the act's provisions for the metropolis was Baron Georges Eugène Haussmann's design for Paris whose redesigned central cityscape was considered among the finest of European

¹⁰ Carol Gluck (1985), *Japan's Modern Myths*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, p. 23.

¹¹ Henry D. Smith II, 'Tokyo as an Idea: An Exploration of Japanese Urban Thought Until 1945', *Journal*

prototypes, ‘grand, permanent, and monumental.’¹² In the early decades of the Meiji period, Tokyo was where the government built and displayed its chosen symbols of modernity and carried out its experiments in governance and administration.¹³

Tokyo’s prosperity was briefly undercut following the Restoration as the alternate attendance system was abolished and the city’s population slumped. While it was not until the 1890s, about a decade after Henry Black embarked on a career in *rakugo*, that the city’s population resumed its pre-Meiji Restoration level,¹⁴ it is clear that Black’s audiences during the 1880s and 1890s, particularly those in pace-setting Tokyo, were subjected to rapid and continuous change. In particular, between the mid-1890s and the 1923 earthquake, the city’s population doubled to almost four million.¹⁵

The task of the post-Restoration reformers was facilitated by a pre-existing infrastructure. Edo, which had surpassed 1,000,000 inhabitants by 1800,¹⁶ was at the centre of a well-developed network of roads and shipping lanes. Its strategic and political importance made it the dominant city in terms of culture and economy. A pattern of cultural dissemination was set in the Tokugawa period with annual migrations of *daimyō* and their retainers as ‘messengers of change’¹⁷ to and from Edo under the alternate attendance system. This circulation of the population kept the provinces abreast of the latest fashions in the metropolis.¹⁸ Tokyo, with its concentration of theatres as information disseminators to its huge population, its administrative infrastructure, and its

of Japanese Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1978, p. 50.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.53.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.53.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.57.

¹⁶ Gilbert Rozman, ‘Edo’s Importance in the Changing Tokugawa Society’, *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Autumn 1974, p. 91.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.100.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.111.

links to the provinces, was ideally positioned to disseminate rapidly aspects of modernity within and beyond its boundaries.¹⁹ The city was an engine of social transformation comparable to London in the same period.

In Tokyo, the presence of new immigrants from the provinces impacted on the demographics of the *yose* audience. Not all were commoners. Much of the growth in Tokyo's population after the Restoration included bureaucrats from the Satsuma and Chôshû domains in the southwest. Also among the new additions to the city were students and apprentices keen to take advantage of opportunities for education opened up by the drive for civilization and enlightenment. In a process akin to colonisation,²⁰ these newer residents gave Tokyo new meaning and provoked a cultural clash with the older residents. Both experienced topographical alterations wrought upon the city by the government. In Tokyo, in particular, wholesale borrowing from the West, combined with the mixture of city and provincial influences, forced a redefinition of the self among the population. As the historian Irokawa has noted,

Meiji culture was intensely experimental; originality and imitation were intermingled, and Westernization and nativism mingled in bewildering fashion. Furthermore, post-restoration nationalism and the hardships experienced by commoners resonated constantly in the hearts of those who were creating that culture at the front line in the city. The changes made it the focus of some controversy among its practitioners.²¹

From the 1880s in Tokyo, an increase in *yose* numbers attests to the role of *rakugo* in satisfying a demand for entertainment and information for the city's occupants.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

²⁰ Yano Seiichi (1999), *San'yûtei Enchô no meiji*, Bungei Shunju, Tokyo, 147.

²¹ Irokawa Daikichi (1985), Marius B. Jansen (trans. & ed.) *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, p. 204.

The number of *yose* grew at a rate commensurate with that of Tokyo itself such that the early Meiji years prior to the burgeoning of more modern sources of entertainment and information, particularly the cinema, were ‘a golden age’ for storytelling in Japan.²² *Yose* numbers in Tokyo stood at 163 in 1880, 120 in 1884, 199 in 1885, and 230 in 1886, the year Black performed *Kusaba no tsuyu*,²³ making *rakugo* one of the most prevalent forms of entertainment then available. By 1902, Francis McCullagh described *yose* as ‘very numerous and popular.’

The number of *yose* or story-tellers’ halls in Tokyo is perhaps greater at present than in any former age, being 243 according to recent statistics; and, as a general rule, the number of *yose* in a Japanese town bears the same proportion as the total number of public houses in an Irish town bears to the total number of houses therein.²⁴

Although most accounts of *rakugo* characterize it as an art of the common people, the prevalence of *yose* throughout the metropolis, accounts of attendance by intellectuals like Fukuzawa, and the acknowledgement by writers such as Natsume Sôseki²⁵ that *rakugo* influenced their work, all attest to the wide-spread popularity of *rakugo* among both the general population and intellectuals during these years. There were a number of reasons for this. *Rakugo*, with its low cost and absence of written instructions and rules for performers,²⁶ had sufficient flexibility to withstand censorship and cultural ossification. Its flexibility allowed its practitioners to position it as the optimum Meiji medium of

²² J. Scott Miller (1997), ‘Tale as Text: *Sokkibon* in the Diet Library Collection’, in Helen Hardacre (ed.) with Adam L. Kern, *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, Brill; Leiden, New York, Köln, p. 582.

²³ Miyoko Sasaki, Heinz Morioka. (1990), *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, The Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, p. 251-252.

²⁴ Francis McCullagh, ‘The Story-Teller in Japan’, *The East of Asia Magazine* Vol. 1 (1902), North China Herald Office, Shanghai, p. 207.

²⁵ Nobuhiro, Shinji (1986), *Rakugo wa ikani shite keisei saretaka*, Heibonsha, Tokyo. p. 20.

²⁶ Balkenhol, Heinz [Morioka Heinz] and Sasaki Miyoko, ‘Rakugo: Fascination for and Popularity of one of the Classical Japanese Arts of Narration’, in *Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol. 13, No. 1, Summer 1979, p. 156.

instruction, enlightenment, and mass entertainment. These same qualities of mass appeal and flexibility made it an ideal form of cross-cultural communication for Black in an era when reform frequently meant the introduction of Western themes and methods even in the entertainment industry.

As a form of theatre, storytelling had always been an integral part of the life of Tokyo. The genius of the Edo period was its ‘theatricality’, since Edo’s entertainment quarters, which contained the *kabuki* and *rakugo* theatres, were at the heart of Edo culture.²⁷ Of these two, *rakugo* performances bore ‘clear marks of a close connection to the life of the common people’²⁸ since the classic stories which Black’s contemporaries learned as apprentices were socially situated in the lower class lower city parts of Edo. The *rakugo* repertoire was replete with caricatures of Edo residents, many dwelling in the *nagaya* or long, narrow wooden tenement row houses, of the old part of the city, or the geisha and licensed prostitution quarters.

Although not activists in the style of the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement adherents,²⁹ *rakugoka* appealed to a wide range of the population from intellectuals to those who depended mainly on oral sources of information by serving as social critics and participants in the discourse on modernity.³⁰ Among the literati known to enjoy San’yûtei Enchô’s stories were the intellectual Fukuzawa Yukichi who took his students to the performances, possibly so that they could appreciate them as examples of modern, colloquial Japanese.³¹ The journalist, socialist and labor activist, Arahata Kanson (1887-

²⁷ Edward Seidensticker (1983), *Low City, High City*, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, pp. 17-18.

²⁸ Morioka and Sasaki, *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, p. 1.

²⁹ Sakai, *La Parole Comme Art*, p. 275.

³⁰ Miller, ‘Tale as Text’, in Hardacre (ed.), *New Directions*, p. 582.

³¹ Nishiyama, *Edo Culture*, p 247.

1981), also recorded how his father often took him to a *yose* at Isezaki in Tokyo to hear *rakugoka*, including Black.³²

The cultural clash between new and old residents had multiple outcomes. As a matter of survival, more innovative *rakugoka* responded by producing new narrations to reflect the newly evolving culture of the metropolis. This gave the *rakugo* repertoire an overlay of modern stories, ensuring that *yose* continued to provide an economically accessible catharsis through entertainment to ease the stresses of rapid change caused by modernization.

The *yose* also developed a dual social function. They were places for spectators to socialize as well as to be socialized. The *rakugoka* Katsura Beichô (real name Nakagawa Kiyoshi) describes how apprentices who came from the country to work in Tokyo or Osaka were taken to a *yose* by the shop owner to learn the ways of the world once they had learned the rudiments of their job. Beichô also describes how young students who flocked to Tokyo from the regions, visited *yose* to learn how to relate to Tokyo's citizens. It was through the *yose* that the students became familiar with '*ninjô fûzoku shakô*' (the norms of social etiquette) in Tokyo. The *yose* were places where Tokyoites could 'learn how to behave toward other people, how to offer greetings, how to use others and be used by others', and even how to use honorific speech forms.

Not a few people were taught through *rakugo* the sorts of things one does not learn in the home or at school, like how to mind one's manners at a banquet, or what is standard practice in a red-light district, or even how to hand over a tip. It could be said that *rakugo* is an encyclopedia on life.³³

³² Arahata Kanson (1965), *Kanson jiden*, Vol. 1, Chikuma Shobô, Tokyo, p. 20. The timing of the comment suggests this occurred in the early 1890s.

By the Meiji period, *rakugo* stories had acquired a characteristic structure consisting of a *makura* (preface), a *hanashi* (main story), and a cathartic *ochi* (punch line).³⁴ *Rakugo* exponents maintain that the *ochi* should make the audience laugh, even if the story has moved them to tears. A number of devices are employed to achieve this. Among them, *ma*, silences defined as ‘the space or timing’ during a narration, and inserted by the narrator for special effect is of paramount importance.³⁵ In conventional *rakugo*, the *rakugoka* begins by engaging in a form of intimacy with the audience by discussing a topic of mutual interest such as the weather or political developments. He uses this to segue into the main story in which he assumes the personalities of the persons depicted. In her analysis of this sequence of events, Mary Sanches discerns two simultaneous ‘communication events’; ‘a metacommunicative event’ involving direct communication between narrator and audience, and ‘a non-metacommunicative event involving the characters invented by the narrator in the context of the monologue’.³⁶

The low cost of *yose* entry throughout the Meiji period ensured that the art form remained accessible to many. In 1899, Jules Adam, a first secretary of the French legation, portrayed *rakugoka* as ‘a class of very remarkable and really curious artists,’ noting that *yose* filled ‘a large place in the existence of the Japanese.’³⁷ Spectators removed their shoes at the entrance and sat on *zabuton* on the floor. A *rakugo*

³³ Katsura Beichô (1976), *Rakugo to watashi*, Popurasha, Tokyo, p. 86

³⁴ For a fuller description see Paul Novograd, ‘Rakugo: The Storyteller’s Art’, in *Japan Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 2 April-June 1974, 188-196.

³⁵ Morioka and Sasaki, *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, p. 30. For a full discussion of types of *ma*, see Balkenhol, Heinz and Sasaki, ‘Rakugo: Fascination for and Popularity of one of the Classical Japanese Arts of Narration’, p. 156-165. Also Morioka Heinz and Sasaki Miyoko, ‘Rakugo: Popular Art of the Grotesque’, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 2, 1981, [417-459] p. 428.

³⁶ Mary Sanches (1975), ‘Falling Words: An Analysis of a Japanese *Rakugo* Performance’ in Mary Sanches and Ben G. Blount (eds.), *Sociocultural Dimensions of Language Use*, Academic Press, New York.

³⁷ Jules Adam (1900), *Japanese Storytellers*, (Osman Edwards, trans), T. Hasegawa, Tokyo (original French edition 1899).

performance involved a single narrator sitting centre stage on a *zabuton*. Although narrators were the mainstay, jugglers, magicians, mimics, acrobats, and musicians also featured on *yose* programs. Junior ranks featured earlier in the program and those more senior performed later. Extremely popular *rakugoka*, including Black, performed at more than one *yose* during the day, relying on rickshaw pullers to take them to the next venue as quickly as possible. Such theatres, each accommodating between 100 and 300 people, were situated in every district of Tokyo and each provincial city had at least one or more.³⁸ Theatre owners typically formed close associations with the main schools of *rakugo*, so that performers from those schools were ensured continued patronage and opportunities to demonstrate their abilities. Theatres advertised programmes with banners outside their entrances displaying the rankings of the performers within the schools. The content of the narrations were decided by each *rakugoka* who was responsible for ensuring that he did not deliver the same narration as a colleague on the same billing. A notebook with the programme contents to which each performer contributed was kept backstage.

By the time McCullagh wrote in 1902, electric lighting was in use at *yose*, but traditional stage props had not been abandoned.

On coming to a risqué part of his story, or when he simply wants to excite the curiosity of his hearers, or to regain breath, or just get the *mot juste*, the story-teller deliberately pours out for himself a cup of tea and sips it with the slowness and solemnity of a connoisseur. The old-fashioned story-teller was also accustomed to snuff the candles, rub his robe with his fan, bring the fan down with a sharp click on a little piece of wood placed before him for the purpose, and do other things at which everybody thought it the

³⁸ For details about the size and location of theatres, see Morioka and Sasaki, *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, p. 2. Also Kawamura Megumi (1989), *Koten rakugo*, Cross Roads, Tokyo.

proper thing to laugh.³⁹

Illustrations of Black from this period show him seated on a chair behind a small table upon which were a glass cup and a water decanter. Black also wore Western clothing during performances. This departure from the traditional presentation style fitted the prevailing mood for change, enhanced Black's status as a foreigner, and contributed to his image as an innovator.

The version of *rakugo* which Black knew in the 1880s was one of several genres within the category of *hanashimono* (telling of short stories mostly of a comic nature) performed in *yose*. Together with *utaimono* (chanted recital with musical accompaniment), *katarimono* (spoken recital with musical accompaniment), and *yomimono* (reading of long stories of mostly tragic nature, including *kôdan*⁴⁰), *hanashimono* made up *wagei*, or the oral arts, of Japan.⁴¹

Of the unaccompanied oral arts, *kôdan* was more popular than *rakugo* in the early Meiji years, although by the time Black came to it, *rakugo* was on the ascendancy. *Rakugo* was associated with humorous stories, while *kôdan* were delivered lecture style from a text. An analysis of Meiji newspapers by Yoshizawa Eiji⁴² indicates that *kôdan* encompassed styles of a more didactic nature including 'newspaper *kôdan*' (*shinbun kôdan*), 'novel *kôdan*' (*shôsetsu kôdan*), 'popular *kôdan*' (*tsûzoku kôdan*), and

³⁹ Francis McCullagh, 'The Story-teller in Japan', *East of Asia Magazine*, p. 212.

⁴⁰ Although *yomimono* includes the *kôdan* genre, the evidence indicates that Black could not read Japanese.

⁴¹ These categories are explained by Morioka and Sasaki, *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, pp. 3-4.

⁴² Yoshizawa, Hideaki (ed.) (1981), *Taishû geimô shiryô shûsei* Vol. 5, Sanjû-ichi Shobô, Tokyo p. 313. Yoshizawa's list is extensive and also includes 'era *kôdan*' (*jisei kôdan*), 'improvement *kôdan*' (*kairyô kodan*), and 'new *kôdan*' (*shin kôdan*). Genre appellations could reflect the nature or character of the narrator, particularly when applied to political activists rather than professional storytellers. Examples are 'henchman *kôdan*' (*sôshi kôdan*), and 'student *kôdan*' (*shosei kôdan*), and 'speech *kôdan*' (*enzetsu kôdan*). Yoshizawa has also found reference to a 'people's rights priestling *kôdan*' (*minken kozô no kôdan*).

‘enlightenment *kôdan*’ (*kaika kôdan*).⁴³ Many *rakugoka* also performed *kôdan*, and newspapers often made no distinction between the genres. Given the looser definitions of the two forms in the early Meiji years, some *rakugoka*, including Black, were also described as *kôdanshi* (*kôdan* narrator). But since Black was unable to read Japanese, he gravitated to *rakugo*. The spontaneity, flexibility, and originality permitted in *rakugo* endowed it with greater ability to respond to the debate over modernity and reform.

Such flexibility was a product of centuries of adjustment to suit popular taste often in spite of government enforced restrictions on *yose* programme content. The *rakugo* which Black knew in the 1880s owed its structure and content to links between premodern educator-proselytisers and ordinary people. Scholars of the art credit the *rakugo* chronicler Sekiyama Kazuo⁴⁴ with having first identified *rakugo* as ‘the offspring and outgrowth of Buddhist exempla tales’⁴⁵ with humorous or fantastic stories to sway congregations. The oldest extant collection of sermon exempla is the *Nihon ryôiki* (or *reiiki*, 821-822) compiled by the priest Kyôkai (or Keikai).⁴⁶ Its stories each contain a parable or a karma tale and finish with ‘an edifying exhortation’.⁴⁷ They contain themes found in *rakugo*, such as the disguised fox and the human skull which returns to life. Two collections of anecdotes and legends, *Konjaku monogatari shû* and *Uji shûi monogatari*, also contain a significant number of features which justify their description as ‘the

⁴³ Yoshizawa, *Taishû geinô shiryô shûsei* Vol 5, p. 313. Yoshizawa cites a *Yomiuri shinbun* article of 11 Oct., Meiji 23 (1890) as his source for this expression.

⁴⁴ In the bibliography of their book *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, p. 429, Morioka and Sasaki note that Sekiyama makes the claim in *Anraku Sakuden. Hanashi no keifu* (Anraku Sakuden. A geneology of storytelling) (pub. Seiabô, 1961. 293 pp.). Sekiyama traces the lineage to Anraku Sakuden. According to Morioka and Sasaki, Anraku Sakuden is introduced by Sekiyama ‘as a religious man and great preacher, as a master of the tea ceremony, as an *otogishû* narrator to the feudal lords, and as an accomplished man of culture.’

⁴⁵ Morioka and Sasaki, *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, p. 211.

⁴⁶ A translation of these is available in English in Kyoko Motomochi Nakamura (trans.) (1973), *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition: the Nihon ryôiki of the monk Kyôkai*, Harvard University

prototype of *rakugo* narration'.⁴⁸ The early twelfth century *Konjaku monogatari shû* contains anecdotes about warriors, tales of supernatural beings, criminals and animals, as well as love stories and tales of ancient times. *Uji shûi monogatari* dates from some 100 years later.⁴⁹ It 'preaches' less than *Konjaku monogatari shû*, while its 'presentation of humorous episodes is more outspoken and pointed'.

In his genealogy of *rakugo*, Teruoka Yasutaka credits the advent of the *Uji shûi monogatari* as 'a clearly defining moment' in the growth of *rakugo*.⁵⁰ Teruoka notes that although historians might differ over exactly what collection of tales to credit as the progenitor of *rakugo*, the advent of persons who regularly performed narrations for an audience indicates the emergence of a popular art form. Both collections mentioned above contain word plays, as well as examples of practical jokes, eccentric characters, blustering samurai, miraculous happenings, ogres known as *oni*, and supernatural spirits. They also contain *ninjô banashi* (stories of emotion), a major genre characterised as 'dramatic and moving tales of the common people's life'.⁵¹

Rakugo presentation style can be traced to the monk Gyôki (668-749) who preached outdoors in a style known as *tsuji seppô* (crossroad sermons).⁵² The influence of

Press, Cambridge, Mass.

⁴⁷ Morioka and Sasaki, *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, p. 212.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁴⁹ It is accessible in English via Douglas E. Mills (1970), *A Collection of Tales from Uji: A Study and Translation of Uji shûi monogatari*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

⁵⁰ Teruoka notes that Minamoto no Takakuni, the chief counsellor of Uji, had been credited with the compilation of the *Uji shûi monogatari* but that this has now been disproved. Morioka and Sasaki concur with this assessment.

⁵¹ *Ninjô banashi* are a fundamental part of today's *rakugo*. Morioka and Sasaki devote an entire chapter to them in their book, *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*. On p. 9, they describe them as 'the most frequently performed classical *rakugo*,' and cite Takie Sugiyama Lebra (1976), *Japanese Patterns of Behavior*, University Press of Hawaii, Honolulu, p. 46, as describing them as 'dramatic and moving tales of the common people's life'.

⁵² Morioka and Sasaki, *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, p. 212. Morioka and Sasaki are not alone in citing the *tsuji seppô* as among the early influences of *rakugo*. Their source is Sekiyama Kazuo (1973), *Sekkyô no rekishiteki kenkyû*, [Historical studies on preaching] Kyoto, Hôzôkan, p. 7.

tsuji seppô was acknowledged in a paper titled *Kôdan yurai sho* (Document on the Origins of *Kôdan*) presented to the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department in 1882 at the time of police censorship of *rakugo* and *kôdan*.⁵³ A later influence came from the Agui Temple in Kyoto whose preachers provided the model for popular sermons until the Meiji period. They sat on a platform while gesticulating, and sometimes reciting, laughing, or weeping, all techniques *rakugoka* use to dramatise characters they portray. Once such forms were taken over by laypersons, they evolved as secular narrative entertainment.⁵⁴ Some official patronage of storytellers occurred. During the sixteenth century civil wars, *daimyô* employed quasi-professional entertainers known as *otogishû* to inspire them with ‘anecdotes about heroic deeds of the past, or to divert them between battles with humorous stories.’⁵⁵ As the simultaneous existence of the unfettered offspring of the *tsuji seppô* and the more staid and officially sanctioned *otogishû* indicates, there existed for many centuries a spectrum of storytelling genres.

Given the propensity for some public speakers from the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement, including Black, to seek continued self-expression via the oral arts upon the demise of organized forms of the movement, *rakugo* and *kôdan* in particular fell under the purview of the conservative Meiji oligarchy. Such surveillance of the oral arts had pre-Restoration precedents. Typical were decrees issued in 1841 by Shôgun Tokugawa Nariaki (1800-1860) which included a *yose* control edict (*yose torishimari rei*) restricting the number of *yose* in Edo to 15 and permitting only lectures on Shintoism and *shingaku* (the practical ethics of Confucianism), the reading of *gunsho* (war tales), and

⁵³ Teruoka Yasutaka (1978), *Rakugo no nenrin*, Kôdansha, Tokyo, p. 23.

⁵⁴ Morioka and Sasaki, *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, p. 215.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

performances of *mukashi banashi* (edifying old tales).⁵⁶ The decrees remained in force until 1843, after which the number of legal *yose* increased from 24 in 1842 to over 60 in 1844 and as high as 392 ten years later, giving almost every sub-ward (*chō*) in Tokyo its own *yose*.⁵⁷ In spite of restrictions, narrators continued to find ways to adhere to shogunal law and samurai values, while continuing to satirise through techniques including *double entendre*, onomatopoeia, sarcasm, and irony. All were the stock-in-trade of *rakugoka* by the Meiji period.

In spite of a brief hiatus during which the press experienced something close to true freedom in the immediate aftermath of the Meiji Restoration, post-Restoration authorities were quick to reintroduce restrictions on most forms of self-expression.⁵⁸ The Meiji government issued its first *yose* control edicts in October, 1869, repeating all restrictions in the 1842 edict, and restricting performances to *gunsho* (readings of tales of great battles), *mukashi banashi*, and *jōruri* puppet shows. The following two decades saw edicts issued around the country variously banning the criticism of government officials, obscene stories, and even the use of stage costumes in *yose*.⁵⁹ Morioka and Sasaki suggest that the high frequency of these edicts in the first two decades of the Meiji period is ‘inadvertent proof of how little the populace was inclined to follow government regulations.’ Nevertheless, they suggest that the edicts helped to ‘clarify the definition of

⁵⁶ Morioka and Sasaki, *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, p. 249. (They cite as their source Arakawa Hidetoshi (ed.), *Tempō kaikaku machibure shiryō* (1974), cf. Miyatake Gaikotsu, *Hikka-shi*, Asagaya shoten, 1911, p. 89.

⁵⁷ The figures are given by Morioka and Sasaki, *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, pp. 248-249. They cite as their source Arakawa (ed.) (1974), *Tempō kaikaku machibure shiryō*, cf. Miyatake Gaikotsu, *Hikka-shi*, Asagaya Shoten, 1911, p. 114.

⁵⁸ See James L. Huffman (1997), *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan*, University of Hawaii Press, USA. Also Laurie Ann Freeman (2000), *Closing the Shop: Information Cartels and Japan's Mass Media*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

⁵⁹ Morioka and Sasaki, *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, p. 251.

rakugo as a narrative art and to stabilize its eminent role on the *yose* stage.’⁶⁰ In the early Meiji years, *rakugo* was known as *otoshibanashi*. But after the introduction of ordinances leading to police surveillance of theatres and story content, police documents using the Sino-Japanese reading ‘*rakugo*’ instead of ‘*otoshibanashi*’ led to the word ‘*rakugo*’ entering the vernacular.⁶¹

Francis McCullagh claimed that a key reason for the popularity of *rakugo* was the ability of storytellers to survive censorship and adapt to the demands for reform.

In the first place the class is large, and, instead of sweeping it away with other mediaeval relics, the new civilization seems to have given it a new lease of life. The reason of this survival seems to be that which has caused the survival of Japan herself as an independent country; as Japan not only saved herself from extinction but attained a higher pitch of power than she had ever reached before by timely modernization, so the story-teller became in like manner a greater power in the land than ever owing to his judiciously identifying himself with the reform movement.⁶²

The prevailing mood for reform and the consequent rapid influx of new ideas inspired a sense of self-doubt⁶³ among Japanese. This led to a questioning of all aspects of society, including the oral and performance arts.⁶⁴ Even the nature and purpose of humour was deemed a subject for debate by the 1890s, such that even the novelist Tsubouchi Shōyō, under the impact of Western genres of drama between the mid-1880s and 1897, raised ethical questions about the advisability of certain categories of

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁶² Francis McCullagh, ‘The Story-teller in Japan’, *East of Asia Magazine*, p. 207.

⁶³ Marguerite Wells (1997), *Japanese Humour*, Macmillan Press, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, UK.

⁶⁴ Peter Kornicki cites a speech by Akaba (or Akabane) Manjirō (?-1898) on the subject of the reform of fiction, *kōdan*, and drama at a meeting in Saitama in the 1880s as an indication that the oral arts were regarded by Meiji intellectuals as suitable candidates for reform. See Peter F. Kornicki, (1982), *The Reform of Fiction in Meiji Japan*, Ithaca Press, London, p. 17.

humour.⁶⁵ It is no coincidence that Tsubouchi's interest in reform and simplification of language in literature was sparked by an interest in that storehouse of humour, *rakugo*. Fukuzawa Yukichi also turned his attention to humour, although characteristically, his main concern was with its educative value.⁶⁶ Although the advent of humour as a subject of debate also subjected *rakugo* to scrutiny, little scholarly attention has been paid to the role of *rakugo* in the reform debate, possibly due to the emphasis scholars have accorded mainstream arts. Marguerite Wells's study of humour in Japan deals in a detailed manner with *kabuki*, and newer forms of stage arts, but dismisses *rakugo* as of little importance to the debate. In relation to higher art forms, the debate about humour was carried out among intellectuals in literary journals such as *Waseda bungaku* and *Teikoku bungaku* where the focus was on the impact and influence of Western notions of humour, melodrama, and comedy.⁶⁷

Nevertheless, *rakugoka* participated in debate about the nature of humour via a number of specialist magazines. These included the early benchmark *Kokkei shinbun* and *Hyakkaen* in Tokyo (first issue May 1889), and *Hyaku chidori* in Osaka (first issue September 1889). Among others of note were *Hanagatami*, *Azuma nishiki*, and *Toshi nishiki*.⁶⁸ One of the main reform-related issues discussed in these magazines was the question of the survival of *rakugo*. *Rakugoka* appeared split into two factions over the issue. Some favoured the introduction of novelty while others preferred a renewed emphasis on what they perceived as the purity of their art. Symptomatic of the debate was

⁶⁵ Wells, *Japanese Humour*, p. 81

⁶⁶ Wells, *Japanese Humour*, p. 57. Wells notes that 'the change in intellectual climate resulting in humour becoming a matter for the positive attention of the great and wise is perhaps most clearly demonstrated by a joke book published in 1892' by Fukuzawa. Fukuzawa's choice of jokes were stories mostly from American newspapers and magazines and 'included jokes about mothers-in-law, pompous politicians, boring preachers, cheeky servants and quack doctors with a smattering of schoolboy howlers.'

⁶⁷ Wells, *Japanese Humour*, p. 59.

the second issue of *Kôdan zasshi*, which in March 1897 declared in an editorial that there was a ‘pressing need’ (*kyûmu*) for reform in *yose*. After explaining that storytellers (*kôdanshi*) were ‘in a vocation in which they are duty bound to offer guidance’ (*kyôdô*⁶⁹), the editorial cautioned against debasing the art ‘as mere light entertainment.’ It urged them not merely to dismiss members of the audience who snore during performances as ‘unseemly’ (*futeisai*), but to consider such behaviour as, at least in part, a sign of the storyteller’s own ‘neglect’ (*fuchûi*).⁷⁰ The editorial went on to warn that if *yose* were to be made attractive to all, including women and children, the root cause of such behaviour would have to be addressed. It also called on the ‘storytelling community in general to appraise highly the popularity of stenography’ and concluded that if the standard of performances could be raised sufficiently to attract more women and children, audiences and storytellers alike would benefit and a contribution would be made to society.⁷¹ The *Kôdan zasshi* editorial expressed a persistent concern that narrators not lose touch with the general populace. The editorial indicates that *rakugoka* saw their art as a medium for all, unlike *kabuki* and *nô*.

The debate and the consequent experimentation stimulated audience interest and reinvigorated *rakugo*. *Rakugoka* responded in a number of ways to the debate, experimenting with story contents, presentation style, and even the use of props. Differences over these matters, some of which involved Black, sometimes caused rifts within the ranks of *rakugoka*. The tension between the need to adapt and the danger that

⁶⁸ Yoshizawa Hideaki (1981), *Taishû geinô shiryô shûsei*, Vol. 5, p. 314.

⁶⁹ The word *kyôdô* implies *moral* guidance.

⁷⁰ ‘Kôdan yose no kairyô wo nozomu’, in *Kôdan zasshi*, 5 March 1897, p. 1

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2

this would compromise the art form remained unresolved as long as the wider debate over reform continued.

One of the earliest experimenters was San'yūtei En'yū. In November 1880, this prominent *rakugoka* broke with convention by performing a comical dance routine in which he tucked the ends of his kimono up under his *obi*, exposing his long underwear, and pranced around the stage singing 'suteteko teko teko' while miming the throwing away of his nose.⁷² The dance was an instant hit with Tokyo audiences. On 1 January 1880, the year in which En'yū first performed his dance routine, the population of Tokyo had rebounded to 957,121, little different from its pre-Restoration peak of around a million. En'yū's popularity rose to the point where he was performing at as many as 30 *yose* a day, while the word *suteteko* entered the lexicon in reference to men's long underwear. En'yū's dance broke with metacommunicative conventions at an unexpected moment in the narrative to interpose his own personality.

The head of the San'yūha, San'yūtei Enchō I, responded differently to calls for reform by adapting from foreign sources. This contributed to the development of a multifaceted repertoire placing *rakugo* beyond the banal and purely comic. By the time Black encountered him, Enchō was considered one of the country's most accomplished *rakugoka*.⁷³ Enchō's stories were often imbued with a strong moral tone reputedly because of a childhood interest in Zen Buddhism.⁷⁴ Although Enchō endeavored to restrict props to the fan and *tenugui* to ensure *rakugo* remained in essence an oral art, this did not rule out his adapting material from foreign sources from the 1880s. Enchō's

⁷² The onomatopaeic 'suteteko teko teko' derived from the verb *suteru* meaning to 'throw away' or 'discard'.

⁷³ See *Meiji bungaku zenshū Vol. 10, San'yūtei Enchō shū*, Chikuma Shobō, Tokyo, 1965; Yano Seiichi (1999), *San'yūtei Enchō no meiji*, Bungei Shunju, Tokyo; Nagai Hiroo (1998), (*Shinpan*) *San'yūtei Enchō*, Seiabō, Tokyo.

borrowings came principally from France. These included *Matsu no misao bijin no ikiume* (A Beauty Buried Alive) in 1886 and *Kôshôbi* (The Yellow Rose) in 1887, which Morioka and Sasaki note are ‘said to be based on French novels,’ *Meijin kurabe: Nishiki no maigoromo* (Master Artists: The Brocade Dancing Robe), published in 1893 and acknowledged as an adaptation of Victorien Sardou’s *La Tosca*,⁷⁵ and *Meijin Chôji* (Master Cabinet Maker *Chôji*), published in 1895 as an adaptation of Guy de Maupassant’s *Parricide*.⁷⁶ *Meijin Chôji*, the last of Enchô’s narrations, was based on a version of *Parricide* related to Enchô by the wife of novelist and essayist Arishima Takeo (1878-1923) who in turn heard the story from one of Arishima’s subordinates who was a scholar of French literature.⁷⁷ No adequate studies of the role of these adaptations in conveying French notions of comedy have been undertaken. Enchô’s 1885 *Eikoku Kôshi George Smith no Den*, about the life of a dutiful child in England, appears to have reached him via an unidentified scholar of Western studies and to have originated in the British author Charles Reade’s novel *Hard Cash*.⁷⁸ Enchô’s *Botan dôrô* derives from a Chinese ghost story.⁷⁹ A number of other narrations probably owe their origins to foreign tales which were related to Enchô in the same manner as *Parricide* without having undergone formal translation and without formal acknowledgement from Enchô.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ Morioka and Sasaki, *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, pp. 252-254.

⁷⁵ Heinz Morioka & Miyoko Sasaki (1983), ‘The Blue-Eyed Storyteller: Henry Black and his *Rakugo* Career’, in *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Summer), p. 152. Also mentioned by Nakagomi Shigeaki (1998), ‘Rakugo “furoshiki” saikô’, in *Bulletin of Graduate Studies*, No. 40, Hôsei University, Tokyo, p. 281.

⁷⁶ This English language title is used by Morioka and Sasaki. (See Morioka and Sasaki, *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, p. 257.

⁷⁷ Yano Seiichi (1999), *San’yûtei Enchô no meiji*, Bungei Shunju, Tokyo, pp. 152-153.

⁷⁸ Nakagomi, ‘Rakugo “furoshiki” saikô’, p. 281, citing Nobuhiro Shinji, ‘Eikoku kôshi den to *Hard Cash*’ in *Bungaku*, March 1979.

⁷⁹ Oota Hiroshi, *Rakugo to kabuki – ikina naka*, Heibonsha, Tokyo, p. 175

⁸⁰ Nakagomi, ‘Rakugo “furoshiki” saikô’.

Although their sources are not always traceable today, other *rakugoka* followed suit. San'yūtei Ensa (1853-1909), for example, a disciple of Enchō, adapted Dickens's *A Christmas Carol* (1843) as the narrated story *Kōshi no matsuri*.⁸¹ The story was published as a *sokkibon* in *Hyakkaen* in March 1900.⁸² But it was Black who became the preeminent adaptor of foreign material, claiming by 1901 to having 'translated no fewer than 14 English novels into Japanese'⁸³ for narration.

Henry Black and the reform debate

Black's entry to *rakugo* rather than a return to *gundan* reflects the impact of the debate over modernity. The move was a sign that the reform debate had reached the top ranks of *rakugoka* who actively solicited Black in an attempt to provide something new for theatre patrons. *Gundan*, which relied on martial stories and written text, did not provide Black the scope to adapt and present material from the West. The anti-foreign sentiment, which ensured Black's departure from English teaching, was no impediment to his acceptance by *yose* audiences and his *rakugoka* mentors. As a lower class *yose geinin*, Black was no more marginalized than he had been as a shunned teacher of English. From Black's perspective, the entertainment which he provided remained cheap and popular, assuring him of a steady income. Newspaper accounts of Black in the 1880s indicate that audiences first accepted him out of curiosity over his 'Western stories of human emotion' (*seiyō ninōbanashi*), and later empathised with him following his taking of Japanese citizenship and appearance in *kabuki* roles.

⁸¹ *Kōshi* is one of the signs or 'stems' on the sexagenary cycle. *Matsuri* means 'festival'.

⁸² Nakagomi Shigeaki, 'Rakugo "furoshiki" saikō', p. 281.

⁸³ The *Kobe Weekly Chronicle* No. 234 Vol. 9, Dec. 24 1901, p. 623. The article attributed the comment to the *Japan Herald*. Extract in Harold S. Williams Collection, National Library of Australia.

Black formally affiliated with the San'yûha in September 1890.⁸⁴ He was 31 years old at the time. Affiliation cemented Black's already firm links to the school and assured him of regular employment at *yose* which were traditionally associated with the school. It also guaranteed official recognition by, and support from, his peers and mentors within the school. According to Black, the *rakugoka* Gorin Ennosuke made the official approach to him on behalf of the school, because 'a Western *rakugoka* is unusual' (*seiyôjin no rakugoka wa mezurashii*).⁸⁵ This suggests that the school's members considered that the presence of the culturally and ethnically different Black would accord with the prevailing mood for reform. For his part, Black credited a long association with Enchô and San'yûtei Enshô IV as factors influencing his decision to accede to the request to join the San'yûha.⁸⁶ Black's early successes with narrations of Charles I and Joan of Arc may have been factors which appealed to the school's members. The popularity of Enchô's adaptations of Western novels may also have been a factor which persuaded Black that he could do the same.⁸⁷

Black's transformation into a full-fledged, officially recognised *rakugoka* took place in March 1891 when he took the professional name of Kairakutei Burakku on achieving *shin'uchi* (principal performer) status.⁸⁸ Reporting on this, the March 24, 1891 edition of the *Yamato Shinbun* noted that Black 'who is promoting the fact that he is

⁸⁴ Morioka and Sasaki, in 'The Blue-Eyed Storyteller', p. 141, cite a report in the 17 Sept 1890 edition of *Asahi shinbun*.

⁸⁵ Nishûbashi Sei (1905), 'Kairakutei Burakku', *Shinsen: rakugo daizen (bungei kurabu teiki zôkan)*, *Bungei kurabu*, Tokyo, p. 298. Black told his interviewer: 'Seiyôjin no rakugoka wa mezurashii to iu no de, tachimachi koi ga oohayari ni narimashita.'

⁸⁶ Nishûbashi, 'Kairakutei Burakku', p. 298.

⁸⁷ Morioka and Sasaki, 'The Blue-Eyed Storyteller' p.140.

⁸⁸ 'Kairaku' means pleasure in its hedonistic sense, while 'tei' is a suffix accorded the names of professional *rakugoka*. 'Burakku' is the Japanese rendering of the surname 'Black.'

someone with different colored hair,⁸⁹ has an increasing number of disciples and it is becoming inconvenient not to have a professional name under the auspices of a school [of *rakugo*].⁹⁰ Despite the new name, it took several more years for newspapers, particularly those in the country, to adopt it in references to him. Many newspaper reports in the years after 1891 continued to refer to him as ‘*Eikokujin Burakku*’ (The Englishman, Black).

Black’s interest in innovation placed him in what he perceived as a position as a pacesetter in the art. In 1896, the issue, as Black saw it, was still the matter of survival for *rakugo*. In that year, an outspoken Black complained to the *Yomiuri* that the majority of *rakugoka* merely paid lip service to calls for reform. Black complained that despite the ‘enlightenment’ of society in every-day life (*yo no naka wa hibi ni hirakete mairiyasu*),

...*rakugo* does not advance one iota. The telegraph, the railway, agriculture and technology all advance on a daily basis, but the reform of drama and society, well, we hear about it, but there is nothing that amounts to reform of *rakugo*. There are none among the majority of the *rakugo* who do not call for reform, but they do it in name only. They do not get together and discuss the pros and cons.

There might be some 180 *rakugoka* in Tokyo now, but I dare say there is not a single one among the younger generation of them who will become a *shin’uchi*. All of them are good at *hauta*, *dodoitsu*, dance (*mai*), and *tedori*, but these are just accomplishments that please the audience when they get onto the stage and they won’t last for long at all.

Will Koen’yû succeed to En’yû? Ryûma and Kinma, even though they become *shin’uchi*, they are all-so-rounds, none of them rate enough to make the big time. So who will follow En’yû? When Enshô and Enkyô die, who will follow them? There’s not a soul in sight. If things go on like this, then the world of *rakugo* will be in a sorry state.⁹¹

As an example of good practice, Black cited the detailed and lengthy training to which Enchô subjected apprentices before permitting their first public performance.

⁸⁹ This was a contemporary euphemism for a non-Japanese, usually a Caucasian.

⁹⁰ *Yamato shinbun*, 24 March 1891. In Kurata (ed.), *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 5, p. 97.

Black complained that ‘today’s *rakugoka* do not teach’, and instead trained apprentices merely by making them clean the house before finally letting them give a *zenza* (curtain-raiser) in a *yose*. Black said allowing apprentices merely to copy mechanically their master was treating them no better than ‘cows and horses’. ‘They are pitiable beings (*aware binzen na mono*),’ Black said. ‘It doesn’t serve the apprentices any purpose, and there is no hope that *rakugo* will progress.’⁹²

Black also complained of a breakdown in the spirit of mutual obligation among *rakugoka*, a lack of financial support for retired colleagues, and a lack of creative energy among younger *rakugoka* who were failing to show an interest in devising new material.

Enshô and Enkyô are skilled so that in their delivery they are not inferior to Enchô. But Enchô frequently composed narrations. Even though Enshô and Enkyô stick to the old styles, their standard is different because they are not creative. I am not one who is unable to compose stories myself, but perhaps the reason they do not is because they lack enthusiasm.⁹³

Black berated colleagues for not taking note of annotations in the book held backstage for performers to write in the stories they had delivered so that later performers would not repeat the same stories. Failure to look at the book often led to audiences being treated to repeats on the same evening.

It is good if there are always plenty of customers, but these things are happening and it is a sorry state of affairs for the world of *rakugo* (*rakugokai no tame ni nagekawashii*). Then there’s the music. I won’t mention names, but there are some who do the same song every night. It’s terrible when you hear the same narration, but I can’t stand it on days when I hear the same song. And what is the intention of the person singing? Among the many customers, there are many who

⁹¹ Nyorai An, ‘Shunpû kanwa: Kairakutei Burakku’, in *Yomiuri shinbun*, 4 May 1896, p. 1.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

come two or three nights in a row, so I can't fathom what's going on in the mind of such a singer who doesn't care. If it were someone special doing it at the wishes of the audience, it would be all right, but when that's not the case, I cannot keep quiet.⁹⁴

Black's response to the problem of the survival of the art form was to introduce adaptations of European novels to the repertoire. These were the major feature of his work in the 1880s and 1890s. In the eight years between 1886 and 1894, Black produced at least ten full-length, serialized narrations, the majority of which appear to have had European origins. An examination of Black's narrations over these eight years shows an evolution from dogmatic adherence to the original European source to a much freer form of adaptation in which language and content were tailored to display a more intimate engagement with the discourse on reform and modernity.

Black's debut use of a Braddon novel had established him as a successful adaptor of foreign material as well as a *rakugoka* of note. There was a hiatus of several years between *Kusaba no tsuyu* in 1886 and a flurry of creative activity in 1891 accompanying formal affiliation with the San'yûha. Black also benefited from the publication of Enchô's *Botan dôrô*, which prompted newspapers to publish serialized stories by prominent *rakugoka* to boost circulation. Such stories began appearing on a regular basis from the late 1880s. *Yamato shinbun* was one of the more consistent in its printing of such stories. A list of stories printed in it between 1887 and 1896 shows that of Black's works, the paper printed *Eikoku yodan nagare no akatsuki* (Dawn at the River),⁹⁵ *Setsunaru tsumi* (Pitiful Sin), *Tsurugi no hawatari* (Sword Blade), and *Natsu no mushi*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁹⁵ Morioka and Sasaki, 'The Blue-Eyed Storyteller', p. 142. According to Morioka and Sasaki, *Nagare no akatsuki* was published in the newspaper over 45 episodes from January 1891.

