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Burakumin and
Shimazaki Tōson's *Hakai*:

Images of Discrimination
in Modern Japanese Literature

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TO MY FATHER

AAGE

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

In the mid 1980's I spent three years as a so-called *Monbushō** student at Yokohama National University working on a Masters degree in economics. Together with many of the other foreign students I lived in a special dormitory set aside specifically for *ryūgakusei*† (foreign students) that was located in a part of Yokohama known as Gumyōji. One of the things I enjoy when arriving in a new place is taking long strolls exploring the area where I live; Gumyōji was no exception. After about two months I decided to take a longer hike along the Ooka River that flowed nearby. Walking about 40 minutes I encountered a tributary that seemed to flow towards the nearby heights, since this was an area that I still had not explored it only seemed natural to follow the small stream.

Continuing another 15 or 20 minutes along the narrow path on which I was walking it suddenly became decrepit with big cracks in the asphalt and the rock lining on the riverbank disappeared. I found myself surrounded by a cluster of one-story wooden houses (almost all private homes in Japan are two-story houses) that most likely had never seen a coat of paint, inasmuch as there were wide cracks and at places holes the size of tennis balls in the board. Nor did it seem as if these houses were equipped with any kind of plumbing, because the stench was reminiscent of a public toilet in a very busy subway station. At this time, I had spent a total of more than two years in Japan, but this was my first encounter of *wafū* poverty. Over the two years, I had grown quite accustomed to the Japanese proclivity to focus on and emphasize differences in the inevitable comparisons with the West.

One of the cherished myths, and one that I took a particular keen interest in since I was an economics student, was that the whole nation was just one big happy middle class. If the people living in those houses were included in the middle class then surely Japan must have stretched the definition of that term to the nonsensical. In the dormitory where I stayed was a small office with a staff that would receive phone messages and our rent payments and they were always willing to lend us a hand or give us some advice when we encountered something in Japan that we did not understand. So when I returned back I mentioned where I had been and asked what it was I had encountered. The silence was deafening. Usually the staff was quite talkative and seemed to enjoy the curious questions that foreign students would submit them to on a daily basis. This time however, I got the Japanese version of stonewalling. That was the second first on the same day.

* Macrons designates long vowel sounds in the Hepburn transliteration system used for Japanese words, the only divergence from this application is in common names, i.e. Tokyo and not Tōkyō.

† It is inevitable that a text on Japan by someone dedicated to studying the language will be teeming with Japanese terms. I recognize that not all readers are familiar with Nihongo. Should you require more elaboration than the context provides a glossary is provided at the end.

The next day, when a different staff was on duty, I tried again. This time I was luckier, in the mornings only one person was on duty since most of the students were leaving for their classes and it was generally quiet in the dormitory until lunchtime. So I told my story again, this time putting more emphasis on my own surprise and the fact that the Japanese government was actually paying me to learn more about Japan. The lady on duty took one long look at me and then she said: “*Anta wa buraku ni haitte kita yo.*” I had visited a *buraku*—an abode for Japan’s neglected social outcasts.

This made me realize that Japan was by far a more diverse society than generally believed, and that this diversity was not obvious even to long-time foreign residents. Although the Japanese themselves were off course aware of this minority’s presence they did their utmost to avoid the subject and few things arouse one’s curiosity as national countenance. From that curiosity grew a desire to find out more about the people living in a *buraku*. A task that I could not have accomplished without the helpful efforts and support of other people that shared in my curiosity.

The English metaphysical poet John Donne made the words “no man is an island” immortal. Almost 400 years later, we are still using them to remind ourselves of the intricate web of dependencies we rely on for even the simplest everyday task. The compilation of a monograph in the humanities is often considered solitary work—the lone scholar poring over books in a cramped office is a cherished image—however, writing this volume, I have frequently been reminded of Donne’s words as the fortunate beneficiary of helpful suggestions, stern criticism, creative outbursts, stimulating seminars, thoughtful discussions and much more from people half a globe away in both western and eastern direction. Without their attentive insight and enthusiastic support for this project it would never have come to its fruitful completion—a civil-engineer would have talked about “on time and under budget” if the project was a bridge. That seems an appropriate simile for this project, being an attempt to construct an intellectual bridge between Japan and the West—in this case, primarily from a Swedish vantage point—in a field hitherto largely unexplored.

Analysis of minority discourse in the modern novel requires us to use and borrow tools from disparate, at times seemingly incongruous, academic fields such as sociology, literary history, text analysis, semiotics and social history. It is beyond a single individual to master all these fields, but with the aid of determination, benevolence, attentiveness and involvement from scholars in these fields it is possible to bridge an intellectual divide and hopefully reach a more thorough understanding of a Japanese minority and the discrimination against them as portrayed in the modern novel, here represented by Shimazaki Tōson’s *Hakai*—The Broken Commandment. Without their effort and interest my own labor would have been restricted to that of the jungle guide. It might have been possible to slash a pathway and make a few interesting discoveries along the newly trodden path. However, although the machete is

a sharp instrument it cannot be used to open up a wide and panoramic view. Such a view is necessary if we are to reach the goal of deeper understanding. Thus, whatever redeeming value this volume may present is largely due to those efforts provided by others, either in financial, written or oral form.

I would therefore first like to express my appreciation for the incessant support that my academic advisor, Prof. Keiko Kockum, has provided throughout this process. Her keen sense and familiarity with the creative process during its various stages has enabled her to provide the proper mix between being an active promoter of analytical considerations and displaying passive patience—the latter infinitely more difficult—during the arrangement and adaptation of those ideas. Her door was always open, to me a symbol of the open mind she displayed during the years this volume was in the making. Many of the Japanese textual resources utilized predates World War II and are filled with—at least from the vantage point of the student that has learned modern Japanese—obsolete words, archaic expressions and phrases as well as social and cultural references that are beyond those of us belonging to the post-VCR generation. Prof. Kockum's encyclopedic knowledge and instant recognition of these obstacles has considerably shortened the access road to the abutment of this bridge.

Research regarding Burakumin in Japan is concentrated to two non-governmental research institutes. The Buraku Kaihō Kenkyūjo (Buraku Liberation Research Institute) in Osaka is the largest and have some impressive resources at its disposal, while the Buraku Mondai Kenkyūjo (Buraku Problem Research Institute) in Kyoto focus much of its attention on the cultural aspects of discrimination. I am deeply indebted to Honda Kazuaki, chief librarian at the Buraku Kaihō Kenkyūjo, for letting me satiate myself fully of the documentary feast he prepared and for granting me access to the enormous archives he has accumulated over time. I am equally grateful to Okuyama Mineo, executive director of the Buraku Mondai Kenkyūjo, who went out of his way to accommodate even the most vagarious idiosyncrasies that a curious—and at times confused—scholar presents. During my short-term stays in Kyoto I could always count on having office space, unlimited access to the library and a never-ending supply of *o-cha*, a supreme beverage when one needs to stay focused. Mr. Okuyama also kindly introduced me to Tsuda Kiyoshi, Japan's preeminent expert on Burakumin as they appear in *Hakai*.

Mr. Tsuda, a survivor of the Hiroshima atomic bombing is sadly no longer among us, but despite his frail health, he always displayed exuberant enthusiasm for research on Shimazaki Tōson, Burakumin and *Hakai*. He opened up his home in the mountains of Nagano and offered the resources of his magnificent private library on Burakumin in modern literature. Mr. Tsuda also graciously introduced me to a *Kenkyūkai*—the omnipresent Japanese research seminar—on Burakumin and modern literature that enabled me to discuss my findings, theories and conclusions, with some of Japan's most prominent and active scholars in this field. Without the reinforcements pro-

vided by Mr. Tsuda and the members of the Kenkyūkai the bearing pile of this intellectual bridge might have been anchored in less firm soil.

From the Western hemisphere I have benefited from the lucid observations and perspicaciousness, always presented in a perspicuous manner, that the inimitable Prof. William E. Naff has supplied. Prof. Naff, formerly at the University of Massachusetts, has offered congenial advice through the lost art of correspondence. His penetrating replies to my querulous questions helped me concentrate on the important matters at hand and not fall victim to the lure of digression. Having translated both Shimazaki Tōson's final masterpiece *Yoakemae* (Before the Dawn) and his early attempt at *shasei* in *Chikumagawa no suketchi* (Chikuma River Sketches) Prof. Naff was certainly entitled to rest on his laurels after retirement. Fortunately for me, he possesses the kind of mind that simply refuses to evade an intellectual challenge, and for that I am truly grateful.

Research is not nurtured on letters alone, often we overlook the daily sustenance—simply taking it for granted—required to accomplish a project akin to the present volume. I received a generous grant from the Swedish Scholarship Foundation for Studies on Japanese Society that enabled me to stay for three months in Japan during 1998 and collect research material as well as partake in important seminars. Without that financial support it would not have been possible to finish this volume in the revised time slot allocated by the Swedish government. I also received several smaller grants over the years from a collection of donations, too numerous to list here, administered by the Faculty of Humanities and Theology at Lund University. Thanks to my landlady in Tokyo, Mrs. Momozuka Atsuko, who has a curious knack for stretching a yen further than its pecuniary limitations, I was able to follow up on my original collection of documentation. Providing me with room and board as well as cheerful conversation when my budget would have forced me to deplane somewhere in the air over Hokkaido. 桃塚篤子様にも、心より感謝しております。I have also received a single grant from the Royal Humanities Science Association in Lund as well as the Scandinavia–Japan Sasakawa Foundation.

Writing an academic treatise in a foreign language is measured somewhere between *bêtise* and *hubris* on an intellectual gauge, but Sweden is still burdened by a shallow history in Japanese Studies and has yet to accumulate the critical mass required for such an endeavor in Swedish. Hence, choices have been limited and I am therefore particularly grateful to all those that have taken the time to read and comment on the manuscript. Mr. Bela Dolhai has pointed out many a superfluous phrase and Mrs. Stephanie Helm has almost a congenital sense for discovering grammatical errors and even more impressive, finding the grammatically correct, yet aberrant sentence and Mr. Peter Harrison—a colleague from Yokohama National University—has kindly shown me how matters of style are handled in English. Their editorial skills has been supplemented by Dr. Michael Schoenhals' keen eye for the mixed

metaphor and Dr. Marina Svensson's ability to transliterate Chinese. Without their efforts, this text would have been infinitely more tortuous, inconsistent, and illegible. Yet, any remaining errors, inadequacies or deviations from accepted and proper English are singularly my responsibility.

In this context, I would also like to express my gratitude to a few groups of remarkably anonymous people. I could never have produced this volume technically on time without the productive revolution of the personal computer and the staggering progress that software development underwent these last few years. To the anonymous developers at Microsoft® I say thank you for finally integrating double-byte capabilities in Windows 2000™ and Office™, to the developers at IBM® for making ViaVoice™ comprehend even a non-native speaker's quirky English and Japanese, and to Shōgakukan® and Heibonsha® for publishing their eminent encyclopedias on CD-ROM.

Finally, this volume would never have been completed were it not for the constant care and boundless love of my wife Noriko.

Veberöd, August 2000
René Andersson

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

A genealogy of silence

When the topic of *Burakumin* (people of the buraku) is breached, inevitably two terms are associated with the outcaste group of modern Japan; invisibility and genealogy of silence. Two reasons permeate the choice of the word invisibility, the knowledge of this outcaste group within Japan among the general population is severely circumscribed to a general stereotype depicting them as filthy or dirty, and outside Japan, knowledge of their existence is restricted to a limited group of scholars.¹ Burakumin are also physically indistinguishable from the general Japanese population, making it exceedingly difficult to single them out as a unified group. In the postwar era, Burakumin have not participated in any visible political struggles or fights for enhanced economic and civil rights, instead they have chosen to work as lobby groups.² Hence, this group has not obtained a place in focus of neither domestic nor international media. They have simply been ignored; surrounded with complete silence.

An indication of the general lack of knowledge regarding Burakumin is that they have never been the objects of foreign political argumentation when negotiating trade disputes or other political controversies with Japan. Governments are seldom above using moral arguments for obtaining economic favors, as can be seen for example in U.S. negotiations with China regarding trade disputes but disguising those as a question of conditions for the prison population. Behind the specter of human rights is often a more explicit self-interest hiding in the shadows. Japan's Burakumin are an ideal instrument to rally moral support and outrage against the economic juggernaut that modern Japan has become. Yet no leader has appeared to champion their cause, no resolutions in the UN has been passed in order to put the spotlight on their problems as a discriminated minority.

Reasons for this isolated status are manifold; Japan's propensity for a low profile in international relations, the international community's inability to focus on more than a few moral issues simultaneously, linguistic barriers,* geographic proximity and internal division. The isolation is further amplified by an absence of external discriminatory appearance, since discriminatory behavior in Japan is of an indirect and subtle character compared to the more

* The Paekchong and Chaiin, two Korean outcaste groups share the fate of Burakumin. Gradually increasing interest in Japan outside the country has contributed to a larger pool of non-native Japanese speakers. Among those there is also a growing interest in marginalized groups, but the number of non-native Korean speakers are still comparatively small, thus even fewer understand the situation in Korea.

blatant expressions, sometimes even manifested in violent behavior, that we have grown accustomed to in the West. Combine this with a domestically oriented keen sense of political correctness and it becomes acutely difficult for the foreign observer to find any obvious traces of discrimination inside Japan.³

Most of the Burakumin communities are found in Kansai, Kyushu or around the Inland Sea, thus many of them are far away from the political and diplomatic center of Tokyo. Burakumin communities are also located far away from the cultural centers of Japan; this is especially true concerning Japanese modern literature. Discrimination and unequal treatment are topics that easily evoke passion ranging from blazing wrath to moral indignation in both writers and readers. Yet, Japanese writers tend to shun away from moral issues when they are related to larger entities than the personal self, clearly showing a preference for the aesthetic side in their authorship. Since few Japanese authors come from a background of Burakumin, Nakagami Kenji* (1946 – 92) being the obvious exception, few have ventured into the uncertain realm that the buraku brings.

There are exceptions but they are rare and this thesis will analyze the pre-eminent work in early modern Japanese literature that deals with the Burakumin problem as part of its topical content. While Shimazaki Tōson (1872 – 1943) was not the first writer to bring Burakumin and their situation to the Japanese readership's attention—chapter four presents most of the literary works that addresses the quandary of Burakumin existence published before 1906—his *Hakai* is clearly the single most important work to date in the genre of Burakumin literature. When I asked questions about Burakumin at my Japanese host university, nearly everyone recommended that I read *Hakai*, perhaps in lieu of trying to provide any answers. At any rate, it points to the educational value perceived almost a hundred years after its publication. While reading it, I also discovered that Shimazaki Tōson's novel has been controversial, both among Japanese critics and within the Buraku society. Consensus among the *Bundan*† is that Tōson had no desire to write a sociological pamphlet.‡ When *Hakai* was published in 1906 with funds that Tōson had borrowed mainly from his father-in-law, it was followed by an intense critique, more than 30 critical pieces can be counted.§ At the time, this was unprecedented regarding a single novel. *Hakai* is perhaps the one novel that has been most hotly debated in Japanese literary circles. This debate continues into present day, albeit with declining intensity.

Instead, the critics claim that Tōson had written a novel about the psychological turmoil of facing one's background and being able to confess it in front of someone whom one admires. The protagonist, Segawa Ushimatsu,

* Japanese personal names are given in their Japanese order, family name followed by first name.

† Usually translated as “literati establishment” or “literary circles.” Literally it means “literary stage” or “stage of letters,” indicating a certain expectation of entertainment value in the production that flows out of Japanese authors’ brushes.

is caught in the psychological struggle between filial piety and the desire to be recognized and accepted among his peers. According to this group of critics, it is by pure chance that Ushimatsu comes from a Burakumin setting. He could have come from any background as long as he carried a secret that he had promised his father never to reveal, yet be forced into a situation where his desire to expose the secret becomes stronger than his loyalty towards this father.⁶

However, along this psychological journey Tōson also introduces the reader to a difficult sociological and political problem that lies at the core of the transformation that Japan was undergoing around the turn of the 20th century. The ambition of the Meiji reformers was to establish a new social order. “But how can one claim that any new order has been established just by abolishing the old class system when remnants of that hierarchy is still so obviously still among us,” seems to be the question that Tōson wants to put in front of his readers.

In order to understand this line of thinking, i.e. Tōson’s sociopolitical reasoning in relation to and within his novel, a set of analytical tools that differ from those usually applied to early modern Japanese literature needs to be employed. Western research in Japanese literature is a discipline with a shallow history, more than 90 percent of the treatises presented have been tendered during the postwar era. Hence, it should come as no surprise that traditional models for analysis are predominant.⁷ This is not to suggest that biographical elements in the analysis should be ignored—they are an important factor in understanding social and political influences—only that they be subordinated to the overall task of interpreting the novel from a sociological vantage point. Such an attempt is the aim of chapter three. The primary objective being a consciousness of how Burakumin themselves interpreted Tōson’s textual objectives and the sociopolitical impact on their self-awareness.

Hakai—a synopsis

This requires a short synopsis of the novel with a particular focus on the parts directly related to the image of Burakumin portrayed by Tōson. Segawa Ushimatsu, the novel’s protagonist, is a schoolteacher working in the rural town of Iiyama located along the Chikumagawa River in the mountainous prefecture of Nagano west of Tokyo. He is popular with the students and privileged in that his best friend is also his colleague at the school; Tsuchiya Ginnosuke and Ushimatsu goes back to the days when they were classmates at the teacher’s college. Ushimatsu however carries with him a dark and ominous secret; he was born an Eta—the pre-Meiji term denoting there filthy status is explained in more detail in chapter two. Being a member of the despised minority that the surrounding society considers defiled, his father has commanded him to never under any circumstances reveal his background.

The senior Segawa has taken great pains to conceal the family background in order to protect his son and has moved to the mountains where he lives an eremitical life as a cowherd. As a dutiful son, he has decided to leave the lodging house where he was staying because the other residents demanded that an Eta living there be evicted and Ushimatsu does not want to attract any undue attention. He moves into a temple, Rengeji or the Temple of the Lotus Flower, ostensibly belonging to the True Pure Land Sect of Buddhism.

His next wage is a few days away so he is very short of funds, but despite his impecunious state, he spends his last pocket money on a book written by Inoko Rentarō a professed activist for Eta rights. Both Rentarō and Ushimatsu are educated Eta an unheard of phenomena at the time of the novel's publication. Hence, it comes as no surprise that Ushimatsu is an ardent admirer of Rentarō, a man with whom he feels both an intellectual kinship and status solidarity. The school at which Ushimatsu works is run by a newly appointed principal that wants to build political clout by replacing Ushimatsu as the head teacher with Katsuno Bunpei, a nephew to the county school inspector. When Ushimatsu receives a telegram that his father has died, a bull from the herd that he watches has gored him to death, the principal grants him a generous leave of absence and even offers to lend him money for his travel expenditures so he can see to his father's funeral.

Ushimatsu has to walk to the nearby town of Toyono where he can catch a train; boarding the train compartment, he encounters his hero. Inoko Rentarō is touring the Shinshū region together with a friend; a lawyer by the name of Ichimura is running for a parliamentary seat in the Diet. From that point on, Ushimatsu is locked in an inner struggle between his own personal desire to 'confess' his shared Eta background with Rentarō and his filial duty towards his father's commandment. Ushimatsu is presented with several opportunities *à deux* to reveal his secret to Rentarō, but the looming spirit of his father always holds him back.⁸

Together with his uncle, Ushimatsu arranges his father's funeral and afterwards they attend the slaughter of the bull that had gored his father to death. Butcher is a traditional occupation held by the Eta, and Tōson presents his readers with a decidedly uncomplimentary portrait of the Eta working at the slaughterhouse. They are described as 'stupid-looking', 'red-faced', and 'colored', in sharp contrast to the complementary portraits of our protagonist and Inoko Rentarō. This dualistic disposition towards the Eta in the novel is a recurring theme.

After returning to Iiyama and the school, Ushimatsu is consumed by his preoccupation to unburden himself to Rentarō. By the time he has finally solved his inner conflict it is too late, speaking in favor of his lawyer candidate at a political rally in a temple, Rentarō is stoned to death by some bullies hired by a political opponent when he leaves the venue. No longer being able to disburden himself to his hero, Ushimatsu decides instead to 'confess' to his class at school. He does so in a remarkably obsequious way, yet with an elo-

quent speech. Although the pupils plead with the principal to keep him at the school, it is clear that he can no longer stay in the town of Iiyama.

The Eta evicted at the beginning of the novel now reappears and Rentarō's lawyer friend proposes a solution to Ushimatsu's problem. Exasperated by the continued discrimination, the Eta, who is a wealthy man, has decided to leave Japan and establish a Japanese farming community in Texas. He needs an educated assistant and Ushimatsu is offered the job. Ushimatsu happily accepts and the novel ends as he is leaving Iiyama on a sled as he is looking back at his bride-to-be. A closer reading and sociopoetic analysis will be provided in chapter six.

The sociological vantage point

Since all of Tōson's literary production that followed on *Hakai* was written in an autobiographical vein there has been a tendency, by both Japanese and Western critics alike, to mold their interpretation of *Hakai* along that same line.⁹ The path of that discourse leads to the inevitable conclusion that Segawa Ushimatsu is Shimazaki Tōson's alter ego in the novel and that it is by pure coincidence that he chose to make his protagonist an Eta. The basis of that theory is found in the author's relationship with his father, or more precisely lack thereof. An underlying hypothesis of this study is that Shimazaki Tōson deliberately and consciously aspired to write an innovative novel with a social theme. It therefore becomes necessary to undertake an examination of alternative factors that influenced his narrative construction. Chapter 3 is essentially a biographical review of Tōson's life but with a focus on the components that determined his interest for Japan's outcast minority.

To comprehend the social status of this minority group and the role they play in Japanese society it is necessary to re-examine their historical development. Surveys on Burakumin in English or other Western languages are conspicuously few and their position in Japanese society—particularly at the time Tōson published his novel—is poorly understood in the West. Most minority discourse in the Euro-American realm is focused on racial, religious, ethnic or linguistic differentiation, whereas the Eta—the term used prior to Burakumin—are essentially a political construction.¹⁰ The focal point of Burakumin discourse in chapter two is consequently concentrated on conceptions and prejudices common among the majority society around the turn of the previous century. This attitudinal processes developed over several centuries and this explains why these deep rooted sentiments lingered on despite the rapid changes that Japan was going through at the time.

Despite being almost a hundred years old, *Hakai* is perhaps still the pre-eminent novel in the sub-genre that Japanese critics has dubbed Buraku Mondai Bungaku—literature focused on the problems of the buraku. Yet it was not a pioneering work within this field, there exist a small cannon of works concerned with the status of the Burakumin that predates *Hakai*.

These had neither the social nor the literary impact that Shimazaki Tōson achieved, but their mere existence is reason enough to examine the possibility of any influences on the narration in *Hakai*. At the very minimum, a look at these works will enable us to reach a better understanding of *Haka*'s historical position as well as Tōson's literary accomplishment. The purpose of chapter four is to acquaint us with these works and by comparing them with *Hakai* we will not only be able to detect any direct or indirect influences on Tōson, but we should also be able to recognize what set his novel apart from the predecessors. This cognition will help us appreciate the controversy the novel created among the Burakumin population.

One reason for the contention is some of the very realistic, but clearly derogatory scenes that Tōson depicted, scenes that were based on meticulous research during his stay as a teacher in Komoro in the mountainous Nagano region. Another reason for the keenly felt realism among the readers is the psychologically vivid portrait of the protagonist, Segawa Ushimatsu. At the time of its publication, psychogenic verism of characters had fallen into oblivion, so it is not surprising that critics of *Hakai* as a rule has viewed Ushimatsu and Tōson as synonymous identities. Should the theory of Ushimatsu as an alter ego stand up to close scrutinization then it becomes clear that *Hakai* is primarily a novel that belongs to the autobiographical sub-genre. Therefore, the primary purpose of introducing Ōe Isokichi in chapter five is to evince the possibility of an alternative role model for Segawa Ushimatsu. With the surmise that there is a strong resemblance between the novel's protagonist and the real-life story of Ōe Isokichi we should have sufficient proof to dispose of these traditional theories. This will then enable us to analyze the novel with an entirely different set of analytical tools and help us interpret the story from a sociopoetic vantage point.

What we thus seek is a combination of two different schools, the author centric analysis of individuated realism with its roots in biographic-psychological orientation which rests firmly on its respect for the author as an individual, in contrast to those that view the author as a function or a representative of a class, yet at the same time we require the realization of the new historicists—James A. Fujii being a representative¹¹—that social and political conditions are intrinsic to the narrative process albeit with a higher degree of specificity towards the narrative subject than their analytical method permits.

The tools required for this analysis has been designed, crafted, adjusted and gradually fine-tuned during the last three decades in the field of *litteratursociologi* within the Nordic countries. The term *litteratursociologi* is usually translated into English as Sociology of Literature, which is a periphrastic construction with some inexactitude since in the Nordic context the term also contains the meaning of Sociology *in* Literature. This field is by no means restricted to the Scandinavian countries, the French studies *sociologie de la littérature* and has produced scholars such as Lucien Goldmann, Robert Escarpit, and Pierre Bourdieu. In Germany *Literatursoziologie* is a healthy

and expanding field within literary studies as the Frankfurt School is ample evidence of with scholars such as Jürgen Habermas, Max Horkheimer, and Theodor Adorno. Although there is some correlation between the countries, not the least in their mutual debt of gratitude towards Weberian sociology, over the years distinctive national flavors have evolved. In the case of Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland it is not so much a matter of distinct flavors as a soupçon of seasoning and since the dissimilarity is inconsequential for our purposes, it may facilitate ratiocination to group these together as the Nordic School.¹²

Since a Swedish term disembogued into a sea of English runs the risk of being flushed away into oblivion, or worse, it may end up stranded on the beach of consternation, confounding those readers not familiar with Scandinavian terminology I will henceforth use the English term Sociology of Literature, but it should be understood in its Nordic context. The sharpest delineation between the Nordic School on one hand and the Continental and Anglo-American on the other hand is in its relation to the literary work. Albeit coarse and perhaps somewhat simplistic—a thorough comparative study would certainly be a praiseworthy undertaking, but it is nevertheless beyond the capacity of this endeavor—the most conspicuous difference is in the composition of sociology and humanities in the relation to the studied subject.

In the non-Nordic context Sociology of Literature evolves more around the dissemination and reception of literature in society, i.e. what is sometimes called the Circle of Literature or the Literary Process. There are even some voices calling for the exclusion of the literary work as well as its genesis in the analytical process. Hence there is a much more determined focus on the sociological component in the field of Sociology of Literature in comparison with the Nordic School. This can chiefly be traced back to Marxist influences rooted in Hegelian Idealism and explains why Jürgen Habermas is able to treat literature as a commodity. This is not to suggest that there are no Marxist scholars active in the field of Sociology of Literature within the Nordic countries.¹³ While there may not be a sharp divisional line between literary critique and literary research, generally speaking, Marxist influences has been stronger within the critique in its pursuit to articulate a personal revelation of literary texts.

Kurt Aspelin pointed out that György Lukács theory of literature as “reflections of an unfolding system” became exhausted in its simplicity when faced with modernism and avant-gardism, turning dogmatic in its structure. Instead, he proposed to develop Lukács’s dialectics under the inducement of structuralism.¹⁴ The road he paved is perhaps at its straightest and smoothest in his analysis of Carl Jonas Love Almqvist (1793 – 1866), where he presents us with the dialectical concipency of what he called Almqvist’s “disharmonious aesthetics” as an expression of the *gestalt* Almqvist saw in the contradictory reality that he encountered in 19th century Sweden. Almqvist himself was the embodiment of contradiction; throughout his career he continually flirted

with maudlin religiosity and mysticism, yet at the same time he was an ardent reformist proponent of enlightened radicalism.¹⁵

There are some striking parallels to Shimazaki Tōson's psychological construction as well as his narrative configuration. An incessant pendular movement between rebellion and mysticism in which the protagonist's quest for *truth* will be rewarded with the revelation of beauty, is depicted in such an arduous purity that it becomes impossible to ignore. This is not to suggest that Almqvist and Tōson are interchangeable entities over a cultural and linguistic divide that could or should be viewed through the same prism. Almqvist, unlike Tōson, used satire, humor, and irony to unveil the truth as he saw it, a rhetorical contrivance that Tōson would never have accepted as congruent with his literary ambitions.

Yet at the same time, it is important to appreciate that Aspelin produced a set of basic analytical tools that enables us to not only understand the novel from a sociological viewpoint, but also to explain its narrative role in, and influence on society. Aspelin also secures additional cognitive persuasiveness for his method by accepting the intellectual burden of applying it to novels that require a firm grasp of historicity in a field lulled by contemporaneity. The true test of Aspelin's ideas will occur when we apply them to novels outside the traditional field of 19th century Swedish literature, to validate their universality.

By exploring the reception *Hakai* has enjoyed within the national social organization constructed by Burakumin that developed during the 1920's, thereby authenticating these theories, we should be able to comprehend the reasons for the longevity of its social impact. This analysis runs at the core of chapter six that sets out with an exposition of the required tools such as they have been developed within the framework of the Nordic School.

Regardless of the variance in approach and placement of analytical foci among the diverse 'schools' within the field of Sociology of Literature their common denominator is the study of the interplay between three agents in the literary process, the author, the book and finally the reader.* Some critics aggregates this to a macro-level analysis whereby the agents are transformed to producers or creators—the author is then no longer alone but joined by publishers and even literary intermediaries such as agents. The book is joined by other works and constitutes an oeuvre or if studied in conjunction with other authors' production, a genre, canon or perhaps certain time-period and the reader is collectivized to an audience or organized into certain target groups such as urban women between 24 – 35 years of age. That approach is hardly relevant to the Japanese literary scene a hundred years ago since it still lacked a developed publishing industry and has yet to flavor the spicy condiments that literary agents may provide.

* This is not an exclusive Nordic pursuit but can be traced all the way back to Madame de Staël (1766 – 1817) and her *De la Littérature*, published in 1800.

Since the main purpose is a deepened understanding of one specific novel and its relation to a distinct social group the focus of this study is by necessity concentrated on the micro-level. Obviously there are also macro-level factors that may have contributed to Tōson's narrative, *zeitgeist* or in the Japanese context, the even more elusive *tatazumai*, should not be ignored. Particularly in a study attempting to explain the social flow of the literary development in the Meiji period, but that is beyond the scope of this study. A peculiarity of these cumulated external influences is that on the individuated level they tend to appear indirectly, albeit in a concrete shape, hence, they will often be alluded to. This should be observable as we turn to the new life it signified when Shimazaki Tōson decided that he could wring out a living from the tip of his brush by writing prose, but before we can do that, it is important that we understand what Burakumin are, and why they were—and still are—subjected to discrimination in Japan.

CHAPTER 2

Genesis of discrimination against *Burakumin*

The quest to define the origin of *Burakumin* in Japanese society is essentially one of semantics. The word *buraku* (部落) is customarily translated as “hamlet,” based on its Japanese definition as bestowed by the acclaimed 5th edition of Iwanami Shoten’s *Kōjien*: “a communal cluster of relatively few houses.” The suffix “*min*” is the character *tami* (民) meaning “the governed” or “the ruled.” Hence, *Burakumin* are those living in a communal cluster of relatively few houses. As is clearly obvious, this definition is neutral in the extreme. In no way does it even remotely imply a special minority status or marginalized existence within society. Who has ever heard of discrimination against “hamlet dwellers”?

The coinage is in fact an adroit specimen of early Meiji bureaucratism, striving to accommodate time-honored societal hierarchies in the emerging professed egalitarian society. The word *buraku* antedates its present limited usage as a definition of an abode for a discriminated minority, and nowadays the Japanese prefer the term *shūroku* when they talk about a hamlet. This is a manifestation of how closely “*burakumin*” has become associated with their predecessors *Eta* and *Hinin*, the very intention of those anonymous bureaucrats in the Home Ministry that conceived the neologism. On the 23rd of August in 1871, the Meiji government issued ordinance No. 61 often referred to as the Emancipation Proclamation for its resemblance to the edict freeing slaves in the Confederate States, issued by U.S. President Abraham Lincoln eight years earlier. The *Eta Kaihō-rei* as it is referred to in Japanese, simply abolishes the two pre-Meiji sub-classes of *Eta* and *Hinin*. Purportedly to replace the feudal class system of *Shi-Nō-Kō-Shō-Eta-Hinin*, with a classless modern society in which everybody were simply “*heimin*” or commoners. However, old habits die slowly, and it did not take long before former *Eta* and *Hinin* were referred to as “*shinheimin*,” or “new commoners.”

This term was, however, conceived as discriminatory, and in response to complaints, the term *burakumin* evolved. Its first implementation was as *Tokushu-Buraku[min]* written with characters meaning ‘special’ in the sense of particular or uncommon, but many people would purposely write it with other characters implying ‘different’ or ‘special kind’, carrying distinct connotations of ostracism. In response to accusations of using a chauvinistic terminology, the Home Ministry started using the term *Saimin-Buraku* meaning ‘low [or poor] people’s hamlet’, it did not, however, survive more than a decade as a general term. Neither did *Mohan-Buraku*, meaning ‘model hamlet’, an attempt to create a positive image for *Burakumin* in lieu for actual reforms. After *Burakumin* had started to organize themselves in the 1920’s they used

the term *Iwayuru Tokushu-Buraku* in their internal documentation, meaning ‘so called special hamlets’. Implicit in this terminology is a schizothymic attitude between the need to differentiate themselves from the surrounding majority society and the desire to assimilate into it.

As political awareness grew stronger and Western ideas about liberalism and equality gained general acceptance, the political struggle focused on ‘liberation’ for *Burakumin*. Therefore, they started to conceive of themselves as hostages of antiquated ideas and the term *Mikaihō-Buraku*, meaning ‘yet to be liberated hamlet’ saw the light of day. This terminology lives on and in certain activist groups the political fight for better conditions for *Burakumin* are still carried out within the framework of liberalization. Those that define improvement for *Burakumin* in terms of social reforms and quiet assimilation instead use the designation *Hisabetsu-Buraku*; meaning ‘discriminated against hamlet’.¹ The common denominator throughout these alterations is the continuous usage of *Buraku* as descriptor for the two social groupings known as *Eta* and *Hinin* in pre-Meiji Japan. While it is true that continued usage of the term as a delineator away from the majority population has tainted the word *buraku*, it is semantically void of any derogatory values. In addition, those active within, or with regard to, *Buraku* groups, political or academic, use the words *buraku* and *burakumin* regularly, despite being considered discriminatory by media and politicians. The usage adhered to by Japanese academics will be maintained throughout this discourse.

A filthy world

In stark contrast to the value-neutral term *Burakumin*, both *Eta* and *Hinin* carries an etymologically vivid connotation of defiled turpitude. The first Kanji (e) in *Eta* (穢多) is “filth” meaning pollution, dirt, waste, and soil, but also in extension implying lewd and rude, the second character (ta) is “many” or “abundant.” In Chinese etymology the first character denotes weeds and the Japanese definition is a “weed ridden area,” hence something useless and troublesome. The combination then is “much filth”² in the sense of uncleanliness in volumes but also “many kinds of filth,” semantically justifying different reasons for discrimination and ostracism. The first character (hi) in *Hinin* (非人) is a negatory prefix and the second (nin) is “person,” thus *Hinin* is a non-person. In Japanese Buddhism, a “non-person” is associated with *Tenryū Hachibushū* (Collection of Eight Heavenly Dragons), in Sanskrit rendered as Dharmapala meaning “Defender of Religious Law.” The defenders are eight hideous and vicious looking divinities that establish fright in evil spirits. The term is often shortened to *Hachibushū* or just *Hachibu*. The latter term is also homonymous with “ostracism” as in the term “*mura-hachibu*,” meaning that the village unanimously severed all relations with a family breaching local rules. Any family subjected to this treatment became, for all practical purposes, non-persons. Thus, the inquiry into the origin of *Bura-*

kumin, by definition turns into a quest to define the origin of *Eta* and *Hinin*, although other fringe groups, such as certain entertainers, were included in the bureaucratic terminology pertaining to *Burakumin*.

In the beginning, there were only *Hinin*. As described above, the term has its roots in Buddhist mythology, but the term gained wider semantic usage during the Middle Ages. In Japan, this consists of the *Kamakura*, *Nanboku-chō*, *Muromachi*, and *Sengoku* eras, a period stretching almost 400 years between 1180's and 1560's. The term came to include beggars, panhandlers, lepers, and *Eta* and later evolved into an all-encompassing name for occupations such as cleaners, gardeners, falcon hackers, butchers, harbingers, comedians, gravediggers and prison guards. However, the English occupational terms used here are actually only a close approximation of their original Japanese meaning that is comparably limited in scope and thus, require a more exhaustive elucidation. The Japanese term rendered as “cleaners” is *Kiyome* and actually refers to those charged with the task of keeping the Imperial Palace in Kyoto impeccable, an occupation that can already be found in the *Genji Monogatari* (Tale of Genji).³ Since the Emperor was considered a deity the concept of *kiyo* is directly concerned with purity, and cleanliness is its external contour. In modern Japan, *kiyo* is primarily present in the ritual application of salt—*Kiyomejio*—at funerals and by Sumo wrestlers entering the ring, testimony to its durability and the deep-rooted concern for purity.

A gardener is *Niwashi* or Master of the garden, but a gardener of *Hinin* status is called a *Niwamono*—literally a garden person—and refers to someone left with the menial task of cleaning and performing other odd jobs around the garden. Another term for the same work, prevailing during the Muromachi period (1338 – 1573), is *Niwa Bugyō* (Garden Magistrate). This line of work seems to originate in the Imperial Gardens, thus together with *Kiyome* it establishes a direct link between the Imperial institution and occupational discrimination. Beside the similarity in content, both *Kiyome* and *Niwamono* were recruited from the same geographic area on the outskirts of Kyoto, establishing a relationship between occupation and habitation.⁴ This concatenation is one of the most distinguishing features of discriminated groups throughout Japanese history—be they Burakumin, Ainu, Koreans, or Okinawans.

According to *Nihonshoki* (Chronicles of Japan, sometimes also referred to as *Nihongi*), falconry allegedly arrived in Japan by way of Korea in the 43rd year of Nintoku, the 16th emperor in the early mythical imperial genealogy (corresponding approximately to the first half of the 5th century). Primarily it was used as amusement for the imperial household and peerage. The process of training a falcon or hawk to attack quarry starts with catching an *eyas*; a nesting, fully-fledged yet flightless bird. After the capture and until the bird is acclimated to its new master, the *eyas* is said to be “at hack.” It is then fed fresh meat regularly by *etori* or a “falcon hacker.” This line of work includes butchering cows and horses and “hacking” the meat into edible pieces for the

bird. These tasks, connected as they are with meat, blood, and death, were gradually considered unclean and the term *etori* was for a long time considered precursor to the word *Eta*. The first written record of *Eta*, found in the lexical compilation *Chiribukuro** from the middle of the Kamakura era (later half of 13th century) is an etymological explanation: “When *etori* is spoken fast and inarticulate it is pronounced *Eta*.” According to this explanation, *Eta* evolved from *etori*. This rationalization, however, is rejected by modern research from both a historical and linguistic perspective. *Etori* were for example employed in carrying *Mikoshi*, the sacred portable Shinto shrine, at festivals, an honorary task hardly entrusted to someone considered “abundantly defiled.”

As both Harada Tomohiko⁵ and Teraki Nobuaki⁶ have pointed out, it is impossible to establish when society’s disparaging attitude towards these fringe groups was transformed into organized discrimination and social exclusion. Despite the difficulty of pinpointing it in terms of time, we have a fair grasp of the underlying causes and processes that instigated the discriminatory behavior leading to the outcast status of *Hinin* and *Eta*. Several theories regarding the origin of *Eta* and *Hinin* (*Kigensetsu*) has been put forward over time, but few have outlasted critical scrutiny. One major problem with these theories is their predilection to assign a foreign or alien origin to the *Eta* and *Hinin*. Most of the early theories attempted to assign a physical difference between the inclusive Self and exclusionary Other. The path of least resistance then leads towards some form of foreign origin. Ninomiya Shigeaki has acquainted us with these theories of foreign origin, and although some are unverifiable, some speculative and some preposterous, they are presented here for the sake of completeness, and as an illustration of how deep rooted the concept of Other is.⁷ There are three representative theories:

The Hebrew theory

Originally submitted by Ōe Taku in *Minzoku to rekishi* vol. II (People and History), the theory proposes that *Eta* originated from a tribe of tomb guards known as *Hafuri*, responsible for guarding the tomb of Japan’s first mythical emperor *Jinmu* in the village of Hōra in Nara prefecture. Hebrew transcribed to the vowel rich *katakana* writing system becomes *Heburai* and Ōe suggests that *Hafuri* is a distortion of that word. According to Ninomiya’s interpretation of Ōe’s theory, the *Hafuri* was a lost nomadic tribe of Hebrews arriving in the Yamato Basin (northwestern Nara) and subjugated by Emperor *Jinmu*. As a conquered tribe, they were forced to watch over tombs and do menial labor.⁸

* Literally it means “dust bag,” but the archaic usage is supposed to evoke the image of a “collection of little things from around society.”

There are, as I see it, several problems with this theory; the least being why a Semitic tribe arriving in Japan should be speaking modern English. In Hebrew language the singular term for a Hebrew, as used in the Bible to refer to the patriarch Abraham is *ivri*, its plural form being *ivrim*. Transcribing it into ancient Japanese, it would be pronounced *Ifurimu*. Even allowing that the singular form would be applied to the whole tribe, thus *Ifuri*, it should be noted that the term Hebrew was only used by other people about the Israelites, as they were known from the second millennium BC since their conquest of Canaan. When they allegedly arrived in Japan, they had thus referred to themselves as Israelites for more than 600 years. As Ninomiya also pointedly states: “This theory, as it stands, does not withstand the test of historical criticism. It is a mere speculation based upon insufficient data.”⁹

The Sakhalin theory

Before the Japanese seized Sakhalin (Karafuto in Japanese) in the Russo–Japanese war (1904 – 05), it was populated by a Tungus speaking tribe called *Orokko* by the Nivkh (formerly Gilyak) that referred to themselves as *Etta* or *Jetta* (nowadays transcribed as Uilta). Thus, *Eta* is just a Japanized pronunciation of *Etta*.^{*} Kikuchi Sanya, a professor of anthropology at Tokyo Imperial University, first proposed this theory in a study entitled *Etazoku ni kansuru kenkyū*.¹⁰ According to Ninomiya, Kikuchi emphasized physical differences and expounded on seven features that defined *Eta* as distinctly non-Japanese: a) their habit of eating meat, b) reddish tinge in eye color, c) prominent cheek bones, d) round (non-Mongolian) eyes, e) dolichocephalic head (skull is relatively long from front to back, frequent among Scots and Scandinavians), f) short stature and g) shortness of neck. Besides these observations Kikuchi also thought it important to list popular beliefs with regard to *Eta* such as: a) their lack of one rib bone, b) having one dog bone in them, c) deformed sexual organs, e) defective excretory system, f) walking in moonlight their neck [sic][†] does not cast a shadow and g) being animals dirt does not stick to their feet when walking barefoot.¹¹ If Kikuchi had added “hairiness” as a distinct feature he would for all practical purposes have described the *Ainu*, such as they were considered by the Japanese proper at this time.¹² In fact, there are no physical dissimilarity between modern day Burakumin and the majority Japanese population, suggesting that there never has been any dimorphism. During certain periods *Eta* were actually forced to follow certain dress codes or wearing leather patches, in order to separate them from the majority population. This suggests that historically there has never been sufficient physical segmentation to corroborate Kikuchi’s theory.

^{*} It should be noted that in many northern Japanese dialects as well as around Kinki the pronunciation *etta* is common.

[†] The phrase in Japanese is likely to have been something along the line of “*kubi wa kage wo otosana?*” so Ninomiya’s translation is literal, in this case the ‘neck’ includes the whole head, thus they cast headless shadows.

The Korean theory

Emperor Wu Ti of the Han dynasty established the colony of Nangnang* in 108 BC around present day Pyongyang in North Korea. In the late 4th and early 5th century AD, the mythical Empress *Jingō* sent forces to this part as well as Taebang† and brought back prisoners that later evolved into *Bemin* at the Yamato Court. These were providers of labor, products, and services to primarily the imperial court but also the *uji* clans. They were, however, not on the lowest stratum of society. Unlike the *nuhi* (slaves), they were reimbursed for their services. After the *Taika* reforms (645 AD) the system was reorganized and many became farmers and soldiers. There is no written record supporting these events, but it is a historical fact that there was an influx of people from Korea starting around 400 AD. The first wave was led by *Yuzukinokimi* from the kingdom of Paekche that established the powerful *Hata Uji* (clan), famous for introducing weaving, metallurgy, and sericulture. He brought a large number of Koreans that in ancient chronicles are called *Kikajin*—today a term for a naturalized Japanese that originally had ethnocentric connotations of “gratefully changing allegiance to a new ruler.” The second wave of immigrants was during the 6th century and those immigrants are mainly associated with learning and government administration. The third, and last, wave came as a result of the Silla dynasty uniting the three kingdoms of the Korean peninsula. Between 4000 and 5000 refugees from the fighting in Paekche settled in Japan. According to ‘The Peerage’ (*Shin Senshōjiroku*) edited in the early 9th century, around 30% of the listings are of foreign origin (*shoban*). Notwithstanding the lack of evidence for any Korean campaign by *Jingō*, we have to take into consideration the reverence shown towards the Korean immigrants as exemplified by the high status achieved in Japanese society through their contributions to development. While it is true that Koreans’ social standing in modern Japanese society may be considered equal to the Burakumin, this was obviously not always the case, and there exists no evidence supporting a theory that *Eta* are descendants of Korean immigrants. On the contrary, developments during the 5th to 8th century imply a privileged rather than discriminatory social position for *Kikajin*.¹³

The above three theories are based on the concept of ‘race’ as a method of separating the Self from the Other through discernible physical or behavioral features, and saw the day of light during a period in Japanese history when the myth of the Japanese as a homogenous people (*tan’itsu minzoku*) was high on the political agenda. They were however hardly novel for their day, Japan has a long tradition of ethnocentric discourse based, ironically, on imported Chinese beliefs. In Japan, they are known as *Kaishisō*. *Ka* represents China, the pinnacle of cultural excellence that despised the contemptible

* In Japanese it is pronounced Rakurō and in Chinese Lo-Lang.

† In Japanese known as Taihō and in Chinese Dai-Fang.

*Iteki** (Chinese: Yi) that surrounded them.¹⁴ This concept takes as its focus the national Sovereign, thus being perfectly adaptable to Japanese circumstances. Not being surrounded by the Yi, contempt and disdain was endogenously channeled, implying that a theory of *Eta* and *Hinin* origin ought to be constructed on an autochthonous foundation.

Religious and occupational factors

There are, in fact, two such possible, yet not necessarily mutually exclusionary, foundations on which it is possible to build an indigenous theory that will explain the bipolar evolution of *Eta* and *Hinin*. The bricks and stones consists of the relationship between religion and occupation as far back as pre-historic times, and the mortar that binds it together is the legal and political system such as it has evolved over the centuries. During the 8th through 10th centuries, Japan was ruled under a politico-judicial system called *Ritsuryōsei* that was based on the *lu-ling* code of T'ang China. The system stood on three pillars; 1) all arable land belongs to the Emperor (government) and were administered on three levels, *kuni* (province), *koori* (county) and *sato* (village), 2) central power, both sacred and secular, emanates from the Emperor and is maintained through strong dual bureaucracies, and 3) the people are divided into two main groups, *ryōmin* (decent people) and *senmin* (despicable people).¹⁵

While slaves constituted a significant quantity of *senmin*, it would be erroneous to equate them with slaves since the composition changed over time. Some were ordered into the *senmin* class as a punishment for breaking laws or breaching rules of conduct under the *Ritsuryō* system, thus coming from an upstanding background. Others were placed in this low class as a consequence of military domination or historical subjugation by temples and local chieftains. Yet, a distinct majority was former *nuhi* (slaves), the collective designation for *yakko* (male slaves) and *meyakko* (female slaves), but under the *Ryōsenhō* (the law dividing the population into *ryōmin* and *senmin*), a number of former *nuhi* became *kanko* achieving a status similar to helots in ancient Sparta. *Kenin* were the privately held serfs with the same position as the *kanko*, neither could be bought nor sold. Slaves that could be bought and sold were called *shinuhi* if privately owned and *kunuhi* if owned by the government and these constituted the majority. However, if they formed families they were usually treated on par with *kenin/kanko*. The last major group within the *senmin* class was the guardians of Imperial Tombs known as *Ryōko* (or sometimes *Shuko*). It is estimated that *senmin* constituted approximately 7% of the population under the *Ritsuryō* system.¹⁶ One group of artisans known as *Zakko* was 'liberated' from *senmin* status in the middle of the 8th century. Most of the *Zakko* had come over from the Korean peninsula

* The first character of *Iteki* is the second character in *Kaishisō*.

and settled around Kyoto, Owari (Nagoya area), Ise (Mie prefecture), Ōmi (around Lake Biwa), Mino (southern Gifu prefecture), Harima (southwest Hyōgo prefecture) and Kii (Wakayama prefecture) and were appreciated for their ability to make armor, arrows, bows, quivers, archer's wrist protectors and other military equipment.¹⁷ The status of *Zakko* can to some extent be compared to villeins in medieval England in the sense that they were able to sell their services and products once their quota to their lord was fulfilled.

There were strict provisions in the *Ryōsenhō* regulating the relationship between *ryōmin* and *senmin*. Intermarriage between the groups was illegal and should any offspring materialize despite the interdiction, the child would automatically become a *senmin*. However, if a *ryōmin* was unaware that the partner was a *senmin*, he (as was nearly always the case) could keep the child. If two slaves belonging to different owners had a child, it would follow the mother, thus enlarging the owner's estate. In addition, the different kinds of *senmin* were not allowed to miscegenate, limiting marriages to 'one's own color'.¹⁸ One of the stipulations in the law was a color codification of the clothing different ranks were allowed to wear. However, over time a fair amount of illegitimate children were sired, gradually rendering the law inefficacious and at the end of the 8th century children between *ryōmin* and *senmin* were automatically classified as *ryōmin*.¹⁹

The treatment of *Zakko* lends credence to the earlier repudiation of the theories fabricated on a foreign origin. The technical skills and empirical knowledge brought over by Koreans and Chinese were of such immense value to pre-Heian Japan that their status was upgraded so they would not be equated with *senmin*. Unfortunately there exists no written evidence or indication about how many children were conceived between *ryōmin* and *senmin*, but the need to change the law, probably so it would be more in tune with actual practice, had indubitably little to do with a decrease in such unions. Especially since many marriages in those days were used to establish firmer relations within a power structure, as opposed to purely romantic liaisons. Therefore, the ascendancy of *ryō-sen* intermarriages can be seen as a reflection of the increasing value by *senmin* to society as a whole. Yet, as we enter the Heian period, two necessary principals for the establishment of the *Eta* and *Hinin* classes were firmly entrenched. The first is the relative value of people as reflected in a hierarchical status system, and the second is that some people within that system were considered 'despicable' and had no redeeming value. Semantically it should be noted that the natural dichotomy would have been *ryō-aku* (good vs. bad) if based on the *ryōmin*, and *sen-ki* (despicable vs. noble) or *sen-son* (despicable vs. respectable) if based on the *senmin*. Implicitly in the terms chosen by the drafters of the *Ritsuryō* code then, is the onus to deride those on a lower social stratum. In that sense, *senmin* can be perceived as predecessors to *Eta* and *Hinin*. Although there are similarities between the structural discrimination of *senmin* and *Burakumin*, there is no substantial proof of a genealogy between the two social groups. Undoubtedly

there are some *Burakumin* that may be able to trace their genesis to *senmin*, but the political turmoil characterizing the end of the Heian period, led to an almost complete liberation of *senmin*.²⁰

It is with surprising exactness that Japanese historians fix the year for introduction of Buddhism to Japan. They base their findings on two separate documents, *Jōgū Shōtoku Hōō Teisetsu* (Traditions of His Supreme Holiness Prince Shōtoku) and *Gangōji Garan Ryūki Shizaichō* (Deed and Donors of Gangō Temple) that claims Buddhism arrived in 538.²¹ Despite the appearance of exactness, it is actually more likely that Buddhism came to Japan in small doses with the earlier Chinese and Korean waves of immigration. Rituals were likely to be small private affairs that did not interfere with the traditional worship of ‘clan spirits’ in Shinto.²²

Most Japanese probably assumed that the iconography used was a representation of the *Zakko*’s ‘clan spirits’. By the middle of the 6th century it had, however, spread to such a degree that the emperor felt compelled to ask his advisors whether they also ought to worship the Buddhist images received from the Koreans. Obviously, this would upset the traditional authority within the local *uji* (clans)—constituting the Imperial power base—built on their worship of the *uji-gami* (clan spirit). From that point, it took only about 50 years before Buddhism was publicly acknowledged in the *Jūshichijō Kenpō* (17 Articles Constitution) promulgated by Prince Shōtoku in 604. Metaphysics were poorly understood, with the exception of some Buddhist bonzes, and interfered only marginally with the traditional Shinto prayers and their rites of purification.²³

While the legal code remained intact, in practice the separation of *ryōmin* and *senmin* ceased to exist sometime during the 9th century, due to the proliferation of private property. Historians define the starting point of the next period in Japanese chronology as 794, when the capital moved from *Nara* to the newly established *Heiankyō* (present day Kyoto) after a short attempt to locate it in Nagaoka. One distinct development feature of the *Heian* period (794 – 1185) is the transfer of arable land from public to private ownership under the system known as *shōen*. The background to the establishment of this system was the ever-expanding privileges of tax exemption granted to various officials in the outlying domains. Here, it suffices to point out that the local proprietors gradually assumed both duties and privileges of governance, including fiscal rights to the land. Over time, privileges and immunities became rooted in official acceptance. Through this system, temples and shrines around the country grew to become large and important landowners in their own right, consequently gaining political influence and power. Hence, amalgamation of spiritual and secular power plays an important role in establishing the outcast status of *Eta* and *Hinin*.