(Summer Insects).⁹⁶ Works by Black's early mentor Hōgyūsha Tōrin were *Tōdai otokodate*⁹⁷ and *Honjō gonin otoko*. The paper also published *Edo zenbon ryōgoku hakkei* by Shōrin Hakuen.⁹⁸

Newspapers also followed the example of European counterparts by printing serialized Western novels in translation or as adaptations. *Yorozu chōhō*, owned by novelist and editor Kuroiwa Ruikō (1862-1920), was one of the most innovative. Kuroiwa adapted Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* (1902-1903) and Alexandre Dumas's *Le Comte de Monte Cristo* (1901-1902).⁹⁹ Kuroiwa also adapted the Braddon detective novel *Diavola; or, the Woman's Battle* which was published in Britain in the *London Journal* between October 27, 1866 and July 20, 1867.¹⁰⁰ The Kuroiwa version, *Sute obune* (abandoned small boat),¹⁰¹ was serialised over 156 episodes between October 1894 and July 1895, a decade after Black first introduced Braddon's *Flower and Weed*.¹⁰² It is not clear whether Black sparked Kuroiwa's interest in Braddon's novels. Nevertheless, Kuroiwa's use of a Braddon work is consistent with his combination of serialized

⁹⁶ Black's *Shinchū no mushi* commenced on 3 August 1894.

⁹⁷ *Tōdai otokodate* commenced serialization on 3 November 1889.

⁹⁸ The above listing is in Yoshizawa, 'Introduction' to *Taishū geinō shiryō shūsei*, Vol. 5, p. 315.

⁹⁹ 'Kuroiwa Ruikō', *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, Kodansha, Tokyo, p. 847.

¹⁰⁰ See Robert Lee Wolff (1979), *Sensational Victorian: The Life and Fiction of Mary Elizabeth Braddon*, Garland Publishing, Inc., New York & London, pp. 122-126. Wolff notes that *Diavola* was published in *London Journal* 44, No. 1133 (Oct. 27, 1866), to 46, No. 1171 (July 20, 1867). The same novel was shortly afterwards published in the *New York Sunday Mercury* under the title *Nobody's Daughter; or, the Ballad-Singer of Wapping*, and reissued in three volumes under the title *Run to Earth* in 1868. The Braddon biographer and critic Robert Lee Wolff claims that this sensation novel dates from the years when Braddon wrote for 'penny-dreadfuls' and that its subsequent appearance dressed up as a novel was a violation by Braddon and her publisher and lover Maxwell of 'contemporary publishing practices'.

¹⁰¹ According to Ogasawara Mikio, the Braddon work is also known in Japanese as *Diabora*, or *Ienaki Musume* [The Homeless Maiden]. See Ogasawara Mikio, 'Shinbun shōsetsu no gekika ni tsuite', in *Yokohama Archives of History Review* No. 10, March 1992, pp. 26-33.

¹⁰² Ogasawara, 'Shinbun shōsetsu no gekika ni tsuite', pp. 26-33.

Western novels and ‘sensational reportage on social issues’¹⁰³ to boost circulation in a formula which other papers imitated, sparking a boom in serialized Western novels.

A significant proportion of serialized stories in newspapers were also from *rakugoka*. This made newspapers a medium commensurate with *sokkibon* in popularizing *rakugo* narrations, fostering interest in popular literature, and stimulating the book publishing industry. The phenomenon also gave rise to specialist magazines which offered similar stories to readers. The benchmark *Hyakkaen*, which first appeared in 1889, published Black’s *Eikoko no otoshibanashi* (The Beer Drinking Contest) in March 1891.¹⁰⁴ Other magazines included *Kôdan zasshi* and *Kôdan kurabu*, which was a daily magazine published in Tottori City.¹⁰⁵ Such magazines continued to flourish into the early years of the Taishô period after Black’s death in 1923.¹⁰⁶ Book publishers also formed links to the magazine publishers and published compilations of the stories as *kôdan tankôbon* (narrated stories in book form).¹⁰⁷

Black made good use of these new mediums. The year 1891 was one of Black’s most prolific. *Nagare no akatsuki* (Dawn at the River)¹⁰⁸ and *Eikoko no otoshibanashi*

¹⁰³ ‘Kuroiwa Ruikô’, *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, p. 847.

¹⁰⁴ Kairakutei Burakku (1891), ‘*Eikoku no otoshibanashi*’, *Hyakkaen*, No. 45, 1 March, pp. 307-18. The humorous short story tells of an English colonel who offers to reward any of his men who can drink fifteen bottles of beer in a single session. One takes up the challenge but asks for an hour’s postponement. On his return, he drinks all the beer, and then admits that while he was away he had drunk the same amount of beer just to make sure that he could win the bet.

¹⁰⁵ Yoshizawa, in Yoshizawa, ‘Introduction’ to *Taishû geinô shiryô shûsei*, Vol. 5, p. 316.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 317. Yoshizawa notes that by 1924 many ordinary general purpose magazines also contained *kôdan* stories, giving way by the end of the Taishô period to the genre known as *shôsetsu yomimono*.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 321. Yoshizawa also notes that it was not unusual for newspapers to maintain close relationships with book publishers, so that a story serialised in a paper would then be released in book form. Sometimes the title was altered in the process. Similarly, stories serialised in magazines were often then published as books. The publishing house Ôkawayaya, from mid-Meiji to early Taishô, obtained the publishing rights from many companies and issued a large number of books aimed mainly at the lending libraries.

¹⁰⁸ Morioka and Sasaki, ‘The Blue-Eyed Storyteller’, p. 161. Morioka and Sasaki describe *Nagare no akatsuki* as ‘a colorful, but complicated story of an aristocrat taking refuge in London from the French Revolution, his ugly wife, their twin sons (one of whom is thrown into the Thames, but is fortunately rescued by a fisherman), embezzlement, blackmail, and execution.’ They praise Black’s ‘vivid’ description of the French Revolution, adding that his depiction of the carnage has all the hallmarks of a *kôdan* narrator.

(The Beer Drinking Contest) were the first of seven new stories he narrated that year. The other five were a murder mystery *Setsunaru tsumi* (The Pitiful Sin), an adaptation of Braddon's 1876 short story *Her Last Appearance* as *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage* (Story from a London Theatre), the detective mystery *Bara musume* (The Rose Girl), *Shachû no dokubari* (The Poisoned Pin in the Coach), which begins with the discovery of a mysterious woman dead on arrival in a coach, and *Iwade ginkô chishio no tegata* (The Bloodstained Handprint in the Iwade Bank) in which Black pioneered the use of a handprint to solve a murder. The first six of these became *sokkibon* that year. *Iwade ginkô chishio no tegata* was printed in the third issue of the *kôdan* and *rakugo* magazine *Azuma nishiki* in June the following year.¹⁰⁹

Of Black's 1891 narrations, the three which are among the focus of this study – *Shachû no dokubari*, *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage*, and *Iwade ginkô chishio no tegata* – contain features which render them modern. One is their use of vernacular Japanese, including the colloquial terminations *de gozaru*, *ja nee*, and *de gozaimasu*. Black's use of them when directly addressing his audience is similar to their application by writers and editors sympathetic to the Freedom and People's Rights Movement. They bear a linguistic affinity with the language of the political novels and antecedents of the *genbun itchi* movement, placing them within that body of literature which constituted part of the search for a vernacular written form. The plots adhere to standard sensation or crime fiction forms whose associations with ideas of modernity are discussed in the following chapters. In contrast to the earlier *Kusaba no tsuyu*, the 1891 adaptations of known originals display a higher degree of departure from the original plots, attesting to Black's

¹⁰⁹ *Azuma nishiki*, No. 3, June 1892. Shogei Konwakai (ed.) (1977), *Kairakutei Burakku kankei bunken mokuroku*, p. 1.

increased confidence as an innovative storyteller. In theme, structure, and frequency of humorous and didactic digressions devoted to explanations of Western customs, the narrations dating from 1891 are the creations of an artist confident in the knowledge that he was supplying a product which was much in demand.

Readers' capacity to absorb edifying information about the West in translation was not a new phenomenon. Meirokusha members had earlier displayed a propensity for being 'as much transmitters as they were original thinkers' since in translations from Western sources in *Meiroku zasshi*, they adopted a practice of including commentary and explanations on Western traits.¹¹⁰ Black's plot changes and alteration of names of characters to Japanese ones were consistent with a general trend to freely adapt rather than strictly translate, in order to create easily understood works which had mass appeal in early Meiji period literature. In literature, the aim was to produce works which would sustain the interest and empathy of readers.¹¹¹ Such highly adapted translation was known as *gōketsuryū* (heroic style). It was replaced in mainstream literature around 1886 by *shūmitsutai* (minute style), which purported to be an accurate rendition of the original.¹¹² Thus, while a better educated public had begun to seek a more faithfully rendered form of foreign literature by the mid 1880s, Black's adaptations and their release as *sokkibon* indicate a still latent demand for a medium able to interpret Western subject matter and give meaning to the transition to modernity which audiences experienced in the 1890s.

¹¹⁰ William Reynolds Braisted in 'Introduction', William Reynolds Braisted (trans.), *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1976, p.xxi.

¹¹¹ Takayuki Yokota-Murakami, 'Translating Literature, Love, and Sexuality: Negotiations of the Ideologies Early Modern Japan', in Vol. 4, p. 73 of Theresa Hyun & José Lambert (eds.) (1995), *Translation and Modernization*, (Proceedings of the 13th Congress of International Comparative Literature Association. Collated in 6 volumes under the theme of 'The Force of Vision').

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 74.

Black's last major serialised work appears to have been *Minashigo*, his 1893 adaptation of Charles Dickens's *Oliver Twist*. It was published in 57 installments from May 1893 in the *Yamato shinbun*¹¹³ and as a *sokkibon* in 1896.¹¹⁴ The concern for social justice on the part of the middle class portrayed in the story indicates no let up in Black's own concern with the plight of the poor first voiced in speech meetings in the late 1870s. The majority of the serialized narrations, between the 1886 *Kusaba no tsuyu* and the 1893 *Minashigo* also reflect increasing concern about negative impacts of modernity, including urban poverty, unemployment, and the abuse of women's rights.

Black's adaptation of Braddon works takes on added significance given the subsequent adaptation of Kuroiwa's version of *Diavola* as the *kabuki* play *Suteobune yorozu no ôjime* which premiered as a special New Year performance at the Kabukiza Theatre in Tokyo in 1898.¹¹⁵ The *kabuki* version was written by Kawatake Shinshichi III (1842-1901)¹¹⁶ from an adaptation of Kuroiwa's *Sute obune*.

Black and *kabuki*

The participation in *kabuki* performances by the foreign-born Black, who had a reputation for adapting Braddon works, and Kawatake's incorporation of Braddon material in *kabuki*, illustrate the extent of the impact of the reform debate upon the performance arts at this time. It also confirms what Western scholarship has tended to

¹¹³ These dates are cited by Morioka and Sasaki in footnote No. 56 in 'The Blue-Eyed Storyteller', p. 145.

¹¹⁴ Ishii Burakku (1896), *Minashigo* (The Orphan), Kin'ôdô, Tokyo.

¹¹⁵ Ogasawara, 'Shinbun shôsetsu no gekika ni tsuite', p. 32.

¹¹⁶ See Samuel Leiter (ed., trans.) (1997), *New Kabuki Encyclopedia*, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut; London, p. 308. Kawatake was 'the foremost Meiji dramatist' and a leading pupil of Kawatake Mokuami. He wrote about 80 dramas throughout his career. That the majority of his plays were based on *kôdan* testifies to the appeal at this time of the material in the storytelling repertoire. It was Kawatake who adapted Enchô's story *The Peony Lantern* for the *kabuki* stage.

ignore – that the high art *kabuki* and the low art *rakugo* have a tradition of borrowing from each other.¹¹⁷

Participation in such plays afforded *rakugoka* opportunities to perfect certain stereotypical gestures with their hands and bodies as well as facial expressions associated with the characters played. Gestures might include the pouring of *sake*, eating with chopsticks, or the wielding of a knife or sword. Such gestures and expressions helped *rakugoka* compensate for their lack of props. *Rakugoka* have traditionally made it a habit of attending *kabuki* plays to study such gestures and expressions.¹¹⁸ Reports of Black studying painting under Kawanabe Kyōsai,¹¹⁹ and tea ceremony with fellow *rakugoka* Tachibana Enkyō IV (1863-1911),¹²⁰ are consistent with a *rakugoka*'s natural instinct to learn about traditional Japanese arts and to incorporate such knowledge into narrations.¹²¹

Cross-fertilization between *kabuki* and *rakugo* had occurred before the Restoration, most recently after reforms undertaken by the shogunate in the Tempō era (1831-45). In Tokyo, these restricted *kabuki* to a single theatre, prompting *yose* narrators to compensate by incorporating *kabuki* elements into narrations known as *dōgu iri shibai banashi* (dramatized narrations using props).¹²² Enchō's mimicking in *Botan dōrō* of a ghost wearing *geta* (wooden clogs), through hand actions, facial expression, and onomatopoeia, is a fine example of the genre. Borrowing between *kabuki* and *rakugo* was

¹¹⁷ Ōta Hiroshi (1998), *Rakugo to kabuki: ikina naka*, Heibonsha, Tokyo, 208 pp.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ On the 6 April 1887 the *Mezamashi shinbun* recorded that Black was taking lessons from the artist Kawanabe Kyōsai. Shogei Konwakai (ed.), *Kairakutei Burakku kankei bunken mokuroku*, p. 4.

¹²⁰ On 20 December 1892, the *Yamato shinbun* noted that Black was learning tea ceremony with his colleague Tachibanaya Enkyō IV. The article borrowed the phrase 'a good brew' (*yoi abuku*) from the well-known *rakugo* tale *Cha no yu* (The Tea Ceremony), stating that 'the Englishman Black is recently devoting himself to learning tea ceremony. He is said of late to be trying out a good brew with Enkyō and others. We wonder how far he is going to go.' Shogei Konwakai (ed.), *Kairakutei Burakku kankei bunken mokuroku*, p. 4.

¹²¹ Sasaki Miyoko, interview with Ian McArthur, 17 Feb. 2000.

common during the Meiji years, particularly with stories with a heavy *ninjô banashi* (tales of emotion) content. Typical of the phenomenon was the play *Nezumi komon haru no shingata*. It was written by Kawatake Mokuami (1816-1893) and featured the actor Ichikawa Danjurô IX, but owed much to *Tenpo kai nezumi den*, a work by Black's early mentor Shôrin Hakuen.¹²³

Black's 1892 Banzuin Chôbei performances were not his first *kabuki* roles. Black had already appeared in 1890 in the female roles¹²⁴ of Omiwa in *Imoseyama* (Mt. Imo and Mt. Se)¹²⁵ and Osato in *Senbon zakura* (The Thousand Cherry Trees).¹²⁶ Both tales involve thwarted love and mistaken identity. In 1891, Black played Kumagai in *Heike Monogatari*, Roshishin in *Suikoden*, and Omura in *Ibaraki Dôji, Sôzaburo no Imôto Omura*.¹²⁷ In April 1891, Black threatened to quit the San'yûha if he could not play the major roles in *Chûshingura* of Yuranosuke, leader of the 47 samurai retainers, or Kampei or his wife Okaru.¹²⁸

While these performances were remarkable for the presence of a foreigner in the roles, the Banzuin Chôbei performances at the Haruki Theatre in September 1892 were

¹²² Ôta Hiroshi (1998), *Rakugo to kabuki*, p. 4.

¹²³ Nobuhiro, Shinji in Yoshizawa Hideaki (ed.) *Kôdan kankei bunken mokuroku: (Meiji-Taisho hen)*, Jan. 1976, p. 1.

¹²⁴ Morioka and Sasaki, in 'The Blue-Eyed Storyteller' p. 142, cite reports of these performances as appearing in the 17 September 1890 edition of *Asahi shinbun*.

¹²⁵ *Imoseyama* dates from 1771. The tale relates to Fujiwara Kamatari's defeat of Soga no Iruka in the seventh century. The character of Omiwa is a daughter of a *sake* shop proprietress. Omiwa is in love with her neighbour Motome, whom she believes is a maker of ceremonial headgear. Motome is really Tankai, the brother of the emperor's concubine. In one of the play's scenes, a love triangle leads to a confrontation between Omiwa and Princess Tachibana. The scene is 'superficially comic,' but 'drenched in pathos.' Details from Leiter, *New Kabuki Encyclopedia*, pp. 217-219.

¹²⁶ Also called *Yoshitsune senbon zakura* (Yoshitsune and the Thousand Cherry Trees). *Senbon zakura* relates to the legendary general Yoshitsune. Osato appears in a scene set in a *sushi* shop. Osato is in love with Yasuke, whom she believes is the shop's apprentice, but Yasuke is really Koremori, a married novice priest on the run. Details from Leiter, *New Kabuki Encyclopedia*, p. 708-711.

¹²⁷ *Asahi shinbun* 24 March 1891. Shogei Konwakai (ed.), *Kairakutei Burakku kankei bunken mokuroku*, p. 4.

¹²⁸ Morioka and Sasaki in 'The Blue-Eyed Storyteller', p. 144. They cite *Asahi shinbun* 11 March 1891.

significant because of cooperation Black received from Ichikawa Danjurô IX. Newspaper reports about the performances illustrate their importance to the debate over reform in the arts. In subsequent years, Black performed other *kabuki* roles, including female ones, but the role of Banzuin Chôbei was to become his most famous one. Black began preparation for the role in August 1892. The real Banzuin Chôbei lived from 1622 to 1657. His adventures gave rise after his death at the hand of the samurai, Mizuno Jûrôzaemon, to legends which are still portrayed in *kabuki*. In August, *Tôkyô asahi* reported that ‘the renowned English-born Black’ was memorizing dialogue for the role of Banzuin Chôbei, ‘that trueborn citizen of Edo.’¹²⁹ Black told a *Yomiuri shinbun* interview that he took the role at the suggestion of his mentor Shôrin Hakuen. Black at first protested to Hakuen that he could not act, but was persuaded to give it a try.¹³⁰ Black played the role alongside Hakuen.

In another account, Black told the journalist Nishûbashi Sei that the idea for the performance came from a comment made to fellow *rakugoka* San’yûtei Hakuchi upon their attending a performance of the role by Ichikawa Danjûrô IX. Black recalled that he expressed admiration for Danjûrô’s portrayal of the role, and joked to Hakuchi that he would like to try the role, adding that a Chôbei with different colored eyes and hair to the usual ‘might be interesting’. According to Black, his wish later came true when San’yûtei Hakuchi and San’yûtei Hakukaku visited and urged him to take on the role in *Suzugamori*. The result, he told Nishûbashi, was that ‘in any event, when it came to the

¹²⁹ *Tokyo asahi shinbun*, 5 August, 1892. In Kurata (ed.), *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 5, p. 154.

¹³⁰ Nyorai An, ‘Shunpû kanwa: Kairakutei Burakku’, p. 1.

performance, the fact that my Chôbei was different was much talked about and drew a full house.’¹³¹

Black told the *Yomiuri* that being unable to read Japanese, he had the script transposed into roman letters and memorized it with the help of ‘experts in the art form’ (*michi no hito*) who visited his residence for lessons in ‘how to raise and lower my voice, how to link the words, how to handle the script’. This would appear to be San’yûtei Enryû, an expert in *shibaibanashi*, whom Black mentioned in the Nishûbashi Sei interview. Black claimed that he memorized his lines so well that his surprised colleagues praised him for his fluent rendition during their first practice session.

‘... when it came to actually reading it in rehearsal, everyone gathered on the second floor of a tea house and the script writer was there and at last I did it. While all the others were using their script and dictionaries and looking at each others’ faces, I had already memorized it so that I didn’t bring my script, and everyone thought it odd and said they were sure I must have been given a script.’¹³²

Black told the *Yomiuri* that on that occasion his dedication impressed the actor Nakamura Kangorô who offered to train him. According to the *Tôkyô asahi*, Black originally sought the help of *kabuki* actor Ichikawa Danshû but with the actor absent on a trip into the country, he trained under Ichikawa Shinzô. The paper praised Black’s handling of the role, mentioning his ‘fine declamation, foot stamping, stance, and forceful gaze.’¹³³ This style, known as *aragoto*, had been associated with the Ichikawa family line since it was pioneered by Ichikawa Danjûrô I (1660-1704).¹³⁴ On 3 September, 1892, the

¹³¹ Nishûbashi, ‘Kairakutei Burakku’, p. 299.

¹³² Nyorai An, ‘Shunpû kanwa’, in *Yomiuri shinbun*, 2 May 1896, p. 1.

¹³³ *Tôkyô asahi*, 5 August 1892. Kurata (ed.), *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 5, p. 154.

¹³⁴ Leiter (1979), *New Kabuki Encyclopedia*, p. 18.

Japan Weekly Mail also brought the performances to the attention of the expatriate community.

Mr Black, a son of the author of *Young Japan*, and already favorably known as one of the *hanashika* or story-tellers of Tokyo, made his debut a few days ago as Banzuin Chôbei, in a scene taken from the “Story of the Otokodate of Yedo”... Hakuen, the noted *hanashika*, a stout-built man apparently on the wrong side of fifty, as the maiden Yaegami Hime in the drama of “Nijushiko” was a ridiculous spectacle, but after the first shock of surprise, the audience listened to him with sympathetic attention. Black’s acting, however, was far removed from any suspicion of caricature; it was a clever and conscientious rendering of a difficult part and has been deservedly praised by the play-going public.¹³⁵

The *Chûô shinbun* said the performances were well received, adding that ‘a Westerner donning Japanese garb and taking to the stage is unprecedented.’¹³⁶ Then, several days after the performances began, Black was contacted by the actor whose performance had sparked his original interest in the role.

On the fourth or fifth performance, people from the household of [Ichigawa] Danjûrô [IX] came to see the play and suggested I come next morning to learn from him because some of the gestures and lines were wrong. So I went to the Tsukiji home of Danjûrô and he was very pleased. He took me in hand and very kindly taught me this that and the other, and I immediately carried out what he had taught.’¹³⁷

It was Ichikawa Danjûrô IX whose own predecessor, Ichigawa Danjûrô VII, had made the role famous. But from as early as the second decade of the Meiji period, in response to calls for reform in *kabuki*, Ichikawa Danjûrô IX had also begun exploring more realistic acting techniques to reflect psychological states with greater verisimilitude. Danjûrô’s initiative reflected a drive for reform of drama which had political and

¹³⁵ *Japan Weekly Mail*, 3 September, 1892. Harold S. Williams Collection, National Library of Australia.

¹³⁶ *Chûô shinbun*, 20 August, 1892. Kurata (ed.), *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 5, p. 156.

diplomatic imperatives. This culminated in the formation in 1886 at the urging of the oligarchs Itô Hirobumi and Inoue Kaoru of the Society for the Reform of Drama. Meiji reformers considered that *kabuki* had become decadent and were determined to refashion it as an art form deserving of presentation to international audiences.¹³⁷ Itô and Inoue even considered the reform of drama, including *kabuki*, as an element in their programme for the creation of a modern institutional infrastructure.¹³⁸ As part of the campaign to raise the status of *kabuki*, Danjûrô was one of three leading players who in 1887 performed in the first presentation of *kabuki* to the emperor.¹³⁹ The presence of foreigners among the invited audience at that performance which took place under newly installed electric lighting in the grounds of the Tokyo residence of Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru helped raise the status of the art.¹⁴⁰

Danjûrô's attempts at reform through the revival of the vernacular were 'a form of *genbun itchi*' within *kabuki*.¹⁴¹ As part of this movement, Danjûrô persuaded the playwrights Kawatake Mokuami and Fukuchi Ôchi to experiment with realism and to remain faithful to historical facts in their scripts.¹⁴² Two sentences in Black's 1886 English primer indicate he knew of the developments. In reference to European acting styles, Black's primer states that 'everything is more real than in Japanese plays', while in answer to the question 'Whom do I consider the best actor in Tokio?' the text responds that 'Danjûrô is certainly the cleverest.' The sample conversation concludes with one

¹³⁷ Nishûbashi, 'Kairakutei Burakku', p. 299.

¹³⁸ Leiter, *New Kabuki Encyclopedia*, p. 187.

¹³⁹ Karatani Kôjin, Brett de Bary (ed. and trans.) (1993), *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, p. 55.

¹⁴⁰ Leiter, *New Kabuki Encyclopedia*, pp. 187.

¹⁴¹ Donald H. Shively, 'The Japanization of the Middle Meiji', in Donald H. Shively (ed.) (1971), *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, p. 90.

¹⁴² Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, p. 55.

¹⁴³ Leiter, *New Kabuki Encyclopedia*, pp. 187.

speaker stating that ‘actors are very much despised in Japan.’¹⁴⁴ Black’s cooperation with Danjûrô was therefore a meeting of reformist minds. Danjûrô may have been motivated by a desire to involve a foreigner in the art, since reform of *kabuki* was linked to Japan’s push to join the ranks of the civilized Western nations. Black’s participation in *kabuki* helped improve its status during its struggle for survival through reform. Black’s sympathies were with Danjûrô and his attempts at reform. In his 1991 narration *Eikoku Rondon gekijô no miyage*, Black raised the reform question in relation to *kabuki*, praising the newspaper editor and former Finance Ministry bureaucrat Fukuchi Genichirô for his promotion of reform in the theatres and noting that ‘one of the issues is whether it is better to reform by adopting the Western style, or whether the Japanese theatre is better reformed while retaining its unique aspects entirely.’¹⁴⁵

To illustrate the point, Black explained that one of the major difference between Western theatre and *kabuki* was the length and timing of performances.

Firstly, in the old days in Japan, since the curtain rose as soon as the day dawned, the housemaid would be in a flap from the previous evening. What with having to put on *oshiroi* (white face powder), do up the hair, choose the *kimono*, and tighten the *obi*, dressing up took so much effort that there was no sleep the night before and you stayed up the entire time. People had to leave for the theatre at first light, so when they relaxed in their spectator’s cubicle the fatigue of the previous night got to them and they often ended up nodding off, just when they’d been looking forward to it, and not even seeing the actors’ faces. These days, we have become fairly well civilized (*kaika*), and the Shintomiza Theatre and the Kabukiza Theatre do not raise the curtain until 12 o’clock tolls, but from the point of view of English theatre, the timing is still dreadfully early.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ In ‘Lesson 14’ in Henry Black (1886, second edition 1887), *Yôi dokushû eiwa kaiwa hen* (English-language title: ‘*Easy Conversations in English Written Especially for Japanese Wishing to Learn English*’, Chûgaidô, Tokyo.

¹⁴⁵ Eikokujin Burakku (1891), *Eikoku Rondon gekijô no miyage*, Nomura Ginzaburô, Tokyo, p. 12.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 12.

Black also explained that whereas in Japan audiences shouted out the actor's *yagô* (shop name),¹⁴⁷ in the West audiences clap or throw flowers onto the stage to show approval.¹⁴⁸ Elsewhere in *Eikoku Rondon gekijô no miyage*, Black lamented the discrimination Japanese actors had suffered as '*kawara kojiki*' (river bed beggars), and noted that even though Danjurô had achieved recognition for his talents, earning more than a thousand *ryô* for a performance,¹⁴⁹ 'the old barriers have not been withdrawn'.¹⁵⁰ By comparison, Black illustrated the respect in which British actors were held, by telling a parenthetical tale about a famous actor at a banquet hosted by Prime Minister William Gladstone. When Gladstone suggested the actor deliver some lines from his latest play, the irate actor placed a coin on his plate and left, telling Gladstone that he had come to enjoy a meal and not to perform. 'If you wish to see me perform, buy a ticket and come to the theatre. Here is the cost of my meal.'¹⁵¹

The fascination which foreigners developed for *kabuki* and *bunraku* puppet theatre around this time impressed upper-class Japanese. As a consequence these two art forms, along with *nô* were singled out for generous state support.¹⁵² Accounts of visits to the *kabuki* by the diarist Clara Whitney in April 1876, attest to the fact that by the 1870s and 1880s, upper class Japanese considered it an acceptable form of entertainment for foreign guests.¹⁵³ The visually appealing *kabuki* was more accessible to foreign audiences than *rakugo* with its dependence on an understanding of the language.

¹⁴⁷ For an explanation of the origin of this term, see Leiter, *New Kabuki Encyclopedia*, p. 692

¹⁴⁸ Eikokujin Burakku, *Eikoku Rondon gekijô no miyage*, p. 18.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

¹⁵² Sanches, 'Falling Words', in Sanches and Blount (eds.), *Sociocultural Dimensions of Language Use*.

¹⁵³ Clara Whitney, (1979 reprint), *Clara's Diary*, Kodansha International, Tokyo, Japan.

Henry Black's own father, John Black, does not mention *yose* or *rakugo* in *Young Japan* although he cannot fail to have known about *yose*, since by the time he began compiling the book, Henry Black had already appeared in a *yose*. However, John Black's editorial in 1872 against grotesque and exploitative forms of outdoor entertainment, and the prompt banning of such entertainment,¹⁵⁴ confirm that the Meiji government was extremely sensitive to foreign evaluations of the performance arts as representations of a civilized nation.

By 1904, Basil Hall Chamberlain declared that the makeover of *kabuki* as suitable for foreign eyes had been completed. In a compendium of things Japanese, Chamberlain wrote that whereas *nô* actors 'were honoured under the old regime', *kabuki* actors were once 'despised' as 'outcasts'. He acknowledged that a viewing of a *kabuki* play 'will be of greater interest to most foreign spectators' because of the accessibility of the material 'as pictures of manners.'¹⁵⁵ Chamberlain made no mention of *rakugo*.

Reinforcing Black's credentials as a modernizer were Japanese-language renditions of Shakespeare which Harold S. Williams witnessed him giving 'in his fine speaking voice, inherited from his father.'¹⁵⁶ Given the interest in Shakespeare, performances by foreigners, including Black, were an important means by which intellectuals and the general public could experience the playwright's works. Since Shakespeare existed in Japanese translation and in adaptations on stage from at least the

¹⁵⁴ John Reddie Black, *Young Japan*, Vol. 2, pp. 369-370.

¹⁵⁵ Basil Hall Chamberlain (1904), *Japanese Things*, republished by Charles E. Tuttle Company, Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo, Japan, p. 463.

¹⁵⁶ Letter from Gilbert George, Australia-Japan Foundation director, 12 Aug 1987. Mr. George mentioned that Mrs. Williams had told him that her husband knew Henry Black and 'went to Shinkai-ichi to hear him give a Japanese rendition of Shakespeare in his fine speaking voice, inherited from his father.' (See Harold S. Williams Collection in National Library of Australia, 'Letter to me' Ref. 3/1/26-87T, ZT-II (L0723) 12 Aug. 1987.) Given Williams's age at the time he received the letter, it is likely the performance he witnessed was early in the twentieth century.

1880s, Black may well have included Shakespeare in his repertoire at this early stage. Shakespeare's 'realistic personages who spoke a language alive with individualistic character and philosophy' influenced Tsubouchi Shōyō and other initiators of the *genbun itchi* movement in 'laying the conceptual basis'¹⁵⁷ for modern Japanese literature. Tsubouchi was in the audience at *Hamlet*, one of the earliest recorded unadapted performances of Shakespeare, on 1 June, 1891, at the Gaiety Theatre, the main entertainment venue for foreign residents of Yokohama.

Excerpts of *Hamlet* were introduced into Japan piecemeal until Tsubouchi presented a full outline of the plot in 1885. The next year, a *jōruri*-style¹⁵⁸ adaptation of *Hamlet* by the storyteller Kanagaki Robun (1829-1894) appeared in the *Tōkyō e-iri shinbun*. But as Black showed in his 1891 comment regarding Fukuchi's newspaper campaign to reform the theatre, *kabuki* was the initial target for reform prior to the full importation of other Western styles of drama. In the absence of alternatives accessible to a broad audience in the immediate aftermath of the Restoration, the popular and accessible *kabuki* emerged as the form which was entrusted with absorbing Western influence, including Shakespeare. This first occurred in May 1885, with a *kabuki*-style performance in Osaka of '*Sakuradoki zeni no yo no naka* (Money Makes the World Go Round), an adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice* based on Charles and Mary Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* (1807).¹⁵⁹

Conclusion

During the 1880s and 1890s, *rakugo* and *kabuki* were caught in the wider debate over reform. For the government, a successful resolution to the debate had diplomatic

¹⁵⁷ Minamitani Akimasa, 'Hamlet in Japan', in *Japan Quarterly*, April-June 1990, p. 181

¹⁵⁸ ballad drama style.

implications. For *rakugoka*, *kabuki* playwrights and actors, it meant survival. Politicians, intellectuals, and practitioners responded by urging changes in these art forms. The debate opened the way for Black's participation in *rakugo* and *kabuki*. Black's *rakugoka* mentors actively solicited his participation as a means of reviving their art form. Furthermore, the low status of *rakugo* as an entertainment form ensured that it remained relatively free from government interference, allowing Black to play a role in its survival. Black used the medium for the continued expression of ideas associated with the pro-democracy movement via adaptations from European sources. In *kabuki*, Black's status as a foreigner lent legitimacy to the campaign to elevate the art form from a degenerate to a civilized one.

In both art forms, simplicity of expression in the vernacular became the catalyst for, and vehicle for, mass entertainment and the efficient transmission of new ideas. The new uses to which narrators, orators, playwrights, and editors, put language under the influence of ideas on Western rhetoric¹⁶⁰ and fiction represented a new understanding of the relationship between language and the individual. Whereas the state perceived this use of language for mass communication as problematic, *kabuki* playwrights, *rakugoka*, and authors of fiction, saw it as facilitating new forms of self-expression.

Black's role in the preservation and promotion of *rakugo* and *kabuki* adds to our knowledge of the extent to which foreigners were associated with this quest to utilize the arts to define a path to modernity. It also illustrates the debt *kabuki* owes to foreigners for its elevation to the status of a high art. The privileging of *kabuki* as a high art has,

¹⁵⁹ Minamitani, 'Hamlet in Japan', p. 181.

¹⁶⁰ Massimiliano Tomasi, 'Quest for a New Written Language: Western Rhetoric and the *Genbun Itchi* Movement', *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol, 54 No. 3, Autumn 1999, Sophia University, Tokyo.

however, resulted in the marginalisation of *rakugo* in the history of Japan's artistic and intellectual development.

Scholars acknowledge that the Meiji period witnessed much political debate inspired by Western political thinkers and philosophers. But there appears to be little appreciation of the extent of the impact on *rakugo* of Western culture at this time and of the resulting impact of *rakugo* upon the modernization process. Recent scholarship in Japan is beginning to expand on this link with particular focus on the role played by Black and his mentor San'yûtei Enchô in the introduction of Western themes into the *rakugo* repertoire.¹⁶¹ The commensurate role played by Black, and the stimulus he provided to Enchô, have been largely ignored, possibly because of a paucity of resource material in comparison to that related to Enchô and the high regard in which Enchô has been held as the head of the San'yûha. But an examination of Black's activities, including his acceptance as a Japanese citizen, the soliciting of his affiliation with the San'yûha, and his reception as an actor in *kabuki* roles, all indicate that the anti-Western mood of the 1880s and 1890s was not as clear-cut as some accounts would have us believe.

Black's calls for specific reforms within the world of *rakugo* were made with the interests of the audience at heart. These calls show that Black understood reform as the introduction of novelty into the *rakugo* repertoire if the art itself was to survive in the 1880s and 1890s amid changes to the demographics and expectations of the *yose* audience. His presence as a *rakugoka* shows that *rakugoka* colleagues also perceived reform as the introduction of the kind of additions to the *rakugo* repertoire which Black, as a foreigner, was ideally positioned to provide from European sources. Black's *kabuki*

¹⁶¹ Nagai Hiroo (1999), *San'yûtei Enchô*, (new edition), Seiyô, Tokyo, p. 289.

performances show the degree to which foreign approval was instrumental in raising the status of the art as part of a wider, politically motivated agenda for social and institutional reform. Whereas *kabuki* benefited from the prestige which came from an elite composed of political, imperial, and foreign patrons, *rakugo* became an important medium for the introduction of modernity and an accessible means of socializing a broad range of members of the new nation-state during a crucial part of the Meiji period.

Chapter Five

Hybridity: Blueprint for a new generation

Introduction

In his 1896 adaptation of *Oliver Twist* as *Minashigo*, Black jokingly proposed that to cope with the problems caused by change, humans might be better off with rear vision.

With the world these days subject to calls for reform (*tôsetsu kairyô*), and with so many things subject to change, everyone is trying their hardest.... It would be convenient if there were one eye in the back of our head. Medical scientists are looking into the matter.¹

Although the trigger for the joke was the theft of a handkerchief from the rear pocket of Fukuda Yûkichi, the joke had a modern ring with its suggestion that in the new era, perhaps medical science might reconfigure the human head to help cope with rapid changes accompanying reform. Black used the same joke in his 1891 narration *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage* during a humorous aside about the need for reform in Japanese drinking habits.² The joke conveyed a hint of empathy with the audience since it implied that *rakugoka* and audience alike were struggling to come to terms with the alterations to their very person needed to cope with the pace of change in Meiji Japan.

As a *rakugoka*, Black's formula for the survival of his art during this period was the production of lengthy, serialized narrations based on or inspired by the modern genres of European sensation and detective fiction. In the narrations, Black provided audiences

¹ Ishii Burakku (1896), *Minashigo*, Kin'ôdô, Tokyo, p. 53.

with the lessons learned in the industrial capitalist European states which served as prototypes for the version of modernity to which many Japanese aspired. But as the joke implied, if individuals were to survive the reforms of the new era, they would also have to adopt their own strategies.

Black's response to the problem of individual survival was to propose, in his narrations, a reinvention of the self with hybridized European and Japanese elements. Interweaving humour and suspense, Black's blueprint for survival implied far-reaching alterations on a psychological and physical level. As a result, the prototypical landscapes which Black constructed in his narrations were topographically and culturally hybridized, containing elements of Japanese and European settings. Familiar bridges in Tokyo could be transposed onto the map of Paris, for example. The protagonists were similarly subject to a process of hybridization in which they were as likely to consume *miso* soup and read the *Yomiuri shinbun* as ride in a coach or attend the opera. In doing so, Black balanced the demand for a sufficiently exotic product capable of satisfying curiosity and boosting audience numbers with the need to retain a degree of familiarity with the settings so as not to alienate audiences.

The hybridity portrayed in his narrations and in Black's own lifestyle reflected the on-going incorporation of European characteristics in daily life, a process which Miriam Silverberg has described as 'a form of cultural code-switching whereby aspects of Western material and mass culture were integrated into the experience of everyday practice.'³ Black's popularity and the appeal of his adaptations during this period were facilitated by his own identity as a hybrid person, combining the dual attributes of

² Eikokujin Burakku (1891), *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage*, Nomura Ginzaburô, Tokyo, p. 90.

Japanese citizenship and British expatriate upbringing. This situated Black among a select category of persons whom John Clark has described as existing at the interstices of two cultures and whose ‘peripherality’ enables them to mediate to their host culture.⁴

Black’s career in *rakugo* and *kabuki* in the 1880s and 1890s was a response to the debate over modernity. This and the following chapter examine the manner in which Black used *rakugo* during this same period to engage in the discourse on modernity. This chapter focuses on Black’s blueprint for redefining the individual in the face of reforms associated with modernity. The following chapter focuses on his blueprint for institutional change in the face of the more negative outcomes of modernity. Both chapters achieve this task through an examination of what Jacqueline Lo and Helen Gilbert describe as ‘sites of literary agency.’⁵ In this study such sites are understood as those expressions and examples of modernity which Black portrayed for audiences in his *sokkibon* and newspaper novels. Since Black’s narrations, and their *sokkibon* and newspaper novel versions, were sources of information for audiences and readers, the chapters add to knowledge of the epistemological processes involved in the transfer of knowledge about the world to Meiji Japan as well as to our understanding of what modernity meant to citizens of Meiji Japan.

Recent scholarship on the role of ordinary people and popular culture in shaping events facilitates an understanding of Black’s influence via such sites of literary agency

³ Miriam Silverberg, ‘Constructing a New Cultural History of Prewar Japan’ in Masao Miyoshi and H.D. Harootunian (eds.) (1993), *Japan in the World*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, p. 142.

⁴ John Clark (1989), ‘Japanese-British Exchanges in Art 1850s-1930s: Papers and Research Materials’, printed and distributed with grants from The Japan Foundation, London, and The Great Britain-Sasakawa Foundation, London, p. 67.

⁵ This terminology is used by Helen Gilbert and Jacqueline Lo in ‘Postcoloniality and the Question of Modern Indonesian Literature,’ at an international research workshop sponsored by the School of Asian Studies and the Center for Performance Studies, University of Sydney, May 29-31, 1998, and printed in *Papers*. Vol. 1, p. 5.

as an agent of modernity upon audience and reader. Paul Ricoeur's definition of action as a 'social phenomenon' where the initiator agent's intentions motivate the action, explains the act of narration as Black understood it as motivated to some degree by the sense of mission to civilise displayed when a speaker at meetings of supporters of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement. But the rarity of comment from eyewitnesses of Black's performances and the scarcity of newspaper reviews of his stories and performances make it difficult to gauge Black's impact upon audiences and readers. And even Ricoeur is careful to note that once initiated, 'our deeds escape us and have effects which we did not intend.'⁶ Nevertheless, he maintains that such actions can 'contribute' to the emergence of patterns of human action which he describes as the 'social imprint.'⁷ This would suggest that certain useful conclusions can be made about the impact of versions of modernity as Black portrayed it, based on empirical evidence in Black's printed works. It is possible to salvage much of academic interest from Black's narrations if we treat them as cultural texts and adopt John Storey's view that such texts 'do not simply reflect history, they make history and are part of its processes and practices.'⁸ Storey's assertion that culture can 'constitute the structure and shape of history'⁹ also supports the notion that *rakugo* is a valid subject for study as a medium which could shape opinion and events.

In explaining Black's role in the discourse on modernity, Norman Fairclough's understanding of language as 'a mode of action'¹⁰ supports an interpretation of discourse

⁶ Paul Ricoeur, (1973-74), 'The Model of the Text: Meaningful Action Considered as a Text', *New Literary History* No. 5, p.101.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.101.

⁸ John Storey (1996), *Cultural Studies and the Study of Popular Culture – Theories and Methods*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, UK, p. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*.

¹⁰ Norman Fairclough (1992), *Discourse and Social Change*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, p. 63.

as both reflecting and transforming society by contributing to the construction of individual identity, social relationships, and systems of knowledge and belief. These are the elements which constitute Ricoeur's 'social imprint'. The dual notions of reflection and transformation ensure that the relationship between discourse and social structure is dialectical. An application of Paul Ricoeur's definition of discourse as 'realised temporally,'¹¹ Mary Sanches's explanation of the narrator-audience communication in *rakugo* as 'metacommunicative events',¹² and George M. Wilson's reference, in his study of protagonists who contributed to the Meiji Restoration, to ideas as 'communication events whose action component consists in conveying the thinker's thought or intent to an audience'¹³ also support the notion of agency in Black's actions as a narrator.

An analysis of the choice of subject matter in Black's *sokkibon* indicates an assumption on Black's part that his audiences were, as Gay McAuley describes them, a 'crucial and active agent in the creative process' who 'make meaning' in the theatre, and 'provide the justification for a performance.'¹⁴ Black had two types of audience. With a *yose* audience Black was physically present, could maintain eye contact, and could gauge and adjust to responses. The contact was, however, fleeting. With *sokkibon*, the stories were fixed in print, but the audience was more numerous, more geographically dispersed, and able to reread and reflect upon his stories. Statements by Black in interviews¹⁵ and in the *sokkibon* indicate that he recognised the importance of the audience and understood that audiences accepted him as a modernizer. We have only to read McCullagh's

¹¹ Ricoeur, 'The Model of the Text', pp. 91-117.

¹² Mary Sanches (1975), 'Falling Words: An Analysis of a Japanese *Rakugo* Performance' in Mary Sanches and Ben G. Blount (eds.) *Sociocultural Dimensions of Language Use*. Academic Press, New York.

¹³ George M. Wilson (1992), *Patriots and Redeemers*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, p. 9.

¹⁴ Gay McAuley (1999), *Space in Performance: Making Meaning in the Theatre*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, p. 235.

¹⁵ Nyorai An (1896), 'Shunpû kanwa: Kairakutei Burakku', *Yomiuri shinbun*, 4 May 1896, p. 1.

comment that Black's choice of European material for his Japanese audiences was 'almost inevitable...in order to meet the continual demand for novelty',¹⁶ to appreciate Black's understanding of what audiences wanted.

Black's art is defined as an interactive form of dialogue which is more ideological than mere conversation. The interactive nature of the form allowed it to serve as a medium for the discourse on modernity. This definition of *rakugo* implies that Black chose certain elements for inclusion in his narrations (and ignored other elements) either because he had the needs of the audience in mind or because he considered the audience ought to know about those elements. The deletions and additions which Black made in creating his adaptations from original works, the wholly original narrations he created, and the didactic asides to which he subjected his audiences, are a guide to his own, and his audience's, understanding of modernity. As Mori Yoshitaka and Ogasawara Hiroki remind us, 'language is not a neutral means of communication, but rather constructs particular ideological formations.'¹⁷ A treatment of Black's *sokkibon* as an integral part of the discourse on modernity forms a basis for this and the following chapter's analysis of them as a means by which Black gave meaning to the reality experienced by him and his audiences, and of how he both reflected and transformed that reality.

A question of identity

Key cultural components of Black's hybrid identity were in place with his elevation to *shin'uchi* status in 1891. But in the 1890s, restrictions that applied to the movement of a British citizen outside the treaty ports under the terms of Japan's unequal treaty with Britain, had begun to limit Black's career. Although legally free to move

¹⁶ Francis McCullagh, 'The Story-teller in Japan', *East of Asia Magazine*, p. 219.

around the treaty ports and certain parts of Tokyo, Black had to apply for permission to travel elsewhere. Another obstacle was the government's issuance on 15 August 1890 of Police Order No. 15 stating that special permission was required for *yose* performances by foreigners.¹⁸ It is not apparent whether the regulation was aimed directly at Black, but its immediate outcome was to place *yose* within the government's extended purview with regard to foreign cultural influence. Within the context of the debate over the extent of foreign influence, this legislated attempt to restrict foreign influence in the arts represented a further step in the ascendancy by the mid-1890s of those who favored a Japanese path to modernity.¹⁹

Newspaper reports indicate that by this stage Black had on occasions performed in Kobe, Osaka and Kyoto, but these cities were already among a select group of places in which foreigners were permitted under the terms of the unequal treaties. Outside these cities, Black's movements were subject to police scrutiny. There is at least one documented case of his being refused permission to travel to Shizuoka Prefecture in 1891 to give performances.²⁰ Black's status as a British citizen had become an impediment to further career opportunities. But at this point, a novel solution presented itself.

In an apparent effort to overcome the obstacles, Black underwent a marriage of convenience to a Japanese woman, a step which, when taken in April 1893, gave him access to Japanese citizenship. Reporting the marriage, the 24 May 1893 edition of the *Chûô shimbun* stated that Black's new wife Ishii Aka was the 18-year old second

¹⁷ Mori Yoshitaka and Ogasawara Hiroki (1998), 'Cultural Studies and its Discontents: Pacific-Asia Cultural Studies Forum in Britain', *Japanese Studies*, Vol. 18 No. 1, p. 94.

¹⁸ Morioka Heinz and Sasaki Miyoko (1990), *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, The Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, p. 251-252.

¹⁹ See Ann Waswo (1996), *Modern Japanese Society 1868-1994*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, p. 94.

daughter of Ishii Mine, a candy shop operator of Moto-hatchômebori in Tokyo's Kyôbashi-ku.²¹ It stated that Black, who was then 33 years old, was residing at Irifune-chô in Kyôbashi-ku.²² Upon marriage, Black was formally adopted into the Ishii family and acquired the surname Ishii.

As part of the bureaucratic process, a police report was compiled on Black's occupation, age, and 'hinkô' ('moral standing' or 'respectability') for the Home Ministry. The report noted that Black was a storyteller residing in the foreign concession of Tsukiji with a 23 year-old Japanese male, Takamatsu Motokichi, in what was 'virtually a husband and wife relationship.' It concluded that apart from this there were 'no other indications of untoward behaviour'.²³ That Black was living in what the police assessed as a homosexual relationship with a Japanese national was not considered an impediment to the marriage. Gregory M. Pflugfelder has concluded that a 'profound reformulation of official discourse surrounding sexuality' occurred during the Meiji period, with the codification of 'civilised' standards of sexual behaviour resulting in the centralized state's promotion of male-female sexuality and monogamous marriage.²⁴ Pflugfelder provides evidence that forms of male-male sexuality which had been tolerated during the Edo period were increasingly marginalized as the Meiji period progressed due to the influence of Western psychoanalysis and legal codes. Nevertheless, there was also ample evidence that homosexual liaisons were tolerated in the 1890s. What is more, aspects of

²⁰ *Tôkyô nichinichi shinbun*, 6 August 1891. In Kurata Yoshihiro (ed.) (1983), *Meiji no engei*, Kokuritsu gekijô chôsa ikuseibu geinô chôsa shitsu, Tokyo, Vol. 5, p. 114.

²¹ *Chûô shinbun*, 24 May 1893. Kurata (ed.), *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 5, pp. 177-178.

²² The 1893 edition of the *Chronicle and Directory for China, Japan, and The Philippines* also gives the same address for Henry Black.

²³ Asaoka Kunio (1992), 'Kairakutei Burakku no "Kekkon/Kika" Mondai kô', *Kairakutei Burakku Kenkyû*, No. 6, p. 11-12.

²⁴ Gregory M. Pflugfelder (1999), *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600-1950*, University of California Press, Berkeley, pp. 147-148.

Napoleonic law which were introduced by the French *yatoi*, Gustave Boissonade, had ensured that male-male sexual acts were treated as outside the jurisdiction of the state so long as they did not involve minors or coercion.²⁵

Black and Aka were married in the presence of the Tokyo governor on May 23. On May 24, Black's name was transferred to the Ishii family register and on May 31, the governor informed the British consulate that the transfer of Black's citizenship was completed.²⁶ There are no other mentions of Aka in subsequent newspaper reports about Black.²⁷ The procedures were based on legislation which had been in effect since 1874 and which mandated that a foreigner adopted into the family of a Japanese woman was entitled to Japanese citizenship. It was not until 1899 that the treaty port system which prompted the marriage completely disappeared.

Black never completely escaped references to his different cultural and ethnic origins. Newspapers continued to recognize Black's hybridity as a Japanese of European descent. Black's taking of citizenship coincided with a time when government and intellectuals were selectively redefining the meaning of the nation predicated on race, language, religion, a community of interest, and geography. As much as Black could strive to establish and prove his affinity with Japan, ethnicity was to remain a sticking-point. Typical of such references was the 24 March 1891 issue of the *Yamato shinbun* which, on the occasion of his assuming the professional name of Kairakutei Burakku, had

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 170

²⁶ Details on the procedures are from Asaoka, 'Kairakutei Burakku no "Kekkon/Kika" Mondai kô', p. 11-12.

²⁷ The Tokyo Metropolitan Government archive of public documents contains a record of the marriage, but no detail about Aka. There are no known subsequent references to Aka in any newspapers apart from unsubstantiated and unreliable reports in the English language media that she may have died soon after the marriage. The researcher Asaoka Kunio has attempted to trace Aka via searches of family registers, but to no avail. Henry Black's descendants by adoption also know nothing about her.

described him as ‘the Englishman Black, promoted as the *rakugoka* with the different colored hair.’ Three months later, the 30 June 1891 issue of the *Tokyo asahi shinbun* described him as ‘the *rakugoka* and Englishman Black’ (*rakugoka eijin Burakku*). And on 24 May 1893, on the occasion of his marriage to Ishii Aka, the *Chûô shinbun* also referred to him as the ‘Englishman Black’.

Nevertheless, as Black displayed more of a mastery of Japanese culture and the intricacies of *rakugo*, other references began to acknowledge this commitment. The 30 June 1891 edition of the *Tôkyô asahi*, noting that he was to perform at a number of venues the following month, described him as a ‘clever fellow’ (*kiyôna otoko*).²⁸ The *Hinode shinbun* on the 8 August, in an article announcing his coming performances in Kyoto, described him as ‘not only well versed in Japanese affairs, but also no different in his command of the language than a Japanese, and possessed of a fine speaking voice.’²⁹ One of the finest accolades was in the 7 October 1891 issue of the *Ôsaka asahi*, for example, which referred to him as ‘a species of Englishman raised in Edo’ (*eikoku dane Edo sodachi Burakku*).³⁰ Despite the majority of Black’s narrations providing ample evidence that he was a leading conduit of information about the West, this invocation of Edo ironically made Black a reference point for the accelerating process of selective resurrection of the past.³¹ It reflected a nostalgic interest by the 1890s in pre-Restoration Edo culture. Two years prior to this newspaper article, ex-shogunal supporters had established the Edo Association in Tokyo to record Edo culture before it disappeared and

²⁸ *Tôkyô asahi shinbun*, 30 June 1891. Kurata (ed.), *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 5, p. 108.

²⁹ *Hinode shinbun*, 8 August 1891. Kurata (ed.) *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 5, p. 114.

³⁰ Kurata (ed.) *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 5, p. 126.

³¹ Carol Gluck (1998), ‘The Invention of Edo’, in *Mirror of Modernity*, Ed. Stephen Vlastos, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, p. 272.

to ‘redress the historical occlusion of the Tokugawa Period’.³² Carol Gluck claims that the association was ‘partly preservationist, partly anti-oligarchy’ and that it effectively ‘filched the most hallowed Meiji claim’ (that the Meiji era represented a time of great progress) and applied it to the Edo period which since the advent of the Meiji period had ‘evoked such vile epithets as “feudal” and “antiquated”’.³³

Though not factual, the description of Black as ‘raised in Edo’, invoked the name of Edo in the positive manner in which the Edo Association desired. It bolstered Black’s credentials as a *rakugoka* and his claim to a Japanese identity. The preservationist nature of the association also reflected the growing push for ‘a Japanese path to modernity’.³⁴ Gluck describes the association’s usage of Edo as the ‘national Edo,’ a meaning which in the 1890s was pressed into service as a resource in the language of the nation-state. In this sense, Black’s affiliation with *rakugo* which relied on the commodification of Edo in its narrations underscored his association with the resurrection of Edo as an element in the matrix of ideas for supporting the modern state.³⁵ There are parallels too with Gluck’s notion of the ‘commodified Edo’ in the form of ‘historical and visual allusions’ ... ‘to sell everything from *sake* to liver pills.’³⁶

It was tantamount to saying that if Edo was the essence of the spirit of Japan, and if this spirit was an essential ingredient for citizenship, then Henry Black had what it took. This use of the ‘national Edo’ better fortified him against later periods of anti-foreign sentiment. Black had foreign origins, but he had proven that he was also familiar

³² *Ibid.*, p. 267.

³³ Carol Gluck (1985), *Japan’s Modern Myths*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, p. 24.

³⁴ Waswo, *Modern Japanese Society*.

³⁵ For a discussion of the varied uses of the term ‘Edo’ at this time see Gluck, ‘The Invention of Edo’, p. 265.

³⁶ Gluck, ‘The Invention of Edo’, p. 265.

with the ways of old Edo. And such dual attributes were fast becoming the *sine qua non* of many people in the Japan of the 1890s where, as Gluck describes it, people were using ‘Edo’ to ‘negotiate’ their way toward a modern future.³⁷ In the same manner, Black’s association with the word helped him negotiate his own way through the ambiguities related to being a foreign-born Japanese citizen working in *rakugo*. This association was to allow him to extend his career in his own choice of ‘space of autonomy’,³⁸ the *yose*. The stage was a neutral zone where his sexual identity was no longer an issue and where, in spite of bureaucratic attempts to restrict his activities, the issue of ethnicity was diminished alongside other forms of exotic and strange entertainers, the comedians, jugglers, and musicians who peopled the same stage. *Yose* were cultural market places where even lowly born performers could rise above their social status and achieve fame and accolades. They were zones where even the Japanese could make good and escape their own social origins if they were accomplished performers.³⁹

An equally succinct description of Black, which sums up his status at the time, occurred on the 10 August 1893 when on the occasion of his appearing at a theatre in Osaka, the *Tokyo nichinichi shinbun* described Black’s appearance dressed in a *haori*, as ‘every bit the perfect Japanese.’⁴⁰ The same article went on to qualify his Japanese credentials by referring to him as ‘the imported Japanese Ishii Black’ (*hakurai no nihonjin Ishii Burakku*).⁴¹ On 21 January 1894, four months after he took Japanese citizenship, the *Fusô shinbun*, on the occasion of his coming to perform in Nagoya, noted

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

³⁸ Gluck uses this term in ‘The Invention of Edo’, p. 277.

³⁹ Nishiyama Matsunosuke (1997), *Edo Culture: Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600-1868*, University of Hawaii Press, Hawaii, p. 210.

⁴⁰ *Tokyo nichinichi shinbun* 10 August 1893, in Kurata (ed.), *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 5, p. 187.

that Japan had so much appealed to him that he had decided to take Japanese citizenship and a Japanese name by marrying Ishii Aka, that he had also affiliated with the San'yûha, and had come to Nagoya as a 'citizen of Tokyo'.⁴² By 2 July 1896, the *Osaka mainichi* signaled its recognition of the 37-year-old Black's status as a member of the *rakugo* fraternity by referring to him as 'that amiable fellow among *rakugoka*, Ishii Black' (*rakugoka chû no aikyô mono Ishii Burakku*).⁴³ More than any legal procedure, such descriptions assisted in the 'naturalization' of Black over time.

Black's taking of Japanese citizenship in 1893 can temper understanding of events elsewhere. In 1894 and 1895, parliaments in the Australian colonies of South Australia and Queensland voiced misgivings over Japanese interests in the pearling industry in northern Australia. Japanese divers then constituted the largest national group employed in the pearl industry at Queensland's Thursday Island.⁴⁴ Whereas it was possible at this time for a South Australian-born British citizen to become a Japanese, Australian colonies were moving toward defining national identity based on the exclusion of non-white races.

Black's status as a naturalized *yose geinin* caused a rift between him and other family members. In October 1895, his brother, John, interrupted one of his performances by loudly berating him for demeaning himself by making a career in the low art of *rakugo*. Reporting on the reasons for the rift, the *Tokyo asahi* explained that an uncle of Black, who lived in Britain, had threatened to withdraw financial support unless Black

⁴¹ 'Hakurai' means 'brought in by ship'. It was a usage applied to the sort of imported goods one might buy at a department store. By this time, Black did indeed qualify for status as an 'imported Japanese', having arrived on a ship from Australia and subsequently taken Japanese citizenship.

⁴² *Fusô shinbun*, 21 January 1894. Kurata (ed.), *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 5, p. 199.

⁴³ *Ôsaka mainichi shinbun*, 2 July 1896, Kurata (ed.), *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 6, p. 87.

⁴⁴ Henry P. Frei (1991), *Japan's Southward Advance and Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, Australia, p. 74.

abandoned a career as a *rakugoka*. Black had originally promised he would do so and this had duly been conveyed to the uncle, but when John realized that Black had not kept his promise, he interrupted the performance. Black reportedly responded to his brother's interruption by immediately terminating his narration and leaving the stage.⁴⁵ The article noted that John was a clerk, while their sister Pauline and mother Elizabeth were teaching English. His brother's protest, and the threat of withdrawal of financial backing from Britain, were not enough to dissuade Black to terminate his *rakugo* career.

Vehicles for a blueprint

At the same time as he redefined his own identity, Black used his narrations to produce a blueprint for a similar redefinition of identity for his audiences. Black's inspiration came from the modern genres of the Victorian sensation and detective novel. In particular, it was the sensation fiction genre which reached its height of popularity among the British middle classes during the 1860s and 1870s by lending itself to the examination and reflection of new psychological states and ways of relating to others associated with the dislocations of the Industrial Revolution. The genres found a ready market in serializations via magazines. Among the sensation fiction genre's most popular writers were Mary Braddon, Wilkie Collins, Charles Dickens, and Arthur Conan Doyle. Ian Ousby's description of the genre as showing 'a preference for the striking and unusual situation or series of events and for characters in the grip of strong or extreme emotion'... 'combined with an interest in fact and topicality, creating an air of contemporary verisimilitude'⁴⁶ is one of the most comprehensive. The genre shared features with contemporary stage drama which used what Lyn Pykett lists as 'stylized

⁴⁵ *Tokyo asahi shinbun*, 16 October 1895. Kurata (ed.), *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 6, p. 62.

dramatic tableaux, heightened emotions and extraordinary incidents of melodrama,' including 'spectacular "special effects", involving dioramas, panoramas, elaborate lighting systems and machinery of all kinds.'⁴⁷ The synergies between drama and print in sensation fiction assume importance in the light of Black's *kabuki* performances and his choice of works by Braddon, herself a former actress, as a source of inspiration, in particular his elaborate 1891 adaptation of Braddon's short story *Her Last Appearance* whose central character is an actress.

The genre found fertile ground in Japan where the melodramatic *kabuki* had long used the same stock sensation fiction devices such as frustrated love, poisonings, and mistaken identity and where by the 1890s newspapers boosted ratings with sensational accounts of court proceedings.⁴⁸ Black's choice of material reflects the genre's common themes which Ousby identifies as 'a world of missing wills, long-lost heirs, mistaken identities, relatives who disappear to be reunited with their families in the final volume or installment, and illegitimate children who live in ignorance of their true parentage.'⁴⁹

At least two of Black's narrations were adapted from works by Mary Braddon. Braddon had embarked first on a stage career, but abandoned this in 1860 to concentrate on writing. Throughout her life, she was to produce more than 80 novels and nine plays. By the 1880s, Braddon was at the peak of her 55-year career. Her novels were being serialized in newspapers and journals in Britain and other English-speaking countries.

⁴⁶ Ian Ousby (1976), *Bloodhounds of Heaven*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. and London, England, p. 80.

⁴⁷ Lyn Pykett (1994), *The Sensation Novel: From The Woman in White to The Moonstone*, Northcote House, Plymouth, UK, in association with the British Council, p. 2.

⁴⁸ According to the *Jiji Shinpō*, 7 March 1884, in Kurata (ed.) *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 3, p. 81, Black even attended the *Tōkyō keizai saibanjo* (Tokyo Court of Petty Sessions) where he took 'detailed notes with a view to producing one or two narrations.'

⁴⁹ Ousby, *Bloodhounds of Heaven*, pp. 81-82.

Braddon's melodramatic plots featured headstrong women and mistaken identity. Of her works, Kunitz and Haycroft have written that,

Virtue always triumphs, and her heroes and villains are pure white and unredeemed black. Her work was ephemeral, but at its weakest was never contemptible.⁵⁰

Robert Lee Wolff notes that in the 1860s Braddon 'read and cheerfully plagiarized' 'reams of' French 'penny-dreadfuls' and developed a 'preoccupation' with 'French writers and subjects' in the 1880s. It would not be surprising therefore to find that more of Black's works, particularly those set in Paris, owe their inspiration, if not their origin to such of Braddon's works as were plagiarized or adapted from such French sources. Proof of this awaits further research.

Of the narrations examined, *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage*, exhibits the highest degree of hybridity together with much material which clearly owes its inspiration to Black. It is also one of a minority where the original story has been identified. Black considerably expanded on Braddon's original by providing additional story and character detail. In the Braddon original, the actress Barbara Stowell is ill-treated by her actor husband Jack Stowell. Upon learning that she is married, an admirer, Sir Philip Hazlemere, urges her to divorce her husband and remarry. When the actress refuses his entreaties, he disguises himself and murders her husband. The actress rebuffs Sir Philip and later dies backstage of an unexplained malady. Braddon deals in one sentence with the circumstances of the actress's marriage, stating merely that she was a 'country parson's daughter leading the peacefullest, happiest, obscurest life in a Hertfordshire

⁵⁰ Stanley I. Kunitz and Howard Haycroft (1964), *British Authors of the Nineteenth Century*, Wilson, New York, p. 69.

village' who married in a ceremony 'which was solemnized before she had time to repent that weak moment of concession.'⁵¹ Black, however, devotes considerable detail to her origins as 'Gâtsurudo' (Gertrude), the naïve daughter of a prosperous farmer named Beniyûeru, taking four narrated episodes equivalent to 58 pages of the *sokkibon* merely to get to the marriage. Black's version also inserts considerable sections devoted to elucidating the differences between Japanese and British customs, including detailed reference to Gertrude's first visit to a London theatre. Here, Black's descriptions refer to the gas-lit gorgeousness of the ceiling, the curtained boxes, the gold leaf on the pillars, and the velvet curtain. In other sections he deals in detail with the treatment of crimes in Britain, laws pertaining to gambling, and the shorter lengths of theatre performances in Britain, as well as the custom of Western audiences offering flowers to popular actors rather than money as was done in Japan. None of these details are in the Braddon version. The Braddon work ends with the death of the actress, but Black's version sees Gâtsurudo and her admirer John Brown marrying and leaving for Paris to avoid the police in episode 13. The resolution does not occur until episode 16 in a gory scene in which Brown blows his brains out with a revolver at an exclusive gentlemen's club in Paris when confronted by a detective. The scene is Black at his inventive best.

The frequency and number of didactic diversions from the main story line make *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage* one of Black's more culturally instructive narrations and ensured that Black's version was considerably longer than Braddon's. Braddon first published the story in *Belgravia Annual* in 1876. It was reprinted in *Weavers and Weft*

⁵¹ Mary Elizabeth Braddon (1876), 'Her Last Appearance', in *Weavers and Weft and Other Tales*, John and Robert Maxwell, London, p. 326.

and Other Tales in 1877.⁵² In its brevity and overly melodramatic plot and dialogue, it is not one of her better works, although it obviously draws upon her own earlier experiences as an actress. In Black's hands, however, the material becomes a lengthy 15-part work of suspense copiously interspersed with cultural comparisons and references to topical social reform-related issues which must have seemed fascinating and humorous to his audiences at the time.

New definitions of identity

Black's narrations during the 1880s and 1890s are an important part of the process of explaining to audience and readers the new relationships and new notions of the self which were made possible by modernity. Japanese during these years were subjected to a variety of influences, from the imported ideas of the self-help books of the West to state-sponsored intervention in the family. As Takashi Fujitani notes of the Meiji period, a widespread 'faith in human plasticity and a new civilizing mission' propelled the state to reach into 'the very souls of the people.'⁵³

Government and bureaucracy regarded such intervention as a necessary part of the nation-building process. Prime Minister Itô Hirobumi summed up the thinking at the time by arguing that the people 'should combine and cooperate as a solid and compact organization for the attainment of the common weal' and that to attain this ideal, government had 'to train the mass of the people to modern ideas of public and political

⁵² P.D. Edwards (1988), 'M.E. Braddon Manuscripts in Australia', *Notes and Queries*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, September 1988, [326-328] p.327.

⁵³ Takashi Fujitani (1993), 'Inventing, Forgetting, Remembering: Toward a Historical Ethnography of the Nation-State', in Harumi Befu (ed.), *Cultural Nationalism in East Asia: Representation and Identity*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif., pp. 77-106.

life.’⁵⁴ Such modern ideas included the notion that loyalty should be redirected away from the local *han* or fief, toward the centralized nation-state. In its extreme, this resulted in a cult of self-sacrifice for the nation.

Black gave expression to this notion in *Iwade Ginkô chishio no tegata* where the wife of the slain banker Iwade Yoshio protests to her brother-in-law Iwade Takejirô that Matashichi is not a fit husband for her daughter Omasa because of his origins as a homeless orphan who originally stole her husband’s wallet. Takejirô reminds her that lowly birth is no impediment to greatness by referring to a number of historical figures who contributed to their nation. The theme is entirely in keeping with the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education with its call for the emperor’s subjects to ‘offer yourselves courageously to the State’ in the event of an emergency.⁵⁵

In the past, he was a beggar. There are any number of examples of people who have easily risen in status and done well. I mean, wasn’t Oliver Cromwell, who at one stage became the president of England, a herdsman when he was a young man? Napoleon, who became the emperor of France, was of lowly birth, and the famous General Grant⁵⁶ of the United States was the son of a brush maker whose parents put him in primary school when he was an infant, but could not continue to do so and he spent his days in poverty. Even in Japan, the Taikô, Hideyoshi, was a *zôri tori* (sandal carrier), but ended up as a *kanpaku* (imperial regent).⁵⁷ I could cite plenty of people who have risen up in the

⁵⁴ Quoted in W.G. Beasley ‘Meiji Political Institutions’, in Marius B. Jansen (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Vol. 5, *The Nineteenth Century*, pp. 662-663.

⁵⁵ See ‘Imperial Rescript on Education’, in J. Lu (ed.) (1996-97), *Japan: A Documentary History*, An East Gate book, pubd. by M.E. Sharpe, Armonk NY, and London, England, pp. 343-344.

⁵⁶ Ulysses Grant was the eighteenth president of the United States. His Japan connection includes receiving the Iwakura mission members in 1872 and a much feted visit to Japan in 1879 as part of a world tour after his retirement.

⁵⁷ See ‘taiko’, *Japan, An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, Kodansha, Tokyo, p. 1497. Taikô was an ‘honorific title applied in the Heian period (794-1185) to the grand minister of state or the regent of the realm and later used to refer to an imperial regent who had passed on his office to his son. Toyotomi Hideyoshi received the honorific title of Taikô.’

world to perform deeds for their country. I think that if he marries Omasa, I am sure he will perform deeds for the Iwade Bank.⁵⁸

Takejirô's reminder that Matashichi was now an educated young man able to make his way in the world attests to Ardath Burks's identification of education as the Meiji period 'badge of social distinction.'⁵⁹ Despite the pre-Restoration existence of the *terakoya* which supplied education in a limited form even to some members of the non-samurai class, in the new Japan, the notion that education was for all was a 'subversive doctrine'⁶⁰ giving Matashichi's achievement shock value for audiences.

Black's portrayals of European women, delivered to audiences in the 1890s, were limited by the original constraints of the genre of Victorian sensation novels. But in remaining true to that genre's presentation of alternative and nonconformist female role models, many of Black's female protagonists exemplified initial gains made by women immediately after the Restoration and were the antithesis of the 'good wife, wise mother' ideology subsequently promoted by the state. Black's female characters are as varied as those in the sensation fiction genre. So extraordinary were the female characters of sensation fiction that scholars refer to a sub-genre of Victorian 'women's sensation fiction'. In the main, this sub-genre portrayed two types of women; 'active assertive women, who convey a sense of the threat of insurgent femininity trying to break out of the doll's house of domesticity, and passive dependent women, who are imprisoned by it, unable to articulate their sense of confinement, and driven to desperate measures.'⁶¹

⁵⁸ Kairakutei Burakku (1892), *Iwade ginkô chishio no tegata* (The Bloodstained Handprint at the Iwade Bank), Azuma nishiki, Tokyo, p. 93.

⁵⁹ Ardath Burks (1985), 'The Role of Education in Modernization', in Burks (ed.) *The Modernizers: Overseas Students, Foreign Employees, and Meiji Japan*, p. 255.

⁶⁰ Burks, 'The Role of Education in Modernization', p. 255.

⁶¹ Lyn Pykett, *The Sensation Novel*, p. 49.

One need look no further, for example, than Black's representation of the rights of inheritance of European women in *Shachû no dokubari*, or the anarchist flower seller Ohana's plan to assassinate a French prince in *Bara musume*. In many of the plots chosen or constructed by Black, women are the perpetrators of, or the inspiration for, action. In *Minashigo*, Black follows Dickens's storyline faithfully, with Fukuda Yûkichi confirming in the final few pages that his deceased daughter, Seikichi's mother, had married a man called Itô after eloping with him. Fukuda's sorrow at the loss of his daughter is heightened by the thought that she loved Itô enough to marry him and produce Seikichi, his grandson. In *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage*, a baron in love with a beautiful actress stabs her cruel husband to death in an attempt to rescue her from a life of misery. And in *Shachû no dokubari*, the painter Kanô Motokichi finally finds true love by marrying his beautiful artist's model Onobu Suzuki instead of the venal daughter Otaka whose father Yamada Kinsaburô had originally fancied might make a match with him. A subplot in *Iwade Ginkô chishio no tegata* is the pledge between Matashichi and Omasa that they will marry once Matashichi is able to make his way in the world. This is in spite of Matashichi's origins as a homeless orphan and Omasa's as the daughter of a wealthy banker. Despite the odds, the two finally receive permission to marry in what could be seen as a vindication of the right to marry for love.

In her examination of the impact of European narrative styles on post Meiji Restoration Japanese literature, Kyoko Kurita notes that in pre-Meiji Japan, the narrative tradition lacked 'a sophisticated use of the romantic triangle.'⁶² Many of Black's narrations however, duplicated the women's sensation fiction authors' reliance upon the

⁶² Kyoko Kurita, 'The Romantic Triangle' in Helen Hardacre (ed.) with Adam L. Kern (1997), *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, Brill, Leiden, New York, Köln, pp. 229-230.

romantic triangle as a literary device. Kurita has argued that the example of the romantic triangle in the West at this time showed Japanese writers how to increase the melodramatic potential of plots by involving society and other characters, and even allowed them to ‘assess the place of the individual and the nation in history.’⁶³ But Kurita also argues that Meiji authors before Natsume Sôseki were unable to realize the full potential of the romantic triangle because they had first to outgrow an initial fascination with its symbolic potential.⁶⁴ In this context, Black’s use of the romantic triangle prior to Sôseki suggests that he may have abetted the process of adapting it to Japanese conditions.

Many of the female protagonists struggle with the issues of the day, and seek solutions to the problems which society throws at them, be they due to their lack of education or gainful employment, or enforced domesticity through a dull marriage. Emancipation and education of women were topics of debate in the years when Black presented his sensation fiction-inspired narrations. Although by 1890 women were the ‘backbone of the Japanese economy,’ outnumbering men in light industry, especially in textiles, where a predominantly female workforce produced 40 percent of GNP and 60 percent of foreign exchange, they still did not have the vote, while only a little over 30 percent of those eligible to attend school did so.⁶⁵

Braddon, a known source of at least two of Black’s works, was one of the most accomplished of all the writers in the women’s sensation fiction genre. Braddon’s female criminals were devious and inventive. Lyn Pykett characterises female criminals created

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁶⁵ Sharon H. Nolte and Sally Ann Hastings ‘The Meiji State’s Policy Towards Women’, in Gail Lee Bernstein (ed.) *Recreating Japanese Women 1600-1945*, University of California, Berkeley, Calif., p. 153.

by Braddon and other women writers of the genre as the ‘most remarkable and remarked-upon criminals and wrong-doers’ of the sensation fiction genre.⁶⁶ Pykett characterises the popularity of the women’s sensation novel as ‘both a response to and part of social change and a changing conceptualization of women.’⁶⁷

Black’s use of such female protagonists provided the same evidence of social change in Japan as the women’s sensation fictions writers did in Britain. In Britain, debate over prostitution and educational and employment opportunities for women prior to and after the introduction of the English Divorce Act of 1857 contributed to the growth of women’s sensation fiction. Similarly, in Japan, in the early years of the Meiji period, until around 1890, there was little government consensus, but much debate, over the nature of changes in the treatment of women. During these years, a number of elite women, whose reading of John Stuart Mill’s *The Subjection of Women* inspired them to work through the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement, addressed rural gatherings on women’s rights.⁶⁸ But by the 1890s, the government had won the debate, banning women from attending political meetings or listening to political speeches, through promulgation in 1887 of the Peace Preservation Ordinance.⁶⁹

The ordinance marked the beginning of the systematic, government-sanctioned encouragement of middle class women to serve the developing nation by remaining in the home as ‘good wives and wise mothers.’ In 1889, the government permitted propertied males to participate in the Diet, but banned women from similar political activity. Women could, however, attend *rakugo* performances or read *sokkibon*. The female

⁶⁶ Pykett, *The Sensation Novel*, p. 49.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁶⁸ Nolte & Hastings, ‘The Meiji State’s Policy Towards Women’, p. 155-156.

⁶⁹ Jean-Pierre Lehmann (1982), *The Roots of Modern Japan*, The Macmillan Press, London, pp. 299-230.

characters in Black's narrations suggest there was still a healthy questioning of the official version of femininity well into the 1890s.

The issue of women's property and inheritance rights figured prominently as a metaphor for female emancipation. With regard to a woman's right to inherit and to own property, the patterning of Japan's 1890 Civil Code on French laws embodying the notion of social equality effectively modified Edo period discrimination against wives by placing the wife second to the husband and ending past practice of emphasizing the male lineage.⁷⁰ Given the topicality of the issue of inheritance, whether for men or for women, and the manner by which one could gain or distribute an inheritance, Black devoted considerable effort in *Shachû no dokubari* to explicating, via the dialogue, the intricacies of inheritance rights in France. In *Shachû no dokubari*, the audience learns of French law as it applies to kinship structure and property relations, particularly in relation to the rights of inheritance, as it applies to women. In particular the statute of limitations on the right to claim an inheritance, are discussed in some detail. When Yamada, the retired and respectable businessman, wishes Okatsu dead because she is the illegitimate daughter of his brother's Italian mistress (*gonsai*), Black explains the social stigma attached to having an illegitimate niece. Black acknowledges that this is as much a source of shame for a family (*ie no haji*) in France as in Japan, but acknowledges that in spite of being illegitimate and female, Okatsu and her sister Onobu are legitimate beneficiaries of their father's will.

⁷⁰ Yazaki Takeo (trans. David L. Swain) (1968), *Social Change and the City in Japan*, Japan Publications Inc., New York, NY, p. 360.

Primogeniture owed its origins in Europe and Japan to feudalism. In Japan this was because military overlords sought to maintain links to followers by allotting them land.⁷¹ But there were important differences which Black's narrations elucidated. In England one could disinherit an heir by selling off one's property or giving it to someone else via a will so that not even the first-born were assured of an inheritance. Japan had had its *ie* or household system based on 'family farms,' subjecting the *ie* to the vagaries of 'demography and genes' so that there developed a system of adoption to ensure succession.⁷² This had resulted in the *ie* in many instances resembling a 'corporation'⁷³ or 'enterprise group' thanks to the legal ability to recruit⁷⁴ persons into it.

At a relatively early point in *Shachû no dokubari*, Black tells the audience that there are many women in Europe who are 'both young and rich.'

In Japan, one very much dislikes having a household name die out. People adopt if they have no child or if they have a girl, they take in a son-in-law (*muko*). In Britain, France, Germany and America, they do not worry about whether or not a household will die out. There are no laws there covering the taking in of adoptees and you cannot obtain a *muko* for a girl.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Alan Macfarlane (1998), 'The Mystery of Property in England and Japan', C.M. Hann (ed.), *Property Relations: Renewing the anthropological tradition*, Cambridge University Press, UK., p. 117.

⁷² In Japan, certainly in the nineteenth century, adoption of persons who were not even kin was not uncommon. Black himself took advantage of the system by being adopted in May 1893 into the family of his legal wife Ishii Aka, becoming Ishii Burakku in the process.

⁷³ This word is used by J.J. Rein in: J.J. Rein (1884) *Japan: Travels and Researches*, London, and by F. Ratzell (1898), *The History of Mankind*, 3 vols. London, Macmillan, with both quoted by Alan Macfarlane in Alan Macfarlane (1998), 'The Mystery of Property in England and Japan', C.M. Hann (Ed.), *Property Relations: Renewing the anthropological tradition*, Cambridge University Press, UK, p.121.

⁷⁴ Robert Smith uses this word. See R.J. Smith (1983), *Japanese Society*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. Quoted by Macfarlane in Macfarlane, 'The Mystery of Property in England and Japan', C.M. Hann (ed.), *Property Relations*, p.121.

⁷⁵ Kairakutei Burakku, *Shachû no dokubari*, p. 38.

Black goes on to explain that daughters in Europe are married off with dowries and that if a father dies, the daughter is quite within her rights to inherit the father's fortune and can then take the money with her when she marries.

It was this radical notion of inheritance, the ability to pass on property from a father to a daughter rather than have such rights restricted to a first-born son or a male adoptee, that was made possible under the new Meiji Civil Code. The new law ensured that on paper at least, the passing of property from the *ie* to the first-born son was not necessarily the natural order of things. The message Black's audiences would have received from *Shachû no dokubari* was one of change in the power relationship between men and women. The Meiji state had legislated for modernity and in this case the beneficiaries were women. Onobu's example was considered a foretaste of what was to come.

Prior to the Meiji period, household members inherited property only with the permission of the household head.⁷⁶ The new Civil Code enabled household members for the first time to exercise their own, individual property rights. By the early 1890s, with the Japanese some 20 years into an era of change, the right of the individual to dispose of property independent of the *ie* had become synonymous with modernity.

But these initiatives were short-lived. In 1898, a revised Civil Code responded to a conservative backlash and brought the family system back in line with feudal values⁷⁷ reinstating the right of eldest sons to inherit family property. However, many of the limitations on Japanese women inheriting, owning property, and becoming household

⁷⁶ G.B. Sansom (1950), *The Western World and Japan*, Cresset Press, London, UK. p. 474. Quoted by Macfarlane in Macfarlane, 'The Mystery of Property in England and Japan', in C.M. Hann (ed.), *Property Relations*, p.122.

⁷⁷ Yazaki, *Social Change and the City in Japan*, p. 360.

heads, as well as the stipulation that they required their husband's permission before managing their own property or entering into a contract or profession were not unknown in Europe, all being contained in the Code Napoléon, and to a greater extent in the German equivalent.⁷⁸

Shachû no dokubari is a lesson in what Macfarlane cites as 'the development of individualised property relations as the central and decisive factor in the rise of modern civilization, and in particular, capitalism.'⁷⁹ The notion that ownership of private property and the accumulation of capital was a natural right was developed and defended throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by thinkers from political economist John Millar (1735-1801), to free trade advocate Adam Smith (1723-90), and political scientist, historian and politician Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859). In Japan, it found expression in the new laws of the Meiji period, and, as the example of Black shows, in the popular literature of the *sokkibon*. In *Shachû no dokubari*, the businessman Tanaka's musings on the appropriateness of allowing his daughter to marry a painter whose income depends on the dictates of fashion and public taste, emphasizes the importance attached to inheritance by demonstrating the extent to which nineteenth century property relations were considered a reflection of social relations.

Many of the protagonists in Black's stories exhibit a degree of geographical and social mobility unknown to Black's audiences. Social and geographic mobility, particularly for Japanese women was an issue linked to emancipation during the Meiji period. As early as 1871, the government had sent five girls to study in the United States, but such experiments were abandoned as the Meiji years wore on, rendering the extended

⁷⁸ Lehmann, *The Roots of Modern Japan*, pp. 231-232.

⁷⁹ Macfarlane, 'The Mystery of Property in England and Japan', p. 104.

geographic mobility of Black's female protagonists subversive. For many Japanese women, the most geographic dislocation they experienced was a move from the country to a nearby town, or textile factory, many in rural locations. In many of Black's narrations, it is modern modes of transport at relatively high speeds and over long distances which facilitate the development of plots and relationships. Women of independent means use coaches and trains to travel across borders or between widely separated cities. In *Shachû no dokubari*, Suzuki Okatsu dies in Paris shortly after coming from Italy to locate her lost sister, and her sister Onobu contemplates returning to Italy after she has learned of Okatsu's death. At a time when it was highly unusual for Japanese women to travel overseas, the fact that such mobility could be taken for granted in Black's stories enhances the impression of emancipation.

In his mapping of locations of events or residences of characters in canonic nineteenth century British and French novels, Franco Moretti has shown a steady widening of the 'literary geography' as technologies and social conditions altered to permit greater mobility.⁸⁰ Citing Jane Austen novels, Moretti has shown how her heroines represent a widening in the geographic range traversed compared to previous authors. Although Austen's characters are limited mainly to southeast England, her heroines romantically attach themselves with, or marry, suitors in nearby counties, reflecting an ability to get on a horse drawn coach and travel at least a day or so.⁸¹ By the 1890s, Black's characters, based on modern novel genres, were extending this range beyond counties to traverse national borders.

⁸⁰ Franco Moretti (1998), *Atlas of the European Novel 1800-1900*, Verso, London, New York, 206 pp.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 206 pp.

The West as Modernity

As Westernisation proceeded apace, Black used this status to explain the many differences between customs in Japan and the West, on occasion even chiding audiences for their uncritical adoption of Western customs. As one of the more tangible expressions of modernity, fashions in clothing were a superficial target for Black's critical eye. Black exhibited an informed awareness of fashion, particularly in regard to women. He went to some lengths to explain Western fashions and ideals of beauty as part of the modern condition in Meiji Japan. In *Shachû no dokubari*, for example, Black used Okatsu's landlady's poor fashion sense to explain the rapidity of change in European fashion.

But she seemed to be someone who didn't care about appearances. Even with her dress, she had quite a strange style. She was done up in a lady's hat that appeared to have been the fashion 14 or 15 years ago, and a drab shawl.⁸²

As fashions altered rapidly in the West, Meiji Japanese exhibited considerable interest in clothing. In *Oliver Twist*, Dickens made no detailed mention of the position of the pockets at the rear of Mr. Brownlow's 'bottle-green coat with a black velvet collar' since his readers took the matter for granted. Black, however, spares no detail, telling us that the elderly man is wearing a long, black *mantoru* (coat) with a pocket in the rear 'such that when one sits down, the pocket is positioned underneath the backside.' Black then gives us a humorous aside about those who carry a sweet home in the pocket from a visit to friends, having to be careful not to sit on it while traveling in a horse-drawn trolley. He then explains that handkerchiefs are 'the most sought after things among British pickpockets' because they are good little money earners.⁸³

⁸² Kairakutei Burakku, *Shachû no dokubari*, p. 70.

⁸³ Ishii Burakku, *Minashigo*, pp. 50-51.

Magazines devoted considerable space to informing readers, particularly women, of fashion changes, as well as of newly available cosmetics and methods of achieving fashionable looks. Meiji governments also promoted Western style chemical cosmetics as adjuncts to hygiene and modernization. An example of this was the campaign by governments through schools to encourage children to clean their hands and brush their teeth.

A state-sponsored makeover in the appearance of women began as early as 1868 with a decree that women need no longer blacken their teeth. Black participated in the promotion of beauty and health information and cosmetics on 12 May 1891⁸⁴ by publishing his own book on the subject, *Danjo seibi keshôhô* (Beauty and Makeup Methods for Men and Women).⁸⁵ The book was edited by Black and ‘translated’ by Motokichi Takamatsu. Priced at 35 *sen*, it had three sections, ‘Skin’, ‘Hair’, and ‘Mouth’, each with an introductory explanation. The first of these urged readers to emulate foreigners and take personal hygiene and cosmetics seriously.