Among the different Imperial duties, the ceremony of *Ōharai* (Great Purification) was considered the most important. At the central core lies the belief that political authority was based on the ceremonial worshiping of the gods.

Hence, it was vital that the Emperor is completely devoid of any ‘pollution’, and excessive resources were spent on rigidly observing avoidance of pollution. Originally, pollution was closely tied to the death of humans, but during the Heian period, the definition expanded to include dead animals as well. The term ‘pollution’ as used here in describing the impure state, in which the human body existed for a limited period of time after contamination when ‘touched’ by death, is the closest equivalent to the concept of *kegare*. The first character in the word *Eta* is *kegare* in Japanese and it appears in different forms and contexts, such as *owai* (night soil), *san’e* (‘parturient defilement’) and *shie* (defilement by death), all associated with ‘impurity’, ‘uncleanliness’, ‘filth’, ‘defilement’, and ‘stain’.

To the extent that it is possible to talk about a systematic body of beliefs in Shinto, three consecrated ideals appear as metaphysical pillars: a) *kegare* (defilement), b) *tsumi* (nonconformist behavior) and c) *wazawai* (calamity). Climatological and geological conditions—regular typhoon seasons combined with frequent earthquakes and volcano eruptions—explain the preoccupation with calamities in pre-historic Japan. Modern Japanese-English dictionaries will typically give vocabulary akin to ‘crime’, ‘sin’ and ‘offense’ as English equivalents for *tsumi*, but its original meaning is ‘misdeed breaking a divine taboo that incurs retribution’, and since there are neither written commandments nor any oral dogma in Shinto, *tsumi* then tends to cover any behavior not socially acceptable at a given time. *Tsumi* and *kegare* are so closely intertwined that they are often used as one word; *tsumikegare*, since they are the result of conscious actions, whereas *wazawai* are beyond the control of humans. In the early pre-historic periods, little, if any, distinction was made between the concepts of *tsumi* and *kegare*. Here it is essential to remember that these two concepts are within the realm of human control.

In order to understand the development gradually leading up to the establishment of *Eta* and *Hinin*, it is important to understand the concept of *kegare* and how it disseminated in society. *Kegare* has but only one antidote; Avoidance. People would go through extraordinary trouble in order to avoid defilement. Those that could afford it built *moya* (mourning cabins) next to a grave where the immediate family would spend a 49 day bereavement period, and *ubuya* (birth cabins) where women would spend pre-, inter- and post-natal as well as their menstruation periods.

According to the Chinese history *Wei chih* (Legends of Wo [Japanese] People during Wei Dynasty, Japanese title: *Gishiwajinden*, later half of 3rd century) Japanese survivors would put on ‘mourning dress’ for more than ten days and at the end of the mourning period ‘all would purify their defilement in a cleansing bath’. As these examples illustrate, contact with death and blood would cause immediate ‘defilement’. In a time when medicine, antiseptic, and disinfection were unknown concepts, this precautionary attitude was not without utilitarian merit.

According to Nagahara, it is hardly an adventuresome conclusion that these precautionary measures led to fewer diseases and healthier lives, resulting in increased longevity. The utilitarian benefits to early Japanese society can also be seen in their treatment of lepers which they lumped together in decaying institutions called *Hiden'in* and placed along rivers. The intent was unquestionable to isolate the pollution of death and to wash it down the stream of the river. As an example, he recites a diary entry from 1017 in which 300 *Hiden'in* patients supposedly perished when the Kamo River in Kyoto flooded.²⁴

From corporal cleanness and avoidance of potential disease carriers, the analogous step to preoccupation with edibles is a short one. Thus, eating game and the five alliums (*goshin*: leek, onion, garlic, chive and scallion) was also considered part of *kegare*, since they were believed to induce lust and anger. Association with *kegare* underwent a structuralization known as *shokue* (literally: touching defilement), later to be codified in *Jingiryō* (Divine Orders) and *Engishiki* (Procedures of *Engi* [901 – 923] era).²⁵ Here we learn that if A's house (family) has been defiled by death and B visits, then B's entire family will also be defiled (infected), however, if C visits B, then C alone will be defiled, but if B visits C then C's entire family is defiled, yet if D visits C then neither D nor D's family is afflicted. Hence, the spreading of defilement is contained within two links in the chain from the progenitor. The utilitarian gains achieved from prudence in contact with potential sources of defilement (sources of infection) have likely justified its expansion into a multi-linked organizational chart.²⁶

The divinely concepts were structured hierarchically from *seijō* (purity), *sūkō* (loftiness), *idai* (greatness) and *yūryoku* (powerful) at the high end, to *oai* (filth), *juso* (curse) and *kiken* (peril) on the opposite. While the notion of divinity at times are problematic to reconcile with Shinto *kami*, it is correct to classify the above concepts in religious terms. In Japanese they are collectively referred to as *imi*, a deverbative noun formed from the verb *imu*. This word can be written with two different characters, one meaning 'separation and special handling of *pure* things' the other written with that means 'separation and special handling of *impure* things', emphasizing the dichotomy of clean – defiled. In this sense *imi* is equivalent to the Latin word *sacer* that in ancient Rome meant 'that which would pollute someone or something that came into contact with it', and from which we have derived the word 'sacred'. Thus, in this discourse the religious dimension is not to be interpreted as the dichotomy of sacred – profane, but rather the earlier mentioned dichotomy of clean – defiled, or pure – impure.

The political factor

In this correlation, it is also important to note the strong interconnection between religion and politics as they were conducted in early Japan. Semanti-

cally speaking, little if any difference was made between religion and politics, the word “*matsurigoto*” was used to describe both ‘governance’ and ‘religious ceremony’, indicating that political rule was conducted through the use of religious ceremonies. Hence, the religious preoccupation with purity should not only be viewed as an expression of sacrosanct supremacy, analogous to papal infallibility, since the political prerogative was maintained through constant purification. Consequently, large resources were allocated to keep the Imperial persona and the Imperial Palace constantly purified and free from impurities by way of *shokue* ceremonies. A dead dog found on the Imperial grounds, or an Imperial servant showing up to work without observing the required mourning period after a member of the family had departed, would necessitate ceremonies that only the Emperor could perform. Conducting cleansing rituals gradually became more frequent, as the definition of impurity widened, taking away precious time from other official concerns.²⁷

It should be noted though, that this preoccupation with purity was largely limited to the ruling classes, stressing that purity as a concept was an essential element in the political makeup. Purity was not however, a component in everyday life of the majority Japanese, such as farmers and artisans. Pressing needs of survival made purity an unattainable luxury, but it also established it as something to strive for, symbolizing a higher level of existence. This is manifested in the desire of those that reached sufficient economical prosperity to invest in constructing a bath. One such example can be seen in Yase, located outside Kyoto (now inside), populated by many well-to-do artisans that constructed a famous *kamaburo*, a bath heated by a stove underneath it. Supposedly, the bath was constructed in the latter half of the 7th century and since very few have survived, it is assumed that the usage of baths were not widespread.

To this the influx of Buddhist ideas about the sanctity of life, even with regard to animal life, were added and incorporated. Since blood and death were already considered impure and established as axioms, they were naturally extended to include hunting as well as eating meat. Earlier, meat from both domesticated animals as well as game was part of the ordinary diet, as well as consecration. Under Buddhist influence, a law was passed in 741 forbidding the killing of cattle and horses, indicating that such practices had been widespread before. Later this was also applied to hunting, forcing *etori*, as already mentioned, into other occupations. The animistic Shinto concept of *kegare* blended naturally with the henotheistic Buddhist conviction of life’s sanctity, increasing the awareness that association with dead animals caused defilement. While ideas intermingled and attitudes changed, there was still scant evidence that social discrimination took on an organized structure.²⁸

There is however another social change that would contribute to communal stratification; the establishment of *za*, the various guilds of merchants, artisans, fishermen, artists and prostitutes. The expansion of privately held estates, known as *shōen*, to coordinate farming led to expanded trade that

required a more organized economy. In response to those needs, the different occupational groups emulated the existing religious *ad hoc* groups (*za*) that assisted when festivals or ceremonies were arranged at temples and shrines. During this process, the groups involved with dead animals, skiners, tanners, butchers etc. also organized themselves in guilds, thereby becoming easily identifiable. Not only were they easy to identify, but it also required less of an effort to manage them as a group.²⁹

Moreover, the adherence to purity and the notion of *kegare* exhibits distinct regional variation. Proximity to Kyoto seems to be the single most important factor in observing the rules and ceremonies. In the distant periphery—where every able man was sorely needed—purity seems to have ranked low on the scale of priorities. In many of the outlying areas, farming was less organized and yielded unsatisfactory results, requiring people to eat what was available, including meat and game. Accordingly, it would be impossible to decree an outcast status simply based on meat eating, or the association with dead animals. Another extenuating factor was the lack of organizational and social structure the further away one was from Kyoto.³⁰

New beginnings

At the end of the Muromachi period (1333 – 1568), Japan was thrown into a civil strife known as the Ōnin War (1467 – 77) that brought tremendous havoc to the Kyoto area. As a result, many *senmin* were liberated, either because their masters were absconding or because they joined the combat. While fighting around Kyoto only lasted for 10 years, it spread around the provinces where it lasted for almost 100 years. This period is known as *Sen-goku jidai*—Era of the Warring States—and this era effectuated some of the most revolutionary social changes that Japan has witnessed. Posterity named this social upheaval *Gekokujō* or ‘overthrow of superiors by underlings’ as the somewhat interminable, but scrupulous, English translation chooses to express it.³¹ William Lyman Brooks has provided us with an illustration of how attitudes towards *senmin* changed during the Era of the Warring States:

A wealthy hide skinner, referred to despairingly in this tale as a “beggar,” rode a horse into the castle town of Fuchū. He was accompanied by a personal servant. He stopped to have a drink at a tavern frequented by the samurai class. Three samurai were already there having a drinking bout and did not notice the newcomer at first. But later they realized the hide skinner’s identity and complained loudly to the tavern-keeper that a lowly hide skinner dared to drink under the same roof as samurai. The proprietor tried to throw the skinner out, but a fight broke out; and in the end, all parties were hauled before the town magistrate.

The samurai charged that the skinner was using his wealthy position as an excuse to violate the customary distinctions between the high and low born. They expected the *semmin* [sic] to be punished. However, the magistrate reached a decision generally favoring the right of the hide skinner to move as he wished about the town despite his low social standing.³²

What the samurai have said is truly reasonable, but it is also natural for the proprietor of a wine shop to sell sake to anyone who wishes to buy it. Furthermore, it was unavoidable that the proprietor did not notice the identity of the beggar because he rode up on a horse just like the samurai.

We agree that it is conceited and improper for a beggar to think that because he has money to spend he need not humble himself, but nowadays there are no clear laws concerning the beggars. Therefore, we cannot punish him even though he comes from the class of hide skinning beggars.³³

Brooks points out that the timing of this incident is unclear, but it is likely to have occurred somewhere between 1570 – 73, and he also makes it clear that the story may very well be fictitious. Yet, he goes on to state that it “reveals much about social conditions and attitudes affecting semmin [sic] artisans during an age of change.”³⁴ It also helps us understand why it is injudicious to draw a straight line between the *Eta* and *Hinin* of the Tokugawa Japan and the *senmin* of the Heian and Muromachi Era. It is however, during these time periods that the foundation is laid for the strict class system that would characterize the social structure for the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries.

Oda Nobunaga (1534 – 82) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536 – 98) are recognized as the two great unifiers of Japan. Hideyoshi came from a peasant background, yet rose to the exalted position of *Kanpaku* (Imperial Regent), and is essentially a child of the *Gekokujō* phenomena. Their combined military ambition ended the amorphous government of the Ashikaga Shōgunate. While neither was able to enjoy the fruits of their military conquests, nor realize their political ambitions for a unified Japan, they did implement some social changes with long-lasting ramifications for the development of *Eta* and *Hinin*. Through the instigation of a *katanagari* (sword hunt) in 1588, Toyotomi Hideyoshi was able to disarm the masses, thereby reducing the risk of any uprising by the peasant class. By picking up arms and joining their feudal lords in battle, many *senmin* had risen above their low and despised status.³⁵ The ladder by which they had been able to climb socially was forcefully removed from them, and the window of opportunity that the *Gekokujō* occurrence had opened was brutally shut tight. Although many were able to climb through in time and establish a social role for themselves, many were also left behind in their ‘polluted’ status.

The huge mass armies assembled by Oda and Toyotomi, together with firearms introduced by Portuguese and Spanish missionaries required huge fortifications for both defense and storage purposes. Large castles were erected and around these *jōkamachi* (castle towns) began to flourish when belligerence ended and serenity returned. Building alliances between the *daimyō* (feudal lords) required communications between the castles, and as a result, networks of roads were constructed. The castle towns presented many

new opportunities and the roads made it possible to reach them for men of ambition and adventure. Combined they were the *sui causa* for the hitherto largest wave of urbanization and domestic migration that Japan had experienced. In order to impose law-and-order on the hubbub, *daimyō* began to organize their castle towns into distinct subsections for different social groups.³⁶

Toyotomi Hideyoshi also initiated large-scale cadastral surveys together with new methods of measuring land. He was motivated by a desire to move the samurai away from the land under the direct control of the *daimyō*. Instead, a land owning class of peasants developed that paid taxes to the *daimyō* so he could support his samurai vassals. In order to maintain their backing he required a steady flow of foodstuffs, other supplies and necessary services, *sine qua non* a stable society. To achieve this for his liege, Hideyoshi introduced the strict class system called *Shi-Nō-Kō-Shō*—nobility*, farmers (peasants), artisans, and merchants—by a decree of status unification (*mibun tōseirei*) in 1591. These two measures combined, resulted in a socially rigid society, samurai were not allowed to change masters nor were they permitted to till the land. Peasants could no longer join the lower rank samurai as they had during the Muromachi era. A sharp demarcation line between *bushi* and the rest was drawn in both physical and legal terms. With the cadastral surveys, Hideyoshi established the rights of cultivation to farming communities and prohibited outsiders from buying land in those villages. Through social stratification and the establishment of a political organization in the rural areas, landless and status-less people were denied access to enter the society of farming villages or acquiring agricultural land.³⁷ This resulted in the separation of *senmin* from the peasantry and can be viewed as the first steps towards the physical ostracism of Eta that we encounter in Shimazaki Tōson's *Hakai*.

During the construction of the castle towns, many *daimyō*—interestingly enough, primarily in the east—enticed *senmin* in the leather trade to settle in their towns by granting them tax-free land. Their craftsmanship was in great demand to supply the needs and requirements of the military. Yet, traditional beliefs concerning ‘death pollution’ were vivaciously alive, forcing them to settle outside the town proper on dry riverbeds. It is however important to remember that riverbeds were the “natural work environment” for skimmers and tanners. Settling on dry riverbeds of course also meant that leather artisans would intermingle with other marginalized *senmin* groups such as religious mendicants, beggars, lepers, and entertainers. Toponymy differed with region, settlers, main occupations, and historical tradition. Those with a high ratio of leather artisans were usually called *kawata* or *eta-mura* (Eta village) in

* *Bushi* are represented by the second character (the other classes by their first) meaning gentleman, however it is usually translated as warrior. This class also contained the old court nobles (*kuge*), Shinto clergy (*shinkan*) and Buddhist monks (*sōryō*). Hence, the term should not be confused with the status of European nobility at this time, it is chosen because it approximates the superior standing they had in society.

the census registries that started to appear in the beginning of the 17th century. Registries from Kokura domain (northern Kyushu) from 1611 are still extant and they reveal that those outside the *Shi-Nō-Kō-Shō* classes were registered as *kawata* (leather artisan), *hachihiraki* (beggar), *sasarasuri* (folk artist) and *nenbutsushin* (Buddhist chanters) and so on.³⁸

Despite the survival of many ancient records, it has not been possible for historians to define the exact time nor the specific legal codes that structuralized the discrimination against *Eta* and *Hinin*. Although despised minorities had existed since the days of the Yamato court, they could move freely around the country, take up new occupations and marry people from other social groups.³⁹ Their children were not stigmatized from birth, and as previously described; they could reach the highest echelons of society, especially during the 15th and 16th century. Whatever disapprobation the *senmin* had to endure earlier was based on social customs and religious myths. It was with the Tokugawa Shōgunate that these customs and myths became codified and thus permeated throughout Japanese society as acceptable social behavior.

Inflexible Tokugawa

Although Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542 – 1616) was not a beneficiary of the *Gekokujo* phenomena—being the son of a minor *daimyō* at Okazaki castle in Mikawa domain (eastern part of Aichi prefecture)—he continued Toyotomi Hideyoshi's policies to create a stable society. Having won a decisive battle at Sekigahara in 1600, he moved to Edo where he had himself appointed *Seitai-shōgun* (Barbarian Subduing Commander-in-Chief), usually abbreviated to Shōgun, and established the *Bakufu* government (Shōgunate). He embraced Toyotomi Hideyoshi's implementation of the *Shi-Nō-Kō-Shō* class system as coherent with his own ambition to build a unified nation through administrative controls. When only 21 years old, he was confronted with a rebellion orchestrated by a coalition of temples that exacerbated the peasants to an armed attack that lasted six months between September 1563 to March the following year. This uprising is known as *Mikawa Ikkōikki* and was largely self-inflicted since he levied severe taxes on the peasants. However, Tokugawa Ieyasu's interpretation was that he needed to employ a system of more systematic social control.⁴⁰

If we compare the class system of Europe from this time with that of Japan, our attention is immediately focused on the fact that the peasants in Japan enjoyed a much higher nominal social status. Despite constituting somewhere between 80 and 85 percent of the population, they comprised the second-highest strata in social terms. In Europe on the other hand, peasants were descendants of landless serfs, uneducated they were considered faint-hearted and unable to organize by the landed gentry. The fact that Japanese peasants ranked so high may well have been a contributing factor to the longevity of the system. Upon ascending to Shōgun, Tokugawa Ieyasu took a

keen interest in foreign policy and initially surrounded himself with foreign advisers. Although some of the information may have been filtered and less than accurate, he was hardly unaware of political and social developments in Europe. By granting the peasants ownership to the land and a superior social status to the merchants and artisans, the samurai were able to secure loyalty of the peasants for relatively few concessions. In return for taxes paid by the yield of the peasants' cultivation, the samurai would guarantee that law-and-order was upheld.

Merchants and artisans, most often combined in the vernacular to *chōnin* (townspeople), only constituted some 5% of the population, and thus never posed the threat to the samurai that the European *bourgeoisie* did to the nobility. Within the castle towns, their domiciles were separated and their growth restricted by regulations on property size and location. Neither merchants nor artisans seems to have been concerned with their status initially, probably because their economical power or craftsmanship provided them with a *de facto* higher status. When the castle towns were constructed and communications routes implemented, economical activity was high, something that both groups profited greatly from and left them little time to ponder their status. However, as peace in the land settled and foreigners were deported, causing foreign trade to halt, the economy stagnated and a growing sense of status emerged *vis-à-vis* the peasants.⁴¹

The existence of *Eta* and *Hinin* around the castle towns provided the *daimyō* with an opportunity to kill two birds with one stone. By making their existence more visible, he would remind the townspeople that they were by no means the lowest in social status. At the same time, he would secure a stable pool of menial labor by organizing them into separate communities. Many *Eta* communities that appeared in the beginning of the 17th century seem to have followed similar patterns of establishment.⁴² In essence, the *daimyō* would first endow them with tax-free land, usually on neglected dry riverbeds, either to entice them to settle or prevent them from leaving. Once settled, he would order them to organize a community with some assembly of formal leadership. Then he would grant them monopoly rights on their crafts, in exchange for community work. Usually it was an arrangement that included guard duty, mainly in prisons, at executions, or patrolling the streets. In some castle towns it also included organizing a fire brigade, primarily, however, this was a task for the commoners. From the viewpoint of the *daimyō*, it relieved him of imposing harsh burdens and menial tasks on the townspeople, as well as providing him with a loyal police force that could be used against potential peasant insurrections.⁴³

Merchants constituted a very small ratio of the total population, and since they controlled all commercial activity, such as banking, warehousing, distribution, and the trade in rice, silk and oil, the growing wealth was allocated within a very limited sector of society. Some of Japan's richest dynasties,

names such as Mitsui, Sumitomo, Shiroki,* and Daimaru come to mind, were powerhouses as early as the 17th century. Low-ranking samurai with only small stipends, and no possibility to return to their land, gradually became economically dependent on loans, small handouts, and the occasional odd jobs provided by the merchant class. Although being economically dependent they were at the same time socially superior, a dichotomy with an endemic potential for social conflict. The European *bourgeoisie* ranked above the peasants, and this provided—at least until the French Revolution—a psychosocial safety net, since their economic and social status was more in parity than that of Japan's *chōnin*.

Any attempt from the *daimyō* to upset the established and existing order would most likely have ended in failure. According to Suzuki Kōji, there were more than 3,700 incidents with riots instigated by peasants between the years 1590 and 1877.⁴⁴ An average of one riot a month for 287 years indicates that the Japanese farmers were an angry and excited lot. Degrading them to the lowest social rank would have been an indignity of such magnitude that the *daimyō* risked facing a unified front of sanguinary peasants. The merchant class of course constituted less of a threat, if nothing else for pure mathematical reasons, and thus required smaller gestures to pacify. Saikaku (Ihara Saikaku, 1642 – 1693) deftly described in his *Nihon Eitaigura* (The Japanese Family Storehouse) that the merchant class was beyond neither vanity nor bumptiousness.

The fact that discriminatory laws and regulations regarding the *Eta* and *Hinin* were implemented seriatim suggests that they were reactively discharged, and not carefully prepared reforms. As already mentioned, the nomenclature differed regionally and so did the regulatory statutes, suggesting that the local *daimyō* were given some maneuverability by the Shōgunate to adopt measures suitable for local needs. The larger the local population of *Eta* and *Hinin* were—some exceptions exist—the more austere were the policies enacted. In the northern parts of Honshū, the main island of the Japanese archipelago, the population of *burakumin* is indeed very limited and here edicts from Edo that regulate the *Eta* and *Hinin* seems to have been largely ignored. Although the Tokugawa Shōgunate was not the authoritarian government that is sometimes suggested—the Shōgun was more of a *primus inter pares*—Shōgunal decrees were ignored at once own peril. The fact that this happened without any disciplinary action from Edo implies that the decrees were either implicative or that some kind of gentlemen's agreement existed.

* Present-day Tōkyū Corp., a conglomerate of department stores, railways, buses and resort facilities among many other activities.

Edo—Information Central

To understand this line of thought we need to take a closer look at the *sankin-kōtai* system. Its political essence was the systematic repression of power ambitious daimyō around the country. By forcing them to attend at the Shōgunate in Edo every other year as well as keeping their families there in stately mansions it became impossible for them to amass enough independent wealth to organize any armed force strong enough to threaten the Shōgun's power. Initially the rules only applied to those daimyō that had been loyal to the Toyotomi clan, but they were gradually expanded to include all daimyō around the country during the third Shōgun, Tokugawa Iemitsu. With more than 260 daimyō in Japan, it became necessary to structuralize the comings and goings, especially since they often traveled with large entourages. Many factors had to be taken into consideration, the capacity of the post stations along the highways, historical rivalry between different fiefs, their degree of loyalty towards the Bakufu and the distance required for the trip, just to name a few determinants.

The end result was that the same group of daimyō would assemble on a regular basis in Edo and during the time spent there would exchange information on the management of their respective fiefdoms. As peace prevailed and the possibility of inter-fief combat grew distant, the capability to maintain law and order within their own domain became gradually more important as their main source of authority. In that respect, the number of Eta and Hinin together with the occupations they were allowed to hold and the roles they played within their respective geographical spheres may help explain the regional differences that evolved.

Documentation of activities that the various daimyō carried out while in Edo is scant and differs significantly from fiefdom to fiefdom, neither does it seem as if there exist any large-scale comparative studies of the implementation of rules and regulations between the different fiefdoms. Every modern prefecture worth its salt has conducted thorough historical research surveys of its domain, however, since the modern prefectures and the old fiefdoms does not correspond exactly and the treatment of Eta and Hinin was generally not a prioritized subject in these surveys we are left with merely anecdotal proof to illustrate the regional differences and their implementations. Owing to the high ratio of illiteracy among the Eta during the first half of the Tokugawa period, the lack of schooling meant that usually only the village headman and members of his family could read and write, we have even less attestation of how the Eta experienced these rules and regulations. They do however seem to follow a similar pattern and this helps us understand the changes that the Eta communities were going through during this secluded period in Japanese history.

The period of Kyōhō (1716 – 36) seems to have been an especially hard time for the Eta and Hinin. Bakufu officials issued an order that Hinin was to

cut their topknot and forbade them to keep their hair tied together, this decree is known as *Hininzanpatsu no sei*. It seems that Hinin with enough money had begun to buy exquisite clothes and intermingle with the other classes, behavior that the Shōgunate found atrocious.⁴⁵ The only purpose of a decree like this is to make the Hinin status visible so they can be easily distinguished and identified.

In Awa domain (present day Tokushima prefecture) on Shikoku the dai-myō decreed that Eta were required to wear clothing that was shabbier than the peasants', and he also prohibited them to use *haori*, *tabi* and *setta*.^{*} The most discernible part of this decree is its direct concreteness, three very common pieces of clothing and footwear may not be worn by Eta, making them not only easily identifiable but it would also accentuate the deep held prejudices that Eta are dirty and filthy. Although less direct and concrete, a decree issued in Chōshū domain (present day Yamaguchi prefecture) during the preceding Shōtoku era (1711 – 1716) required the local village headman to strengthen supervision of “Eta, Kawata, Chasen and others so they do not participate in evil deeds,” and it also stated that the authorities ensure that these lowly people do not “dress or live in a sumptuous manner.”⁴⁶

The decree also required that “Eta, Harugoma, Shamisen players, Monkey entertainers and other traveling entertainers” must report and register with the village office when they arrive. In Chōshū the decree was less about making visible and discernible and more about reminding the Eta that they were being observed. The arbitrariness in the part “dress or live in a sumptuous manner” gave the village officials wide-ranging interpretive powers, perhaps an indication from the domain officials that there existed a variation in standards around the domain and that these needed to be dealt with in a manner appropriate to the local circumstances. Later in the Kanpō period (1741 – 1744) a new decree limited the Eta to trade in hides, the authorities found it “outrageous” that they had been trading in kimonos and dyed fabrics.⁴⁷

The authorities in Hiroshima domain issued a decree during the Kyōhō period, which stated that it was “strictly prohibited” for Kawata (the name used for Eta in Hiroshima) to wear any piece of clothing that might be considered luxurious. Similar decrees were issued in the domains of Tsu and Okayama during this time period. All these decrees were issued in places where the Eta population was relatively large, and they are all concerned with limiting the possibility that Eta would blend in with the general population.

Even if the incidences described here may be considered anecdotal, thus resulting in a postulate—albeit based on a conscientious and judicious analysis—that may require revision, should a large scale empirical and comparative study indicate so, it seems that halfway through the Tokugawa period discrimination towards the Eta began to attain a more structuralized form. It also appears that the overriding concern of these decrees is the status of the

* Haori is a short overgarment, tabi are split-toe socks and setta are leather-soled sandals.

Eta and Hinin in relation to the other classes. Assuming that these policy implementations were largely reactive would explain the desire to make the Eta and Hinin more visible vis-à-vis the other classes. Probably they came about as a result of incidents similar to the one Brooks described earlier in the chapter (see page 31).

In the end, all is politics

Should this postulate withstand the test of the times then we can safely asseverate that by the middle of the 18th century the treatment of Eta and Hinin had crossed over from the realm of religion and into the sphere of politics and ideology. In order to contain an ascendancy of discontentment from the economically powerful merchants—debt among the samurai were escalating—oppressive treatment of the Eta and Hinin became an expedient political tactic. Making the pariah classes visible was a way of reminding chōnin that their social status may not reflect their economical clout, but there were still those below them on society's ladder. Had the domain and Bakufu officials been able to conduct a cost-benefit analysis of their decrees, they would surely have beamed at the results.

Another consequence of the internal peace during the Tokugawa period was that a daimyō did not need to keep a large standing army, logically this would imply a decreased demand for items such as saddles, sheaths, *dōmaru* (body armor) and other leather products primarily used for military purposes such as bowstrings. With falling demand, many of the Eta working in the leather trade would have to find other revenue sources to sustain their livelihood and in the rural areas, many would turn to farming. Apart from the ignominy felt by the peasants by the intrusion of Eta into their vocational stratum, they would also constitute an economical threat since land held by the Eta was exempt from taxation. As noted earlier the peasants ranked, at least nominally, just below the samurai and they made up some 80% of the population. While it might have been possible to rub a group of irritated merchants the right way by the magic of empty gestures, an enraged crowd of peasants require more substance to pacify.

The second half of the Tokugawa period saw some dramatic demographic changes that influenced the status and treatment of Eta and Hinin. The general population began to stagnate at around 30 million people and at times, it even declined. One reason was that Japan suffered through three major nationwide famines (*kikin*); in the year 1732, a five-year spell between 1782 and 1787, and during a three-year period between 1833 and 1836. The practice of *mabiki* (infanticide) may also have been a contributing factor, especially in connection with the famines, but for obvious reasons, there exists no statistics on which such a judgment can be based. At any rate, our main concern here is to contrast the general development to that within the Eta and Hinin societies, that grew considerably during the same time period.

It is difficult to pinpoint the reason for this growth, but being carnivores the Eta were likely not hit as severely during the famines, and as followers of the True Pure Land Sect they did not practice infanticide. As enticing as these explanations are, they are likely not sufficient enough to explain the sometimes almost explosive growth seen in some Eta villages. Close to Osaka is the Watanabe village that in 1713 had a registered population of a little more than 2300 people, in 1786 that number had grown to 3800 and in 1832 there were more than 5000 people registered. Outside Kyoto, the Zeniza-ato village had 41 households registered in 1734, and that number stood in more than 500 by the year 1782.⁴⁸

It is highly unlikely that these numbers could be reached without an influx of people from the outside, Harada contends that these numbers are indicative of the trend for the whole country, excluding an explanation based on intra-buraku migration. A conclusion bolstered by the fact that not only the population grew but also the number of actual Eta villages. Up to the middle of the Tokugawa period the number of Eta villages in Hiroshima domain where fixed and few, but when the authorities conducted a census in the beginning of the 19th century they found that out of a total of 840 villages no less than 387 were classified as *kawata-buraku*, the local name for Eta villages.⁴⁹

One possible explanation for this growth is an increased demand for menial police work to maintain order after the famines that often resulted in riots and chaos. Both Bakufu and domain officials were profoundly sensitive about keeping the castle towns free from vagrants, itinerants and derelicts, forcing them out into the countryside where only the Eta villages would be open to receive them. This of course meant that there was an ever-growing number of what could be called “New-Eta,” i.e. people that had not considered themselves polluted for several generations, people that would be more receptive to ideas like equality and liberty.

The dispensation of these people out into the countryside seems to have worked without too much overt opposition, perhaps because the itinerants realized that they had received a new lease on life and in the villages, they had begun to see that numbers equaled power. Around them, Tokugawa society was slowly beginning to crumble, 250 years of isolation had led to technical and scientific stagnation, ships from foreign nations began to probe Japanese harbors and samurai around the country began to question the Bakufu’s ability to defend the country against a possible foreign invasion. In a situation similar to that, more is usually better.

Discontent against the Bakufu began to spread during the first half of the 19th century and Tokugawa power was declining as the foreign threat came to loom larger, and around the country, distraught samurai began to plot against the Shōgunate. In desperate need of funds, both to fight domestic insurgencies and to buttress a national defense, the Bakufu was searching for new sources of revenue and the hitherto largely tax-exempted Eta lands came into

focus and taxes were levied on their land. However, even in the Eta villages they had come to realize that the power of the Tokugawa Shōguns was no more.⁵⁰

In the spring of 1867 the Bakufu tried to coerce money through forced contributions from the wealthy merchants in the Osaka area, but the Eta merchants in Watanabe village just outside Osaka categorically refused to contribute a single *sen* unless the government released them from their Eta status as can be seen in their written reply to the Bakufu:

We are considered unclean because we dispose of animals and eat their flesh. Yet, we have heard that Westerners eat the flesh of animals as part of their daily meals, and they are treated politely here. Even here, in our own country after the ports have been opened, high-ranking people are said to have developed a taste for eating meat. Hence, we would like discrimination against us to cease by abolishing the use of the word “Eta” to describe us. If that were done, we would willingly donate the requested money even if we must dispose of all our possessions.⁵¹

Other Eta villages also refused to contribute funds, but the bold step of the Watanabe merchants to attempt a trade of funds for freedom in their declination was an unusual step. Usually their refusal was simply motivated by a lack of funds.

Despite these displays of an independent spirit, Eta and Hinin would not achieve liberation from their outcaste status through a struggle organized by themselves. Instead, it would be granted them as a benevolent gesture from above, and they would not even partake in the policy deliberations leading to the decision to liberate them. Bakufu officials realized that they had to offer some quid pro quo if they were to turn the Eta into loyal taxpayers, but they also understood that abolishing their status would not end discrimination against them. There were several proposals floating around suggesting that the Eta be rounded up *en masse* and sent to Hokkaido, the purpose was two-fold; to develop new farm land and act as a first line of defense against a possible Russian attack from the north. Nothing came of these proposals, primarily because the government had already fallen into disarray.⁵²

Even *Danzaemon*, the supreme leader of all the Eta in the Kantō region, had begun to petition the Bakufu to liberate all Eta from their defiled status. Not even he was successful, despite the unwavering loyalty, he and his predecessors had shown the Tokugawa Shōguns throughout their reign, but in a final gesture of appreciation for that loyalty, *Danzaemon* was personally liberated from the Eta status. Apart from the symbolic value, it had little practical effect since he stayed on as leader of the Eta.⁵³

Instead, the Eta had to await the restoration of imperial rule before they would be liberated from their outcaste status. The new leadership consisted mainly of low ranking young samurai and although they lacked a comprehensive and coherent policy plan, they were quite clear in their determination to eradicate old customs based on hereditary privileges and transform Japan into a meritocratic society. One of their first undertakings to clarify this goal to the

nation was the proclamation of *Gokajō no Seimon* (Imperial Oath of Five Articles) on April 6, 1868.⁵⁴ The second and fourth articles are of particular interest here, since the argumentation for Eta liberation would be based on those. The second reads: ‘High and low shall unite in strenuously advancing prosperity’ (*Shōka kokoro wo ichi ni shite, sakan ni keirin wo okonaubeshi*), and even if this wording can be considered ambiguous, there is little doubt that the drafters were aiming for the abolition of the class system. The fourth reads: ‘Evil customs of bygone days shall cede and actions shall be based on natural righteousness’ (*Kyūrai no rōshū wo yaburi, tenchi no kōtō ni motozukubeshi*), in which ‘natural righteousness’ is literally the ‘public morals in heaven and earth’, another way of stating ‘internationally accepted behavior’ with modern terminology. The notion that foreign countries would condemn the discrimination of the Eta would become one of the most powerful arguments for the abolition of Eta and Hinin.

More than any other single person Ōe Taku (1847 – 1921) was perhaps the most instrumental in shaping the government opinion to favor the liberation of the Eta and Hinin. He was born in the small town of Sukumo in Tosa domain into a poor samurai family. In 1870, he served as an official in the Hyōgo prefectural governments and just outside Kobe he came into contact with Eta for the first time in his life and he admits to being astounded by their low standard of living. He began to study the outcaste problem earnestly and was soon convinced that this was an ‘evil custom of bygone days’ that Japan should abandon immediately. Accordingly, Ōe traveled to Tokyo and petitioned the government directly, he found them sympathetically inclined and was asked to submit a written proposal.⁵⁵

His proposal differed in one very important way compared with earlier recommendations, Ōe realized that abolishing the outcaste classes would not be a sufficient measure to transform society along the lines in the Imperial Oath. It would require the additional support of economical aid and educational reform to replace the deeply held prejudices by the majority population. However, the new Meiji government suffered from the same economical ailments as their predecessors, what little funds were available had to be used for more pressing needs. So Edict #61 proclaimed by Dajōkan (Council of State) on August 28, 1871 simply read: “The appellation of ‘Eta’ and ‘Hinin’ are abolished, hereafter status and occupation will be equal to that of commoner” (*Eta - Hinin no shōhai sarekōjō, jikon mibun shokugyō tomo heimin dōyō tarubekikoto*), and it was immediately followed by a directive to enter all Eta lands into the regular cadastral registers.⁵⁶

The immediate result was that the ‘new peasants’ (*Shin-hyakushō*) as they were called initially, were eligible for taxation while they no longer were protected by their traditional monopoly in the leather industry. In this emerging conflict between new and old, ideals and pragmatism, law and custom or if one prefers, prejudice and tolerance, lay a seed for a compelling topic in the fictional narrative. In a few years, it would begin to sprout and the man that

nursed it to fruition was Shimazaki Tōson. A closer look at the people and forces that influenced his direction is necessary to appreciate the social content and purpose of *Hakai*.

CHAPTER 3

Shimazaki Tōson—A New Life

Shimazaki Tōson belongs to that breed of Japanese writer known to the public mainly by his chosen pen name. A Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886 – 1965), Kawabata Yasunari (1899 – 1972), Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (1892 – 1927), or Mishima Yukio (1925 – 70) will all be referred to by their family names.¹ It is only writers such as Natsume Sōseki (1867 – 1916), Mori Ōgai (1862 – 1922), Nagai Kafū (1879 – 1959) and Shimazaki Tōson that will instantly be identified as simply Sōseki, Ōgai, Kafū or Tōson*. One is tempted to ask why such a privilege was bestowed upon Tōson, although he left behind an oeuvre that is still read, he is by most critics found lacking in his imaginary powers. He is especially unfavorably compared with Sōseki and Ōgai, a comparison that may by some be characterized as unfair since Tōson's novels are unequivocally superior² to much of Japan's post World War II literature, and indeed holds an esteemed position within Meiji and Taishō[†] literature. One reason Tōson purportedly ranks a duke—and not an archduke—within the literary aristocracy is that he matured as a writer at an advanced age. His unquestionable masterpiece is *Yoakemae* (Before the Dawn, tr. 1987), which was serialized in *Chūō Kōron* from 1929 and finished in 1935. It became his last novel, published in its entirety when he was 63 years old.³

Shimazaki Haruki, as was his given name, was born into a novel world.⁴ After more than 250 years of self-imposed isolation, Japan was only in its fifth year of modernization in 1872. It was the year previous to the return of the Iwakura mission after three years abroad studying the Western world and its accomplishments that Shimazaki Masaki⁵ and Nui was blessed with their fourth son, Haruki—meaning spring tree. Just as all the changes brought to Japan by the Iwakura mission, through such members as Itō Hirobumi (1841 – 1909) and Ōkubo Toshimichi (1830 – 78), would influence the life and writings of Shimazaki Tōson, so would an Imperial Edict promulgated the year before he was born.

By an overwhelming vote of 172 yeas and only 9 nays in the *Kōgisho* (House of Commons),⁶ it was decided to abolish *Ēta* as a social class.⁷ The reform was a minor part in a sweep against inherited status and privilege; necessary to remove for the new foundation that Japanese society would be built on[‡]. It was also the foundation for the story plot in *Hakai*—The Broken Commandment.

* A practice that will be adhered to in this book.

† Periods following reigns of Japanese emperors. Meiji is September 8, 1868 to July 30, 1912, and Taisho is hence July 31, 1912 to December 25, 1926.

‡ The Meiji government also desperately needed new sources of revenue and the *Ēta* class had hitherto been exempt from taxation.

In 1872, Japan switched from the lunar to the solar (Gregorian) calendar adding some confusion to Tōson's actual date of birth. According to the family registry he was born on February 26 using the lunar calendar, this corresponds to April 3 in a solar year. However, other records indicate a birth date of February 17, equal to March 25 in the solar calendar.

On a traveled road

While we can only say for certain that Tōson was born in the interlude between March and April, we can be very specific about his birthplace. Under the feudal *Bakuhan* system, Tōson's birthplace was known as Shinano-nokuni, Chikuma-gun, Magome. Under the new prefectural system it became, Nagano-ken, Kiso-gun, Yamaguchi-mura, Aza-Magome. It is a small village located at the southern end of the Kiso Valley, near Nakatsugawa City, almost bordering on Gifu prefecture in central Japan.

This part of Japan is known for an austere climate made even less welcome by its unproductive and rocky soil. Yet, Tōson was born into a family of some local standing. Shimazaki Masaki was the 17th generation village headman or *shōya*⁸ in Magome.⁹ In that capacity, he and his family enjoyed broad economic and social privileges together with considerable status among the local peasantry. Being the principal intermediary between the village and higher authority commanded the locals' respect. Allotting and collecting taxes induced both fear and disdain, especially when crops were meager, not uncommon in these parts. One indication of the Shimazaki family's local standing was that each child had his or her own nursemaid.

Magome was located on the Naka-Sendō,¹⁰ one of the five main highways during the Edo period.¹¹ While not as heavily trafficked as the Tōkaidō, it still meant that a fair amount of Tokugawa officials would pass through and make a stop at the *honjin* of the local *shōya*, bearing tidings from both Edo and Kyoto.¹² However, few travelers stayed and a small village like Magome lacked an infusion of new blood. Tōson's parents actually came from two branches of the same clan and later in life his father turned insane, something that became a preoccupation in Tōson's writing and life. The belief that inbreeding was a major factor spread with the introduction of Darwin's theories on evolution and Tōson was an avid believer in Darwin.

Overseeing a *honjin*, the senior Shimazaki was privy to news from both Edo and Kyoto. He learned early on about Commodore Perry's Black Ships anchored outside Uruga in Edo bay and realized that Japan's seclusive policy of closing its borders to outside influence was to meet its harshest challenge. He found solace in the *Kokugaku*¹³ teachings of Motoori Norinaga (1730 – 1801)¹⁴ and Hirata Atsutane (1776 - 1843),¹⁵ stressing the “pure” Japanese spirit, unblemished by foreign influences. He did not yield to the more xenophobic aspects of their dogma, but he came to realize that it was through

education, preferably on a strong foundation of national history, that a young man would leave his mark in these changing times.¹⁶

Although the father realized the need for change, he still clamored for the old traditions. One being that a son should carry on the family business as wholesalers in needles. The local temple school could not meet the challenges sweeping in over the country and even reaching far away outskirts such as Magome. To accomplish this Tōson was sent to school in Tokyo at the age of nine. As was the custom among those that could afford it, a nursemaid or nanny¹⁷ was employed to take charge of the boy's upbringing. Tōson's nanny was named O-Maki,¹⁸ the daughter of a hairdresser (*Kamiyui*) that regularly visited the Shimazaki house with his fetid hair oils, tying the traditional top-knot. Tōson has made clear just how important a figure she was for him in his *Osanaki Hi* (Childhood Days):

The house in which I was born we observed the established custom of assigning a full-time nursemaid to rear each child. Most of them were daughters of families connected to us somehow or other. Assigned to me was the hairdresser's daughter O-Maki. This was in the days before there even was such a thing as a barbershop in the village. I can still remember vividly that the hairdresser would periodically come over to our house carrying his equipment in a grimy old case with an abundant number of drawers, all reeking of hair oil. O-Maki's father was known as the filthiest man in that part of the country. Nevertheless, even if O-Maki did not actually nurse me, she stood in as close a relationship to me as if she had.

Aside from my mother and grandmother, this woman is the first person I can remember from my childhood. She took me in her arms and sang the sort of songs that one would expect from a peasant girl, but I have no memory of them. She used to make Magnolia-leaf rice for me. She would wrap up the ball of salted cold rice in one of the broad, thick leaves of the White bark Magnolia tree in our garden and give it to me. I have never forgotten how delicious they were. I can almost smell the green Magnolia leaves even to this day. O-Maki would also give me pickled Perilla leaves wrapped in peeled bamboo shoots. I would suck on the corner of the triangular packet and watch it slowly turn the color of red pickled plum...

Another memory inseparable from the subject of O-Maki is that I was being carried on her back at night along the dark roads to watch the village players at the temple. On the opening night of the performances, I would stare from O-Maki's back at the strange faces, the strange hairstyles, and the strange stage clothes of the actor as they were shown in the light of candles attached to long sticks. The first play I ever saw seemed to my eyes nothing more than lights and reflections moving all over the place. It was like seeing bizarre dolls being moved around in the darkness by unseen hands.

I was very close to O-Maki but at the same time, there was nothing as disturbing to me as being forced to watch her filthy hands with the skin on the fingers chapped and broken at mealtimes. If her hand so much as grazed my rice bowl, I would eat no more. The squeamishness common with all children was especially strong with me and not only where O-Maki was concerned.¹⁹

Having spent more time with O-Maki, and receiving more care and attention from her than his own mother, Tōson wanted to bid O-Maki farewell when he left for Tokyo. However, due to the malodorous oils the family had a reputation of being “filthy” and was excluded from living in the village proper. To reach their mountain pass, Tōson had to walk narrow back roads, passing through rice fields and bamboo bushes. According to Adachi, he did this “to avoid being discovered by his friends.”²⁰

I sneaked out of our house, and recognizing the need to say farewell even in my childishness, I walked along the back road over to O-Maki’s home. You could never imagine the care I took to slip away along the bamboo bushes and cutting across dikes in the rice fields so that no one would notice me. Because I was always teased by the other children that it was O-Maki, the daughter of the filthiest man in the village, that cared for me. To me it seemed more like ridicule than simply teasing and I would always feel painfully embarrassed. So I kept out of sight as much as possible when I walked over to O-Maki’s house. Her father happened to be home and I seem to remember that his oil soaked hairdressing tools were placed next to the hearth. The members of O-Maki’s household were thrilled to see me, and they brought out their cooking pans and prepared me a meal. Saying that they knew I was fond of eggplant, they gave me *miso* soup with unpeeled slices of eggplant. I will never forget as long as I live that crude “O-miotsuke,” eaten at the impoverished hearthside. Up to the present time, more than thirty years later, I have longed for such a soup and I have tried any number of times to make the same kind of broth, but I have never been able to make anything recalling that flavor.²¹

Tōson’s sneaky behavior, together with Adachi’s explicit assertion that “there is no need to probe into her [O-Maki] name and such”²² and the reputation in the village of being “unclean” (*kitana*) as well as living in a mountain pass well outside village borders together with the father’s occupation as hairdresser is tantamount to an Eta background. Obviously, it is impossible to determine to what extent the nine-year-old Tōson was aware of O-Maki’s background and how familiar he was with the concept of Eta and their low status in Japanese society. Yet, Tōson tells us that his friends teased and mocked him for being brought up by a woman from a family with a reputation of being dirty, and that he felt despised by them.

Even assuming that the family was not of Eta origin, they lived a very “Eta-like” life. Shunned by the villagers and marred by their reputation of “uncleanliness,” their livelihood was limited by menial occupations of a marginalized existence, as well as being subjected to scorn and disdain. Undeterred by that reputation, Tōson took the trouble to use a circuitous route, just to make sure that he would express his gratitude for her efforts and bid her a proper farewell. There is little doubt that O-Maki left a deep imprint on the young boy. Nor, despite his tender age, was he likely to be oblivious to her status in society. In his reminiscing, he shows a developed aptitude for observation at such a young age.

Tōson left the village together with his older brothers Tomoya* and Hideo. Many villagers came out to the gate to greet the sons of the local headman, a few even followed them to the border. After Tōson and his brothers had visited O-Maki's house, the journey to Tokyo began with a three-day walk over mountain passes on steep and narrow cobbled paths. They reached a place where they were able to ride a horse drawn carriage. After a day and a night on the carriage they arrived in Matsuida, this was the first time any of them were able to watch the Kiso Mountains from the outside. Raised in a valley, surrounded by high mountains on all sides, they boys were astonished by the wide-open expanses of both heaven and earth. In all, it took them a whole week to reach Itabashi, the gate to Tokyo when arriving on the Naka-Sendō.²³

A Tokyo education

Upon arrival in Tokyo in 1881 Tōson, together with his brothers, stayed with his older sister Sonoko and her family. When he entered the Takase's two-story red brick house in Kyōbashi, he actually laid eyes on his sister for the first time. The husband, Kaoru, had been a pharmacist of modest success in Kiso, employing at times five or six salesmen traveling the local area. Spurred by the changing times, he left everything behind, moved with his young wife to Tokyo, and became a tax collector at the Ministry of Finance. Enraptured by the excitement of the big city, the Takase family lived beyond their means. They stopped sending money back to the caretaker of their house in Kiso, and one day Sonoko sent little Tōson off with a kimono and a receipt book. It was his first encounter with a pawnshop and upon returning home, he asked to be excused from running such errands again. Actually, a pawnbroker could not solve the Takase's financial problems.²⁴

They were forced to return to Kiso and take charge of their household again. Tōson's older brother Tomoya had shown little interest in schooling, instead his talent was geared towards business, so the family recommended him as an apprentice with a cotton wholesaler. Tōson moved to the mother of his brother-in-law, where an older man by the name of Rikimaru Motonaga was lodging with his daughter. Sonoko would send Rikimaru money for Tōson's schooling and livelihood, once she returned to Kiso. Less than a year had passed since Tōson arrived in Tokyo.

Rikimaru was a devoted *Go*[†] player and would go out to play for extended periods or bring other players to the house to play him or his daughter. Hiro-suke, the second oldest son in the Shimazaki family, had stayed behind in Magome but came visiting to see how Tōson was doing. He was appalled at the state of the household, meals were conducted at a record breaking pace, to get more time over for *Go* games. If young Tōson were to fulfill his educa-

* Tomoya was actually a half-brother, the child of Tōson's mother and a neighbor.

† A board game for two players, using white and black stones to conquer territory. Rules are quite simple, but to succeed requires superior strategic and mathematical skills.

tional duties, he would need a more stable environment. Hirosuke contacted Yoshimura Tadamichi, a *Heimat* friend of the Takase family.²⁵

Chapter 2 in *Sakura no Mi no Jukusuru Toki*²⁶ (When the Cherries Ripen, 1919) is devoted to his stay with the Yoshimura²⁷ family. He stayed with them for ten years, a period that outlasted the time he lived with his biological family in Magome. He had often run errands to the Yoshimuras when he lived at his sister's house and knew the family well. They had no children of their own and welcomed the additional company of a bright and vigorous youth. To Tōson, the Yoshimuras meant as much as his own family and he always refers to them as his *onjin*. Standard Japanese – English dictionaries translate the term as benefactor, a word that fails to include the deeply felt moral obligation instantly obvious to any Japanese reader. Were it not for the religious connotations of redemption from original sin, then Savior might be semantically preferable.

The rationale for this intense gratitude was not merely the care they showed him. He was aware that reimbursements from Kiso at best were irregular, and that the Yoshimura couple had to make sacrifices on his behalf. Another reason for his gratitude was that uncle Yoshimura, as Tōson called him, discovered his aptitude for composition, and encouraged him to write more. When he wrote letters to the family in Kiso, he would first show it to uncle Yoshimura to hear his suggestions. For all practical purposes, Yoshimura Tadamichi was Tōson's first editor.

It was around this time that Takei Yōsetu, a scholar of Chinese classics and uncle to Yoshimura Tadamichi, came visiting. Seeing how interested young Tōson was in reading, he taught him the essentials of *Shih ching* and *Tso Chuan*.²⁸ *Shih ching* is Confucius's (551-479 BC) collection of classical poems* covering a wide variety of themes devoted to *Volksbildung*. *Tso Chuan* is a commentary attributed to a historian by the name Tso, a disciple of Confucius, with extensive comments that provides comprehensive narrative accounts and ample background materials concerning the events chronicled in *Chun-chiu*, China's first chronological history. *Tso Chuan* is said to provide authentic historical documents and written evidences of the philosophical schools and a comprehensive account of the principal political, social, and military events of the time. However, his study of these Chinese classics were shallow and is considered another explanation for his second-tier ranking to authors such as Ōgai, Sōseki, and Ozaki Kōyō. A strong foundation in Chinese classics was essential for an aspiring *literatus* before Western impact made itself felt.²⁹ Despite being just a few years younger than Ōgai and Sōseki, Shimazaki Tōson came into adulthood with a different educational background. As a consequence of this difference Tōson would create his narrative within a frame of reference that contrasted sharply from his famous predecessors—as an author Tōson represented a new kind of life.