It is human nature for men and women alike to want praise for taking pride in having body, hair and skin as beautiful and glossy as possible. One can say that if one uses a cosmetic suited to one’s body, one can certainly enhance one’s beauty, but such people who do so are few in this world...The Japanese are inclined to praise foreigners with the words ‘So

⁸⁴ An advertisement for the book appeared in the *Yamato Shimbun* on 23 May 1891. Cited by Asaoka Kunio, “Burakku hen ‘danjo seibi’ keshôhô ni tsuite” in *Kairakutei Burakku kenkyû* Vol. 3, 19 September, 1988, p. 13.

⁸⁵ Eijin Burakku [The Englishman Black] (Compiled by Takamatsu Motokichi) (1891), *Danjo seibi keshôhô* (The cover page includes the following English-language notation: *Beauty, How to increase and preserve the beauty of the complexion, Hair and Teeth*. Compiled by H.J. Black and M. Takamatsu). The address of Black and Takamatsu is given as Irifune-chô 8 chôme, 1 banchi in Tokyo. Pub. 12 May 1891. 85 pp. An English surtitle on the cover is *Beauty, How to Increase and Preserve the Beauty of the Complexion, Hair and Teeth*. The book was rediscovered in 1989 by researcher, Asaoka Kunio, at the National Diet Library in Tokyo. For details, see Asaoka Kunio, “Burakku hen ‘danjo seibi’ keshôhô ni tsuite” in *Kairakutei Burakku kenkyû* Vol. 3, 19 September, 1988, p. 13.

lovely!’ But much of the softness and luster in the skin of Westerners is due to the effect of cosmetics⁸⁶

Black went on to say that methods for making the products in the book came from Britain, France and America, but that all ingredients were available locally. Black claimed that persons who were already good looking, but who used the cosmetics would enhance their appearance, while ‘even those who are not good looking will acquire a beauty and luster and will certainly meet with praise from others.’⁸⁷ The book listed ways of preparing beauty aids, including face whitener, toothpaste, mouth deodorant and *eau de Cologne*. In the introduction to the section on mouth hygiene, Black promised that the recipes for mouth deodorants and tooth cleaners would help eliminate mouth odour, give clean teeth, and relieve toothache.⁸⁸

A *Yamato shinbun* advertisement stated that the book was available through Takamatsu Motokichi of the company *Eidendô* at the same Tsukiji address as Henry Black. A police dossier compiled several years later on the occasion of Black’s marriage, stated that Takamatsu and Black were in a homosexual relationship. Black’s use of the name Motokichi for the central character in *Shachû no dokubari*, also published in 1891, was possibly a tribute to Takamatsu. Black advertised *Eidendô* in another narration around this time. In *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage* (Tale from a London Theatre), when the nobleman John Smith (Jon Sumisu) dyes his hair, Black urges listeners to obtain such products through *Eidendô*.⁸⁹ It is not known how Black obtained the information in the book on hygiene and cosmetics. It is possible he culled it from a range of sources and translated it for Takamatsu who transcribed the details.

⁸⁶ Eijin Burakku, *Danjo seibi keshôhō*, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

The book capitalized on campaigns for reform of personal appearance, including hairstyles and clothes. Frequently associated with Westernization, the campaign was fueled by such constructs as the Rokumeikan, a government-built pavilion for Western style balls and concerts at which upper-class citizens dressed principally in European-style clothes and adopted European hair styles. Itô Umeko, wife of elder statesman Itô Hirobumi, was active in promoting the cultivation of Western-style feminine accomplishments through the formation of women's groups dedicated to the improvement of etiquette and conversational skills.⁹⁰ The example set by the wives of prominent government figures at such functions fueled demand in the media for information on how to achieve Western-style beauty and dress.⁹¹

The book's recommendation that soap is a useful means to ensure hygiene also occurred in Black's narrated story *Shachû no dokubari* (The Poisoned Pin in the Coach), published in December the same year. In *Shachû no dokubari* Black refers to the landlady of the dead Okatsu as having a face so dirty (*kao ni aka ga kobiritsuite iru*) that it needed a wash with the then popular Kaô brand soap available in Tokyo's Bakura-chô.⁹² Soap was a relatively early post-Restoration innovation, having been the subject of domestic research from *bakumatsu* times, leading to the establishment of soap factories in Kyoto in 1873 and in Yokohama in 1874.⁹³ Advertising also associated soap with a civilized society following the government's promotion of Western-style chemical-based

⁸⁹ Eikokujin Burakku (1891), *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage*, p. 116.

⁹⁰ Sharon L. Sievers (1983), *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif., p. 93.

⁹¹ 'Meiji – kindai biyô no akebono', in *Modan – keshô shi, yosooi no 80 nen* (1986), Pôra Bunka Kenkyûjo, Tokyo, p. 14. (author unknown).

⁹² Eijin Burakku, *Shachû no dokubari*, p. 65.

⁹³ 'Meiji – kindai biyô no akebono', pp. 16-17.

cosmetics as adjuncts to hygiene and modernization.⁹⁴ Cholera outbreaks in the late 1880s aided the promotion of soap as a health aid.⁹⁵ Bakura-chô, in Nihonbashi, was the site of the soaps, cosmetics and household goods firm Nagase Shôten which was using the Kaô brand name by 1891. Much earlier, the now well-known cosmetics maker Shiseidô was established in 1872 by Fukuhara Arinobu as Japan's first Western-style pharmacy. One of the company's early products, sold from 1888, was its tooth powder and paste. By 1888, tooth powder and paste were among the earliest products the company promoted. Shiseidô began selling cosmetics in 1897.⁹⁶

Indicative of Black's familiarity with the discourse on beauty, is a passage in *Shachû no dokubari* which refers to the custom of Western artists using live models. Black says this is a seemingly straight-forward task, but that unless a male model is good-looking like 'Zaigo Chûjô Narihira,⁹⁷ Hikaru Genji,⁹⁸ or a handsome man such as myself, an artist will not make a decent living'.⁹⁹ He then describes the ideal female beauty, noting that in the case of a woman, 'her look must have the gaze of the lotus flower (*fuyô no manajiri*), lips like a red flower (*tanka no kuchibiru*), and the blushing charm (*chingyo rakugan*) of a bashful flower under the hidden moon (*heigetsu shûka*).'¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Kazumi Ishii, seminar presentation 'The Image of Women Portrayed in Shiseidô Advertisements', University of Sydney Asian Studies departmental seminar, 7 Oct 1999.

⁹⁵ 'Meiji – kindai biyô no akebono', p. 16.

⁹⁶ Kazumi Ishii, 'The Image of Women Portrayed in Shiseidô Advertisements'.

⁹⁷ This is a reference to Ariwara no Narihira (825-880), fifth son of Prince Abo and a noted *waka* poet of the early Heian period. See 'Ariwara no Narihira', in *Biographical Dictionary of Japanese Literature* (1976), Kodansha International, Tokyo, p. 54, 'From early times, he was famous as the model of the courtly lover, and numerous legends surround his name.' Also 'Ariwara no Narihira', in *Dai jinmei jiten*, Vol. 1 (1953), Heibonsha, Tokyo, pp. 123-124.

⁹⁸ Hikaru Genji is the amorous central character in *The Tale of Genji*, an eleventh century novel whose authorship is attributed to the court lady Murasaki Shikibu.

⁹⁹ Eijin Burakku, *Shachû no dokubari*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24. ('Onna nareba fuyô manajiri, tanka no kuchibiru, chingyo rakugan heigetsu shûka no yosooi de nakereba ikemasen.') The passage contains the following meanings: *fuyô* (a cotton rose/ Confederate rose, Also an alternative name for the lotus flower and a simile for a beautiful woman.) (Kôjien p. 2269.); *manajiri* (gaze); *tanka* (red flower), making *tanka no kuchibiru* a simile for the lips of a beautiful woman.

Eating habits in the West were also an object of interest to audiences. Given the debate over the benefits of beef-eating¹⁰¹ for the Japanese race, Black's mention in *Minashigo* of those English staples of meat, bread, and beer on the menu at the pub where Seikichi receives his first meal on entering London would have been of interest.¹⁰² In the same story, Black explains the differences in attitude among mourners toward a bereaved family. Whereas, the Japanese hold an all-night wake with food and drink and talk, in Britain, people go around in bare feet and reduce their speech to a whisper in a display of sympathy toward the mourners.

In Japan, on the evening of a wake, food and drink are served and everyone sits up all night talking about this, that and the other. But on the other hand, isn't keeping things quiet a way of expressing a degree of sympathy toward the mourners?¹⁰³

Black likens the British custom of posting pallbearers outside the house of the deceased to the lowering of the blinds on the front of the house when misfortune visits the home of a high-ranking person in Japan.¹⁰⁴

Black also alludes to the habit of punctuality among foreigners, then something of a novelty with many Japanese workers unaccustomed to shift work and the 24-hour factory. Studies by Sheldon Garon, Andrew Gordon, and Thomas Smith¹⁰⁵ of Meiji

(Kôjien p. 1624); *chingyo rakugan* (originally a ref to the fact that fish and birds flee out of fear of a person, even if humans find that person is beautiful to behold. Later the expression altered in nuance to signify the manner in which animals are shy, and now implies the charm of a beautiful woman. (Kôjien p. 1695); *heigetsu shûka* (sometimes written as *shûka heigetsu*.) On exposure to a beautiful countenance, even a flower is bashful and the moon goes into hiding. Signifies a beautiful woman. (Kôjien p. 1209): *yosooi* (toilet/ makeup/ attire).

¹⁰¹ For a light-hearted, satirical portrayal of the beef-eating fad at this time, see Kanagaki Robun, 'The Beefeater' [an extract from the author's *Aguranabe*, 1871] in Donald Keene (ed.) (1956), *Modern Japanese Literature*, Thames and Hudson, London, pp 31-33.

¹⁰² Ishii Burakku, *Minashigo*, p. 39.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 15-16.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁵ Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*; Andrew Gordon (1991), *Labour and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif.; Thomas Smith (1959), *The Agrarian Origins of*

labour relations and practice show that until the early 1900s, many Japanese were unaccustomed to labour practices which required punctuality since the introduction of industrial era machines capable of round-the-clock operation occurred relatively late compared to the West. Many among the burgeoning work force in the cities came from the country and were unused to the strictly regulated work regimes required in factories. To catch up with the industrialized West, Japan's bureaucrats and entrepreneurs embarked on a crash course aimed at inculcating in the country's labour force new patterns of behavior, among them the habit of punctuality. This campaign had met with little success by Black's time.

Black used *Iwade Ginkô chishio no tegata* to propose an explanation for the origins of Westerners' habit of punctuality.

Everyone knows how fussy foreigners are when it comes to time and always keeping appointments. When you wonder how they became so careful with time, I think there is one peculiar reason. As you are aware, Western cooking is something you can't do in a hurry. If it goes cold, it tastes bad. And once something's cooled down and reheated, it tastes bad. That's why meal times have to be specified. No matter what the household, the times for breakfast, lunch and dinner are set and they are that time, not even five minutes either way.

So, Iwade's evening meal was set at 7 p.m. If Iwade left the bank at 5 p.m., he could catch the train and arrive in time for a bit of a rest before dinner, so that this was the most convenient time for their dinner. Iwade was a kindly person, but he was a stickler for punctuality.¹⁰⁶

In his history of the clock and timekeeping, David S. Landes shows the extent to which time measurement in the form of the mechanical clock 'was at once a sign of new-found creativity and an agent and catalyst in the use of knowledge for wealth and

Modern Japan, Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif.; Thomas C. Smith (1988), 'Peasant Time and Factory Time in Japan', in Thomas C. Smith, *Native Sources of Japanese Industrialization, 1750-1920*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif., pp. 199-235.

power,' responsible for turning Europe from a Mediterranean outpost to a 'hegemonic aggressor.'¹⁰⁷ In using a bank manager to demonstrate punctiliousness Black chose the very personification of this wealth and power. Black proffered the bank manager who lives by the clock as a model of the kind of 'control, order, and self-restraint' to which Landes refers in his analysis of the creative impact of mechanized time on European civilization from medieval times.¹⁰⁸ Black's message is the same as that of the government. The clock can alter the persona. Black emphasized this difference in attitude toward punctuality by noting, humorously, that if it were Japan, no wife would be seriously worried if her husband were not home well after his usual hour. Where Iwade's wife frets that something dreadful might have happened to him when he fails to arrive home at the usual time one evening, Black maintains that a Japanese wife would merely assume that her husband had encountered friends and accepted an invitation to 'a meal or amusement' around the entertainment quarters of Konparu or Yanagibashi.'¹⁰⁹ By contrasting the punctilious London bank manager with the philandering Japanese husband, Black presaged a new cultural and economic interpretation of time.

Hybrid settings, hybrid people

As part of Black's blueprint for survival, the topographical settings of his narrations are ostensibly Western – invariably urban and usually London or Paris – superimposed with elements of Tokyo and other Japanese cities, creating a hybrid blend evoking a

¹⁰⁶ Kairakutei Burakku (1893), *Iwade ginkô chishio no tegata*, pp. 40-41.

¹⁰⁷ David S. Landes (1983), *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. p. 12.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 81-82.

¹⁰⁹ Kairakutei Burakku, *The Bloodstained Handprint at the Iwade Bank*, p. 42. According to 'Konparu geisha to Shinbashi' in *Edo Tôkyô gaku jiten*, Sanseidô, Tokyo, p. 926, in the Edo period, the brothel quarters were in Yanagibashi and Fukagawa, but shifted from just before the start of the Meiji period to Shinbashi. Entertainers known as 'konparu geisha' were associated with Shinbashi which became a place

futuristic vision of the modern Tokyo cityscape as its government planners perceived it. The landscapes contain Western-style buildings amid streets traversed by modes of transport pioneered in the West, including horse-drawn omnibuses, stagecoaches, and steam trains, while church bells toll the hours,¹¹⁰ assignations take place in pubs, and rich merchants stock their homes with plush carpets. But Black made his ostensibly European settings easier to appreciate by introducing familiar Japanese elements.

The inhabitants frequently bear Japanese names and display Japanese tastes in food, reading matter, and clothing. Familiar topographical objects are juxtaposed against European landscapes, such as in *Shachû no dokubari* where Tokyo's famous bridges are set within the Paris landscape, presumably spanning the Seine. When the anxious landlady questions Itô Jirôkichi on the whereabouts of her missing boarder Okatsu, she tells Itô she fears the girl may died at any one of Shinbashi, Manseibashi, or Nihonbashi, three famous bridges in Tokyo.¹¹¹

The hybridity of these landscapes with their blend of the exotic and the familiar, renders the narrations metaphors for the assimilative modernization which was taking place in Meiji Japan. They contain prototypes of the evolving hybrid Meiji cities and citizens. This reflects the process of reinvention to which Fujitani has referred in his studies of the manner in which the topography of inner Tokyo was reconfigured to fit new definitions of its role as the central administrative hub of a modern nation-state and of the Japanese as citizens of a modern nation state.¹¹²

of entertainment favored by officials from the new Meiji period governments. Yanagibashi remained as an entertainment quarter associated with those who sympathized with the old *bakufu*.

¹¹⁰ Ishii Burakku, *Minashigo*, p. 109.

¹¹¹ Kairakutei Burakku, *Shachû no dokubari*, p. 66.

¹¹² Takashi Fujitani, 'Inventing, Forgetting, Remembering: Toward a Historical Ethnography of the Nation-State', in Befu (ed.), *Cultural Nationalism in East Asia*, pp. 77-106.

The need to retain familiar elements motivated Black to express relationships in terms comprehensible to the audience. Thus, Confucian notions of family and morality were never completely expunged. In *Minashigo*, Tôgorô's band of thieves are said to co-exist within the *oyabun-kobun* (boss-henchman) hierarchy, delineated by *ani-otôto-bun* (older brother-younger brother) relationships.¹¹³ In *Iwade Ginkô chishio no tegata*, Iwade Yoshio is able to forgive Matashichi's theft of his wallet and even persuade the police to expunge any record of the crime from their accounts because the theft resulted from Matashichi's devotion to his starving mother, expressed as the Confucian ideal of *oya kôkô* (filial piety).¹¹⁴ When the identity of Seikichi becomes an issue in the closing stage of *Minashigo*, Fukuda Yûkichi takes a train to Leeds to visit the orphanage where he was raised to determine the boy's *seki* (official domicile). The term *seki* is almost exclusive to Japan where on birth a child is entered in its parents' family register which has an official address. Black's audiences would have accepted this as normal.

In achieving a sense of familiarity with the psychic and physical landscape, Black displayed a mastery of figurative Japanese and a knowledge of allegory. In *Minashigo*, Omine and Bunroku, his prototypes of Dickens's Nancy and Sikes, respectively, are described as like 'wild ducks,' a common symbol of marital fidelity in East Asia. Their relationship is said to be reminiscent of the devoted elderly couple in the *nô* play *Takasago*.¹¹⁵ This famous play by Zeami portrays a Shinto priest, who while traveling in Takasago, meets an elderly couple sweeping the forest floor. The priest learns that the couple are the spirits of two aged pine trees who although separated by a great distance,

¹¹³ Ishii Burakku, *Minashigo*, p. 112.

¹¹⁴ Kairakutei Burakku, *Iwade ginkô chishio no tegata*, p. 24.

¹¹⁵ Ishii Burakku, *Minashigo*, p. 61.

are husband and wife. The mere use of the word Takasago implies marital faithfulness unto death.

Familiar objects like newspapers also appear. In *Minashigo*, when the farmer Kizaemon returns from London and appears in the village pub where the thief and killer Bunroku is eating a meal, Kizaemon produces a newspaper. What follows is a satire on the contemporary divide between the gossip-oriented *koshinbun* and the *ôshinbun* with their political connections and more didactic reporting style. Asked if he saw anything unusual in London, Kizaemon says the newspaper is full of news about parliament, none of which he can comprehend. By comparison, an item about the particularly gruesome murder of Omine, has interested Kizaemon and he holds it up, together with its accompanying artist's likeness of the suspect, for all in the pub to see.¹¹⁶ Black appears to be having a tongue-in-cheek jibe at the new Meiji era parliament here. In *Shachû no dokubari*, the insertion of the *Yamato shinbun*, a popular Tokyo newspaper,¹¹⁷ also aids familiarity in a humourous way when Okatsu's landlady exclaims after hearing of Okatsu's death that she must have read of the incident in that paper.

Throughout the *sokkibon*, it is the small details which impart a sense of familiarity. The universal currency is the Japanese denominations of *sen*, *shô*, and *yen*. Distances are expressed in the Japanese unit of *ri*. Even food can take on an entirely Japanese flavor in the interest of audience understanding. In *Iwade Ginkô chishio no tegata*, a head clerk, ordered by Iwade to take the filthy urchin Matashichi to Iwade's home, considers disobeying the order because the boy is so filthy and foul smelling. But he complies with the order after realizing that to refuse could result in his losing his job

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 155-156.

¹¹⁷ Kairakutei Burakku, *Shachû no dokubari*, p. 68.

and not being able to supply his family with the New Year's Day treats of *otoso* (spiced sake) and *ozôni* (rice cakes in vegetable soup). In *Minashigo*, the jealous maid Onabe ill-treats Seikichi by serving him burned portions of *ochazuke* and watered-down *miso* soup.¹¹⁸ And when Seikichi develops a fever while recovering in the home of Fukuda Yûkichi from a beating after being chased in the Strand, Fukuda is anxious to see a speedy recovery to a stage sufficient to permit him to feed the boy nutritious *akameshi* (sticky red rice).¹¹⁹ In *Minashigo*, characters easily move between the two culinary cultures, accepting Japanese foods as easily as they do bread, meat and brandy in a country pub.

Pubs too are described in familiar Japanese terms. In *Minashigo*, the country pub at which Bunroku seeks a meal when on the run after killing Omine is described as a *tateba chaya*, a type of teahouse common in the Edo period and typically constructed alongside roads for travelers. Black qualifies his use of the expression, however.

‘In Britain, the *tateba chaya* have travelers as customers during the day, but at night they are places for the local young people to gather to relax. If it is in the country, then there are no *yose* and no theatres. People get bored just staying in their homes, so when they finish their chores, they have their evening meal and then go to the *chaya* to drink.’¹²⁰

In *Shachû no dokubari*, when Okatsu's landlady recognises the phony detective Tsuchiya's wife she approaches the wife and thanks her for the *gomokuzushi*, a type of vinegared rice, which the wife had earlier given her. The landlady adds that the dish was

¹¹⁸ Ishii Burakku, *Minashigo*, p. 18-19.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

so delicious that she had eaten too much of it too quickly and had taken the popular peppermint flavored antidote *Hôtan*.¹²¹

Reflecting government and audience lack of interest in the spiritual aspects of borrowings from the West, Black's *sokkibon* are largely devoid of Christian religious references. The hybrid world depicted is an essentially secular one. Churches are present, but rarely serve as excuses for the narrator to extrapolate on religious ritual or belief. Rather, they serve to accentuate the Westernness of the landscape. In *Minashigo*, for example, Black uses the church near Bunroku's hideout solely for the dramatic impact of its belfry clock which tolls the hours approaching the time when Seikichi must perform an as-yet unspecified criminal act. Black's reference to the clock is totemic, evoking the cost and effort put into the construction of such a timepiece as a symbol of modernity on the part of communities in Europe.¹²²

By contrast, in the same story, Black makes familiar reference to *Oshakasama* the historical Buddha characteristically portrayed in Buddhist iconography with a wisdom protuberance on the top of his head.¹²³ The reference occurs in his description of Tôgorô's habit of beating his child pickpockets over the head if they failed in their game of picking his pocket. If they were beaten over the head too much, they got bumps on their head and 'ended up looking like Oshakasama.'¹²⁴

In *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage*, however, Black uses the marriage between the naïve Gâtsurudo and the actor James Sumerurî to explain marriage customs in Britain, going into some detail about the Christian wedding ceremony and the necessity for all to

¹²¹ Kairakutei Burakku, *Shachû no dokubari*, p.115.

¹²² See Landes, *Revolution in Time*, p. 79.

¹²³ 'Buddhist iconography' in *Japan, an Illustrated Encyclopedia*, Kôdansha, Tokyo, (1993), p. 131

¹²⁴ Ishii Burakku, *Minashigo*, p. 46.

register their marriage to ensure that offspring are legitimate and can inherit. Black compares this with what he claims is the relative ease with which Japanese men take concubines and mistresses, adding that the Christian wedding ceremony represents a stronger commitment between the couple than that implied in the simple Japanese ritual of exchanging cups of sake.

It is like the *shitakiri suzume*.¹²⁵ You marry and might regret it for life. Morally speaking, it is assumed that the wife you marry will be the one for life until death do you part.¹²⁶

Despite Black's portrayals of the mannerisms and sensibilities of Victorian England and Paris, that 'grand stage of the modern era,'¹²⁷ his characters often remain psychologically embedded in Meiji Japan. An outstanding example of this occurs in *Iwade Ginkô chishio no tegata* when Matashichi protests over his wrongful arrest. Indignant at being suddenly clamped in handcuffs, he insists to the arresting policeman that

I am a businessman (*shônin*). I am not someone with a political ideology (*seiji shisô*). I am not a political bully (*sôshi*) under orders to pull out.'

The passage contains examples of two archetypical Meiji period persons the businessman and the *sôshi*. The businessman was the very symbol of modern innovation and the epitome of entrepreneurship in the new Japan. The *sôshi* were young political activists who constituted the main opponents of plans drawn up by Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru in the late 1880s to revise the unequal treaties with Western powers. The degree of compromise with the Western powers implied in Inoue's plans provoked

¹²⁵ The title of a Japanese morality tale about a sparrow. The theme is marital fidelity.

¹²⁶ Eikokujin Burakku, *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage*, p. 61.

¹²⁷ John McDonald, 'They love Paris in the meantime', *Spectrum* in *The Sydney Morning Herald – The Weekend Edition*, May 26-27, 2001, p. 12.

intense opposition from a number of quarters led by Minister of Commerce and Agriculture Tani Kanjô who perceived the arrangement as a humiliating capitulation. Young students and the *sôshi* earned notoriety through their violent expressions of opposition to Inoue's proposals. So widespread was the opposition that Inoue adjourned a Tokyo conference of treaty power representatives on 18 July 1887 and resigned as foreign minister.¹²⁸ Although these events occurred about four years before Black narrated *Iwade Ginkô chishio no tegata*, the issue remained topical and a resolution was only achieved with Britain in April 1894 with the conclusion of a new treaty abolishing extraterritoriality within five years.¹²⁹

Conclusion

Black's narrations show how he served as a vector for the introduction of concepts from European fiction into the written and oral discourse on modernity. The majority of the narrations, which were delivered in vernacular Japanese, reached a large and geographically disparate audience via *yose*, newspapers, and *sokkibon*, and assisted in the development of new forms of literary expression and new ways of understanding the self and its environment. The narrations were entertaining and instructive. As tools in mapping the development of the literary sensibility and intellectual history of the Japanese, Black's narrations reveal much about the way he and his contemporaries interpreted Meiji reforms and their impact. Although they display a belief in the plasticity of human beings, they also show that many of the images portrayed to audiences in the *yose*, particularly in regard to women, challenged the state's prescriptions for refashioning the self.

¹²⁸ Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan*, pp. 101-105.

The varied reactions to modernity which Black portrayed confirm that whereas successive Meiji governments systematically set about destroying what remained of feudal institutions to create a modern nation-state, it was a more difficult task to eliminate the psychological vestiges. In presenting his own blueprint for coping with modernity, Black displayed a sensitivity toward this issue, producing hybrid landscapes and people by merging the exotic with the familiar. His use of sensation fiction to achieve this occurred within the context of the search by Japanese writers for a workable form and language for the modern novel. That search was part of a wider one on the part of Meiji citizens for more workable ways of relating to each other and the rest of the world.

Black's narrations show that he participated in and attempted to influence the contemporary discourse on modernity. His narrations provide a window onto the issues which preoccupied the citizens of Meiji Japan on a daily basis. They also reflect developments in the way in which the Japanese viewed the world and their place in it in the 1880s and 1890s.

Black's use of forms from Europe reflects contemporary patterns of cultural adaptation. What Black did with his adaptations was no different in approach from European writers who adapted forms of the novel across borders in the nineteenth century. But as a European in Japan, Black's application of the sensation novel genre represents a leap by the genre beyond the confines of Europe across time and space from one hemisphere to another. Black retained the form, but was flexible enough to adapt it to conditions in Meiji Japan. In his search for models which would work, Black

¹²⁹ Akira Iriye, 'Japan's drive to great-power status', in Marius B. Jansen (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Japan, Vol. 5, The Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, p. 764.

took into account factors such as audience interest, affinity and appeal, his own need for suspense, given the serialized nature of the material, and his desire to inform. The representative *sokkibon* discussed in this chapter show that the landscapes of Black's narrations were altered to replicate the contemporary discourse on modernity in Japan. The characters who peopled those landscapes represented personal responses to the problems posed by the new psychological and topographical landscapes created by the Meiji reforms.

As a *rakugoka*, Black possessed a higher degree of feedback from his audience than practitioners of other performance arts, and certainly more so than between the reader and the novelist. Aware as he must have been of the milieu in which the government sought to 'retain the national essence,' Black worked through his stories to retain sufficient of that essence as not to alienate his audiences. In an extrapolation of the hermeneutic notion in reader response theory that the author creates the reader, Black, the modernizing *rakugoka*, created the modernizing audience through an experience shared physically within the bounds of the *yose*, and vicariously beyond these confines in the imagined hybrid nation-state of Japan as England or France.

While much work has been done by scholars on the search for a new identity in the 1880s, Black's actions as a hybridizer lend weight to the argument that artists played a key role in forging the new ways of seeing the individual and his or her place in the world. Artists were at the forefront of that process of cross-fertilization required to create and interpret the new culture. Since *rakugo* was the art form most accessible to the people during the Meiji period, it should assume a prominent position in any scholarly reassessment of the role of the arts in the search for Meiji modernity. Henry Black was an

agent of modernization using an overtly traditional art form. Such an appreciation of his narrations and their printed versions accords Black a position as a vital part of Japan's literary and intellectual history.

Chapter Six

A New Society: Blueprint for Social Management

Black as social critic – on dealing with the problems of modernity

The variety of responses to the trappings of modernity suggested or portrayed in Black's narrations indicate a degree of ambivalence over the pace and nature of reform. Elements of the narrations can be read as warnings about the disadvantages of modernity as it was perceived at the time. Black's narrations also display ambivalence toward the bureaucracy whose job it was to carry out the reforms mandated by the state. But Black also offered a measure of hope for the future in the role science could play in offering solutions to society's ills. In particular, between 1886 and 1893, Black's narrations display a semiotic transition in themes reflecting responses to the darker side of modernity. Between Bess's London slum origins in the 1886 *Kusaba no Tsuyu*, the Paris flophouses of the 1891 *Shachû no dokubari*, and the filthy robbers' den of the 1893 *Minashigo*, Black does not abandon the sensation fiction writer's bleak vision of the city as labyrinthine and potentially alienating, substantiating Franco Moretti's observation that developments in the social geography of the nineteenth century novel paralleled developments in industrial capitalism.¹ The social geography of Black's *sokkibon* reflected not only the hybridity which was a characteristic of Meiji modernity, but also modernity's more negative outcomes, particularly the growth of urban slums and poverty.

The semiotic transition began with a story which symbolizes the disruptive evils of the city visited upon a country idyll, progressed through a highly creative median stage

¹ Franco Moretti (1998), *Atlas of the European Novel 1800-1900*, Verso; London, New York, p. 17.

where an attempt is made to blend country and city, and ended with a story whose central character flees the country for the city, endures hardship in the urban labyrinth, and eventually reaches an accommodation with the city thanks to the discovery of previously unknown family members.

City and hinterland - from *Kusaba no tsuyu* to *Minashigo*

The earliest of these stories is Black's 1886 mediation of the early Braddon novelette *Flower and Weed*. In style, this Braddon work harked back to a genre known as manor novels with origins in late eighteenth century Britain and the onset of the Industrial Revolution. Black's adaptation of it as *Kusaba no tsuyu* is a metaphor for the dangers posed to a feudal status quo by a British-style Industrial Revolution. With its intrusion of the city upon the country and its calls for legislated measures to aid the poor, it contains elements of nostalgia for a feudal past tempered with an early warning that unchecked industrialization will lead to disruption. The nostalgia for the country portrayed in the story had parallels in the expressions of regret from foreign visitors and diary writers in the 1860s and 1870s over the passing of Old Japan.

Kusaba no tsuyu is set mainly at Ingleshaw Castle in Kent, home of Lord Ingleshaw and his young daughter, Lady Lucille. It tells of Bess, a young and destitute woman who while attempting to escape the London slums is found ill and starving in the castle grounds. Lucille takes Bess in and has her taught upper-class social graces. Although Lucille and her cousin Bruno are to marry, Bess sets up a love triangle by developing a liking for Bruno. Bess's dilemma is resolved fatally when she takes a knife thrust from her estranged husband during an attack on Bruno in the castle. From its very first sentences which describe the castle with its vast gardens dating from the 1700s in

which the ‘lone beloved princess’ (*hitori no manahime*)² Lucille passes her days reading, playing the piano, or taking walks, the story contains elements evocative of a lifestyle in the West of which Black’s audiences could only dream. With its tale of a slum girl making good, the story offered audiences proof that in their post-Restoration world where samurai and nobility had had their privileges eliminated or curtailed, hereditary titles meant little and all humans were potentially the equal of others. When Lucille’s governess Marujoru protests to Lucille that Bess is a mere flower-seller found by the wayside, Black’s Lucille retorts that ‘people are people, irrespective of whether they are rich or poor, of high rank or low rank.’³ The remark is not a direct translation of remarks Braddon gave her version of Lucille at that point in the story, but it is true to the spirit of the original character. But in spite of the egalitarianist message, the story retains an air of foreboding. Bess never escapes association with the notion of an invader from the city who has contaminated the idyllic life of the castle.

Kusaba no tsuyu contains little in the way of hybridity, sticks closely to the original plot, and uses highly stylized language. By 1891, however, Black experienced a creative high point with the presentation of some seven narrations in one year, all relying on vernacular Japanese. The seven include *Nagare no Akatsuki* (Dawn at the River), *Eikoku no otoshibanashi* (A humourous story from England),⁴ the murder mystery *Setsunaru Tsumi* (The Pitiful Sin), the adaptation of Braddon’s 1876 short story *Her Last Appearance* as *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage* (Story from a London Theatre), the detective mysteries *Bara musume* (The Rose Girl) and *Shachû no dokubari* (The

² Buradon (Braddon), Black (dictation) (1886), *Kusaba no tsuyu*, Shitô Kenkichi (pub. & annotator), Nihonbashi, Tokyo, p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁴ Morioka Heinz and Sasaki Miyoko prefer the title *The Beer Drinking Contest*. This is a more accurate

Poisoned Pin in the Coach), and *Iwade ginkô chishio no tegata* (The Bloodstained Handprint in the Iwade Bank). The majority of the stories are set in European capitals, usually Paris or London. This study's analysis of *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage*, *Shachû no dokubari*, and *Iwade ginkô chishio no tegata* reveals a high degree of hybridity in setting and characters.

Black's 1893 reworked version of *Oliver Twist* as *Minashigo* was a reversal of the model attempted in *Kusaba no tsuyu*. *Minashigo* is not a portrayal of the evils of the city visited upon the countryside. Rather, it deals with the simple goodness of a boy from a country town who enters the city, reconciles with it, and ultimately witnesses the defeat of urban evil embodied in the murderer Bunroku and Tôgorô's robber gang. Black's version follows the adventures of the orphan Seikichi from the workhouse in a provincial English city to his encounter with Tôgoro and his gang of thieves and eventual meeting with his real grandfather. Black's adaptation is considerably simplified by comparison to the original. Minor characters and subplots are eliminated. Of the minor characters missing from Black's version, we do not, for example, find Little Dick who was Oliver's workhouse companion. There is no reference to that well-known and pivotal incident in which Oliver gets up the courage to ask for more food at the orphanage. But the Black version is just as forbidding when it deals with the poverty and injustice of industrial England and slum London. This appears to have been one of the main messages in Black's story.

The high degree of departure from the original plot in *Minashigo* confirms that Black had become confident in his ability to adapt. Black considerably truncates the original plot, shedding extraneous characters and altering key events. Where Dickens has

reflection of the story contents.

the robbers making off with Oliver after he is wounded during an attempt to rob Mrs. Maylie's house, Black has Seikichi shot by Bunroku when the occupants of the house of silk merchant Fukuda Zenkichi realize there is a robbery in progress. Bunroku attempts to kill Seikichi as a precaution because he fears that he would divulge details about them to the household. Where this incident sets off a convoluted train of events which take at least the entire second half of the original novel to unravel, Black's version places the shooting near the end of the story. The dialogue is in the vernacular. Didactic digressions are copious. The process of experimentation with adaptation appears to have been completed.

Nevertheless, in *Minashigo* there appears to be a resolution of the tension between country and city in the final vanquishing of evil. Such an accommodation served Black's dramatic purpose, and may have satisfied his audiences' own need for at least a vicarious sense of resolution of their own continuing problems on relocation to the metropolis. These tensions between city and country, together with the mingling of Western and Japanese elements, portrayed in Black's narrations, serve as metaphors for the debate over the direction of modernization. In reality, no such reconciliation occurred since the debate over modernity instigated by the advent of industrial capitalism continued, but the issues of nostalgia over an idealized and agrarian past which is lost when one enters the city, and the alienation of the individual in the industrialized city, are all raised in Black's stories. These were the issues which preoccupied Black's audiences, particularly those in the metropolis of Tokyo.

The age of reform

Black's narrations are evidence that the Japanese had grounds for mistrusting many reforms aimed at achieving modernity. Black's use of the word *kairyô* (reform) in his narrations reflects the contemporary discourse over the phenomenon. The word appeared at least as early as 1873 in a petition composed by Maejima Hisoka (1835-1919), an official interpreter to the *bakufu*. Prior to the Meiji Restoration, Maejima petitioned the *shôgun* for the replacement of *kanji* with a style closer to the spoken language. In 1869 and 1873, he directed similar petitions at the Meiji government.⁵ The 1873 petition contained *kairyô* in its title. Pleas for *kairyô* were 'legion' in the *Nichi nichu shinbun* during the 1880s, rendering it a 'shibboleth' associated with Westernization.⁶ Such pleas in the newspaper included calls for reform of dress through the introduction of Western-style clothing as more suited to working in, and even the genetic modification of the Japanese race through intermarriage with European and American women. In *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage*, Black referred to the persistent calls for reform by *Nichi nichu shinbun* editor Fukuchi Gen'ichirô⁷ in an aside on the differences between Western and Japanese theatre.

Theatre forms in my country England, and in Japan, are fairly different. Above all, there are gentlemen such as Fukuchi Gen'ichirô doing their utmost to reform the theatre. One of the issues is whether it is better to reform by adopting the Western approach, or whether the Japanese theatre is better reformed while retaining its uniqueness entirely.⁸

⁵ Peter Kornicki (1982), *The Reform of Fiction in Meiji Japan*, Oxford Oriental Monographs, Ithaca Press, London, p. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷ Fukuda was editor of the newspaper between 1874 and 1888.

⁸ Eikokujin Burakku (1891), *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage*, Nomura Ginzaburô, Tokyo, p. 12.

Bureaucrats and the Meiji social experiment

To carry out its reforms, the government relied heavily on its agents in the bureaucracy as mediators, interpreters and enforcers of its regulations. But the bureaucrats were not universally popular. Many, in the initial decades after the Restoration, came from the same samurai class, which had been the oppressors before the Restoration. Their presence reinforced and prolonged the divide between bureaucrats and ordinary people during those years.⁹ Black too had no particular fondness for conniving bureaucrats. His own father had lost his job as a newspaper editor thanks to the machinations of bureaucrats dissatisfied with his criticisms of them. But bureaucrats were the most frequently encountered persons when citizens dealt with local and central government agencies.

As citizens of the new Japan, *yose* audiences were the subjects of an experiment in which the Meiji elite, which included the country's bureaucrats, sought to mould minds in the creation of a new society. Sheldon Garon, arguing that the Meiji government was more interventionist and centralized than the Tokugawa shogunate, has characterized this experiment as 'social management' to distinguish it from Western theories of social control.¹⁰ Indicative of the hands-on role the bureaucracy played was the 1870-1885 Kôbushô (Ministry of Industry) whose construction of railway and telegraph networks both supported the economy and provided tangible, nation-wide evidence that the government was committed to bringing the entire nation within its aegis.¹¹ Not even the self could escape the reforming hand of the state. Certainly in the

⁹ Sheldon Garon (1997), *Molding Japanese Minds*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, p.18.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xv.

¹¹ Tessa Morris-Suzuki (1994), *The Technological Transformation of Japan*, Cambridge University Press,

early years of the Meiji period, the bureaucracy soon became a target of resentment and press criticism over alleged corruption.¹² Nishimura Shigeki, writing in *Meiroku zasshi* as early as 1875, summed up this resentment with his complaint that ‘high regional officials are like territorial lords of old, and even the lower, unranked clerks trifle with the people oppressively. Legislation is entirely in the hands of officials who cause the people to obey the law whether they agree or not and who punish those who disobey.’¹³

Some of the criticisms were allayed when the bureaucracy was rationalised in 1885 to cope with the increased intricacy of its administrative load.¹⁴ New regulations also ensured that more university graduates entered the bureaucracy rather than persons who gained their posts by virtue of samurai descent. For these reasons, historians place the birth of the modern Japanese bureaucracy in the mid-1880s.¹⁵ Following the introduction of the merit-based system, the bureaucracy grew in prestige and influence throughout the Meiji period.¹⁶ Many zealous bureaucrats fueled the resentment by jailing their critics. Home Ministry officials, for example, jailed numerous journalists and suspended hundreds of others¹⁷ during the early 1890s, precisely the years when Black was making his mark as a *rakugoka* of note.

Black displayed some of his most trenchant criticism of bureaucrats in *Minashigo*. In introducing Tanaka Seiemon, the small-time, parsimonious administrator of the

Cambridge, UK, p. 73.

¹² Jean-Pierre Lehmann (1982), *The Roots of Modern Japan*, The Macmillan Press, London, UK, p. 199.

¹³ Nishimura Shigeki, ‘On Change’, in William Reynolds Braisted (trans.), *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment*, Harvard University Press Cambridge, Mass., Issue No. 43 Nov 1875, 1976, p. 522.

¹⁴ Lehmann, *The Roots of Modern Japan*, p. 199-200.

¹⁵ See also W.G. Beasley (1989), ‘Meiji Political Institutions’, *The Cambridge History of Japan, Vol. 5, The Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK. p. 649-651.

¹⁶ Lehmann, *The Roots of Modern Japan*, p. 201.

¹⁷ James L. Huffman, *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, pp. 259.

government-funded orphanage where Seikichi is raised, he informs his audience there is a British saying that ‘small fish are *honeppoi* (bony).’ *Honeppoi* is a euphemism for ‘hard-to-deal-with’. While claiming he was sure there were no such bureaucrats in Japan, he proceeded, tongue-in-cheek, to criticise Japan’s low-ranking bureaucrats as equally *honeppoi*.¹⁸

There is a British proverb that says that small fish are bony (*honeppoi*). Indeed, when one thinks about it, it is a clever turn of phrase. The small catfish (*konamazu*) is invariably bony. Even if you cook it in mock turtle soup (*suppon ni*), the bones get stuck in the mouth and it’s not a bit delicious. All top bureaucrats often toil away honestly, showing compassion (*awaremi*) and not discriminating against those below them, but when you get down to the lower ranks, they are apt to be oppressed and there are some who are quite unreasonable. I very much doubt that such a disgraceful thing would happen in Japan. Needless to say, all the bureaucrats (in Japan) are the epitome of integrity and absolute incorruptibility. To Britain’s shame, however, there are unfortunately among my countrymen, a number of reprehensible types, such as Tanaka Seiemon, in the bureaucracy.¹⁹

The significance of this remark lies in the Meiji political satirist’s convention of likening such persons to catfish. Seven years before the publication of *Minashigo*, the *Mezamashi shinbun* reported on 6 April 1887 that Black was taking painting lessons from Kawanabe Kyôtsai,²⁰ an artist noted for his representations of bureaucrats as catfish. Kyôtsai is the artist who made a name for himself as a painter of comical frogs, demons and humans with grotesquely elongated necks and noses. Kyôtsai also painted satires of faddish Japanese obsessed with the superficial symbols of modernity such as Western

¹⁸ Ishii Burakku, *Minashigo*, p. 2.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

²⁰ *Mezamashi shinbun*, 6 April 1887. In Shogei Konwakai (ed.) (1977), *Kairakutei Burakku kankei bunken mokuroku*, p. 4. Dr. Kusumi Kawanabe, who is the granddaughter of the artist and serves as director of the Kyôtsai Memorial Museum, maintains that the correct rendering of the artist’s name is Kyôtsai, and not Gyôtsai, as it is sometimes written. In February 1999, Dr. Kawanabe could shed no further light on the 6 April 1887 report in *Mezamashi shinbun* that Henry Black was studying painting under Kyôtsai. There is no entry in a diary kept by her grandfather to substantiate the newspaper report. I am indebted to Dr. Kawanabe for the details from the diary.

style umbrellas and silk hats. His bewhiskered catfish became the Meiji satirist's convention for a conceited bureaucrat who aped Western sartorial style by sporting fashionable sideburns or moustache.²¹

Kyôσαι's possible tutoring of Black is consistent with his taking a number of foreign students, including the *yatoi* architect Josiah Conder.²² Kyôσαι had already proven a favourite of foreign residents in Tsukiji following his receipt of an award for his work *Crow on a Bare Branch* at the 1881 Domestic Industrial Exposition.²³ The possibility that Black did learn painting from Kawanabe Kyôσαι is an intriguing one in view of Black's 1891 work *Shachû no dokubari* in which he displayed a knowledge of the differences between Japanese and Western styles of painting. The main character in the story, Kanô Motokichi, is a portrait artist. This device allowed Black to expound on the differences between Japanese and Western painting by explaining to audiences that where it takes between 10 and 11 days to complete a Japanese-style painting, a Western-style oil painting can take between six and 10 months. Black also noted in the story that unlike Japanese-style paintings, a Western style oil can be painted over if a mistake is made.²⁴

²¹ See one of the finer examples of this theme, Kawanabe's painting *Fuji koshi no neko to namazu* [Cat and Catfish Flying over Mt. Fuji] in *Kyôσαι no giga, kyôga* (English title: *Comic Genius: Kawanabe Kyôsai*), The Tokyo Shinbun, Tokyo 1996, p. 127. The painting is a double parody on the popular Kanô School of painting theme of a dragon flying over Mt. Fuji and Kinkô-sennin, 'the Chinese immortal who flies on the head of a dragon'. Kyôσαι has turned the dragon into a catfish and riding on it is a cat which in many of his pictures symbolized a geisha. The philandering bureaucrat lording it over the new, modern Tokyo. Below the flying catfish, one can see the high-rise towers of the modern city of Tokyo. This picture dates from 1881.

²² Kyôσαι was also known to a number of contemporary foreigners, including collectors who were resident in Japan. These included the French archeologist Emile Etienne Guimet (1836-1918) and his travelling companion, the artist Félix Régamey (1844-1907), British doctor William Anderson and the 'father' of Tokyo University medical studies Erwin von Baelz. See Oikawa Shigeru (1996), 'Kawanabe Kyôσαι's Comic Paintings and Prints', *Kawanabe Kyôσαι*, The Tokyo Shinbun, p. 5. (for information on Anderson and von Baelz)

²³ Following his receipt of the award, Kawanabe 'was invited to the foreign settlement in Tsukiji, where he is said to have created some two hundred crow paintings at the request of the foreigners resident there.' See Oikawa (1996), 'Kawanabe Kyôσαι's Comic Paintings and Prints', *Kawanabe Kyôσαι*, p. 37.

²⁴ Kairakutei Burakku, *Shachû no dokubari*, p. 88.

There were a number of characteristics which would have endeared Kyôσαι to Black. Like Black, Kyôσαι was known as ‘a drinker and teller of tall tales.’²⁵ Kyôσαι’s work was also known for its comicality, caricature, and satire, all important elements in *rakugo*. Like Kyôσαι’s works, many *rakugo* stories also attribute human characteristics to animals.²⁶ In addition, as ‘one of the first satirists of modern political and social conditions,’ Kyôσαι portrayed real-life events for popular consumption.²⁷ Similarly, Black illustrated his awareness of the humorous consequences of rapid modernization, frequently synonymous with Westernization, in references to human foibles and contemporary fashions and mores, and the questionable behaviour of members of the bureaucracy in Japan and in the West.

Black was aware of the intricacies of government regulations which controlled the conduct of high-ranking bureaucrats in public places as well as reinforced their social standing, setting them apart from other citizens.²⁸ In a scene indicative of popular resentment over the prestige of the bureaucracy, Black referred in *Shachû no dokubari* to the unspoken rule that if a relatively high-ranking bureaucrat were seen entering a *sake* bar, he would later have to explain his actions to his superiors.

²⁵ Brenda Jordan, ‘Flowers in the Dawn: Kawanabe Kyôσαι and the Search for Modernity’ in Helen Hardacre (ed.), *New Directions*, p. 111.

²⁶ Kyôσαι represents a continuation of a long Japanese tradition of such comic paintings and prints beginning with Toba Sôjô (1053-1140) and the work partially attributed to him, the *chôjû giga* (Frolicking Animals Scrolls). Kyôσαι was a student of Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797-1861) who was known for his wood block depictions of humanoid cherries and chess pieces as well as human faces consisting of multiple small figures. Kyôσαι’s own depictions of frolicking animals, including frogs, bats, cats, catfish, rats and turtles, all drew inspiration from the Frolicking Animals Scrolls and Kuniyoshi’s works.

²⁷ Jordan, ‘Flowers in the Dawn’, p. 111.

²⁸ For a sample of some of the disciplinary measures mandated by the government in 1876 pertaining to bureaucrats, see ‘Rules for Disciplinary Punishment of Officials’ and ‘Instructions to be Observed in Inflicting Disciplinary Punishments’ pp. 264-265 and 266-268 respectively, in W.W. McLaren (ed.) *Japanese Government Documents* Vol. 2, Asiatic Society of Japan, Tokyo. In particular see Item II of Imperial Decree No. 35, April 14, 1876 on p. 266 which notes that ‘those persons, who by not regulating their behaviour bring discredit upon the service, shall also be considered as guilty of a “fault” and shall be liable to a punishment.’

It is no loss of status for anyone to enter an ice seller's stall and enjoy ice cream or lemonade, even if it's a gentleman out walking with his wife. In my country Britain there are no ice sellers, but there are places where you can get a drink. These places have customers of not just poor social standing (*mibun no warui mono*) but also of quite high standing. It is said that it's not a bit unbecoming or bad mannered for someone to have a beer or a wine of one's liking and then leave.

Customs are different depending on the country. In Japan, what would happen if a *sôninkan*²⁹ went into a bar (*sakaya*) and doffed his hat? If such a thing were to appear in the newspapers, you would either issue a *shintai ukagai*³⁰ or would have to quit your job.³¹

Cities as crucibles of modernity

The dominant image in the majority of Black's *sokkibon* is that most tangible metaphor of nineteenth century modernity, the city. While Black regarded the cities as metaphors for modernity, he also exercised a role as social critic by criticising aspects of the impact upon city dwellers of industrialization and commercialization which were visible by the late nineteenth century in many urban centers in Europe and North America. Black depicted modern nineteenth-century metropolises, most frequently London and Paris, as centres of transport and communications, and home to burgeoning bureaucracies and institutions such as banks which underpinned the development of a capitalist, industrial economy. Other European cities featured as hubs linked to the metropolis by modern modes of transport.

An analysis of Black's images of the city sheds light on late nineteenth century Japanese understanding of the idea of the city at a time when Westernization was

²⁹ A *sôninkan* bureaucrat was ranked just below a government minister. Appointment to this position required imperial approval. See 'sônin' in Niimura Izuru (ed.) (1992), *Kôjien*, Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, p. 1495

³⁰ A *shintai ukagai* was a document requesting a decision on one's course of action from a superior after one had made an error on the job.

challenging past assumptions about the nature of urban life in Japan.³² Eager to emulate the West, Meiji governments were determined to turn Tokyo in particular into a symbol of the nation's prosperity. In the last years of the nineteenth century, this process was well under way. The Municipal Improvement Act of 1888 had already seen the adoption of principles of city layout pioneered in Baron Georges Eugène Haussmann's Paris, turning Tokyo into what Fujitani Takashi has described as a city of mnemonic sites constructed as 'material signs on the physical landscape.'³³ By the time Black was presenting his visions of the city as a hybrid entity, its citizens were eager for answers to the question of how to cope with the changes, or at the very least to know how others were coping with the same problems. Black offered them better insights than the planners of the new metropolis did with their utopian visions.

Black's descriptions of exotic cities were evocative of a genre established by earlier travelogue writers who penned stories about the new Tokyo for domestic audiences beginning between 1874 and 1876 with the compilation by Hattori Bushô of *Tôkyô shin hanjôki* (A Chronicle of the New Prosperity in Tokyo).³⁴ Following this precedent, Japanese audiences were conditioned to accept voyeuristic accounts of city life, much of it perceived as exotic and providing 'a backdrop for the pageant of *bunmei kaika*.'³⁵ Henry D. Smith II notes that the new-found willingness to reshape Tokyo

³¹ Kairakutei Burakku, *Shachû no dokubari*, pp. 48-49.

³² Henry D. Smith II, 'Tokyo as an Idea: An Exploration of Japanese Urban Thought Until 1945' in *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 4 No. 1, Winter 1978, [pp. 45-80] p. 46.

³³ Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan*, University of California Press, Berkeley, California, p. 98.

³⁴ Smith II, 'Tokyo as an Idea', p. 54. Smith describes the work as a 'spicy description of customs in the city...modeled after a late Edo guide...and focused on the new and curious, and set the tone of wide-eyed journalistic wonder that characterized the several *hanjô mono* that followed.'

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

suggests it was ‘viewed less as a city than as a symbol of the nation’³⁶ with little thought given over to the consequences of its reshaping on the residents.

Black, on the other hand, gave audiences more realistic images of Western cities as home to both vast riches and grinding poverty. In *Minashigo*, when Seikichi is taken to the Strand in London, he is left ‘speechless with amazement’ at the sight of tall houses and shops selling the finest of watches, tobacco, bags, and imported luxury goods. Black invites his listeners to imagine the scene by likening it to the area between Shinbashi and Kyôbashi, then home to many newly built Western style brick edifices synonymous with the rebuilding of Tokyo as a modern, Western style metropolis.³⁷ *Minashigo* also contains vivid descriptions of slum life.

Dwellings in these cities vary from the narrow, filthy tenement-lined alleys of Tôgorô’s hideout in the London of *Minashigo*, or the flophouse used by Onobu and the Italian beggar Kinzô in *Shachû no dokubari*, to the plush apartments overlooking The Strand and the full-length mirror, fine table and chairs, umbrella and walking stick in the home of Fukuda Zenkichi in *Minashigo*. Glass windows, still a novelty to many in Japan, become the subject of detailed description in *Minashigo* where Black duplicates Dickens’s thieves’ break-in to the home of Fukuda Zenkichi³⁸ as a pretext for expounding on the diamond cutter and rubber sucker which European robbers used to cut glass windows soundlessly. No such detail exists in the Dickens original since glass windows were taken for granted by Europeans.

Black’s cities are also home to modes of transport rendered modern by their speed. Fast, efficient modes of transport abetted the efficient functioning of a modern

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

³⁷ Ishii Burakku, *Minashigo*, p. 6.

metropolis. The cities are traversed by networks of horse-drawn coaches, mail delivery services, and trains. They also serve as metropolitan hubs for rail networks linking them to other cities or villages within their orbit. In *Iwade Ginkô chishio no tegata*, the banker Iwade Yoshio works in a bank a short walk from the station near London Bridge.³⁹ From the station he can easily reach his comfortably palatial home in the rural village of *Chiisubikku* three *ri* away at the end of a day's work. After leaving the bank at around 5 p.m., this new mode of transport whisks him back to the village in time to unwind before beginning his evening meal punctually at 7 p.m. The swiftness of the journey is compared elsewhere to the much longer time it takes a servant on even a well-bred Arabian horse to reach the bank from the Iwade home during a late night emergency when the trains are no longer running.

Similarly, in *Minashigo*, the home of the silk merchant Fukuda Zenkichi is in the tranquil environs of the town of *Hyanden*, said to be a short train commute from London.⁴⁰ The speed and convenience of modern train travel has made it possible for the wealthy to escape the pressures of the city and live in tranquility and comfort in its more rural outskirts. There is a dramatic demonstration of the speed of rail transport toward the end of *Minashigo* when Fukuda Yûkichi travels by train from London to Leeds, a distance Black says is 60 *ri* (235.6 kilometers or 146.4 miles).⁴¹ Black informs his audience that where Seikichi walked the distance in 14 days, Fukuda traversed it by train in just 'two or three hours.'⁴²

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

³⁹ Kairakutei Burakku, *Iwade ginkô chishio no tegata*, p. 6.

⁴⁰ Ishii Burakku, *Minashigo*, p. 144.

⁴¹ The actual distance between London and Leeds is approximately 223.5 miles or 360 kilometers. Black's 60 *ri* is the equivalent of 146 miles or 235.6 kilometers. (One *ri* is the equivalent of 2.44 miles or 3.9273 kilometers.)

⁴² Ishii Burakku, *Minashigo*, pp. 164-165.

Black was not averse to discussing the merits and demerits of certain forms of transport which were considered modern. In *Shachû no dokubari*, Black claimed that rickshaws in Japan, China, and India were more convenient since they were available 24 hours a day. Much horse-drawn transport in Europe, he noted, stopped running after about 9 or 10 p.m. because ‘the horses have to be fed and looked after or they collapse.’⁴³ In *Iwade Ginkô chishio no tegata*, and in *Shachû no dokubari*, Black capitalized on audience interest in the then topical horse-drawn omnibus. In an aside to his audience in *Iwade Ginkô chishio no tegata*, aimed at explaining how extremely dirty the urchin Matashichi was, Black says that he was more filthy than the *yakko* who rode on a small platform on the outside front of the omnibuses hawking for passengers and announcing their destination.⁴⁴ Exposed to the elements, including mud from poorly kept roads, the familiar figure of the *yakko* was the definitive image of grime. The *yakko* symbolized the plight of the child worker in a dirty, poorly paid occupation made possible through the introduction of a modern mode of transport.

The first horse-drawn omnibus in Tokyo was operated from 1872 by the entrepreneur Yuri Narimasa along a route between Kaminarimon in Asakusa and Shinbashi.⁴⁵ Yuri attracted customers to the omnibus by blowing on a trumpet. In 1874, he imported from Britain a double-decker omnibus for the same route, but the service was suspended the same year after the omnibus struck and killed a woman at Kotobukichô in Asakusa. Soon afterwards, other entrepreneurs began operating smaller sized horse-drawn omnibuses on the same route and between Shinagawa and Shinbashi. Since the roads along which they ran were poorly maintained, they developed a reputation as an

⁴³ Kairakutei Burakku, *Shachû no dokubari*, Tokyo, p. 9.

⁴⁴ Kairakutei Burakku, *Iwade Ginkô chishio no tegata*, p. 25.

uncomfortable mode of transport, attracting the nicknames ‘*gata basha*’ and ‘*gatakuri basha*’, onomatopoeic terms which suggest they considerably rattled and shook their passengers.

Black empathised with his audience’s concern over the mortal danger posed to them by such omnibuses via a humorous scene in *Shachû no dokubari* when Itô Jirôkichi informs Okatsu’s landlady that Okatsu’s death is linked to a horse-drawn coach. The landlady becomes agitated and assumes that Okatsu has been run down by a horse-drawn omnibus, itemizing the forms of horse-drawn transport then available in Tokyo.

Really the roads are such a danger, what with horse-drawn trams, red omnibuses, Entarô buses and the like. Women and children really have to have their wits about them when they go out. Why in the old days they used to have the attendant walking at the front of the carriage, but these days the attendants’ve gone up in the world and gone to Yanagihara or some place and got themselves some old clothes and all they do now is get off at every intersection looking like the ghost of a Chinaman, so it’s got even more dangerous! Oh dear. Where did she get struck down and killed? Was it at Shinbashi? Manseibashi? Or was it Nihonbashi?⁴⁶

By 1906, the majority of the horse-drawn omnibuses had been withdrawn from service and replaced by electric trams.⁴⁷ The landlady’s fear of omnibuses presages similar reactions towards the electric trams which Henry D. Smith II notes were also ‘a powerful symbol of the problematic threat of change.’⁴⁸

The woman’s reference to Entarô buses (*Entarô basha*) evoked performances by the popular *rakugoka* San’yûtei Entarô, who in 1877 began imitating the sound of a trumpet which omnibus operators had used to attract customers and warn pedestrians of

⁴⁵ Ogi Shinzô et al (eds.) (1987), *Edo Tôkyô gaku jiten*, Sanseidô, Tokyo, p. 376-377.

⁴⁶ Kairakutei Burakku, *Shachû no dokubari*, pp. 67-68

⁴⁷ ‘*entarô basha*’, in Ogi et al (eds.), *Edo Tokyo gaku jiten*, pp. 378-379.

⁴⁸ Smith II, ‘Tokyo as an Idea’, p. 57.

their approach. His imitations gained him considerable popularity such that the omnibuses became known as *Entarô basha*, or simply as *entarô*. Near the beginning of *Shachû no dokubari*, where Black sets the scene for the mysterious killing of a coach passenger, he also jokes as he describes the coach setting off on its night journey across Paris that ‘had Entarô been there, he would have blown his trumpet to warn the pedestrians.’⁴⁹

In Black’s narrative landscapes, the degree to which characters process or accept modernity is sometimes defined by their proximity to, or relationship with, the city. The urban settings for Black’s narrations make them parables of how human nature was altered or conditioned by the new industrial and commercial landscapes. The manner in which protagonists respond to the opportunities and pressures provided by these environments became for contemporary audiences a metaphor for the transformation of their own lives within the newly evolving, newly constructed Meiji cities. In the countryside, the poor-rich divide of the city is duplicated. *Minashigo*, for example, contains a vivid example of the manner in which the city provided opportunities for betterment with its image of the rich merchant banker Fukuda Zenkichi returning by fast train each evening to his country mansion where he dined with the utmost punctuality at 7 p.m. The symbolism of the incursion of this wealthy banker into the rural landscape is particularly indicative of Black’s message that Meiji modernity does not spell equality. Rather it spells opportunities for personal success.

To establish the modern city as the crucible of change, sensation fiction required a binary divide between the metropolis and surrounding countryside. A good example of this is *Minashigo* in which Black faithfully duplicated the Dickens original with his

⁴⁹ Kairakutei Burakku, *Shachû no dokubari*, p 13.

Oliver prototype, Seikichi, whose progress from country town to city encapsulated the debate among foreign residents and Japanese themselves over the replacement of an agrarian, feudal and slower-paced 'Old Japan' with an industrialized and modern 'Young Japan.' The New Japan-Old Japan debate was essentially a debate over modernity. Its resolution in the late nineteenth century with the reemergence of Confucian and samurai values as the catchcry of the new generation occurred at the same time as Black narrated *Minashigo*.

In this context, *Minashigo* can be understood as a warning to audiences that modernity came at a price. Reflecting the Dickens original, Seikichi quickly has his expectations dashed on entering London to find that it is not the haven he had hoped for. The citizens of the overcrowded city are indifferent to his plight and move at a more frenetic pace than country people, making the city a less compassionate space.

At last he entered London town, but at the very outskirts, even the houses were dirty and many of the roads were narrow. People were hurrying about as if they didn't have a moment to spare compared to country folk.⁵⁰

While modern cities offered the prospect of jobs and variety of choice, *Minashigo* taught that modernity did not spell the end to the struggle for equality begun by adherents of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement.

The story is also a metaphor for the contemporary migration of population into the cities. Just as Oliver Twist gravitated to the city, in Japan the rural unemployed, the second and third sons, and the daughters, all of whom were unable to inherit the family's land, went to Tokyo to seek work or a new life. Most of the surplus sons and daughters who migrated to the cities, causing a fall in the population of many rural towns and

⁵⁰ Ishii Burakku, *Minashigo*, p. 36.

villages, found work in small-scale manufacturing, retail, and construction enterprises. The majority of these enterprises applied work techniques and technology which differed little from pre-Restoration norms.⁵¹ Workers in such small production units easily would have identified with Seikichi's status as a lowly helper for a small-time undertaker. Mass production had been slow to take off in Japan after the Restoration. Even in the early 1880s, just prior to Black beginning his *rakugo* career, only around 400,000 of some seven million people in non-agricultural enterprises were in the modern sector of the economy. More than half of these were government employees and less than 200,000 were in the modern private sector.⁵²

Minashigo is not the only narration by Black to warn that a move to the city did not guarantee riches. Urban poverty is brought home to the audience in a particularly forceful manner in *Iwade Ginkô chishio no tegata*, where even the normally kindly banker Iwade Yoshio momentarily contemplates giving the cold and shivering beggar Matashichi some money, but then hurries to the station, afraid that he will miss his train.⁵³ Later in a fit of remorse when informed that Matashichi's mother has perished from hunger and exposure to the cold, Iwade cries out:

‘Aaah! In London , the capital of this so-called enlightened country Britain (*bunmei kaika to iwaseru Eikoku*), can there be such miserable people?’

Black's presentation of slum-dwellers in a number of his stories, beginning with Bess in the 1886 *Kusaba no tsuyu*, reflects growing concern at the time over urban poverty. As Sheldon Garon notes, ‘it was the slum, the most visible sign of inequality,

⁵¹ Ann Waswo (1996), *Modern Japanese Society: 1868-1994*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, p. 60.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁵³ Kairakutei Burakku, *Iwade ginkô chishio no tegata*, p. 7.

that provoked the first public discussion of the Social Question in Japan.’⁵⁴ In the same year as Black presented *Kusaba no tsuyu*, the *Chôya shinbun* reported on the existence of three large slums in Tokyo in an exposé which prompted similar investigations by other newspapers.⁵⁵ In *Kusaba no tsuyu*, Bess urges her husband-to-be, Bruno, to take up the cause of the slum-dwelling poor as a social obligation when he enters parliament. Such sentiments accorded well with a growing awareness among residents of the metropolis of the presence of slums in the city and nascent campaigns by Japanese Christians to alleviate the urban poverty exacerbated by the drift of population from the countryside.

In *Kusaba no tsuyu*, Black’s Lucille reflects the newly developing social conscience of the English middle and upper classes. Black paints a vivid picture of the privileged upbringing Lucille experiences, describing the vast gardens surrounding her home, Ingleshaw Castle, the luxurious life cosseted by servants, and the custom of presenting young debutantes to the queen. But Black also tells his audience that such aristocrats make it a practice to visit poor households within their community to distribute largesse, particularly if poor families are stricken with illness. Commenting on Lucille’s decision to treat Bess by taking her back to the castle, Black addresses his listeners and readers directly, saying he can understand how they might question whether in Britain ‘a princess from a noble family could take in a woman she did not know who appeared to be a beggar and treat her kindly.’

Readers reading the above might doubt that. In counties or towns within one’s jurisdiction, if there are poor people, the noble lady calls at each poor household two or three times a week, and if in

⁵⁴ Sheldon Garon, (1987), *The State and Labor in Modern Japan*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif., p.24.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

the poor household there is a sick person, she offers medicine or treats them for their illness, and everyone regards this as her normal role. Since, possibly on such an occasion, they spare no effort to bring money or goods, the respect the poor have for the aristocracy increases greatly and thus the power of the aristocracy is still considerable.⁵⁶

By 1881, three years before the *Chôya shinbun* report and Black's description of slum life in *Kusaba no tsuyu*, during the deflationary period of the Matsukata administration, three slums in Tokyo, at Samegabashi in Yotsuya, Shin Ami-chô in Shiba, and Mannen-chô in Shitaya, contained an estimated 10 percent of the city's population.⁵⁷ By the time the journalist Yokoyama Gennosuke collated his observations of the slums in 1898 in his book *Nihon no kasô shakai*, each of the three slums was estimated to contain populations varying between 5,000 and 32,000 people.⁵⁸ Most of the occupants were blue-collar workers, including day labourers, rickshaw drivers, and ragpickers, as well as physiognomists, persons who specialized in replacing the bamboo pipe sections of the *kiseru* (*rao no sugekae*), and street entertainers. They also housed fallen samurai, poverty-stricken artisans and merchants.

There were many other sections of the city like these three where residents lived in very crowded conditions with little privacy. In 1898, there were said to be more than 40,000 rickshaw pullers living in slum conditions. In 1891, there were slums in Nihonbashi, Kyôbashi, Kanda, Shiba, Asakusa, and Koishikawa. Slum clearance became a matter of government policy when in 1880, Tokyo Governor Matsuda Michiyuki issued a plan for a Chûôshi-ku which called for Nihonbashi, Kanda, and Kôjimachi to

⁵⁶ Buradon [Braddon], (Burakku, dictation), *Kusaba no Tsuyu*, p. 45-46.

⁵⁷ For these and following details about slums in Tokyo see Uchida Yûzô (1987), 'Suramu', in Ogi et.al. (eds.), *Edo Tôkyô gaku jiten*, pp.164-165

⁵⁸ Uchida, 'Suramu', in *Edo Tôkyô gaku jiten*, pp.164-165.

become the business and administrative heart of the city, following the removal of the slum housing as a fire hazard.⁵⁹

The poor health of many of the poorly paid workers living in slum conditions, for whom Black's Bess and Seikichi served as prototypes, began to concern governments around this time. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, Japan's own industrial revolution offered a steadily increasing number of women the opportunity to go beyond the confines of the village and become wage earners.⁶⁰ But many had to work long hours in substandard conditions, their health suffering as a result. Women in cotton spinning factories worked shifts of at least eleven hours, often without being able to break for meals and were frequently also obliged to spend time outside their official shift hours tending the machines they worked.⁶¹ Black's narrations serve as warnings about the opportunities and pitfalls provided by the Industrial Revolution. In *Shachû no dokubari*, for example, Okatsu and Onobu, are both poorly educated sisters of illegitimate birth who attempt to forge new identities by seeking work in Paris after leaving Italy. In *Kusaba no tsuyu*, Black portrays a female victim of modern industrial development in the form of Bess the slum dweller unable to rise beyond a cycle of sporadic poorly paid employment until she encounters Lucille's aristocratic charity. When the orphan Bess confesses to Bruno that at one stage she had been very ill and that her husband Tom had been the only one to comfort her,⁶² it is clear that the illness was a result of her poverty. Marriage was

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.164-165.

⁶⁰ Waswo, *Modern Japanese Society*, p. 60-61.

⁶¹ See for example, Morris-Suzuki, *The Technological Transformation of Japan*, p. 87. Also see E. Patricia Tsurumi (1990), *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, especially pp. 43-44, 49-50, 141-144, and 162-163.

⁶² Braddon, *Flower and Weed and Other Stories*, p. 140.

Bess's only way out of the poverty trap. A subtext here is Lucille's pleas to Bruno that once he enters parliament he work to help poor people (*kyūmin*) like Bess.⁶³

Black's portrayals of ill-fated slum-dwelling women such as Bess in *Kusaba no tsuyu* or Omine in *Minashigo* as victims of the excesses of modern industrial society are early warnings during the early stages of modern industrial growth in Japan between the mid 1880s and the mid 1890s when factory production took a sharp upturn.⁶⁴ They portend how industrialization and commercialization would alter the physical and psychological landscape of Japanese cities as well as human relationships. The warnings were prescient. The first strikes by factory workers in Japan occurred in the late 1880s.⁶⁵

In the late 1800s, Yokoyama Gennosuke was also a temporarily hired employee of the survey office of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. His findings contributed to a 1902-1903 ministry publication of a survey of factory workers' conditions⁶⁶ whose revelations led to an overhaul of labour and health laws. The survey revealed that the most common diseases among textile factory workers were 'diseases of the respiratory tract and digestive system, followed by the eyes, joints, and reproductive organs.'⁶⁷ The report noted that workers were 'engaged all day at their machines in extremely monotonous and meaningless work' with 'few holidays and little time for rest, and are required to work as soon as they have finished their meals, with the result that many of them suffer digestive ailments and lack of nutrition.'⁶⁸ Most of the workers at

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶⁴ See Peter Duus (1976), *The Rise of Modern Japan*, Houghton Mifflin, USA, p. 136.

⁶⁵ See Tsurumi, *Factory Girls*, especially pp. 50-58.

⁶⁶ *Shokkō jijō* [Factory workers' conditions] Vol. 1, (Edition revised by Inumaru Giichi), Iwanami Bunko, Tokyo, 1998.

⁶⁷ 'Dai nana sō: shokkō no eisei' [Chapter 7: The Hygiene of Workers], in *Shokkō jijō* Vol. 1, (Edition revised by Inumaru Giichi), Iwanami Bunko, 1998, pp. 140.

⁶⁸ These details are from 'Dai nana sō: shokkō no eisei' (Chapter 7: The Hygiene of Workers), in *Shokkō jijō* Vol. 1, pp. 140-141.

such factories were women. While Tsurumi notes that the motivation for the review was the creation of ‘healthy industries’ more than ‘healthy workers’, Home Ministry and Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce bureaucrats who were behind the review ‘believed that short-run profits gained from hazardous working conditions would in the long run cost the nation too much in diminished efficiency on the part of weakened workers, who might also produce sickly offspring.’⁶⁹

Such monitoring of social conditions reflects the social management approach in which the government and bureaucrats engaged although this was taken to greater extremes in later years. The concern for such social problems as urban poverty which Black identified in his narrations was shared by social planning bureaucrats under the government’s ‘leading spokesman for social policy,’ Soeda Juichi of the Finance Ministry.⁷⁰ By the late 1890s these bureaucrats were closely monitoring developments in Europe and warning of the possibility of Japan experiencing the same labour movement agitation brought on by the terrible conditions inflicted on workers in the factories of Industrial Revolution England. Black’s cautionary tales of conditions in Europe, together with the work of Yokoyama Gennosuke, preceded even the earliest official acknowledgement of the problems from the bureaucracy, making them a valuable resource in documenting the development of labour rights.

Faith in law and science

Black’s English liberal’s recourse to the rule of law and faith in science for the provision of solutions to the problems thrown up by modernity explains his use of the crime fiction subgenre of sensation fiction. In the 1850s, Dickens, who was a source of

⁶⁹ Tsurumi, *Factory Girls*, p. 6-7; See also Garon (1988), *State and Labour in Modern Japan*, pp. 18-29.

⁷⁰ Garon, *State and Labour in Modern Japan*, p. 26.

Black's material, had championed the role of police detectives as a modern innovation, going with them on their beats and writing approvingly of their work.⁷¹ Black had already shown an interest in juries and reform of the prison system and criminal code when he addressed meetings of the Freedom and People's Rights movement adherents in mid-1879. In the 1890s, he maintained his interest in promoting legal reform, using his status as a *rakugoka* to inform audiences of the same issues by introducing detectives and legal code reform issues into his narrations.

The first Western style penal code was established in Japan in 1880, a year after Black began addressing meetings on the topic of law reform. The code was drafted by the French lawyer Gustave Emile Boissonade, an employee of the Japanese government. Further revisions to the code in 1890 strengthened the concept of equality before the law irrespective of social status and emphasized protection of private property.⁷² Umemori Naoyuki cites this as 'the first realization of Western penal thought in Japanese history'.⁷³ Umemori notes that 'the discovery of a subjectivity that was epistemologically differentiated from other objective conditions was one of the most important achievements made in the process of preparation of the new penal code,' making it a new development in the definition of the self in the Meiji period.⁷⁴ Black illustrated the theme of equality before the law as enunciated in the new penal code in his 1891 narration *Shachû no dokubari*, which concludes with the seemingly respectable businessman Yamada sent to jail as an accessory to the death of his niece, in spite of his social standing as a wealthy retired, opera-going gentleman. Black introduces a similar theme in

⁷¹ Ousby, *Bloodhounds of Heaven*, p. 85.

⁷² Naoyuki Umemori, 'Spatial Configuration and Subject Formation: The Establishment of the Modern Penitentiary System in Meiji Japan', in Hardacre (ed.), *New Directions*, p. 747.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 747.

the final scene of *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage* where the nobleman John Brown, who has escaped to Paris to avoid detection over his murder of the actor Sumerurî, is arrested by a detective. The detective Shiberia Deboa urges him to give himself up quietly and reassures him that he will have legal representation in a court trial, but Brown seizes a pistol and blows his brains out.⁷⁵

Black mirrors Dickens's interest in criminology displayed in *Oliver Twist*, where Nancy attends the court to try to find out what has happened to Oliver. In Black's version, Nancy's Japanese equivalent Omine's incognito visit to the court affords Black an opportunity to inform his audience that in Britain the public is permitted to attend police committal hearings.⁷⁶ It is of interest that the 7 March 1884 edition of the newspaper *Jiji shinpô* mentioned that Black was to be seen in the *Tôkyô keizai saibanjo* (Tokyo Court of Petty Sessions) where he was 'taking detailed notes with a view to producing one or two narrations.'⁷⁷ This indicates that it was possible to attend a court and take notes at this time. At the very least, Black seems to have been making the point that the public had greater access to court cases from an earlier stage in trial proceedings in Britain. Black's note-taking at the courts also indicates a burgeoning interest in crime reporting, a prerequisite to the creation of sensation fiction.

Black's narrations contain numerous accounts of the benefits of science and modern technology to the solving of crimes. In *Shachû no dokubari* the audience learns of the importance of the morgue to modern forensic investigation. Cadavers, Black explains, are

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 747.

⁷⁵ Eikokujin Burakku, *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage*, p. 216-217.

⁷⁶ Ishii Burakku, *Minashigo*, Kinôdô, Tokyo, p. 64-65.

⁷⁷ *Jiji Shinpô*, 7 March 1884. Kurata (ed.) *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 3, p. 81.

used by medical scientists if left unclaimed.⁷⁸ In *Iwade Ginkô chishio no tegata*, Black shows how swiftly the police can track Matashichi from London to the Liverpool docks 100 *ri*⁷⁹ away, using the telegraph and telephone to convey information about him throughout the country instantly.

In its application of the science of fingerprinting, *Iwade Ginkô chishio no tegata* stands as one of the finest examples of Black's use of science to solve a crime. Black may have been aware of the forensic potential of fingerprints thanks to the work of Dr. Henry Faulds, a British missionary doctor who lived in Tsukiji and worked at Tsukiji Hospital in the 1880s. Black was also living in Tsukiji by 1885. In a paper titled 'On the Skin-furrows of the Hand', published in the British scientific journal *Nature* in 1880, Faulds stated that he was inspired to embark on his investigations after learning that Japanese potters frequently left their fingerprints on clay pots as a way of identifying their provenance.

When bloody finger-marks or impressions on clay, glass, &c., exist, they may lead to the scientific identification of criminals. Already I have had experience in two such cases, and found useful evidence from these marks. In one case, greasy finger-marks revealed who had been drinking some rectified spirit. The pattern was unique, and fortunately I had previously obtained a copy of it. They agreed with microscopic fidelity.⁸⁰

In the article, Faulds speculated that fingerprints might help in 'medico-legal investigations, as when the hands only of some mutilated victim were found,' and mentioned that 'Chinese criminals from early times have been made to give the impressions of their fingers, just as we make ours yield their photographs.'

⁷⁸ Kairakutei Burakku, *Shachû no dokubari*, p. 69.

⁷⁹ Equivalent to 393 kilometers or 244 miles.

⁸⁰ Henry Faulds (1880), 'On the Skin-furrows of the Hand', in *Nature*, Vol. 22 (May 1880 to Oct. 1880) p.

There can be no doubt as to the advantage of having, besides their photographs, a nature-copy of the for-ever-unchangeable finger-furrows of important criminals. It need not surprise us that the Chinese have been before us in this as in other matters.⁸¹

While Black gives only cursory treatment in his narration to the reason for the killer's leaving of a bloody handprint on a piece of paper at the crime scene, the device must have enthralled audiences at the time. In the story, Black stressed the link to Japan, a fact which supports the theory that his information came via Faulds. When the detective who shows Iwade Takejirô the blood-stained piece of paper found at the crime scene states that he does not consider it a vital piece of evidence, Takejirô retorts that he considers it the key to finding his brother's killer.

Four or five years ago, when I went around the world I stayed for a short time in China and Japan. In these countries, unlike in Britain, when one draws up a contract they always use a thing called an inkyô (seal). These are made of boxwood, gold or silver, or other metals, and they engrave their name in it and press it on an inkpad and then add it to below their name. But sometimes they do not use the seal, and instead put ink on their index finger and press it to below their name. In other words, it's called a *boin* (seal made with a thumb mark) or *tsumein* (seal made with fingernail). Even where they normally have a *jitsuin* (a legal, registered seal), if they have to be very particular about it, as when they are undergoing an investigation and evidence is sought, they will give a fingerprint. But in China, when someone becomes a soldier, he has ink put on his whole hand and presses the hand to the bottom of the certificate of induction.

If that soldier deserts, they use the handprint and find him. But why did something as unusual as this come about? If there is a seal, you never know who used it and it is no proof at all. How is it that even if you put a handprint at the bottom of a certificate of enlistment you can find the whereabouts of a soldier when he runs away? If you carefully look into the origins, it is a custom dating from a very long time ago. The lines and patterns in the skin of a human hand differ from person to

605.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 605

person. If you get 100 people together, or a thousand people, and compare their hands, you will never find the same lines.⁸²

Black's use of fingerprinting as a device in detective fiction appears to have been a world first. It preceded mention of it in 1893 by Mark Twain in *Life on the Mississippi*.⁸³

Conclusion

Despite the hybridity, Black's characters are not always at-home in their landscapes in the same way as Franco Moretti has claimed that many of the characters in nineteenth century European literature were 'at home' within the newly delineated parameters of the nineteenth century nation-state.⁸⁴ In Black's narrations, we find evidence of a time lag between the introduction of ideas of the city as modern and the adjustment to it by its citizens. Black's *sokkibon* portray the daily struggle with the appurtenances of a modern nation-state: industrialization, bureaucratization, increased speed and mechanization of transport and communications. Many of Black's characters are confused, lost, resentful, or still trying to adjust. Black's own comments on reform, addressed in asides directly to his audience, also indicate the persistence of ambivalent feelings toward reform and change.

Nevertheless, an analysis of Black's narrations between the mid-1880s and mid-1890s demonstrates that although historians have concluded that a new generation had begun a reappraisal of the place of indigenous culture by the late 1880s, European prototypes of modernity were still the subject of curiosity among *yose* audiences and *sokkibon* readers at least until the mid-1890s. Black's humorous examples of persons

⁸² Kairakutei Burakku, *Iwade Ginkô chishio no tegata*, pp. 71-73.

⁸³ Morioka and Sasaki, 'The Blue-eyed Storyteller' in *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 38, No. 2, Summer 1983, p.159.

⁸⁴ Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel*, p. 15.

unable to cope with the trappings of modernity (the elderly landlady complaining of the roads made dangerous by passing omnibuses in *Shachû no dokubari* is a fine example) are reminders of the human cost of modernization during this period and of the problems ordinary people experienced due to the rapidity and indiscriminate nature of the modernization process. While the humour may have helped allay audience and reader anxiety over such unfamiliar or threatening trappings of modernity, such examples are also a reminder that modernity was contested and that opinion over the purpose and nature of reform was by no means unanimous. The narrations indicate that although Black lived as a Japanese citizen within his target audience, his foreign origins afforded him an additional perspective as an outsider willing to comment and criticise. Black's portrayals of the benefits and demerits of modernity via the popular mediums of *rakugo* and *sokkibon* show that dissent and debate over reform and modernity found a receptive audience well into the 1890s, in spite of state attempts to control dissent through legislation and social management.

Chapter Seven

The Later Years

Setbacks – the end of an era

On the evening of 21 August 1908, colleagues found Henry Black backstage at a *yose* writhing in agony after taking an overdose of arsenic in what newspapers described as an unsuccessful suicide attempt. The suicide attempt occurred while Black was touring the Kansai district and followed a performance at the Ebisu Theater in Nishinomiya, Hyôgo Prefecture. In its attempt to explain the incident, the *Ôsaka mainichi shinbun* praised the ‘London-born’ Black for his devotion to Edo rather than Britain, commended his accomplishments under the actor Danshû as well as his dedication to the narrator’s art, and noted his decision to abandon his family’s British heritage in favour of taking Japanese citizenship. It listed his other achievements as the gaining of *shin’uchi* status under the San’yûha banner, his taking of a Japanese family name upon marriage to Ishii Aka, and his presentation of detective and other serialized stories. But the paper concluded that Black’s popularity, which had at one stage ‘attained great heights’, had not lasted long and that he had been performing hypnotism in Tokyo and Osaka for the past seven or eight years. The paper also noted that Black was experiencing financial difficulties and had recently combined with his adopted son Hosuko to create a troupe specializing in Western conjuring tricks. The paper quoted theatre staff as saying that since beginning performances in Nishinomiya on the 21st, Black had been ‘behaving strangely.’ The paper said Black had been depressed over a lump resembling a tumor in his throat and may have been afraid he had cancer. It also speculated that Black may have

simply been depressed over his fall from former popularity as a *rakugoka*. ‘Whatever the case, it is a sad state of affairs,’ the paper concluded.¹ The *Asahi shinbun* noted that Black had had to dissolve his large household and relocate to a smaller house in Tokyo. It stated that he had received financial support from his mother and from General Tôgo Heihachirô.² Tôgo’s interest in Black may have stemmed from an offer by Black during the Russo-Japanese War to volunteer for military service. Tôgo may also have been known to the Black family from the time Black’s father had edited newspapers. The *Yamato shinbun* claimed that Black’s motive for the attempt was ‘said to have been a general weariness of life rather than any specific reason.’³

Black himself did not comment on the incident. But there is an additional family-related factor not cited in the newspaper reports which may have contributed to Black’s depression. On 6 August, almost two weeks prior to the suicide attempt, Black’s younger brother John had married in England.⁴ John was to return to Kobe shortly after the marriage to begin work as an insurance agent and surveyor. John’s hostility toward his elder brother’s stage career, his marriage in England, and his imminent return to nearby Kobe, may have served as proof to Black of an irreconcilable difference between his own itinerant and homosexual lifestyle and the monogamously heterosexual norm upon which John had embarked. The difference would have served only to exacerbate Black’s concern over his waning popularity on the stage and his financial insecurity. Whatever

¹ *Ôsaka mainichi shinbun*, 23 September 1908. Reproduced in Kurata Yoshihiro (ed.) (1983), *Meiji no engei*, Kokuritsu Gekijô, Vol. 8, pp. 175-176.

² Cited by Morioka and Sasaki, ‘The Blue-eyed Storyteller’, *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 38, No. 2, Summer 1983, p. 150. See also citation in Shogei Konwakai (ed.) (1977), *Kairakutei Burakku kankei bunken mokuroku*, p. 5.

³ Cited by Morioka and Sasaki, ‘The Blue-eyed Storyteller’, pp. 149-150. See also citation in Shogei Konwakai (ed.) (1977), *Kairakutei Burakku kankei bunken mokuroku*, p. 5.

⁴ The marriage was reported in the English-language *Japan Chronicle* on 28 August 1908. Extract in Harold S. Williams Collection, National Library of Australia.

the real reasons, the litany of problems cited in the papers relate to difficulties Black was experiencing in reconciling his identity as an increasingly dated entertainer on the Japanese stage with the declining appeal of his foreign birth and background at a time when the conditions which had ensured his earlier enthusiastic acceptance on the stage were fading away. Although Black recovered from the suicide attempt, it was a defining moment in that it came as a culmination of a series of woes, some of which were of Black's making, and others of which were beyond his control.

The list of possible reasons which newspapers cited for the attempt encapsulated the personal and public dilemmas Black faced at the time. Preeminent among them was the fact that Black's popularity had waned. By 1907, Black's name had dropped to ninth place (*Higashi Maegashira Yonmaime*) on a list of rankings for *rakugo* performers.⁵ Underlying this fall in popularity was the fact that the conditions which had sustained audience interest in his presentations of European themes as examples of modernity no longer existed. This state of affairs had worsened since the dawn of the twentieth century and to a large extent was beyond Black's control.