* Japanese scholars classify the content as *Min'yō*, or folk ballads.

Instead of Chinese classics, Tōson's focus was geared towards Western books and cognition. His first encounter was through Nakamura Masanao (1832 – 91),³⁰ famous for his translation of Samuel Smiles's (1812 – 1904) didactic “Self-Help,” in Japanese entitled *Saigoku Risshihen* (pub. 1871), or Western Success Stories. Despite omissions and mistranslation it sold more than a million copies and became required reading for young men of ambition. However, its focus on individual enterprise collided with the construction of a strong bureaucracy and large-scale industry. At the end of the century, it had by and large fallen into oblivion, only to be revived again in the Taishō era. Nakamura had also written a fictionalized short biography of the young Napoleon. The book, written in classical Chinese style (*Kanbun*), left a strong emotional impact on Tōson.³¹

He wrote letters home regularly to his father, often including drawings of Western inspired buildings and paraphernalia appearing around Tokyo. Replies came dutifully, but were gradually detached in their tone, the father busily trying to salvage the family's status and fortune in Magome. Except for a short period in 1884, when his father came visiting, Tōson had little or no direct contact with his family. In an effort to show that he was changing with the times, the senior Shimazaki had traveled by way of Nagoya and had his topknot cut off, symbolizing his break with Japan's feudal past, an act that befuddled and further estranged the son. Two years later, the father died of beriberi, incarcerated by his own family. Ergo, adolescence was spent in a mood of loneliness and despair in a sprawling city that was the focal point of Westernization, far away from the calmer country surroundings of his early upbringing together with his loved ones.³²

Tōson's father wanted to see his school, on the way to Sukiyabashi they ran into some of Tōson's schoolmates and he introduced his father. Having a proper introduction was important to Masaki so he insisted on also meeting the fathers of Tōson's friends. Since the school was located in a central part of Tokyo, many of the students came from the surrounding Daimyō residences that had been used under the *sankin kōtai* system for those family members the Daimyō left in the care of the Shōgun or while he paid his yearly visit in Edo. Tōson's father visited such a *Daimyō yashiki*, in which the retired Lord of Owarinokuni resided, and persisted in showing him some of Tōson's drawings.³³ Although Tōson silently questioned the genetic line to this lentitudinous yokel, he required his permission to realize a growing ambition; the study of English. Firmly rooted in the belief that Japan ought to find its soul inside its indigenous heritage the father was flabbergasted and crestfallen by his son's choice. A follower of the Hirata School, exhorting the restoration of Shintō, he considered Buddhism a heresy and Christianity a sacrilege—and the study of English would surely lead to the Christian church.³⁴ Yet, he could not deny his son's aspirations and if success in these new times required the mastery of the Devil's tongue, then so be it.

A retired navy officer by the name Ishii Jinkichi was contracted as his tutor and using “Parley’s Common School History of the World”^{*} Tōson struggled through grammar and assembled a basic vocabulary. For this privilege, he paid a fee of 30 *sen*[†] a month, the school fee to a public Junior High School at this time was 10 *sen* for the same time period. Wanting more challenging material he joined the private English school of Shimada Keigi, a compiler of an early English – Japanese dictionary with a “quaint pronunciation.”³⁵

While James Curtis Hepburn (1815 – 1911) is primarily known for the romanization system of Japanese writing that carries his name, but he was also a founder of Meiji Gakuin, a prominent private Christian school in Tokyo. The school was founded in 1886 and had after only one year earned a reputation as an excellent place to study English. In 1887, Tōson entered the school, having developed an interest in Western things and thought.³⁶

In those days, the school was located outside Tokyo proper, in Shirogane-Mura, surrounded by swamps both to the east and to the west, wheat fields to the south and a navy base to the north. The curriculum went far beyond the standard fare in the Japanese school system at that time. The students had compulsory classes averaging 33 hours a week during four years, covering such subjects as American history, British history, French history, German history, Latin, Ethics, English, and Bookkeeping but also aesthetics such as Art, Music and Choir song was included. The Christian heritage of the school manifested itself in morning assemblies filled with prayers and hymns and special Sunday school sessions completely devoted to Bible studies.³⁷

During these formative years, Tōson established bonds with Togawa Shūkotsu (1871 - 1939),³⁸ Baba Kochō (1869 - 1940),³⁹ and Hirata Tokuboku (1873 - 1943).⁴⁰ Together they formed a small coterie devouring Shakespeare’s tragedies, Lord Byron’s poems, and Dante Alighieri’s *Divina Commedia*. In *Sakura no Mi no Jukusuru Toki*, Tōson has described how he would sit in the windowsills of the dormitory after class and indulge in literary debates with Togawa and Baba.⁴¹ Edward McClellan has described the prevailing mood as ‘excessively sentimental and naïve’:

What concerns us here is not so much the Christian doctrine to which these students were exposed, as the atmosphere of emancipation that must have pervaded the academy. Their reaction to this atmosphere may embarrass us now, for it was inclined to be excessively sentimental and naïve. The sound of chapel bells, the sweet music of the hymns, the enthusiastic and not very enlightened discussions of English Romantic poetry in the dormitory, the calf love cherished by the boys for the girls (these latter were from Meiji Jogakkō, a school closely associated with Meiji Gakuin) whom they would see filing into the pews — all these made up a world which was remarkable for its immaturity. But with the naïveté came a new self-awareness, a consciousness of the importance and dignity of one’s feelings,

^{*} Authored by Samuel Griswold Goodrich under the pseudonym Peter Parley.

[†] 100 *sen* is 1 *yen*, the denomination was abolished in 1959.

which Tōson tried later to express in those rather sentimental lyrics of his early career as a poet.⁴²

They yearned not only for literature, Western philosophy also captured their imagination, and they intensely studied Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill, and the utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham. Around this time an increasing discontent with the political class, constructed mainly by ex-samurai from the domains of Satsuma and Chōshū (present Kagoshima and Yamaguchi prefectures), manifested itself in demands for wider representation based on democratic ideals. Tōson also received these influences at home, albeit on a less theoretical level, when uncle Yoshimura joined Ōkuma Shigenobu's (1838 – 1922)⁴³ Constitutional Reform Party and became a political activist. Later he would switch his allegiance to the Liberal Party and the family subscribed to the party's magazine *Ōmei* (Parrot Cry). Political problems and struggling activists also took on a personal dimension for this group in 1888 when Baba Kochō's older brother Tatsui died in Philadelphia. He had been an early activist in the People's Rights Movement and together with Itagaki Taisuke (1837 – 1919) founded the Liberal Party, which he left in 1883, opposing Itagaki's travels to the West. Two years later, he was arrested for handling explosives and when released in 1886 he left Japan for USA, never to return.⁴⁴

The influential Kitamura Tōkoku

This group of sentimental and naïve young men, burning with an inner passion for literature, joined forces to publish the literary magazine *Bungakkai*. One would stand out as more influential than the others, Kitamura Tōkoku (1868 – 94, real name Montarō). He was Tōson's senior by four years, but his maturity and *savoir-faire* in combination with a certain urban affability, gave him an undisputed leadership role within the group.

In Kitamura's conversion to Christianity was a determined seriousness and a deep personal conviction that Japan had not only fallen behind the West in a strict materialistic sense but also in a broader spiritual sense. The Buddhist and Shintoist tradition of Japan was a nihilistic "life-denying view" as opposed to "the life-espousing view" of the West and authors such as Lord Byron, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Thomas Carlyle.⁴⁵

In his early years, Tōkoku was an activist in the Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement, the first democratic mass movement in Japan. Real democracy failed to take hold in Japan and most Japanese were more concerned about the materialistic gap to the West, than the spiritual. Kitamura Tōkoku soon left political activism behind him in disgust and pursued a literary career.

Inspired by Byron's "The Prisoner of Chillon," Tōkoku published *Soshū no shi*—"The Prisoner's Poem" at the age of 20. This was the first free form poem to be written in Japanese, a clear break with the strict form of 5-7-5-7-7 *tanka* or the 5-7-5 syllables of *haiku*. Here we can clearly see Kitamura

Tōkoku's desire to disentangle himself from traditional literary style while grappling for something to transcend both Western and Japanese poetry. Tōkoku's quest for a new literary style would leave a deep impression on Tōson and his first breakthrough as a lyricist came with *Wakanashū*—"A Collection of Young Leaves."⁴⁶

A few years after publishing *The Prisoner's Poem* Kitamura Tōkoku would write:

I endorse realism (Tōkoku uses the term *shajitsu*, with the gloss, 'riarizumu' in the phonetic syllabary, ea.) completely, but each person has a different notion of what realism is. Some depict only the ugly side of human life, while others focus on the dissection of an unbalanced mind—but all of these emphasize a very narrow aspect of realism; they do not benefit humanity or move our universe forward in any way. Although I do not dislike realism, I cannot say that realism based on such vulgar objectives is attractive. At the root of realism there must be passion; without passion it is hard for there to be anything more than description for the sake of description.⁴⁷

It was in 'passion' that Kitamura Tōkoku found realism, because without it there would only be a void emptiness. This is exactly the annihilation that Kitamura struggled to avoid so hard, but in the end it caught up with him, and disgusted by the evolutionary path that Japanese society followed, Tōkoku would leave an even deeper impression on Tōson when he committed suicide by hanging himself at the age of 26.⁴⁸ During his entire adult life, Tōson would brood over Tōkoku's suicide and often returned to the subject in both novels and articles. One of his first actions was to edit Tōkoku's Collected Works, and in a later introduction to his works, he proclaimed him "a true genius."⁴⁹

It was through Iwamoto Yoshiharu (1863 – 1942) that Tōson acquainted himself with Tōkoku. Iwamoto succeeded Kondō Kenzō as editor of *Jogaku Zasshi* (Magazine on Women's Cultivation), after his sudden demise in 1886. Kondō had commenced the first issue in 1884, but was forced to abort the publication after a year. Iwamoto was the magazine's editor from issue number 30 to 524 out of a total of 526 issues, and is by some considered the pre-eminent catalyst for women's progress during the Meiji era. Iwamoto became the mentor of such writers as Kishida Toshiko (1863 – 1901), Tanabe Tatsuko (1868 – 1943)⁵⁰ and Wakamatsu Shizuko (1864 – 96).⁵¹ Tōson had first met Iwamoto at his teacher Kimura Kumaji's house, but lost direct contact with this group of people after graduating from Meiji Gakuin. Yoshimura Tadamichi had opened a sundries shop in the Isesaki district of Yokohama called Makarazuya, the name indicating that prices were fixed and not subject to bargaining, a novel approach. Tōson went to work for his uncle but was decidedly not endowed with any commercial ability. Greeting foreign customers, most still lived in Yokohama rather than Tokyo; Tōson would be humming on Ophelia's ode from Hamlet. At other times, they found him in the storage room reading Taine's *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* (1863 – 64)

in English translation. His older brother would scold him and Tōson came to realize that he was better suited for literary work. Therefore, it was with some despair—knowing he had disappointed his benefactor—that he wrote a letter to Iwamoto inquiring if he may be of any use.⁵²

Literary magazines

Iwamoto had just taken over the principal's office after Kimura Kumaji at Meiji Jogakkō (Meiji Girls School) and needed assistance with his magazine. He welcomed the addition of Tōson to the staff and eased him in by letting him translate Joseph Addison and Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, the later published under the title *Natsukusa* or Summer Grass.⁵³ He also, anonymously, contributed articles on esoteric subjects like "A passage of *Hong lou meng*" (Dream of the Red Chamber), "The poet Byron's mother," "Snowstorm on Bashō's tomb" and "Self-criticism among verse writers in the Genroku era." While lacking in analytical lucidity, it is nevertheless impressive that a 20-year-old would tackle such a variety of topics, ranging from English poetry to Chinese and Japanese classics. It is certainly indicative of the confident determination prevailing within the coterie surrounding Iwamoto. During summer recess, a special edition entitled *Jogakusei* (Schoolgirl), edited by Hoshino Tenchi, published Tōson's first short story; *Kojin* (The Deceased), this too, without attributing authorship to Tōson.⁵⁴

Conscious of his insufficient training in the Chinese classics, a thorough knowledge being *de rigueur* for any ambitious man of letters in Meiji Japan, made Tōson seek out Kurimoto Joun (1822 – 97)⁵⁵ to study the poetry of Li Po and Tu Fu. This poetry, caught up in its own perfection of prosody, was however all too reminiscent of the mold that had shaped the Japanese variations over centuries and thus a stumbling block to anyone in quest of new expressional modes.

This group of "sentimental and naïve young men," burning with an inner passion for literature, joined forces to publish a literary magazine supplement to *Jogaku Zasshi*. Out of this supplement grew *Bungakkai*, probably the single most important literary magazine during the Meiji era.⁵⁶ The name means 'Literary World', implying both those that are active within literary circles but also the body of literary works constituting the lagniappe of opening up the country to Western civilization. The same publishing company that operated *Jogaku Zasshi* published the first issue in January 1893, but *Bungakkai* later switched to its own publishing house. Establishing an independent role for literature in society, as opposed to the didactic tradition, was its *raison d'être*. While it only survived for five years, a total of 58 issues were published, its impact is indisputable and when the coterie around Kawabata Yasunari, Hayashi Fusao and Kobayashi Hideo launched a literary magazine in 1933 they named it *Bungakkai* in tribute to their literary predecessors.

Hoshino Tenchi was appointed editor, but the de facto leader was Kitamura Tōkoku. His experience and savvy personality blended with a confident urban sociability, gave him an undisputed leadership role within the group. Tōson's peers became the focal point for his literary expressiveness and together they would start experimenting and develop new literary styles better adapted to the changing times Meiji Japan endured. Yet, this group of young naïve but passionate men also needed a codified philosophical and moral structure before they were ready to face the general readership. This would come to them mainly in the form of Christian altruistic love, a term yet not developed in Japan, and it would be introduced to them by one of their teachers, Kimura Kumaji (1845 - 1927).⁵⁷

The influence of Kimura Kumaji

Kimura had experienced no less than three times, by the time he was ten years old, what it was like to become fatherless. Hence, there were no strong family ties holding him back when he was given the opportunity to go to the United States and study at Hope College in Michigan. There he gained a Master of Arts degree and continued at the Theological Seminary at Rutgers University in New Jersey to become a full-fledged missionary. Upon his return to Japan in September 1882 Kimura started a private school and toured the Japanese countryside preaching the gospel.⁵⁸

He established himself as an educator of the new breed that was in desperate demand at the time and held several teaching positions during the '80s. One of those was at Kyōritsu Gakkō, it was here that Tōson, and Kimura came to know each other the first time. Tōson reminisces:

It was at the time when I was fifteen years old at Kyōritsu Gakkō in Tokyo's Kanda district that I received a translation of Washington Irving's 'Sketch Book'. This was still at a time when you could not even lay your hands on the original in our country. The late Kimura Kumaji, who had returned from the United States as an English teacher, had taken upon himself to translate the work for his and ours sake. This is my first recollection of an encounter with foreign literature with any literary value.⁵⁹

During Tōson's adolescence their paths would diverge and cross several times. In 1888 when Kimura was serving as pastor at the Daimachi church in Takanawa, he baptized Shimazaki Tōson into Christianity.⁶⁰ Later, he would become a teacher at Meiji Gakuin and would play an influential role in the young Tōson's life.

Diaries have played a major role since historical times in Japanese literature and most members of the literary establishment kept detailed diaries. During the early turbulent Meiji days, there was a strong tendency to record the changes; hardly a day went by without some new fascinating revelation about how Japan was changing into a modern state. Kimura Kumaji was an inconsistent diarist; at times he was diligently thorough and recorded minute details

about his life and the accomplishments of his disciples. At other times, weeks and months could pass without a single notation, as if his life had stopped and dullness and inaction prevailed.⁶¹

Obviously the inconsistency in the Kimura diaries prevents us from arriving at too far reaching conclusions, yet there is enough material in a sufficient assiduous style to allow us some insight into young Tōson's life. Between 1888 and 1892 Tōson is mentioned no less than 34 times, and 33 of those are from 1889 and forward. In 1889 there are only six entries, leaving 27 entries for 1890 and 1891, however the diary for 1889 lacks any entry for the months of January, February and March, so we have no way of knowing if Tōson and Kimura actually met less frequently during that year than what the diary entries indicate if compared with 1890 and 1891. If we take into consideration that of the six entries about Tōson during 1889, three of them fall in the month of April and that during the fall Tōson concentrated on that peculiar Japanese study method known as entrance cramming, it is perhaps not too bold a deduction that Tōson and Kimura Kumaji met frequently also during 1889, perhaps even as frequently as during 1890 and 1891.⁶²

Reading Kimura Kumaji's diary one also notices that he has gone through the trouble to record instances where Tōson was absent from gatherings in which the rest of the youth group participated. At the end of November 1891, Kumaji wrote "Friday; Shimazaki's translation arrived," followed two days later with "Sunday; Shimazaki came and visited," and four days after that "Thursday; Shimazaki returned to his hometown." This entry coincide with the death of his step-grandmother, Ōwaki Keiko and he represented the family in place of his oldest brother at the funeral.

To Aoyama Nao these entries justify the conclusion that Kimura and Tōson had a close, almost intimate relation. "There is no doubt that the entry about Tōson returning to his hometown is because he is partaking in the funeral of his maternal step-grandmother. The fact that Kimura Kumaji knew about her death so soon, and Tōson had no particular liking for Ōwaki Keiko, tells us that Kimura and Tōson had an exceptional close relationship."⁶³

One might think such a conclusion slightly frivolous, based on just some diary entries, but consider that a diary is indeed about personal matters, usually focused on 'things that happen in our life'. Kimura must have felt that Tōson's absence was a 'happening', rather than a non-event, since he exerted himself to record the matter. From the vantage point of Kimura Kumaji, it is perhaps not too adventurous to share Aoyama's conclusion. Can the same be said if we ponder the relation from young Tōson's perspective?

Only two days after his translation⁶⁴ arrived, Tōson came to visit his mentor. It seems he was eager for Kimura's approval, and if not approval, at least constructive criticism* and valuable suggestions. These entries are from November 20 and 22 in 1891. If we take into consideration that his first two

* More likely, it would be phrased as "honorable opinion."

translations to appear in *Jogaku Zasshi* were published in the first issue in January 1892, it is perhaps not too venturesome to postulate that those were the same translations Tōson wanted Kimura to proofread. To some, this would indicate respect from Tōson towards Kimura. At the same time, respect also suggests a certain distance, the desire not to make a nuisance of oneself towards others. Evidently, Tōson did not feel any need to keep a respectful distance to Kimura, indicating that the close relation was in fact perceived mutually.

Hence, Kimura became both an ursine father figure as a substitute for the late Shimazaki Masaki and later strigine senior and confidante after Tōkoku's demise. From the diaries, we also have indications, from Kimura's choice of words that Tōson would stay over at Kimura's house from time to time. The relationship during these years was more personal than teacher – pupil, more instructional than pastor – parishioner and more pious than father – son.⁶⁵ The most obvious and tangible remnant of Kimura's influence is Tōson's Christianity. Although leaving the church after only a few years as a member, the humanistic ideals of altruistic love and compassion as well as an open mind in the search for 'truth' together with a belief in a higher purpose, followed in his background as a legacy from Kimura Kumaji. Later he would explain his involvement as "a childish heart that mixed a youthful belief of poetry and religion, and that Christ was a mirage of a poetic character, far from what passed as religious beliefs as an adult."⁶⁶ Unlike Meiji Christian thinkers such as Uemura Masahisa (1858 – 1925) and Kashiwagi Gien (1860 – 1938), who rejected their background in Confucian philosophy when embracing Christianity, Tōson never discarded his rural past originating in the Kokugaku thinking of his father, bringing a nativist perspective to his writing.

His literary internship was served in the editorial offices of first *Jogaku Zasshi* followed by the exclusive concentration on literature in *Bungakkai*. As Edwin McClellan put it: "his years of literary apprenticeship—which is all his activities with the *Bungakkai* amounted to" did not produce results of redeeming literary value.⁶⁷ Even if William E. Naff is indeed more austere in his portrayal of the aspiring poet, calling him "embarrassingly ostentatious and flamboyant in his juvenilia" he nevertheless concedes that Tōson matures within a relatively limited period.⁶⁸ While the influences forming young Tōson were varied in strength, impact and longevity as well as emanating from various sources—in matters of style none was more profound than his peers at *Bungakkai*.

In between his novels the adult Tōson also wrote articles in both literary and vernacular magazines as well as daily newspapers, ranging from serious literary analysis and critique to short impressionistic pieces on whatever topic held his attention at the moment. These have posthumously been collected and published in book form, sometimes with minor editorial changes. Altogether, Tōson produced material for six volumes of "impressionistic collec-

tions” (*Kansōshū*)⁶⁹ and one includes such an impressionistic retrospection entitled “About Bungakkai” (*Bungakkai no koto*).

I was reminded of some things in the past and just wanted to jot them down in no particular order. We were six associates, the Hoshino brothers, Hirata Tokuboku, Togawa Shūkotsu, Kitamura Tōkoku and myself, that got together at an address in the 4th block of Nihonbashi-Honmachi, where the merchants’ black store houses lined up their tiled roofs. It was in an atmosphere packed with the smell from deep blue shop curtains on the townhouses that our *Bungakkai* raised its birth cry. It was on the corner of the 4th block in Honmachi that the Hoshino brothers had their house and that became the editorial office of the corporation that carried the same name as the magazine. The Hoshino brothers’ family was wholesalers in sugar and someone they referred to as uncle mainly managed the shop. At that time Hirata’s home was just in the neighborhood over in Isemachi, where they ran a wholesale business in utensils for artists and it was at one of their frequent visits that talk about putting out a magazine began. After that Kitamura, Togawa and I came into the picture. Baba Kochō joined us later since he wasn’t in Tokyo at the time. It was indeed a contrasting lot, both in age and disposition, but it all held together in a firm and warm friendship. It was at the end of 1892, the 25th year in Meiji, when the dreary December rains arrive that I wrote my manuscript for the inaugural issue and set on a journey with no particular goal. So I obtained my first issue while on the road after the New Year holidays. I can still remember the joy when I got hold of it at my inn in Kobe.

We tried to start it without relying on any help from our elders, but even so the first two issues of *Bungakkai* carried the co-title *Jogaku Zasshi*. It was through Hoshino’s [Tenchi] efforts that it came out as a sister publication of *Jogaku Zasshi*, at the time edited by Iwamoto Yoshiharu. This just goes to show the depth of the relation between Iwamoto and Hoshino, who also coined the name *Bungakkai* for the magazine. By the time we broke loose and established our independence, the magazine had found its style in both content and appearance. We were actually too conceited to use the *Jogaku Zasshi* name. I sent my manuscripts while on the road. I would write in Kobe, or from the inn in Yoshino or when taking a break in a tea-house in Ishiyama. This reminds me of the time I visited Kiyomi Temple in Okitsu. It is said that you will see someone close to you among the 500 stone statuettes of the Arhat* disciples. So it was in an ancient moss covered cemetery that I reproduced the image of my five friends in Tokyo. One Arhat was Hoshino; another was Hirata and so on. I put these in an envelope and sent them from Okitsu to Honmachi in Tokyo. When the third issue arrived at my destination I was a bit surprised to find the five portraits on the opening pages together with comments added by my friends. As one might expect from Kitamura he suggested that “How about if we plant flowers around the five Arhats and call them Flower Arhats?” That kind of jest could only come from someone with his sense of humor.† To top

* In Japanese Rakan, meaning the ‘worthy one’, a term for those who attained the highest rank of religious wisdom on par with Buddha’s.

† It is difficult enough to carry humor over a linguistic and cultural abyss, it becomes impossible when 100 years of history has to be included. The jest is that Tōkoku, with his firm Christian belief, dared to poke fun at Buddhist icons, a most serious topic.

it off Hirata had added his criticism in a few astute, thought-provoking sentences. No matter which way you look at it, this magazine appeared out of youthful vigor at its peak. If we were able to carry ourselves with pride over *Bungakkai*, it came out of an attempt to divulge both shortcomings and virtues. We can roughly divide *Bungakkai's* initiation period at the time when Kitamura passed away. When we gathered at the base of Mount Fuji in Yoshiwara on the Tōkaidō to continue our travels to an inn in Moto-Hakone, Kitamura was still well and spirited. He was so powerful that he wrote the magazine single-handedly during a month.

Falling victim at such a tender age, Kitamura's death was, for all the associates, and particularly for me, a great loss and deep shock. The way he kept the associates of *Bungakkai* together was merely a prelude to a tragic, yet heroic demise. We mourned our unfortunate friend by publishing a special issue entitled 'Tōkoku in Memoriam', and we also published the first Tōkoku Collection. We printed about 700 copies and then let it go out of print. At that time, I had just returned to Tokyo from a yearlong voyage. For months I tried to deliver manuscripts to the magazine, but my heart was filled with anguish and I could not put collected thoughts on paper.

I can't really say when Ueda Bin joined our ranks. We have some photos of the whole group together. In those, both Ueda and the younger Hoshino are wearing high school uniforms. That is how young our friends were. The older Hoshino, Tenchi, was older than the rest of us and we used to call him Tenchi the Sage to tease him. I remember we had a space filler in the magazine titled 'Desolate Autumn Winds' during the Sino-Japanese War.⁷⁰ For a time we were all surrounded by war. After the war, the magazine was revived. After losing Kitamura, we gradually woke up from our Byron fever and one by one we set out on a new course. In our magazine we joined our voices to trounce the evils of dogmatic obstinacy and blind reverence, so step by step we introduced Dante, Shelley, Keats and even Rossetti. The time of virulent trembles passed, and we finally entered a period of concealing our youthful thoughts.

Togawa's lodgings were located in the 7th district of Ikenohata, well situated for us to gather and discuss. From the cabin in the garden, sitting on tatami mats in the parlor, we could see the sky over the nearby Shinobazu Pond. Hirata moved over there and placed his desk next to Togawa's, so for a time it almost became our own exclusive clubhouse. Ueda, who lived in Hongō, was there from the outset, the younger Hoshino joined up when he got back from school and even someone like Ōno Shachiku dropped in, because there were times when we simply finished editing the magazine in that room. Small space-fillers were a must in every issue and that task fell mainly on Hirata's brush. In the end, succinct articles like that became the magazine's trademark. Among the associates, Hirata was the youngest; a person complete with various virtues fitting his genius, his attractive personality was an inspiration to us all. I am certain that the Hoshino brothers, as editors, was greatly helped through the sensitivity and complexity Hirata displayed by his perseverance in managing those troublesome space-fillers. When Togawa subjugated his long torment and delivered his column on the bizarre it was Hirata that caught the light, and when I became submerged in my own mental battles it was Hirata that counseled me.

There isn't enough space here to mention everybody that contributed manuscripts to our magazine. Among the main contributors we had people like Togawa Zanka, Higuchi Ichyō, Ōno Shachiku and much later Tayama Katai, Yanagita Kunio and Ōta Kyokumei. Ichiyō's *Child's Play* was first serialized in *Bungakkai*, before being published as a book. Ōno Shachiku was related to Togawa and that is how it was possible to see his *haiku* poems in our magazine. Even Kawakami Bizan contributed short fictional pieces. Sure, our *Bungakkai* was a small stage but young people read us ferociously in those days. It was first long afterwards I learned that Nakazawa Rinsen was one of our most avid readers.

From the time Hoshino Tenchi sat up new premises in Kamakura, his younger brother took charge of the editing. His real name is Osaburō but those that were on close terms with him always yelled 'Osabu-san, Osabu-san'. After graduating from High School he continued at the engineering department in a university, a quiet and conscientious character. He would take charge of all the troublesome aspects regarding proofreading and printing almost by himself. This Hoshino had a profound interest in literature but he never published a piece emanating from his own brush. He was simply content with being an editor in obscurity. It was in large part due to the hidden talents of our friends that we had a continuing flow of work at *Bungakkai*.

I see no need to divulge all the numerous mental struggles I went through in my youth here, nor will I go through all the experiences we had with the magazine, the things we learned and how we encouraged and supported each other in our circle of friends. In the autumn of the 29th year of Meiji, 1896, I moved from Yūshima to the Morikawa district in Hongō, where I left my mother and went on a desolate journey to Sendai. I began composing poetry at my lodgings in the Nakake district of Sendai and every day I would send it to Hoshino in Tokyo. My poetry collection '*Fresh Greens*' was serialized for a year in *Bungakkai* after my arrival in Sendai. On the cover we had the characters for *Bungakkai* in vertical writing from Koide Tsubara's brush and horizontally we had a quotation from a poem by Goethe written by Dr. Koeber, and I certainly liked our magazine cover. There was a harmonious atmosphere to the magazine. In Sendai I read in a letter from my friends, that they had reached the conclusion it was time to move on and close this small literary stage. In the last issue, I bid our readers farewell under the pretext of writing about the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood in England. Every month we published about 7,800 copies continuously for five years. At the closing stage of the 30th year in Meiji, 1897, we closed our office.⁷¹

Tōson also described this period of his life in *Haru* (Spring, 1908), but it is a fictionalized work of dubious quality. McClellan manages to capture all the failings in one sentence: "It is very loosely constructed, the characterizations are thin and motives obscure, and the attitude of the author is often far too uncritical and sentimental."⁷² Just as *Haru*, the article *Bungakkai no koto*, is loosely constructed and distinctively impressionistic in style, but unlike the novel we are relieved of tedious lyricism in the actual recollections Tōson presents in the article. It gives us a rare glimpse of the mind and *modus operandi* of the budding poet and ardent student of Western literature. Tōson leaves us little doubt that this was a period of opportunities and possibilities.

There is not a single gray cloud in the sky over Shinobazu Pond. Six young men, without the benefit of a famous mentor, none had spent any time as apprentice to a famous author or poet, thus breaking with tradition, and only armed with some brushes, rice paper, a few desks and a burning ambition, they join forces to conquer the emerging literary world of Meiji Japan. They succeeded in a remarkably short time. The list of contributors Tōson presents is a virtual *Who's Who* of literati in those days.

A burgeoning coterie

Higuchi Ichiyō (1872 – 1896) first appears in issue number three of *Bungakkai*. In Robert Lyons Danly's words, Ichiyō was “one of the first writers of consequence to appear in the Meiji period and, with no serious contenders, Japan's first woman writer of stature in modern days.”⁷³ The first piece published in *Bungakkai* was *Yuki no hi* (Snow Days) in 1892, a lyrical and insignificant short story. However, as Yabu Teiko makes clear “she cut away from lyricism and acquired an eye for perceiving reality and left a mark with her style, a vision worth reading.”⁷⁴ A literary star that never shone, just flashed brightly for a short period. While prolific, her literary career was extinguished within four short, yet distinguished, years. It was Hoshino Tenchi who “discovered” her. Reading her short story *Umegori* (In Obscurity, 1892) in *Miyako no Hana* (Flower of the Capital), he wrote a raving review in the literary magazine *Jogakusei*. “Let me introduce the advent of a new rising authoress, her conception is so sharp and lacks pretentiousness that I have my doubts that it is her work. If she is to give literature her utmost I hope to gain a detailed knowledge of her, these are the first expectations and praise I bring forward.”⁷⁵ Tōson was plainly proud that *Takekurabe* (Child's Play),⁷⁶ her renowned and most representative novella, first appeared in *Bungakkai*, but he was never as infatuated by her as Hirata Tokuboku and Baba Kochō, the latter would edit an Ichiyō Collection. Perhaps because he did not feel his literary talent to be inferior to hers, the way Hirata and Baba did.⁷⁷ For Tōson, she represented a premonition of a feminism alien to his nature.⁷⁸ Nor did her untimely death seem to have left any imprint on Tōson's mind the way Tōkoku's departure left a lingering scar.

Ōta Kyokumei (1871 – 1927) was a poet from bordering Saitama prefecture who was never able to break loose from his lyrical roots, despite attempts at both translations and novels. In the same mold was the haiku poet Ōno Shachiku (1872 – 1913) who despite diligent efforts never succeeded in transforming traditional haiku poetry. Their literary legacy is largely ignored today outside the most specialized research unlike that of Kawakami Bizan (1869 – 1908). Bizan started his career with Ozaki Kōyō (1868 – 1903) and the *Ken'yūsha** coterie, but soon tired of their lyricism and was enticed by the

* Their role is amplified in chapter four, see page 89.

realism introduced in the translations of Western literature in *Bungakkai*. Together with Izumi Kyōka (1873 – 1939) Bizan is considered the primary representative of the *kannen shōsetsu* (idealistic novel) a short-lived genre preceding Naturalism. In his two novellas *Shokikan* (The Secretary) and *Uraomote* (Double Dealings – both 1895) Bizan depicts the dichotomy of early Meiji capitalism, exposing the contradictions and social upheaval in the wake of the Meiji Restoration. This impertinence caught the authorities off guard, but the reading public, raised on entertaining lyricism and geisha infighting did not catch on either. Kawakami Bizan was also the only *Ken'yūsha* writer that heeded Tayama Katai who insisted that contemporary writers must direct their works to the general public instead of other writers, it was the author's duty to educate the public by using a language they understood.⁷⁹ Perhaps due to his longing for Tōkoku's intellectual inspiration, Tōson was gradually beginning to look towards alternative modes of expression. In that sense Bizan was the guidepost for the road that eventually would lead to Émile Zola.

Yanagita Kunio (1875 – 1962) is best known as the father of ethnology in Japan. When he was part of *Bungakkai* he still went by his original name: Matsuoka Kunio.⁸⁰ It was as a poet he joined the group with a fundamental desire to explore that new freely flowing poetry called *Shintaishi*. As the group's interest progressively focused on European Naturalism, Yanagita slowly distanced himself from the *Bungakkai* coterie. Although he was an avid reader of the genre, he never wrote anything resembling Naturalist fiction, and would later turn out to be one of its critics.⁸¹

Together with Kitamura Tōkoku, the most influential of Tōson's friends were Tayama Katai (1871 – 1930). He was born as Rokuya to a low-level samurai in Tatebayashi, Gumma prefecture and moved with his father to Tokyo. The father used his martial skills to find a position as patrolman with the newly established Metropolitan Police Department. Dispatched to Kyushu to suppress the Satsuma Rebellion he died in battle when Katai was still only six years old—the loss of their fathers at an early age may explain the closeness that Tōson and Katai maintained throughout their lives. Impoverished the family returned to Gumma, but when the older brother landed a position as clerk with the *Shūshikan* (Office of Historiography), the family returned to Tokyo. He received little formal schooling but studied English intensely under the tutelage of Nojima Kinhachirō. This was before any proper textbooks in Japanese had appeared so, just as for Tōson, Tayama Katai mainly learned his English through the medium of fiction. Just as his compatriot, Tayama also developed a ferocious thirst for Western literature, at first quenched with English Romanticism.⁸²

Only twenty years earlier, the Japanese authorities considered foreign books felonious and treated them in the manner of privileged information through the *Bansho Shirabesho* (Research Institute on Barbarian Books). Established as a response to Commodore Matthew C. Perry's arrival in Sagami

Bay, it opened as the Institute of Western Learning (*Yōgakusho*) in 1855 and changed name the year after. The new name was likely chosen to remind the population, samurai leadership and the researchers of the ominous White Peril lurking beyond the horizon. At the commencement ceremony, 191 students participated, selected from more than 1,000 applicants. All were of samurai background, the original plans limited participation to the most senior (*Bakushin*) samurai, and hence, it was not accessible to people of Katai and Tōson's lineage. Since the Institute's paramount prerogative was to gain as much information and knowledge about Western technology as possible, especially military hardware and production know-how, the spiritual field was still wide open. With only financial restrictions to draw the boundaries, Katai devoted himself to Western literature energetically, either in English or English translation. He left few stones unturned when scavenging the bookseller districts Jinbochō and Kanda in Tokyo for new publications. Unlike Kunikida Doppo (1871 – 1908),⁸³ who had Wordsworth, and Futabatei Shimei (1864 – 1909),⁸⁴ specializing in Turgenev, it was a long and winding road before Tayama found a literary home in Zola and Guy de Maupassant.⁸⁵

Tayama's attraction for Maupassant takes on a special interest, since both Tayama and Tōson professed a strong literary indebtedness to French *Naturalisme*. The first book by Maupassant that Tayama obtained was a compilation of short stories in English translation called *The Odd Number*.⁸⁶ Tayama recalls how cherished this book was to him in his autobiography *Tokyo no Sanjūnen* (Thirty years in Tokyo): "I let someone use the American version of Maupassant's 'The Odd Number'. (Among Maupassant's collection of short stories, this is one of the more wholesome and it is the first collection of Maupassant's short stories to reach Japan. When I say I let someone use it, well, it is true I lent it, but actually, it wasn't my book. It was Ueda Bin's that Yanagita Kunio had borrowed and I had in turn borrowed it from him and lent it to [Kunikida] Doppo for a week and he translated one or two of the stories.)"⁸⁷ Imported books were expensive and young enthusiastic would-be writers had precious little spare cash. They kept close tabs on what books were available to them and divided authors between themselves. Tayama Katai in fact translated Maupassant before Kunikida Doppo, but his manuscript entitled *Nippeisotsu* (Little Soldier) was never published and is now part of a private collection. His second translation had the title *Korushikatō* (Corsica Island – orig. Happiness) and was published by Yomiuri Shinbun in August 1898.⁸⁸

The common denominator for this group of people is that none of them belonged to any literary coterie, a feature all too common in Japanese literary circles, so essentially they were free to explore and develop their own particular literary style. Of course, one consequence of this 'non-aligned attitude' was that they did not create any coteries of their own, and this may in part explain the evanescence of the Naturalist movement. They did however recognize that in order to create a new and appealing form of literature they needed to

expand their horizons and accumulate impressions to build a foundation for their literary creation. In Tōson's exposure to Christianity he had seen creative powers in an alternate value system. He had probably also come to realize, at least subconsciously, that Christianity was too alien a concept to become even a cornerstone in the construction of a new Japan. The sweeping changes and reforms that had utterly transformed his native village of Magome had taken hold and become permanent, not because of any influence from a foreign religion, but because they were in line with an old nativist tradition.

Tōson had found some of the answers he was looking for, if not in its entirety at least to those that were closest to his heart, when he at the age of 22 in 1893 had traveled on foot for nine months in the Kansai region. Unrequited love for Satō Sukeko, one of the students at Meiji Jogakkō, is usually attributed as the igniting factor for his wanderlust. Under Tōkoku's profound influence, Tōson was as much infatuated by the idea of romantic love as he was by the girl. She came from a prominent Hokkaido family and with the decline of the Shimazaki's social standing the distance between the two was simply too wide to be bridged.⁸⁹ The veracity of his feelings certainly comes under question when we consider the affair he had during his Kansai excursion with a woman to whom he even sent his laundry.

After returning home, he again stayed with the Yoshimura family, but within a short time span he was confronted with several major tragic events that likely influenced him to move away from Tokyo. The first was Kitagawa Tōkoku's suicide in April of 1894, two months later his older brother Hideo was incarcerated and in order to take care of his brother's family he had to leave the Yoshimura household. In August of the following year, he received news that Satō Sukeko had died and the following month he learned that the family estate in Magome had burned to the ground.⁹⁰ It was quite an accomplishment that he managed to hold onto his sanity in these times of despair. And afterwards he has claimed that the salvation for him was the discovery of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Confessions*.⁹¹ It was also at this very low point in his life that he would come to realize how blessed he was in having a mentor like Kimura Kumaji. Without Tōson's knowledge he had worked in the background to secure him a position as a teacher of composition at the Tōhoku Gakuin (Northeastern Academy) in Sendai, located in the northeastern part of the main island Honshu.⁹²

Two years after the first railroad to Sendai had opened in 1887 it was incorporated as a city after having been ruled with an iron fist by the Date family ever since Tokugawa Ieyasu gave them possession of the Sendai domain (present day Miyagi prefecture). While the powers and planners in Tokyo primarily viewed Sendai as a supplier of rice to the sprawling metropolis, the locals had loftier ambitions. So when the missionary Oshikawa Masayoshi (1851 - 1928) planted the seed of a higher institute of learning it fell in fertile soil. With the help of the Reformed Church in the U.S. the Sendai Shingakkō (Sendai Theological Seminary) was established in 1886, but had already

changed its name in 1891. During his sojourn in Sendai, Tōson would again expand his circle of literary friends. It was here that he met Doi Bansui (1871 - 1952), Sassa Seisetsu (1872 - 1917), Takayama Chogyū (1871 - 1902) and Satō Kōroku (1874 - 1949).⁹³ Their presence together with the steadiness of teaching and a regular income helped him regain his mental stability as well as sort out the impressions and thoughts that he had accumulated during his earlier wanderings.

Tōson has described his time in Sendai as the ‘dawn of my life’, if we consider that his mother passed away in cholera during this time, other events with a more joyous content must have left a deeper impression on him. Meeting new people with a different outlook on matters than his Tokyo friends and making excursions into the mountains and along the rivers seems to have been the cause of his elation. Perhaps it was the closeness to nature that caused the budding Romanticist tendencies that he had already shown in some of the poems he had published in *Bungakkai*—such as *Kusamakura* (Grass Pillow) and *Haru no Uta* (Song of Spring)—to bloom out in full. He wrote poems on a regular basis that he sent back to Hoshino Tenchi in Tokyo for publication in *Bungakkai*. Tōson compiled 51 of those poems into a single volume that he published under the name *Wakanashū* in August of 1897. Over the years the chore of translating this title into English has caused a fair amount of consternation among both Western and Japanese scholars, but they all have in common a propensity to explain it in agronomic terms.⁹⁴

The last character in the title (*shū*) means collection or compilation and the two first characters (*Wakana*) means something akin to ‘sprouting shoots’ or ‘seedlings’ and that is why this poetry collection most often in English is referred to with titles such as Collection of Young Leaves with alternates such as Greens, Herbs or Shoots. However, there also exists a different *Wakana*, namely a 16th century *Kyōgen* that prominently features female characters. In the same vein, Tōson began *Wakanashū* with a series of poems entitled *Rokunin no Otome* (Six Women), and although Tachibana Kaoru and Oku Mishū praised the collection for its freshness and passion at the time of publication, it actually owes a lot to a long tradition of Japanese poetry.⁹⁵ The diction with its meticulous choice of *Yamato-kotoba*, words endemic to Japan as opposed to Sino-Japanese words, and grammatical archaism together with the 7-5 meter in the *Imayō* pattern can be traced all the way back to *Ryōjin Hishō Kudenshū* (Collection of Orally Transmitted Secret Selections of Cross-beam Dust) that was first compiled in 1169.⁹⁶

The innovativeness that Tōson displayed was not in form but rather in content, the poems had a sensual quality and an intense romanticism that evoked a passionate response in the readers that they were hitherto not accustomed to in poetry. The initial verses to the Six Women have a quiet worshipful tone reminiscent of the tranquility and dignity of the Christian hymns that Tōson listened to in his youth. Yet, we can already here notice an indication of Tōson’s interest in social class distinctions. Each of the six maidens repre-

sents a different class or social condition, Oyō (Leaf) the court lady at the top in the Imperial Palace, down to Okinu (Silk) the blind and ostracized woman that he introduces in the following way:

<i>Misora wo kakeru arawashi no</i>	Dwelling in a fair maiden
<i>Hito no otome no mi ni ochite</i>	The fierce eagle crossing the sky
<i>Hana no sugata ni yadokareba</i>	Appearing as a flower
<i>Arashi ni kawaki kumo ni ue</i>	Thirsty for a storm, famished for clouds
<i>Amakakerubeki sube wo nomi</i>	Restrained from crossing the sky
<i>Negau kokoro no nakaretote</i>	In my long black hair
<i>Kurokami nagaki wagami koso</i>	I begged from my soul
<i>Umarenagara no meshi-i nare</i>	But I came into this world with no eye- sight

Longing to be up in the sky with perfect eagle-eye vision gazing down and observing earth, she is instead caught in a blind woman's body, unable to gaze at anything, including her own beauty. This image of exclusion becomes even stronger when juxtaposed on the preceding poem about Oyō, the court lady who is born beside the quiet Edogawa River under the shade of a cherry tree leading a life filled with dreams. Here is thus an early hint of Tōson's interest in ostracism and class distinction that is discerned by virtue of the narrative quality displayed even in the most lyrical moments of his poetry.

Tōson continued to write poetry for some time, but with only the occasional exception, almost all of it is of inferior quality to Wakanashū. It seems he had exhausted his poetic reservoir at an early age; cautiously he began experimenting with prose instead. One reason for this change may very well have been purely economical, despite the success of Wakanashū, Tōson discovered that he was not able to secure enough income for himself and his extended family writing poetry. After returning to Tokyo from Sendai he moved in with his brother Hideo's family and shortly after *Bungakkai* was closed down after publishing 58 issues.⁹⁷

The halcyon days in Sendai had once more been exchanged for the helter-skelter of Tokyo, but when his brother was released from the correctional institution, Tōson again began to focus on his own development. He enrolled in a violin class at Tokyo Ongaku Gakkō (Tokyo Music School) located in Ueno and was for a time involved in a relationship with a piano teacher at the school, a woman by the name Tachibana Itoe who was one year his junior.⁹⁸ Perhaps he was interested in the melodious flow in the new style poetry as it related to Western music, at any rate he did not stay long nor did he pick up music again as an active interest.

While Tōson was working on his scales, his old benefactor, Kimura Kumaji, had moved to a small town in the Nagano mountains called Komoro. Today it has a population of slightly less than 50,000, but a hundred years ago

there only lived between 8,000 and 9,000 according to estimates. Here Kimura Kumaji established a small school, Komoro Gijuku, and offered Tōson a teaching position in literature and English. Originally he signed on for three years, but wound up staying a total of seven years.⁹⁹ Another of his early benefactors, Iwamoto Yoshiharu who had been his editor at *Jogaku Zasshi*, introduced Tōson to one of his students at Meiji Jogakkō, where he served as principal. Hata Fuyuko was the third daughter of Hata Keiji (1848 - 1917) a well-to-do wholesaler in nets working out of Hakodate on the southern tip of Hokkaido. She was a recent graduate of Meiji Jogakkō and even if Wakanashū had been reasonably successful, she was a better prospect than Tōson could realistically expect. Hata Keiji has been described as an independent minded man and the possibility that his son-in-law might end up a literary failure seems not to have daunted him.¹⁰⁰

He is one of two persons to whom Tōson dedicated *Hakai*, because without Hata's financial support Tōson might not have been able to publish it. According to letters that he wrote to his father-in-law it seems that he at least received 510 yen in funding, but very likely the sum was higher than that.¹⁰¹ Maybe because of the stake his father-in-law had in the success of the publication, Tōson was very conscientious about reporting the progress it made in the market. On the occasion of the fourth printing, Tōson apologized in a letter dated July 8, 1906 that he had not had enough time to correct misprinted characters. In a letter the following year dated May 21st he reported with a touch of exuberance that a batch of the last printing had been consigned to the U.S.¹⁰² Tōson's letters radiate a keen interest in the commercial success of his first novel.

The kind of profitable sensation a probing expedition into enduring iniquities not blown away by the winds of change that had endowed Harriet Beecher Stowe with the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* or Charles Kingsley after he wrote *Yeast*. In relative terms, Japanese books were not an export item and national income was considerably lower, *Hakai* brought Tōson financial gain and prominence on par with Stowe.¹⁰³ Although *Hakai* had an immediate literary impact, it never came close to igniting the same kind of social and political response that Stowe achieved with *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. From that vantage point, *Hakai* has more in common with *Yeast*. To recognize that disparity it is imperative that we know something about the fictional works that pre-dates Tōson's novel, and concerns themselves with Burakumin.

CHAPTER 4

The narrow road to *Hakai's* interior

Earliest appearance of Burakumin in modern literature

Due to its immense social impact, it is often assumed that *Hakai* was the first novel to bring the plight of the Burakumin to the general reading public's attention in Japan.¹ A sentiment enhanced by the relative lack of social issues as a theme in Japanese literature up to that time. What little research has been done to delve into the history of Burakumin's place in Japanese literature has never reached the vestiges of mainstream Japanese literary research. The controversial nature inherent in the subject often induces perfunctory palliations and feeble foibles as justification for the fact that Tōson chose to make his protagonist an Eta. It has become *de rigeur* for the Japanese literati to consider *Hakai* as the genesis of Burakumin literature. In fact, there are more than 40 titles concerned with Eta and Hinin that predates *Hakai*, but almost all of them have fallen into literary oblivion. Yet, some of them must surely have influenced Shimazaki Tōson when he wrote *Hakai*, something that he does admit to, albeit in a circuitous way, but something we can also deduce by comparing *Hakai* with the works that preceded it.

During the 268 years of self-imposed isolation between 1600 and 1868, known as the Edo period, literature gradually declined into a form known as *Kanzen Chōaku Bungaku*, a didactic form of literature preoccupied with endorsing morally superior behavior and virtues, and castigating corrupt characters. Censorship in Japan, originally directed against Christian literature and criticism against the Tokugawa Shōgunate, was gradually tightened during the 18th century to include poetry, erotic books, genealogies, and books on medicine. This left the professional scribbler with only a very narrow path to walk along unless he was willing to risk the wrath of the authorities.²

As we shall see in this chapter, the path was slowly but diligently widened into a road with room enough to fit both controversial subjects and ideas that sets out the hitherto inconceivable direction that *Hakai* would take. Although there was never any direct ban on the topic of Eta and Hinin, it was nonetheless a subject matter only rarely touched upon in literature before the Meiji Restoration. Change comes slowly, so the early years of Meiji did not bring about any sudden alterations in the demarcations of the literary road.

It was first in 1877 that a serialized narrative by an anonymous author appeared in Kanayomi Shinbun entitled *Torioi O-Matsu no Den* (The Legend of Torioi O-Matsu). The serialization was abruptly stopped and published as a book in its entirety the following year under the author's name Kubota Hikosaku (1846 – 98) and the title was changed to *Torioi O-Matsu Kaijō*

kosaku (1846 – 98) and the title was changed to *Torioi O-Matsu Kaijō Shinwa* (The Myth of Torioi O-Matsu on the Ocean).³ Kubota had been a disciple of the *gesaku* writer Kanagaki Robun (1829 – 94) and the *kabuki* dramatist Kawatake Mokuami (1816 – 93), but before turning to writing, he worked as a civil servant, constructing schools in Tokyo.⁴ While writing the story, Kubota worked as a journalist and this diverse background is reflected in the text, which is a curious mix of *gesaku* gossip, journalistic reportage, and *kabuki* narrative style.

The young and beautiful protagonist, O-Matsu, is a Hinin *dokufu*, an adulteress and harlot prone to commit murder to escape a problematic situation, a wicked woman of the worst kind. One year before serialization began, the police had arrested Takahashi O-Den (1851 – 79), a real life *dokufu* that allegedly began her criminal career by poisoning her husband, and then turned to prostitution, larceny, and homicide before being caught after slitting the throat of a haberdasher in Asakusa. The similarities between O-Matsu and O-Den raises the inevitable question if the story is a mere sensationalized attempt at reportage. There are however, also enough discrepancies and illusory embellishments to demarcate the story as a work of fiction. Yet, at the same time, it is unquestionable that the real life story of Takahashi O-Den was a major inspiration for Kubota.

Hence, the first appearance of a Burakumin in Meiji literature is dispersed under the cloak of sensationalism modeled on an authentic person and based on actual events that can be verified. While it may be an overstatement to claim that this sets a pattern for the whole period, it does occur regularly enough to merit our attention. Certainly, it cannot be overlooked as a random incidence of minuscule significance for the early writings on Burakumin. As we shall see, Eta and Hinin characters are often introduced into the narrative as an excuse for aggrandizement.

The character, and real life person, of Suzuki Tōkichirō, is a prime example of embroidery in early Meiji literature. He is one of three men that comprise the *Ansei Mitsugumi Sakazuki* (Three Sake-cups of the Ansei Group), a pun on the unequal trading agreements concluded between Japan and the Five Great Powers of United States, Russia, Great Britain, France and the Netherlands in 1858, and better known as the Ansei treaties. The story with the same name was published in 1885 and written by Shōrin Hakuen (1832 – 1905, real name: Wakabayashi Yoshiyuki), in the best tradition of *Kōdan*.⁵ Originally, they began as lectures on historical and literary texts given before high-ranking people and were known as *Kōshaku*, these later developed into a form of entertainment popularized as *Kōdan* that reached its zenith during the first half of the Meiji era. The narrator is often seated behind a desk and denotes the rhythm of his words with a folding fan or wooden clap-sticks, adhering to an old tradition. It was during the Meiji era that these ancient orally transmitted stories began to be transcribed and thus laying the foundation for popular fiction.

In *Ansei Mitsugumi Sakazuki*, Suzuki Tōkichirō is a high-ranking *yoriki*, a samurai that in modern military terminology would fall within the rank of NCO, but in reality, he is an Eta. He stands accused by his peers of hiding his background. To understand the sensational claim Shōrin makes, it is as if blacks would have fought voluntarily as officers for the Confederate Army in the Civil War, or Jews serving as officers in Hitler's Waffen SS.* According to his accusers, Tōkichirō was born to a local Eta leader in Yonezawa and abandoned as a child. He was found by Watanabe Genbei, a Confucian scholar from Akita and given the name Minamoto Jirō. When some parasites challenge his foster-father to a duel, he wounds them and has to leave the house.⁶

He is invited to stay with the house of Nunoya Kichibei in Echigo Province where the vile *rōnin* Shinohara Daisuke, a samurai for hire, reveals his entire background to him and Jirō (Tōkichirō) duly cuts down Shinohara Daisuke together with his wife. Immediately, a new vile *rōnin*, by the name Hara Jūemon, then enters and arranges a meeting between Jirō and his biological father, Fuji Kottai, at an inn in Yonezawa. The young man then changes his name to Tōkichirō in honor of his father, the written character for Fuji and Tō in Tōkichirō being the same. Thus, by continually changing names, he was able to hide his origin and rise to a high social position in society. Yet, by adopting the character from his father's name, he also acknowledges his Eta background and that he kept it a secret.

Hence, the humble beginnings of Burakumin characters in the early transformation into the modern were as rouge criminals and deceptive villains. This characterization underscores the persistence and omnipresence of the remaining prejudicial attitudes towards this group. In the first early efforts to produce modern prose, there were very few attempts challenging and probing existing attitudes and institutions. The authors were raised in the authoritarian atmosphere of the feudal system of the Tokugawa Shōgunate, and they instinctively accepted the norms that prevailed during that earlier era. They certainly did not have any incentive to query existing norms and they had never been exposed to alternative value systems. Consequently, literature's *raison d'être* for these authors was to entertain the reading public in the established tradition of *Kanzen Chōaku*.

An outside force was required to introduce a morsel of skepticism in relation to lingering norms. Having already opened up the country to trade and the wholehearted pursuit of narrowing the technological gap with the Western world, the Meiji oligarchy had also opened a Pandora's box of unforeseen philosophical, social, and literary influences. These foreign, initially alien, elements of metaphysics would first manifest itself in the writings of Fukuchi Ōchi.

* The question of race and religion is obviously irrelevant to the analogy since defilement is the basis of Burakumin discrimination. The example is given as an illustration of the exaggeration used in these early stories.

Fukuchi Ōchi and *égalité*

Fukuchi Ōchi (1841 – 1906) was born as Genichirō to a physician named Kōan in Nagasaki in 1841. At the age of fifteen, he joined a renowned school of *Rangaku* managed by the noted translator and interpreter Namura Kakei (also referred to as Yauemon). After studying Dutch for only one year, he was accepted as *Keikotsūji*, or apprentice translator. His progress and talent made him an object of scorn and disdain among his envious peers and this likely contributed to him seeking his fortune in Edo. He arrived there in the winter of 1858 and started to study English under Moriyama Takichirō (1820 – 71), the official interpreter for Commodore Perry. In less than six months, he acquired a prowess sufficient to be employed by the *Bakufu*.⁷

He joined the first foreign mission in 1862, led by Takenouchi Yasunori, (1807 – ?) bound for Europe as a translator together with, among others, Fukuzawa Yukichi, (1835 – 1901) preceding the better known Iwakura mission by almost ten years. He had barely time to readjust to Japanese life before being included in the Shibata mission to France in 1868, thus Fukuchi began studying French and international law. These two visits enamored him with European culture and he devoted himself to the opening of Japan. However, he was slightly ahead of his times and after petitioning the *Bakufu* ten times, without receiving any response he was dismayed and for a time devoted himself to an intense life of debauchery in Tokyo's floating world and lost his position as a government translator.

Having so far been a constant victim of what the Danes call “Jante's Law”[†] Fukuchi set out to get back at the *Bakufu* with a vengeance. Together with dramatist friends and the financial backing of publisher Hirooka Kōsuke, he started in 1868, the first year of Meiji, the *Kōko Shinbun* newspaper in which he severely criticized the *Bakufu* government. The newspaper, featuring an op-ed column, petitions from readers and *kana* attached to *kanji* (orthographic rendition of an ideogram) appealed to a broad audience, particularly women and other less educated that could not read *kanji*. However, the newspaper only survived for two months. The newly established Meiji government, wanting to mend its relations with former *Bakufu* officials, issued a decree that newspapers without a publishing permit from the government would be banned.

It did not take long for Fukuchi to get back to his licentious lifestyle. Through the good office of Shibusawa Eiichi, (1840 – 1931) Japan's first industrial tycoon, he was introduced to Itō Hirobumi, (1841 – 1909) who immediately employed him in the Finance ministry.⁸ He joined Itō on the

* Dutch learning, Japan's contacts with the West was limited to a Dutch trading station located at Dejima in Nagasaki harbor during the Tokugawa Shōgunate.

† It consists of ten commandments from Danish author Aksel Sandemose's novel “En flyktning krysser sit spor” (A fugitive crosses his tracks) and it usually refers to the first commandment: “Thou shalt not believe thou art anybody.”

Iwakura mission and participated in a total of four foreign missions within a period of 10 years. Following a well-established pattern, it did not take long for Fukuchi to get involved in verbal fracas with his co-workers. Itō came to the conclusion that he had no choice but to let Fukuchi leave the ministry.

After leaving the ministry, he joined the staff of the newly established *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun* (Tokyo Daily News) and established Japan's first editorial column. The paper took a strong pro-government stand and was constantly involved in fervid debates with *Seiron Shinbun* (Political Debate Gazette), closely connected to the democratic *Jiyū Minken Undō* (Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement). Since his editorials still exist and are available, it is possible to trace how his originally radical political views changed as he grew older. During a trip to the U.S. with Itō Hirobumi only three years before joining the newspaper, he spent almost three days in constant debate with Itō urging him to create a constitutional monarchy in the new constitution. A few years earlier, the *Bakufu* had branded him a republican. However, once his career was firmly lodged, he became a purveyor of official views (*goyō kisha*) and kept on socializing with the upper echelons of the new bureaucracy. Slowly he shifted his views towards an impartial gradualism, thus advocating the establishment of local assemblies before constituting a national parliament and called attention to the need of corporal and intellectual liberation as a prerequisite to political participation. In small incremental steps, he carved out a more independent position for his paper vis-à-vis the government.

In June of 1875 Fukuchi was asked by Kido Takayoshi (1833 – 77) to serve as his secretary at a convention of regional representatives that the Count was chairing. After the convention, Fukuchi, true to nature, enabled to alienate the representatives by saying that “it was only due to Chairman Kido and my own effort that the meeting at least outwardly resembled a convention.” Despite the pomposity, or perhaps because of it, Itō Hirobumi selected Fukuchi to again serve as secretary to the convention when he chaired it three years later and again Fukuchi would snub the representatives.

Considering the low esteem in which he held public officials, it is somewhat puzzling that he decided to run as a candidate in the 1879 election to the Tokyo City Council. He ran in Tokyo's Shitaya Ward, won a seat and decided to also run as a candidate to chair the City Council opposite Fukuzawa Yuki-chi, an election he won. As such, he represented Tokyo when former U.S. President Ulysses S. Grant visited Japan in 1879. More importantly is that he was instrumental in establishing the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce, the Yokohama Exchange, the Tokyo Stock Exchange, *Fukudakai*—a Buddhist Children's Hospital, *Rakuzenkai*—a school for blind children, and *Hakuai-sha*—the precursor to the Japanese Red Cross.⁹ Hence, he played an integral role in improving and modernizing social welfare for the less fortunate as well as establishing the principle that society as a whole has a responsibility for all its

citizens. His devotion to improving the lot of the less fortunate was undeniably founded in his original radically liberal outlook.

The five years between 1875 and 1880 could be called the “Golden Years” of Fukuchi Ōchi’s career. Then, in the spring of 1880, Fukuchi takes a vehemently strong stance against the disposal of government property at a public rally. He had joined Numa Morikazu’s (1844 – 90) magazine *Ōmei Zasshi**, a magazine based on principles of the Freedom and Peoples’ Rights Movement, thus switching to a diametrically opposed position on most social issues. In August of that year, he gave an eloquent speech worthy of Bragi, opposing the government’s desire to sell its holdings, in front of an audience of thousands at the *Shintomiza*, one of Tokyo’s leading kabuki theaters. However, soon afterwards he abruptly switched back to a pro-government stance, lambasting his newly acquired retinue from the private sector. The myrmidons were flabbergasted and wroth with the tergiversator so they spread the rumor that Fukuchi had been a government spy all the time, sent in to probe their attitude to the government. It was also said that he had sold out for 10,000 yen, the equivalent of six years salary as an editor for the magazine.¹⁰ Overnight he became a social pariah and one of Meiji Japan’s most detested men, a Brutus to Caesar or Cromwell to Charles I.

It comes as no surprise then, that he returned to his old government cronies when he was asked to establish a new pro-government party pending the formation of a parliament. Together with *Meiji Nippō*’s Maruyama Sakura (1840 – 99) and *Tōyō Shinpō*’s[†] Mizuno Torajirō, he formed the Rikken Teiseitō, better known as just Teiseitō, the (Constitutional) Imperial Rule Party. Their political agenda was focused on an imperially decreed constitution with veto and casting vote rights for the emperor, suffrage restricted to property owners and restrictions on freedom of speech and the right to assemble. This was very much in tune with the desires of the Meiji oligarchy’s conservative approach to modernizing Japan’s political institutions. It is also a vivid illustration of Fukuchi’s ability to trim his sails to every wind, or as the Japanese express it: being a *Happōbijin*, a beauty in all directions.

It seems he had changed sides too often, because his old political cronies began to turn away from him. After a few years, the Meiji government started to publish its own gazette with official decrees and decisions. Thereby pulling the rug from underneath Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun and denying Fukuchi his livelihood. In 1888, he would relinquish his post as editor to Seki Naohiko, (1857 – 1934) and the newspaper would later evolve into one of Japan’s major national papers, the *Mainichi Shinbun*. Therefore, it was not until he was close to 50 years old, that he embarked upon a new career as a fictional writer.

His first attempts came in the field of *Kabuki* scripts. Together with Ihara Seiseien (1870 – 1941) and the famous kabuki actor Ichikawa Danjūrō IX

* Literally “Mating Call Magazine”

† Two other principal pro-government newspapers in early Meiji. Maruyama and Mizuno were the papers’ respective editors.

(1839 – 1903), he wrote and produced several plays that have fallen into benign oblivion. Some, however, retain certain redeeming values in their attempt to reform and modernize the *Kabuki* theater in the face of emerging Western cultural influences. *Otokodate Harusamegasa* that was produced in 1897 clearly falls into this category, despite being an adaptation of a novel with the same title published three years earlier, rather than written directly for the stage.

The title defies translation because there is no Western equivalent to an *otokodate*—a chivalrous scoundrel and loudmouth with a criminal disposition, willing to defend the lower classes against overweening samurai. The second part literally means “a spring rain umbrella” but is actually a subtle allusion to *Harusame* (Spring Rain), one of Japan’s most popular *hauta*—a lyrical piece performed on *samisen*. The protagonist goes by the name Ōguchiya Gyōu, an *otokodate* promoted from the lower rank of “loan shark.”

He was engaged by Usuyuki Tayū, an *oiran*—a prostitute of the highest class—to support her quest for *adauchi*, a legal form of blood feud, against the evil high-ranking samurai Itsumi Tesshinsai.¹¹ We are then introduced to Tsurigane Shōbei, leader of the Inazuma gang, a man with a debt of honor to both Gyōu and Tesshinsai. Tsurigane Shōbei also goes under the name Utsunomiya no Kumehachi, known as an “eta leader by the people from *Yashū* to *Ōshū*,” for all practical purposes the equivalent of northern Japan.

In one scene Gyōu goes to a restaurant ready to pick a fight with Tesshinsai and Shōbei, but they are already there waiting for him to arrive. When he sees them, he bursts into an inner monologue and says: “I am certainly lucky today, coming to fight you only to find that you are already here, ready to pick a fight with me, you filthy eta dog Tsurigane.” When Shōbei approaches him, Gyōu declares out loud: “Ohh it stinks, this foul stench reeks of dog hide, hey Shinbei, bring me some of that incense wood!” When Shōbei gets even closer, Gyōu continues in the same loud voice: “Yeach, the stench is getting worse. Not even incense wood can extinguish the defiled odor of raw hide. It does not even reek as revolting when they recklessly carry around the raw hides from dogs and cats in the bordello district. Ohh, the stench!” Provocatively Gyōu lifts up his kimono sleeve in front of his nose to underline his disgust with the *Eta*.¹²

Shōbei realizes that Gyōu’s theatrics are directed towards him and since he does not want his background to be known, he pretends not to see Gyōu and pass him by without acknowledging his existence. Instead, Shōbei and Tes-

* Robin Hood may seem an obvious candidate, but an *otokodate* would not share his loot nor hide in a forest. A. B. Mitford in his *Tales of Old Japan*, published in 1871 by Macmillan & Co, gave the first description of an *otokodate* in the West. This quote is from the 1903 reprint: “The word *Otokodaté* occurs several times in these Tales; and as I cannot convey its full meaning by a simple translation, I must preserve it in the text, explaining it by the following note, taken from the Japanese of a native scholar. The *Otokodaté* were friendly associations of brave men bound together by an obligation to stand by one another in weal or in woe, regardless of their own lives, and without inquiring into one another’s antecedents. A bad man, however, having joined the *Otokodaté* must forsake his evil ways; for their principle was to treat the oppressor as an enemy, and to help the feeble as a father does his child. [...] The word, taken by itself, means a manly or plucky fellow.” (p. 68 – 69)

shinsai proceed to Asakusa Avenue to ambush Gyōu, but he manages to wrestle down Shōbei and brings him to a restaurant where they drink *sake*. Shōbei is impressed by Gyōu's tolerant mind and decides to reveal his background: "Oh the sorrow of not being able to walk among people as an equal even if you are wealthy. Mortified I covered up my tracks, changed my name, and left for Edo where I joined the Brotherhood of Inazuma. I fear nobody, am a true hedonist and scolding people is my forte. In short, I am Tsurigane Shōbei."

To this Gyōu responds: "Such rubbish from a man! Whether born an Eta or Daimyō, is not life granted us in the same manner? Is there any difference between people borne into this world? I think not! Discrimination has been caused by the selfish of this world. All the people of the world are brothers; the whole class system is just status marks attached by self-serving scallywags. Gyōu does not pay heed to such twaddle."¹³

He then goes on to talk about his own background, being born a townsman he belonged to the lowest of the four established classes; tradesmen. He had to lower his head in the presence of poor samurai not capable of supporting themselves. Fed up with loan sharking he transferred the responsibility of his family and entered criminal circles. Shōbei is deeply moved by Gyōu's homily, lamenting the fact that it had to take him 34 years to meet a person of such an audacious nature. Then he reveals to Gyōu his plan of delivering Tesshinsai to Tayū for her *adauchi*, and finally commits *seppuku*.

Otokodate Harusamegasa first appeared as a novel in 1894, published by Shun'yōdō, and then appeared as kabuki on the stage in 1897. The only real difference between the play and the novel is Shōbei's ritual suicide, in the play he commits it outside the restaurant, Tatsudaya, but in the novel he does it at the place of the *adauchi*. It seems that Fukuchi's reason for moving the suicide was to spread out death scenes to keep theater audiences enthralled throughout the play.

Fukuchi based the play on his earlier success *Sukeroku*, but even with the similarities, critics at the time were not kindly disposed towards him. Wrote one: "although they had spent lavishly on costumes it is not a very interesting play."¹⁴ Although it failed critically, it managed to secure financial success for its producers. However, *Otokodate Harusamegasa* is not played anymore, has not earned a place in the annals of kabuki legends and the most benevolent treatment, from a critical aspect, is to let it remain in dormant oblivion. The fact that Fukuchi provides neither explanation nor any clue as to why Gyōu suddenly changes from a blatant bully to a liberal proponent for equality is merely a minor flaw in a fragmentary plot and weak character description.¹⁵

Despite its lack of literary quality, both the play and the novel merits our interest since they elucidate our understanding of the necessary intellectual background required to write a novel like *Hakai*. Fukuchi was endowed with an extraordinary brilliant mind and though exposed to Western learning from an early age in Nagasaki, he failed to grasp the core of intellectual concepts

like liberty and equality that had permeated Europe and the U.S. since the French Revolution. His conceptual world was firmly rooted in the lingering feudalistic class distinction still visible in his favorite pleasure houses in Yoshiwara. Although from a humble background, he had risen to a position of prominence, and it probably only seemed natural to Fukuchi that he was now entitled to use people of the lower classes as he saw fit, be they nocturnal pleasure women or characters in a novel.

While Shimazaki Tōson sought intellectual stimuli from Byron, Dante, Shakespeare, Wordsworth and Rousseau, Fukuchi favored the factual, emphatic and insensitive prose of Macaulay's *History of England*, and the masterful lucidity in Edward Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Even his taste in Japanese literature leaned towards the historical epic; it is said that Fukuchi learned to play the *Biwa*—a four stringed lute—just so he could enjoy *Heike Monogatari* in the traditional manner.¹⁶

Trapped in his own interpretation of historicism—he took to heart Gibbon's maxim that “History...is, indeed, little more than the register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind”—Fukuchi subscribed completely to Katō Hiroyuki's (1836 – 1916) reversal from human rights as innate to disregarding them for the greater good of national progress. In spite of his earlier pamphleteering, he never developed any genuine social concern for the less fortunate in society.

Throughout his successful years in journalism and his close connections with the ruling oligarchy, combined with his travels around the world, he did however acquire a taste for the finer things in life. This lifestyle did not come cheap in Meiji Japan, and Fukuchi tried to carve out a living as a professional writer at a time when authors were put to scorn. Thus, it comes as no surprise that Fukuchi's main concern was the construction of plots and stories provocative enough to become a topic of shocked parlor gossip. If his stories did not appeal to the wealthier segments of society, he would not be able to find buyers of his production.

Consequently, when Fukuchi does bring forward the problem of Burakumin in *Otokodate Harusamegasa*, it is proof of a changing attitude in Meiji Japan. Not so much against the Burakumin per se, but a recognition that there existed a residue of social problems that had not managed the transition to modernity in a satisfactory way. If nothing else, Fukuchi at least put the spotlight on the problem. In that sense, he laid the first stones that would pave the way towards Tōson's *Hakai*.

* In English translation; The Tale of the Heike. A medieval Japanese heroic epic, which to classic Japanese literature is what the Iliad was to Western literature, a profuse source of later dramas, ballads, and tales. It stems from unwritten traditional tales and variant texts composed between 1190 and 1221, which were gathered together (c. 1240) by an unknown author to form a single epic.

The Haiku of Masaoka Shiki

Together with Bashō, Buson, and Issa, Masaoka Shiki (1867 – 1902) is regarded as one of Japan’s great *haiku* poets.¹⁷ His birth name was Tokoronosuke, later revised to Tsunenori. He also wrote under the pseudonyms Dassai Shooku and Take no Satobito, but is usually always referred to in the established tradition simply as Shiki. He was born into a samurai family of modest means in Matsuyama City located in Ehime Prefecture on Shikoku, the smallest and somewhat isolated of Japan’s four main islands. At that time, the prefecture was still called Matsuyama-han after the *daimyō* that controlled the area originally called Iyonokuni.

Shiki’s father, Hayata, died at an early age, compounding the family’s economical problems in the new samurai free era. Through his grandmother’s excellent tutelage, Shiki received a solid grounding in the Chinese classics. He had shown an interest in politics, albeit a tad radical for his grandparents’ liking, and was drawn to the Freedom and Peoples’ Rights Movement at an early age. His association with the movement seems to have been short-lived and his interest soon waned. Obtaining his uncle Takusen’s approval at age 16, he went to study in Tokyo at Hitotsubashi Daigaku Yobimon with the intention of becoming a politician. Instead of pursuing politics, he became acquainted with Natsume Sōseki (1867 – 1916), Japan’s preeminent novelist of the Meiji era.

Around this time, Shiki began to write *haiku* and *tanka** and entertained the notion that he may become a philosopher instead of politician. He entered the Imperial University’s Literary Department and was exposed to Tsubouchi Shōyō’s (1859 – 1935) *Shōsetsu shinzui* (Essence of the Novel, 1885 – 86), Japan’s first major modern literary criticism, and Futabatei Shimei’s (1864 – 1909) *Ukigumo* (The Drifting Cloud, 1887 – 89). It is indeed difficult to underestimate the importance that Tsubouchi, and specifically *Shōsetsu shinzui*, played in demonstrating the direction that Japanese post-feudal literature ought to take.

According to Marleigh Ryan it is imbued with “evangelical qualities present throughout the book” since it aims to justify the novel (*shōsetsu*) purely on its artistic—as opposed to its earlier didactic—merits.¹⁸ Janet Walker states that this directive by Tsubouchi “was most significant for the development of the novel of the individual’s inner life” i.e. he focused on the problem of characterization, something both writers and translators of Western literature had shied away from, believing that the Japanese general readers simply were not interested in character.¹⁹

Tsubouchi severely criticized Edo literature for being one-dimensional, preoccupied with its edifying themes; it failed to portray essential human emotions. He considered the traditional Japanese poetic forms too restricted

* *Tanka* means “short poem” consisting of 31 syllables in five lines of 5-7-5-7-7 syllables, the basic form of a Japanese poem.

for the new way of life emerging under Western intellectual influence. *Waka* could not depict man's emotional spectrum nor tell a story as Western poetry could.²⁰

The aim of the novel lies in man's emotions and in the world around him. Stitching with threads of originality, it skillfully weaves a fabric of all human emotions. Beautifully, it creates a fabric made of unrestricted, unlimited, hidden, wondrous, mysterious causes and an endless variety of effects. It portrays the secrets of destiny. It is the duty of the novel to make visible that which is hard to see. The perfect novel depicts what is difficult to paint in a painting; makes palpable what is difficult to express in a poem; portrays the mysterious which is impossible to project on the stage.²¹

For Shiki it must have felt as if Tsubouchi had been speaking directly to him, because ten years after the publication of *Shōsetsu shinzui*, Shiki would write in the magazine *Nippon*: "The *haiku* is a division of literature and literature is a division of art. Thus, the criteria for beauty are the criteria for literature and the criteria for literature are the criteria for *haiku*" echoing Tsubouchi's criticism, but directing it towards traditional poetry.²² Shiki credited Tsubouchi's *Shōsetsu shinzui* for opening his eyes to realism (*shajitsu*) in art and to copying nature (*mōsha*).²³ The need to define *haiku* as a part of literature may strike some as rather peculiar. However, one should bear in mind that; a) literature as a term was still not clearly defined, and b) for the old *haiku* Masters it was an instrument to achieve Shinto morality or Buddhist enlightenment.²⁴

Tsubouchi Shōyō's main concern was to raise the Japanese novel to the level where it could be judged as art for art's sake. In that vein, Shiki criticized traditional *haiku* as inadequate to express the life of the new age.²⁵ In his treatise on poetry *Haikai Taiyō* (A *Haiku* Synopsis) published in 1899, Shiki wrote: "I cannot stand the sight of poetry written after the Tenpō era, almost all of it is vulgar and hackneyed. Let us call it poetry for and by moon-calves."²⁶ He went even further in his critique when he chose to attack the *haiku* of Bashō, the undisputed Master of the 5-7-5 syllables. For some time Shiki had criticized *haiku* for being barren and plagiaristic in his magazine *Nippon*, he thought them limited in both diction and choice of subject. It was however, when he directed his criticism directly against Bashō in his *Bashō Zatsudan* (Conversations on Bashō) that he became the focus of attention.

Bashō had over time reached a position within the *haiku* world where praise was routinely lavished on him and nothing but hagiographies were written about him.²⁷ This seraphic state irritated Shiki immensely, since he thought that Bashō ought to be judged on his literary merits and not as an object of worship. To achieve that, he went immediately for the jugular vein in his opening statement: "I would like to state at the outset my judgment that the majority of Bashō's *haiku* are bad or even doggerel, and not more than a tenth can be called first-rate. Even barely passable verses are as rare as morning stars."²⁸ While it is safe to assume that Shiki never had heard of

Solomon Ibn Gabirol (1022 – c. 1070) and his *Mukhtar al-jawahir* (Choice of Pearls) in which he stated that “A man’s mind is hidden in his writings; criticism brings it to light,” that is nevertheless exactly the intention with his critique of Bashō.

Considering the revival Bashō has enjoyed in post-war Japan this criticism may seem a tad harsh, but to Shiki’s contemporaries he must surely have seemed schismatic. Yet, he proclaimed that Bashō’s “good” haiku was both masculine and majestic, two qualities sorely lacking in most modern Japanese literature. Shiki simply showed that even poetry by Bashō could stand up to the standard of criticism that Tsubouchi had introduced with *Shōsetsu shinzui*.

During the process of dissecting Bashō’s poetry, Shiki gradually began to discover Buson and appreciate his sensuous pursuit of romantic lyricism. Yosa Buson was not only a poet but also a painter in the *Bunjinga* School, or “literati painter” tradition of the scholar turned amateur artist originating in Yüan China and primarily represented by Chao Meng-fu (1254 – 1322). Shiki considered Buson grossly neglected: “The haiku of Buson are the equal of Bashō’s and in some respects superior. He has failed to win the fame due him mainly because his poetry is not for the masses, and because the haiku poets after Buson were ignorant and lacking in discrimination.”²⁹ Contributing to his understanding of the visual elements in Buson’s poetry was Nakamura Fusetsu (1866 – 1943) a painter of Western art.³⁰ It was under his direction that Shiki learned to distinguish the qualities of Japanese and Western art and concluded that haiku poetry and painting were in essence identical arts.³¹

Out of this perspicaciousness, Shiki developed the concept of *shaseibun* or “text delineating life” that he recorded for posterity in his *Shōen no Ki* (Hortulusgraphia, 1898). Though *shaseibun* started using expressions in the traditional literary style, it soon switched to colloquial usage, describing in objective terms, a scene from a fixed moment in the flow of time. This style was popularized in Natsume Sōseki’s *Wagahai wa neko de aru* (I Am a Cat, 1905 – 06) and *Kusamakura* (The Three-Cornered World, 1906) but Shimazaki Tōson experimented with the principle of *shasei* (delineation of life) already when he wrote sketches of the people and landscape surrounding Komoro when working as a teacher.³² *Shasei* in its original shape as outlined by Shiki can be viewed as a harbinger of the realistic prose Tōson would write in *Hakai*.

Shiki’s admiration for Buson’s poetry was geared towards its visual quality, the same quality he recognized in the *waka* poetry of Minamoto Sanetomo (1192 – 1219).³³ Both used a fair amount of Kanji, the manliness* Shiki demanded, and nouns predominated on the expense of particles. Thus, for Shiki the importance in the “delineation of life” lay in the linguistic diversity required to sketch reality and that is why he endorsed the usage of elegant as

* Female poets wrote exclusively in the cursive Hiragana phonogram.

well as vulgar diction and that Western words should intermingle with classical Chinese expressions.³⁴

As part of the haiku reformation Shiki also advocated a departure from the strict adherence to seasonal expressions and pointed out the need for different topics. It was important that haiku added observations from different angles.³⁵ Katō Takusen, his maternal uncle was 14 years younger than his mother and thus only eight years older than Shiki, had been a student under Nakae Chōmin, (1847- 1901) the leader of the *Jiyū Minken Undō* or Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement (his life is described in more detail on page 130). Through him, Shiki learned about the discrimination Burakumin were subjected to, but being a member of the ruling samurai class, Shiki seems to have thought that this was just in order. In 1901, when in his sickbed, he wrote the following poem:

<i>tsuru no su ya</i>	Of all places
<i>basho mo arō ni</i>	For a crane's nest
<i>eta no ie</i>	The Eta's house!

It was published in *Bokujū Itteki* (A Drop of Indian Ink) by Iwanami Shoten and in the pocket version's editorial notes (Iwanami Bunko) from 1988 it is pointed out that the poem contains 'discriminatory terminology that it is based on a striking perception of buraku discrimination'. In Japanese folklore, the crane is a propitious bird symbolizing longevity, and to Shiki it seemed preposterous that such a magnificent bird would build a nest in a setting where an Eta's house existed. It should be pointed out, however, that one possible interpretation of the poem would be that after the abolishment of social classes, cranes would also visit upon Burakumin dwellings. Considering the need for Iwanami's editor to explain the discriminatory content, the latter interpretation seems to require a certain measure of exculpation.

As is easily deduced from even a cursory glance of any haiku collection, the setting of an Eta's house is by any measure a most unusual choice on Shiki's behalf. At the same time, it is a lucid specimen of the modern haiku in its choice of topic and space, and although derogatory in content, it has a unique freshness in its political ramification. It should also be duly noted that at the time of publication, Shiki was not criticized for his discriminatory view, an indication that it was considered *comme il faut*.

In a literary exchange with his disciple Kawahigashi Hekigotō (1873 – 1937), Shiki specifically used the poem above as an example of superior writing. Hekigotō claimed that Shiki produced mediocre poetry and gave as examples:

<i>yamabuki ya</i>	No matter the praying
<i>ikura inotte mo</i>	Oh, the mountain winds
<i>onnaji eda</i>	In the same tree branch

<i>yamabuki ya</i>	What is it touching?
<i>nani ga sawatte</i>	Oh, the mountain winds
<i>chirihajime</i>	Disintegration commences

To this Shiki replied: “If these idiosyncratic verses are said to be mediocre, should not ‘*tsuru no su ya / basho mo arō ni / eta no ie*’ also be categorized as mediocre?” The rhetorical tone is evidence enough that Shiki did not think so, and hence, he thought it an example of his finer poetry.³⁶ This discussion is a likely reason that the poem is still reproduced, albeit with deprecatory explanations, in new editions of Shiki’s poetry collections.

The absence of other poems on the topic of Eta in modern editions of Shiki’s poetry, may lead one to the conclusion that the above poem was the only one he ever wrote on the subject of Eta. Actually four other poems are known to exist, three of them published in the original version of *Kanzan Rakuboku* (Cold Mountains, Fallen Trees, 1893 – 94) a collection of more than 12,000 *haiku*.

<i>eta no ko ya</i>	Peeping through the window
<i>mado kara nozoku</i>	Oh, an Eta child
<i>natsuge ka na</i>	Summer sutras

Summer sutras refers to the custom of Buddhist monks to seclude themselves in a room for a certain period during the summer and copy down the Buddhist Scriptures, especially the Lotus Sutra, for hand. Probably this monk belonged to the True Pure Land Sect, stationed at a temple close to a buraku community. The scene is something Shiki may have experienced in his youth while living in Matsuyama. Not too far from where he was raised is the Sōkōji temple where his uncle is inhumed and Takusen specifically stated in his will, that he wanted to be buried at a “buraku temple.”³⁷

Shiki wrote this poem in 1893, when his ideas about *shasei* began to crystallize, and he probably wanted to reproduce the scene as accurately as possible. Obviously, the most discriminatory part of the poem is the use of the word Eta. By the time Shiki wrote the poem, more than 20 years had passed since the class system was abolished. It is however, important to remember that at this time, the only other term available was *shinheimin*, a six syllable macrologos unfit for the penurious phrase required of a haiku poem. Yet, there is also a sense of alienation present in the Eta child, gazing in at an erudite world, unobtainable for the illiterate. This image underscores their extra-

neous status together with a desire to assimilate into the society of the Japanese majority.

<i>etamura no</i>	Skinning a dog
<i>inu no kawahagu</i>	In the Eta village
<i>bon no tsuki</i>	August moon

In this poem the August moon refers to the festival of O-bon, a traditional Buddhist celebration observed to welcome home the spirits of one's ancestors. The villagers however, do not adhere to tradition or respect the religious ceremony. Instead, they go about their defiling work even at nighttime. Considering the villagers' strong work ethic—laboring through a vacation at night—one might argue that the poem pays homage to ambitious Eta. Yet, O-bon is a period to set aside labor, relatives even from far away will try hard to return to their home village in order to participate in the merriment. Thus, working through the holiday, at night when most people are dancing, accentuates their estrangement from the surrounding society. In addition, if Shiki wanted to eulogize their work ethics, he could have chosen a task other than the skinning of a dog. The image evoked is of a blood soaked hide, laid out to dry, and the meat carved to be eaten by the villagers, while the stench of a fresh carcass infests the air.

Shiki manages to display an amazingly complex scene within the strict constraints of a haiku. Selecting an Eta village as the place for skinning a dog, projects an image of determined purpose, in any other place the action would be dismissed as an anomaly, a random accident. Placing it at night adds an ambiance of malevolence to the scenery of villagers going about their filthy task under the protection of darkness. Only the faint light of moon rays exposes their deadly deeds. Putting the discriminatory content aside, the poem is a textbook case on the construction of *shasei*.

<i>etamura no</i>	Not even a light
<i>tomoshihi mo naki</i>	In the Eta village
<i>yozamu ka na</i>	Night chills

The immediate impression given by this poem is one of destitution; the village is so poor it can provide neither light nor warmth for its inhabitants. Considering that the poem was written in 1896, by that time Shiki had enjoyed electric lighting for almost a decade, the image of an oil lamp (*tomoshihi*) equated backwardness in a society striving to modernize. The oil lamp takes on a strong symbolic image; in Heian Japan, *tomoshihi* was used as scholarship payment to students living in dormitories, ensuring they would have enough light to read even after dark. Hence, the lamp also carries the image of learning and education, but in the Eta village where they do not even have an oil lamp, they will remain in literal darkness, anchored in illiterate coldness.

All of the above poems on Eta are characterized by their gloomy pessimism; it seems Shiki was convinced that the Eta were condemned to a continual outcast existence. Bearing in mind the principles of *shasei*, this attitude is hardly surprising. Shiki's poems delineate life such as it was in an Eta village before the turn of the century, his condescending tone was merely an echo of societal standards, especially from a man with a proud samurai background. *Shasei* does not question *status quo*; it is a reflection of it.

This is perhaps most noticeable in the last poem that contrasts sharply in its optimistic tone with the earlier examples.

<i>etamura no</i>	Beautiful Buddha
<i>hotoke utsukushi</i>	In the Eta village
<i>Manjushage</i>	Cluster-amaryllis

Manjushage is a transliteration from Sanskrit (*manjūsaka*) and Kenkyūsha's Japanese-English dictionary gives 'cluster-amaryllis' as the English equivalent, unfortunately, the botanical translation completely fails to reproduce the Buddhist symbolism in the choice of flower.³⁸ According to traditional Indian Buddhist teachings, the cluster-amaryllis is a 'heavenly flower' empowered with a mysterious might that makes 'things fall into accord with one's will'. However, in Japan it is considered a flower of death and funerals, the poem is written in 1900, just two years before Shiki passed away. Perhaps the progress in society persuaded him that a different, dualistic yet optimistic tone was justified, or perhaps his deteriorating physique induced some atonement into his poetry. Whatever the reason, this poem exudes a lyrical beauty in a hidden dichotomy not found in his other poems on Eta. Even in such a "filthy place" as an Eta village, there is room for the splendor of a Buddha and at the same time, the image of the flowers suggests that the villagers are still surrounded by death.

Manjushage is also the name of a novel published posthumously. Actually, calling it a novel may be stretching the definition; a rough draft of a manuscript is probably a more correct description. Supposedly, the manuscript was finished in 1897.³⁹ Even though his disease tormented him, he almost certainly was lucid enough to realize that the critique would not treat it kindly. He did not even serialize it in any of the magazines he controlled, mainly *Nippon* and *Hototogisu*.⁴⁰

The protagonist is Tamagi, the eldest son of a wealthy family that traces its lineage back 300 years. Walking in the field one day, he comes across a girl called Mii picking *manjushage* that she will sell on the market. Tamagi is infatuated with Mii's unaffected and unassuming appearance, but he acquiesces to marry the girl his parents have selected. Disgusted by his own weakness he decides to kill his new wife on their wedding night, but outside, in the rain, he hears Mii crying and instead runs out into the storm. There he encounters Mii and they have intercourse somewhere in the border between reality and illu-

sion. Next, Tamagi wakes up in his parlor, at night he becomes feverish and begins to rave deliriously. Mii is never heard from again and her whereabouts are unknown.

Mii is an Eta girl, so Tamagi's only chance to marry her would be to elope together and abandon any claim on the family fortune. A plot like that contains the seed of an innovative romantic tragedy, but alas, Japan has no tradition of a tragic hero in the Aristotelian vein. Instead, Shiki, true to his inner convictions, applies *shajutsu* or the art of *shasei*, to his novel in the same manner he used it in his poetry. Thus, he realizes a vivid realism in the dialogue between the flower picking Eta girls, a coarse rustic conversation in the best spirit of *genbun itchi*.⁴¹ The similarities between Mii and George Bernard Shaw's flower girl Eliza Doolittle in his popular play *Pygmalion* are striking, Doolittle's cockney English has the same uncouth and rough flavor as Mii's *inaka-ben*.

Tamagi though, is no Henry Higgins, and Shiki did not embrace the humorous ambitions that Shaw displayed. His didactic bias is also almost diametrically opposed to Shaw's, George Bernard Shaw pokes fun at polite society and its rigid normative standards, Shiki on the other hand, warns against emotional acquiescence and advocate prudent normative standards. Tamagi is in the end reduced to a confused lunatic, unsure if he has only dreamt about Mii since no other person acknowledges her existence. It seems Shiki wanted to caution against marriages over social borderlines, saying that Eta women are the cause of perdition.

Manjushage was not published until Shiki's Collected Works came out in 1903, the novel did not attract a lot of attention since Masaoka Shiki in the public's mind foremost was a *haijin*—a haiku poet. By this time, Tōson was living in Komoro, a small village in Nagano, and working as a teacher. He had already begun his research for *Hakai*, and his good friend, novelist Tayama Katai (1871 – 1930), visited him regularly and brought both books and news from Tokyo. Since Tōson began his career as a poet, albeit in the new style, he must surely have been curious about any tidings regarding such a lustrous poet as Shiki that Tayama might have carried. Tayama knew very well that Tōson was inquisitive about the Burakumin, in his memoirs he would later recall: “Perhaps imitating Zola, he himself started visiting the villages of the Eta. As he drank tea with them, he would listen to them talk. I was later told that among the people of Komoro there was even the rumor that Shimazaki himself was an Eta.”⁴²

Once Tōson had heard about *Manjushage* and the character of Mii, it is within reason to assume that he would read the story, most likely brought, or mailed to him by Tayama. Having already adapted the *shasei* style of writing in his poetry, he must have been very receptive to the realistic dialogue Shiki presented. Especially since he had the opportunity to test that dialogue close by in the vicinity of Komoro. However, any direct influence Shiki might have had on Tōson is not as imperative as the mere fact that he wrote about Bura-

kumin, not only in his poetry, but also in prose that Shiki himself held in higher regard. The timing was also vital, because any doubts that may have haunted Tōson about writing the novel, was likely driven away by the existence of *Manjushage*. If a literatus of Shiki's status felt justified to include Burakumin in a novel, it is easy to imagine the stimulus it must have been for a budding novelist like Tōson.

Tokutomi Roka sets the mood

Among the authors that preceded Shimazaki Tōson's *Hakai*, Tokutomi Roka (1868 – 1927) is undoubtedly the person that comes closest to Tōson in background, experiences, and literary pursuit. He was born on December 8, 1868 in Minamata,* Higonokuni Province (modern Kumamoto Prefecture) into a family of *Gōshi*, farmers, and fishermen with the status of samurai. His given name was Kenjirō and he was the youngest of seven children in a family fiercely proud of its heritage and contribution to society. He was also only four years older than Tōson, so he belongs to the same generation.

His father, Ikkei, seems to have developed a keen sense for change and the direction that it would take. Already at five, he brought Kenjirō with him to the city of Kumamoto to equip him in Western clothes, an expensive endeavor at the time. After two years at Motoyama Elementary School, Kenjirō at nine transferred to Kumamoto Yōgakkō, a school run by Capt. Leroy Lansing Janes (1838 – 1909), a US educator that taught all classes in English. Worried by the onset of the *Seinan* War, the last stand of samurai under Saigō Takamori's (1827 – 77) leadership against the new Meiji government, and the fighting in Kumamoto, Ikkei called Kenjirō back to Minamata after only a year at the school. At eleven, he went to Kyoto together with his older brother Ichirō, who under his pen name Sohō, would become a famous journalist, author and publisher, as well as a notorious ultranationalist in the '20s and '30s.⁴³

They were to attend Dōshisha Eigakkō (from 1920: Dōshisha University) established only four years earlier by Nijijima Jō (1843 – 90) with the help of Jerome Dean Davis (1838 – 1910), an American missionary. Nijijima had studied at Amherst College in Massachusetts and after serving as interpreter in the Iwakura mission, he joined the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to serve as a missionary in Japan. Thus, the school was established on the Christian principles of New England Congregationalists mixed with the educational philosophy of a liberal-arts college. Just as Tōson, Tokutomi Roka became a Christian and was baptized at the age of 16 in Kyoto. He fell in love with principal Nijijima's niece Hisae, the liaison was not suitable, Hisae being the daughter of Nijijima's younger brother and a geisha, in the end Roka left the school in disgrace and returned home. His love for

* A small city that received worldwide attention in the '60s because of a disease similar to acute anterior poliomyelitis believed to be caused by carbide discharges into the sea, polluting fish and shellfish consumed by the locals.

Hisae would linger on his mind until he could free himself from her memory by revealing the whole story publicly in *Kuroi Me to Chairō no Me* (Black Eyes and Brown Eyes, 1914).

At 20, he joined his older brother in Tokyo as a journalist at the publishing house Min'yūsha that Sohō had started only a year earlier. Before going to Tokyo, Roka had discovered literature, especially the English translation of Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* and Futabatei Shimei's *Ukigumo*. His keen interest in literature propelled him to write short critical essays in a local magazine and it is from this time he started using his pen name of Roka, meaning reed flower. *Kokumin no tomo*, published by Min'yūsha, would come to occupy a central position in intellectual circles in the 1890s, but when Roka joined, the magazine barely managed to survive. Consequently, his older brother thought it appropriate that Roka should start his journalistic career by translating articles from foreign newspapers, an inexpensive method of producing newsprint.⁴⁴

It seems he had an intense interest in British reform politicians, probably awakened by his earlier contact with the Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement in Kagoshima. The three first books he published for Min'yūsha were about John Bright, (1811 – 99) Richard Cobden (1804 – 65) and William E. Gladstone (1809 – 98), all famous 19th century liberals. They must have influenced him strongly, because unlike most of his contemporaries, including his older brother, Roka never deviated from his beliefs and convictions. He remained a devoted reformist throughout his life and was strongly opposed to the patriarchal family system that he considered conservative and obstructing personal development of all family members, bar the oldest son.⁴⁵

This was also the theme in his first novel, *Hototogisu* (tr. Namiko, 1904) that he began serializing in his older brother's newspaper *Kokumin Shinbun* from November in 1898 until May the following year. The story chronicles the marriage of Kataoka Namiko, an army colonel's daughter, to the young navy lieutenant Kawashima Takeo. During the lieutenant's absence, Namiko contracts tuberculosis, and her mother-in-law begins to conspire to have Namiko divorced from her son. In a famous scene, Namiko laments having been born a woman just before she dies. The story was based on actual events surrounding General Ōyama Iwao's daughter Nobuko, and as such, elements of *gesaku* lingered on in the novel, even after Roka rewrote the manuscript for book publication.⁴⁶ The mix of gossipy content, weak characterization, plotting mother-in-law and realistic imagery of the predicament young women from early Meiji found themselves in, contributed to its success in the market.

Roused by the reception of *Hototogisu*, Roka soon launched a new serialized novel entitled *Omoide no Ki* (tr. Footprints in the Snow 1971) that ran from March 1900 for twelve months. The protagonist, Kikuchi Shintarō, is an amalgam of Roka and his brother Sohō, and the novel is a moderately fictionalized semi-autobiography of their common youth. According to Katō

Shūichi, *Omoide no Ki* “is packed with ideas and vivid descriptions but lacks consistency of thought.”⁴⁷ While Yoshida Masanobu thinks it “a masterpiece of romanticist literature brightly depicting the spirit of ascendancy in the early Meiji era.” For our purposes, it is at any rate slightly peripheral, because unlike the other works mentioned, no Burakumin appears in the novel. The protagonist, however, does visit a buraku in Okayama and it merits our interest since it is the first realistic description of a buraku.

Upon entering the place, an offensive stench strikes the nostrils. It is a municipality merely in name; several hutches for assorted beasts are lined up. On the sandy soil are narrow trees and bamboo on which the inhabitants have hung straw mats to construct simple hovels that lacked ceiling and windows, in the worst cases they also lacked floor and a door. After the rains, the wet sand made everything damp and moist so that the stale odor gradually penetrated one’s nose and from the blackened straws, dirt was dropping like tears. People wearing a wooden clog on one foot and a straw sandal on the other were the wealthy; almost everybody walked around barefooted. Their feeble faces were dark, almost raven, from never being washed, and due to the bad times, no smoke rising towards the sky could be seen.⁴⁸

It is indeed a bleak image that Roka paints and the impoverished conditions came as something of a chock for many readers. At the same time, many of their pre-conceived notions about a buraku and its inhabitants were probably confirmed. Building anything on sandy soil, even huts and shacks, was frowned upon, since even the slightest tremor would demolish anything standing there. Only a dimwit would build something without a ceiling on top of sand in a rain and earthquake infested area. Such a reaction was hardly the exception among general readers. Poverty in early Meiji was often considered, if not self-inflicted probably self-induced, or at least caused by passivity and lethargy. At a time when the rally cry *wakon yōsai* (Japanese spirit [combined with] Western learning) was heard everywhere; Roka presented a grim reminder that not everyone embraced the Japanese spirit or could comprehend Western learning. In a place where there was no smoke, there was also nothing to eat.

Even if we may think the text somewhat cluttered, readers at the time, especially the younger segment, were electrified by Roka’s combination of a realistic description while maintaining his lofty ideals. Keene reminds us that one music critic was so enamored that he confessed to having read *Omoide no Ki* over 150 times.⁴⁹ While this kind of devotion certainly appears to be borderline idolatry, it is also a lasting testament to one man’s uncompromising individuality shining brightly at a time of shadowy conformity. That is why *Omoide no Ki* is still widely read and appreciated more than 100 years later.

At the time of publication, Shimazaki Tōson was leaving poetry behind him and switching over to prose. He was undoubtedly encouraged by Roka’s commercial success and he has described how satisfied he was, when visiting

a hot spring in Ikao, Gunma Prefecture, he heard some gossip about Tokutomi Roka whom he had 'a deep relation with'.⁵⁰

Tokuda Shūsei brings gloom

Of all the writers that preceded Shimazaki Tōson, Tokuda Shūsei (1872 – 1943) is the only one that belongs to the same school of writing. Unlike most other naturalist writers, Tokuda was less concerned with the intellectual foundation and philosophical implications of realistic prose. He was born on December 23 in the fourth year of Meiji according to the old calendar, corresponding to February 1, 1872 in the Gregorian calendar. Suelo, as was his given name, was born just a few months before Tōson, to Tokuda Uhei and his fourth wife Take. The Tokudas were vassals to the house of Yokoyama, chief retainer to the Maeda family, rulers of Kaga Province (present day Ishikawa prefecture) and the second richest and most influential family in Japan after the Tokugawas.

During the Tokugawa era the two families intermarried frequently and the loyalty, ever since the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600, of the Maeda clan towards Tokugawa was never in question. This loyalty and close connection to Tokugawa would also be their ruin and downfall when a modicum of Meiji had elapsed. This in turn also affected their retainers, and the retainers' vassals. The family's insolvency meant that Suelo led a sickly childhood and his physical weakness delayed his school start for one year. When his father died in 1891, he had to drop out of school. In school, he had befriended Kiryū Yūyū (1873 – 1941, real name Masaji), who had kindled an interest for literature in Suelo, and together they traveled to Tokyo, walking most of the way, to begin a career in literature and journalism.⁵¹

As any young man with literary ambitions around that time would do, they sought out Ozaki Kōyō (1867 – 1903) and his *Ken'yūsha* (Society of Inkstone Friends)* group, hoping to be accepted as disciples. Izumi Kyōka (1873 – 1939) who also came from Kanazawa received their manuscripts on Kōyō's behalf that later returned them with the comment: "Not even crows will peck at a persimmon that is still green."⁵² This harsh rejection should however not be seen as directed towards Shūsei's literary talent, the Inkstone Friends were actually so besieged by applicants that they were turned down more or less routinely. Shūsei was off course not aware of this, so discouraged and crestfallen he moved to Osaka and stayed there for 18 months together with his older brother, after having failed to convince the other patriarch of literature, Tsubouchi Shōyō, about his literary ambitions. While in Osaka he was able to publish shorter pieces in *Osaka Shinpō* (Osaka News) and *Ashiwakebune*

* The first character (*ken*) is also read *suzuri* and since the inkstone is the foundation from which literature flows, by implication its meaning is also rendered as *bunpitsu*, an early word for literature in Japanese before *bungaku* caught on. Hence, a more truthful translation would be Society of Literature Friends, but in English literature the Kōyō group is usually referred to as Society of Inkstone Friends, a practice adhered to here.

(Papyrus Boat) and it was around this time he started to use the pen name Shūsei.⁵³

Returning to Tokyo he found employment at *Hakubunkan*, a publishing house closely associated with Ozaki Kōyō's *Ken'yūsha* group, and this time he was able to join the coterie around Kōyō as a disciple. *Hakubunkan* published literary critique in *Taiyō* (The Sun) and promoted creative writing in its other magazine *Bungei Kurabu* (The Arts Club) that became a forum for such noted authors as Izumi Kyōka, Kunikida Doppo, Higuchi Ichyō, and Kawakami Bizan. It was also this magazine that would establish Tokuda Shūsei as an author when he published *Yabukōji* (The Spearflower) in the August issue in 1896.⁵⁴

The story evolves around Akagi Mokusai, an Eta-doctor, and his daughter O-Rei. After his wife's demise, he moves to an unnamed buraku within the vicinity of Tokyo and establishes a private clinic called Aijin In somewhere in the city. To help him with work around the house he employs the widow O-Maki, who is in her thirties. The time has come to marry off O-Rei, who is a beautiful sixteen year old girl, and to achieve that she receives tutoring in sewing, tea ceremony, and the Koto, a 13-stringed zither. The girl is, however, tormented by her background and fall into melancholy, withdrawing from the world into her own room.⁵⁵

Discriminatory attitudes from the surrounding world combined with unhappy love for Yokoi, a disciple of her father's, drives O-Rei's psyche to an extremely gloomy state. Before any close relationship develops between O-Rei and Yokoi, he leaves the Akagi residence after a conflict with another disciple. O-Rei is not aware of the strife taking place and assumes that Yokoi only took pity on her and decided to abandon the house because he did not want to serve as a disciple to a Burakumin doctor. Akagi Mokusai perceives that he is no longer capable of controlling his household, and since O-Maki is behaving like a mother towards O-Rei, he entrusts the running of the household to the widow. In a weak moment he divulges to O-Maki that he cannot settle down to a peaceful life until his daughter is married and that he will leave a third of his holdings to his maid after his demise.⁵⁶

They are finally able to marry O-Rei off to another physician by the name Shirai Kenkichi, and a year later her senile father passes away. Although O-Rei asks O-Maki to stay on, her psychological degeneracy continues from the cruel treatment she receives from O-Maki, and ultimately she turns insane and runs away, her destiny remaining unknown. O-Maki returns to her hometown with her part of the family assets and three years after this incident a young man, obviously Yokoi, comes by the house to find that new owners has taken possession of it.⁵⁷ Shūsei's dismal style is typical of most of his oeuvre and as Keene put it: "The anticipation of the subject matter of Tōson's *The Broken Commandment* gives the story an interest beyond its literary merits, but the darkness of the tone is already typical of the mature Shūsei."⁵⁸

Keene also rightly points to the praise *Yabukōji* received at the time of publication, even if he erroneously stipulates that it deals with “the hitherto taboo subject of eta discrimination.”⁵⁹ Miyazaki Koshoshi (1864 – 1922), a critique closely associated with the *Min'yūsha* group lead by the Tokutomi brothers, wrote under the pseudonym Hachimenrō Shujin in *Kokumin no tomo*: “We must all genuinely thank the author for his chivalrous deed in picking up his brush for the Eta, he has surpassed other literati in awakening sympathy for this part of society.”⁶⁰ It seems that Miyazaki felt sympathy for this group by just being reminded of their existence, because there is little in Shūsei’s portrayal of the Akagis that lends itself to affinity for neither father nor daughter.

Shūsei describes O-Rei as “having a gloomy appearance with merely a beautiful face, she was deeply humiliated by her ancestry and only thought it excruciating to move around in public.”⁶¹ His description of the father is hardly more flattering, he has “a sordid appearance featuring reddish brown pupils in slightly too large eyes, reminiscent of an owl, and frighteningly large and flapping earlobes with a red mole underneath, the size of a broad bean, he has a hard time escaping the mark of Eta blood in his veins.”⁶² Depicting the pupil of the eye as reddish brown implies that the mirror of the soul is clouded, hence he cannot be trusted. In the same manner, Shūsei describes Mokusai as intellectually narrow-minded, “being an Eta, he saw the world through the eye of a needle.”⁶³

For those familiar with Tokuda Shūsei’s later and more prominent works, the degree to which he succumbs to general prejudice and established preconceptions is rather surprising. Especially considering his reputation as something of a spokesman for the lower classes, “whom he described with understanding and accuracy, but without sentimentality.”⁶⁴ Both Umezawa and Kitagawa suggests that *Yabukōji* is a reflection of Shūsei’s samurai ancestry, but that argument is too simplistic in his case. Tokuda’s sickly childhood and the impecuniousness of his family hardly stimulated any feelings of superiority. If anything, it might suggest his later reputation as a writer about the lower classes, having experienced the same circumstances. When he began the novel, he had only experienced writing for papers and magazines, short stories that had to pander to the public’s cravings for titillating gossip in order to sell. He continued writing mainly short stories after his second novel *Kumo no yukue* (Where the Clouds Go) until he published his first major novel *Ashiato* (Footprints) in 1910.⁶⁵ Thus, there was probably still a lot of pandering in Shūsei when he wrote *Yabukōji*.