Indications that Black's relationship with the San'yûha was not smooth and that he lacked unanimous support from its members had begun to emerge by the mid-1890s. Black's outspoken nature and a drinking habit were alienating him from certain colleagues. Recounting an argument between Black and San'yûtei Enshô, the *Tôkyô asahi* intimated on 5 May 1895 that the origins of the incident lay in Black's drinking to excess. The paper recorded that Black had been drinking before visiting Enshô to discuss a pay dispute and took offense when Enshô tried to excuse himself to attend a

⁵ See citation 'Rakugoka mitate' in Shogei Konwakai (ed.) (1977), *Kairakutei Burakku kankei bunken mokuroku*, p. 3.

performance. The paper reported that Black flew into a rage and accused Enshô of treating him in an offhand manner because he was a foreigner, but that Enshô had responded with the retort: ‘You red-haired fool! The color of your eyes has never changed. You’re a fine one with your lame excuses.’ The insinuation that the different colour of his eyes made Black forever a foreigner at heart in spite of Japanese nationality, must have cut Black to the quick. Since Enshô had *kanji* (manager) status within the San’yûha, Enshô’s disciples demanded that Black quit the group for showing disrespect, but other members of the group intervened and the rift was healed.

Further contributing to his problems with the San’yûha, Black suffered a personal setback in 1900 on the death of his long-time mentor San’yûtei Enchô. Enchô’s death had paved the way for a subtle, but important shift in the power balance within the San’yûha. Black had already displayed a propensity for criticizing his colleagues over a perceived lack of professionalism, and the hostility from other members of the school which surfaced following the loss of backing from San’yûtei Enchô sent the 41-year-old Black’s stocks within the San’yûha into a decline from which he was never to recover, as a new generation of *rakugoka* resentful of his presence within the school began to assume prominence.

But there were other forces at work beyond even the control of his rivals. As the twentieth century arrived, the forces of modernization extended into the world of entertainment in the form of the sound recording and cinema, steadily eroding the popularity of *rakugo* as an entertainment form. *Yose* numbers reflect the decline. The figures on *yose* in Tokyo show that although by the late nineteenth century, police surveillance of *yose* lessened, political and economic difficulties ensured that *yose*

numbers in Tokyo had decreased from 163 in 1880, 120 in 1884, 199 in 1885, and 230 in 1886, to only 80 in 1901.⁶ This drop in numbers was at least in part due to the closure of many *yose* owing to economic depression and the imminent war with Russia.⁷ Black's own travels into the regions to perform may well have been an attempt to stave off the financial effects of a decline in his own popularity and the popularity of *rakugo* in the cities. But despite the erosion of Black's career base and the relative obscurity of his final years, his legacy remained in the form of the *sokkibon*.

Black's narrations between 1884 and 1896 confirm that Black promoted and participated in the introduction of modernity by introducing new European story content to the *rakugo* repertoire and by engaging in *kabuki* performances. By the dawn of the twentieth century, however, his mission to modernise and socialise audiences was overtaken by the modernising and socialising agendas of the government through its education system, while a reaction against his attempts to modernise the *rakugo* repertoire began to set in among his colleagues. Black's mission to introduce European culture was also overtaken by the proliferation of other mediums for its introduction, including literature. Audiences were better educated and found their information about European culture from novels, magazines and other modern media. *Kabuki* had begun to ossify again as newer, more radical forms of Western-style realism in stage drama began to flourish.⁸

Black continued to produce new narrations, but although they contained humour, they lacked the creative edge of his earlier adaptations. The stories were generally shorter

⁶ Miyoko Sasaki, Heinz Morioka. (1990), *Rakugo: The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, The Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, p. 251-252.

⁷ Morioka and Sasaki, 'The Blue-Eyed Storyteller', p. 148.

⁸ Minamitani Akimasa, 'Hamlet in Japan', in *Japan Quarterly*, April-June 1990, p. 184-185.

and contained little that can be described as new information of a cultural nature. With so many more sources of information about Europe and modernity now readily available, the novelty appeal which had attached to Black in the previous century began to wane and his popularity dropped. As the twentieth century progressed, Black's output of new serialized stories fell away and he turned more to recitations of humorous short stories. By the late 1890s, Black had begun to diversify by experimenting with other forms of entertainment, including teaming with a *naniwabushi* group, conjuring and hypnotism,⁹ and a Western-style band.¹⁰ He also resorted more to touring outside Tokyo. Although Black portrayed this diversification as a form of modernity, it may also have been a response to his falling popularity as a storyteller. Colleagues and *rakugo* purists saw it as a regrettable departure from the narrative art form. In 1903, Black received a welcome injection of funds when he assisted Fred W. Gaisberg with the production of the first disc-shaped recordings made in Japan. But newspaper reports indicate that by 1908, Black had begun to experience financial difficulties.

The suicide attempt indicates that such opportunities may not have been sufficient to offset the setbacks. Nevertheless, Black recovered from his setbacks. He spent his later years in relative obscurity, giving occasional performances while living with the family of his adopted son, teaching English to the nobility, and possibly working as a narrator for silent films, ironically one of the modern entertainment mediums which replaced storytellers. Black died shortly after the Great Kanto Earthquake in September 1923.

⁹ A *Kainan shinbun* article dated 10 October 1897 (Kurata Yoshihiro (ed.) (1983), *Meiji no engei*, Kokuritsu Gekijō, Vol. 6, p. 121) refers to Black performing hypnotism in Matsuyama. Other references to his hypnotism performances are in *Yamato shinbun*, 8 Oct. 1896 (Shogei Konwakai (ed.) (1977), *Kairakutei Burakku kankei bunken mokuroku*, p. 5), and *Hinode shinbun*, 16 Aug. 1898 (Kurata (ed.) (1983), *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 6, p. 160).

¹⁰ For a report of Black performing hypnotism at the Hakubatei *yose* in Kanda in April 1905, see 'Kanda Hakubatei de...', in Shogei Konwakai (ed.) (1977), *Kairakutei Burakku kankei bunken shiryō mokuroku*, p.

Disputed modernity

Black's suicide attempt threw into relief the dichotomies between his own and his colleagues' understanding of modernity in the world of the *yose* and his inability to adapt to changes which had rendered him increasingly irrelevant as a modernizer to *yose* audiences. In the late nineteenth century, governments, as well as writers and intellectuals, had been bent on the task of reinterpreting the country's history and reinventing its traditions to explain the country's transition from a military state under the *bakufu* to a modern nineteenth-century nation-state fashioned after a number of European models. The chosen models had constitutions, were run by civilian bureaucracies, possessed elected governments, and industrial infrastructures. Some had monarchies. In the 1880s and 1890s, Black, Enchô, and other *rakugoka* had, via stage and print, joined in the national debate over this process of redefinition. But by the dawn of the twentieth century, Japan's rulers had cemented the process of seeking legitimacy in their rule in a redefined version of the country's history, melding together strands of mythology and reinvented tradition with a mission to gain an empire commensurate with those of other European nation-states. In addition, the rapid increase in the reading public reflected in a merging by the early twentieth century of the *ôshinbun* and the *koshinbun*, combined with the development of a vernacular literature and the growth in other forms of entertainment and information media, sent *rakugo* into a decline. The decline was not helped by an overall downturn in the world economy which was reflected in poorer *yose* ticket sales.¹¹

Symptomatic of this decline was the simultaneous rise in popularity of female performers of *gidayû*, a type of powerful 'narrative chant' of historical and romantic

5.

¹¹ Morioka and Sasaki, 'Burakku to naniwabushi', in *Kairakutei Burakku kenkyû*, No. 2, 19 Sept., 1987, p.

narratives accompanied by a single player of the three-stringed lute known as the *shamisen*.¹² By the early 1890s female *gidayû* performers had become extremely popular on *yose* programs, posing a challenge to some of the more prominent *rakugoka*. By the mid 1890s, the phenomenon had reached such proportions that *yose* featuring *gidayû* only were outdoing those specializing in *rakugo* so that many *yose* were obliged to include women's *gidayû* in their programs or suffer economic decline. In 1894, for example, when the highly popular women's *gidayû* performer Takemoto Ayanosuke I performed at the Kotohira Theater in Shiba, two nearby *yose* countered with programs featuring well-known *rakugoka* from the San'yûha and the other major *rakugo* school, Yanagiha, but still could not compete for patrons.¹³ Although the unprecedented proliferation of women performers of *gidayû* was one outcome of the social freedoms institutionalized by the new Meiji government, the government ultimately sought to curtail women's *gidayû* (known as *musume gidayû* or *onna gidayû*), regarding it as a threat to public morals. When performer numbers peaked in 1900, for example, the government prohibited students from attending the performances at *yose*, 'ostensibly for their own good.'¹⁴

The diversification in the *yose* programming represented by this trend may in part explain the apparently abrupt cessation by Black of lengthy serialized adaptations of European themes. Ironically, another factor contributing to the demise of *rakugo* may have been the popularity of *sokkibon*. The very success of the *sokkibon* prompted some more unscrupulous *rakugoka* to plagiarise *sokkibon* by other *rakugoka* and claim them as

10.

¹² 'Gidayû-bushi', *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, (1993), Kodansha, Tokyo, p. 454.

¹³ Takahashi Yasuo (1989), *Monogatari Yorozu Chôhō*, Nihon keizai shinbun sha, Tokyo, p. 180.

¹⁴ A. Kimi Coaldrake, 'Women in *Gidayû* During Meiji', in Helen Hardacre (ed.) with Adam L. Kern (1997), *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, Brill's Japanese Studies Library, Leiden, The Netherlands, pp. 203-218.

their own, prompting disputes over income rights amid diminishing *yose* revenue for *rakugoka*.¹⁵

Among the most salient features of Black's final two decades were recurring disputes over his experimentation with these other forms of entertainment. Black's own comments to interviewers during this period show that he considered such diversification was consistent with his desire to modernize *yose* entertainment. Black had long complained that *rakugoka* colleagues were complacent in the face of change. But these colleagues and others in the *rakugo* world looked askance at his attempts to diversify. The ensuing disputes show that within the world of *rakugo*, many were unwilling to tolerate experimentation in the name of modernity. The history of Japan's performing arts shows that *rakugo* did indeed fail to adapt, its practitioners preferring to maintain the traditional forms, while being overtaken by other, more modern forms of entertainment and modes of socialisation.

Evidence of these emerging differences appeared in a 12 January 1902 report in the *Miyako shinbun* which, while praising Black for his love of Japan, his devotion to his art, and his fostering of the careers of younger *rakugoka*, nevertheless noted that he was losing popularity and touring the provinces performing hypnotism and variety shows. It advised him to stick to *rakugo*.¹⁶ Black did not heed the advice. Shortly afterwards, Black and his adopted son Hosuko were in the Osaka area, giving performances.¹⁷ This innovative instinct caused problems when in July 1903, Black clashed with members of the San'yūha over his affiliation with the *naniwabushi* reciter

¹⁵ J. Scott Miller (1994), 'Japanese Shorthand and *Sokkibon*', in *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 49, No. 4, p. 484.

¹⁶ Morioka and Sasaki, 'The Blue-Eyed Storyteller', p. 147. They cite '*Yose no gakuya*' (backstage at the *yose*) in *Miyako shinbun*, 12 Jan., 1902.

Naniwatei Aizô (1870-1906). The differences surfaced after Black had begun performing with Aizô in Tokyo in June, a time when many *rakugoka* traditionally escaped the heat of the capital for performances in provincial areas.¹⁸ In July, the *Chûô shinbun* noted that whereas Black had previously maintained a band of more than ten members and a number of disciples, while consuming two *shô*¹⁹ of sake a day and was fully occupied appearing at up to four *yose* daily in performances, he had recently begun joint performances with *naniwabushi* and *gidayu*, but that the number of appearances had fallen. The paper said that Black was planning to team up with Aizô, but that this was opposed by the *shin'uchi*-ranked members of the San'yûha. Black called their bluff by threatening to leave the San'yûha.²⁰ The opposition from the San'yûha ranks did not stop the venture and Black subsequently appeared with Aizô and others on numerous occasions.²¹

The modern medium of the record

In 1903, in an act that augured the increasing irrelevance of *rakugo* as a form of popular entertainment, Black cooperated in the production of the first disc-shaped records ever recorded in Japan, a modern medium which would eventually compete with and replace the *yose*. The work helped offset problems caused for other *rakugoka* faced with the closure of many *yose* due to economic depression and the imminent war with Russia.²² In the first week of January 1903, the American, Fred W. Gaisberg, arrived in Yokohama from India with two assistants to make the recordings for the London

¹⁷ *Ôsaka mainichi shinbun*, 1 March 1902. Kurata (ed.), *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 7, p. 161.

¹⁸ *Tôkyô asahi shinbun*, 24 June, 1903. Kurata (ed.), *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 7, p. 229.

¹⁹ One *shô* was equivalent to 1.8 liters.

²⁰ *Chûô shinbun*, 3 July 1903. Kurata (ed.), *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 7, pp. 233-234.

²¹ See reports in *Tôkyô asahi*, 29 July, 1903. In Kurata (ed.), *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 7, p. 239; *Yorozu chôhō*, 9 August 1903. Kurata (ed.), *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 7, pp. 240-241; *Ôsaka shinpō*, 31 October 1903. Kurata (ed.), *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 7, p. 251.

Gramophone Company. Gaisberg is credited as the first person to make gramophone recordings in Europe where he worked for The Gramophone Company, owner of the His Master's Voice label. It took two weeks for the equipment to pass through customs and arrive at the Metropole Hotel in Tsukiji where Gaisberg set about recording a number of musicians and vocal artists with the assistance of Black, whom Gaisberg described as a 'godsend'.²³

Gaisberg had sailed from London on 28 September 1902 on a journey to record the music and sounds of the Far East. He was to be absent from London until August 1903.²⁴ During his absence, he made recording stops in Calcutta, Tokyo, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore, Bangkok, and Rangoon. Gaisberg's team included his assistant George Dilnutt, and his business affairs manager Tom Addiss. In Tokyo, they worked throughout the cold month of February 1903 to complete their assignment, Gaisberg making use of Black's contacts in the entertainment industry to bring together a wide range of talent after 'two weeks visiting theatres and tea-houses and holding auditions'. The Metropole was central and near enough to entertainment quarters frequented by many of the blind musicians, geisha, and *rakugoka* whom Black recruited for Gaisberg. The records they cut included a geisha band of 'little women with big European band instruments' which Gaisberg described as 'the funniest thing imaginable,' the Imperial Household Band, whose music was 'weird and fascinating indeed,'²⁵ and narrations by Black. Gaisberg's diary entry for his first day of recording in Tokyo on February 4, 1903, indicates he did not have much initial empathy for Japanese music.

²² Morioka and Sasaki, 'The Blue-Eyed Storyteller, p. 148

²³ F.W. Gaisberg (1946), *Music on Record*, Robert Hale Limited, London, p. 59.

²⁴ Jerrold Northrop Moore (1977), *A Matter of Records*, Taplinger Publishing Company, New York, pp. 77-85.

We made some 54 records. Japanese music is simply too horrible, but funny to relate, Europeans who have been long in the country profess to really enjoy it, and say that there is more in the music and acting than a casual observer would believe...²⁶

Gaisberg was frequently amused to find that some of the actors whom he auditioned to perform scenes from the *kabuki* would at first insist on donning their makeup and bringing their costumes, unused to the idea that it was only their voices he wanted for posterity. Gaisberg devoted considerable space in his memoirs to a detailed description of a visit to the *kabuki*, but very little to *rakugo*, noting merely that Black, whom he described as ‘almost a professional story teller,’ performed while seated at a table delivering narrations which lasted ‘from thirty to sixty minutes, an amusement of which the Japs were extremely fond.’²⁷ He also related how Black told him he had once narrated before the Crown Prince, taking thirty minutes to give his first offering. According to Black, the prince so liked the story that he requested more, so Black told another story of longer duration. This elicited a further request for more, so that in total Black claimed to have spent three hours reciting stories for the prince.

Black’s contribution to the recorded material included a story which purported to be his recollection of an incident in which, feeling particularly hungry, he entered a restaurant and ordered a large number of bowls of noodles. The waitress failed to bring his order despite serving other customers who all ate and left. Finally Black hailed the waitress again and demanded to know why he had not been given his order, whereupon the waitress responded that she had thought that since he ordered so many bowls, he wanted to wait for his friends to arrive before eating. The scholar Shimizu Yasuyuki has

²⁵ Moore, *A Matter of Records*, p. 82.

²⁶ Quoted in Moore, *A Matter of Records*, p. 82.

claimed that, as the first recordings made in Japan, Black made a valuable contribution to the linguistic study of the Japanese language as it was spoken at the time. Shimizu has praised Black's spoken Japanese as fluent and as exemplifying the standard Tokyo dialect of the day.²⁸ Thanks largely to Black's contacts, Gaisberg recorded 'some six hundred titles covering every variety of the national music.'²⁹

The noodle story is humorous, but brief. It is similar to the only other extant stories by Black dating from the final two decades of his life. These are *Eikoku no otoshibanashi* (A Humorous Story from England) and *Tabakozuki* (The Heavy Smoker). Both are humorous short stories set in England. *Eikoku no otoshibanashi*, later published in *Bungei kurabu* in 1904 as *Bîru no kakekomi* (The Beer Drinking Contest), tells of an English colonel who offers to pay a large sum to anyone who can drink fifteen bottles of beer in one session. John the 'beer barrel' accepts the challenge, but requests some free time to prepare. When he returns, he downs all fifteen bottles. Asked how he did it, he replies that during his time away, he had tested his ability to do so by drinking the same amount elsewhere. In the *Bungei kurabu* version, the central character is called Jirôkichi. Morioka and Sasaki cite this story as the origin of the popular present-day *rakugo* story *Tamashizake* (Sake Contest), a fact which the current head of the San'yûha, San'yûtei Enraku also acknowledges.³⁰ Ironically, in present-day *rakugo* histories, this contribution by Black to the current repertoire is usually mentioned while his presentation of other stories is accorded little or no mention.

²⁷ Gaisberg, *Music on Record*, p. 59-60.

²⁸ Shimizu Yasuyuki, 'Rekôdo ni kiku Kairakutei Burakku', in *Kairakutei Burakku kenkyû*, No. 2, 19 September 1987, p. 14.

²⁹ Gaisberg, *Music on Record*, p. 59.

³⁰ Personal interview with San'yûtei Enraku, Tokyo, 21 May 1991.

Tabakozuki tells of a London merchant who is called to a dying friend's bedside to help him draw up a will. The dying man's doctor informs the merchant that the man has the bubonic plague (*pesuto*). This news so upsets the merchant that on his way home by horseback, he absentmindedly puts a still-lighted pipe in his pocket. The pipe burns through his coat causing him to think that he has also caught a fever from his friend. After complaining to his wife that he feels ill, his wife discovers the burning pipe and explains that rather than him having caught the plague, he *is* a plague.³¹ Although such short humorous stories served as further opportunities for Black to showcase his knowledge of European culture as modernity through their settings and the customs portrayed, and contained undoubted humour, they are nevertheless too brief to permit of the lengthy informative digressions characteristic of his adaptations and serialized narrations of the 1880s and 1890s.

Identity and personal life

Black's homosexual lifestyle ensured that he did not have offspring, but he did acquire a de facto family with which he spent his final years. Although the date is not clear, Black formally adopted a Japanese boy named Seikichi. Seikichi's parents were known to Henry Black, but they both died within a short space of time, leaving the boy without an immediate means of support.³² Black was a Japanese citizen with the surname of Ishii at the time of adoption, so the boy became Ishii Seikichi. Seikichi later took the stage names of Shôkyokusai Tensa and Hosuko. Seikichi married a French woman, Julie V. Pequignot (1885-1949), who was an accomplished singer of *gidayû* and used the stage

³¹ Henry Black 'Tabakozuki', in *Bungei Kurabu*, Vol. 11, No.14 (October 1905), pp. 133-142; Nishûbashi Sei, 'Kairakutei Burakku', pp. 293-300. In a footnote in 'The Blue-Eyed Storyteller', Morioka and Sasaki note that according to *Rakugo Jiten*, p. 286, 'the story is no longer presented on the *rakugo* stage today, although there is another story of different content with the same title.'

name 'Rosa.' Rosa had attended a Yokohama school for French girls, but possibly due to an earlier interest in acting and the stage, showed an aptitude for *gidayû*. Satô Rennosuke, the owner of Waramise, a *yose* in Ushigome, Tokyo, formally adopted her, having the female orator Wakayanagi Enjô introduce her on stage as 'Rosa'.³³

Black also fostered a Japanese boy called Gunji who spent some years in Black's household. Although Gunji's origins are unclear, his two sons attest to the fact that he was the son of a priest and that Black encouraged him to learn the violin as a member of the Western-style band which he trained and maintained. Black boasted to Gunji that he had once taken the young Emperor Taishô on an incognito visit to the Tamanoi pleasure quarters to buy the services of a prostitute. The basis for Black's assertion that he knew the emperor was a claim that he had befriended him when he was crown prince and Black had delivered his father's newspapers to the palace. Gunji later had a falling out, around 1914, with Black after getting an older woman in the household pregnant while Black was absent on a tour to the provinces. Black returned from the tour to find that Gunji had also spent money left for his use in the maintenance of the household and had pawned a *kumadori kaogata* (a cloth impression of *kabuki* makeup) worn by the *kabuki* actor Danjûrô V, several antiques, and some valued calligraphy. Such cloth impressions were much sought after and would have had considerable sentimental value for Black. Following this incident, Gunji left the household, but any ill-will which it caused was forgotten when Gunji, who had been working as a violinist accompanying silent movies in Hokkaido, visited Black some years later and was well received by Black.³⁴

³² Personal interview with one of Seikichi's grandsons, Mr. Sudô Mitsuo, Tokyo, 3 May 1991.

³³ Morioka and Sasaki, *Kairakutei Burakku no 'Nippon'*, pp. 183-184.

³⁴ Detail about Gunji, as well as Black's claim of friendship with the emperor, was pieced together from personal interviews with his two sons, Kanô Hisashi and Kanô Ichirô on 8 Oct. 1991.

Black spent his final years in a household with Rosa and Seikichi. Like Black, Rosa was a foreign-born performer of a traditional art form, an embodiment of the eclectic spirit of the Meiji period. The innovative Black incorporated Rosa and Seikichi in performances together with musicians playing Western-style music.³⁵ Black continued to perform narrations in *yose* and even visited China in 1916 and 1917 with Rosa and Seikichi to perform for Japanese communities in Shanghai and Hong Kong.³⁶

Around this time, the writer and artist Okamoto Ippei, writing on life in Tokyo, included a description of Black attending a public bath-house one morning near his home in Tokyo. Ippei described Black as rotund, leading a Pekinese dog, and needing a walking stick. Ippei was impressed with the sense of presence Black imparted as a larger-than-life Westerner unabashedly striding through the district in a *yukata*. He regarded Black's demeanor as a statement of quiet confidence in the fact that he was a *geinin* (performer). Ippei's description of Black disrobing to reveal that he wore no underwear and then entering the bath room while 'scratching the flea bites on his backside and patting his fat body with its flabby midriff resembling that of a celluloid kewpie doll' is a particularly evocative description of a foreign-born long-term resident now completely at home in his surrounds. Ippei noted that Black was whistling the tune to a hymn as he entered the bathroom. Black lowered his rotund body into the bath 'with all the caution of a warship entering Tateyama Bay'. Once in the bath, Black whistled a local tune evoking Fukagawa, a district nostalgically linked to a lifestyle known to residents of the *shitamachi* (low city) region of Edo. The area supplied much inspiration for stories used

³⁵ Personal interview with daughter of Rosa and Seikichi, (Black's grand-daughter by adoption), Mrs. Ishii Kiyoko, Shizuoka, 3 May 1991. Mrs. Ishii told of seeing a performance involving her parents in which an image of a flying dove was projected onto a screen following the appearance of a real dove on stage. She thought Black had been involved in devising the performance.

by *rakugoka*. Black then emerged to have his back washed by an attendant. Although Ippei wrote that he enjoyed sharing a bath with Black and listening to his whistling of the tune, his references to Black as ‘this disused elderly, foreign entertainer’ (*kono sutareta ijin no rô geinin*), and to Black’s choice of a hymn and a tune identified with Fukagawa, reinforce the impression that Black had become an irrelevance who merely inspired thoughts of an already bygone era.³⁷

Nevertheless, the account of Black’s visit to the bath house attests to his affinity for Japan. This affinity was also displayed in 1910, when a correspondent for *The Japan Chronicle* penned a description of the Gion Festival in Kyoto, prompting Black to write to the paper pointing out a number of factual errors in the original story. The paper’s correspondent had complained of ‘the almost total lack of reverence’ displayed toward the *dashi* (large floats) and *yama* (small floats) drawn through the city’s streets, and argued that the procession appeared poorly coordinated and lacked any music of interest. The correspondent ended by saying ‘it would be interesting to have the Japanese point of view in this matter of celebrations.’³⁸ Four days later, Ishii Black’s letter stated that the floats were not shrines containing local gods but ‘only decorated cars with historical figures and are not even attended by priests, nor anyone from the temple.’ Black’s considered rebuttal of a number of other points made in the original story suggest that his letter was a conscientious attempt to put the ‘Japanese point of view’.³⁹

³⁶ ‘Tensa Rôza Koi Monogatari’, *Miyako Shinbun*, 30 July 1920, p. 1.

³⁷ Okamoto Ippei (1929), ‘Hebo kyûri’ in *Ippei zenshû*, Vol. III, Senshinsha, pp. 12-17.

³⁸ ‘The Gion Matsuri at Kyoto’, *The Japan Chronicle*, 20 July 1910. Copy in Harold S. Williams Collection, National Library of Australia. Page unknown.

³⁹ ‘The Gion Festival’, *The Japan Chronicle*, 24 July 1910. Copy in Harold S. Williams Collection, National Library of Australia. Page unknown.

Black so identified with the Japanese point of view that in 1904 he publicly offered himself for military service during the Russo-Japanese War together with a number of other *rakugoka*. He was turned down on the grounds that he too closely resembled a Russian.⁴⁰ In an indication that *rakugoka* were also caught up in the general enthusiasm for the war, there was a marked rise in the numbers of *sokkibon* related to Russia or the Russo-Japanese War at this time. J. Scott Miller has suggested a number of explanations, including that *sokkibon* became an arm of state propaganda during the war, and that they ‘reflected the jubilation of the populace’ over the victory Japan had over Russia.⁴¹

Talented to the end

Black maintained a sporadic presence on the stage in the final years of his life. In December 1910, around the time Black celebrated his fifty-second birthday, the *Asahi shinbun* columnist Hakumenya wrote a short piece about Black after witnessing one of his performances in Ryôgoku, Tokyo.⁴² The journalist Hanazono Kanesada recalls that when he visited Black for the first time in 1910, Black was ‘still full of vim’ and spoke of his mother as being 90 years old and unwilling to receive visitors.⁴³ During these years, Black retained his affiliation with the San’yûha. Documentary evidence shows that his name appeared on its list of members until at least 1917.⁴⁴ Sporadic newspaper reports

⁴⁰ *Tokyo asahi shinbun*, 8 July 1904. Kurata (ed.), *Meiji no engei*, Vol. 7, pp. 281-282.

⁴¹ J. Scott Miller, ‘Tale as Text: *Sokkibon* in the Diet Library Collection’, in Hardacre (ed.), *New Directions*, p. 587.

⁴² Morioka and Sasaki, ‘The Blue-Eyed Storyteller’, p. 150.

⁴³ Hanazono Kanesada (1926), ‘J.R. Black’, *Journalism in Japan and its Early Pioneers*, Ôsaka Shuppansha, p.78.

⁴⁴ Morioka and Sasaki, ‘The Blue-Eyed Storyteller’ p. 150.

also attest to Black giving performances in Osaka, Tokyo, and Yokohama between 1911 and 1920.⁴⁵ In May 1920, Black gave *rakugo* performances in some 16 *yose* in Tokyo.⁴⁶

There is evidence that Black worked as a *benshi*⁴⁷ (cinema narrator) in the era of silent motion pictures. Foreign-made motion pictures showed in Japan from 1896. Japanese-made ones were shown from 1899. Seated in darkness to one side of the screen, the *benshi* supplied audiences with not only interpretation, but also dialogue for the characters. Black's great-grandson by adoption, Sudô Mitsuo, has explained that his grandfather, Seikichi, worked as a *benshi*, having trained under one of the country's more famous *benshi*, Tokugawa Musei. Mr. Sudô has suggested that it might have been Black who introduced Seikichi to Tokugawa Musei, but this is only conjecture.⁴⁸

By the summer of 1920, Black was living with Seikichi and Rosa 'in retirement, a little forgotten by the world in a comfortable home in Meguro', Tokyo.⁴⁹ In spite of his 'retirement,' Black found time to teach English to a member of the nobility, Kitashirakawa no Miya, in a downstairs room in the house.⁵⁰ During these years, Black's mother and his sister, Pauline, lived in nearby Shirogane Sankôchô, but there is evidence that Pauline greatly disliked her brother and did not inform him of their mother's death on 7 October 1922.⁵¹ An obituary in *The Japan Chronicle* noted that Black's mother died

⁴⁵ *Ôsaka asahi shinbun*, 17 Feb. 1917. Cited in Shogei Konwakai (ed.) (1977), *Kairakutei Burakku kankei bunken shiryô mokuroku*, p. 5.

⁴⁶ *Miyako shinbun*, 1 May 1920. Shogei Konwakai (ed.), *Kairakutei Burakku kankei bunken shiryô mokuroku*, p. 5.

⁴⁷ *Benshi* were sometimes known as *katsuben*. Both words were an abbreviation of *katsudô shashin benshi* (narrator of moving pictures). See Katsura Beichô, *Rakugo to watashi*, p. 18.

⁴⁸ Sudô Mitsuo, personal interview, Shizuoka, 3 May 1991.

⁴⁹ 'Tensa Rôza koi monogatari', 30 July 1920.

⁵⁰ Ishii Kiyoko, personal interview, Shizuoka, 3 May 1991.

⁵¹ Morioka and Sasaki, 'The Blue-Eyed Storyteller', p. 151. They cite Akabane Kinuko, 'J.R. Black', in *Kindai bungaku kenkyû sôsho*, Vol. 1, Shôwa Joshi Daigaku, 1956, p. 166, & Kanai Madoka, 'Eijin Burakku to Nihon', in *Kokusai bunka*, No. 162, 1967, p. 10ff.

aged 93, at her home ‘where she had lived for many years with her daughter.’⁵² Black’s grand-daughter by adoption, Mrs. Ishii Kiyoko, has described an apparent mutual aversion between Black and his sister in later years. Mrs. Ishii cited occasions when Pauline visited the Ishii household, but would become involved in disagreements with Black and storm out of the house. She described Pauline as appearing to the children as a *kowai obâsan* (frightening older woman) who was eccentric to the point of throwing water at the family’s dog and her own *bâyasan* (maid). Mrs. Ishii also recalled that as a child, she was occasionally asked to take a plate of green peas to Black who lived in an upstairs room in the house. It was her impression that Black’s past successes as a popular *rakugoka* had made him at times intractable, a tendency which was often compounded by bouts of drunkenness during which he could be stubborn and demanding, but nevertheless benign.

Mrs. Ishii also recalled with some vividness the moment on 1 September 1923 when the Great Kantô Earthquake destroyed much of Tokyo and Yokohama, including many of the *yose* where Black had performed. Black stubbornly refused to budge from his room during and immediately after the quake despite the pleadings of the household *bâyasan* and other family members. Fortunately, the house escaped serious damage.⁵³ Just over two weeks after the earthquake, Black died in his home on 19 September 1923. He was 64. The doctor who signed the death certificate gave the cause of death as ‘senile decay’. Without consulting with the household, Pauline had the body taken away for a funeral and burial in the Foreigners’ Cemetery in Yokohama in a grave shared with their

⁵² *The Japan Chronicle*, 11 October 1922. Harold S. Williams Collection, National Library of Australia.

⁵³ Personal interview with Mrs. Ishii Kiyoko, 3 May 1991. There are many good accounts of the damage caused by the earthquake. One of the most graphic in English is in Otis Manchester Poole (1968), *The Death of Old Yokohama in the Great Japanese Earthquake of September 1, 1923*, George Allen and Unwin

parents.⁵⁴ An inscription at the foot of the parents' grave ignores his accomplishments as an entertainer, stating merely: 'Also Henry James, their eldest son, died 1923, aged 66.'

Conclusion

In his assessment of the modern nation-state, Anthony Smith has argued that by the twentieth century 'the task of ensuring a common public, mass culture has been handed to the agencies of popular socialization, notably the public system of education and the mass media.'⁵⁵ Historians examining developments in Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century have shown that these same agencies were accorded, or assumed, similar roles as in the West. However, prior to the development of mass circulation newspapers, the full impact of a new public education system, and legislated government controls over the mass media, *rakugoka* played a key role in propagating this 'common public, mass culture.' In the years when Black introduced his longest, most innovative narrations, *rakugo* served as a popular vehicle for the introduction of modernity. Black's demise by the early years of the twentieth century as a *rakugoka* relying on European story material for his inspiration parallels the fall in popularity of *rakugo*. Black the *rakugoka* was overtaken as a modernizer by other mediums of entertainment and information, although his offer to serve in the military against Russia indicates that he was prepared to collaborate in an imperialist definition of the modern nation-state.

Other factors beyond Black's control were also at play in bringing about Black's loss of prestige within the world of *rakugo*. The assertion by Minamitani Akimasa that in

Ltd. London, Great Britain. This account details the impact on the foreign community mainly in Yokohama.

⁵⁴ Details about the circumstances surrounding Black's death are from a personal interview with Mrs. Ishii Kiyoko, 3 May 1991.

⁵⁵ Anthony Smith (1991), *National Identity*, Penguin, New York, NY, pp. 10-11.

the early post-Restoration years, cultural imports in the cause of Meiji ‘enlightenment’ had been ‘largely monopolized by British studies’ supports the notion that audiences also looked to Black as an authority on modernity because of his British origins. In interviews, Black regularly stressed his British ancestry and played down or omitted references to his Australian birth. Newspapers also habitually referred to him as ‘the Englishman Black.’ But as Minamitani has shown, the fascination with all things British inevitably waned in the face of a flood of other European influences, so that by the onset of the twentieth century, British culture was no longer the *sine qua non* of modernity. Not even the interest in Shakespeare could survive this falling away in interest in British culture. Ironically, whereas *kabuki* had at first accommodated Shakespeare via the strong influence of Tsubouchi’s translations in the tradition of *kabuki* playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1724), it was ultimately because of this influence that Shakespeare temporarily faded from the scene in Japan.⁵⁶ Performances of Shakespeare, Black’s narrations of Shakespeare included, served as examples of modernity for only as long as the short-lived period of experimentation in *kabuki* in the 1880s and 1890s, after which they would have seemed passé. Perceptions of a kabukiesque Shakespeare as modern did not survive the introduction in 1909 of the simpler elocution and use of the vernacular in Ibsen’s *A Doll’s House*.⁵⁷ In the end, not even Black’s British ancestry could stem the decline in interest in him and the development of newer definitions of modernity.

Before his death, Black had been the Japanese citizen Ishii Burakku. In death, he was reclaimed by his sister Pauline as a family member and foreigner, and buried as Henry James Black in the Foreigners’ Cemetery in Yokohama. It was not until 1985 that

⁵⁶ Minamitani, ‘Hamlet in Japan’, p. 185.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

a plaque was placed by the grave recognizing his contribution to *rakugo* and giving his professional name of Kairakutei Burakku. Although Black's Japanese descendants by adoption believe the decision to bury him in a cemetery for foreigners was made arbitrarily by his sister Pauline without the involvement of key members of Black's adoptive household,⁵⁸ the fact remains that Black, the Japanese citizen, lies buried in a foreigners' graveyard. The contradiction is symbolic of the ambivalence displayed toward Black and his career by family, audiences and historians. It is indicative of the disregard in which Black was held by the time of his death. Events had so overtaken Black that his contribution to the modernization of the country had been largely forgotten.

⁵⁸ Kyoko Ishii, personal interview, 3 May 1991. Mrs. Ishii said her side of the family had told her that Black's sister Pauline had Black's body removed from his house and arranged for a funeral and burial in the Yokohama grave without consulting them.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

Henry Black's rise to popularity and subsequent relative obscurity reflect changes in definitions of modernity throughout his lifetime. In the 1880s and 1890s, a unique confluence of circumstances ensured Black's popularity. The rapid social and political changes, the presence of foreigners, and the influx of new ideas, mainly from Europe, had stimulated a predilection in *yose* audiences by the early 1880s for the adaptations of European detective and sensation fiction which Black was able to provide. Black's British ethnic and cultural heritage enhanced his authority as a narrator of such material. By the 1880s, the world of *rakugo* was involved in the nation-wide debate over reform and modernity. Stimulated by that debate, leading *rakugoka* in the San'yûha perceived Black's affiliation with their school as an opportunity for experimentation in the spirit of calls for reform.

But the trajectory of Black's life shows that his ascendancy lasted only as long as the conditions which sustained audience demand for his talents prevailed. Black's popularity began to wane once prevailing interpretations of the path to modernity no longer provided fertile ground for his talents to flourish on the *yose* stage. The contribution which Black made to the debate over modernity during the 1880s and 1890s when he was at the height of his popularity has been largely forgotten because of subsequent interpretations of the events of those years. A full appreciation of Black's contribution can only be made if seen within the context of events which led up to and which followed these key two decades.

When Black arrived in Yokohama in 1865, Japan was a divided country, its leaders unable to provide a coordinated response to a perceived threat of Western domination or colonization. The resolution of this dilemma in the form of the events now known as the 1868 Meiji Restoration initiated a robust debate over the appropriateness of certain paths to modernity. Many of the changes set in train by the events of 1868 were understood by the government and the populace as representations of modernity. But the presence of different interest groups and competing powerful individuals meant that, in the pursuit of their own interests, each defined modernity differently. From the time Henry Black arrived in Yokohama in the late 1860s, therefore, modernity was a hotly disputed issue. John Black's activities as a newspaper editor and Henry Black's participation in speech meetings show that foreigners participated relatively freely in the early stages of the debate over modernity. By the 1880s, however, the government had begun to assert control of the debate through legislation curbing the activities of public speakers, political parties, and newspapers associated with the Freedom and People's Rights Movement. Ironically, the prevention of Black's speech-making by police in the Hakone area in 1880 served as a catalyst for propelling Black into a storytelling career. This effectively ensured that over the long term Black became a medium for the subsequent transfer of many of the Western notions associated with modernity to *yose* audiences.

The adaptations of European detective and sensation fiction which Black brought to audiences in the almost two decades which followed are valuable tools in the study of the transfer of ideas from the West into Japan and are an indication of what Black and his Japanese contemporaries thought of modernity at that time. Despite the links scholars

have traced between the *sokkibon* and modern Japanese literature, studies of the impact of *rakugo* and the *sokkibon* upon modern Japanese literature characteristically ignore Black and focus on the role of Black's mentor, San'yûtei Enchô in this development. This reflects the copious amount of material available about Enchô due to his status as titular head of the San'yûha and his long and distinguished output. It is also a reflection of the well-documented impact Japan's first *sokkibon*, Enchô's famous ghost story *Botan dôrô* (*The Peony Lantern*), had on the *genbun'itchi* movement's most prominent proponent, Tsubouchi Shôyô. But the adaptation of Western story material by *rakugoka* other than Enchô is deserving of more attention, particularly where, as in Black's *sokkibon*, it contains themes and notions from the West which predate their publication in official translations of the original European material or their introduction by authors of mainstream literature.

The demand for popular literature created by the *sokkibon* stimulated the printing industry and led to the broadening of the market for books, thus facilitating the spread of ideas and serving as a major force in shaping Meiji culture.¹ The study of popular literature affords us insights into the manner in which messages are spread through a mass readership in a society. The content and popularity of *sokkibon*, including those of Black, which drew for inspiration from European novels suggest that they need to be included in literary chronologies of the introduction of ideas into Japan if a better understanding of the Meiji period is to be achieved. Such an inclusion is predicated on going beyond characterizations of Black as an eccentric to an acceptance of the legitimacy of his role as mediator and agent of modernity, particularly during the 1880s

¹ Cecile Sakai, foreword Cecile Sakai (1997), *Nihon no taishû bungaku*, Heibonsha, Tokyo, p. 10. Japanese translation of Cecile Sakai (1987), *Histoire de la Litterature populaire japonaise*, L'Harmattan, Paris.

and 1890s. Black's presence on the stage at this time substantiates Carol Gluck's findings that these years were indeed more complicated than conventional histories have suggested.² Black's career shows that the debate over reform during those years was not solely the preserve of government ideologues. His narrations during those years show that the debate, begun in the 1870s by the adherents of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement had a trickle-down effect, with elements of the prodemocracy message filtering through to the common people via *yose* and the lending libraries well into the 1890s.

Black's contacts with pro-democracy activists gave him an intimate knowledge of the people and philosophies motivating events after the Restoration. Equipped with an empathy for Japan which this knowledge afforded him, Black used his understanding of European culture and his status as a foreigner to become a successful *rakugoka*. Black's entry to *rakugo* following his withdrawal from English teaching due to heightened nationalism, and his later taking of Japanese citizenship to evade government restrictions on foreigners on the *yose* stage, ensured the continued presence of a foreign-born voice in the debate over modernity in spite of what historians acknowledge as a period of backlash against Western influence. The example of Black and his narrations illustrates the complexity of the reaction, at least among *yose* audiences and *sokkibon* readers. Black's narrations are an indication that even the indigenous path to modernity was an unavoidably hybrid one which incorporated Western elements.

Black's example shows that the reform of *rakugo* was linked to the overall issue of reform of society. Reform in the arts was not a matter simply of taking over a Western

² Carol Gluck, 'The People in History: Recent Trends in Japanese Historiography', in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 38, January 1978, pp. 27-50.

tradition. For Meiji Japanese, an accelerated process of incorporating Western modes of thought was a prerequisite to their implementation as forms of expression in theatre or literature. This is where Black's narrations were invaluable. They were part of the initial stage of incorporation of modes of thought into the popular culture. Black, together with Enchô, as the two great adaptors of foreign novels, helped redefine the thematic boundaries of *rakugo*. In particular, Black took it beyond the mere repetition of Edo-based themes to incorporate elements of modernity as he perceived it. These achievements mark an important stage in the literary and intellectual development of Japan.

The stories which Black produced for audiences and readers in the 1880s and 1890s in response to the confidence his mentors displayed in him are a distillation of the influences upon Black in the years leading up to their creation. They reveal a preoccupation with many of the components of Black's own 'syndrome of modernization'. His most important adapted stories, narrated between 1886 and 1896, display a variety of responses to modernity. These include the intrusion of the evils of the nineteenth-century metropolis upon the established feudal order seen in *Kusaba no tsuyu*, and the many examples of cultural, topographical and psychological hybridity seen in *Shachû no dokubari*, *Eikoku Rondon gekijô no miyage*, and *Iwade Ginkô chishio no tegata*. They also include the more buoyant and optimistic message at the end of *Minashigo* that the evils of the new city could be overcome. The many warnings about the evils of modernization and industrialization in Black's narrations also situate them as part of a growing reaction during the 1880s and 1890s against wholesale Westernisation.

The stories reveal a preoccupation with the excesses of a new bureaucracy whose members were imbued with the task of carrying out the government's modernizing reforms. They also reveal an awareness of the changing roles of men and women under the impact of industrialization and the increasing influence of government policy on the role of the family. They show an awareness of the impact of more efficient means of travel and communication upon human relationships as well as the manner in which these new modes of travel and communication abetted the development of the politically and bureaucratically centralized nineteenth century nation-state. They display a fascination for the machine and the new-found spirit of scientific investigation which supported the Industrial Revolution. They also show a sense of social justice, warning of the exploitation of women and children by capitalist enterprise, and informing audiences of the need for a new and nondiscriminatory rule of law. They display an awareness of the urbanization of the population as a reflection of the drift from the countryside into factories.