This is perhaps best illustrated by his choice of title. The spear flower (*Ardisia japonica*) grows to a length between 10 and 20 cm with small white flowers. It belongs to the primrose family, prefers shadowy areas, and produces small red berries in the middle of winter. This tiny red fruit is a symbol for O-Rei in the novel, since she is also something of a contradiction, yet delighting men with her unusually pretty face.⁶⁶ Just as the spear flower is a de-

lightful ornament in flower arrangements used around New Year celebrations, or in children's hair at temple festivals. The spear flower is also a 'season word' (*kigo*) for winter borrowed from the realm of poetry. Associating O-Rei with a plant that bears fruits in December, when most other plants are withered or dormant, evokes the image of something out of its element. Something cold and unnatural, like an Eta girl trying to live among commoners, passing as just another girl in the neighborhood.

Through the oblique symbolism of the flower, Shūsei tells his readers, that if you venture outside your natural habitat you will eventually pay a price for your divergence. While the red berries of the spear flower may add color in a gloomy season, it is in essence aberrant for a plant to produce berries in winter, hence, it is not surprising that the berries will soon spoil and rot. In the same manner, O-Rei's life begins to decay when she attempts to pass off as an ordinary commoner in the city, trying to depart from her own group of Eta people. It is safer to stay within your own group, is the implicit message that Shūsei wants to convey. Considering the circumstances this is by no means a controversial position.

The Japanese are considered to have developed a high degree of group consciousness, making a strict delineation between *uchi* and *soto*—between one's own group, be it family or work, and the rest of the outside.⁶⁷ The Meiji Restoration upset deeply rooted social hierarchies that were so fixed as to be regulated in minutely detail by law. Shūsei was a victim of the new social order and probably had an ingrained need to warn against comprehensive social changes.

Among the *Ken'yūsha* writers Tokuda Shūsei was the only one to display any interest in social and political issues, but rather than being an advocate for change he tended to focus on the lower classes' derelict behavior, repugnant features, slovenly manners and ignorant minds. Consider Shūsei's rendering of Akagi Mokusai as a man with "reddish brown pupils in slightly too large eyes" adding that he "saw the world through the eye of a needle," certainly an unsavory fellow with a narrow mind. Although O-Rei is portrayed as having a "pretty face" it is only drawn with a broad brush in general terms, but as her conduct deteriorates and becomes more and more erratic her manners also falls apart. Shūsei also intersperses her dialog with solecisms and sylvan expressions, creating the image of an unpolished bumpkin girl that certainly does not belong in the urbane environment of Tokyo.

Although he never wrote explicitly about Burakumin again—some would argue he did it implicitly in his last and unfinished novel *Shukuzu* (Miniature Drawing, 1941)—he did produce uncomplimentary portraits of other minority groups. After the Great Kantō Earthquake in 1923,* he wrote a novella entitled *Faiya Gan* (Fire Gun, 1923) published in the November issue of

* Perhaps the worst natural disaster during the 20th century, more than 140 000 people died and 3,000,000 homes were devastated in the subsequent fires.

Chūo Kōron the same year. In this story, the incandescent fires following the earthquake were blamed on Koreans. An unnamed Doctor of Science appears at a police station two days after the earthquake with a bluish black metal object the size of a beer bottle. He says it is reminiscent of a bomb that the Germans dropped from Zeppelin airships during World War I, this piece however is an American made product called a Fire Gun, he claims. He also asserts that Koreans, to whom he refers with the derogatory term *senjin*, have used it.⁶⁸

Sardonic critics like Masamune Hakuchō (1879 – 1962) have claimed that Shūsei were bereft of intellectual equipment, and while that may be an overstatement, he certainly showed a tremendous talent for aloof objectivism bordering on complete indifference towards his characters. Unlike Masamune Hakuchō and Shimazaki Tōson, Tokuda Shūsei never directly involved himself in Christianity and its teachings. Notions of altruistic love for mankind must have seemed distinctively alien for someone accustomed to a feudal hierarchical class system. Nor did he ever show any direct interest in Japan's process of modernization under Western influence and the importation of European value systems. It may even be said that he distanced himself from that process, as an example, there is no indication that he ever learned English at the Fourth Higher Middle School in Kanazawa.⁶⁹ Hence, he would be cut off from many of the literary influences permeating Japan predominantly through the inflow of English literature. His literary mentor, Ozaki Kōyō, thought that literature primarily served its purpose as diversion from the humdrum of everyday life. As the rest of the *Ken'yūsha* writers, Shūsei in the end was more interested in style than substance, and more concerned with entertainment than interpretation.

Shimizu Shikin's feminist perspective

The male dominated Meiji society produced only a few women authors that have been able to outlast the critical eye of history. Among those, Shimizu Shikin (1868 – 1933) surely ranks as one of the most remarkable social critics of her day. Four years older than Tōson, she was born in Okayama as the oldest daughter to a locally renowned Chinese scholar by the name Shimizu Teikan (his real name was Sontarō), and was named Toyoko. She moved to Kyoto at an early age where her father established a chemical factory that eventually failed.⁷⁰

After graduating from Kyoto First Higher Middle School for Girls in 1881, she became a good friend of Kageyama Hide, better known under her married name as Fukuda Hideko (1865 – 1927), Japan's first activist for women's rights.⁷¹ Together they toured Kansai and parts of Shikoku delivering political speeches in an attempt to build up a movement for women's rights at a time when a woman only had limited rights to divorce her husband and needed his consent in most legal matters. During her political junket, she became ac-

quainted with many leading representatives of the Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement.

Her father's factory was consumed in a fire and he was eager to marry her off as soon as possible so she ended up marrying a lawyer named Okazaki Harumasa. The marriage was a failure from start and she was, after some initial setbacks, finally able to secure a divorce. After that, she moved to Tokyo and embarked on a career as a writer for *Jogaku Zasshi* (Female Learning Magazine) where she would also meet Shimazaki Tōson. She began writing for the magazine when she studied at Meiji Jogakkō (Meiji Girls School) and in 1891 published her first novel entitled *Koware Yubiwa* (The Broken Ring) under the pen name Tsuyuko. While writing for the magazine, she also held the post as teacher in creative writing at her Alma Mater.⁷²

The eight year younger Sōma Kokkō⁷³ (1876 – 1955) was deeply moved when she read *Koware Yubiwa*:

It was the first month in the twenty-fourth year of Meiji and I was only a little girl in my fifteenth year. At home in a quiet residential area of Sendai, an older friend had lent me her copy of *Jogaku Zasshi* as she always did. Carefully I devoured every character and phrase when I encountered a New Year's supplement entitled *The Broken Ring*. My eyes opened up wide to the appearance of this wonderful new author, whose name was only given as 'Tsuyuko' and I had no way of knowing what kind of person she was. From that moment on, I was captivated by literature, and just thinking that a woman wrote this made my chest pound. On top of that, even the title 'Broken Ring' was skillfully chosen and the core of the story was truly sad and painful with neither pretentiousness nor ostentation. Even though I was still an immature girl, I could feel the anguish she described as one woman to another.⁷⁴

She gained some distinction from the publication of the novel and for some time lived a rather (with Meiji standards extremely) frivolous life in Tokyo. She had a liaison with Ueki Edamori (1857 – 1892), the renowned leader within the Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement that later established *Jiyūtō*, or Liberal Party of Japan. It was also rumored that she had a child with Ōi Kentarō (1843 – 1922), also of Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement fame, and perhaps the most radical political thinker of his day who served four years of a nine-year sentence for his involvement in the Osaka incident.* Her older brother, perhaps out of concern for her life style, introduced her to an agricultural chemist by the name Kozai Yoshinao (1864 – 1934) that served as assistant professor in the agricultural department at Tokyo Imperial University (present Tokyo University). They married in 1892 and the year after Shikin gave birth to their son Yoshimasa.⁷⁵

The young professor was ordered to study in Germany and left Japan in 1895. During his absence, Shikin together with her son went to live with her

* An attempt by Ōi and other liberals to establish a private foreign policy by raising an army and overthrowing the Peking controlled Korean government. Hoping to further the cause of democracy in Japan, they wanted to install rebel leader Kim Ok-Kyun to head a democratic government in Seoul. The plans were unraveled by the police and 31 leaders of the attempted *coup* were sentenced.

mother-in-law Yoshiko in Kyoto. Aided by her mother-in-law with the upbringing of the child and with only light chores in the household, she found time to take up her brush again. She ran a column in *Jogaku Zasshi* and *Taiyō* (The Sun) for a period of five years entitled *Hanazono Zuihitsu* (Scribblings from a Flower Garden) under her real name, Kozai Toyoko. She also serialized a novel during 1896 – 97 in *Jogaku Zasshi* called *Nomichi no Kiku* (Chrysanthemum at the Path), using the pen name Shikin for the first time. This was a very prolific time for her as a writer and she extended her contributions to magazines such as *Sekai no Nippon* (Japan in the World) and *Bungei Kurabu* (The Arts Club) gaining a wider audience.⁷⁶

In 1899, when she was 33 years old, she wrote her last piece of fiction entitled *Imin Gakuen* (Immigrant Academy) and published it in the August issue of *Bungei Kurabu*. The protagonist, Kiyoko, is married to Imao Shun'ei, an esteemed minister in the government and a combatant for radical ideas and defender of democratic values. Despite her distinguished position in society, Kiyoko is a troubled woman, worried about all the rumors surrounding her background. The vicious gossip among the political class is that she does not come from a family named Akita, and that her father is a single man making a living as a usurer with only limited funds.⁷⁷

Well aware that these kinds of parlor rumors, especially if discovered to be true, could ruin a political career, Kiyoko becomes dispirited. Being adopted she is afraid that there might be some truth in the rumor and consults her husband, worried that she will be his downfall. He, however, declares his strong belief in *heimin shugi* (class equality) stating that her background is unimportant to him and that society should stand up to men of chicanery and brazen gossipmongers. Kiyoko then receives a letter from her biological father summoning her to his sickbed and strengthened by her husband's moral support she goes to Kyoto.

At the Nanajō station in Kyoto, she transfers to a rickshaw and asks the driver to take her to Yanagihara Shōsenza village. The man looks at her upstanding appearance with an incredulous look and says: "But Ma'am, that's an Eta village." When she arrives at the house, she finds an older man in a sickbed and immediately begins to nurse him and explains how she found him. He takes her hand and explains that he does not know who has sent her the letter, but that it has to be some kind of mistake, and he generally treats her like a stranger.⁷⁸

He even admonishes her to return to Tokyo, but she remains, and in his sleep, the man not only cries out her name but also mentions Imao Shun'ei in his delirious ramblings. Now Kiyoko realizes that the man must be her father, and when he wakes up, she confronts him with his own words. He confesses to being her father and having written the letter and she has to console her grieving father. This is how the wife of a government minister discovers that she was born an Eta girl. In less than a minute Kiyoko goes through the most extreme peripeteia possible in Japanese society. The irony of her situation is

exaggerated by the fact that the characters in her name spell out ‘Pure child’ in Japanese. Contriving this plot alone, i.e. constructing a Japanese literary equivalent of Pasquino, has earned Shimizu Shikin her rightful place in the annals of Japanese literature.

Although most any other person would panic if they found out what Kiyoko did, she accepts her situation, and declares: “Since things are what they are, I can never return to my husband. Though we have lived righteously, believing in equality (*heimin shugi*) and that there is neither above nor below, finding out that I myself is a new commoner (*shinheimin*) I feel imbued with filth beyond reason and that this situation is a fairy tale.”⁷⁹ Although this declaration may seem supercilious to a modern reader, Kiyoko lives up to the ideal of *ryōsai-kenbo*, a good wife, and wise mother, sacrificing herself for her husband’s political future.

Such virtue can off course not go unrewarded, especially not in the face of the harsh criticism expressed by Imao’s colleagues: “With a terrible background like his wife’s, what will happen if he does not remove himself from the presence of His Imperial Highness?”* It is to the backdrop of such vicious speculation that Imao Shun’ei resigns his cabinet post and with scathing sarcasm, he denounces his former compatriots as barbarians unworthy of a civilized society. Imao Shun’ei and Kiyoko leave Tokyo together and move to Hokkaido where they establish *Imin Gakuen* (Immigrant Academy)—a school for buraku children.⁸⁰

Shimizu Shikin’s novella, it was only 21 pages long, is indeed representative for an author so closely connected with the Freedom and Peoples’ Rights Movement and its ideas for establishing a liberal democracy in Japan. Its main strength is the powerful message that although Japan was striving to establish some sort of modern democracy, it was a small clique in the close vicinity of the Emperor that exercised real power. Just as a small group of favored counselors around the Shōgun had wielded power for the last 250 years. Intrinsic to this power structure, is its monopoly on information distribution and the expectation that participants will conform to the group.

For Shikin the protagonist stands as a representative for all women, and as long as political power is allowed to be exercised by small exclusionary groups, then women, just as Burakumin, will not be liberated from society’s prejudices. Instead they will continue to be forced to submit themselves to a marginalized existence and in 1899, few places were as marginalized as Hokkaido. Although Shikin probably felt genuine compassion for the situation of the Burakumin, her primary motive for making the protagonist a member of that outcast group seems to be a need to underscore that the situation for women in Meiji were similar to the situation for the Burakumin. Since Kiyoko is a Burakumin, Shikin achieves a distancing between her readers and the protagonist, necessary to perforate any emotional shield that the reader may hold

* Government posts were considered Imperial appointments.

about the question of women's liberation. Through this device, she is able to get across her *arrière pensée* that women are entitled to the same rights as men.

In a novella like *Imin Gakuen*, there exists a thin red line between didacticism and literature, and the final outcome depends on the reader's viewing angle. If the novella is classified as a *Buraku Mondai Bungaku*—i.e. literature that specifically concerns itself with the problem of Burakumin status in Japanese society—then there is little doubt that the scale of judgment will tip over towards trite moralizing. If instead the novella is considered as *Josei Kaihō Bungaku*, or literature concerned with women's liberation, then the author succeeds in winning the reader's attention and sympathy for her cause without turning into a Victorian schoolmarm.⁸¹

The tendency towards didacticism is enhanced by Shikin's choice of style. She wrote *Imin Gakuen* in a style that Japanese literature scholars define as *gabunchō* or *gikobun*, an attempt to imitate the elegance of Heian poetry using prose that is more modern. This style flourished during late Tokugawa and early Meiji. There is no close Western equivalent to this style, but calling it 'poetry inspired pseudo-archaism' may be as close a definition as is possible.⁸² This style was commonly used in earlier didactic writing so the semiotics for a reader around the turn of the century was as clear as daylight. That is also the likely reason why the novella never gained any larger audience beyond the readership of *Bungei Kurabu*. Because it appeared at a time when *genbun itchi* already had gained not only a foothold but also increasing popularity, most readers simply found the style antiquated. Worse though, is that the readers Shikin hoped to influence, young women searching for an identity in the new society, in many cases only had a perfunctory familiarity with this style.

Although the didactic tendencies are strong, especially when viewed from the perspective of the buraku problem, which is not to say that the novella is entirely without virtues. Unlike many other writers in this period that enmeshed themselves in social problems, Shimizu Shikin was never under any direct Western influence. As already noted, she was certainly under the influence of early feminist thought from Fukuda Hideko and the liberal democracy championed by the Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement, but this influence had been filtered through other's interpretation. Her years in Kyoto, both in her youth and together with her mother-in-law, meant a certain degree of isolation from Western thought and ideas that were primarily dominant in the greater Tokyo – Yokohama area. This enabled her a more unique autochthonous decipherment in her description and analysis of domestic social problems.

It should also be noted that there are some striking similarities between *Imin Gakuen* and *Hakai*. In both stories, the protagonists are lone children of single fathers whose wives died at a young age and they have both left their home villages, moving to a place where their Burakumin background is un-

known. Both protagonists have for some time, been able to pass as ordinary commoners in their respective societies. In addition, in both instances their fathers have taken measures to withdraw from society in order to protect their children's background. Further, by breaking their fathers' commandments they also reveal their Burakumin background to the surrounding society. Thus, failing their filial duty they are the source of their own downfall. Finally, they both choose to escape the surrounding society, Kiyoko by moving to Hokkaido and Ushimatsu by moving to Texas, both frontier territories.

Sasabuchi Tomokazu has suggested that there are too many points of consistency in the two stories to dismiss it simply as coincidence.⁸³ However, this does not suggest that Tōson in any way plagiarized Shikin, although *Imin Gakuen* may certainly have served as an outline for him when he wrote *Hakai*.

The socialism of Kōtoku Shūsui

Kōtoku Shūsui (1871 – 1911) is forever ingrained in the Japanese mind as the country's first socialist martyr. His radical ideas and political activities overshadow the fact that he also was an accomplished journalist and occasional writer of fiction. The youngest of three boys in a family of sake brewers in the small village of Nakamura in Tosa Province (present Kōchi Prefecture) he was given the name Denjirō. He was considered a child genius, by some even precocious, with an uncanny faculty of observance, and he became an active member of the Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement already at the age of eleven. When he was seventeen he went to Tokyo and became a disciple of Hayashi Yūzō (1842 – 1921) noted politician and active in the overthrow of the Tokugawa Shōgunate.⁸⁴

Hayashi had been involved in a scheme to procure weapons to the Satsuma rebels under Saigō Takamori's leadership and was jailed for a shorter duration. At this time the Meiji government also enacted the Peace Preservation Law of 1887 (*Hoan Jōrei*) in order to contain the Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement. The law enabled Tokyo's Chief of Police, with the Home Minister's approval, to expel for up to three years, any person within three *ri* (app. 12 km) of the Imperial Palace, who was thought to incite disturbance or plot to disturb public order. Kōtoku Shūsui was rounded up with other members of the Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement and he was forcibly removed to Kōchi.

After a year, he moved to Osaka where he became a disciple of Nakae Chōmin and studied politics and philosophy. Nakae recognized Kōtoku's brilliance and aptitude and bestowed on him the name Shūsui, an apothegm suggesting a sharp sword that radiates of dazzling light. In April of 1891, he returned to Tokyo where he joined Kokumin Eigakkai, an English school and after graduating, he joined *Jiyū Shinbun* (Free Press), a daily published by the Liberal Party. The newspaper was the cynosure for leading liberal thinkers

and writers, such as Nakae Chōmin, Itagaki Taisuke (1837 – 1919), Taguchi Ukichi (1855 – 1905) and Suehiro Tetchō (1849 – 96).⁸⁵

Surrounded by this illustrious collection of liberal philosophers, Shūsui imbibed everything from Milton to Marx. Being more than 20 years junior, Shūsui was mainly entrusted with lighter tasks and only paid a miserly seven yen a month. In order to supplement his meager income, Shūsui would occasionally contribute fiction under the pseudonym Iroha Ihori that he shared together with Koizumi Sanshin (1872 – 1937, real name Sakutarō). Usually they would take turns, the first piece published ran from November 18 to December 7 in 1894, and was entitled *Okoso Zukin*—a kind of shawl wrapped around the head that covers everything but the eyes and the nose. For quite some time Japanese literature scholars were divided as to whether Kōtoku Shūsui or Koizumi Sanshin were the actual author of this piece. Consensus now is that Shūsui held the brush and the story was also included in the first edition of Kōtoku Shūsui's Collected Works.⁸⁶

The protagonist, a youth by the name Fujita Sōkichi, is attending a temple festival at the close of the year when an unknown woman wearing an *okoso zukin*, and hence not recognizable, call him but addresses him as Mr. Matsuoka. He off course claims that she must have mistaken him for someone else, while she cannot understand why he refuses to admit his identity. She leaves him confused and wondering and after some time she starts to appear in his neighborhood, which adds to his confusion. Since he is in the process of negotiating a marriage, her sudden appearance causes him some discomfort.

His father's attendance in the matrimonial parley is required so Sōkichi brings him to Tokyo, and in an unguarded moment, he goes through the father's directory and finds a listing for Matsuoka Yoshizō. More perplexing is that there is no address listing next to the name, but instead a small clipping of a newspaper advertisement requesting information of the whereabouts of this man. The father is out negotiating with the marital intercessor and does not return home until late. By then Sōkichi is in bed, pretending to sleep, so the father also turns in for the night. However, he also has troubles falling to sleep and when he realizes that Sōkichi is not sleeping either, he asks him to reject the proposed marriage.⁸⁷

Seeing his son's surprised reaction, the father decides to confess that Sōkichi has an older brother by the name Matsuoka Yoshizō that is a *shinheimin*. Sōsaemon, as is the father's name, was a samurai that had left his domain before the Meiji restoration and roamed the streets of Edo as a *rōnin*—or masterless samurai. In a brawl, he had been stabbed and fled the city bleeding to seek sanctuary in a small village called Kameshima-mura. There he recovered through the gentle nursing by two people, one who became the mother of Matsuoka Yoshizō, and that woman is a *Hinin*—a non-person. To this he adds the comment: "I did not think they were especially filthy."

The mother of Yoshizō dies and Sōsaemon meets the woman who is Sōkichi's mother and due to the prevailing view in polite society, Sōsaemon

arranges for another *Hinin* couple to adopt Yoshizō. He takes care to visit him regularly and after the Meiji restoration when Sōsaemon was appointed a local official in his original domain to represent their interests in Tokyo, he wants to bring the boy with him to the city. When he sees how well the foster-parents have taken care of Yoshizō he decides to leave him there, especially since he does not want any rumors spread about the boy's origins.⁸⁸

Yoshizō grows up, graduates from a Normal School, and becomes a well-reputed schoolteacher. However, when his foster-parents die he commences a pursuit of profligacy, marries a retired licensed woman that soon falls ill and dies a wretched death. After that, his whereabouts are unknown and that is why Sōsaemon has paid for an advertisement, trying to locate Yoshizō. Because of this, Sōsaemon has to reveal the truth to the family of Sōkichi's bride-to-be. The mother, however, is outright understanding, stating "In these days any inquiry into a person's genealogy is meaningless, it is nothing to worry about." So the plan for a wedding continues unimpeded.

The day before the wedding ceremony the woman in the *okoso zukin* again appears, carrying a secret letter stating that Yoshizō's wife was poisoned to death. When Sōkichi explains that the letter is referring to his older brother, she refuses to believe him, tells him not to marry any other woman and leaves with some scurrilous remarks. At the wedding a Mr. Yoshikawa, in whose name the advertisement trying to locate Yoshizō was published, comes storming in, declaring that he has located Yoshizō's whereabouts. He is staying in a wooden flophouse in Yotsuya and the woman in the *okoso zukin* is then reunited with Yoshizō. He then confesses his life of debauchery to her and swallows some poison, committing suicide. The next day, her body is found at a riverbank, having joined Yoshizō in death.⁸⁹

This short story offers little of redeeming literary value, being overly dependent on melodramatic coincidences, consisting of a simple plot of mistaken identities, and containing some confusing logical disparities. It is, however, a lucid example of the thinking prevalent within the Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement, the centripetal force working to establish some real measure of equality, as opposed to the Meiji oligarchy's virtual measures that were mere formalities. Kōtoku Shūsui's ambitions were primarily political and he uses his protagonist to voice his political ideals. Discussing his brother's background with the father, Sōkichi states "There is no longer any rank between powerful clans and *shinheimin*," thus repudiating his father's concerns regarding the marriage.

Activists within the Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement strived to fill the formal language of the new laws with the content that they actually expressed. Hence, with the abolition of the legal class system they expected the establishment of a classless society. This must certainly have appeared as a rather quaint idea to most readers, used since time immemorial to make a strict distinction between *tatema*, the verbal veneer applied to *honne*, the actual intentions. Shūsui showed that ancient myths interwoven with deep-

rooted preconceptions would continue to survive until they were replaced with 'modern' ideas like liberty and equality.

Both Shūsui and Shikin—as representative authors of the Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement School—choose marriage as the setting for their respective stories. The underlying idea being that the selection of a spouse is the most detailed and thorough examination of another person's character that is undertaken during his or her lifetime. In both cases, it requires a family member's death to reveal how flawed the selection process had actually been. The death of Kiyoko's father exposes her Eta lineage and Yoshizō's suicide brings his Hinin status in focus (for Sōkichi this implies what might be called 'filth by association'). However, in neither case does it bring havoc on the families since they have accepted the concept of equality. Both authors see light at the end of the tunnel, and are fundamentally optimistic about the future direction of society.

Oguri Fūyō, Hirotsu Ryūrō and others

The authors and their works discussed on the preceding pages had the most impact on literary circles and their discourse concerning Burakumin status and discrimination in general at the time. As such, they are also likely the literary works that, both directly and indirectly, influenced Tōson the most when he was sketching the outline and plot for *Hakai*. As we shall see, there are some striking similarities between parts of these works and *Hakai*. They were however, not the only works to contribute towards the discourse on outcast status, discrimination, and the introduction of equality in Japanese society. In order to present a more complete background, and to comprehend the discourse at the beginning of the 20th century, some of those other works that fall within the realm of *Buraku Mondai Bungaku*, will be introduced briefly here. It is, however, not possible to claim that the inclusion of these works constitutes a complete list.

Although Japanese scholars, particularly those associated with the *Buraku Mondai Kenkyūjo* in Kyoto, have undertaken a thorough inventory, new discoveries of old pieces tend to surface at the rate of one or two every five years. This seems to concur with indexation projects of discontinued rural or regional newspapers. Any paper worth its salt would carry one or more serialized novels or short stories at the time. Needless to say, few of these novels and short stories would concern themselves with the question of discrimination or equality; however, the ratio for Kansai published papers seems to be higher, although no known statistical survey exists. Yet, once in a while some hitherto unknown literary piece, usually a short story, that deals with Burakumin and their life will appear and add another small fragment of information to the ongoing discourse. Thus, we can rest assured that the oeuvre of *Buraku Mondai Bungaku* will continue to grow, and some of that will consist of works published prior to *Hakai*.

At the last known inventory, published in 1988, the known pre-*Hakai* oeuvre consist of 41 works covering a wide area of genres from traditional kabuki plays over tragic love stories to Christian and liberal influences in the new exciting literary format that began to evolve more than 100 years earlier known as *shōsetsu*, traditionally translated as novel.⁹⁰ There is certainly no lack of debate regarding the appropriateness of using that term to express in English a definition of the Japanese fictional narrative. At the same time, there is sufficient consensus that those early attempts, finally crowned by Futabatei Shimei's *Ukigumo* (Drifting Cloud) in 1887 – 89, strived to bring some form of psychological realism to the representation of character in a narrative form.⁹¹ Thus, in a strict sense, some of the works discussed here, being episodic, loosely constructed and often with only superficial characterization, does not qualify for the definition of a novel. Yet, they diverge enough from earlier fictional constructions to fall outside the limits imposed on *gesaku* writing. Therefore, when referred to as novels in this context it is merely applied to differentiate them from *shōsetsu* and thus does not imply a fictional narrative concerned primarily with man's inner life. At any rate, our primary concern is the image they portrayed of Burakumin and their potential influence on Tōson during his writing of *Hakai*.

Tokuda Shūsei was not the only author to arise from the Society of Inkstone Friends that set out to write about Burakumin. Oguri Fūyō (1875 – 1926) was perhaps the favorite disciple of Ozaki Kōyō⁹² and possibly the most experimentally inclined of the *Ken'yūsha* writers. His literary breakthrough came in 1896 with *Kikkōzuru* (Tortoiseshell Crane) a tragedy about a sake brewmaster, but he is perhaps best known for his 1905 novel *Seishun* (Puberty), a realistic portrait of young intellectuals in the 1890's.

The month after Shūsei published *Yabukōji* in *Bungei Kurabu*, Oguri would publish a short story entitled *Ne-oshiroi* (Sleep Make-up) in the same magazine. Sōtarō runs a small tobacconist together with his younger sister O-Kei. They are both still single and stem from an Eta background, something O-Kei does not know. She is a good-looking girl but has not received any proposal, which puzzles her. Sōtarō on the other hand, has been involved in seven marriage deliberations, but when his family lineage has surfaced, the opposite party has always declined. Afraid that gossip about their background will spread in the neighborhood after failed marriage negotiations the siblings would soon move to some other place in Tokyo. So they never stay at one place long enough to establish any permanent relationship with people around them. Sōtarō does not want to subject his incognizant sister to the same kind of humiliation that he had to suffer through in his own youth.⁹³

He became acutely aware of this problem one day when he was visiting the local bathhouse, sitting in the men's section he was able to overhear the women's conversation on the other side of the barrier. The women were making snide remarks about his sister's coiffure and choice of kimonos, all devious and roundabout criticism of her unwed status at a time when hair

style and clothing was a dead giveaway of one's social standing. Sōtarō then suddenly turns into a man of action and decides that he has to save O-Kei's faltering reputation by revealing the truth to her. By telling her, he hopes that she will realize that her odds of getting married lie in the vicinity between imperceptible and infinitesimal. Although shocked, she takes the revelation stoically.

The siblings are also interested in music and O-Kei is asked to participate in a group called *Kiyūren* (Playmates) that performs *dodoitsu* songs, a popular love song in the 7-7-7-5 syllable pattern. There she meets Sannosuke, a charming but notorious womanizer, and a skilled autodidact in the art of seduction. She is instantly infatuated and when her brother vehemently opposes the liaison she leaves the household and begins to live with Sannosuke as pure protest. Worried about the tragic fate that destiny is sure to hold for his sister, Sōtarō goes to visit Sannosuke. Unaware that O-Kei is hiding behind a folding screen, he says to her cohabitor "Me and my sister are *shinheimin*, we come from a bloodline of filthy eta. Now, are you still prepared to marry her?"⁹⁴

O-Kei considered her brother's behavior tantamount to treason and became very upset. Sannosuke, always a calculating miscreant, told her that she ought to mend her fences with the brother and that he would send someone over for her later. She returns home, throws a tantrum at Sōtarō, and refuses every peace offering from him. She then begins to wait for Sannosuke's messenger, a wait that will take 18 months when suddenly O-Kiyo, one of Sannosuke's maids comes by to tell O-Kei that her Master has eloped with his neighbor's wife. O-Kei recovers from her depression rapidly to the delight of her brother. She then begins to show signs of a pregnancy and again becomes the subject of neighborhood gossip. This time the gossipmongers are convinced that her brother is the father of the child. Thus, once more the siblings move to yet another place to start over again.⁹⁵

The suggestion of an incestuous relationship at the end upset the authorities concerned with public morale and they enforced a sales ban on *Bungei Kurabu*. Such an action of course only ensures that Oguri's short-story would become the talk of the town. Especially since it also appealed directly to the deepest held prejudice towards Burakumin—that of a depraved sex life.⁹⁶ This goes straight back to the concept of *kegare* in which both incest and bestiality was included as improper sexual acts. In that sense *Ne-oshiroi* is a contribution to the reinforcement of deeply imbedded stereotypes widely cherished at the time. From a literary view however, Oguri did not break any new ground, although Wada Yoshie (1906 – 77) considered the short story a harbinger of what *shizenshugi* would bring to the literary scene of Japan.

Another Inkstone Friend anchored in literary conservatism; plowing slowly through *gesaku* mud was Hirotsu Ryūrō (1861 – 1928), a Nagasaki samurai that worked as a bureaucrat for five years before turning author. Although he had been published since 1887, two years before joining *Ken'yūsha*,

his breakthrough came in 1895 when he published the two novels *Heme Den* (Cross-eyed Den) and *Kuro Tokage* (Black Lizard), establishing Ryūrō as the doyen of *shinkoku shōsetsu* or grave novel. This genre, with its grotesque characters and focus on the gloomy back alleys of society, reached its peak already the next year when he published *Imado shinjū* (Love suicides at Imado)—a story that “lives today less in terms of its plot than of the superb evocations of the atmosphere of a Yoshiwara brothel.”⁹⁷

In 1903, he published a short story entitled *Nanno tsumi* (What Sin?) in the insignificant literary magazine *Bungeikai* (Art World) about a doctor and his wife. At the opening ceremony of the new hospital that the doctor has just established, a friend of the family, who is in fact infatuated with the wife, reveals to everybody that she is actually a *shinheimin*. The man obviously has a warped approach to the Japanese concept of social obligation since he owns the woman’s father a lot of money. The participants at the opening ceremony are stunned by this revelation and display their disgust by throwing the congratulatory rice cakes they received on the hospital walls. The doctor however, is ready to forfeit his wealth and clout out of love for his wife. They leave everything behind and move to America. Umezawa Toshihiko’s laconic comment to this story was that he “could understand why Ryūrō quit writing.”⁹⁸

One of the earliest writers was Fujimoto Makoto of whom little is known, except that he would occasionally write under the pen name of Tōin Inshi in the early editions of *Bungei Kurabu*. He left behind two short stories, *Rakuyō* (Falling Leaves) published in 1891 and *Nokogiribiki* (Saw Motion) published six years later, which fall within the confines of *Buraku Mondai Bungaku*. The setting for Falling Leaves is the vicinity around Jōkōji Temple in the Azabu district of Edo, where a ‘herd’ (*mure*) of Hinin under Kuruma Zenshichi’s jurisdiction lives. The daughter of a merchant has been abducted and she is rescued by Ryūdo, a former samurai turned Hinin. During his salvage, he kills some Hinin in the ‘herd’ and this is reported to the leader. The same night he takes his own life. Before he joined the Hinin, we are not told why, but it stands to reason that he must have committed some kind of felony, Ryūdo was Akitsu Sōbei from Yamato Kōriyama in Nara. His son, Kikusaburō, disappeared one day from a local festival and had been sold into prostitution to a *Kagama chaya*—a teahouse serving homosexuals—in Tokyo. The merchant, hearing about Kikusaburō’s fate, feels a strong obligation towards his daughter’s savior and buys back the boy from the teahouse, who then marries the daughter.⁹⁹

The literal meaning of *nokogiribiki* is “the motion a saw makes when cutting something in half” and in order to understand Saw Motion we must know that while it could refer to firewood, we are in this case dealing with the human neck. It was one of the more severe forms for punishing criminals during the Edo period. In the early part of that era, it was executed in the following manner: first, the criminal was buried down to the neck and a saw

made out of bamboo* was placed next to him and left there for two days, then, those who wanted to, could see on the criminal's neck until pronounced dead. Those participating were most likely connected to the victim, by either kinship, friendship or proximity. Thus, this form of punishment was primarily a form of retribution. It was later revised to begin with sawing at the neck, when blood was drawn, the saw was attached to the neck with a device that was tied to a horse that would drag the culprit around. After that, he was finally crucified. This gaudy display was likely introduced to add a measure of general deterrence to the penalty.

The protagonist in *Nokogiribiki* is the young O-Kore that works as a shop attendant in a store that sell *tabi*—socks to wear with a kimono. A quixotic woman that woos herself into a relationship with the shop owner Man'uemon and then poison him to inherit his assets, she is caught and sentenced to *nokogiribiki*. After people have sawed in her neck and she has been left two days for public display in the vicinity of Nihonbashi, the center of Edo, she is moved to Suzugamori† to finally be crucified. Although there are no Burakumin at the core of the story, the setting and activities at Suzugamori are described in lurid and macabre detail. As pointed out in chapter 3 executioner and prison guard were a monopolized occupation performed exclusively by Eta under *Danzaemon's* jurisdiction and Hinin under Kuruma Zenshichi's.¹⁰⁰

Other early writing on Burakumin literature includes Yoda Gakkai (1833 – 1909) who wrote kabuki plays for Ichikawa Danjūrō IX, just as Fukuchi Ōchi, with whom he shared a background as a bureaucrat. In a collection of short stories called *Hanashizono* (Garden of Speech) published under the pen name Byakusen in 1893, the year before Fukuchi published *Otokodate Harusamegasa*, he included a short story with a long title—*Satake no Karō Azuma Masayoshi oyobi Azuma Mōkō Kyōdai* (Chief Retainer Azuma Masayoshi and the Fierce Tiger Azuma Brothers from Satake).¹⁰¹ This work is representative of the early writings because it contains very little original thought; most of it is just an uncritical reflection of the accepted value system of the day.

Sugiura Shigetake (1855 – 1924), also known as Jūgō, is one of the few who produced active suggestions as opposed to a passive acceptance.¹⁰² In his *Hankai Yumemonogatari* (The Tale of Fan Kwai's Dreams) published as early as 1886, Sugiura suggested that the Eta be rounded up and sent to Taiwan.¹⁰³ The story does not contain any plot, instead it is a number of political discussions, and arguments weaved together in a dream. Fan Kwai (?? – 189 BC) was the most trusted retainer of Liu Pang (256 BC – 195 BC, perhaps better known as Gao Zu) founder and first emperor of the Han dynasty that established most of the permanent characteristic features of China's imperial

* Steel not being dull enough and it was also too expensive to be wasted on offenders.

† For Japanese it evokes the same image as Alcatraz or Attica does for Americans, or the Middlesex Gallows at Tyburn does for the British.

system. Before Fan Kwai became a retainer, he worked as a butcher of dogs and was thus used euphemistically to represent Burakumin. When thinkers such as Fukuchi Ōchi and Fukuzawa Yukichi embraced Western technology and philosophy, Sugiura wanted to combine the accomplishments of Western natural science with a strong nationalist ideology.¹⁰⁴ By adopting his policy, Japan would rid itself of an emerging social problem and expand its territory at the same time, since the Burakumin would go abroad as colonizers.

A different kind of story—one that covers only a very limited area in the vast realm of Japanese literary history—is the success story, known in Japanese as *Risshin shōsetsu*. In 1888, two lengthy novels by almost unknown authors saw daylight. They were written at the same time as the final revision to the draft of the Meiji Constitution was presented to the emperor. A time of intense optimism, national pride, and self-confidence was sweeping the nation, that national sentiment was surely reflected in these novels. The first novel, published March 30, was entitled *Kaimei Sekai – Shinheimin* (Enlightened World – Shinheimin) and authored by Matsunoya Midori (real name: Matsuki Hananori) of whom we know very little, except that he hailed from Matsuhiro in Nagano, which is also the setting for his novel.

A boy of sixteen or seventeen comes to sell beef to an educator named Takeshita Naomichi in Matsushiro Town.* Their discussion is the starting point of the novel. The boy is named Niida Taminosuke and he would very much like to study at the new elementary school established in the nearby village, but the villagers will not allow any *shinheimin* into the school. Takeshita intervenes and argues with the school committee that every child has a right to go to school, however the committee does not yield. Fortunately enough he has a good friend who runs a private school in Tokyo and he offers to pay the tuition for young Niida. The youth works hard at school, goes into business after graduation, and becomes a successful trader. In that capacity, he would travel to both England and America.¹⁰⁵ The story is written in the best rags-to-riches tradition of Horatio Alger's (1832 – 99) *Ragged Dick*. Actually, one is sorely tempted to believe that Matsunoya had access to a copy of the book, although that is highly unlikely considering his rural domicile.

The other story is written by Mishina Hanahiko (1857 – 1937, real name: Nagasaburō) and entitled *Sachū no Sango* (Coral in the Desert). He started out as a bureaucrat in the Ministry of public works but had to leave due to poor health. After departing, he took up writing as a disciple of Takabatake Ransen (1838 – 85, also known as Sansei Ryūtei Tanehiko) and supported himself as a journalist. The story is written in the classical literary style *bungo* with a strong influence of *gesaku* elements and because of these obstacles, it never caught the imagination of the public. Yet, Mishina is perhaps the first

* It is believed that Matsuki also was a teacher in Matsushiro, but the extent of any autobiographical content has not been determined.

author to present a coherent discourse in favor of incontrovertible rights as opposed to duties.

A seedy youth with the ominous name Akuya Rei (Curse on Your House) is conspiring to intervene in a marriage planned between the houses of Fujizaki and Hirano so that he can marry the daughter Fujizaki Hanako, and escape with her dowry. The protagonist, Nakano Mataichi, a young man from the nearby Eta village, is implicated in the plot and almost incarcerated. He is however saved by a “civil rights” lawyer called Fukami Shizuka and Akuya and his co-conspirators are apprehended when they try to divide the money and Nakano Mataichi is welcomed by the two families with a speech proclaiming equality between high-born and low-born.¹⁰⁶

Other examples include Watanabe Katei's (1864 – 1926) *Sōfuren* that originated as *Kyōgen*, a comic interlude usually performed between two *Nō* plays, but was published as a novel in 1904, having been serialized the year before in the *Yomiuri* newspaper. The title is actually a famous *Gagaku* song, the ancient Japanese court music still performed at the Imperial Palace in Tokyo. This novel, together with Ōgura Tōrō's (1879 – 1944) *Biwauta* (The Biwa Song) from 1904, falls into a category called *Katei shōsetsu*, which means “family novel,” a paradiastole for novels tailored primarily towards female readers. This genre developed in response to the earlier tragic (sometimes called “rave”, see page 104) novels, when an ever increasing contingent of literate women found those novels too depressing.¹⁰⁷

One of the most ardent and intense proponents of abolishing all discrimination against Burakumin was Nakae Chōmin's favorite disciple, Maeda San'yū (1869 – 1923, real name: Teijirō) who derived from Kyoto. After studying at Chōmin's school he joined the editorial staff of Shinonome Shinbun and from there he went on to Geibi Nichinichi Shinbun, the same newspaper in which he would serialize two novels about Burakumin. The first, published in 1903, was entitled *Hana Hitomoto* (A Flower), essentially a monologue by O-Hana (Flower, thus the title) a patrolman's wife that originates from an Eta village, something she is not aware of. At her dead mother's wake, she is told that the dead woman actually was not her mother. Intrigued by this revelation she begins to investigate her own past. The reader is then asked to join her on a tedious journey through family registers in various parts of Japan. Maeda was probably aware that he was taxing the reader's patience, because in the foreword he wrote, “This is the gist of *shinheimin*, I have tried in some small way to describe a trend in society and this is done throughout the book through the autobiography of a woman called O-Hana, kindly read it with that in mind.” Kitagawa thinks it is ‘difficult to praise it on its literary merits’ but lauds its political content.¹⁰⁸ The second novel, entitled simply *Shinheimin*, was published in 1905, the year before *Hakai* came out. If it is a toilsome task to find literary merit with the first novel, then it is even more strenuous to construct a literary justification for this pretentious didac-

ticism. It is, however, logical that the pre-*Hakai* oeuvre should end on an affirmative activist note demanding ‘total liberation’ for *shinheimin*.¹⁰⁹

Building on a literary underpinning

In the almost 30 years, from the publication of Kubota’s *Torioi O-Matsu no Den*, that preceded *Hakai*, Japanese society developed at an almost breathtaking speed. A feudal class system had been abolished, novel institutions like Parliament and democracy introduced and every conceivable modern Western convenience imported into society. It is self-evident that literature would reflect these changes, but it is also impressive how rapid literature evolved along an independent path. This development was in its essence bi-directional, one path focused on the form that literature takes, i.e. diction and syntax such as it manifested itself in *genbun itchi*, and the other converging on the topical aspects of literature. Only 10 years after the publication of *Torioi O-Matsu no Den* and Shōrin’s *Ansei Mitsugumi Sakazuki*, the style they represented in terms of the two paths was already questioned as archaic and phlegmatic. Tsubouchi Shōyō’s *Shōsetsu shinzui* had a tremendous impact on not only the style of literary Japanese, but also its topical aspects. As Ryan rightly observes, “His [Tsubouchi] intellectual accomplishment in a sense epitomizes the greatness of his period. In a few short years Japanese novelists went from writing superficial, vacuous, titillating, episodic tales to creating serious, carefully constructed, realistic novels. More than anyone else, Tsubouchi was responsible for this development, [...] *Shōsetsu shinzui* reflects an idealistic attitude toward the novel unprecedented in Japanese literary theory. It places the novel on the same level of artistic expression as poetry, music, and the fine arts.”¹¹⁰

This literary transformation did not take place in an intellectual vacuum, but was very much the outgrowth of an ongoing social and political process. The vessel leading the way in this process was the Freedom and Peoples’ Rights Movement and at its helm was Nakae Chōmin and his liberal ideas (for a more detailed description, see page 98 and 130). Two of his disciples, Kōtoku Shūsui and Maeda San’yū, wrote passionate pleas for the respect of human dignity and the right to be judged for one’s actions rather than one’s birth. In *Okoso Zukin*, that plea does not come from the mouth of Yoshizō the Hinin, or his half-brother Sōkichi, but rather from Sōkichi’s future mother-in-law, implying that majority society ought to accept equality. A different class background is simply not something she can be bothered with in this day and age. At the end of the 19th century, her magnanimous approach may not have been representative of the majority, but she is certainly representative of the attitude that ought to prevail according to Shūsui.

One reason that the transformation towards an introduction of liberal and egalitarian ideas is easily observable, is that all the Burakumin characters have one single trait in common, the concealment of their buraku status. Either it

has been concealed for them, as is the case for Shimizu Shikin's Kiyoko and Kōtoku Shūsui's Sōkichi with regard to his half-brother Yoshizō, or as is most often the case, the characters themselves prefer to have their background concealed. In the early works, this concealment is accepted almost as a preordained postulate, but as the notion of liberty and egalitarianism gains a stronger foothold in the Japanese conscience, this passive acceptance is gradually scrutinized by a younger generation of authors.

The character Gyōu in Fukuchi Ōchi's *Otokodate Harusamegasa* perhaps best demonstrates that a generational shift was required in order to introduce new ideas. When he sits in the restaurant, drinking sake with the Eta leader Tsurigane Shōbei, he is capable of treating him as an equal under the influence of alcohol. The same man that Gyōu a short while earlier had publicly ridiculed and scorned, is suddenly so 'impressed by the noble character' of the man that he is supposed to kill, that he instead commits suicide. By treating Tsurigane as an equal, Gyōu not only evades an assassination attempt but also rids himself of an assailant. Although Fukuchi Ōchi was one of the first Japanese to absorb Western thinking and philosophy, and played an important role in disseminating those ideas throughout Japan, he chose to base Gyōu's behavior not on altruistic respect for his fellow man, but as a device to escape a difficult situation. This choice should neither be considered appalling nor should it be condemned, it is merely a reflection of the time required for the collective psyche to comprehend completely new beliefs and concepts.

The difficulty in evaluating Fukuchi's intentions as a literary liberator is best illustrated by two quotes from his critics. Samuel Leiter comments with regard to the scene at the restaurant "This popular scene, in which Gyōu, who knows that Shōbei is from an outcast class, but treats him as an equal, was reflective of the Meiji era's [1868 – 1912] leveling of the traditional class structure."¹¹¹ Viewing the scene isolated against the backdrop of the formal abolishment of the Tokugawa class structure, Leiter's exposition is both understandable and sustainable. If however, this scene is set in relation to the earlier scene in which Gyōu comments that Shōbei 'reeks of dog hide' and he requires the aid of 'incense wood', and this is juxtaposed with Fukuchi's earlier political activities, as Kitagawa Tetsuo does, then a diametrically different deduction seems only natural. "I have read the script and seen the play, and it leaves a bad aftertaste," is his succinct threnody.¹¹² Whatever the view on this particular subject, Fukuchi certainly deserves credit for being one of the first to broach the idea that Japan's primary minority group could no longer be treated the way it had been during the Tokugawa period, and if Japan wanted to become a modern nation it would also have to review the status of Eta and Hinin in its society.

It would however, require a few more years before that notion would gain widespread acceptance within literary circles. As demonstrated by the examples of Shiki's *haiku* and Shūsei's *Yabukōji*, an abasing attitude depicted in depreciatory terms was still the prevailing common denominator in *Buraku*

Mondai Bungaku. This especially holds true for those authors, consciously or unconsciously, that were not exposed to the influence of Western literature and the new ideas it brought.

This is not to suggest that Western literature was a prerequisite for the development of a probing literature with a social conscience that concerned itself with the question of equality and human dignity. It is a mere reflection that during centuries of literary isolation—the exception being Dutch books on anatomy and other science subjects—Japanese authors never had the privilege of mutual interchange that their European counterparts enjoyed. It is impossible to imagine Honoré de Balzac (1799 – 1850) becoming the supreme observer and chronicler of contemporary French society, without the perspective gained from his relation with Madame Éveline Hanska, his Polish lover and their time spent in Geneva and Vienna. Had Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749 – 1832) not traveled to Italy, he might have ended up as a mediocre painter. Instead, he would become an inspiration for other writers, such as Scotsman Sir Walter Scott (1771 – 1832). Examples such as these abound in the European arena and actually lend distinction to the vigor and enthusiasm with which Japanese authors set out to accomplish in only a few decades what had taken centuries in Europe.

The feasibility of a socially conscious literature and the potential for a new generation of Japanese authors is best hinted at in the production of what might be termed ‘The Children of the Freedom and Peoples’ Rights Movement’. Shimizu Shikin’s leading characters are eloquent proponents for a more egalitarian society, Kiyoko in her own subdued way and Imao Shun’ei in his more vivacious and righteous spirit. There can be little doubt in where Shikin’s sympathies lay. The same can be said for Kōtoku Shūsui’s tragic Yoshizō. We cannot help but admire their lofty ambitions and a plaudit for their hardihood is hardly an undeserved guerdon.

In the end however, they fail to leave any lasting imprint on society’s views towards the Burakumin. Their shortcomings are entirely literary, be it either in style or in plot. The reader encounters psychological obstacles if she tries to feel affinity for rather sketchy characters, and is at times bewildered by melodramatic turns justified with only the thinnest veneer of logic. In short, they were simply not capable of catching the reader’s attention and imagination long enough to kindle a spark in the ember that they considered a justified and righteous cause.

They were however, sufficiently adept at keeping the glow alive for Tōson so he could blow enough oxygen into the fire and ignite a blaze. Or in less Promethean terms; they had widened the narrow road to such a width that it became possible for Tōson to forge ahead at full speed. Both Shikin and Shūsui suggested that a father would go to extreme lengths in order to hide his child’s buraku background so that it can pass into majority society. When that ultimately fails, the grown children see no other alternative than to flee from society. Yoshizō by taking his own life, and Kiyoko by moving to Hok-

kaido. Hirotsu Ryūrō takes this one step further by having his doctor and wife move to America, the same destiny that awaits Segawa Ushimatsu at the end of *Hakai*. Ushimatsu also shares his curriculum vitae with Yoshizō, both being graduates from a Teacher's School.

The common denominators between *Hakai* and its predecessors are conspicuous enough that they cannot be explained by, or attributed to, randomness. There is little doubt that Shimazaki Tōson found inspiration in the literature that boldly staked out a direction for a more natural prose in a realistic setting. Tōson however, was not a man of great imaginary powers, so before he could complete *Hakai* he was in dire need of a model on which to mold his protagonist. He badly needed Ōe Isokichi.

CHAPTER 5

Ōe Isokichi—Model for *Hakai*

By never offering any explanation himself, Tōson has left the field wide open for speculation regarding whom Ōe Isokichi was a role model for, some researchers make a strong case that he was the model for Inoko Rentarō, while others point to factors indicating similarities with Segawa Ushimatsu. The first person to point out the possibility that Ōe was a model for Inoko Rentarō was Takano Tatsuyuki¹ (1876 – 1947) in “*Hakai* the Sequel.”² Other pioneering works in this field are Kobayashi Kōjin’s “Model for *Hakai* – Ōe Isokichi as Inoko Rentarō”³ and Mizuno Toshio’s “Ōe Isokichi, Model for Inoko Rentarō as He Appears in *Hakai*.”⁴ Mizuno is the first to point out that there are also some similarities between Ōe and Segawa Ushimatsu. Later research is less poignant in depicting Rentarō as being the mirror image of Ōe. Aoki Takatoshi’s “New Data on Ōe Isokichi, Model for *Hakai*,”⁵ Shinomura Shōji’s “The Snowstorm Dunes”⁶ and Akatsuka Yasuo’s “The Model for *Hakai*, Ōe Isokichi and Osaka: A Sequel”⁷ are all examples of monographs linking Ōe Isokichi more to the novel rather than the specific character of Inoko Rentarō. Araki Ken, on the other hand, in his “The Life of Ōe Isokichi, a Model for *Hakai*”⁸ takes a critical look at the earlier research and ties Ōe closer to Segawa Ushimatsu through events in Ōe’s life that show noteworthy similarity to the plot in *Hakai*.

Isokichi was born the third son to Ōe Shūhachi (possibly Shūya) and Shino on May 22, 1868, the same year Japan apostatized its feudal past and stumbled into that modernizing period known historically as the Meiji era. His birthplace is recorded as Shimoina-gun, Igara-mura in Nagano prefecture, corresponding to modern Iida City. According to old family registers, the family was defined as *sasara* (bamboo whiskers for tea) coming from a line of *saruhiki* (monkey entertainers) and *geyaku* (low level functionary, another word for *banta* or guard). Coming from an entertainment background such as monkey entertainer might imply that the family actually belonged to the Hinin group rather than the Eta of pre-Meiji classifications. Since they were defined as *Sasara*, makers of bamboo tea whiskers, and because Isokichi’s grandfather was a *Banta*, we can deduct that they most likely were Eta. The family held the right to *Harukoma*, a horse’s head that a group of wandering entertainers used around New Years to visit houses and perform dances and songs in return for monetary gifts. Hence, there is a strong link backwards to the entertainment world and its traditions but also the need to obtain some level of economic stability by making tea whiskers and working as village guards.⁹

In Araki’s words:

In Isokichi's father's and grandfather's days Eta and Hinin was subjected to some of the stiffest rules during the Edo period, thus it was impossible to live solely on the tributes from Harukoma. So his father took the job as Banta, which required him to be a guard of three villages, disposing of corpses that had suffered unusual death, digging graves, butchering animals, working as a fireman and doing occasional construction work.¹⁰

This kind of work was usually the exclusive domain of Eta. For the Naganō Burakumin, it is manifest that the family had earlier been classified as Eta. Compiling these facts makes it almost certain that the Ōe family under the feudal system belonged to the Eta group. More important though is that Ōe Isokichi's peers were convinced of this background and would subject the adult Isokichi to discrimination and ostracism.

Upbringing and education

Two significant reforms would have a major impact on Ōe's life. In the fourth year of Meiji (1871), the 61st Imperial Edict was issued abolishing the status of Eta and Hinin. To the Burakumin this is known as the Liberation Edict or Abolishment of Derogatory Names Edict. The reason was less a concern with establishing equality between the former social classes and more a desire to widen the tax base and enlarging the conscript population. It did however have one positive impact on the young Isokichi. The year after, a new school system was introduced, and since he became a commoner, he was eligible for compulsory education. He had shown promise of a bright intellect and the family was assured financial aid by a neighbor, a physician family by the name Yazawa. According to Yazawa Senri, nephew to Yazawa Chihiro, a boy that Isokichi used to walk the 10 km to school with, Isokichi would stay three steps behind until they reached the village border. Then as they were walking to school they would be just like any two friends on their way to classes, however as they returned and reached the village border again the distance between them would be maintained.¹¹ A strong awareness of the dichotomy between *uchi* and *soto*, the inclusive Self and the exclusionary Other, was already present intuitively in the boys' consciousness. This is the same duality that confronts Ushimatsu's inner landscape at the Primary School in Iiyama.

Hence, he became one of the first Burakumin to receive a primary education in Japan's ordinary school system. That would hold a special signification for Isokichi, because his whole life would be devoted to education. Actually, he would never leave the secure realm of school during his short life. This was partly due to the influence that Takenobu Yūtarō exerted on the young Isokichi. No single person had the same strong authority in the formation of Isokichi's personality outside his parents. Takenobu was born the eldest son in a farming family from Ketagoori Ushiozu Village in Tottori Prefecture (present Ketaka-gun, Aoya-machi, Tottori Prefecture) in the year 1863. He

went to Primary School in Nagoya and produced excellent results that enabled him to enter Sapporo Agricultural College.* In Sapporo, he would study alongside such strong personalities as Uchimura Kanzō (1861 – 1930)¹² and Nitobe Inazō (1862 – 1933).¹³ He was particular strong in English and after having taught at Iida Middle School, where Ōe was one of his pupils, he would be involved in the creation of Japan Times through recommendation by Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835 – 1901)¹⁴ and later publish both Japanese – English and English – Japanese dictionaries.

He was a man strongly influenced by such Western notions as liberty, independence, and equality. These concepts were incorporated into his teachings from an early stage and thus Ōe encountered Western philosophies and cultural perceptions from a budding age. Even stranger than coming in contact with Western thought and ideas for someone like Ōe was that he was at all able to participate in the regular school system. Many schools in early Meiji simply refused to accept any children with a Burakumin background without any legal precedent. For financial reasons, numerous Burakumin children did not participate in any education whatsoever.¹⁵ Those who were able, both financially and intellectually, were most often forced to join special Burakumin schools. Consequentially, continued physical segregation in combination with substandard education was assured and henceforth protracted marginalization by the Burakumin groups. Although it was not official policy, social interaction between Burakumin and the majority was kept at a minimal level. Ōe understood this intuitively as seen by his reflexive behavior to walk a few steps behind his friend when he was inside the village perimeters, the place where his social background was common knowledge.

The main reason Ōe Isokichi was able to partake in the regular school system was the mental support and financial assistance he received from his neighbor and benefactor, Yazawa Kōji. The family had been medical practitioners for generations and enjoyed a prominent social standing in the local community as well as considerable wealth. Recognizing an intellectual prospect in Isokichi, he took upon himself to pay tuition and other necessities to put the young man through school. Once he graduated Primary School, he was able to continue his education with the help of scholarships. Another reason was the pressure rural school authorities were under from the central government to produce good students with prospects for higher education. Isokichi with his excellent school record was simply material of a grade that could not be overlooked by responsible school bureaucrats. Whatever private qualms the *gunchō* (county governor) may have surmised, he subjugated them in favor of a personal recommendation letter that enabled Isokichi to continue to the Normal School[†].

* A school made famous in Japan by William Smith Clark (1826 – 86), an educational advisor to the Meiji government from Amherst College, with his rallying cry: “Boys, be ambitious!”

† Jinjō Shihan Gakkō is literally Normal Instructor’s School. Teacher Seminars created on the prefectural level, most later became incorporated as Pedagogy Departments in the prefectural university. Normal School is the term given

He entered the school, nowadays the Department of Pedagogy at Shinshū University, on September 1, 1885, together with 40 other students. The graduation quota is slightly contrastive to present conditions in the Japanese educational system; only twelve of the 40 teacher candidates passed graduation exams. One reason being the hard regiment that the patriotic ideals of the time required. The primary goal was to educate an elite of nationalistic loyal retainers devoted to enhancing Japan's position in the perceived world hierarchy as enunciated in the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890). Yet, the school's principal, Nose Sakae was only the second, an enterprising nature that within the confinements of the Rescript, introduced the pedagogy of the Swiss educational reformer Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746 – 1827). Imprinting the need and responsibility of educational establishments to develop the individual's faculties to think for himself was indeed a radical approach in a system that called for practical and utilitarian goals. Pestalozzi, being strongly influenced by the philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, advocated education of the poor, a novel idea that Ōe would benefit from greatly.¹⁶

The school was however also the setting for the first open discrimination that Ōe was subjected to directly. The similarity between the discrimination that Ōe endured and the opening scene in *Hakai* is striking. Other students objected to sharing boarding house with him when they discovered his birth, claiming they could not stay overnight with an “unclean person.” He moved several times to new lodgings. Just as Segawa Ushimatsu moves from his boarding house when the other inhabitants demand that the recuperating Ōhinata, a wealthy Eta that was forced to leave the Iiyama hospital when rumors of his background started to spread, must vacate the premises because he is “unclean.”¹⁷ In both cases, the discriminated internalizes the allegations, escapes from the location, rather than oppose the discriminators. Notwithstanding this psychological pressure, he was able to graduate as number two, in spite of being the youngest, in his class on July 15, 1886.¹⁸

From student to teacher...

He landed his first teaching position at Suwa Elementary School (presently Okaya City, Nagano Prefecture) on September 2, 1886. However, the other teachers soon discovered his background and demanded his expulsion. The exterior reason being that they would not work below a *shinheimin*, however it is worth keeping in mind that in early Meiji days a teacher's starting salary commensurate with the grades one received when graduating from the Normal School. As Isokichi graduated second of his class he was entitled to a starting salary of 11 yen, considerable more than the regular unqualified

in Kodansha's dictionary and adhered to here. Kenneth Strong uses the term Teacher's College in his translation of *Hakai*.

heimin or *shizoku** teachers with years of experience, but no theoretical background in pedagogy, would receive.

Thus, a hermeneutic supposition must include economical discontent as a contributing factor to the fiery mood among his colleagues. In addition, it is clearly worth noting that albeit Isokichi was subjected to emotional prejudice, those sentiments were not transferred to any economical discrimination. Therefore, rules and regulations regarding a teacher's remuneration were upheld, even when that person came from a *shinheimin* background, indicating that economic discrimination against Burakumin was not a part of society's structural fabric to the same extent that it was towards other marginalized groups such as Koreans or Chinese.¹⁹ One indication on just how seriously the sentiment among Isokichi's colleagues were viewed by the responsible authorities at the Normal School is that Isokichi was ordered back to participate in an advanced course on September 9 the same year. Hence, Isokichi's first teaching experience lasted a total of one week.²⁰

...back to student...

He returned to Nagano Normal School where he would participate in the higher course for teachers in secondary education. The authorities at the Normal School issued a face saving appointment for Ōe to return and receive special training. Asaoka Hajime had recently been appointed principal to the Teachers Normal School in Nagano, a position that enabled him to extend inordinate care to help Ōe in his atrocious situation. Asaoka is described as a person with an unusually well developed sense of the Confucian concepts of *gi*, often translated as justice or obligation, and *jin*, rendered as warm hearted or benevolence. This is significant because it was a period when Japan was focusing all its efforts on modernization, meaning Westernization. In other words, traditional concepts of philosophies were disdained and Ōe would realize that at times a contrarian view was required to overcome prevalent prejudice and discrimination.²¹

Through the backing and support of Asaoka Hajime, the Principal of Nagano Normal School as of September 20, 1886, Isokichi, upon graduation from the Higher Course, was handed the task of inspecting elementary schools and testing procedures at that level around Nagano prefecture. He was put in charge of pedagogy and psychology, two of the most important subjects and despite being the youngest educator received a salary of 480 yen per annum, since the Ministry of Education had made him *Sōninkan* after graduation.²² This compares favorable to a police constable with a yearly income of 96 yen or a local clerk in the civil service with 180 yen, and even if compared to a first term Diet member, who received 800 yen in yearly remuneration. It is obvious that a qualified teacher in early Meiji Japan was granted

* Heimin being the newly coined term for commoner and Shizoku being a person with samurai heritage. Their status under the new social order was as equals.

substantial economic status in society by his peers. This reality contrasts sharply with Ushimatsu's constant financial scarcity, a situation more reminiscent of Tōson's own as a teacher in Komoro.²³

The gruesome experience of being expelled by his colleagues became the plot substructure for *Hakai* according to Mizuno and Araki. Both report that Shimazaki Tōson visited Okaya City and was told the whole story of Ōe's expulsion, by this time it was part of the local folklore. While Ōe was blessed with Asaoka as his principal and mentor, Ushimatsu was faced with a nameless and scheming principal, whose ultimate goal is to replace him with Katsuno Bunpei, the school inspector's nephew.

While attending classes at the Higher Normal School, Ōe made new and interesting acquaintances. Noteworthy are Ōnishi Hajime (1864 – 1900) and Shimonaka Yasaburō (1878 – 1961), the latter went on to establish Heibonsha, Japan's foremost publisher of reference works. While he turned rightist and nationalistic during the 1930s, he was an active social and political reformist in his youth when he founded the Keimeikai (1919) the first union for teachers in Japan and organized the first May day demonstrations. However, he was Ōe's junior by ten years and even if he may have listened keenly to his senior and nod his assent to every word being spoken, his influence was severely restricted as was the custom. Ōnishi on the other hand was Ōe's senior by four years and with his intellectual ability strongly focused on the individual's rights based on liberal principles would impel Ōe to accept a more courageous stand and personal responsibility in order to subdue discrimination. Ōnishi's thinking was predominantly shaped by Immanuel Kant's ideas on the relationship of mind and matter. His adherence to Kant's categorical imperative would later lead him to oppose Inoue Tetsujirō's attacks on Christianity and his justification of the Imperial Rescript on Education. He would be one of Uchimura Kanzō's staunchest defenders in the controversy over the disrespect he had shown the Imperial Rescript on Education.

It was to this highly impetuous environment, fraught with excitement of new ideas imported from the West, which Ōe returned. The contrast to his discriminating colleagues at Suwa Elementary School with their petty jealousy and egotistical narrow-mindedness, and the lofty ideals permeating the students wishing to create a better school system for the evolving Japan, both surprised and overpowered Ōe. There are even some signs that his idealism caused him to view reality from a warped perspective. In a letter to his benefactor Yazawa Umetarō, the son had replaced his father as Ōe's benefactor, written the day after the promulgation of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan, he shows a surprising naïveté regarding political events in Tokyo. On the morning of the same day the constitution was promulgated, an ultranationalist by the name Nishino Fumitarō assassinated Mori Arinori (1847 – 89), the Minister of education while he was visiting a shrine. Mori was considered a symbol of despicable Westernization by those who clung to traditionalist

ways. However, Ōe delves into a lengthy explanation about higher school fees being the reason for Mori's demise.²⁴

One of Isokichi's students named Atara Matsuzaburō later became a journalist at Nagoya Shinbun and 1917 published an autobiography entitled *Kisha seikatsu 23 nen waga mazui bunshu* (23 Years Worth of Scribbles from my Journalistic Life). In the chapter *Hanshakyō* (Prism), under a section called 'Teacher from Special Buraku', Atara brings to life the reactions that Ōe caused in his immediate periphery.

It is ironical how the principal, Asaoka Hajime, went out of his way to petition the Ministry of Education to appoint the teacher, when he was instead summoned to the school and thus the teacher from the Special Buraku appeared in front of us. The Normal School is a place where school instructors are trained and the very foundation for their tutoring rests upon pedagogy and hence, it is this essence that makes it the most important subject among all the subjects. This was the subject we were taught by the buraku teacher. The term Special Buraku teacher can be construed in two different ways. It can be thought of as a teacher engaged in or occupied by a buraku, or it can mean a teacher born and raised in a buraku. The pedagogy teacher at the time was an authentic Eta teacher. As an educator, I thought he did reek of liquor but he did not smell like an Eta. It should be said that he also left a different kind of odor behind, one that left a special imprint on my spirit. 'Hold out to the end, strength will solve everything', that is what he taught me. So this was how the Eta teacher was invited to become our instructor and how he taught Asaoka Hajime a valuable lesson. This tale was a warning to the educational circles of Shinshū and it is not only remembered as a heroic story among educators but it is told among all of the inhabitants in the prefecture. This is why we continue to remember that Shinshū education is peerless.²⁵

Atara's book was published five years prior to the creation of the Suiheisha and eleven years after *Hakai*. It is not known if Atara read *Hakai*, but considering his background as a student of an "Eta teacher" and his profession as a journalist, it is fair to assume that he read profusely. Yet at the same time he never makes the connection between his own teacher, that left such an impression on him that he remember him, albeit not by name, 26 years later and the protagonist of *Hakai*. In his choice of words such as "Special Buraku" and "Eta teacher," terms he clearly uses without any restraint, nor something his editor saw fit to correct, is not merely an indication of Arata's own superior position but should be interpreted as a reflection of a 'natural stratification' within Meiji and Taisho society. Atara was a social Darwinist, in the tradition of Herbert Spencer (1820 – 1903) and Walter Bagehot (1826 – 77), without knowing it himself, and as such, he was representative of that age's mainstream conceptions of societal development.

Being a student at the time it is doubtful to what extent Atara was privy to the internal workings of the Normal School. A steady stream of gossip and rumors flowed through the halls of all such institutions, yet teaching appointments and information regarding them was usually jealously guarded. However, any rival to Ōe would obviously only serve his self-interest by

spreading the knowledge of his background as widely as possible. Hence, Atara may have been *au courant* on Ōe's genealogy and not his conflicts, explaining the appointment of him as both a 'warning' and a 'heroic story'.

Ōe's lasting imprint on Atara was his preaching of perseverance and that this attitude is based on self-admonition becomes even clearer when we consider that the Japanese term for 'strength' (*chikara*) can also be synonymous with ability or capability (*jitsuryoku*). There is of course little doubt that endurance is a necessary character trait for an outsider trying to make it on the inside. In *Hakai*, this trait appears in both Inoko Rentarō and Segawa Ushimatsu, albeit in slightly different forms. Rentarō fights relentlessly, literally into his death, for Burakumin rights. Ushimatsu too persists in keeping his father's commandment, but eventually he breaks down and succumbs to his inner need of divulging his past. In the end, his ability to persevere has a limit; confession becomes a stronger *sine qua non* than concealment.

Since we know that his students recognized Ōe's background, it is fair to assume that it was in the public domain, and that will explain the continued discrimination he was subjected to in Nagano. The boarding house he stayed at in Kendō-chō asked him to leave quietly, again reminding us of the opening scene in *Hakai*, because the other borders would cause a commotion once they would hear of his origins. The new school system was expanding at a rapid pace and numerous teachers from the old *Terakoya* (temple) schools lacked official qualifications. As part of his duties, Ōe toured the prefecture to hold employment and certification tests for new teachers. That included lectures and seminars for prospective applicants. One common comment after these lectures according to Araki was: "The lecture was first rate, but the person was second rate." At a lecture in Iiyama, the setting for *Hakai*, he stayed at *Kōrenji*, a temple belonging to the Buddhist *Shinshū* sect. When they learned of his background he was refused access, the tatami mats exchanged and salt dispersed in a cleansing ritual.

In the first chapter, section nine of *Hakai*, Tōson describes the scene when Ushimatsu returns to his boarding house just after Ōhinata had been removed:

When Ushimatsu, a little paler than usual, entered the house, most of them [the boarders] were still milling about in the long corridor that ran round the outside of the building, some fuming with self-righteous indignation, some venting their feelings by marching up and down noisily on the wooden floor, some ostentatiously tossing handfuls of salt out into the garden to purify it of the defilement caused by the eta's presence.²⁶

Comparing Ōe's incident in Iiyama with Ushimatsu's return to his boarding house, one is instantly reminded of Tōson's desire to be a "war correspondent of life."²⁷ An indication that he initially viewed his writing career more in terms of the observing journalist reporting events rather than an author relying on his creative talents and power of envisagement.

Although the overt and direct discrimination caused Ōe personal discomforts, it was the covert and indirect discrimination that would exert immediate influence on his life. Instead of attacking Ōe, those colleagues and students that disliked or were jealous of him, went after Asaoka. More often than not, this would be done through intermediaries and political connections. Asaoka, as the school's principal was expected to solve 'the buraku problem' and neglecting to do so could reflect upon Asaoka as a 'personal failure'. In addition to his post as principal, Asaoka was also chairman of the Nagano Educational Association and Section Chief of the prefectural office for Educational Affairs (*Gakumu Kachō*). This provided him with esoteric contacts within a broad section of the Ministry of Education, including the Personnel Section, responsible for appointing teaching positions. Through this channel, Asaoka was able to secure Ōe a position with the Osaka Prefectural Normal School as of April 10, 1893.

...to teaching teachers

One indication that Ōe attempted to make a complete break with his past, trying to avoid it catching up with him once again, is that in the curricula vitae he presented to the Osaka Prefectural Normal School, he claimed his registration was Ōe Gikichi, Heimin, Nagano Prefecture. Changing one's name would help changing one's destiny in life, a belief and practice still in use today, albeit not as popular as in Meiji Japan. His life would undergo radical change, and the name change would play a major role. However, the transition he would experience was hardly what he had desired. One determinant was completely out of his control. Japan, with its eyes set on Korea almost from the beginning of Meiji, was getting ready for war with China over control of the Korean peninsula. This spurred even stronger nationalistic feelings throughout the country, creating a harsher climate for a deviant like Ōe.

However, it was a different incident that would yet again ignite the flame of discrimination; a visit by his mother. Mizuno describes how she came to the Normal School and asked "if Iso was there" in a heavy rural accent and a quaint appearance. Gossip about the peculiar woman and her reference to Gikichi as Iso spread and two students became so suspicious that they took upon themselves to use their summer vacation for a trip to Nagano and investigate Ōe's background. Once they returned to Osaka, Ōe's birth and origin was again put in the public domain. This time however, he was determined to take his destiny into his own hands and resolve the problem of discrimination without the aid of a benefactor.²⁸

He contacted Obayakawa Kiyoshi, principal at Tottori Prefectural Normal School and a senior from his time as a student at Nagano Normal School. Ōe received a teaching position and left Osaka for Tottori in April 1895. He would stay there six years, the longest tour of duty Ōe had for any of his teaching positions. This time the difference was that he would declare his bu-

raku background from the outset, with the principal's enthusiastic support. In essence, this approach made his background a non-issue and he would be judged on his accomplished credentials rather than the congenital references. According to Araki, Ōe likely did this in front of both colleagues and students at his installation ceremony.²⁹ Again, one is reminded of Ushimatsu when he in chapter 21 confesses his background to his class. Ushimatsu did it in order to leave and get a fresh start, while Ōe did it to gain acceptance at his arrival and get a fresh start.

He was reunited with some of his fellow students from Nagano Normal School, particularly Sugiyama Toseshirō and Tsuda Gentoku. Obayakawa was originally from Nagano and together with Sugiyama and Tsuda already aware of Ōe's origin. This probably made it less strenuous for Ōe to come out with his 'Buraku Declaration'. Having already proved a talented educator and a capable administrator, and such people were highly in demand and short in supply in Tottori, so Obayakawa was determined to keep Ōe a happy member of the staff. There is no written record indicating that Ōe had to face any discrimination in Tottori.

Difficult to reach on the Sea of Japan, the prefecture is sometimes referred to as Japan's backside, implying that the slightly isolated location suggests an absence of Burakumin and hence no history of discrimination. "Japan's Special Buraku" (Nihon no Tokushu Buraku) records buraku in 45 places throughout the prefecture.³⁰ The size of a rural buraku was usually small, between 10 and 30 households, indicating a population in the neighborhood of 6,000 people of a total around 370,000, or 1.6% of the population. This number is slightly above the statistical median value for the nation as a whole. Even allowing for a wide margin of error in the estimation of the population at the time, it is safe to state that Burakumin were a known entity. There are also reports that some schools refused children entrance. While some cases can be traced to medical reasons, a considerable amount cannot be rationally explained, by default we are left with discrimination being the most plausible reason. Even a cautious analysis leaves little doubt that concerning discrimination against Burakumin, Tottori shared more similarities than differences with Nagano and Osaka.

On February 29, 1900, Ōe was suspended from his office (*kyūshoku*) without warning. This should not be interpreted as a dismissal, although that was the conclusion, but rather as a command for repentance. It could, *prima facie*, be viewed as yet another case of discrimination against Ōe, but the suspension was handed down to a total of five teachers. Ōe describes this period as "Tottori's Dark Age," using the English expression referring to Europe's period of unenlightenment.³¹ At the time there was growing militarist pressure to enforce stricter disciplinary methods in the educational system. The armed forces, frustrated by the diplomatic setbacks after the military success in China, wanted well-trained conscripts for future endeavors.

Having been under the influence of Takenobu and Ōnishi, and adhering to the pedagogical principles of Pestalozzi, Ōe must have had a difficult time reconciling himself with the new militaristic currents. The dismissal of four other teachers also seems a high price to pay just to depose of one Burakumin teacher, especially when considering that the others came from a majority background. Outside the actual suspension there are no official records justifying the action taken. In later letters, Ōe refers to the newly appointed principal, Adachi Tsunetada, as *Daimyōjin* (Great Gracious God), a cynical epithet indicating compelling personal animosity. Cognitive supposition thus, leads to an emphatic ratiocination for a conflict on an inter-personal basis unrelated to Ōe's birth. This is indeed supported by the fact that Sugiyama Toseshirō became a close associate of Adachi's and succeeded Ōe on all his posts. Hence, it was likely a case of internal office politics rather than any expression of patent prejudice and blatant discrimination. Another of Ōe's acrimonious critics, Kobayashi Tagazō, from the affiliated Elementary School was soon promoted to a full time teaching position.³² Although the details are not clear, there certainly appears to exist some resemblance to the scheming principal, school inspector, and Katsuno Bunpei in *Hakai*.

The other suspended teachers were Kagei Ichizō, Uechi Tadanaga, Sumino Senzō, and Toda Chūjirō, the latter would present the eulogy at Ōe's funeral, a sign of their personal bond. The suspension created a local commotion that forced the Governor's office and the Prefectural Assembly to devise remedial measures since the district court had instigated an investigation into the suspensions. However, in the end it came to nothing. Emotional outbursts petered out and the whole affair evaporated, underlying causes were never disclosed to the public. One contributing factor may well have been the efforts at the time to establish a union for teachers. Publication of confrontations between teaching staff and school leadership would surely strengthen any resolve to join a union among the more hesitant teachers in the country. All of the five suspended teachers were pro unionist, Ōe being the most vocal. It took Ōe only two weeks to pack up his things and return to Nagano, by way of Osaka, the same hopeful route he used when he came to Tottori.

Career crowned as principal

To the day 13 months after his suspension, Ōe was appointed principal of Kaibara Junior High School in Hyōgo Prefecture. The next day, April 1, 1901, the new academic year began. Among Japanese scholars, there is a difference of opinion as to the reason of his appointment. Shinomura claims that it was a scheme concocted by Adachi to secure Ōe's consent to leave Tottori quietly. Araki sees evidence that Ōe's old mentor in conjunction with Obayakawa engineered the appointment through their connections within the Ministry of Education. Especially with the help of Adachi's predecessor Mihashi Tokuzō, that now was at the top of the educational hierarchy in Hyōgo Prefecture.

Actually, Ōe's qualifications were perhaps the most compelling reason for the swift appointment. Japan suffered a distinct lack of highly capable educational leaders; no more than 20 or 30 people graduated the higher seminars yearly. With an ambitious program to catch up with the West, good educators could not be wasted because of personal skirmishes.

There were however two other persons in the background that played peripheral, yet crucial roles in Ōe's revival. Hattori Ichizō was the governor of Hyōgo, a post he had previously held in Iwate, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and an avid proponent of expanded education.³³ At the time, he was searching for two able school leaders, one to head the Second Normal School and one to run Kaibara Junior High School. The link between Hattori and Obayakawa/Asaoka was Tatsukawa Unpei, a Diet member representing Nagano, but originally from Sumoto on Awaji Island in Hyōgo.³⁴ Working as a lawyer, he had turned human rights activist and was one of the early leaders in the Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement. He stood for election to the very first Diet but lost. In the second election, he was able to gain a seat, and since his law practicing days, he had fought for protection of buraku industries as well as Burakumin rights. He had also, from the very outset, been involved in Kimura Kumaji's plans to establish Komoro Gijuku School and thus also on friendly terms with Shimazaki Tōson during his days as a schoolteacher and at the time he wrote *Hakai*.³⁵

Ōe had three major tasks that he needed to accomplish in the short-term perspective. The first and most important was to transform the school from a county school to a prefectural school. The financial burden on students' parents was heavy, being recognized as a prefectural school would automatically make the school eligible for aid from the educational budget of the prefecture. Ōe accomplished this, with the enthusiastic support of Governor Hattori, in only a few months and was awarded a new athletic ground to the school. The second was a desire to establish 'school spirit' by such means as a school flag, school motto and school badge. The third was of a more private nature, he wanted the curriculum moved away from the nationalistic aspirations focusing on physical education and morals, towards an emphasis on intellectual training in liberal arts. Going against the tide of the times, Ōe would again invite controversy over his person.

Ōe almost caused a boycott against his first examination ceremony. In order to create an atmosphere of equality among the students he banned the senior students' privilege to punish juniors through *tekken seisai* (fist strokes). This decree infuriated the seniors and those parents favoring the new proclivity for a nationalistic education with some militaristic traits. They threatened to boycott the examination, but in the end, they settled for a graduation picture without the presence of their teachers, in order to show their resentment.³⁶

In May 1902, Ōe participated in a national conference for principals of Junior High Schools in Tokyo. When he returned home a letter from his

benefactor, Yazawa Shōjirō, younger brother of Umetarō, was waiting for him. He was told that his mother had fallen gravely ill. He immediately replied that his duties would not allow him to return home at once, however should the mother's illness deteriorate he would appreciate notification without delay so he could request a leave of absence from the governor. The letter was sent on June 9 and just nine days later Ōe would contract appendicitis and stricture of the intestines. Despite his condition, he returned home to Nagano to lie down next to his mother. Two doctors and a nurse were dispatched from Nagano Red Cross Hospital, but he was beyond salvation. His condition was aggravated by typhoid fever and he died on September 5, shortly after 7 p.m. at the age of 35.³⁷

Before the prefectural reforms, the area covering northern Kyoto and Hyōgo prefectures was known as Tanba. In an article series that began on July 30, 1927 and entitled *San'in Miyage* (*San'in Mementos*), Tōson wrote about his travels around the San'in area. One installment is *Tanba-guni* (Tanba domain) and Tōson writes:

Only an hour and a half on the train out of Osaka we were, to my surprise, enclosed by the mountains. There were those among fellow travelers that pointed out the barren mountain torrent on the right side, outside the window and told us it was Mukogawa River. As we pass through a tunnel they told us we would enter the Tanba domain and that we were still inside Settsu, fellow journeymen on a train exchanging such information, just the way a trip should be. Shortly after noon we passed a rustic stop called Aimoto and thus entered the Tanba domain. [...] Gazing out the train window, the outline of mountain ranges overlapping each other passes by as we go past stations like Sasayama and Tanba Ōsan. Reading the station names, we learn how many miles there are to the next station. School girls on excursion swarms towards the train window exposing their tans when we stop, I find myself enjoying this. We continue deeper into the mountains.

'Father, we have arrived at Kaibara.'

'Hmm, is that how those characters are read. I certainly can't read them.'

Keiji and I were both puzzled. Not being familiar with the area, the local geographical names were difficult to read. Two characters that would normally be read Sekisei, the locals pronounced Isafu, and such were the difficulties. Making a living in these mountain villages seems bone wrecking. We passed on, seeing mulberry fields. From a station called Kuroi, the trip continued over monotonous mountains, walking along a drawn-out road looking on the surroundings I am struck by the thought of how tedious it must all be.³⁸

Tōson traveled with his second oldest son, Keiji to Hagi City, Yamaguchi Prefecture. Neither when he is passing through Kaibara, nor Tottori Prefecture, does Tōson mention the connection between this area and his successful novel *Hakai*. Yet, Tōson was never shy when it came to self-promotion

* Refers to the northern part of the Chūgoku mountains, facing the Japan Sea. Tottori and Shimane are the main prefectures, but usually the parts of Yamaguchi, Kyoto and Hyōgo that faces the Japan Sea are included.

and hardly ever missed an opportunity to extol his production. This seemingly uncharacteristic behavior instantaneously becomes comprehensible when juxtaposed with another representative personality trait, Tōson's predilection to avoid confrontations.

The serialization in Osaka Asahi Shinbun coincides with the rising controversy within the buraku community regarding *Hakai* as a novel of discrimination (see page 148). Suiheisha was stepping up its *kyūdan** activities and the last thing Tōson probably wanted was to draw negative attention to himself in Japan's most densely populated Burakumin area—the Kinki region (for more on *kyūdan* activities and their impact on Tōson, see page 148). Ōe had not made a name for himself within the buraku community, despite being the object of discontent and dispute, his reputation was restricted either geographically to his location at the time, be it Nagano, Tottori or Kaibara, or vocationally to the educational system. The places where he worked are at times referred to collectively as Japan's backside, implying isolation and backwardness. News, tidings, gossip, and rumor from this region, held only limited interest for the rest of the population. The same was true for the buraku community. Thus, by not mentioning the subject of Ōe, Tōson would not attract any undue attention.

Yet, we can be reasonably certain that Tōson was informed of Ōe's activities as principal in Kaibara. Three teachers working under Ōe were Shigeno Keito, Takeyoshi Seijirō, and Mayama Setsuzō. Both Takeyoshi and Mayama had studied for Ōe at Tottori Normal School and since Ōe had declared his background openly, they were certainly aware of his status. While there is no source indicating that they informed Shigeno of this, we do know that several students were aware of Ōe's buraku status from diary entries. If the students knew, it can hardly be considered neither impudent nor intrepid to suggest that the teaching staff was any less knowledgeable. In 1904, Shigeno transferred from Kaibara to Matsumoto Junior High School in Nagano, only about 100 km from Komoro. Shigeno was one of the interlocutors Tōson used when he was doing his research for *Hakai*.

As mentioned in the opening paragraph, Takano Tatsuyuki, writing under the pseudonym Amine Sei, broached the subject of Ōe Isokichi as a possible model for Inoko Rentarō already in 1909. Writing a harsh and unrelenting critique under the topic "Facts and Three Works," he verbally decapitated Tōson in the section entitled "*Hakai*—The Sequel" pugnaciously calling him a "hack" "heretic" and "debauchee."[†] He also accused Tōson of "disguising as a child"[‡] when he stayed at Shinsōji temple; Rengeji temple in the novel. Takano was the son-in-law of the chief priest at Shinsōji temple and probably

* Denunciation tactic used to force people to either apologize for discriminatory behavior or retract discriminatory remarks.

† Sanmonbunshi, Hō no teki and Futokukan in Japanese.

‡ Most likely Tōson was wearing a short kimono from his youth with a perfunctory tied obi when he stayed at the temple, giving him a youthful flair.

felt honor bound to defend his father-in-law, having been depicted as a lecherous and indifferent husband in *Hakai*. It is within that context we become aware of Ōe's connection to Tōson and *Hakai*. Takano writes:

There was a teacher at Nagano Normal School named Ōe something or other that was invited as a lecturer for a pedagogy course, but being an 'Eta' he was shunned and evicted from Kōrenji temple, where he stayed in Iiyama [...] born in Ina in Shinshū he was to become the model for Inoko Rentarō in *Hakai*, but he did not have the mettle and passion of Rentarō, but was a mild mannered and extremely gentle person.

This by itself established the “Rentarō School” i.e. Ōe Isokichi was considered the archetype for the personae of Inoko Rentarō. The desire to determine who had been a “role model” for certain characters within Tōson's fiction appears to accompany his critics. Having previously established himself as a poet of some renown, Tōson had also published a few short stories. One was *Kyūshujin* (Old Master), published in 1902, a tale of an old and prominent banker in Komoro and his second wife Aya. The old banker dotes on his young wife, which, however, is committing adultery with a dentist by the name of Sakurai. Senuma Shigeki (1904 – 88)³⁹ points out that the banker and his wife are molded on Tōson's mentor Kimura Kumaji and his previous wife. Kimura never mentioned this incident, but Araki remarks that Kimura's wife would give Tōson a “cold eye.” One reason Kimura kept mum may be that the authorities banned *Kyūshujin* for “corrupting public morals” after only one week following publication. It was not published again until the April issue of *Shinchō* in 1948. Also in 1902, Tōson published *Warazōri* (Straw Sandals) a story based on a rumor about a woman called O-Sumi that supposedly was raped by a rail crossing guard. Fourteen years later, when he published *Umi e* (To the Sea) in *Chūo Kōron* he would reminisce about this episode:

After that [incident] I would avoid passing by the railway crossing [on my way to school] at all cost...when I ran into the guard at the bath house he would greet me and I would be all consumed by fear and from all directions I would hear this voice telling me he is a scoundrel, vermin.

In the short story *Suisai Gakka* (Watercolorist) published in 1904 Tōson exposes the inner workings of a colleague by the name Maruyama Banka. Supposedly, Maruyama had acquiesced to being depicted by Tōson in the novella, but four years later, he reproached his own compliance in an article published in *Chūo Kōron*.

Thus, there is sufficient evidence that Tōson needed prototypes on which he could pattern his characters. He was not adept at creating something out of nothing by the sheer force of his imagination, reminding us again about his ambition of being a ‘war-correspondent of life’. This also holds true for *Hakai*, as well as his subsequent novels. However, the latter is to a large extent molded on Tōson's own personal life, either as a child; *Yoakemae* (Before the

Dawn, 1929 – 35) or an adult; *Haru* (Spring, 1908), *Ie* (The Family, 1910 – 11) or *Shinsei* (A New Life, 1918 – 19). The main reason Tōson sought models for his characters was almost certainly the influence of Émile Zola, Guy de Maupassant and other French naturalist writers. When the Japanese translation of *Les Rougon-Macquart: Histoire naturelle et sociale d'une famille sous le second Empire* (Natural and Social History of a Family Under the Second Empire) was published Tōson was asked by the editor, as the leading authority on French Naturalism and the foremost representative of Japanese *shizenshugi*, to contribute an introduction.

I would like to see how a man like Zola, with his motto 'a day when nothing happens is not a day to live' could do if he was alive in Japan today. He was widely read in his home country, probably because his writings contained many elements claiming attention. Should he appear now in Japan, his prolific pen would surely attract a wide audience promptly. Being an author gifted in resolutely catching reality and spreading it through words, what could he not observe and expose in all its nakedness in present Japan? Surely a fascinating problem. He was an author that experimented with literature so he would produce a clear and concise Japanese prose. Since he also was an author that penetrated the bestiality of man, it would incite a shudder of dismay in the reader if he published a Japanese Nana with the background of present society. However, even if the public is delighted with his works, he does not turn shallow, even if he exposes reality, he does not turn cold, even if his writings are experimental, they are never insipid, even when depicting lecherous men and women they never lose their vigor and healthiness. For starters, he ought to, more than anything else pour this vigor and healthiness into present Japan. After his demise, many writers looking to fill in Zola's deficiencies were on the rise. Perhaps one could say that his character depiction was less than perfect. However, based on what I have stated, I do welcome a translation of Zola's series. It surprised me that he would be laid to rest next to his mental mentor Rousseau in Paris' Pantheon after the excruciating battle for the morally right in the infamous Dreyfus incident. That kind of posthumous work is in demand in present Japan; I am convinced that Zola could not even have dreamt that the day would arrive when he would be translated by some of the finest pens.⁴⁰

When Tōson eulogizes Zola as “resolutely catching reality” and using this ability to “observe and expose in all its nakedness,” he is in reality disclosing, albeit thinly veiled, his own ambitions as a young writer. He had always recognized the influence Zola had on him as an aspiring novelist, reading him in English translation before any Japanese translations were available. However, when Zola set out to unmask the ceremonial falseness of the Second Empire, Tōson had a more romantic outlook on life in Meiji Japan, impressed as he was by the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War. In addition the background of social changes that France experienced under Napoleon III, was most likely not very clear to Tōson and his *shizenshugi* compatriots. This offers one explanation why their definition of *shizenshugi* differs from French *Naturalisme*. Tōson's interpretation was that literature had to be “truthful” and the *shizenshugi* version of that is defined by Miyoshi as: “telling the truth

here means: one, accuracy in recording; two, honesty in disclosure; and three, sincerity in confession.”⁴¹

To achieve the first truth Tōson needed someone and something to accurately record before he could disclose it honestly or make a sincere confession. Thus, to create his *dramatis personae* Tōson required a *verus personae*, or at the very least *veri similis personae*. Both critics and literary scholars were well aware of Tōson’s inclination to use a live prototype for his character creation, so when Takano first offered Ōe as the original Rentarō, it was accepted at face value. Deficiency in actual substantiation and discourse was ameliorated by Kobayashi Kōjin, a folklore historian from Iida City in the south of Nagano Prefecture, when he published a biography of Ōe Isokichi titled: “Model for *Hakai* – Ōe Isokichi as Inoko Rentarō” in 1947.⁴² It took another fifteen years before Mizuno Toshio published “Ōe Isokichi, Model for Inoko Rentarō as He Appears in *Hakai*”⁴³ and punctiliously described the similitude between Ōe and Rentarō. Aoki Takatoshi, a member of Nagano Historical Society, complements this established foundation by presenting missing data in Ōe’s life, especially the period at Kaibara Junior High School, in his “New Data on Ōe Isokichi, Model for *Hakai*.”⁴⁴ Their combined efforts gives us as complete a description of Ōe’s life as is possible and while they are all safely ensconced in the “Rentarō School” both Mizuno and Aoki suggest that Ōe could, at least partly, also stand model for Segawa Ushimatsu. They made it clear that the line dividing the protagonist, his hero and Ōe Isokichi is a little blurred.

However, they thread carefully in staking out their claims, well aware that in many circles, especially the intellectual segment of buraku society, Rentarō, being a forceful activist, is the preferred character for an emulation of Ōe. Much of the critique from buraku pressure groups focused on Ushimatsu’s acceptance of a stigmatized birth, his unwillingness, despite his reverence for Rentarō, to continue the struggle associated with Rentarō’s character. For members of the buraku, Rentarō appears as the independent advocate, fighting in adversity for Burakumin rights. While Ushimatsu is a weak apologist, avoiding confrontation and lacking the drive to confide his birth secret even to a fellow Burakumin that he respects and adores.

The heterogeneity between Ōe’s mental constitution and Rentarō’s psychological composition is noteworthy. Rentarō is the extrovert charismatic combatant for buraku liberation, lending his time to support the Diet candidacy of the lawyer Ichimura. Writing controversial books, partaking in polemical discussions and giving inflammatory speeches, he is on the front line of the buraku struggle. Ōe on the other hand, is a prosaic introvert, depending on support and backing of influential people, including the Diet member Tatsukawa Unpei, when he finds himself mired in controversy. He attempts to avoid conflict whenever possible, and despite being subjected to severe discrimination never considers the political ramifications of such behavior. Striving for “accuracy in recording, honesty in disclosure,” Tōson must evi-

dently have molded Rentarō's psychological composition on another person than Ōe.

One person dominating the literary coterie that young Tōson participated in with his forceful extroverted personality, arguing passionately for liberation of literature in Japan was Kitamura Tōkoku. In addition, Rentarō's battle for Burakumin rights is analogous to Tōkoku's political background in the Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement. Etchi Haruo implies that Tōkoku rather than Ōe is the model for Rentarō when he argues that the influence of Rousseau is reflected in Inoko's character.⁴⁵ This is reinforced by Miyoshi Yukio's claim that Rentarō's nonconformist character resembles Tōkoku's rebelliousness.⁴⁶ This discourse could be labeled "The Tōkoku School" and among Japanese literature scholars it has only one major competitor; "The Chōmin School."⁴⁷

Nakae Chōmin (1874 – 1901)* is sometimes referred to as "The Orient's Rousseau" being a proponent of parliamentary democracy and popular rights, he was the first to propose a social contract for the emerging Japan. In spite of his humble background, he established himself in early years as an expert on French philosophy and was recruited for the Iwakura mission and later became a secretary in the *Genrōin*, an advisory body to the Meiji government preceding the Diet. He was elected to the first Diet as a candidate for the *Jiyūtō* (Liberal Party) but left in disgust when other party members demeaned his ideals by partaking in political horse-trading over a budget reduction. He founded several newspapers and already in 1889, he wrote an article discussing buraku emancipation in *Shinonome Shinbun* (app. Daybreak News) under the title *Shinheimin no Sekai* (The World of the New Commoners). Just as Rentarō, he was a political radical with an idealistic and activist inclination, but he was no outsider, rather the antipode. The ultimate insider that turns his back on the establishment, Rentarō on the other hand is struggling to enter established society, for himself as much as for the Burakumin.

In *Hakai*, Inoko Rentarō is the author of *Zangeroku* (Confessions). The first translation of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's "*Les Confessions*" was an abridged version translated from German by Mori Ōgai (1862 – 1922), published in 1891, and titled *Zangeki*. The complete translation, directly from French, did not appear until 1912, translated by Ishikawa Gean, and then the Japanese title was *Kokuhakuroku*.[†] Rentarō, just as Chōmin, adheres to his beliefs firmly and by introducing him as the author of *Zangeroku* Tōson appears to present him as "The Orient's Rousseau."

We can see how the debate pertaining to prototypes has moved from similarities in background and upbringing, from the socialization process and experiences in life, towards consubstantial philosophical structures and

* Born into a poor family of jail guards in Tosa Domain, presently Kōchi Prefecture, he rose to be a political philosopher, prolific writer, head of Tokyo Foreign Language School, journalist and defender of free speech.

† *Zange* is the Buddhist term for confession, connoting repentance and atonement, while *kokuhaku* is confession in the sense of disclosure and uncovering. *Roku* means recording and *ki* is notation.

ideological congruence. The concern now is less focused on *who* Rentarō is, but rather on *what* he represents. The postulate that Tōson was highly influenced by Rousseau then suggests that he used Rentarō as a vehicle to introduce Rousseau ideas and principles to the reading public. Both Tōkoku and Chōmin were also enamored by Rousseau, hence it becomes increasingly difficult to separate and categorize to what extent their individual affect on the character of Rentarō influenced Tōson. However, since Tōkoku was a personal friend of Tōson during his last two years, before committing suicide, reasonable supposition implies a more omnipotent and immediate influence than that of Chōmin. Having stated that, it is necessary to point out that some expressions that Rentarō uses, particularly concerning Burakumin rights and liberation, are evidently emulated on Chōmin's writings.⁴⁸

Concomitantly, we know that Tōson spent considerable time researching Ōe Isokichi and his background, while he was writing *Hakai*. One informant was his neighbor, Itō Yoshitomo, principal of Kita Ōi Elementary School in adjacent Kita Saku-gun, a position that created connections to the highest echelons of Nagano's educational establishment. While not specifically mentioning Ōe by name, Tōson wrote this about his conversations with Itō:

Let me tell you some facts of what I have seen and heard of the New Commoners in the Shinshū region. There was a New Commoner from Ina in the Takatō area that received his teacher's rod from Nagano Normal School and was in charge of psychology or something similar. When I lived in Baba-ura in Komoro, there was an elementary school teacher by the name Itō Yoshitomo who lived next door and he told me he had met this man. This man had a bright head and was educated, and it was said that he was a man of fine and upstanding character. I met several people and saw and heard many things of this man, each and every one praising him. He left the Normal School to work at a Junior High School in the Chūgoku region. However, he did not settle down anywhere, but changed schools twice or thrice, though in the end he became principal of a Junior High School.⁴⁹

Although he does not name Ōe it is axiomatic that the person he describes could be no other. This is further enforced when we consider Tōson's conversations with Shimizu Kinji, an elementary school teacher in Iiyama:

I explored everything possible I could regarding this man and was reminded of what a really tragic life it was. He passed away while I was still in Komoro, and I was told it was a great loss. This is how I developed my interest for the New Commoners and thought that I might try to investigate the New Commoners of the Shinshū region.⁵⁰

While it could be considered stretching the tools of analysis to claim—based on the presented evidence—that Tōson had not written *Hakai* were it not for the short but intensive life of Ōe Isokichi, it bears out that Ōe is omnipresent in the novel. Having established the improbability that Ōe was the prototype for Rentarō, we are left with, through the force of exclusion, Segawa Ushimatsu, the protagonist and the only other major character classified as a new commoner. Yet, there is no established “Ushimatsu School” among

Japanese literature scholars, nor is there any significant Ushimatsu bias among buraku problem researchers. Instead, there is a concord postulating that Ōe was a model for the novel, rather than any specific character. Ōe's life and destiny is the yarn Tōson uses to weave his story.

One reason is the lack of support for any resemblance in the relationship between father and son in the novel and Ōe's affinity with his father. Ushimatsu's father had taken extreme precautions to secure the secrecy of their family background. If we include Ōe's mother, thus widening the relationship from father – son to parent – child, a cogent conclusion is that Ōe never could have been under any parental commandment to conceal his background. Had he been so, it is exceedingly unlikely that she would have submitted her son to the risk of exposure, as she did when visiting him in Osaka. Although Tōson conducted thorough research for his characterization, it is dubious that any interlocutor could supply him with information regarding Ōe's childhood, upbringing, or relation to his father.

Another example indicating Ōe's omnipresence is the opening scene in which Ōhinata is expelled from the inn he was staying at, a humiliating experience Ōe shared. After that, Ōhinata disappears from the landscape, until he returns as a *deus ex machina* in the very end. Again, we are reminded of Ōe's existence, albeit not to the specific character of Ushimatsu, rather a rivulet in the flow of the plot. When Ōhinata does return near the end, it is as Ushimatsu's benefactor, the congenial altruist bestowing upon our protagonist the escapist solution of leaving Japan for greener pastures in Texas (for more on that choice, see p. 154). Once more, the spirit of Ōe reminds us of his presence, the need for a benevolent *senpai** is as strong for Ushimatsu as it was for Ōe. Tōson's conclusion is that the individual is not sufficiently powerful to decide her own destiny, that in times of crisis we can turn to the compassion of our elders, confident that they will aid us. Ōe had Yazawa, Asaoka, Obayakawa, and Hattori, while Ushimatsu had Kazama Keinoshin and Ōhinata.

* Routinely translated as “senior” it denotes a person hierarchically superior within your own “tribe,” hence usually used for an elder at school or work. Its connotation is one of a superior protector; to be respected and honored, in order to receive charity from above, therefore “senior” is too restricted in this context.

CHAPTER 6

Suiheisha, *Hakai* and literary struggle

Just as he had broken with tradition when he decided to abandon the established 5-7 metric system in his poetry, Shimazaki Tōson would follow in his own footsteps when he turned to narrative fiction. Achieving acceptance for accomplishing the introduction of free verse into the hitherto only approved method of self expression—poetry being the only ‘legitimate’, and thus highly structured, conveyor of the Japanese soul—Tōson felt encouraged to repeat that accomplishment within the framework of the fictional narrative. Although *Hakai* is the novel that brought him literary prominence, his two earlier attempts, the short stories *Kyūshujin* (Old Master, 1902) and *Warazōri* (Straw Sandals, 1902) are the results of his desire to establish a new form of narrative that would legitimize the ‘serious’ novel, breaking free from the obtrusive demands to entertain in the *gesaku* tradition.¹

For Tōson that implied not only the construction of a new narrative format but also the requirement to reform its topical content so that it would evoke an emotional response in the reader. This is what differentiated *Hakai* from the 40 or so stories about Burakumin that had appeared before Tōson decided to publish his novel. None of the predecessors were able to penetrate to the topic’s social core to the extent that the reader responded emotionally to the text. One reason that Tōson was able to produce this emotional response in the reader was that in *Hakai* he is telling a story on three different topical levels.

Hakai as confession

The first, and indeed the most popular to analyze for critics and scholars, both Western and Japanese, is usually termed ‘confessional’. In this context, the novel is seen as representing the search for individuality in the protagonist’s transformation from adolescence into adulthood when he accepts and embraces his stigmatized lineage. The primary Western representative of this school is Janet A. Walker. Her analytical approach stands on a solid realist tradition in which writing is a mechanism for the author to express his personal convictions in a literary format. Shimazaki Tōson achieves this through his protagonist, Segawa Ushimatsu, “because he is a reflection of the Tōson of those years, [he] is the first hero of modern Japanese fiction to become conscious of and take responsibility for his selfhood.”²

It is therefore not surprising that she implies that there is a parallel between Ushimatsu’s struggle to define his individuality and Tōson’s exploration of the relationship between man and nature in which he is, according to

Walker, “gradually evolving a human centered, religious view of man as basically himself in nature rather than in the world of society.”³ Through that struggle for self-definition, “*Hakai* emerges as a personal victory of self expression and a mature statement on his [Tōson’s] views of the individual and his inner life.”⁴ Isolating the author from the surrounding society—by placing him in ‘nature’ instead—impedes an analysis of the political circumstances and their influence on Tōson when he toiled to narrate subject positions. As a consequence, the question of Burakumin and their status in society is relegated to a subordinate position on the quaternary level with only a scant relationship to the textual concerns confronting the analysis. Accepting those restrictions it is only natural that Walker will view *Hakai* as a precursor to not only Tōson’s later production that is rooted in an autobiographical context but also as an harbinger of what could become the mainstream of modern Japanese literary production—the *shishōsetsu* or the I-novel.

Rather than the relationship between author and society, attention is focused on the link between man and nature through an analysis of the narrative process in depicting the individual’s struggle to obtain selfhood. Since the cultivation of an individual is a universal process, the setting in which the characters develop is preferably viewed in religious terms that explains the omnipresent status of ‘nature’. The gallimaufry of Shinto and Buddhism in Japanese society intertwines concepts like the animist doctrine of ‘divine’ presence in any natural object with man’s ephemeral existence that provides the backdrop of a universal cosmos in which the poet is immune from any sociological or political influence. A never explicitly stated proviso for this kind of analysis is that the author produces his narrative inside a cocoon shielded away from the rest of society.

Based on this, Walker’s claim that Tōson’s writings are the end result of a dichotomy between “the samurai ideal of sincerity and the Christian ideal of the inner life” is entirely consistent with this particular analytical approach.⁵ Within the framework of narrative prose *Hakai* is seen as carrying on the method of objectivity primarily represented by such Japanese classics as Bashō’s *haiku* and Sei Shōnagon’s (app. 996 - ?) *Makura no Sōshi* (Pillow Book, app. 1000). Tōson’s novel has certainly achieved a position of prominence in the genre usually defined as ‘Early Modern’, but it is equally true that this achievement does not need to rest on laurels of the classics. While it may still be too early to attribute such epithets as “classic” or “paragon,” *Hakai* has certainly secured a distinguished standing in Japanese literature on its own merits.

From the viewpoint of reader response criticism, a crucial flaw in this structuralist approach is its failure to consider the political ramification of the selected topic; Burakumin and their status in society. As a matter of fact, Tōson’s choice of topic is routinely rejected as a coincidence and the rejecters find empirical comfort in Tōson’s refusal to touch on this subject ever again. Since his post-*Hakai* production is centered on himself, his family or his own

experiences the traditional biographical analytical approach is to use this as a pretext in order to attribute the same kind of selfhood to *Hakai*. This reification of his later production into his earlier is however a disservice, even if perhaps well intentioned, since it nullifies his later direction as a conscious choice based on the reactions that *Hakai* evoked.