The discourse also reflects changes in social relations formerly based on a rigid, feudal, and hierarchical structure to a new way of relating to others based on the notion that education and individual endeavour could bring personal success. Such relations were governed by the new, burgeoning capitalist market economy in which the price of a person's labor was the basis for his or her well-being and status. This was a change from a largely agrarian economy to one which offered the prospect of prosperity through industrial capitalism with its opportunities for geographic and social mobility.

Black may not have been a major contributor to the *rakugo* canon. His major works are not included in collections of canonic works by *rakugoka*. But at the height of

his career during the 1880s and 1890s, the novelty of his status as a foreign-born narrator and the subject matter in the narrations which he produced ensured that he could mediate in that process understood as modernization. Responses to Black varied over time and depended on the perspective of the observer. The contrast between acceptance by audiences of Black at the height of his career during the 1880s and 1890s and subsequent retrospective interpretations of his activities in this same period as those of an eccentric on the margins of the historical narrative indicate that perspectives altered after the 1890s. These changes in perspective, brought on by changed definitions of modernity, led to the privileging of Meiji period protagonists in mainstream high-status arts, and of high-profile *yatoi* and diplomats. The absence of Black and of the popular arts from much historical narrative indicates a subsequent failure to acknowledge the complexities of Meiji cultural history. This absence is only now being righted as more historians begin to show an interest in the activities of ordinary individuals as protagonists in historical narrative.

Hybrids such as Black suffer from an inability to fit into set categories. Richard Swiderski suggests that nineteenth-century Europeans who crossed over to another culture were frequently perceived by their fellow Europeans as ‘renegade’ and morally depraved ‘turncoats, abandoning the proper way of life for an escape into savagery’.³ Depending on the position of the observer, the direction of such a crossing was ‘invariably judged as having moral qualities: away from the center (civilization, the good,

³ Richard Swiderski (1991), *Lives Between Cultures: A Study of Human Nature, Identity and Culture*, The Denali Press, Juneau, Alaska, p. 1

the true) it is the movement of a renegade; toward the center (and away from the foreign, the barbarous, criminal and false) it is the movement of one becoming civilized.’⁴

One of the more obvious trappings of Black’s Japanese life style was his wearing of *yukata* which Okamoto Ippei and others praised as symbolic of conformity with the host culture. But perceptions varied depending on the cultural background of the observer. Just as James Hudson Taylor, the British founder of the China Inland Mission, who dyed his eyebrows and hair black and wore it plaited at the back in the mid 1850s, was resented by compatriots for what they perceived as an abandonment of Western ways,⁵ such acts of identification rendered people like Taylor and Black more approachable on the part of the hosts.⁶ There were a number of such crossings into Japanese culture by Western expatriates. Perhaps the most prominent example was that of the Greek-Anglo-Irish vagabond journalist, author and Tokyo Imperial University teacher Lafcadio Hearn, who like Black, also married a Japanese woman and considered Japan his spiritual home after a lengthy journey via England and the United States. Like Hearn, Black’s acts of identification with Japan, including his wearing of *yukata*, his giving Japanese names to characters in his narrations, his links to the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement, his adoption of Japanese citizenship, his interest in tea ceremony and in Japanese painting, all contributed to an affinity which Japanese felt toward him when the tide turned against foreigners during difficult negotiations over the unequal treaties.

The frequent use of the term ‘the Englishman Black’, indicates that Japanese audiences regarded Black as a representative of Western civilization in much the same

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁵ J.C. Pollock (1962), *Hudson Taylor and Maria: Pioneers in China*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New York, Toronto, London, p. 51.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.54.

way as the *yatoi*. Black frequently played up this aspect of his cultural heritage in his narrations. But among the generation who forged a new, hybrid culture in the 1880s and 1890s, Black's later status as a naturalized Japanese was as a 'true son of Edo' who had crossed toward a newly legitimized center. Although this crossing over to Edo did not redeem Black in the eyes of family members, other members of the foreign community perceived Black differently. Jules Adams and Francis McCullough, for example, wrote in praise and admiration of Black for his attempts to master what they perceived as a difficult art. But these more positive representations of Black by expatriate colleagues were few and never abandoned the notion that he was an eccentric. In the Japanese newspapers, comment about Black reveals a transition from initial fascination with him as a foreigner on the *yose* stage, through praise and admiration for the feats he accomplished, to ultimate dismissal.

The dismissal of Black as a mere eccentric is a failure to appreciate the importance of hybridity during the 1880s and 1890s when many Japanese themselves could be characterized as hybrids or as aspiring to the kind of hybridity which Black portrayed in his narrations. There are a number of reasons why historians have regarded Black as peripheral to the historical narrative of the Meiji period. Among historians of *rakugo*, one reason appears to be the fact that the topicality of Black's adaptations lasted only until the late 1890s. This has resulted in a tendency among *rakugo* chroniclers to dismiss Black's opus as an irrelevance or as a fleeting aberration. His adaptations may also suffer from a tendency to downgrade their importance as overly derivative adaptations from European sources in the eyes of *rakugo* chroniclers. Another reason is the prominence accorded Black's mentor San'yûtei Enchô in accounts of *rakugo* during

the Meiji period. Like Enchô, Black adapted stories from European sources. But Black did not have the distinction, as Enchô does, of having created the first story published as a *sokkibon* which in turn impacted so conspicuously upon the *genbun'itchi* movement.

Similarly, social historians documenting the role of foreigners in Meiji Japan have displayed a propensity for illuminating the activities of certain classifications of foreigners whose activities have left a lasting impression upon the narrative of the period. Prominent among these is the *yatoi* class of foreigners, the study of which is facilitated by the relative availability of Japanese governmental records. Considerable scholarly attention has also been accorded to foreigners who played prominent diplomatic roles.

Yet another reason appears to be the prominence accorded the so-called mainstream arts of *kabuki* and *nô* as well as mainstream literature in cultural histories of the Meiji period. There is ample evidence that although *rakugo* remained a popular art form for much of the Meiji period, it never received the support of the political elite as did *kabuki*. While stories by *rakugoka* were also published widely in *koshinbun*, their impact on the general populace has remained largely unstudied and underappreciated. At a time when theatre culture itself was declared an object of reform for political purposes, the active participation by Itô Hirobumi and other politicians in the singling out of *kabuki* for elevation and reinvention as a mark of a civilized country (*bunmei kokka*) resulted in the marginalization of *rakugo*, the one oral art which had displayed links with the opposition Freedom and People's Rights Movement. The repositioning of *kabuki* by Meiji governments as an art form suitable for overseas consumption, together with its visual theatricality, have contributed to its appeal among foreigners as one of Japan's representative arts. The obverse difficulty inherent in translating the mainly oral art of

rakugo to foreign audiences, together with its history of lack of support from the political establishment, has mitigated against its appeal and study outside Japan. At the same time, the incorporation of the vernacular into mainstream literature by writers has bequeathed subsequent generations with a narrative of the country's modern literary history devoid of an appreciation of the brief, but crucial, role of *rakugo* in facilitating the changes.

While its influences are now barely discernable in mainstream literature or today's *rakugo* repertoire, *rakugo* in the 1880s and 1890s was an essential catalyst to the processes involved in bringing modernity to literature and stage as well as to large numbers of newspaper readers at a crucial time when the populace was attempting to devise a Japanese path to modernity. It was during these crucial years that Black was able to utilize the characteristic tools of the narrator as vehicles for transmitting modernity. An appreciation of Black's life and contribution to modernity in Japan demands a dispassionate assessment of the cultural crossing which he realized and of those examples of such crossings which he portrayed. Although the direction of the crossing which Black achieved differed from those made by his *yose* audiences and the readers of his *sokkibon*, the hybrid outcome was not in essence different. Black's lifestyle and the narrated landscapes he portrayed were an example to his audiences.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, an increase in the number of alternative sources of information and entertainment ultimately robbed the *yose* and Black of their role as a conduit for information about the West, laying the seeds for Black's relegation to relative obscurity. Black's problems were exacerbated by a downturn in the economy during the Russo-Japanese War, which caused a fall in audience attendance at *yose*. Matters were not helped by Black's own attempts to diversify into hypnotism and

conjuring, which his *rakugoka* colleagues perceived as a departure from the narrator's art. By the time Black died in 1923, he had been largely forgotten.

Contemporary debate about the nature of history acknowledges that the privileging of selected sources risks teleological distortions which fail to take account of the complexity of contemporaneous human reactions to historical events. It also acknowledges the impossibility of creating an accurate account of events. Nevertheless, historians are duty bound to endeavor to contribute to the resurrection of the past in as accurate a manner as possible. This challenge has in recent years prompted a growing number of scholars to acknowledge the place of popular culture hitherto marginalized in histories of the Meiji period. Brenda G. Jordan has stated this case, noting that 'when we take into account the role of the arts in the search for modernity, we will begin to have a much fuller picture of the dynamics of the culture of that time.'⁷ Such studies must now also take fuller account of the place of *rakugo* in the Meiji popular arts.

Irokawa Daikichi has posited the separate formation of thought and culture in modern Japan by two dichotomous entities -- the intellectual elite and the ordinary people.⁸ While such dichotomies as Irokawa refers to may well have existed in the minds of citizens and historians, this thesis shows that Black's use of *rakugo* served to mediate between the two entities. It was Black's stories, replete with hybrid visions of modernity, which ensured that *rakugo* in the 1880s and 1890s served as a crucible for the shared discourse of modernity at a time when a new generation was forging a new understanding of modernity. Foreign participation in the person of Black at the creative heart of one of

⁷ Brenda G. Jordan, 'Flowers in the Dawn: Kawanabe Kyōsai and the Search for Modernity' in Helen Hardacre (ed.) with Adam L. Kern, *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, Brill's Japanese Studies Library Vol. 6, Brill, Leiden, New York, Köln, (1997), pp. 110-111.

the country's popular narrative arts and in *sokkibon* and newspaper novels facilitated that discourse at a time when many scholars have assumed that the government had eliminated foreigners from positions of influence through the banning of foreign newspaper proprietorship and through a significant decrease in *yatoi* numbers. A history of the Meiji period which limits its range to the activities of an intellectual elite will be incomplete. A more comprehensive understanding of the period can only be gained from broadening the narrative range to include the popular culture of the ordinary people.

Although not the main task of the study, this thesis suggests a need for historians to question more deeply the reasons why certain foreigners have been privileged and others marginalized in narratives related to Meiji Japan. Henry Black poses major complications to conventional histories of the Meiji period. Since Black was Australian-born and at least initially held British citizenship, he defies the conventional wisdom that a *rakugoka*, an exponent of the uniquely Japanese narrative art, should have been a native-born Japanese. If this study can put a case for allowing more space in our histories of the Meiji period for the likes of foreigners and artists such as Black, it will have succeeded in showing that the picture of events during the period must alter. We will produce a more complex version of modernity as it was understood at the time and a more complex narrative peopled with protagonists not included in more conventional histories which rely on more plentiful textual records or unspoken assumptions about the nature and motivation of protagonists.

⁸ Irokawa, Daikichi (1985), *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, p. 5.

Synopses of narrations by Henry Black

The synopses of Black's narrations which appear below were prepared from a number of sources. They include my own synopses of five of Black's *sokkibon* – *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage* (Story from a London Theater), *Iwade Ginkô chishio no tegata* (The Bloodstained Handprint at the Iwade Bank), *Kusaba no tsuyu* (Dew by the Graveside), *Minashigo* (The Orphan), and *Shachû no dokubari* (The Poisoned Pin in the Coach). The remaining synopses are from other sources which I have credited in each case. The synopses are listed in alphabetical order according to the most common Japanese-language titles. For the dates of publication or first narration, I have largely relied on the work of Morioka Heinz and Sasaki Miyoko.

- Bara musume* (The Rose Girl) / 282
Eikoku no otoshibanashi (The Beer Drinking Contest) / 283
Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage (Story from a London Theatre) / 284
Iwade Ginkô chishio no tegata (The Bloodstained Handprint at the
Iwade Bank) / 289
Kusaba no tsuyu (Dew by the Graveside) / 292
Minashigo (The Orphan) / 297
Nagare no akatsuki (Dawn at the River) / 300
Setsunaru tsumi (The Pitiful Sin) / 301
Shachû no dokubari (The Poisoned Pin in the Coach) / 302
Tabakozuki (The Heavy Smoker) / 306
Tsurugi no hawatari (The Sword's Edge) / 307

Where a source of information is given as Morioka and Sasaki, the source is:
Morioka Heinz and Sasaki Miyoko, 'The Blue-Eyed Storyteller: Henry Black and his
Rakugo Career', *Monumenta Nipponica* Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2, Summer 1983.)

Where a source is given as Itô, this is:
Itô Hideo (1986), *Meiji no Tantei Shôsetsu*, Sôkôsha, Tokyo, pp.119-129.

Where no source is given, the synopsis is by Ian McArthur.

Bara Musume

(The Rose Girl)

First published in Japan in 1891. Detective story set in Paris. Story source: see note below.

Concerns an assassination attempt on the life of the French Crown Prince by an anarchist disguised as a flower girl luring the victim to a lonely place where he is to be dispatched by poison gas. Full of action, contains account of nightlife in nineteenth century Paris, brandy, morphine, an attractive flower girl, and a duel with swords.
(Morioka and Sasaki)

The Chief of Police in Paris, Kawamichi Shô, learns that the German political offender and scientist, Nishinô Takeshi has entered the country with the intention of assassinating the French crown prince. He puts his detective Ômura on the case. Ômura learns that the beautiful flower seller, Ohana, is the younger sister of Nishinô, that the youthful crown prince is fond of this girl, and that she is conspiring with Nishinô. Ômura has one of his men pose as a ruffian and during a faked altercation, intervenes to apprehend the distracted Ohana. He takes Ohana to her home and gains her confidence. The flower shop owner is her husband, Mr. Kumoi. He learns that Nishinô is staying somewhere as a boarder in a lodging house and that they are in communication with him. Kumoi is a former sumo wrestling instructor and has come to Paris to defeat the 'Masked Wrestler'. There is a hole in a park which will be used as a hiding place when the crown prince goes for a walk. One day, there is a sumo match and Ômura, who is the real 'Masked Wrestler', beats Kumoi who is hospitalised. He learns that at 2 p.m. Ômura was to hide in the hole and kill the crown prince with poison gas. He arrests the accomplices, but the flower seller Ohana escapes.
(Source: Itô)

Note: According to Itô, although this tale is based on a story titled *Kokuji Tantei* (State Detective) by Yûhō Kikuike, published in 1898 in *Ôsaka mainichi shinbun*, it may have originally come from another European source.

Eikoku no otoshibanashi

(The Beer Drinking Contest)

Date of first publication: March 1891. Story source unknown.

A humorous short story set in England. The story concerns a certain colonel living near London who offers to pay handsomely if any of his men is able to down fifteen bottles of beer. John, nicknamed 'Wine Barrel', accepts the challenge but asks for an hour's postponement. When he returns, he drinks up all the beer with great gusto, only for the audience to learn that during his hour's absence John had already drunk the same amount of beer just to make sure that he could win the bet.

(Morioka and Sasaki)

Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage

(Tale From a London Theater)

(An adaptation of Mary Braddon's 1877 short story *Her Last Appearance*.)

Date of first narration: 1891.

Part One

Black begins the narration stating that he will take one-and-a-half months to complete the story in episodes. He then refers to conditions in Japan 24 years ago when he arrived in the country, reminding listeners that foreigners were resented at the time. He says that things have changed a lot since then. He mentions the dangers which used to exist for foreigners venturing out of their homes and tells of an incident involving his family being confronted by a sword-wielding samurai. He states that these days, Japanese people have changed their attitude toward foreigners and now want to copy them, sometimes to the point of ridiculousness. He explains that this is his motive for adapting a British *ninjô banashi* as a serialized *shibai banashi*.

In the village of Ruisu, about 17-18 *ri* outside London, lives a farmer called Beniyûeru with his beautiful daughter Gâtsurudo, 17. Beniyûeru has studied at an agricultural college and has taught Gâtsurudo the rudiments of reading and maths. Gâtsurudo's aunt has invited her to visit London, a place Gâtsurudo has never seen. Beniyûeru agrees reluctantly that she may go for 10 days after New Year celebrations.

In London she spends the first few days shopping for dresses. Black digresses to explain how women in the West buy fine dresses to attend a play. He compares play-going in London with the all-day kabuki performances in Japan where women spend so much of the previous evening preparing that they are too sleepy to enjoy the performance the next day. Gâtsurudo attends a performance at the Adelphi Theater. The bell rings to call the audience into the theater.

Part Two

Black tells his audience that many Japanese, on first hearing a Western orchestra, thought it merely boisterous (*sôzôshii*), but that many Westerners on first hearing a Japanese instrument, find it puzzling. But if they listen long enough, even Danbei's *shamisen* playing is good. Gâtsurudo enjoys her first theater performance. She falls for a young, inexperienced actor called Sumerurû. Black details the difference between Japan and Britain with regard to the manner of praising or rewarding actors

who are popular. In Japan, money is given in envelopes. In Europe, people give flowers. Gâtsurudo writes her name and address and attaches it to a flower which she throws to the actor. At home, Sumerurî puts the flower in a bottle and is so happy he cannot sleep.

Part Three

Sumerurî goes out to visit Gâtsurudo. On the way, he borrows a set of clean clothes from his friend Edwin. He calls at Gâtsurudo's aunt's house. The maid allows him in. The maid informs Gâtsurudo that he has come. She goes downstairs to meet him.

Part Four

Black begins with a paean to the equality of all races, saying that skin colour is irrelevant. Gâtsurudo fancies Sumerurî, but he does not fancy her. However he begins to toy with the idea of proposing a marriage so that he can gain access to her father's fortune. He persuades her to marry him, but asks her not to tell her father or aunt until he can become as good an actor as Danjûrô. He insists that he will eventually tell her father. They marry in a church and then Gâtsurudo leaves by train for the country to inform her father of the marriage.

Part Five

Gâtsurudo's father is angered at the news of the marriage and disinherits her. The couple set up home in London, but Sumerurî begins gambling away their money. In desperation, Gâtsurudo decides to earn money by becoming an actress. The owner of the Adelphi Theater agrees to meet her.

Part Six

Black begins by referring to the differences between the all-male *kabuki* and European acting styles. He discusses the comparative low status of actresses in Britain. Gâtsurudo auditions for the owner of the Adelphi Theater. He likes her and sends her to train in the country for 10 months, after which she is brought back to London where she is an instant success.

Part Seven

Black explains how actors in the West train and how they have considerable status, allowing them to mix with politicians. John Brown is an unmarried nobleman

who loves the theater. He meets Gâtsurudo back stage and chats briefly with her. He decides he wants to marry her.

Part Eight

Gâtsurudo lives apart from Sumerurî in a house on Kensington Park. John Brown visits her and requests her hand in marriage, but she explains that she is already married and that she lives apart from her husband. She offers to remain as brother and sister with John Brown. He accepts this, but one day visits her and learns that her husband has beaten her. Brown resolves to kill him. Back home, he dyes his hair black, and puts on makeup and old clothes to disguise himself.

Part Nine

Brown goes to the Adelphi Theater to make sure Sumerurî is there. Then he installs himself in a restaurant opposite the theater and asks a waitress to take a note to Sumerurî, requesting that Sumerurî join him after the performance. Sumerurî arrives and the two men chat. Brown pays the bill. Sumerurî notices that Brown has hundreds of yen in his wallet and decides to rob him. He offers to entertain Brown by taking him to a gambling den.

Part Ten

After referring to Meiji debates over the rights and wrongs of gambling and of prostitution, Black tells of how Sumerurî takes Brown to a private room in a gambling den as a ruse to extract money from him. Sumerurî cheats and wins all of Brown's money, but Brown gets Sumerurî drunk and starts an argument with him in which Brown stabs him to death. Brown leaves, telling the owner that Sumerurî should not be disturbed because he is asleep.

Part Eleven

The police are called to investigate. Brown waits a week until after the funeral for Sumerurî, before attempting to contact Gâtsurudo.

Part Twelve

Black refers to a Western custom of waiting many years until being able to marry someone one loves deeply. Brown visits Gâtsurudo's house, but is rebuffed a number of times by a servant who tells him she is unwell. He eventually learns that Gâtsurudo will appear at the Adelphi the following day. He reasons that she must now

be well again so visits her house and pushes past the servant to confront her. Gâtsurudo says she suspects he was her husband's killer. He confesses to the killing and takes a gun from his pocket and threatens to shoot himself unless she marries him. She is afraid he will also shoot her, so she agrees to a marriage.

Part Thirteen

Black explains European wedding customs, referring to white being a symbol of purity. Gâtsurudo and John Brown marry. Gâtsurudo forgets her first husband and begins to enjoy being married to Brown. Meanwhile, the detective on the case has concluded that since nothing was stolen from Sumerurî, the motive may have been malice. He suspects Brown, since it is he who married Gâtsurudo soon after the murder. The detective gets a photo of Brown and deduces that he is the same as the man who came to the gambling den, but had probably dyed his hair. He goes to Brown's house, but Brown and Gâtsurudo escape and hide in a London hotel, slipping across to Paris the following day. But because they risk detection if they send for money from London, they are soon in financial straits and Gâtsurudo begins bickering over money. Brown takes to spending long periods away from the hotel. On one of these absences, he meets an old friend Frances Imîru who invites him home. Gâtsurudo is left wondering where Brown is.

Part Fourteen

Since Brown does not return for some time, Gâtsurudo decides to return to London. She offers the hotel manager her jewelry as a surety, saying she will pay her debt to the hotel on her return to London. In London, her former manager advises her to return to perform at the Adelphi. Meanwhile, Brown has returned to the hotel to find that his wife has left and his booking has been cancelled. He cannot follow her and he cannot write to her.

Part Fifteen

Black explains that men and women in Europe do not have equal rights, but that many men love their wives so that if they hear a domestic argument, there is a code allowing people to intervene to protect a woman from being beaten by a husband. Brown again visits Imîru. The two visit a gentlemen's club similar to the *Rokumeikan*. Here, they encounter a retired army colonel called Shiberia Deboâto who is actually an undercover agent for the police. Deboâto greets Brown and explains that he has been instructed to bring him in as the British police are looking for him on suspicion of

murder. Brown takes out a pistol and shoots himself dead. His son inherits his title, and Gâtsurudo receives 2000 pound a year from his family. She retires to live with the Brown family.

Iwade ginkô chishio no tegata

(The Bloodstained Handprint at the Iwade Bank)

A detective mystery. Date of first narration: 1891. Origin unknown.

Part One

Sleet falls over London as Iwade Yoshio, president of the Iwade Bank leaves the bank and hurries toward the station by London Bridge to catch his regular train home near the town of *Chîsubikki*. Just short of the station, he encounters a filthy, shivering urchin. The boy begs some money from Iwade. Iwade pauses to consider whether he should give the boy money, but pressed for time, he decides to hurry on and not risk missing his train. As Iwade mounts the steps to the station, the boy notices Iwade's wallet is not properly in his pocket. He steals the wallet.

Yamada goes to buy his ticket, but the wallet is missing. He returns to the bank, fearing he has left it there, but it is not in his office. He reports the missing wallet to the police, takes more money from his office safe, and returns home. The next morning, Iwade is summoned to the police station where he is informed that a boy has handed in his wallet and confessed that he stole it. Iwade thinks it strange that the thief would confess and return the wallet and demands to meet the boy.

Part Two

The boy, whose name is Yamada Matashichi, gives a tearful confession to Iwade. He stole the wallet to save his mother from starvation and ill-health, but on taking it to where his mother lay, homeless and exposed to the cold, he found her dead. Filled with remorse, he handed the wallet to the police and is prepared to suffer the consequences of his immoral act. Iwade takes pity on Matashichi and takes him into his care.

Part Three

Iwade pays for Matashichi's education and eventually appoints him as a clerk at the bank. At the age of 20, Matashichi has become a fine, handsome, well-educated young man. He and Iwade's only daughter Omasa fall in love and make a secret vow to marry. Itô, the bank's manager, learns of the couple's love for each other and informs Iwade, who accuses Matashichi of duping his daughter and seeking to marry her for her inheritance. Iwade angrily dismisses Matashichi, ordering him never to come to their house again, but gives him 200 yen from his safe to allow him to make his way in the

world. Matashichi humbly thanks Iwade for all he has done for him and promises to repay the money when he has made a success of himself.

Part Four

A few days later, the normally punctual Iwade fails to return home for his evening meal. The alarm is raised and he is found stabbed to death in his office.

Part Five

Matashichi is arrested in Liverpool while attempting to board a ship for the United States. The police send him to London for further investigation and he is committed for trial.

Part Six

Omasa insists that Matashichi is innocent and visits her father's brother, Iwade Takejirô, a lawyer, to request his assistance. She explains that on the night her father died, Matashichi had arranged through a household servant for them to meet in the garden and had then informed her that her father had refused their match.

Part Seven

Takejirô meets the detective on the case and explains Omasa's concern. Takejirô asks to see the piece of paper with a bloodstained handprint found near the corpse and explains that he plans to find the killer using his knowledge of fingerprints gained during a visit to Japan and China several years ago.

Part Eight

As his brother's successor, Takejirô orders the bank's employees to assemble in a room and to submit to giving their handprints. He then uses a magic lantern to project onto the wall the magnified handprint found in Iwade's office. Alongside this, he projects each employee's handprint using a second magic lantern, until he reaches the handprint of the janitor Katô Torakichi. Confronted with the similarity between the two handprints, Katô confesses to the murder, explaining that he had been seeking money from Iwade's safe to pay off gambling debts.

Part Nine

Takejirô persuades Omasa's mother to consent to a marriage between Omasa and Matashichi. In doing so, Takejirô overcomes the mother's objections to her

daughter marrying a former beggar by arguing that even Oliver Cromwell, Napoleon, General Ulysses Grant, and Toyotomi Hideyoshi all rose from humble origins to eventually contribute to their country. Omasa's mother consents to the marriage and the couple live happily ever after in England.

Kusaba no tsuyu

(Dew by the Graveside)

First published in 1886. Adapted from the Mary Braddon novellete *Flower and Weed*.

Part One

The widower and parliamentarian Lord Ingleshaw and his only child, a daughter, the Lady Lucille, live peacefully in Ingleshaw Castle amidst its vast surrounding gardens. Lucille is approaching her eighteenth birthday when she learns that her cousin Bruno will soon return from a lengthy trip to Africa and Continental Europe. Bruno plans to take a seat in parliament. Excited at the news that Bruno will return, Lucille takes her horse and goes riding in the castle grounds where she encounters the homeless and starving orphan Bess. Lucille is impressed with Bess's intelligence and good looks and decides after taking her to the castle for treatment to go against the advice of her governess Miss Marujuru and oversee Bess's subsequent training for domestic duties.

Part Two

Bess makes a good recovery and over several days begins to learn various womanly accomplishments from Lucille's maid Tompion. Some days later, Bruno arrives. Bess serves Lucille and Bruno tea, impressing Bruno with her presence and beauty. Later, in the grounds of the castle, Bruno embraces Lucille. The two pledge their love for each other.

Part Three

Lucille contracts the same illness which had afflicted Bess at the time of her appearance in the castle grounds. Lord Ingleshaw hurries from London with two nurses to care for Lucille. Bess devotedly assists the nurses. Bess confesses to Lord Ingleshaw that she had been on her way to Dover to join a cousin whom she had learned had gone there to enlist in the army. At Lucille's urging, he agrees to allow Bess to remain in the castle at least until Lucille is completely recovered, after which they will find appropriate domestic employment in the region for her. Lord Ingleshaw gives her the surname of May, since that is the month in which she was found.

Part Four

By June, Lucille has recovered. She orders Marujoru to train Bess as a governess. The doctor orders Lucille to spend time in a seaside *ryokan* as part of her

recuperation. The household, including Bess, relocate to the town of *Uimâfu* (Weymouth) for several months. Bruno visits and he and Lucille are absorbed in themselves, prompting Bess to display a moment of anger. Bess complains that they are treating her like a mere object. This prompts Bruno to doubt whether Lucille has done the right thing by taking Bess in. Lucille defends Bess and excuses her temper by arguing that Bess was originally very sick and still has much to learn.

The next morning Bruno rises early to take a stroll along the beach. He encounters Bess. Bess explains that she has been unhappy at being left alone since Lucille has been preoccupied with Bruno. She explains that she is not content with the company of the other servants. Bruno advises her to remember her place and then leaves to return to the *ryokan*. Bruno takes a meal with Lucille but then excuses himself, saying he has things to do. Lucille is disappointed that he has recently appeared busy and has not spent much time with her. She is unable to hide her tears from Marujoru. But shortly after, Bruno returns to tell Lucille that he has hired a boat.

On the boat with Bruno, Lucille is happy again. Having learned a lesson from Bruno, Bess remains polite and circumspect. However, one day toward the end of their voyage, Lucille is surprised to see Bruno and a tearful Bess talking while seated together. Unable to hear what they are saying, she sees that Bruno has his hand on Bess's shoulder. Lucille interrupts, asking what has happened. Bruno explains that Bess is unhappy with her life. Lucille demands of Bess that in future if she is not happy, she should explain this to her and not to Bruno.

Part Five

Back at the castle, Lucille's aunt, Lady Cârôn, visits. She expresses approval at the impending marriage between Bruno and Lucille, arguing that it is a mutually beneficial arrangement for the continuation of the estate. She says she would rather that the two marry in London, but Lucille says she is happy to marry in the local church.

In an aside (page 105), Black explains that women in the West have their wedding gowns specially fitted by an expert before the ceremony.)

Lucille explains to her aunt that she expects Tompion to marry eventually and that after that, Bess will become her maid. Her aunt complains that Bess is not up to the task, but Lucille argues that Bess learns fast and could even become a governess. Bess continues her work around the castle.

One day, while out walking in the castle grounds, Bess encounters her estranged husband, Tom. She berates him for having left her penniless. He reminds her that they were married according to her wishes in a temple (*tera*) and that they are still husband

and wife. Tom explains that he will look for work in the area and claim her once he has enough money. Bess is suspicious of his motive, but he warns her that if she causes problems for him, he will make life difficult for her. Tom then mentions the many valuable things he imagines are in the castle. She explains that it is a well-off household, but refrains from describing the castle in detail. He then leaves.

Bruno encounters Bess, distraught and alone in the grounds. She explains to him that her husband Tom has come back to claim her. She explains that he was a low-class man and a good-for-nothing (*namake mono*). Bess says she would rather die than return to him. Bruno urges Bess to reveal all to Lord Ingleshaw. They shake hands and stare into each other's eyes for a moment. Then Bruno returns the way he had come. Bess remains in the grounds, lying sobbing into the ground until the moon rises and she returns to the castle.

Part Six

Bess is obliged to fully confess her past to Lord Ingleshaw. She subsequently asks Lucille's forgiveness over the incident on the boat when Lucille was angered over her attempt to confide in Bruno. One day, Esureimon visits with three children and Lucille considers it an appropriate time to urge Bess to consider becoming a governess to the children. Esureimon meets Lucille and agrees to take Bess. Esureimon inquires of Lucille when she will marry. Lucille responds that it will probably be around the 20th of December,¹ but that it has not been finally decided yet.

Part Seven

On Christmas Eve, Lucille receives a telegram from Bruno saying that he will return from an excursion to his electorate in the north. Lucille decorates the castle rooms for Christmas. Bruno and Lord Ingleshaw return together. Lord Ingleshaw introduces Bruno as the member of parliament for Smokeshire (*sumokushia*).²

(Here, there is an aside by Black referring to legislation recently passed in the British parliament restricting the working hours of clerks. Black explains that they used to have to work from 5 a.m. until 10 p.m., but that the legislation had mandated that

¹ In Braddon's original work, the proposed date for the wedding is given as January 20. The date given in the Black version could be a misprint. Mary Braddon, 'Flower and Weed' in *Flower and Weed and Other Tales*, p. 92.

² Braddon spells it as 'Smokeshire'. Braddon, 'Flower and Weed' in *Flower and Weed and Other Tales*, p. 95.

clerks be allowed to cease work at 6 p.m. for health reasons. Black explains that other similar legislation has been introduced with the health of the workers in mind.)

The three enjoy each other's company, talking about Lucille's plans for beautifully tailored gowns once she is married, and other topics even after Lord Ingleshaw falls asleep by the fire. Later, over dinner with the household staff, Lord Ingleshaw inquires after Bess and Lucille explains that she is applying herself to studying well under Marujoru. Later, they each retire to their rooms, but Bruno remains by the fire for a while. Eventually, he makes his way to his room. In the candlelight he sees the figure of a woman carrying some books. It is Bess. Bess is startled to see him and drops some of her books. Bruno stops to talk to her and is struck by her paleness. After a brief chat, they part and leave for their own rooms.

Part Eight

The next morning, Christmas Day, the snow which has fallen overnight carpets the ground. Bruno expresses concern that Bess does not appear well. Black explains the Christmas celebrations in England. He explains that since it is a festival to mark the birth of Christ, the houses are cleaned thoroughly, and everyone takes part in a feast with party games and presents between 5 and 11 p.m.

After the guests have left, Bess is alone in a room with Lord Ingleshaw. While tidying up Christmas decorations, Bess explains how much she has enjoyed Christmas, adding that it was her first such experience. Ingleshaw comforts her by giving her an assurance that they will protect her from her husband.

Part Nine

A Christmas dinner of turkey is on and the tables are beautifully laid on white cloth. Below, are seated residents from homes surrounding the castle. All have been invited to a feast. Among the guests, Bess notices a strange man with a red beard and long red hair. She can not decide who the man is, although by his manner, she feels that he is from London.

When the feast ends, Bess remains alone, complaining of a headache, but contemplating her good fortune on having been rescued from poverty and given a home and education in the castle. She can hear Lucille and Bruno singing.

Part Ten

The clock strikes midnight. Bess has a headache and the clock feels extremely loud. In darkness now, Bess sees three figures moving in the shadows. She looks

carefully and realizes that one is her husband Tom, who must have earlier disguised himself as the red-haired man. She sees that they intend to rob the castle. She intercepts Tom and tells him she has something to say. She says she cannot stand by silently and allow him to rob the premises. She demands that they leave immediately. Tom accuses her of being fond of Bruno. There is a struggle and Tom produces a knife, but Bess screams. An alarm bell rings. The accomplices escape, but Tom is trapped. Bruno enters and struggles with Tom. Bess comes between them and is stabbed by a blow meant for Bruno. Lord Ingleshaw arrives and apprehends Tom, but Bess dies, confessing to Bruno that she is happy to have saved his life. Lucille and Bruno marry the following April.

Minashigo

(The Orphan)

Adapted from the Charles Dickens novel *Oliver Twist*.

Part One

In the town of Leeds, there is an orphanage run by the cold-hearted public servant Tanaka Seiemon. One day he has a visit from Hori Jinbee, an undertaker. Tanaka asks Hori to take in a 14 year-old boy called Takahashi Seikichi. Hori at first refuses, arguing that a boy he previously took in from the orphanage absconded with the kimono he had clothed him in. Tanaka talks Hori into taking the boy, arguing that he will take him back if it does not work out. Jinbee's wife, Ohatsu, resents Seikichi, fearing that he will be like the previous apprentice who absconded. She ill treats him and makes his life miserable. Seikichi is taken in black clothes to stand outside the homes of dead people. He is especially effective outside the home of a dead child because he looks mournful. The other apprentice, Heisaku, becomes jealous of the good treatment Seikichi receives at the hands of Jinbee. What's more, Heisaku is friendly with the maid Onabe, who also begins to ill-treat Seikichi by feeding him only small portions of meals.

One cold day, Seikichi begs Heisaku to let him stand beside a brazier. Heisaku tells him he should be outside minding the shop front and then taunts him by telling him that his father was an executed robber and murderer. Seikichi flies into a rage and attacks Heisaku with a chair. Just then, Ohatsu comes in and sees the commotion. She ties Seikichi up. Jinbee comes home and releases Seikichi. That night, Seikichi escapes, taking only the small amount of money given to him by Jinbee previously.

Seikichi makes his way to London where he encounters an urchin who befriends him. The urchin introduces himself as Chibikichi. Chibikichi takes Seikichi to a pub where he treats him to beer, meat and bread. He then takes him to the house of Tôgoro, the leader of a pickpocket gang. Seikichi is not told the residents are pickpockets. He is made to feel at home and stays some weeks, playing games with the other children. Eventually he begs Chibikichi to be allowed to go outside with the others. Chibikichi persuades Tôgoro to allow Seikichi to go with him on a pickpocketing job to The Strand. As Yasu, another gang member, is about to pick an elderly man's pocket outside a book shop, Seikichi is shocked and cries out 'Thief!'. Seikichi decides he must escape the gang and starts to run away. The man turns to see Seikichi running, and assumes that Seikichi is the culprit. Passers-by give chase and catch Seikichi.

Part Two

At Tôgorô's den, Tôgoro interrogates Chibikichi, becoming increasingly angry with him because he fears that Seikichi will divulge everything. Bunroku, a former protégé of Tôgorô, enters. They decide that someone needs to go to the court to find out what has happened. They choose Bunroku's girlfriend, Omine.

At the court, Omine sits in the back row and watches. Seikichi is polite and responds to questioning, explaining that he had come to London and was befriended by an urchin and that till today, he had not realized that he was with a gang of robbers. The elderly man, Fukuda Yûkichi, is a retired silk merchant. He has left his business to his son, Zenkichi. Fukuda Yûkichi is impressed with Seikichi's honesty and offers to take him in and look after him. The judge consents. Fukuda tells Seikichi that if he learns quickly, he can become a clerk in the business.

Seikichi works in Fukuda's shop for a week. One day, Fukuda asks him to go on an errand to the book shop. He gives him money to purchase books. On the way, Seikichi is accosted by Omine who leads him, against his wishes, back to the robbers' den.

Omine and Bunroku are like husband and wife. Omine is busy making a meal for them when Tôgoro enters, demanding to know when Bunroku will do another job for him. They begin to plan a break-in, using Seikichi to get through a window. They decide that by using Seikichi in this way, he will become involved in their scheme and later be reluctant to recant.

Sensing that they are planning something, Seikichi begs Omine to help him escape. Omine is touched by his goodness, but urges him to remain this time, saying that once he has helped out in the project, she will consider helping him. She explains that Take, Chibikichi, and the others are coming and that it will be difficult to get an opportunity to free him. She takes Seikichi to Bunroku's house. Bunroku threatens him with his rifle. Seikichi sleeps until roused again by Bunroku. Bunroku leads Seikichi through the city and out into the country to the edge of Hyanden, site of the home of Fukuda Zenkichi. At a house on the edge of town, they rendezvous with Hachigorô, who is a friend of Bunroku.

Part Three

Black explains that in Britain, robbers wear masks of black velvet with holes for eyes and nose. Hachigorô and Bunroku put masks on and, with Seikichi, approach the house they are to rob. They use a diamond blade to cut the glass from a window.

Seikichi protests, but Bunroku points his gun at him and makes him enter the house via the window so he can open the door for the robbers. Once inside, Seikichi yells ‘Thief!’ and attempts to run, but Bunroku shoots him. Seikichi falls, struck by a bullet. Bunroku shoots twice again and flees.

Back at Tôgorô’s den, Bunroku relates what happened. Tôgorô tells Bunroku that he has reason to believe that Omine has told Seikichi that she will eventually help him escape the gang. He tells Bunroku that Chibikichi has spied on Omine and heard her tell Seikichi that he should disobey Bunroku in order to escape his clutches. Enraged, Bunroku goes and confronts her. Bunroku kills Omine, crushing her skull with the butt of a rifle. She dies a terrible death, her legs moving in spasms and her brains splattered around the room. Afraid of being caught, Bunroku leaves London and wanders in the countryside.

Meanwhile, Fukuda Zenkichi has found Seikichi and cared for him. A detective interviews Seikichi, who tells him how he was kidnapped and taken back to the robber gang. Fukuda Zenkichi realizes that the boy is Takahashi Seikichi, who had been taken in by his father, Fukuda Yûkichi. ‘Father will be pleased to hear it,’ he says.

Bunroku is desperately hungry and enters a country inn. While there, he hears patrons discussing the murder of Omine. (Here, Black uses traces of a non-standard dialect to signify that the patrons are not natives of London.) The patrons conclude that the killer will eventually be brought to justice. Bunroku finds his way to the house of Hachigorô, but Hachigorô’s wife makes him unwelcome. Bunroku requests a change of clothes, so he can discard the blood-stained clothes he is wearing. The police knock on the door of the home and capture Bunroku.

Fukuda Yûkichi is reunited with Seikichi. He decides to travel to the orphanage at Leeds to view the record in Seikichi’s *seki* (family register). Tanaka Seiemon shows Fukuda Seikichi’s mother’s belongings, which include a gold ring. Seeing the ring, Fukuda realises that Seikichi’s mother was his own daughter who had eloped with a man called Itô. Tanaka informs Fukuda that he had always thought Seikichi was born of a good family. Back in London, Seikichi is overjoyed to learn that Fukuda is his grandfather. Bunroku is sentenced to be executed. Tôgorô is also sentenced to die for inciting Bunroku to commit the murder. Chibikichi learns to appreciate Seikichi’s honesty and vows to never again be a robber and to ‘make a decent, honest living’. Black concludes by urging listeners to tell the story to their children.

Nagare no akatsuki

(Dawn at the River)

Date of first narration: 1891. Origin unknown.

A tragic romance which deals with the disintegration of a family as the result of retributive justice. It is a colorful, but complicated story of an aristocrat taking refuge in London from the French Revolution, his ugly wife, their twin sons (one of whom is thrown into the Thames, but is fortunately rescued by a fisherman), embezzlement, blackmail, and execution.

(Source: Morioka and Sasaki)

Nagare no akatsuki is a tale of the aristocrat, Baron Sawanabe who seeks asylum in England where he becomes a teacher of French and marries a farmer's daughter, Osen. Shortly after, Napoleon takes over in France and the baron returns to his home country. Osen bears twins, but fraught with financial difficulties, throws one of the twins, Jôji, into the Thames. Jôji is rescued by a fisherman and later works honestly as a clerk for a money-lender, but 20 years later encounters his good-for-nothing brother. Pressed for money by the brother, he begins embezzling money from his boss. His crime is in danger of being discovered, so while the owner is convalescing in the country, Jôji kills his brother with a poisoned drink and makes it appear as if he himself has committed suicide over the loss of the money by faking a will and substituting his brother's body for himself. He then takes 10,000 yen and makes his escape. The money-lender returns and unaware of the ruse, holds a funeral. But a detective notices that the skin on the body's hands and feet are tough and thinks this is unusual in light of the easy work the clerk performed. Jôji goes to France, where his falling in love with his half-sister without realising who she really is becomes the catalyst for his arrest and confession of his past misdemeanors, whereupon he is sentenced. On that occasion, he meets his father and reproves him for abandoning his mother, Osen, causing the father to feel remorse. The father reunites with Osen and the two again become husband and wife.

(Source: Itô)

Setsunaru Tsumi

(The Pitiful Sin)

Date of first publication: May-June, 1891. Origin unknown.

Setsunaru Tsumi is a murder mystery involving a double love triangle and the use of powdered glass as a murder weapon. Morioka and Sasaki note that ‘in the introduction, Black himself notes that the story is enlightening as well as entertaining, for it helps readers to acquire a better understanding of the customs and manners of a distant country.’