Revisionist dichotomy

The second topical level revolves around the dichotomy between old and new, at times recast as the division between urban and rural or the relationship between father and son. In this setting, the rural father represents the old and bygone in terms of a feudal yoke that has to be carried by the son with an urban inclination. Within this analytical framework *Hakai* is perceived not only as an example of Tōson's quest for modernity in narrative technique, but it is also considered an attempt to establish a basis for replacing the earlier formal narrative structure with one that empowers the author with a wider creative freedom. The use of a third person observer as the narrator assisted in illuminating the delineation between the creating author and the created protagonist, especially taking into account the prevailing literary style of the day. Separating these subject and spatial positions in the narrative, facilitates the creation of a protagonist capable of directly articulating views, ideas and thoughts distinctly unconnected from the author, thus enabling him to formulate opinions that the reader may well consider to be anything from abhorrent to astounding, without being held personally accountable.

Conquering that freedom entitles the author to seek out a new intellectual dimension in the narrative construction by extrinsic stimulation of the reader's mind that hitherto had not been possible given the narrative restrictions in *gesaku* writing. Traditionally the narrator had been a subjective part of the narrative, explicitly divulging character traits, moods, feelings and mental states of the characters in a way that is almost comparable to 'eidetic imagery' in the sense that it leaves almost no room for the reader's own interpretation of the text. With the appearance of the third person narrator the author invites the reader to join him in the text and explore it on her own terms. Shimazaki Tōson achieves this in *Hakai* with various degrees of success. He is at his best when he sets the mood for a particular scene, keeping an observational distance from the motif, he sketches an outline that is sharp enough in its contour to be clear yet submissive enough to respect the reader's capability to fill it with cognitive interpretation. However, he generally fails when he introduces a new character into the plot. Ushimatsu's best friend, Tsuchiya Ginnosuke, is thus introduced as "honest and comity" (*Shōjiki de, shikamo tomodachiomoi no Ginnosuke*), never allowing the reader to make that judgment call on her own.⁶

This later approach has the distinct advantage of seeing *Hakai* in its cultural context, and not as an isolated monument of creative literary aptitude,

bringing us closer to an understanding of the novel from a social, political, and historical vantage point. Proponents of this analytical theory inevitably conclude that *Hakai* is either a reflection or herald of the ‘spirit’ of the times. This view is represented by Fujii when he states that: “Tōson’s attempt at novelistic narration and closure in *Hakai* reveals a profound discomfort with the centralized authority of post-Restoration Japan; at the same time, the text captures its historical moment by figurating a shift from a vertical hierarchic schema (favored by the Tokugawa authorities) to metaphors cast in spatial terms (e.g., urban-rural).”⁷

This form of analysis blends Michel Foucault’s theory that rules and procedures determining rational “normality” will effectively silence that which it excludes, with Mikhail Bakhtin’s theory on dialogism and “heteroglossia” in which discourse is refracted through a prism made up of the social context that delivers the narrative. Fujii’s own appellation for this discursive approach is “revisionist.”⁸

While Fujii’s analytical approach certainly brings us closer to an understanding of *Hakai* from a social and political vantage point, its analysis is still focused on the ‘general’ reader. From our vantage point the net is cast too wide since the conclusions drawn must be universal with regard to not only the reader but also the author. In order to achieve this universality, proponents of this specific brand of historicity reduces the author to a ‘function’, thereby peeling off that layer of humanity that differentiates the author from, say for instance, a software program that could create text based on algorithms on syntax, vocabulary and grammar. In other words, this revisionist school, to use Fujii’s own term, acknowledges the social and political influence on the narrative discourse in only the most general terms and this is especially true for the author’s role in the narrative process.

Nordic development

A major aspect of the Nordic School within Sociology of Literature is that a text can only be fully understood when it is placed in a larger panoramic coherent and contextual setting that requires ‘an open mind’ to literature’s societal roots in conjunction with its sociopolitical relevance. In its infancy, this organon was closely related to the socialist tradition of literary critique and maintained a direct link between poetry and politics. One of its stated ambitions was to position the literary work in the middle of an ideological force field juxtaposed on a social, political, and historic vista. At this stage in its development, the Nordic School was capable of an empirical explication that only marginally differed from the older positivist tradition in generating explicit causality.⁹

According to Furuland and Svedjedal, this was largely a creation by Victor Svanberg, professor in literary history and poetics at Uppsala University from 1947 to 1962. He extrapolated on the work begun by his predecessors Anton

Blanck and Henrik Schück but stopped short of accepting interpretations in the sense of decipherment of textural structures as scientific.¹⁰ This belonged to the realm of subjective perceptiveness and was thus scientifically inexplicable. As a consequence, the objective and subjective is only temporarily and always superficially intertwined and in the end the analysis tend to become circular so that the picture of society extracted from the literary work becomes the empirical evidence of society's influence on that particular work.¹¹

After a few years it became clear that a more evolved methodology was required if the analysis should succeed in extracting the relationship between novel and society. A first suggestion appeared in 1968 when Karl Erik Rosengren published his *Sociological Aspects of the Literary System* in an attempt to demonstrate that Sociology of Literature was methodologically related to the established empiriopsitivist science tradition within sociology. By applying the strict criteria of formalization and verification from the sciences through quantification he hoped to reveal 'structures within the literary system' and if these could not be found the research would be termed 'impressionistic' and 'capricious' so in the end research based on this model would always opt for the verifiable truism.¹² No matter how dexterously the quantitative results are manipulated, the raw data are only able to support generalizations about literature to a limited extent.

Shortly after Rosengren had published his *Sociological Aspects* came a vehement response that was strongly influenced by Marxist theory and Hegelian dialectics. One of its most ardent formulators was Kurt Aspelin who criticized the earlier empiriopsitivist literary historians for being too 'mechanical' in their theoretical constructions. Aspelin showed that Marx usage of such terms as 'good, exchange, value, and labor' in their socio-economic context were not solid and fixed but interrelational and relative *vis-à-vis* the concrete reality they described. He meant that this protean essence was a prerequisite for their ability to describe the dynamic reality that they were used to survey. That same essence is at the core of the literary text in its relation to this societal context that it mirrors. Just as society goes through dynamic changes over time the text in a social novel reflects those dynamics for the simple reason that the author has grasped the very nucleus of a social problem and been able to describe it in such a manner that the emotive response in the reader changes very little over time despite the changes that take place in society. Hence, it is first after a substantial period of time has elapsed since the time of publication that it becomes possible to understand the sociological value of such a novel.

To this, I would like to add that the sociological value of a novel and its permanent influence on society is perhaps best demonstrated by its linguistic legacy in conceptual usage. In order to make a sociological problem visible to the general reader the author often has to struggle with the concretization of an abstract perception. Before the author has been able to visualize the problem as one that belongs to society in general there may very well have been an

awareness of the problem's existence but it has been viewed in a limited context. Perhaps it has been discussed in terms of geographical proximity, gender or age relation, vested interest groups or ethnic affiliation, but it has not been defined as a problem that concerns the whole of society. A reason for that limitation is often an insufficient common vocabulary to define the problem in easily understood terms. The author's contribution comes from a keenly developed sense and highly acute dexterity in the usage of the only power tool at his or her disposal; the language, and its psychological impact on the reader. This contribution may come in different shapes and forms; it could for example appear as neologisms, metaphorical or imitative allusions, solecisms, adynation, hyperbole, tapinosis, or any other literary device necessary to convey the message of verisimilitude to the unprepared reader. Whatever form this takes is however subordinated to the author's overall aim to make the reader share his or her perception of the problem at hand.

Tōson's intellectual incantation

Shimazaki Tōson's problem when he wrote *Hakai* was that the concept of 'society' as the function of a community with mutual interdependence resulting from the sum of human conditions and activity regarded as a whole and functioning organism was not a collectively shared conception. During the Tokugawa period, society consisted of either geographically limited communities, such as towns, villages, cities, or hamlets, or the strictly defined social classes that transcended geographical limits but nevertheless only constituted a limited section of society, as we know and define it, as a whole. In those days, a person was then referred to as something akin to 'villager', 'townsman', 'peasant', or 'merchant' but never as 'citizen' or 'resident'. Consequently, social and societal problems became restricted to the limitations set by the available discourse, and this explains why the situation for Eta and Hinin were usually discussed in terms of a 'rural problem'.

With the opening of the country and the arrival of Westerners in Japan, a whole new set of social and societal issues that transcended the established geographical and class limitations appeared, but these were still not viewed as something that concerned 'society' as a whole. Instead, they brought the concept of 'nation' and 'state' to the forefront of the national consciousness. However, with the arrival of Westerners, educated Japanese gradually became aware that there existed an alternative nomenclature necessary for the abstraction and generalization required in the discourse of social and societal issues that transcended the traditional limitations. Hitherto the discourse of issues and problems transcending the local communities and classes had been conducted in terms of '*yo no naka*'— a term with extensive meaning, unclear perimeters and uncertain etymology that covers such meanings as 'in this world', 'national politics', 'heterosexual love', 'the world' or 'the general public'. In an attempt to discuss society's discrimination against Eta and Hinin the inexacti-

tude of this term clearly becomes an obstacle to an emotive and lucid discourse on a subject that by many readers are preconditioned to be merely a ‘rural problem’.

Modern Japanese uses the word ‘*shakai*’ to denote the concept of society, and the term is a neologism introduced by Fukuchi Ōchi when he needed to translate the French word *société* and discovered that it had equivalents in other Western languages. Initially it meant that the word itself had a very abstract and scholarly connotation, although languages are dynamic, changes seldom appear overnight, and the introduction of the term *shakai* was no different. Shimazaki Tōson’s contribution was that of consciousness-raising by familiarizing the reader with the concept of society. The term *shakai* appears 30 times in *Hakai* and Tōson gradually accustoms the reader to the more abstract aspects of the term’s connotation.

Tōson accomplishes this by what I call, for lack of a better term, ‘audio-visual discrepancy’ i.e. the difference between a word’s visual and audible connotation. Written Japanese makes heavy usage of the non-native Kanji characters—mainly borrowed Chinese ideographs from the Han dynasty—that unlike their Chinese originals contain several and distinctively different pronunciations and often extended meanings. In order to avoid utter confusion the Japanese have developed, in their printing technique, the system of attaching an orthographic ‘reading’ called *rubi* or *furigana*. This is a small phonogram printed in the native kana characters approximately half or one third of the font size to which the reading is attached. Japanese readers are quite familiar with these glosses and this provides the Japanese author, often to the consternation of his Western translator, with a textual dimension not available to his Western counterparts.

The primary usage for this function is to clarify an unusual or atypical reading of a character or combination of characters or in some cases to differentiate between alternative readings of the same character combination. For example, combining the characters for *up* and *direction* is most often read *jōhō* meaning upper part, but an alternate reading is *kamigata* and then it refers to Kyoto and its vicinity. Combining *up* and *down* is usually *jōge* meaning up and down or high and low, but an alternate reading is *kamishimo* and then it refers to samurai garb. The combination of *body* and *era* or *change* can be read *shindai* meaning estate or wealth but it also reads *mino-shiro* and then it refers to ransom money. Often the meaning will be clear from context and no further clarification is necessary, but in some cases, the usage may cause confusion and attaching *rubi* or *furigana* to the Kanji can then dispel this.

Shimazaki Tōson utilized this feature of the written language, but in the other direction. In the very beginning of *Hakai* he describes how Segawa Ushimatsu ‘was thrust into the world’ after graduating from the Normal School. Tōson uses the characters for *shakai* but adds the *rubi yo no naka* to the word thus giving the reader a visual connotation of ‘society’ in all of its

abstract context, but at the same time providing an audible connotation of the more familiar and conventional ‘world’ that was the traditional concept of society in Japan at this time.¹³

A few pages later when Ushimatsu is remembering his father’s commandment, he repeats this usage with a slightly heightened level of abstraction. The father is telling him that if he ever forgets the commandment ‘he will be thrown out of this world’ and it is very clear here that he means ‘ostracized by society’ in the sense of being shunned rather than physically removed.¹⁴ In this manner, Tōson continually introduces a higher level of abstraction in the term *shakai* in its relation to the traditional *yo no naka*. Halfway through the novel, when Katsuno Bunpei tells the principal about Ushimatsu’s background, the two of them have a rather sophisticated dialogue delineating the difference between ‘the world’ and ‘society’.¹⁵ Through this method, which may be called ‘intellectual incantation’ for its ability to create an intensified emotional temperature through continual and repetitive intellectual and logical reasoning, Tōson makes it absolutely clear that the situation for Eta and Hinin is not restricted to a ‘rural problem’ but is a concern for the whole of society.

***Hakai* as social novel**

The first person to view *Hakai* as a social novel was Noma Hiroshi (1915 - 91). His critique was primarily focused on the prevailing position that Shimazaki Tōson had written it as a confessional novel, an opinion represented by such noteworthy critics as Satō Haruo (1892 - 1964) and Wada Kingo. Many consider Noma, a native of Kobe, the emblematic postwar writer for the brooding obscurity displayed in his debut novel *Kurai E* (Sinister Picture, 1946). He entered the French literature department of Kyoto University in April 1935, increasingly becoming involved with the burgeoning left-wing movement and he associated with a radical student group, but never joined their Communist cell. His interest in radical politics had been aroused when he read André Gide’s *Voyage au Congo* (1927) before entering the university, and he became a convinced Marxist, admiring Gide’s support for society’s victims and outcasts. This period in his life constitutes the nucleus of the novel.

After graduating in 1938, Noma worked with Burakumin communities for the Osaka City Social Office. In the summer of 1943, he was arrested for being a pacifist and imprisoned for six months. These experiences would later be fully utilized in his epic *Seinen no Wa* (Circle of Youth, 1947 - 70) in which Noma depicts two adolescents, Yabana Masayuki a lowly clerk in a municipal office and the wealthy Ōmichi Izumi, during the summer of 1939. Together with Saikō Mankichi (real name: Kiyohara Kazataka, 1895 - 1970) and Sumii Sue (real name: Inuta Sue, 1902 - 97) Noma Hiroshi is perhaps the best-known author that consistently wrote about Burakumin and their strug-

gle to liberate their communities in the post-war period. In his ‘explanatory notes’ to the 1956 edition of *Hakai* published by Iwanami Bunko, Noma wrote:

In *Hakai* the feudalistic irrationality that although people are the same, some would under the feudal system be discriminated against, is considered as a Japanese tragedy. Tōson made Darwin’s evolutionary theory his own in that man was also part of nature. Humans were living things born into the evolution of nature. Among those humans there were no separation between high and low, nor were there any reason for separation on disparagement. The modern society that defeated the feudal system was constructed on the basis of equality between humans. However, if we consider that there is discrimination against humans in Japan than we have to ask ourselves where the source for that is? Although Japan had entered the Meiji era, Tōson selects as his protagonist the Burakumin Ushimatsu that is discriminated against and portrays that profound sadness, a sharp approach to Japanese militarism and Emperor system.¹⁶

Noma continued his critique, saying ‘Enamored by Darwin’s evolutionary theory Tōson made the logic his own, which is why we do not find any philosophical or universal basis for human equality [in the novel]’. With regard to the ending Noma added, ‘This is a sign that Tōson had not thought through the problem of Burakumin as a ‘human problem’ to its core’.¹⁷

Ending the problem

Ogawa Mimei (1882 – 1961) who edited *Kaihō* (Liberation) between 1952 and 58 when it was the official bulletin for *Nihon Musanha Bungei Renmei* (Japan Federation of Proletarian Art) wrote that the ending has a ‘vulgar shadow of Eta-likeness’. Shimamura Hōgetsu (1871 – 1918) renowned already in 1911 for translating and introducing Henrik Ibsen’s *Et Dukkehjem* (A Doll’s House, 1879) stated that the ending had the ‘grace of exceedingly idle penmanship’. Hasegawa Tenkei (1876 – 1940) was perhaps the literary critic that most forcefully supported *shizenshugi* when it appeared, yet said of *Hakai* that ‘the ending is markedly mediocre’. Togawa Shinsuke (1872 – 1943), a prolific scholar with an acute perception of Shimazaki Tōson’s position in Japanese literature is typically inclined to use a subdued prose when appraising Tōson’s works, nevertheless labels the ending ‘perverse’ (*Tōsaku shita ketsumatsu to natteiru*).¹⁸

Japanese critics are by no means alone in their discontent with the ending. In his introduction to the translation of *Hakai*, Kenneth Strong felt compelled to divulge the ending even before the novel begins, most likely because the Western reader will be frustrated by Ushimatsu’s anticlimactic passivity.

The Broken Commandment might have been a more satisfying novel, in traditional Western terms, if it were not deficient in these [lack of social concern] respects. But to judge it too harshly for this reason would be to miss the author’s intention, and to underestimate the degree to which the novel, not least by its apparent defects, mirrors the society of its time. The latter point is particularly worth making in re-

gard to the ‘happy ending,’ the wholly unexpected manifestation of a *deus ex machina* in the shape of an invitation to Ushimatsu to emigrate to Texas. At first sight this seems preposterous. But as Donald Keene remarks, this ‘ending vitiates the story for us, but it was perhaps the only possible one for Japan. I think it likely that in a European novel of the same date, it would be far more usual that the hero, offered the choice of a comfortable job in Texas or badly paid work as a battler for eta rights in Japan would have chosen the latter. In this the Japanese novel is realistic as European works are not.’¹⁹

Strong cites Keene’s ‘Japanese Literature’ as both explanation and justification for the ending, but it is obvious that Keene too is less than satisfied with the way Tōson chose to end the story. In his ‘Dawn to the West’ Keene refers to an essay that Tōson wrote in 1928:

I intended to write about the liberation and regeneration of a young educator who had been born a member of the eta class. . . . The main intent of my book was to describe how the hero came to break the solemn vow he made to his father. For this reason, I should like this book to be read essentially as the study of the relations between a father and son, even though I have added many other characters and incidents by way of background.²⁰

Then Keene hastens to add: ‘This statement, *if indeed it accurately represented Tōson’s thoughts at the time he was writing the novel,** might account for its curious lack of social content, despite the conspicuously social nature of the theme.’²¹ Keene quoted Yoshida Seiichi and it is apparent that even though he has no reason to doubt Yoshida’s rendering, he is not entirely content with Tōson’s own explanation. To understand Keene’s display of sound academic skepticism we should remember the industriousness Tōson displayed in researching the novel, but we also need to know more about the relationship between Shimazaki Tōson and the *Suiheisha*.

At the time Tōson published *Hakai*, Japan had negotiated the Treaty of Portsmouth that granted her the southern half of Sakhalin after the Russo-Japanese War. The Japanese public was infuriated because they considered the conditions humiliating and organized a mass rally at Hibiya Park, next to the Imperial Palace in central Tokyo, the rally turned chaotic and resulted in riots claiming 17 dead. It did however open up for Japanese advancement into Korea and the Korean-Japanese Convention of 1905 was uncontested by the rest of the world. Itō Hirobumi was appointed the first Resident General in February of 1906 and soon extended his powers into the arena of Korean domestic issues. At this time, Japan also began to extend its influence in China with the incorporation of the South Manchurian Railway. Hence, it was a period in history when Japan was focused on international issues and excited about the possibilities opening up beyond her borders. Consequently, introspective scrutinization of domestic social problems was neither *de rigueur* nor encouraged, and the question of buraku discrimination was there-

* Italics added.

fore habitually dismissed as a ‘rural problem’. The very few voices that might have been concerned, such as the group around Kōtoku Shūsui and the newspaper *Heimin Shinbun*, were preoccupied with internal squabbles.

A Burakumin reading

Apart from the insouciance from society in general, we have to add the question of *Hakai*'s dissemination amongst buraku people. It may be tempting to assume a high ratio of illiteracy amid Burakumin considering their ostracized existence, but as *Hakai* rests on plausible realism, the ‘educated Eta’ in Ushimatsu, or Ōe Isokichi in real life for that matter, testifies to the uncertainty of such an assumption. Neary reminds us that literacy rates were generally high in the buraku communities that functioned as an extension of the administrative powers because of their need to communicate in writing with the authorities.²² An example, albeit anecdotal, of the reaction *Hakai* initiated amongst Burakumin is presented by Shibata Michiko. She has interviewed a man from Arabori Buraku, located just outside Komoro, where Tōson used to come and talk with the village head Yaemon in preparation for the novel.

Hakai was published in the 39th year of Meiji but it was first long after it was published that people around here heard about *Hakai*. This kind of pure literature with its dignified style had no connection to our life. Not much of a middle-class interested in letters and literature here. I understand that Tōson came to Arabori several times when he was writing *Hakai*, but after he had finished it, he never sat foot here again. Like one of those students doing some buraku research, it really upsets me. I read *Hakai* when I was young and I thought of Tōson as my enemy. He didn't have to blurt out things like ‘on the other side of the bridge’. Trampling all over us making us infamous and earning a good living out of it, a vile fellow in my opinion. Nobody in the buraku was impressed.²³

From this we may deduce that in order to validate a more comprehensive reaction from the buraku community certain conditions has to be met. The level of education has to reach an altitude that allows for the appreciation of ‘pure literature’ in both economic and aesthetic terms, and the novel has to be sufficiently popularized to reach beyond any inherent cultural elite within the buraku. One route towards amplification went through the theater and just a few months after its publication dramatist Osanai Kaoru (1881 – 1928) wrote a script based on *Hakai* when he was 25 years old and had barely graduated from Tokyo Imperial University. Together with Ii Yōhō (1871 – 1932), a famous Meiji actor, and his troupe, they produced the play at the Masago-za Theater with Inoue Masao (1881 – 1950) in the role of Ushimatsu. Tōson went to see the play with his friends Togawa Shūkotsu and Murayama Chōkei, elated by its success he even wrote Kōtsu Takeshi (1882 – 1946) in Saku and invited him to come and see it in appreciation of the financial aid he had received.²⁴

Despite the success that *Hakai* had as both a novel and a play, Tōson went through a period of emotional vicissitude. The year before publishing *Hakai* he moved with his family from Komoro to Nishi-Ōkubo, which in those days was a small suburb to Tokyo. They had hardly moved in when his youngest daughter Nuiko died on May 6, only one year old. Five months later his first son, Kusuo was born. Only one month after publishing *Hakai* his second daughter, Takako, died followed by her older sister, Midori, the month after. During a period of one year, he had lost all three daughters. Four months after his oldest daughter had passed away, he was able to secure better housing for his family when they moved to Asakusa in downtown Tokyo.

Post-*Hakai* commotion

After moving, he entered the most productive period in his career as a writer, if this was a remedy for the domestic tragedies that had afflicted him or a result of the success that *Hakai* had brought him or even a combination of both we do not know. By 1912 he had published both *Haru* and *Ie* with his own funding on his publishing label Ryokuin Sōsho, the same label he used to publish *Hakai*. By this time, his wife, Fuyuko, had borne him two more sons, first Keiji who was born in 1907 and the year after Sōsuke was born. In 1910, she gave birth to their seventh child, Yanagiko, their fourth and by now only living daughter, but Fuyuko did not survive the labor. Taking care of four children while trying to earn a living as a writer was simply not possible from a practical standpoint, so the two youngest went to live with other families.

To help him with the household chores Tōson's older brother Hirosuke sent his two daughters to live with Tōson, but the older married in 1912 and left his house. He was left alone with the younger Komako, 20 years his junior, and when he discovered that she was pregnant, he decided that it was best for him to leave the country. In April, he sailed from Kobe to Paris and after a few weeks to sea, he wrote a letter to his brother explaining what had happened. He wrote articles for *Asahi Shinbun* to support himself, but he also began serialization of *Sakura no Mi no Jukusuru Toki* (When the Cherries Ripen). He left Paris in the spring of 1916 and returned to Kobe in July the same year.

The tumultuous changes that Tōson went through in his personal life could be viewed as a mirrored microcosm of the transformation that Japanese society endured on an aggregated scale. When the domestic situation became overwhelming, he found a temporary refugium on the international scene whereas the Japanese political leadership after a period of expanding international ambitions were forced to focus their attention on the domestic situation. Compulsory education meant that illiteracy evanesced and extrinsic ideas like liberalism and socialism were widely dispersed through the importation and translation of Western treatises on these subjects. Neary calls our atten-

tion to the impact these ideas would have on Japanese society when it was confronted with domestic unrest, and this applies equally to both those that instigated the unrest as a method of channeling their demands for change and for those that aspired to maintain *status quo*.²⁵

The Rice Riots (*Kome Sōdō*) of 1918 was the singular incident that set the tone for the socio-political agenda of Japan during the 1920's. During World War I, capitalism developed rapidly in Japan resulting in substantial urbanization that led to a steep increase in the non-farming population. Possessing considerable political power, landowners were never confronted with the threat of reduced import taxes on rice. The combination of demographic reorganization, a closed market and increased demand for rice in monetary terms caused rice prices to increase 50% during 1917 and the first half of 1918. A group of fisherman's wives in the small villages of Uozu, Namerikawa and Mizubashi in Toyama prefecture began protesting in July of 1918 by refusing rice merchants and other influential people access to the shoreline. This action gained widespread recognition throughout Japan after the newspapers began reporting it.²⁶

The government of Terauchi Masatake (1852 - 1919), worried about the situation in northern China after the Bolsheviks had gained control of Russia, decided to send troops to Siberia to secure its position in China. The troops sailed to Vladivostok on August 2 and in order to secure their supplies, the government had purchased large amounts of rice. This precipitated another 50% increase in rice prices, but this time in less than a week. Infuriated by the steep increase in their most basic staple a group of Burakumin in Kyoto attacked rice merchants on the night of August 10. Assaults against rice merchants or rice exchanges spread rapidly across the countryside and when the riots reached Tokyo on August 13, a total of 18 cities, 40 towns and 30 villages had already felt the eruptions. Prime Minister Terauchi, a former army general that had served as Resident General in Korea, was used to solving problems by the implementation of force. Realizing that the police was not able to restore order, he enlisted army troops to quell the disturbance, it required the exertion of more than 90,000 troops to restore calm.²⁷

The riots lasted for a total of 50 days and all prefectures except four were perturbed by these actions. The immediate result was that Prime Minister Terauchi tendered his resignation on September 21, having lost the support of the Meiji oligarchs when he failed to suppress the nationwide turmoil. Short-term, one consequence was that the incoming government would review social policies with the aim to a more equal income distribution. It was estimated that approximately 10% of those participating in the riots were of Burakumin origin at a time when they constituted around 2% of the population.²⁸ It is impossible to know if this over-representation was the result of actual direct action from the Burakumin, or if the authorities prosecuted them more vigilantly. In the prefectures of Kyoto, Okayama, Mie, and Wakayama, between 30 - 40% of those arrested were Burakumin.²⁹ At any rate, the po-

litical power center began to acknowledge that they no longer could ignore the plight and pariah status of the Burakumin. For the Burakumin themselves, however, it meant something entirely different.

This is perhaps best illuminated by a Letter to the Editor entitled *Orera wa Eta da* (We are Eta), published by Kii Mainichi (Wakayama Daily) on September 14 after the turbulence had subsided:

We are Eta, special people; friends of ours were at the vanguard of the uprising in the recent Rice Riots. Because of this, politicians, social reformers and other important people are talking about this and ‘The Problem of Enlightenment in Special Buraku’; and it is appreciated that they worry about our status, no bones about being grateful, but to be completely honest, sad to say, it just feels to us as if some outsiders are meddling in our affairs. Those people are always recommending us what to do. Get your trachoma treated, it is crucial that you save money, clean your sewers, listen to what Buddha has to say, they come with all kinds of thoughtful advice. But why do they think this will suffice to do something for our status? We have been Eta since several hundred years ago and the rage embedded in the bitter framework of being persecuted and expelled from society as ‘four-leggers’ will not vanish simply if trachoma is cured or savings achieved or by listening to Buddhist lectures. Some of our friends were involved in barbaric acts like stealing, arson and looting and we think it is extremely deplorable that they would be part of such outrageous conduct. But how else, except for this barbaric conduct, could we possibly have squared the accounts for the inequality we are subjected to, how else can we escape oppression and harassment?³⁰

Despite the *Eta Kaihōrei* of 1871, the large majority of Burakumin were still convinced that they were contaminated and inferior to the majority population. This attitude was enforced by the continued separation in the labor market, those few Burakumin who took part in Japan’s industrialization were usually restricted to special ‘factories’ established just outside a buraku community. The same was true for the education system, notwithstanding the introduction of compulsory education, most Burakumin children were excluded from the regular schools, and the buraku communities did not have the necessary funds to establish their own primary schools. In many cases, they had to settle for small schools with limited curriculum established at the local temple, in some instances these separate buraku schools continued to exist until 1912. Hence, there were never any efforts to integrate them into society at large.³¹

Organized discontent

Not all Burakumin however, acquiesced to the majority society’s efforts to keep them separated and constrained to a pariah status. As early as 1881 a group of Burakumin centered on Matsuzono Buraku in Fukuoka prefecture formed *Fukken Dōmei* (League for Restoration of Rights) with members also from Ōita and Kumamoto prefectures. Their by-laws stated ‘We, former Eta, are also people of the Empire [...] having been entered as equals in the census

register we have been granted the freedom to gain our indubitable rights as citizens of the nation [...] we were once weak and poor but when we join our forces as one group we need not fear wealthy merchants and landowners'.³² Although enthusiasm waned and their efforts fizzled out it is clear that even the earliest proponents of buraku liberation recognized the need for organized protest as the only route towards equal status. However, before they could reach that goal they would have to eradicate the auto-prejudicial sentiment that was so conspicuous among Burakumin themselves.

Calls and actions for self-improvement began to appear during 1895, in Minami-Ōji just outside Osaka the mayor established a primary school that complied with the Ministry of education regulations, communal baths and a Savings Association. In Shizuoka prefecture a small buraku called Yoshino, the mayor established a night school for the village youths, a Cultivation Club (*Shūyōkai*) and a Mutual Aid Society (*Sōgo Fuyo Shikin*). It was not until the year after however, when Miyoshi Iheiji (1873 – 1969) from Okayama prefecture together with a group consisting of 45 Burakumin striving to improve living conditions that a sustained effort of self-improvement began. It took him six years to organize all the buraku within Okayama prefecture into the *Bisaku Heiminkai* with the goal to 'improve customs and education in a spirit of co-operation and inspire morality'.³³

Several discriminatory events during 1902 convinced Miyoshi Iheiji that a prefecture wide organization was not enough to bring about any real change, together with other buraku leaders in western Japan they set out to organize a national conference on buraku problems. A total of 300 representatives from Tokyo in the east to Fukuoka in the west gathered during the summer of 1903 in Osaka to discuss how they could improve this situation for Burakumin around the country. In spite of the unanimous enthusiasm this movement never gained enough momentum to reinforce its efforts, perhaps their focus on intra-communal improvement was construed as tacit approval that the responsibility for continued discrimination was a burden the Burakumin had to bear rather than the surrounding majority society. The fact that they worked in close cooperation with the authorities, which saw Burakumin as a potential security problem rather than an object of social injustice, probably contributed to a lack of trust among the rank-and-file Burakumin.

Establishing Suiheisha

It was first when the ideas presented in the letter to Kii Mainichi began to materialize in a more organized structure that the seed to a buraku mass movement aiming to change the attitudes of the surrounding majority society was planted. The cultivators of this seed were three young men from Kashiwa Buraku outside Wakigami village in Nara prefecture, Sakamoto Seiichirō (1892 – 1987), Saikō Mankichi and Komai Keisaku (1897 - 1945) who in the spring of 1919 founded *Tsubamekai* (Swallow Club). Panglossian in outlook,

they dreamed of flying off to Celebes like swallows and establish a new community free from discrimination. An effusion of anti-Japanese sentiment on the island became a wake-up call from their romanticist dreams and instead they focused their attention on studying Marxist and Socialist literature.³⁴ After the Bolshevik revolution, Japanese intellectuals took a keen interest in Marxist theory and there was a torrent of books on the subject in translation as well as by Japanese authors. While the socialist influence is prominent, especially in their early writings, Saikō later described their group as ‘light-hearted socialists’ (*nonki na shakaishugisha*).³⁵ By this, he seems to mean that they were captivated by the idea of equality and the need to struggle for its achievement but anguished by socialist economical theories.

The Reconciliation Movement (*Yūwa Undō*) had demanded that the government spend 1 million yen on improvement projects but it was not until after the Rice Riots that they received any funds and then only 5 percent of what they had asked for. Buraku leaders around the country gradually became receptive to the more aggressive tactics suggested by the young men from Nara and when they organized a conference in Kyoto many heeded their call. On March 3, 1922 approximately 2000 representatives from 16 prefectures, with a heavy concentration on western Japan, congregated in Okazaki Hall to inaugurate *Suiheisha* (Leveller’s Society). The conference adopted a Declaration written by Saikō and Hirano Shōken (1891 - 1940) that was a curious mixture of Marxist slogans, Utopian dream-weaving, Buddhist determinism, and chiliastic sanguineness.³⁶ More importantly, they also adopted the following resolution: ‘If anyone is insulting to us in either word or deed using such names as Tokushu Buraku or Eta we will thoroughly denounce the offenders.’³⁷ The expression ‘thoroughly denounce’, in Japanese *tetteiteki kyūdan*, is key to the re-evaluation of *Hakai* that would emerge from the *Suiheisha* movement.

Less than two weeks before the *Suiheisha* activists convened in Kyoto *Hakai* was published again, this time as volume three in a Shimazaki Tōson Complete Collection. Tōson made a few editorial changes, altering some verbal endings and removing the honorific prefix to the word Meiji Restoration, but none that affected the content or the portrayal of the Burakumin characters.³⁸ During the first year of its existence, *Suiheisha* embarked on several cases of highly publicized *kyūdan* actions and against the backdrop of patulous reforms known as Taishō Democracy, news media began to take a more analytical approach to its coverage of Burakumin questions. In April of 1923, *Yomiuri Shinbun* printed an interview with Shimazaki Tōson in which they specifically asked him about his view on Burakumin and their role in *Hakai*.

Tōson’s response was that he considered their lot an ‘eye-opening tragedy’ which he came to realize during the extensive research he did around Komoro when writing *Hakai*.³⁹ This reaction seems to have infuriated the activists within *Suiheisha*, the argument being that if Tōson really considered their fate a ‘tragedy’ then the ending is even more insulting to Burakumin. Fleeing

from bigotry by moving to Texas may well be an individual solution for a single educated *shinheimin*, but it is hardly an option for the masses of lowly educated Burakumin that are barely scraping by on leather work or toiling on barren scraps of land. Likely, the activists, being in charge of a mass movement seeking unification of Burakumin by promising a collective struggle, could not reconcile this ambition with Tōson's individuated solution. After its inauguration in 1922, Suiheisha instigated 69 *kyūdan* actions; this figure soared to a total of 854 in 1923 and peaked at 1,052 in 1924.⁴⁰ Ushimatsu's 'escapism' of course also smacks of cowardice to those that are trying to infuse the courage in Burakumin to stand up and fight for their rights.

Tōson under attack

Although the ending was of particular importance to the activists within Suiheisha there is another scene that they find equally offensive. The event that precipitates Ushimatsu's departure is his 'confession' in front of his class, a decision induced by the murder of Inoko Rentarō. Having discovered that the opponent, Takayanagi Risaburō, to the man Inoko supports as a candidate for the National Diet, a lawyer named Ichimura, has married the daughter of a wealthy Eta by the name Rokuzaemon in order to receive his financial support for his campaign, Inoko decides to stay behind in Shinshū rather than to return to Tokyo with his wife. He intends to reveal Takayanagi's avaricious disposition at a campaign speech in one of the local temples. Takayanagi dispatches thugs to the meeting with orders to disperse it before his secret is exposed. Failing their task they kill Inoko with a stone to the head after the meeting.

Meanwhile, Ushimatsu in an inner monologue has reached the conclusion that since his father is dead; he is now free to divulge to his beloved Sensei that he shares the same Eta background. However, when he arrives at the temple it is too late, Inoko is already dead. Thus Inoko's death comes to symbolize the death of the 'old Ushimatsu', the adolescent living a life of constant lies brought about by his father's commandment is no more. Seeing the frozen blood on Inoko's face, Ushimatsu has an entelechy that it is only by declaring himself an Eta, as Rentarō does in his *Confessions*, that he can achieve manhood. Such is the lesson of Inoko's life, and his death.⁴¹

With calm determination, Ushimatsu writes a letter of resignation and plans his last day at the school. When he arrives at school he finds the little Eta boy Senta there already and openly gives him a hug, not caring what others might think, a sure sign that he has found inner peace, before he was always weary about anything that might associate him with the Eta. He goes through the classes of the day but it is evident that tension is beginning to mount within him. Halfway through the afternoon class he puts away the textbook and tells the class that he has an announcement:

'You all know how the people living here in the mountain region are divided into roughly five classes. There are the former samurai, the town merchants, the farmers, the clergy, and besides them, the class of people called Eta. You know how the Eta still live as a horde together away from the town, where they make the slippers made of hemp you wear at school or leather shoes, drums and samisen, or some of them work the fields as peasants. You probably know how once a year these Eta call on your father or grandfather with a sheaf of rice to pay their respects. You probably also know how when they come they sit in the earthen room behind the kitchen and must never step up into any of the rooms where you live and take whatever they are given to eat in special bowls kept for them alone. You know the custom there has always been, that when someone from your family goes on some errand to a place where Eta live, he must light his pipe with his own match,* and that even if the Eta are drinking tea when he comes, they may not offer any to him. There is no class more despicable, we say, than the Eta. Suppose one of these despised Eta were to come to your classroom and teach you Japanese and geography—what would you think then? What would your fathers and mothers think? Children, the truth is: I am one of those despicable Eta.'⁴²

Shaking violently by the emotional pressure, he continues:

'Some of you are fourteen, some fifteen: you know something of the world already. Please listen carefully to what I am saying to you now. When in five years from now, or ten, you look back to your schooldays, I would like you to remember you had a teacher called Segawa once, in the fourth year of the upper school, who taught you in this room—who told you, when he confessed to you that he was an eta and said goodbye to all the class, that each first of January he had welcomed in the New Year with the same sweet wine as you do, that on the Emperor's birthday he had sung 'May Thy Glorious Reign' as fervently as you, and wished you well, praying in his heart for your happiness and success.... You will feel disgust and loathing for me now that I have told you what I am. But though I was born so low myself, I have done my best each day to teach you only what is right and true. Please remember this, and forgive me if you can for having kept the truth from you till today.' He bowed his head humbly before the class. 'When you get home, tell your parents what I have said. Tell them that I confessed today, asking your forgiveness . . . *I am an eta, an outcast, an unclean being!*'

Feeling somehow that he still had not humbled himself enough, Ushimatsu stepped back from the desk and knelt on the wooden floor.

'Forgive me! Forgive me!'⁴³

In this scene, four specific matters are especially pestiferous to the buraku community. In the sentence: 'He bowed his head humbly before the class' above, Strong's selection of 'humbly' only shows one side of the coin. Shimazaki used the expression *wabiiru*, which in Japanese has a very strong connotation of apology and regret. This is then accentuated when he 'kneels' in front of his class. This kneeling is *hizamazuku* in Japanese and it involves stretching out the hands in front while bowing to the ground so the body is in

* Instead of using the *hibachi* or other source of fire belonging to an Eta.

a 45 degree angle from the floor, this is a traditional posture to demonstrate surrender or submission. In his final outburst Ushimatsu refers to himself as a *chōri* (the outcast above) a derogatory designation that is particularly offensive since it originally refers to high ranking Chinese officials and thus serves as a mocking reminder of how deeply they have fallen. When he ends his tirade by asking for forgiveness, the picture of obsequiousness is complete.

Buraku critique and alternative interpretation

Kitahara Taisaku (1906 – 81) perhaps best represents the buraku sentiment when he focuses his critique on the characters in the novel, ‘the characters in *Hakai* are divided into two separate groups, neither of which has achieved any awareness of human equality. The Burakumin are caught in a concept of obsequious self-deprecation, whereas the regular folks look with contemptuous pity on the Burakumin as a debased people’. Kitahara however becomes most agitated and emotional when he considers the lack of struggle for buraku liberation and fighting spirit in Segawa Ushimatsu, ‘When it comes to buraku liberation, *Hakai* does not provide any valid answers. To do as Ushimatsu’s father suggests, hide your origin and attempt to succeed in life, is perhaps a possible solution for cowardly and individualistically inclined people with abilities.’⁴⁴

Clearly there is a dissonance between Ushimatsu’s earlier determination to uphold the honor of Inoko by ‘boldly confessing’ his background, and the behavior he displays in front of his own pupils. His nervousness is a sign of the mental courage required to ‘confess’ in front of the class, but his agitated state of mind hardly justifies toadying. However, if the class is symbolic of Ushimatsu’s own youthful days, when his mind was pure and unsullied by lies inflicted by his father’s commandment; then his unctuous behavior becomes a request for exculpation from himself. Hence, he is not apologizing for being an Eta, but instead expressing remorse for his inability to be a proud Eta.

This possibility is first hinted at in chapter seven, Ushimatsu is granted a leave of absence in order to attend his father’s funeral and when he leaves Iiyama his mood turns brighter despite the sad event. The town has become a mental prison where he has incarcerated his soul in order to fulfill his filial duty. The only moments of pride he has is when he is surreptitiously reading Inoko’s *Confessions* in the privacy of this room in the temple. His positive mood change suggests to us of that the senior Segawa’s demise is the crucial precondition for Ushimatsu’s attainment of self-esteem.

Tōson also uses visual, auditory, and olfactory imagery in abundance to depict Ushimatsu’s state of mind to the reader. It is always dark, usually night, when Ushimatsu is contemplating the dichotomy between his filial duty to abide by his father’s commandment and his inner need for spiritual liberation by breaking that commandment and telling Inoko Rentarō about his background. Every time he tries to approach Inoko with this revelation, some in-

ternal force holds him back and this force can be traced back to the darkness of the father's commandment. The stark contrast inherent in this imagery becomes apparent in chapter 21 when Ushimatsu has decided to cast off his dark secret and leaves in the morning for school; the sun comes forth and shines brightly from a blue heaven. By reducing the imagery to its most basic form on a scale from darkness to lightness, Tōson is telling us that just as perfectly monochromatic light is absolutely coherent and completely polarized so is the future of those that can rid themselves of their 'dark past'.

The obsequiousness Ushimatsu displays when he confesses in front of his class then becomes the last remnant of residual darkness in his soul. The submissive posture in front of the class where he prostrates himself in the position Japanese calls *dogeza*, (see page 150) is equivalent to admitting an offense, and the 'crime' Ushimatsu admits guilt to is that he did not set his soul free earlier. The burden Ushimatsu carries into his future is procrastination and is then Tōson not suggesting that the Burakumin who continues to procrastinate are the ones that will continue to be prisoners of their own commandments? In other words, Tōson is indirectly impelling Burakumin to take direct action, the exact opposite of what the Suiheisha activists accused him of not doing.

As mentioned earlier the Suiheisha critique is first and foremost based on Ushimatsu's 'escapist' behavior at the end, leaving behind the young Senta and other Burakumin to fend for themselves against a discriminatory society. Activists within Suiheisha thus prefer the ending suggested by Donald Keene, that Ushimatsu stays behind in Iiyama and begins to organize a struggle for buraku liberation in the spirit of Inoko Rentarō. When the sled, carrying Ushimatsu, departs from Iiyama the would-be hero is literally turning his back on the buraku society. His own personal bright future in Texas becomes more important than any solidarity between fellow Burakumin in the battle for acceptance and equality. A cry of 'traitor' is disguised behind only the thinnest of veneer. In order for us to understand if this critique is valid and apposite we need to take a closer look at the way Tōson chose to end his novel.

Hearing about Ushimatsu's confession, his friend Ginnosuke tries to locate him. He visits the home of Kazama Keinoshin where he finds an unsettled O-Shiho that invites him into the house. Although Ushimatsu is not present, Ginnosuke accepts the invitation because he has more than one motive for being there. Aware of Ushimatsu's feelings for O-Shiho, Ginnosuke wants to perform one last *beau geste* for his longtime friend by exploring the possibility that the feelings might be mutual. During the conversation, he learns that O-Shiho also carries with her a dark secret, while staying at Rengeji Temple, the priest, who is her adoptive father, has exploited her for his own personal pleasure. With the prevailing attitudes at the time, she would then, at least as a prospective bride, be viewed as 'unclean' and many of the same adjectives applied to Ushimatsu would be just as cogent in her case.

Hence, after she has confessed her own arcanum to Ginnosuke, O-Shiho turns into a *de facto* female equivalent of Ushimatsu. Several factors in Tōson's characterization of O-Shiho contributes to this illation. Both live with the burden of a commandment laid down by their respective fathers, and both have to live a disagreeable lie in order to fulfill their filial duty. Out of deference towards the patriarchal dictum, they have had to move away from familiar surroundings, O-Shiho to Rengeji, and Ushimatsu away from Mukaimachi to Iiyama. Further, it is by confessing that they liberate their souls and move out beyond the boundaries set by their respective father. When Ginnosuke asks O-Shiho about her attitude about the fact that Ushimatsu is an Eta she is not only ready to accept him as is, but in fact prefer 'a quiet, sensible man, new commoner or not, any day to a magpie like Katsuno'.⁴⁵ This willingness has its foundation in their shared hardship.

She even emphasizes this as Ginnosuke is ready to depart, when she asks him if he may be able to obtain a copy of Inoko Rentarō's *Confessions* for her. Her desire to borrow the book that has sustained Ushimatsu during his ordeal as well as being the source of his predicament becomes symbolic of the shared destiny awaiting them. The deep felt respect that Ushimatsu had for Inoko Rentarō and his struggle to liberate Burakumin will be internalized in O-Shiho when she receives the book. She even states that the book might be too difficult for her to understand; yet, she wants it in order to share in the philosophical alliance with Ushimatsu. Is Tōson then not suggesting that the value of a text goes deeper than the mere superficial arrangement of words?

Ginnosuke finds Ushimatsu together with the lawyer Ichimura at the inn where Inoko Rentarō had been staying, after they have performed the proper funeral rites the three of them sit down and talk about the events that have taken place. At this time, Ichimura mentions that the wealthy Eta, Ōhinata, is contemplating the establishment of a farm in Texas. Ichimura has been asked to recommend a young man to help Ōhinata with his venture. He feels certain that Ōhinata would only be too pleased if he recommends Ushimatsu, and it is decided that the lawyer will bring the two of them together if Ushimatsu agrees. Hearing what Ōhinata suggests, Ushimatsu willingly accepts the proposal to move to Texas.

Ōhinata then becomes the catalyst that precipitates the future endeavors undertaken by Ushimatsu and O-Shiho jointly. Hence, in the persona of Ōhinata, we have leadership and direction in the selection and decision of Texas, we also have the financial acumen to undertake such a risky project, and finally we have intimate knowledge of flagitious discrimination. It bears to keep in mind that Ōhinata was the only Eta in *Hakai* that was in fact subjected to direct and active ostracism. Although there was a lot of derogatory talk about Eta in Ushimatsu's presence, he was never the direct subject of these discussions and therefore not exposed to direct ostracism. Ōhinata admits to Ushimatsu that it was the incident when he was ejected from the inn

where Ushimatsu was staying before he moved to Rengeji that actuated his decision.

Considering the strenuous effort Tōson undertook in order to keep *Hakai* as realistic as possible, the choice of Texas as final destination is perhaps the most puzzling. Around this time, Japanese emigration to the United States was usually headed for either Hawaii or the coast of California. Our supposition then is that the ‘unrealistic’ choice of Texas for Tōson must have contained some other rationale since it for his readers literally must have been the equivalent of ‘unknown country’. Texas appeal to Tōson was likely its unadulterated obscureness, a symbolic *tabula rasa* for the future that Ushimatsu and O-Shiho would face in alliance with the support and backing of Ōhinata.

Through the way Tōson mentally apprehended John Ruskin (1819 – 1900) and the fastidious notes he took while walking along the Chikumagawa river together with his artist friends, Maruyama Banka (1867 – 1942) and Miyake Kokki (1874 – 1954),⁴⁶ in order to portray, in his prose, the landscape of the northern Shinshū region as realistically as possible, the final destination of Texas had nothing to do with realism. He had never been there, and could only have had the vaguest notion of what the state represents. An empty canvas on which he could sketch, in the tradition of *shasei*, the outline of a new and unexpected future as the sled begins to move away from Iiyama over the snow. Nowhere does Tōson suggest that this future necessarily will be bright and buoyant. Only that it will be free from the small town bigotry and manipulative deviousness to which he was not able to confine himself. Just as Ushimatsu left the northern Shinshū region to embark on his new endeavor, Tōson also left the same region, albeit for the more familiar city of Tokyo. For Tōson, departure had always been intimately attached to a new beginning.

Texas then becomes a vision of possibilities where the hitherto impossible becomes attainable, alienation turns to unification and despair is transformed to aspiration. By his deliberate choice of Segawa Ushimatsu as his protagonist, molded on the life and experiences of Ōe Isokichi—the educated Eta—Tōson is saying that youthful power standing united under enlightened and experienced leadership can accomplish anything it sets its mind to.

This is however not the interpretation that the Suiheisha membership, and in particular its leadership, subscribed to after reading *Hakai*. Its primary impact was the stimulation for *Tsubamekai* (Swallows Club) along the romanticist escapist route; to seek its fortune beyond the borders of Japan. Celebes advantage over Texas was likely that a ticket was within the financial means of an ordinary Burakumin that could not expect an Ōhinata to subsidize their emigration. It did not take them long to abandon this wishful fantasy and instead concentrate on an interpretation commensurate with their policy of denunciation.

Putting *Hakai* on the agenda

At its fifth annual convention in Fukuoka 1926, Suiheisha as an organization had put *Hakai* on the agenda. The previous conventions had gradually turned towards a radical syndicalist policy formulation and in many of the adapted resolutions, a strong socialist influence is obvious in the choice of vocabulary. This does not however suggest that Suiheisha was turning into a crypto-communist organization, it is merely a reflection of the times and perhaps some indication of the youthful leadership's limitations. The verbal *Kampfgeist* they displayed in their resolutions was reinforced by some very successful *kyūdan* actions between conventions.⁴⁷

Together with a rise in the frequency of *kyūdan* activities, the tendency to use violence in some degree to attain a subtraction and apology became more pronounced. Local buraku leaders, especially those who had been involved in *yūwa* activities, were alienated by the new tactics. The Youth League however, demanded more 'direct action' and wanted closer cooperation with the emerging communist movement. By the time Suiheisha gathered in Fukuoka a prominent group of Kantō activists had seceded from the organization and the Youth League had dissolved itself and merged with the Communist Youth League.⁴⁸ Challenged by outside forces, the leadership struggled to defend the organization's independence. Issues the whole organization could rally around and unify against would certainly facilitate their exertion.

One such issue that everybody could agree on was Tōson's *Hakai*, partly because no specific fraction would feel threatened and partly because the issue held a current interest since he had just released a new version. A very intense debate commenced with the aim to prove that Tōson embraced discriminatory views towards Burakumin, if this could be proven, or at least agreed up on, then Tōson would have found himself the object of *kyūdan* activities. Some would argue that the usage of the word *Eta*, it appeared 71 times in *Hakai*, was sufficient evidence of Tōson's culpability. Add to that the term *shinheimin*, which appeared 38 times, as well as six instances of *chōri*, and the evidence of derogatory usage seems overwhelming. Others instead pointed at the usage of terms such as *jinshu* and *shuzoku*, meaning race and species, being an indication that Tōson considered Burakumin as being outside the family of *Homo sapiens*. The term 'race' does appear ten times in the text and two of those are preceded by the epithet *katō*, meaning low or inferior.

On the other hand, there were others that were primarily provoked by Tōson's use of olfactory images with regard to the Burakumin. Throughout *Hakai*, Tōson uses olfactory images abundantly. An example is at the funeral of Ushimatsu's father, first there is the smell of incense marking the end of the funeral rites followed by a 'pungent smell' from the earth shoveled on top of the coffin. The pungency reminding us that a 'smelly *Eta*' had been laid to rest. Finally, the mourners are once again reminded of whom they buried as

they hold their nightly vigil after the funeral and their nostrils are filled with the smell of burning leaves. The olfactory images surrounding the father's death again return when it is time to slaughter the bull that had gored him, the penetrating stench of blood and fat is redolent of the close association between Burakumin and the management of death. Thus, it comes as no surprise that when the teachers are discussing the possibility that Ushimatsu might be an Eta, one of them suggests that they should 'smell him'.⁴⁹

Despite the vivid discussions and appearance of general agreement on the discriminatory content of *Hakai*, the representatives at the 5th convention did not reach an agreement that Tōson should be subjected to *kyūdan* actions. Perhaps because he was not present to defend himself against the accusations, or perhaps because Japan had begun to accept that freedom of speech was an integral part of the democratization process. Whatever the reason, the older and more experienced within Suiheisha's leadership was able to convince the 'young turks' that it would not be in the organization's interest to go after one of Japan's most respected authors. However, the heated debate and harsh words exchanged at the convention clearly demonstrates the extent of umbrage and emotional violation to which the Burakumin felt *Hakai* exposed them.⁵⁰

Even if the convention did not pass any resolution demanding the cessation of publication with regard to *Hakai*, the fervid discussions ensured that the novel would continue to stay on the agenda. Through an antagonistic interpretation of the novel, Suiheisha had assured that *Hakai* from that moment on would be an onerous millstone around Tōson's neck. Viewed from Tōson's own personal standpoint the timing of Suiheisha's attacks could probably not have been any worse. After his self-imposed exile in France and return to Japan, Tōson had finally been able to reach some kind of propitiation with his brother and was in the process of re-establishing himself both as a writer and on a personal level.