(Source: Morioka and Sasaki)

Ohana wants to marry the actor Saitô Eizaburô, so kills his good-for-nothing wife Omatsu by feeding her powdered glass. But Saitô flees and changes his name to Saitô Kôzô. Ohana goes in search of him, finally meeting up with him, but by then she has tuberculosis. Kôzô takes pity on Ohana and decides to die with her. During a court trial, he attempts to confess that he was also guilty with Ohana, but after being persuaded by Okiku, the daughter of the detective Takayama, he testifies that he is innocent. Saitô then marries Okiku.

(Source: Itô)

Shachû no Dokubari

(The Poisoned Pin in the Coach)

Date of first publication: 1891. A detective mystery in 14 parts. Origin unknown.

Part One

A mysterious woman begs to board a full, late night coach in Paris. The coachman refuses her a seat, but when a male passenger offers to give up his seat and sit outside with the coachman, the coachman relents and allows the woman on board. When the coach reaches its terminus, the woman and a young artist, Motokichi Kanô, are the only remaining passengers. When Kanô and the coachman attempt to wake the woman, they realise she is dead. Kanô gives a statement to the police and is allowed to go home, but realises he has left his walking stick in the coach. He returns to the coach and finds a pin of the type used by women in their dress. He takes the pin home.

Part Two

Kanô's art student Itô arrives the next morning and while waiting for Kanô to finish a painting of his still-life model Onobu, Itô teases Kanô's cat with the pin, pricking the cat. The cat dies instantly. They deduce that the pin is poisoned. Itô persuades Kanô not to go to the police, but to allow him to attempt to find the killer because his hobby is detective work. Itô keeps the pin and departs.

Part Three

Kanô keeps an appointment at the opera with his retired businessman acquaintance Mr. Yamada and Yamada's daughter Otaka. Yamada is toying with the idea of marrying Otaka to Kanô. From their box at the opera, Kanô notices two people in the audience who glance at Yamada and bow to him. Yamada feigns ignorance of them, saying he once had business dealings with the man who is a shonky lawyer, that he thinks his name was Tsuchiya, but recalls little else about him. Kanô recognises the man as the one who gave up his seat on the coach for the dead woman and the woman with him as the one who sat beside the dead woman. A servant of Yamada brings a telegram advising of the death in Germany of Yamada's brother, Ichizô Yamada. Yamada immediately leaves the opera. Following the performance, Kanô attempts to follow the two people spotted in the audience, but they realise they are being followed and evade him.

Part Four

Surmising they might have something to do with the death of the woman on the coach, Ito visits a pub to seek the assistance of a drinking acquaintance called Tsuchiya in an attempt to locate the two people. He informs him of the need to identify the dead woman and gives him the pin. An old, mostly deaf man is the only other customer in the pub and Tsuchiya tells Itô there is no possibility the man can overhear them.

Part Five

The next day, Tsuchiya takes Itô to the boarding house where the dead woman lived and urges him to talk to the occupants to find out her name. Ito chats to the woman's landlady and together they visit the morgue to identify her. A doctor has pronounced the woman dead from a heart ailment. Ito learns that the dead woman was Okatsu Suzuki from Italy. The landlady takes the body and oversees burial arrangements.

Part Six

Tsuchiya visits Yamada. He has been hired by Yamada to determine whether Yamada's dead brother had descendants. Tsuchiya advises that the brother had a daughter named Okatsu by a mistress called Otomi Suzuki when living in Turin 20 years before. He tells Yamada that the brother's will stipulates that his fortune, amounting to at least a million yen, should go to the daughter Okatsu. But Tsuchiya goes on to explain that this fortune can now go to Yamada since Okatsu has been found dead. Tsuchiya obtains a promissory note from Yamada stating that if Tsuchiya can obtain documentary proof of Okatsu's death, Tsuchiya will gain a 20 percent share of the fortune. He explains to Yamada that this step will circumvent French law, which insists that if the beneficiary of a will cannot be located or proven dead, other family claimants can not receive the money until 30 years have elapsed.

Part Seven

Kanô is having difficulty painting Onobu because she is crying. Onobu confesses that her sister Okatsu has not visited her for three days and she is concerned for her safety. Ito arrives and informs them that the dead woman is also called Okatsu. On hearing this, Onobu faints just as Yamada and Otaka arrive at the studio unannounced. On recovering, Onobu is distraught and returns home. Itô tells Yamada about recent events. Yamada thus learns that his brother had two daughters. Back in the Yamada, home, Yamada is visited by Inoue, a clerk to his brother Ichizo in Germany.

Inoue informs Yamada that the two daughters are from the same former mistress and that the will states that the money should go to both of them.

Part Eight

Kanô and Onobu visit Okatsu's grave. There they meet Okatsu's former landlady Chiyo Nagashima. Chiyo notices a woman in the cemetery whom she knows and goes over to greet her. The woman explains that she is passing time in the cemetery while waiting for a friend to return home nearby. The woman, who is really Tsuchiya's wife, is shocked to learn from Chiyo that Okatsu has a younger sister.

Part Nine

Yamada visits Tsuchiya. He accuses Tsuchiya of not informing him of the existence of a sister to Okatsu. He offers to pay Tsuchiya 1000 *ryô* to release him from any further obligations, and demands the return of the promissory note. He accuses Tsuchiya of killing Okatsu. Tsuchiya denies this, but pleads with Yamada, implying he should allow him to fix matters concerning the remaining sister. Tsuchiya says he would rather keep the note than receive a mere 1000 *ryô*. After an angry Yamada leaves, Tsuchiya's wife accuses Tsuchiya of stupidity in not accepting the 1000 *ryô* as the best offer under the circumstances. Tsuchiya convinces his wife to talk Onobu into visiting their house so they can kill her.

Part Ten

Onobu boards with an Italian beggar gang boss called Kinzô. Tsuchiya's wife calls on Onobu and convinces Onobu that Kanô is a good-for-nothing womaniser and that she should have no more to do with him. She succeeds in convincing Onobu to come to her house.

Part Eleven

Kanô and Itô call on Onobu, but the beggar gang boss Kinzô informs them she has gone away with an unknown woman. While they wait in her room for her to return, the clerk Inoue enters. Inoue explains how he has just arrived from Germany. He tells them he has come to inform Onobu of her inheritance. On hearing this, Itô says he now realises why Okatsu was killed and can surmise who did it. Itô deduces that the same woman who evaded Kanô on the night of the opera must be the one who has taken Onobu away. He warns of the possibility Onobu will be killed. He departs, saying he will again ask Tsuchiya to help him find the woman.

Part Twelve

Unable to find Tsuchiya at the pub, Ito encounters the deaf man Mr. Kimura who was in the pub the day Itô first asked Tsuchiya to help him. Kimura reveals to Ito that he is a detective who only poses as a deaf old man in order to glean gossip at the pub. He knows Itô is interested in the Okatsu killing and offers to take him to Tsuchiya's house. He informs Itô that Tsuchiya is not to be trusted and that Tsuchiya has been in prison several times already. He also says Tsuchiya had known all along that the dead woman was Okatsu, but needed to use Itô to visit the morgue to obtain proof of Okatsu's death so that he could gain part of the inheritance from Yamada. While Itô waits outside, Kimura resumes his disguise as a deaf old man and calls on Tsuchiya. During the visit, he tells Tsuchiya that there is gossip at the pub that Itô has informed the police that Okatsu was poisoned. Thinking Kimura cannot hear, Tsuchiya tells his wife to inform Onobu that they will all depart on an early train for Italy.

Part Thirteen

Kimura poses as a coachman and takes Tsuchiya's wife and Onobu to the graveyard for one last visit. On the way, he stops outside Kano's house and insists that Tsuchiya's wife enter the house. When she refuses, he forces her out of the coach and into a confrontation with Kanô, Itô, and Inoue. There, he takes off his coachman's disguise to reveal himself as the deaf old man who has just visited her home. He tells her that he knows she was the killer of Okatsu and demands that she hand over a poisoned pin which he surmises she now holds. He threatens to use force on her if she does not hand it over and confess. Unable to deny anything any longer, she takes out the pin, stabs herself, and drops dead.

Part Fourteen

It is May, three months later. Onobu has married Kanô. Onobu is sitting in the living room knitting and doing embroidery when Kanô enters and kisses her. He has come back from the court where Tsuchiya has been sentenced to death for the killing of Okatsu and Yamada has been sentenced to life imprisonment after the promissory note was found during a police search of Tsuchiya's home. 'That all happened three years ago,' Black concludes. 'I have heard that they have since had a baby boy. I do not know what will happen to the couple, but I join with you, dear readers, in wishing them a long and happy life together.'

Tabakozuki

(The Heavy Smoker)

First published 1905. Origin unknown.

It is evening and Hatsusaburô Inoue is dining with his wife when a maid informs him that Mr. Itô is ill and wants him to help draw up a will. Inoue arrives at Itô's house and assists with notarising the will. As Inoue leaves, a doctor is also leaving. The two strike up conversation while Inoue lights his pipe. The doctor tells Inoue there is no hope for Itô because he has pest. Inoue becomes worried he might have caught the disease because he had to get very close to Itô to hear him when he dictated the will. The doctor explains that the symptoms of pest are cysts under the arms and a high fever. Inoue fears the worst and, forgetting that his pipe is still lit, thrusts it into his vest pocket and buttons up his coat. He then rides home on his horse. On the way, it begins to snow. Despite the cold, his right armpit begins to feel hot. He probes the spot through his coat and feels a large cyst. He begins to sweat. Finally he reaches home. His wife starts to undress him and reveals the pipe and burned clothing. She concludes that rather than him having pest, *he* is the pest!

Note: This synopsis is a summary of a translation published in English as *A Tobacco Lover* in *The East*, Vol. XXXII No. 4, Nov/Dec. 1996, The East Publications Inc., Tokyo. pp. 47-49. (The translator's name is not given.)

Tsurugi no Hawatari

(The Sword's Edge)

Date of first narration: 1892. Detective story. Origin unknown.

The story of an acrobat who makes overtures to the daughter of a man whom he has murdered. Set in London. The acrobat has a lover, two male companions and a dog. (Source: Morioka and Sasaki)

Gihei Matsumoto, who lives in the north of London, has received 5,000 yen from Zenkichi Shimada, the chief of a steel foundry, as payment for making a steam operated machine. But he is robbed by a man who enters via a window and dies of stab wounds. Gihei's daughter, Oshizu, learns that the criminal has entered a show tent. The criminal is the acrobat Sekaitei Tohichi. However, in court, Tohichi walks free due to a lack of evidence. Oshizu learns that the wife, Omine, has been captured by Tohichi. Oshizu, with the help of Yamanaka and his son, follow Tohichi's pet dog to find out where he is hiding, but they end up getting trapped in a cellar. Oshizu escapes, but is held up by a highwayman, whereupon she is rescued by a man called Kanda Taketarô. Kanda is actually Tohichi, who is scheming to make Oshizu his wife. Meanwhile, Shimada's son, Ichitarô is in love with Oshizu. When Omine hears from Ichitarô that Tohichi and Oshizu are to marry, she is angered because she intended to be the wife of Tohichi. On the day of the wedding, Omine confesses that Kanda is Tohichi. Omine is shot with a pistol by Tohichi, but Tohichi is arrested. Ichitarô and Oshizu marry happily. (Source: Itô)

Also published with the following titles: *Kanda Taketarô*, *Kuruwaza Taketarô*, and *Kyokugeishi*.

Bibliography

- Adam, Jules (1900), *Japanese Storytellers*, (Osman Edwards, tr.), T. Hasegawa, Tokyo, (orig. French edition 1899).
Adelaide Times
Akita sakigake shinbun 秋田魁新聞, 20 August 1899.
- Arahata Kanson 荒畑寒村 (1965), *Kanson jiden* 寒村自伝, Vol. 1, Chikuma shobô, Tokyo,
- Aramata, Hiroshi 荒俣宏 (1991), *Kaika otsukuni suketto funsen ki* 開花異国助っ人奮戦記 Shôgakkan, Tokyo.
- Asaoka, Kunio 浅岡邦夫, 'Henri J. Burakku no rainichi jiki' ヘンリー J ブラックの来日時期, in *Kairakutei Burakku kenkyû* No. 2, 19 Sept. 1987.
- _____, 'Kairakutei Burakku to Miyatake Gaikotsu' 快樂亭ブラックと宮武外骨, *Kairakutei Burakku Kenkyû* No. 1, 19 September 1986, pp. 2-3.
- _____, 'Nihon ni okeru J.R. Burakku no Katsudô' 日本における J R ブラックの活動 in *Yokohama Archives of History*, 25 March 1989, pp. 50-63.
- Kunio Asaoka, 'Kairakutei Burakku no "Kekkon/Kika" Mondai kô' 快樂亭ブラックお「結婚・帰化」問題考, *Kairakutei Burakku Kenkyû*, No. 6, 19 September 1992, p. 11-12.
- _____, interview with Ian McArthur, Tokyo, 9 February 1998.
- Baigent, Michael & Leigh, Richard (1990), *The Temple and the Lodge*, Corgi Books, London, UK.
- Beasley, W.G. 'Meiji Political Institutions', in Marius B. Jansen (Ed.) *The Cambridge History of Japan Vol. 5 The Nineteenth Century* Vol. 5, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Beauchamp, Edward & Iriye, Akira (eds.) (1990), *Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado.
- Black, Henry, 'Tabakozuki', in *Bungei Kurabu*, 11:14, October 1905.
- Black, Henry (1893), *Iwade ginkô chishio no tegata* (The Blood-stained Handprint at the Iwade Bank), Azuma Nishiki, Tokyo
- Black, John Reddie (1880), *Young Japan*, Trubner, London, and Baker & Pratt, New York, 1883 (Oxford University Press reprint, 1968).
- Black, Jeremy (1990), *Eighteenth Century Europe 1700-1789*, Macmillan, London.
- Bond, Chris (1947), *The Ashlar*, Vol. 1, No. 4, United Grand Lodge of Freemasons, Brisbane, Queensland.
- Bourne, Jill (1988) "Natural Acquisition" and a "Masked Pedagogy", *Applied Linguistics* Vol. 9/1.
- Bowen, Roger W. (1980), *Rebellion and Democracy in Meiji Japan: A Study of Commoners in the Popular Rights Movement*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif.
- Braddon, Mary Elizabeth (1876), 'Her Last Appearance', in *Weavers and Weft and Other Tales*, John and Robert Maxwell, London.
- Braddon, (Burakku, narrator) (1886), *Kusaba no Tsuyu* (Dew by the Graveside), Nisshûsha, Tokyo.
- Braisted, William Reynolds (1976) (ed.), *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of Japanese*

- Enlightenment*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Briganti, Chiara (1991), 'Gothic Maidens and Sensation Women: Lady Audley's Journey from the Ruined Mansion to the Madhouse', *Victorian Literature and Culture* Vol. 19, pp. 189-211.
- Brown, Sidney Devere & Akiko Hirota (trans.) (1986), *The Diary of Kido Takayoshi*, Vol. 1, 1868-1871, University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo.
- Burakku, Henrî Zeemusu ヘンリー・ゼエムス・ブラック (Henry James Black) (ed.) (1886), *Yôï dokushû: Eiwa kaiwa hen* 容易独修・英会話編 (Easy self study – English-Japanese conversation edition), Subtitled in English as *Easy Conversations in English Written Especially for Japanese Wishing to Learn English*, Chûgaidô, Tokyo.
- Burks, Ardath (ed.) (1985), *The Modernizers: Overseas Students, Foreign Employees, and Meiji Japan*, Westview Press, Boulder, London.
- Callinicos, Alex (1987), *Making History*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Campbell, John Francis (1876), *My Circular Notes: Extracts from Journals, Letters Sent Home, Geological and Other Notes, Written While Travelling Westwards Round the World*, From July 6, 1874, to July 6, 1875, in 2 Vols., MacMillan and Co., London.
- Chôya shinbun* 朝野新聞
Chûô shinbun, 20 August, 1892.
- Chronicle and Directory for China, Japan, and The Philippines*, The Daily Press, Shanghai, China.
- Chûô shinbun*, 3 July 1903.
- Chûô shimbun*, 24 May 1893.
- Clark, John (1989), *Japanese-British Exchanges in Art 1850s-1930s: Papers and Research Materials*, printed and distributed with grants from The Japan Foundation, London, and The Great Britain-Sasakawa Foundation, London.
- Coaldrake, A. Kimi, "Women in *Gidayû* During Meiji", in Helen Hardacre & Adam L. Kern (eds.) (1997), *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, Brill's Japanese Studies Library, Leiden, The Netherlands.
- Conte-Helm, Marie, (1996), *The Japanese and Europe*, The Athlone Press, London and Atlantic Highlands, NJ, USA.
- Crow, Arthur C. (1883), *Highways and Byeways in Japan: The Experiences of Two Pedestrian Tourists*, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, London.
- Davis, Fred (1974), 'Stories and Sociology', *Urban Life and Culture*, Vol. 3 No. 3, pp. 310-316.
- Dickens, Charles (1907), *Oliver Twist*, Everyman's Library, Random House, London.
- Dore, Ronald Philip (1965), *Education in Tokugawa Japan*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.
- Dore, R.P. (ed.) (1967), *Aspects of Social Change in Modern Japan*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Dower, John W. (ed.) (1975), *Origins of the Modern Japanese State – Selected Writings of E.H. Norman*, Random House, Inc., New York, NY.
- Duara, Prasenjit, 'De-constructing the Chinese Nation', in Jonathan. Unger (ed.) (1996), *Chinese Nationalism*, in the Contemporary China Papers series, Australian National University, published by M.E. Sharpe, Armonk, New York, NY, and London, England, pp. 31-55.

- Duus, Peter (1976), *The Rise of Modern Japan*, Houghton Mifflin Co. USA.
- Edwards, P.D. (1988), 'Braddon Manuscripts in Australia', *Notes and Queries*, Sept 1988, pp. 326-328.
- Egins, Suzanne & Martin, J.R. (1997), 'Genres and Registers of Discourse', in Teun A. van Dijk (ed), *Discourse as Structure and Process, Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* Vol. 1, SAGE Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, pp. 230-256.
- Eijin Burakku 英人ブラック(1892), *Shachû no Dokubari* 車中の毒針 (The Poisoned Pin in the Coach), Suzuki Kinho, Tokyo.
- Eikokujin Burakku 英国人ブラック(1891), *Eikoku Rondon gekijô miyage* 英国劇場土産, Nomura Ginzaburô, Tokyo.
- Enokimoto Jimin (ed.), *Taishû geinô shiryô shûsei* Vol. 5, Sanjû-ichi shobô, Tokyo
- Fairclough, Norman (1992), *Discourse and Social Change*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Frei, Henry P. (1991), *Japan's Southward Advance and Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, Australia.
- Fujitani Takahashi (1996), *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan*, University of California Press, Berkeley, California.
- Fusô shinbun* 扶桑新聞, 21 January 1894.
- Gaisberg, Fred W. (1946), *Music on Record*, Robert Hale Limited, London.
- Garon, Sheldon (1994), 'Rethinking Modernization and Modernity in Japanese History: A Focus on State-Society Relations', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (May) pp. 346-366.
- Garon, Sheldon (1987), *The State and Labor in Modern Japan*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif.
- Garon, Sheldon (1997), *Molding Japanese Minds – The State in Everyday Life*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
- Gilbert, Helen and Jaqueline Lo, 'Postcoloniality and the Question of Modern Indonesian Literature,' at an international research workshop sponsored by the School of Asian Studies and the Center for Performance Studies, University of Sydney, May 29-31, 1998, and printed in *Papers* Vol. 1, p. 5.
- Gluck, Carol 'The People in History: Recent Trends in Japanese Historiography', *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 38, January 1978, pp. 27-50.
- Gluck, Carol, 'The Invention of Edo', in *Mirror of Modernity*, Stephen Vlastos (ed.) (1998), University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California
- Gluck, Carol (1985), *Japan's Modern Myths*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
- Gleason, Alan H., 'Economic Growth and Consumption in Japan', in William W. Lockwood (ed.) (1965), *The State and Economic Enterprise in Japan*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Hackett, Roger F. (1971), *Yamagata Aritomo in the Rise of Modern Japan, 1838-1922*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Hall, John, 'The Problem: When did Modern Japanese History Begin', in Harry Wray and Hilary Conroy (eds.) (1983), *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, University of Hawaii Press, Hawaii.
- Hanazono, Kanetsada (1926), 'J.R. Black', in *Journalism in Japan and its Early Pioneers*, Ôsaka Shuppan Sha, Osaka.
- Hane, Mikiso, 'Introduction' in Part One of Harry Wray and Hilary Conroy (eds.) (1983),

- Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, University of Hawaii Press, Hawaii.
- Hane, Mikiso 'The Movement for Liberty and Popular Rights', in Hillary Wray and H. Conroy (eds.) (1983), *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, Hawaii, [90-97] p.92.
- Hardacre, Helen and Adam L. Kern (eds.) (1994), *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan, Proceedings of the Conference on Meiji Studies, held at Harvard University*, Published as Vol. 6 of Brill's Japanese Studies Library, Leiden, New York, Köln.
- Hardy, Barbara (19XX), *Charles Dickens: The Writer and His Work*, Profile Books Ltd., Windsor, Berkshire, U.K.
- Hart, Lynda (1994), 'The Victorian Villainess and the Patriarchal Unconscious', *Literature and Psychology*, Vol. 40 (3) pp. 1-25.
- 'Haussmann, Georges Eugene, Baron', The Learning Network Inc., (8 Sept, 2000), <http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/people/A0822972.html>
- Havens, Thomas R.H., 'Have "Modern" and "Modernization" been Overworked?' in Harry Wray and Hilary Conroy (eds.) (1983), *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, University of Hawaii Press, Hawaii.
- Haycroft, Howard and Stanley I. Kunitz (1964), *British Authors of the Nineteenth Century*, Wilson, New York.
- Hillegass, C.K. (1991), *Cliffs Notes on Dickens' Oliver Twist*, Cliffs Notes Inc. Lincoln, Nebraska.
- Hinode shinbun* 日出新聞, 8 August 1891.
- The History of Kanagawa*, Kanagawa Prefectural Government, Yokohama, 1984.
- Hoare, J.E. (1994), *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements – The Uninvited Guests, 1858-1899*, Japan Library, Folkestone, Kent, UK.
- Huffman, James L. (1997), *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.
- Inglehart, Ronald (1997), *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic and Political Change in 43 Societies*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Inoue, Hiroshi (1996), 'Rakugo, Manzai and Kigeki: The Arts of Laughter', *The Japan Foundation Newsletter*, Vol. 23/No. 4, January 1996.
- Inumaru Giichi (ed.) 犬丸義一, *Shokkô jijô* 職事情 (Vols. 1, 2, 3), (reprinted 1993) Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo.
- Irokawa, Daikichi (1985), *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, (tr. ed. Marius B. Jansen), Princeton University Press, 1985.
- ___, 'Freedom and the Concept of People's Rights', in *Japan Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 2, April-June 1976, [175-183] p. 176.
- Ishii Burakku 石井ブラック (1897), *Minashigo* 孤児 (The Orphan), Kin'ôdô, Tokyo.
- Ishii, Kiyoko 石井清子, interview with Ian McArthur.
- Itô, Hideo 伊藤秀雄 (1986), *Meiji no Tantei Shôsetsu* 明治の探偵小説, Shôbunsha, Tokyo.
- ___ (1988), 'Burakku no shuppan wo'ブラックの出版を, in *Kairakutei Burakku Kenkyû*, No. 2., 19 Sept., 1987, pp. 1-2.
- Jansen, Marius B. (ed.) (1965), *Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

- Jansen, Marius B. (ed.) (1989), *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Vol. 5, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Jansen, Marius B. (ed.) (1995), *The Emergence of Meiji Japan*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Japan – An Illustrated Encyclopedia* (1993), Kodansha, Tokyo.
- The Japan Chronicle*, 28 August 1908.
- The Japan Herald*, Yokohama.
- Japan Weekly Chronicle*, 11 October 1923.
- The Japan Weekly Mail*, 10 April 1880.
- The Japan Weekly Mail*, 3 September, 1892.
- Jiji Shinpô* 時事新報, 7 March 1884.
- Jones, Hazel J. (1980), *Live Machines* (1980), The University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, Canada.
- Jordan, Brenda (1997), 'Flowers in the Dawn: Kawanabe Kyôsei and the Search for Modernity', in Helen Hardacre and Adam L. Kern (Eds.), *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, Proceedings of the Conference on Meiji Studies, held at Harvard University, 1994. Published as Vol. 6 of Brill's Japanese Studies Library, Leiden, New York, Köln, pp. 108-124.
- Kainan shinbun* 海南新聞, 10 October 1897.
- Kairakutei Burakku 快樂亭ブラック (1891), 'Eikoku no otoshibanashi' 英国の落とし噺, *Hyakkaen*, No. 45, 1 March, pp. 307-18.
- Kanô Hisashi, interview with Ian McArthur.
- Karatani, Kôjin (1993), (Brett de Bary, ed.), *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, UK.
- Katsura, Beichô 桂米朝 (1976), *Rakugo to watashi* 落語と私 Popula sha, Tokyo.
- Kawamura Megumi (1989), *Koten rakugo*, Cross Roads, Tokyo.
- Kelly, William W. (1985), *Deference and Defiance in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Kinji hyôron* 近時評論 No. 263, 28 April 1880.
- Klingsporn, Geoffrey, et. al. (1998), 'Conference Report on "The Next Social History: Practicing Space, Time, and Place"', *Perspectives*, (November), pp. 47-49.
- The Kobe Weekly Chronicle*, 24 December, 1901.
- Kojima, Teijin (1982), *Engei Hakubutsukan (Benihen)*, San'ichi Shobô, Tokyo.
- Kornicki, Peter (1982), *The Reform of Fiction in Meiji Japan*, Ithaca Press, London.
- (1998), *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, Brill, Leiden, Boston, Köln.
- Kurata, Kihiro 倉田喜弘 (ed.) (1983), *Meiji no engei* 明治の演芸, Kokuritsu gekijô chôsa ikuseibu geinô chôsa shitsu.
- Kurita, Kyoko, 'The Romantic Triangle in Meiji Literature' in Helen Hardacre and Adam L. Kern (Eds.), *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, Proceedings of the Conference on Meiji Studies, held at Harvard University, 1994. Published as Vol. 6 of Brill's Japanese Studies Library, Leiden, New York, Köln, pp. 229-245.
- Leiter, Samuel L. (ed. trans.) (1979), *New Kabuki Encyclopedia*, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut & London.
- Lehmann, Jean-Pierre (1982), *The Roots of Modern Japan*, The Macmillan Press, London UK.

- Leupp, Gary P. (1995), *Male Colors: The Construction of Homosexuality in Tokugawa Japan*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif.
- Leontis, Artemis (1995), *Topographies of Hellenism – Mapping the Homeland*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca & London.
- Li, Takanori 季孝徳 (1996), *Hyôshô kûkan no kindai - Meiji [Nihon] no media hensei* 表象空間の近代・明治「日本」のメディア編成, Shin'yôsha, Tokyo.
- Lockwood, William W. (ed.) (1965), *The State and Economic Enterprise in Japan*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Lu, J. (ed.) (1996-97), *Japan: A Documentary History*, An East Gate book, pubd. by M.E. Sharpe, Armonk, NY, and London, England.
- Matsuo Shôichi 松尾章一 (1990), *Jiyû minken shisô no kenkyû* 自由民権思想研究, Nihon Keizai Hyôron sha, Tokyo.
- McArthur, Ian D. (1992), *Kairakutei Burakku: Wasurerareta Nippon saikô no gaijin tarento (In Search of Kairakutei Black)*, Kôdansha, Tokyo.
- McAuley, Gay (1999), *Space in Performance: Making Meaning in the Theatre*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.
- McCullagh, Francis, 'The Story Teller in Japan', *East of Asia Magazine*, Vol. 1, 1902, pp. 207-220.
- Meiji bungaku zenshû* 明治文学全集 (1967), Vol. 13, p. 391 & Vol. 36, p. 311 Chikuma shobô, Tokyo.
- Meiji ishin jinmei jiten* 明治維新人名辞典, Nihon Rekishigakkai, Tokyo.
- Mezamashi shinbun* 目覚し新聞, 6 April 1887.
- Miller, J. Scott (1997), 'Tale as Text: *Sokkibon* in the Diet Library Collection', in Helen Hardacre and Adam L. Kern (Eds.), *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, Proceedings of the Conference on Meiji Studies, held at Harvard University, 1994. Published as Vol. 6 of Brill's Japanese Studies Library, Leiden, New York, Köln, pp. 581-589.
- , 'Japanese Shorthand and *Sokkibon*' in *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 49, No. 4, Winter 1994.
- Minamitani, Akimasa (1990), 'Hamlet in Japan', *Japan Quarterly*, Vol. ??, April-June 1990, pp. 176-187.
- Minatoya Senchô (1989), 'Ganso!? Henna Gaijin', *Yokoreki sôsho Vol. 8: Yokohama Gei nin*, pp. 132-139.
- Miyako Shinbun*, 30 July 1920.
- Miyoshi' Masao (1974), *Accomplices of Silence: The Modern Japanese Novel*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif.
- Moore, Jerrold Northrop (1977), *A Matter of Records*, Taplinger Publishing Company, New York.
- Mori Yoshitaka and Ogasawara Hiroki (1998), 'Cultural Studies and its Discontents: Pacific-Asia Cultural Studies Forum in Britain', *Japanese Studies*, Vol. 18 No. 1.
- Morioka, Heinz and Sasaki, Miyoko (1986), *Kairakutei Burakku no Nippon: aoi me no rakugoka ga mita bunmei kaika no nihon to nihonjin*, PHP Kenkyûjo, Tokyo.
- , 'Rakugo: Popular Narrative Art of the Grotesque', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 41 No. 2, (1981).
- (1987), 'Burakku to Hakuen', *Gei*, (publication of the National Theater Engei jô), Vol. 80, pp. 10-11.

- ___ (1987), 'Burakku no Eikaiwa bon', *Gei*, (publication of the National Theater Engei jô), Vol. 81, pp. 10-11.
- ___ (1988), 'Burakku to Naniwabushi', *Kairakutei Burakku Kenkyû* No. 2 pp. 10-11.
- ___ (1990), *Rakugo The Popular Narrative Art of Japan*, The Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London.
- ___ 'The Blue-Eyed Storyteller: Henry Black and his *rakugo* career', *Monumenta Nipponica* 38:2, 1984.
- Morley, James William (ed.), *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Mouer, Ross and Yoshio Sugimoto (1986), *Images of Japanese Society*, KPI Ltd., London, New York, Sydney, Henley.
- Nagai Hiroo 永井啓夫 (1999), *San'yûtei Enchô* 三遊亭円朝, (new edition), Seiabô, Tokyo
- Naitô Seichû (1964), *Jiyû minken undô no kenkyû*, Aoki shoten, Tokyo.
- Neilan, Edward, 'Yokohama: Cradle of Journalism' in *No. 1 Shinbun*, 15 Sept 1993, reprinted from *Waves* (magazine of the Yokohama Grand Inter-Continental Hotel).
- Nishiyama, Matsunosuke (1997), 'Popular Performing Arts: From Edo to Meiji' in Matsunosuke Nishiyama in *Edo Culture: Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600-1868*, University of Hawaii Press, pp. 228-250.
- Nishûbashi, Sei 二洲橋生, 'Kairakutei Burakku' 快樂亭ブラック, in *Shinsen: rakugo daizen* (bungei kurabu teiki zôkan), Vol. 11, No.14, October 1905.
- Nobuhiro, Shinji 信広真治(1986), *Rakugo wa ikani shite keisei sareta ka* 落語はいかにして形成されたか (How Rakugo was Formed), Heibonsha, Tokyo.
- Nobuhiro, Shinji in Yoshizawa, Hideaki (Ed.) *Kôdan kankei bunken mokuroku: (Meiji-Taisho hen)*, Jan. 1976.
- Novograd, Paul (1974), 'Rakugo: The Storyteller's Art', *Japan Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 2, (Apr-Jun) pp. 188-196.
- Nyorai, An 如来庵, 'Shunpû Kanwa: Kairakutei Burakku' 春風閑話 快樂亭ブラック, in *Yomiuri Shinbun*, Series from 30 April to 3 May 1896.
- Ogasawara Mikio 小笠原幹雄, 'Shinbun shôsetsu no gekika ni tsuite' 新聞小説の劇化について, in *Yokohama Archives of History Review* No. 10, March 1992, pp. 26-33.
- Ohkawa, Kazushi and Henry Rosovsky, 'A Century of Japanese Growth', in William W. Lockwood (ed.) (1965), *The State and Economic Enterprise in Japan*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Oizuru, Yoshiya 生出恵哉(1988), 'Meiji 29 nen no Kairakutei Burakku' 明治29年の快樂亭ブラック, *Kairakutei Burakku Kenkyû* No. 2, pp. 15-16.
- ___, 'Chôya shinbun: kôkoku ran ni miru Burakku' 朝野新聞 — 広告欄に見るブラック in *Kairakutei Kenkyû* No. 1, 19 September 1986, pp. 10-11.
- Okamoto, Ipppei 岡本一平(1929), 'Hebo kyûri'へぼきゅうり in *Ipppei senshû*, Vol. III, Senshinsha.
- Okitsu, Kaname 興津要 (1969), *Rakugo: Warai no Nenrin* 落語：笑いの年輪, Kadokawa Shoten, Tokyo.
- Okitsu Kaname 興津要, 'Burakku no chichi Jon Reddî Burakku' ブラックの父ジョン・レッドィ・ブラック in *Kairakutei Burakku Kenkyû*, Vol. 2, 19 Sept. 1987, p.

5-7.

- Okitsu, Kaname, 'Bunmei kaika no jânarizumu' 文明開化のジャーナリズム in Okitsu Kaname (1997), *Meiji shinbun koto hajime*, Taishûkan shoten, Tokyo.
- Okitsu Kaname (1979), 'Natsume Soseki to rakugo' in *Rakugo: Edo kara kindai he* 夏目漱石と落語, Ôfûsha, Tokyo,
- Ôsaka *mainichi shinbun* 大阪毎日新聞, 23 September 1908.
- Ousby, Ian (1976), *Bloodhounds of Heaven*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. and London, England.
- Ôta Hiroshi 太田博 (1998), *Rakugo to kabuki: ikina naka* 落語と歌舞伎・粋な仲 Heibonsha, Tokyo
- Pedlar, Neal (1990), *The Imported Pioneers: Westerners Who Helped Build Modern Japan*, Japan Library Ltd., Sandgate, Folkestone, Kent; St. Martin's, New York.
- Pflugfelder, Gregory M. (1999), *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse 1600-1950*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.
- Pollock, J.C. (1962), *Hudson Taylor and Maria: Pioneers in China*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New York, Toronto, London
- Pykett, Lyn (1994), *The Sensation Novel: From The Woman in White to The Moonstone*, Northcote House in association with the British Council, Plymouth, UK.
- Ricoeur, Paul, (1973-74), 'The Model of the Text: Meaningful Action Considered as a Text', in *New Literary History* No. 5, pp. 91-117.
- Pyle, Kenneth B. (1969), *The New Generation in Meiji Japan – Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.
- Rozman, Gilbert, 'Edo's Importance in the Changing Tokugawa Society', *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Autumn 1974, pp. 91-112.
- Rubinger, Richard, 'Education: From One Room to One System', in Marius B. Jansen and Gilbert Rozman (eds.) (1986), *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, pp. 210-213.
- Sakai, Anne (1992), *La parole comme art: le rakugo japonais* (The word as art: Japanese rakugo), L'Harmattan, Paris.
- Sakai, Cecile (1997), *Nihon no Taishû Bungaku* (Popular Literature of Japan) (tr. Asahina Kôji) (orig. Fr. Edit. *Histoire de la littérature populaire japonaise*, 1987, L'Harmattan, Paris).
- Sakatani, Shiroshi, 'A Certain Question' in William Reynolds Braisted (trans.) (1976), *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment*, Harvard University Press Cambridge, Mass.
- Sanches, Mary, 'Falling Words: An Analysis of a Japanese *Rakugo* Performance' in Mary Sanches and Ben G. Blount (eds.) (1975), *Sociocultural Dimensions of Language Use*, Academic Press, New York.
- San'yûtei, Enchô 三遊亭円朝, 牡丹灯籠 in *Meiji bungaku zenshû - San'yûtei Enchô shû*, (1965), Chikuma shobô, Tokyo.
- San'yûtei, Enraku 三遊亭円楽, interview with Ian McArthur
- Sasaki Miyoko 佐々木みよ子, interview with Ian McArthur, 17 Feb. 2000.

- Sasaki, Miyoko and Balkenhol, Heinz (1979), 'Rakugo: Fascination for and Popularity of One of the Classical Japanese Arts of Narration', *Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol. XIII, Summer, No. 1, pp. 152-170.
- Satô, Kô 佐藤孝, 'Meiji shoki shinbun seisaku shi no ikkô sai: sain to J.R. burakku to no kankei wo chûshin ni' 明治初期新聞制作史の一考察：左院と J R ブラックとの関係を中心に, in *Yokohama Archives of History Review* No. 7, 1989, p. 14-16.
- Seidensticker, Edward (1983), *Low City, High City*, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York.
- Shimizu, Yasuyuki 清水康行, 'Rekôdo ni kiku Kairakutei Burakku' レコードに聴く快樂亭ブラック, in *Kairakutei Burakku kenkyû*, No. 2, 19 September 1987, pp. 14-15.
- Shimizu, (Kô????) (1981), 'Kairakutei Burakku to hira enban hatsu fukikomi', *Kokubun Tsurumi* Vol. 16, Tsurumi University Nihon Bungaku Kai (ed.) pp. 40-48, (gifted by the author to National Theater Library in 1987).
- Shimizu, (Kô????) (1986), 'Kairakutei Burakku no Nihongo no hatsuon', *Kokubun Tsurumi* Vol. 20, (Ed. Tsurumi University Nihon Bungaku Kai) pp. 74-80, (gifted by the author to National Theater Library in 1987).
- Shimono shinbun* 下野新聞, 6 May 1899
- Shively, Donald H. (ed.) (1971), *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Silverberg, Miriam, 'Constructing a New Cultural History of Prewar Japan', in Masao Miyoshi and H.D. Harootunian (eds.) (1993), *Japan in the World*, Duke University Press, Durham and London.
- Sissons, D.C.S (1978), *Australian-Japanese Relations: The First Phase 1859-91*, mimeograph, 3rd edition.
- Smith II, Henry D. (1978), 'Tokyo as an Idea: An Exploration of Japanese Urban Thought Until 1945', *Journal of Japanese Studies* Vol. 1, No. 1, pp 45-80.
- Storey, John (1996), *Cultural Studies and the Study of Popular Culture – Theories and Methods*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, UK.
- Suzuki, Keiko, 'Yokohama-e and Kaika-e Prints', in Helen Hardacre & Adam L. Kern (eds.) (1997), *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, Brill; Leiden, New York, Köln.
- Swiderski, Richard (1991), *Lives Between Cultures: A Study of Human Nature, Identity and Culture*, The Denali Press, Juneau, Alaska.
- Takahashi, Yasuo 高橋康夫 (1989), *Monogatari Yorozu Chôhô* 物語萬朝報, Nihon keizai shinbun sha, Tokyo.
- Tôkyô akebono shinbun* 東京曙新聞, 28 May 1880.
- Tôkyô asahi shinbun* 東京朝日新聞, June 24, 1903.
- Tokyo asahi shinbun*, 16 October 1895.
- Tôkyô asahi shinbun* 東京朝日新聞, 5 August 1892.
- Tôkyô nichinichi shinbun* 東京日々新聞, 6 August 1891.
- Tomasi, Massimiliano, 'Quest for a New Written Language: Western Rhetoric and the *Genbun Itchi* Movement', *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol, 54, No. 3, Autumn 1999, Sophia University, Tokyo, pp. 333-355.
- Tsuda, Mamichi, 'In Opposition to Protective Tariffs', in *Mei roku zasshi*, Issue Five (undated) 1874, in Braisted (ed.), *Mei roku Zasshi: Journal of Japanese*

- Enlightenment*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Tsurumi, E. Patricia (1990), *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Twine, Nanette (1991), *Language and the Modern State: The Reform of Written Japanese*, Routledge, London & New York.
- Umemori Naoyuki, 'Spatial Configuration and Subject Formation: The Establishment of the Modern Penitentiary System in Meiji Japan', in Helen Hardacre & Adam L. Kern (eds.) (1997), *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, Brill's Japanese Studies Library, Leiden, The Netherlands.
- Vlastos, Stephen (1994), 'Tradition: Past/Present Culture and Modern Japanese History', *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, University of California, Berkeley, pp. 1-16.
- Vlastos, Stephen, 'Opposition movements in early Meiji, 1868-1885', in Marius B. Jansen (1995), *The Emergence of Meiji Japan*, Cambridge University Press, UK.
- Waley, Paul (1984), *Tokyo Now and Then: An Explorer's Guide*, Weatherhill, New York & Tokyo.
- Ward, Robert E. (ed.) (1968), *Political Development in Modern Japan*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Waswo, Ann (1996), *Modern Japanese Society, 1868-1994*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
- Wells, Marguerite (1997), *Japanese Humour*, Macmillan Press Ltd., Houndmills & London.
- Williams, Harold S. (1963), *Foreigners in Mikadoland*, Charles E. Tuttle Company, Inc., Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo.
- Williams, Harold S. (1959), *Tales of the Foreign Settlements in Japan*, Charles E. Tuttle Company, Inc., Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo.
- Willis, Chris (1998), 'Mary Braddon and the Literary Marketplace: A Study in Commercial Authorship', *The Mary Braddon Webpage*, Internet.
- Wilson, George M. (1992), *Patriots and Redeemers in Japan*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Wolff, Robert Lee (1979), *Sensational Victorian: The Life and Fiction of Mary Elizabeth Braddon*, Garland Publishing, Inc., New York & London.
- Wray, Harry and Conroy, Hilary (eds.) (1983), *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii.
- Yamamoto, Shôgetsu (1936), 'Hana peko no yaegaki hime' 鼻ぺこの in *Meiji sesô hyakuwa*, Dai-ichi shobô, Tokyo.
- Yamato shinbun* やまと新, 20 December 1892.
- Yanagida Izumi 柳田泉 (1961) (2nd edition 1966), *Meiji bungaku kenkyû Dai 5 maku – Meiji shoki hon'yaku bungaku no kenkyû* 明治文学研究第五卷・明治初期翻訳文学の研究, Shunjû sha, Tokyo.
- Yanno Seiichi 矢野誠一, (1999), *San'yûtei Enchô no meiji* 三遊亭円朝の明治, Bungei Shunju, Tokyo.
- Yazaki, Takeo, (David L. Swain, trans.) (1968), *Social Change and the City in Japan*, Japan Publications Inc., San Francisco, Calif.
- Yokota-Murakami, Takayuki, 'Translating Literature, Love, and Sexuality: Negotiations of the Ideologies Early Modern Japan', in Vol. 4, p. 73 of Theresa Hyun & José

Lambert (eds.) (1995), *Translation and Modernization*, (Proceedings of the 13th Congress of International Comparative Literature Association. Collated in 6 volumes under the theme of 'The Force of Vision').

Yoshikawa, Muneo Jay (1989), 'Popular Performing Arts: *Manzai* and *Rakugo*', in R. G. Powers & Hidetoshi Kato (eds.), *Handbook of Japanese Popular Culture*, Greenwood Press, New York.

Yoshizawa, Hideaki 吉沢英明 (1981), *Taishû geinô shiryô shûsei* 大衆芸能集成 Vol. 5, San-ichi shobô, Tokyo