Tōson's new beginnings

After eighteen years as a widower, Tōson had finally found a woman with whom he wanted to start over. Katō Shizuko was a very different woman compared with his first wife, she was introduced to him by some students that Tōson had given a lecture to and he was suitably impressed when he realized that she was one of few in her own generation that had actually read his works. Tōson wanted to start an intellectual magazine for young women to commemorate his 50th birthday and offered Katō Shizuko a position as his editorial assistant. His third son, Sōsuke, disapproved of his father remarrying and published a critical article in the magazine *Fujin Kōron* condemning the marriage. After proposing, Tōson waited four years to go through with the wedding and the timing was suddenly most unfortunate. His older brother Hirosuke, Komako's father, had passed away and the wedding would come

to coincide with his funeral, a most inappropriate breach of decorum in Japan.⁵¹

Katō Shizuko brought her experiences as editorial assistant with her into the marriage, it seems she considered her role as wife to a famous author to be that of the gatekeeper. Tōson had never been a gregarious character, but with Shizuko at his side he seemed to grow even more distant and aloof, not only friends but also family found him more and more unapproachable as she screened visitors to make sure that he could conserve his diminishing energies and fully concentrate on his work. This was not entirely without reason, his health was not as robust anymore, and his children were unfailing sources of anguish and frustration. He had also begun the preparation for *Yoakema* (Before the Dawn), his final historical masterpiece that provides a unique perspective on the Meiji Restoration through the eyes of the landed gentry in the countryside.⁵²

Even if the proposal to make Tōson and *Hakai* a target of *kyūdan* activities had been shelved at the 5th convention in Fukuoka, there was still widespread dissatisfaction and irritation within the Buraku movement as to the way they were portrayed in the novel. There was also talk about turning the novel into a movie, and this was sure to extend what the Burakumin activists considered a negative image to an even greater audience. In January of 1928, a magazine called *Yūwa Jihō* (Conciliation Bulletin) published an interview with Tōson entitled ‘Yūwa Mondai to Bungei’ (The Yūwa Problem and Art) in which he had the following to say:

It is true that there were those close to me that came to change their views towards the Burakumin after having read it (*Hakai*). There was this episode back in the days when I was living in Shin-Katamachi. I received a visitor that came from a buraku. He had read my *Hakai* and had come to visit because he was convinced that since the author had shown such sympathy for the Burakumin he must surely be one himself. When he realized what the facts were we both had a good laugh together and we talked about what a stimulation the work had been to him and others that had resolved to assist and support the Burakumin. For me it meant that people I had never met before would come to my place because I had written *Hakai* and without hesitating they would reveal their backgrounds, up to now there has been lots of people coming here and telling me about profound tragedies that people have no idea about.⁵³

Tōson’s words certainly have a trace of contrivance and the timing as well as the choice of media smacks of a stratagem, but we have no reason to believe that Tōson is telling anything other than the truth. The reason we may suspect that the interview was carefully planned and meticulously executed was not only the choice of a positively inclined media or that the timing coincided with the discussion of making a movie based on *Hakai*, a project that would be difficult to complete without a least the tacit consent of Suiheisha, but because the journalist who did the interview was Yamazaki Bin, a protégé of Tōson’s. Perhaps Katō Shizuko had already sheltered him too long, be-

cause he seems completely oblivious to how his words would likely be received by the Burakumin activists. Almost any idea, suggestion, action, or publication emanating from the Yūwa side of the Buraku gamut was by definition anathema to the Suiheisha side.

Terminating publication

The successful execution of painstaking plans presumes the possibility that one may control the flow of events, but outside events beyond Tōson's authority would contribute indirect yet momentous significance towards his pivotal decision to withdraw *Hakai* from publication. On March 15 1928, the government of Tanaka Giichi (1864 – 1929) ordered sweeping mass arrests of suspected Communist Party members and before dawn, after nationwide extensive police raids, almost 1600 people were in custody. Several Suiheisha leaders, among them Saikō Mankichi and Kimura Kyōtarō (1902 – 88), were thrown into jail and this enervated the organization temporarily inasmuch as the remaining leadership was less experienced and authoritative.⁵⁴

A divide already existed between the different factions within Suiheisha, and the mass arrests provided an opportune moment for those who wanted to repudiate the existing leadership. In Tokyo a group that Kitahara Taisaku describes as 'depraved elements' and Kawabata Toshifusa labels 'heinous separatists' established a new organization entitled Kantō Suiheisha and they used *Hakai* as a pretext for an attempt to extort money from Tōson.⁵⁵ He refused to meet with them, or if it was Katō Shizuko that rebuffed them, it is not quite clear, so instead they turned on Tōson's publisher Shinchōsha and began to threaten the company. Considering the tumultuous times and the turmoil surrounding Suiheisha, it is entirely possible, maybe even highly likely, that neither Tōson nor the management of Shinchōsha were able to differentiate between Kantō Suiheisha and the national Suiheisha.

At any rate, shortly after this incident, Tōson decided that the inclusion of *Hakai* in a collection entitled The Complete Works of Modern Novels published by Shinchōsha would be the final edition. He formally withdrew *Hakai* from publication in 1929 (*zeppan*), probably in consultation with his publisher. It could be argued that he broke that declaration already after two years. In 1931, the State Publishing Bureau of the Soviet Union published a Russian translation of *Hakai* by a Mrs. N. Feridman.⁵⁶ A likely motive for the Soviet cultural authorities to publish *Hakai* in Russian was that they wanted to demonstrate that there existed pressing social problems in the burgeoning military state. In a strict Japanese sense though, Tōson was true to his promise, Japanese readers would have to wait until 1939 before a new edition of *Hakai* would be published, and then it was no longer the same novel.

The concept of *zeppan* is probably alien to most Western readers and may require some amplification. *Zeppan* by itself means 'to cease publication by doing away with the printing form and relinquish any future reprints' and the

action is just as inconceivable as it appears. Cessation can be achieved either at the author's request or, up until World War II, by a dictum from the government. Until Tōson took this drastic measure, there were only a handful of instances in Japanese publishing history of *zeppan*. Perhaps the most famous case occurred in 1791, when the Bakufu decided that *Kaikoku Heidan* (Military Talks for a Maritime Nation) was a treacherous publication and ordered the blocks destroyed. The first volume had appeared in 1787 and only thirty-eight copies ever appeared in bound form. The book's author, Hayashi Shihei (1738 – 93), was distressed by Japan's lack of a coastal defense and to argue the need for installments of coastal batteries he had prepared maps of Kyushu, Okinawa, and Hokkaido. Those maps were tantamount to high treason, but Hayashi only served six months in prison. The Shōgunate probably recognized that he had acted out of patriotism, but they could not sanction the insolence of appealing directly to the nation, so a prison term was necessary as a warning to others.⁵⁷ Another well-known example is that of Katō Hiroyuki who in 1870 published *Shinsei Taii* (Outline of True Government) and in 1875 *Kokutai Shinron* (New Thesis on National Polity) in which he commended constitutional government and democratic politics as well as human rights. Later his preferences switched to social Darwinism with a partiality for state supremacy over individual rights. He argued for his doctrines of the organic state and that rights should be acquired through individual performance in *Jinken Shinsetsu* (New Theory on Human Rights) that he published in 1882. In conjunction with the publication, he also ordered a *zeppan* on his two earlier books. As these examples demonstrate, it is reasonable to infer that Tōson's decision was not made extempore.

The first decade of the Shōwa era (1926 – 89) witnessed an ascendancy of militarism and in its wake philistinism and intolerance followed. In the literary arena, this was most visibly in the treatment of authors belonging to the proletarian literature movement. After publishing *Fuzai Jinushi* (The Absentee Landlord) and exposing his employer's exploitation of farmers and land in Hokkaido, Kobayashi Takiji (1903 – 33) was arrested by police and later died from torture during interrogation. Not every author shared the same harsh fate, but oppression was growing severe and many, such as Nakano Shigeharu (1902 – 79), Hayashi Fusao (1903 – 75), and Miyamoto Yuriko (1899 – 1951) were arrested repeatedly for left-wing activities and spent several years in prison.⁵⁸

Hakai's metamorphosis

It was in this repressive atmosphere that Shimazaki Tōson reconsidered, his stern pledge turned into a debilitating abeyance when Shinchōsha suggested the publication of *Teihonban Tōson Bunko* (The Standard Edition Tōson Library). *Hakai* was published in volume ten and ironically it was nowhere near reminiscent of a standard edition. The title was no longer only

Hakai anymore, Tōson had added the subtitle ‘*Mi wo okosu made*’ (Coming of Age) and undertaken substantial editorial changes. The changes he made are interesting from two aspects, one is that it gives us insight into how Tōson believed that *Hakai* should be read, and the other is that it supplements our perception of his character.

His most apparent alteration was that he exchanged all derogatory labels; words like *eta*, *shinheimin*, *senmin*, *katō jinshu*, *chōri*, *yubi wo yonbon* (four fingers; a gesture symbolizing four legs), *shisoku* and *yotsuashi* (both means four legs) for more neutral terms such as *buraku no mono*, *buraku no tami* (people of the buraku), *onnaji mibun* (of the same status), *kasō* (lower stratum), *yajin* (rustic), *oyayubi* (thumb, i.e. hiding four fingers) and the circumlocutional *fushigi na hoshi no shita ni umareta hito no ko* (child born under a strange star). There are also places in the text where he did not rewrite the terms but simply deleted them. He also removed the most emotive adjectives such as ‘stupid’ and ‘despicable’ in the descriptive narrative of the Eta characters. Along the same lines, he also substituted words that were related to race, with words that were related to status.

Accordingly, in the third section of the first chapter where Ushimatsu’s father describes the family’s origin in terms of race was omitted in the new version. The family, he explains, comes from better stock than the Eta living along the Tōkaidō road that are ‘descendants of Korea, China, Russia or have drifted ashore from some of the many nameless islands, we are not naturalized foreigners, but come from a long bloodline of samurai that were defeated and no matter how poor we became, never did anything dishonorable that tainted us,’ a quixotic sentiment cherished by many Eta at the time and an explanation that Yaemon gave Tōson.⁵⁹

In section four, Ushimatsu is lamenting over discrimination while reading the part in Inoko Rentarō’s *Confession* where Inoko describes how he got ousted from the Normal School in Nagano. Inoko writes: ‘If there were no such thing as racial monomania then there would have been no pogrom of the Jews in Kishinev and the ‘yellow peril’ would not have become a catchphrase in the West’.⁶⁰ The implication being that Inoko had to leave the school because of racial discrimination, so deleting this sentence conforms to the other editorial changes. One of the most criticized parts of *Hakai* is the slaughterhouse scene in chapter ten. Tōson’s description of the young butchers in section three is a deplorably servile reiteration of the most excessive prejudicial demeanor towards Burakumin. Their skin has ‘a distinctively characteristic color’ and they have ‘ruddy complexion’ together with that ‘imbecile look’ only too frequent amongst the ‘lowest of new commoners’ and they would ‘shrink away timidly’ when looked at.⁶¹ This was also rewritten with value neutral phrases and expressions such as a ‘perplexed look’ and ‘pretended not be seen’ in symmetry with the other changes.

As already mentioned, the atmosphere in Japan was oppressive and Shinchōsha did not want to upset the authorities so they sought out Suiheisha

in order to get their acceptance and cooperation. Imoto Rinshi (1905 – 84) was the acting Secretary-General of Suiheisha, and he met with Shimazaki Tōson several times, going over the manuscript with him and proofreading the suggested changes.⁶² Thus, the revised ‘Standard Edition’ published in 1939 was essentially a politically vetted Suiheisha approved edition.

While it certainly may be tempting to dismiss Tōson as the epitome of girouettism when viewing his behavior in regard to the cessation and republication of *Hakai*, application of a little subaudition yields the diametrically opposite result. On the surface, the interview in *Yūwa Jihō* certainly appears to be an artifice, but when we consider Tōson’s aversion to confrontation, allowing his protégé to conduct the interview was perhaps the most talented way of letting Tōson speak freely on the subject. He was 56 years old at the time of the interview, yet the words he spoke hardly seems representative of an experienced and thoughtful literati, but rather of an exhilarated and vivacious budding author. In other words, it is the youthful Tōson speaking to us about his dreams and aspirations when he put brush to rice paper and wrote about the life of Segawa Ushimatsu. Just like the man who came and visited, Tōson wished that *Hakai* would be as inspirational to the Eta as Zola was to the trodden of France. Through *Hakai*, they would find the road to their own liberation.

Is it not also likely that Tōson’s fear of confrontation in combination with his escapist disposition— he surely must have experienced the threats from Kantō Suiheisha as very real— contributed to his decision to withdraw *Hakai* from publication? As shown by the examples, it was hardly an unpremeditated decision to order a *zeppan* of *Hakai*. Tōson never elaborated on his decision, so it is impossible to know what went through his mind at that time, he certainly had his share of domestic dilemmas that may have been part of the equation, but he has never been accused of being impetuous or irrational. Perhaps Tōson consciously reasoned or possibly only intuitively perceived that by accepting the exerted pressure from the Burakumin for a *zeppan* he implicitly acknowledged the sociological and political propensity in the novel. The deliberations at the 5th convention in Fukuoka about the discriminatory content in *Hakai* together with the actions by the ‘depraved elements’ from Kantō Suiheisha gave Tōson a second chance to indicate his original intention for the novel.

That he clearly understood the sociological and political ramifications of the novel is evident from the diligent editorial changes he made in the revised Standard Edition. The selected deletion of derogatory labels and demeaning descriptors while preserving the essential elements of the story line, including the ending, convincingly demonstrates Tōson’s conviction that liberation must come from within. Derogatory labels are not the cause but rather the result of discrimination and removing them does little to extinguish bigotry. It did however make the novel insipid and banal. Riveting descriptions, pensive reflections and sagacious propositions were required to open the eyes of the

Japanese readers to the idea that discrimination created by an antiquated political system should have followed it into its grave. In the new Revised Standard Edition the first was sorely lacking, and consequentially its impact was a nonentity.

That lack of impact could of course also be ascribed to the fact that the Japanese general reader had other distractions to focus on, such as a war and rebuilding a nation. The revised Standard Edition would be the only available up until 1953. With the end of the war, repressive laws on publications were revoked, but paper was in short supply so utilitarian books and manuals were prioritized. Once the country had begun to heal and the economic wheels turn, new books started to appear and many of them took a long hard look at the war, seeking answers to why Japan had gone astray. For the first time in Japanese publishing history, books with a predominantly social theme were in vogue.

A pent-up need for introspection, self analysis and dissection of the processes that led to the war created such novels as *Shayō* (1947, tr. The Setting Sun 1956) and *Ningen Shikkaku* (1948, tr. No Longer Human 1958) by Dazai Osamu (1909 - 48) that portrays individuated bleakness, emotional duress, financial hardship and a protagonist that seeks a solution in dissipation and self-indulgence. It also produced gruesome renditions of the dehumanized situations soldiers could find themselves in such as *Nobi* (1952, tr. Fires on the Plain 1957) by Ōoka Shōhei (1909 - 88) in which the exhausted soldier Tamura is nursed back to life, on what he is told is simian meat, but when he discovers that he has been fed human flesh he turns on his rescuer and kills him.

The new liberal mood could also be seen in the translations and publication of Western literary works that began to surface, an area that had been taboo during the war, but in the immediate post-war period was sometimes used to probe the new and uncertain limits. Itō Sei (1905 - 69) had begun to translate D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* already in 1935 but on the request of publisher Oyama Hisajirō (1905 - 84) he undertook a new translation of the uncut version that was published in two volumes in 1950. After having been on sale for a few months, the authorities suddenly decided that it was obscene and named Itō, the translator, and Oyama, the publisher, as co-defendants in an obscenity trial. The *Nihon Bungei Kyōkai* (Writers' Association of Japan) and the Japan P.E.N. Club—Shimazaki Tōson had served as its first president—formed a support committee for Itō and Oyama in order to protect what Takami Jun called 'the first freedom I have known since I was born'.⁶³

Even if Itō in the end was convicted, with appeals the trial took seven years, it was clear that there was no longer any tolerance for the earlier repressive publication laws and the oppressive atmosphere they had created. Several literary scholars had privately expressed concerns about the revised Standard Edition of *Hakai* and wanted the original re-instated. The first critic to voice

this desire publicly was Senuma Shigeki (1904 – 88, real name Suzuki Tadano) in his biography of Tōson entitled *Shimazaki Tōson—sono Shōgai to Sakuhin* (1953, Shimazaki Tōson—his Life and Works) where he stated that ‘in order to do research on *Hakai* the original text of the Ryokuin Sōsho edition must be used’.⁶⁴ Senuma was by no means alone, while not as direct, noted literary critic Nakamura Mitsuo (1911 – 88, real name Koba Ichirō) stated in his *Fūzoku Shōsetsuron* (1950, Theory on Pulp-fiction): ‘if more people had paid attention to Hirano Ken’s original *Hakairon* (Theory on *Hakai*) and comprehended it, I would not feel it necessary to wade through this lengthy discourse’ a statement that led to a revival for Hirano’s prewar analysis of *Hakai*. Nakamura considered Japanese novels to be ‘warped’ being no more than light introverted fictionalized autobiographies and sadly lacking in relevant social criticism.

In the 73rd issue of *Gakugei* (Literature and Art) published in November of 1938, Hirano Ken (1907 – 78, real name Hirano Akira) contributed an article entitled *Meiji Bungaku Hyōronshi no Hitokusari—Hakai wo Motooru Mondai* (A Passage on Historical Criticism of Meiji Literature—Problems Surrounding *Hakai*) that in the vernacular is known simply as *Hakai*-ron. In this article, Hirano initiated the idea that *Hakai* was not only about Ushimatsu’s inner journey to adulthood but also a ‘protest against societal prejudices’ and it was this vantage point that Nakamura wanted to explore. The literary research that Nakamura endorsed was impossible to conduct on the basis of the revised Standard Edition.

Seeing an opportunity—or if it was a correlated effort—the publishing house of Chikuma Shobō published a Shimazaki Tōson Collection as volume eight of a series called Complete Works of Contemporary Japanese Literature in which they revived the original Ryokuin Sōsho edition from 1906. This is the edition that is still published, with the only alteration being a modernized kana usage, in a seemingly never ending stream of Collections, Complete Works and practical paperbacks.

That version is also used in *Dōwa Kyōiku* (Reconciliation Education) as a text to enhance Japanese school children’s awareness of the residuary discrimination problem towards Burakumin. It is particularly common in the Kansai area, but for obvious reasons it also has a strong backing by school authorities in Nagano.⁶⁵ It is a fitting legacy to a novel that broke new literary ground when it was published a century ago that it is still used to open peoples’ minds to a social problem.

Conclusion

Traditionally *Hakai* has primarily been viewed as a confessional novel, the scene in which Ushimatsu grovels and confesses in front of his class had a strong psychological impact on Japanese readers and critics. This scene has then become the foundation for an analysis focused on the confessional as-

pects of the novel. The problem with this approach—as Eta see it—is that it fails to provide a satisfactory explanation as to why Ushimatsu was not able to confess to his revered senpai, Inoko Rentarō. Tōson never even attempts to explain this inability; he just alludes to some mystical powers that paralyze Ushimatsu every time he attempts to explain his background to Inoko Rentarō.

This exact scene has also become the object of criticism from the buraku community in Japan, but from an entirely different vantage point. Ushimatsu's obsequious behavior and apologetic speech is viewed as confirmation and acceptance of his low status in society. Ushimatsu's failure to proudly carry on the torch for buraku liberation that Inoko Rentarō had dropped when he was killed becomes symbolic for tacit approval of continued passivity. That criticism is based on a degree of individuated power and ability that not even Inoko Rentarō processed. Through determination and persuasive powers, he was able to get his lawyer friend Ichimura elected to the Diet, but he had to pay the ultimate price for that victory, his own life was extinguished. Hence, his victory was of a pyrrhic dimension.

If the speech and behavior in front of his class instead is seen in symbolic terms, we will immediately notice that it has much more far-reaching consequences for the long term than Inoko's individual struggle. As representatives of Japan's future the whole class, where even the little Eta boy Senta belongs, acts collectively as one person when they petition the principal not to fire Ushimatsu. They do not win that battle, but it is clear that the principal is profoundly shaken by their audacity and Tōson here points to the possibilities that exist in the future when Eta and non-Eta will unite in a joint struggle.

Another reason that Tōson choose to let Ushimatsu confess in front of a class of children is perhaps that he was still carrying a mix of confused feelings within himself towards O-Maki. As described earlier, Tōson was both infatuated with and disgusted by his nursemaid. He was capable of remembering what her food tasted like after 30 years and at the same time how repulsed he was by her dirty fingernails. In that sense Tōson is a little akin to the meek curate who was served a stale egg, and when asked how it was replied that "parts of it were excellent". By letting children initially react to Ushimatsu's confession, Tōson stages the revelation that Ushimatsu is an Eta in the purest and most guileless forum he can provide. The children are clearly aware of Eta's status in society as observed in their behavior towards the Eta boy Senta whom they shun at school. However, when Ushimatsu has finished, the class dashes off to the principal's office in an attempt to plead with him. Considering Tōson's background in European Romanticism and schooling in Christian altruistic love, a fair assessment is that Tōson was expressing a hope that adults could be as decent and morally unblemished as children.

Throughout the novel, Tōson is never very direct in explaining or justifying his characters' choice of behavior, evidently preferring that the readers

should fill that void with their own projections based on individual cognizance. Active political behavior in the novel is limited to Inoko Rentarō's confidante, the lawyer Ichimura, canvassing for a seat in the Diet in competition with Takayanagi Risaburō. This lack of overt political conduct may easily justify the claims that Tōson was not a political writer. However, such a claim can only be validated if one omits to include the dialogue between Segawa Ushimatsu and Inoko Rentarō, he well as Ushimatsu's monologue in front of Ginnosuke and in the teacher's lounge.

The motive for Tōson's proclivity for talk over action can be traced to his youth and adolescence. Already when he was living with Uncle Yoshimura, he must have heard many conversations about the Constitutional Reform Party as well as the Liberal Party and being an avid reader, he surely read the magazine *Ōmei* that his uncle subscribed to from the Liberal Party. A solid grounding in liberal ideals and ideas probably gained him *in statu pupillari* with the *Bungakkai* and the *Jogaku Zasshi* group, it might even have been a pre-requisite for admission. Almost all the members were in some way or other associated with the Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement, Baba Kochō's brother who was a pioneer, Shimizu Shikin and her involvement with Ueki Edamori, Ōi Kentarō and Fukuda Hideko, but in particular Kitamura Tōkoku who had been an energetic activist in the movement.

Being young and impatient they all shared discontentment about the slow progress Japan made in its intellectual modernization. Reminiscing about that period in their life, a collective nostalgia for the vivid discussions and high ideals that they clung to is apparent—the key word here being discussions. As believers in deontological ethics through persuasive discourse, the aspiration to enunciate those ideals in their characters' dialogue is almost intrinsic. When the deuteragonist, Inoko Rentarō, speaks eloquently about the plight and unfair discrimination Burakumin are subjected to, it is the incensed and yet expectant voice of Kitamura Tōkoku that Tōson resuscitates.

Not only were Tōson under the influence of the ideas represented by the Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement through his friendship with the *Bungakkai* literati, but much of what he read by other Japanese authors at this time was deeply affected by the ideas of establishing liberal democracy in Japan and constructing a society founded on man's equal value. Even while working as a teacher in Komoro and conducting his research for *Hakai*, Tōson came into contact with those same ideas when he relied on the Diet member Tatsukawa Unpei for information about Ōe Isokichi. Thus, it is by no means inexplicable that the ideas championed by the Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement would permeate the novel's dialogue.

Kitamura Tōkoku's influence certainly extended beyond political ideals into the realm of the author's attitude and relation to his text and it is doubtful that Tōson disputed Tōkoku's creed that there must be passion at the root of realism. Tōson asseverates that passion in the dialogue of his protagonist and deuteragonist throughout the novel, and he did it in a language easily un-

derstood by the general public, in the manner that Tayama Katai had pro-
pounded. Tōson already knew that his literary friends did not need to be con-
vinced about the moral righteousness in a discourse for humane and equal
treatment of Burakumin and therefore he never felt any need to direct his
work to other writers. It is for example evident that Tayama Katai supported
him unequivocally, since he compared Tōson's diligent research into the life
of Eta in the Shinshū region to Emile Zola.

The time and effort spent on researching Eta in general and Ōe Isokichi in
particular is indicative of Tōson's ambition to create a narrative centered on
characters that could not be separated from their social existence. From that
perspective, Inoko Rentarō is the struggling warrior doing battle with weap-
ons like controversial books and inflammatory speeches as well as supporting
politicians who are supportive of equal status for the Burakumin. Segawa
Ushimatsu on the other hand is caught between the promise to his father and
his personal desire to join Inoko Rentarō in his struggle for a more equal so-
ciety. Ushimatsu's perspicacity forces him to admit that his father's com-
mandment is an acknowledgement of *status quo*, and at the same time his
procrastination has forced shut the entrance to Inoko's battlefield.

At first sight this may appear to be a great loss, both for Ushimatsu on a
personal basis but also for the Burakumin struggle on a larger scale, but just
as his father's death liberated Ushimatsu from his commandment so is
Inoko's death the disenfranchisement that Ushimatsu required in order to con-
tinue the struggle through the only means that he masters, the quiet intellec-
tual, yet persuasive discourse reminiscent of Tōson's own adolescence. For
Tōson every new start began with a departure on a journey to an unknown
place, as a child he went to Tokyo where he received an education that made
it possible for him to become an author, as a youth he spent considerable
time walking around Kansai sorting out his anxiety and confusion over his
relationships with women, after moving to Sendai he was finally able to con-
centrate on his poetry and when he moved to Komoro he established himself
as a novelist. It is therefore not surprising that Ushimatsu's new beginning
takes place on top of the sled departing Iiyama for the ultimate destination of
the unknown Texas. This final departure is also a literary device that would be
recognizable to some of his readers, especially those interested in the 'Eta
problem' since they might be familiar with Hirotsu Ryūrō's *Nanno tsumi?* or
Shimizu Shikin's *Imin Gakuen*, both ending with the protagonist's departure
for unknown territory. Despite their similarities to the ending in *Hakai*, these
two works were never discussed in terms of being prejudiced against Bura-
kumin by Suiheisha.

Even though *Hakai* came early in Tōson's literary career, it is noticeable
that he displayed interest in social class distinctions even in his earlier writing.
The six women in *Rokunin no Otome* represents the whole spectrum of so-
cial strata and the image of the ostracized Okinu in her loneliness is as pene-
trating as that of Ushimatsu in his room at Rengeji. Having left his home in

Magome at an early age, Tōson probably knew better than most of his contemporaries what loneliness was like. That experience put him in a better position than the predecessors, who also wrote about Burakumin, to appreciate and sympathize with the segregated existence that was Eta's reality.

From 1906, when Tōson published *Hakai*, to Suiheisha's 5th convention in Fukuoka 20 years later, Japanese society went through radical changes in different directions. Party politics was established, the unequal treaties with the Western powers were re-negotiated, expansionist policy manifested itself in Korea and China, socialism arrived and disseminated, labor unions appeared, Tokyo was devastated in an earthquake, universal manhood suffrage introduced, and Suiheisha established to struggle against discrimination against Burakumin, therefore it should come as no surprise that *Hakai* was read in a distinctly contrastive interpretation.

GLOSSARY

仇討	Adauchi	Blood feud or vendetta.
アイヌ	Ainu	Non-Japanese minority living in Hokkaidō, the word itself means human being in the Ainu language.
幕府	Bakufu	Shōgunate, government run by Shōgun.
幕藩	Bakuhan	Shōgunate and domain system, administrative division of central and decentralized power.
蕃書調所	Bansho Shirabesho	Research Institute on Barbarian Books, translated Western books with mainly scientific and technical content.
番太	Banta	Guard or guard duty performed by Eta.
部民	Bemin	Temple or palace servants.
文壇	Bundan	Literati, literary world or circles.
文学界	Bungakkai	Literary magazine published by Shimazaki Tōson and his friends.
文語	Bungo	Literary or classical written language.
文人画	Bunjinga	From Chinese; <i>wenrenhua</i> . Literati painting but also referring to the painter.
部落	Buraku	Hamlet, small cluster of housing.
部落問題文学	Buraku Mondai	Literature concerned with buraku problems.
部落民	Burakumin	People living in a hamlet.
武士	Bushi	Samurai as the collective class. Warrior class.
塵袋	Chiribukuro	Dictionary from the Kamakura period.
町人	Chōnin	Townpeople, collective term for the artisan and merchant classes living in the cities.
長吏	Chōri	Derogatory term for Eta, prevalent in the Kantō region.
大名	Daimyō	Feudal lord, Master of a domain.
大明神	Daimyōjin	Respectful term for revered Shintō Gods and sometimes used sarcastically for pompous persons.
弾左衛門	Danzaemon	Leader of all Eta in the Kantō region.
都都逸	Dodoitsu	Popular love song in 7-7-7-5 syllable pattern.
土下座	Dogeza	Pose of prostration, usually performed when a daimyō or other exalted person passed.

毒婦	Dokufu	Evil and scheming woman, harlot.
胴円	Dōmaru	Body armor, sometimes called haramaki, introduced in the 14 th century.
江戸	Edo	Name for Tokyo until July of 1868.
江戸時代	Edo jidai	Edo period, the period of rule under the Tokugawa Shōguns.
延喜式	Engishiki	Supplementary regulations from the early 10 th century.
穢多	Eta	‘Abundant defilement’, leather artisans and others considered ‘polluted’.
穢多解放令	Etakaihōrei	Imperial Edict proclaiming Eta and Hinin free from derogatory names and discriminatory status.
餌取り	Etori	‘Falcon hacker’, assumed to be the etymological origin of Eta.
復権同盟	Fukken Dōmei	League for Restoration of Rights, probably the first organization for the establishment of buraku rights.
雅文調	Gabunchō	Refined literary style from the Heian period or the attempt to imitate it.
雅楽	Gagaku	Traditional music of the imperial court.
下克上	Gekokujō	Overthrow of superiors by underlings.
言文一致	Genbun itchi	Unification of written and spoken language, the introduction of colloquial style in literature.
元老院	Genrōin	Chamber of Elders, quasi-legislative body established in 1875.
戯作	Gesaku	Literature from the Edo period characterized by a flippant tone and elaborate structure.
下役	Geyaku	Low ranking official, title for Eta performing official duties such as prison guards or executioner.
義	Gi	Concept of justice, honor and loyalty. Virtues.
擬古文	Gikobun	Style from the Kamakura period that strived to imitate Heian classics, Sumiyoshi Monogatari is representative of this style.
魏志倭人伝	Gishiwajinden	<i>Wei chi</i> , classical Chinese work describing ancient Japan.
郷士	Gōshi	Farmer or fishermen with samurai status, squire.
五辛	Goshin	Five alliums considered impure.
郡長	Gunchō	County governor.
鉢開き	Hachihiraki	Wandering beggar.

俳人	Haijin	Haiku poet.
俳句	Haiku	Poetry in a metrical unit of 5-7-5 syllables.
破戒	Hakai	Novel by Shimazaki Tōson. Literally it means breaking a Buddhist commandment.
春駒	Harugoma	New Year's dance performed by Eta going from door to door with the shape of a horse's head.
端唄	Hauta	Popular short ballads accompanied by shamisen.
平安時代	Heian jidai	Heian period, 794 – 1185.
平安京	Heiankyō	Original name for Kyoto when it became the capital in 794, from the late 11 th century it was usually referred to as Kyoto but the formal name remained until the capital moved to Tokyo.
平民	Heimin	Commoners.
平民主義	Heimin shugi	Equality or 'classless society', i.e. everybody is a commoner.
悲田院	Hiden'in	Institution for sick, poor, orphans etc.
非人	Hinin	Non-person, beggars, entertainers etc.
被差別部落	Hisabetsu buraku	Discriminated against buraku: a term often used by Japanese scholars.
跪く	Hizamazuku	Fall down on one's knees.
保安条例	Hoan Jōrei	Peace Preservation Law of 1887, enacted to contain the Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement.
本陣	Honjin	Special inns on post stations established for use of officials.
本音	Honne	Real intention or motive.
一向一揆	Ikkōikki	Peasant riot.
偉大	Idai	Greatness, prominence, eminence.
今様	Imayō	Songs in a 7-5 syllable pattern compiled at the end of the Heian period.
斎む	Imu	Separation and handling of impure things.
忌む	Imu	Separation and handling of pure things.
仁	Jin	Confucian moral concept of benevolence.
神祇令	Jingiryō	Divine orders, a codification similar to Englishiki.
神武	Jinmu	Japan's first mythical emperor that supposedly reigned 660 BC – 585 BC.
人種	Jinshu	Race, literally 'species of people'.

自由民権運動	Jiyū Minken Undō	Freedom and Peoples' Rights Movement, a nationwide political movement striving for a government along Western democratic ideals.
上宮聖徳法王帝説	Jōgū Shōtoku Hōō Teisetsu	Traditions concerning His Holiness, Prince Shōtoku, a small corpus of documents concerning Prince Shōtoku.
城下町	Jōkamachi	Castle town, regional centers.
女性解放文学	Josei Kaihō Bungaku	Literature concerning women's liberation.
十七条憲法	Jūshichijō Kenpō	17 Article Constitution, moral injunctions based on Confucianism and Buddhism.
呪詛	Juso	Curse, calling for a divine calamity.
歌舞伎	Kabuki	One of Japan's three major classical theaters that began as a light form of entertainment.
陰間茶屋	Kagama chaya	Teahouse providing male prostitution, a Kagama is a young kabuki actor that has yet to make his debut.
華夷思想	Kaishisō	Ethnocentric belief that Han Chinese were superior to Yi adapted to Japanese circumstances.
釜風呂	Kamaburo	Steam bath created by using kettles with saltwater after processing charcoal.
漢文	Kanbun	Classical Chinese writing, in pre-modern Japan the language of scholarship, religion and high literature, analogous to the position of Latin in Europe before the 18 th century.
官戸	Kanko	Government slaves that could not be sold.
観念小説	Kannen shōsetsu	Idea or concept fiction, by some viewed as a precursor to the social novel.
関白	Kanpaku	Imperial regent for an adult emperor, title held by Toyotomi Hideyoshi.
関西	Kansai	West of the Barrier, loosely applied to the region surrounding Kyoto, Osaka and Kobe.
関東	Kantō	East of the Barrier, region surrounding the metropolitan center of Tokyo—Yokohama.
勸善懲悪文学	Kanzen chōaku bungaku	
樺太	Karafuto	Japanese name for Sakhalin.
刀狩	Katanagari	Sword hunt, disarmament.
下等	Katō	Epithet or prefix meaning low-level.

皮多	Kawata	Leather artisans.
穢れ	Kegare	Defilement, an abstract belief in Shinto.
稽古通事	Keikotsūji	Apprentice translator, Translator-in-training.
研友社	Ken'yūsha	Society of Inkstone Friends, literary coterie.
家人	Kenin	Privately held slaves that could not be sold.
起源説	Kigensetsu	Theory of origin.
季語	Kigo	Word connoting fixed seasonal sentiment.
帰化人	Kikajin	Naturalized Japanese: Korean immigrant in ancient Japan.
危険	Kiken	Peril, danger, vulnerability.
飢饉	Kikin	Famine or deprivation.
汚い	Kitanai	Filth, dirt, the most common expression for physical and spiritual uncleanness.
清め、浄め	Kiyome	Purity, being unsullied.
講談	Kōdan	Genre of oral storytelling, applies to both the art and the actual story.
公儀所	Kōgisho	House of Commons, legislative body established in 1869 with 270 representatives appointed by the domains.
米騒動	Kome Sōdō	Rice Riots, erupted during the summer of 1918.
郡	Koori	A county governed by an appointee of the province governor.
講釈	Kōshaku	Another name for kōdan.
公家	Kuge	Court nobles, originally it referred to the court itself.
国	Kuni	Modern meaning is country but originally it was a province ruled by an imperial appointee.
公奴婢	Kunuhi	Publicly held slaves.
狂言	Kyōgen	Comic drama usually performed between two separate Nō plays, literally 'Crazy words'.
糾弾	Kyūdan	Denunciation tactic against those discriminating against Burakumin deployed by Suiheisha during the 1920's.
間引	Mabiki	Euphemism for infanticide, literally 'thinning out'.
曼株沙華	Manjushage	<i>Lycoris radiata</i> , flower with Buddhist significance, those who see it will remove themselves from evil deeds. Also a novel by Masaoka Shiki.

政 明治維新	Matsurigoto Meiji Ishin	Government and also religious ritual. Meiji Restoration, the end of Tokugawa rule through restoration of imperial rule by a coup d'état on January 3, 1868.
明治時代	Meiji jidai	Meiji period, 1868 – 1912.
女臣、女奴 身分統制令	Meyakko Mibun tōseirei	Female slave. Decree of status unification given in 1591, established the class (status) system.
未解放部落	Mikaihō buraku	Yet to be liberated buraku: a term preferred by buraku activists.
神輿	Mikoshi	Portable Shintō shrine used to transport deities at festivals in their honor.
民友社	Min'yūsha	Publishing house established by Tokutomi Sohō, occupied a central role in intellectual circles in the late 19 th century.
模範部落	Mohan buraku	Model buraku, an attempt to paste a positive image on buraku.
模写	Mosha	Art of copying or reproducing nature in poetry.
喪屋	Moya	Mourning cabin.
村八分	Murahachibu	Ostracism.
群	Mure	Herd, acquires a derogatory connotation when used with a group of people.
室町時代	Muromachi jidai	Muromachi period, 1333 – 1568.
中山道	Naka-Sendō	One of five main highways during Tokugawa rule, passing through the central mountainous area from Tokyo to Kyoto it was less traveled than the more popular Tōkaidō.
南北朝	Nanbokuchō	Southern and Northern Court, two rival imperial courts claiming the legitimate right to rule, 1337–1392.
念仏申	Nenbutsushin	Buddhist chanter.
日本無産派文芸 連盟	Nihon Musanha Bungei Renmei	Japan Federation of Proletarian Art.
日本書紀	Nihonshoki	Chronicles of Japan, earliest written record.
庭者、庭奉行	Niwamono, Ni- wabugyō	Hinin gardener.
庭師	Niwashi	Gardener.

能	Nō	The oldest form of still existing professional theater, a musical dance drama with origins in the 14 th century.
鋸挽	Nokogiribiki	Method of execution during the Tokugawa period, sawing on the condemned's neck.
奴婢	Nuhi	Slaves.
御盆	O-bon	Buddhist observance honoring ancestors' spirits, usually between July 13 and 15.
大祓	Ōharai	Great Purification Ceremony.
花魁	Oiran	High class licensed prostitute of Yoshiwara.
御高祖頭巾	Okoso Zukin	Head cloth covering everything but the eyes.
応仁の乱	Ōnin no ran	Ōnin War, fought around Kyoto between 1467 – 1477, ushering in the Era of the Warring States, a 100 year war.
恩人	Onjin	Benefactor, a person one owes a great debt of moral gratitude.
男伊達	Otokodate	Hoodlums with an honor code.
汚穢	Owai	Night soil. Archaic pronunciation is Oai.
蘭学	Rangaku	Dutch learning, Western studies during the Tokugawa period when contacts were restricted to a Dutch trading station in Nagasaki harbor.
蓮華寺	Rengeji	Temple of the Lotus Flower, Ushimatsu's abode, likely modeled on An'yōji Temple.
立身小説	Risshin Shōsetsu	Success story novels.
律令	Ritsuryō	Legal codification of Nara and Heian periods.
律令制	Ritsuryōsei	Form of government based on T'ang China.
浪人	Rōnin	Masterless samurai, soldier of fortune.
陵戸	Ryōko	Imperial tomb guards, one kind of senmin.
良民	Ryōmin	Decent people, commoners.
良妻賢母	Ryōsai-kenbo	Good wife and wise mother, ideal woman.
留学生	Ryūgakusei	Foreign student, originally Japanese abroad to learn about the West.
細民部落	Saimin- Buraku	Poor people's hamlet, circumlocution for buraku.
産穢	San'e	Defilement in conjunction with giving birth.
参勤交代	Sankin kōtai	Alternate attendance, feudal lords would spend time attending the Shōgun court in Edo during alternate years, a device to maintain control in the provinces.

猿曳	Saruhiki	Monkey performer, art form performed by Eta.
籐	Sasara	Bamboo whisk, made by Eta artisans.
籐擦り	Sasarasuri	Folk artist.
里	Sato	Village, smallest administrative unit in Heian era.
征夷大將軍	Seiitaishōgun	Barbarian subduing Commander-in-Chief, Japan's supreme ruler 1603 – 1868.
清淨	Seijō	Purity, it means 'free from kegare'.
西南戦争	Seinan sensō	Satsuma rebellion, last stand of former samurai against the new Meiji government.
鮮人	Senjin	Derogatory term for Koreans.
賤民	Senmin	Despicable or 'low' people.
切腹	Seppuku	Ritual suicide through self-administered disembowelment, in the West often <i>hara-kiri</i> .
写実	Shajitsu	Realism, realistic rendering.
写術	Shajutsu	Art of applying shasei to a text.
三味線	Shamisen	Samisen, three stringed banjo-like instrument.
写生	Shasei	Sketching from life, a term borrowed from the critical vocabulary of Western painting and applied to haiku.
死穢	Shie	Defilement in conjunction with death.
新平民	Shinheimin	New commoners: another term for burakumin.
神官	Shinkan	Shintō clergy, belonged to the Bushi class.
士農工商穢多非人	Shinōkōshō-Eta-Hinin	Class system in Tokugawa Japan.
新撰姓氏録	Shinsenshōjiroku	Chronicle of family names.
新体詩	Shintaishi	New style poetry, verse written in literary Japanese and in a flexible number of lines but employing the traditional seven-five or five-seven meter of classical waka poetry.
神道	Shintō	Shinto, the Way of the Deities, Japan's indigenous religion.
私奴婢	Shinuhi	Privately held slaves.
私小説	Shishōsetsu	I-novel, personal fiction, author centered narration.
自然主義	Shizenshugi	Japanese naturalism, influenced by European counterpart, striving for objective realism.
士族	Shizoku	Samurai descendant, part of a short-lived three tier class system replacing Shi-Nō-Kō-Shō.

諸蕃	Shoban	Old term for foreign ancestry, from a Chinese volume on geography.
莊園、庄園	Shōen	System of privately held estates that introduced efficient farming.
將軍	Shōgun	The common term for Seitaiishōgun.
触穢	Shokue	‘Touching defilement’, belief that defilement was contagious.
商人	Shōnin	Merchant class.
小説	Shōsetsu	Novel.
庄屋	Shōya	Village headman, liaison between villagers and higher-ranking officials. In Kantō they were called <i>nanushi</i> .
守戸	Shuko	Replacements for Ryōko, recruited among nearby peasants.
集落	Shūraku	Name for a hamlet where no burakumin lives.
修養会	Shūyōkai	Cultivation Club, a society for self-improvement among Burakumin.
種族	Shuzoku	Race, tribe.
相互扶助資金	Sōgo Fujo Shikin	Mutual Aid Society, savings association aimed at improving Burakumin business opportunities.
奏任官	Sōninkan	Bureaucratic title, lower high-ranking official.
僧侶	Sōryo	Buddhist monks, belonged to the Bushi class.
外	Soto	Outside, foreign, not related to oneself.
水平社	Suiheisha	Suiheisha, Leveller’s Society, the first nationwide organization for Burakumin rights.
助六	Sukeroku	Kabuki character, a samurai in disguise as a chivalrous commoner.
崇高	Sūkō	Loftiness, above mediocrity.
足袋	Tabi	Sock worn with kimono, divided between big toe and the other toes to facilitate thronged sandals.
大化	Taika	‘Great Reformation’, extended imperial control to all of Japan.
大正デモクラシー	Taishō Demokurashi	Term used by Japanese historians referring to the democratic ideals, practices and movements sprouting in the early 20 th century.
単一民族	Tan’itsu minzoku	Homogenous people.
短歌	Tanka	Short poem, 31 syllables in 5-7-5-7-7 pattern.
佇まい	Tatazumai	Appearance, shape, feel or atmosphere.

建前	Tatemaie	Stated reason, outward façade.
帝政党	Teiseitō	Imperial Rule Party, formal name Rikken Teiseitō, Fukuchi Ōchi one of its founders.
鉄拳制裁	Tekken seisai	Beating someone with clenched fists, often used as collective punishment by youths.
天竜八部衆	Tenryūhachibushū	Dharmapala, eight frightful divinities that scared evil spirits.
寺子屋	Terakoya	Temple school, a generic term for schools during the Edo period, not all were located at temples.
東海道	Tōkaidō	The main highway combining Kyoto with Edo.
徳川幕府	Tokugawa Bakufu	Tokugawa Shōgunate.
徳川時代	Tokugawa jidai	Tokugawa period, 1603 – 1858, same as Edo period.
特殊部落	Tokushu buraku	Special buraku: administrative term used for buraku in Meiji Japan.
特種部落	Tokushu buraku	Special buraku: derogatory term that evolved from the previous.
灯火	Tomoshihi	A light, during Heian period a scholarship.
燕会	Tsubamekai	Swallow Club, an early Burakumin organization.
罪	Tsumi	Crime, sin: ‘non-conformist behavior’.
産屋	Ubuya	Birth cabin.
氏	Uji	Clans that held political power outside Kyoto.
内	Utchi	Inside, interior, related to oneself.
詫び入る	Wabiiru	Apologize sincerely, repent.
和風	Wafū	Japanese style.
和歌	Waka	Literally Japanese poetry, cover different prosodic types over different ages, originally synonymous with tanka but modern usage tends to be omnifarious.
若菜集	Wakanashū	Tōson’s first collection of poems.
和魂洋才	Wakon Yōsai	Japanese spirit with Western learning, rallying cry during early Meiji to adopt Western knowledge to Japanese cultural tradition.
災い	Wazawai	Calamity, disaster.
大和朝廷	Yamato chōtei	Yamato Court, polity centered on Nara between 4 th and 7 th century.
大和言葉	Yamato kotoba	Original Japanese words as opposed to those that entered the country from China.

臣、奴	Yakko	Male slave.
寄騎	Yoriki	Low-level samurai commander.
吉原	Yoshiwara	Yoshiwara, licensed district in the eastern part of Edo.
融和運動	Yūwa Undō	Reconciliation movement, aiming for integration of Burakumin through self-improvement.
勇力	Yūryoku	Powerful, potent, persuasive.
座	Za	Guild.
雑戸	Zakko	A group of artisan slaves later freed, many from Korea and some from China.
懺悔録	Zangeroku	<i>Confessions</i> , title of Inoko Rentarō's book.
絶版	Zeppan	Terminating publication, either by order of the authorities or the author.

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NOTES

Chapter 1

- ¹ De Vos, George A. and Wagatsuma, Hiroshi, *Japan's Invisible Race; Caste in culture and personality* (Berkeley,: University of California Press, 1966). is considered the classical sociological study in the English language of Burakumin.
- ² An analysis of the pre-WW II political struggle in the *Suiheisha* movement is available in Neary, Ian, *Political Protest and Social Control in Pre-War Japan - The Origins of Buraku Liberation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989).
- ³ For different analyses of marginalized groups in Japan, see Stevens, Carolyn S, *On the Margins of Japanese Society*, ed. J. A. A. Stockwin, Nissan Institute/Routledge Japanese Studies Series (London: Routledge, 1997), Fowler, Edward, *San'ya Blues* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), Siddle, Richard, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, ed. Glenn D Hook, Sheffield Centre for Japanese Studies (London: Routledge, 1996) and Weiner, Michael, *Japan's Minorities : The illusion of homogeneity*, Sheffield Centre for Japanese Studies/Routledge series (London ; New York: Routledge, 1997).
- ⁴ See Hiraoka, Toshio, "Hakai Shiron," in *Shimazaki Tōson*, Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Sōsho (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1971).
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 187.
- ⁶ This is described in both Itō, Kazuo, *Shimazaki Tōson Kenkyū* (Meiji Shoin, 1969), and Yamada, Akira, "Hakairon Nōto," in *Shimazaki Tōson*, Shimazaki Tōson Kenkyū Shiryō Sōsho (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1971), pp. 174 - 181.
- ⁷ Fine examples of this analytical methodology can be found in Walker, Janet A, *The Japanese Novel of the Meiji Period and the Ideal of Individualism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979)., Ryan, Marleigh Grayer, *Japan's First Modern Novel, Ukigumo of Futabatei Shimei* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965). and McClellan, Edwin, *Two Japanese Novelists; Sōseki and Tōson* (Chicago,: University of Chicago Press, 1969).
- ⁸ The dualism of the novel is penetrated in Togawa, Shinsuke, "Futatsu no Hakai," *Bungaku* 40, no. 1 (1972).
- ⁹ See as examples Chida, Hiroyuki and others, *Shimazaki Tōson - Bunmei Hihyō to Shi to Shōsetsu to*, ed. Toshio Hiraoka and Takehiko Kenmochi (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1996). Fujii, James A. *Complicit Fictions : The subject in the modern Japanese prose narrative*, Twentieth-century Japan 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). Hirano, Ken, *Shimazaki Tōson* (Sapporo: Chikuma Shobō, 1947). Keene, Donald, *Dawn to the West : Japanese literature in the modern era*, 1.ed. ed., 2 vols., vol. 1 (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1984). Senuma, Shigeki, *Shimazaki Tōson-sono Shōgai to Sakuhin* (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1953), and Walker.
- ¹⁰ A representative example is JanMohamed, Abdul R. and Lloyd, David, eds. *The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- ¹¹ Fujii.
- ¹² Furuland, Lars, "Litteratur och samhälle," in *Litteratursociologi - Texter om litteratur och samhälle*, ed. Lars Furuland and Johan Svedjedal (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1997).
- ¹³ Swedish scholars such as Erik Blomberg and Axel Strindberg and Finns such as Elmer Diktonius, who claimed that "art and life is one unit" and Otto Villhelm Kuusinen, a survivor of Stalin's purges who is one of few foreigners buried in the Kremlin Wall, together with Norwegians like Olav Storstein and Rolv These and the Dane Harald Rue are names that would be familiar to anyone with a cursory exposure to Marxist history in the field of Nordic literary studies.
- ¹⁴ Furuland, p. 30.
- ¹⁵ Aspelin, Kurt, *Textens dimensioner: Problem och perspektiv i litteraturstudiet* (Göteborg: Litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen vid Göteborgs universitet, 1982).

Chapter 2

- ¹ Narusawa, Eiju, "Mikaihō Buraku no Rekishiteki Koshō ni tsuite," in *Nihon Rekishi to Buraku Mondai* (Kyoto: Buraku Mondai Kenkyūjo, 1981), pp. 527 - 535.
- ² In his introductory notes to *The Eta Maiden and the Hatamoto* A. B. Mitford describes an incident resulting from an attack on the British Legation in Kobe on February 4th 1868 and the reaction from the local servants when the legation doctor looked after a wounded woman: "...the poor old creature belonged to the Etas, the Pariah race, whose presence pollutes the house even of the poorest and humblest Japanese; and the native servants strongly objected to her being treated as a human being, saying that the Legation would be for ever defiled if she were admitted within its sacred precincts." Mitford, A B. *Tales of Old Japan*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1903), p. 147 - 48.
- ³ Generally considered the world's first full novel. By the Lady Murasaki Shikibu (b. 970 or 973), a lady-in-waiting to the Empress. The novel is 54 chapters long and she probably began writing it in 1001 and presented the first part at court at the end of 1005. In chapter 29 she writes: "there were also attached Kiyome for various matters" (*yorozu no koto ni tsukete kiyome to ifu [ju] koto saburareba*).
- ⁴ A section known as *Kiyomizuzaka*, now included in Kyoto's Higashiyama ward. Today this area would cover the first through fifth district (*chōme*) of Kiyomizuderamonmae, next to the traditional geisha district of Gion.
- ⁵ Harada, Tomohiko, *Hisabetsu Buraku no Rekishi*, Asahi Sensho (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1975), pp. 30 - 37.

- ⁶ Teraki, Nobuaki, *Hisabetsu Buraku no Kigen wa Nani ka* (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1992), pp. 23 - 24.
- ⁷ Ninomiya, Shigeaki, "An Inquiry Concerning the Origin, Development, and Present Situation of the Eta in Relation to the History of Social Classes in Japan," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society* X, no. December (1933): 55 - 59.
- ⁸ As quoted by Ibid.: 57.
- ⁹ Ibid.: 58.
- ¹⁰ Ibid.: 56. The title means "A Study Regarding the *Eta* Tribe"
- ¹¹ Ibid., especially note 18.
- ¹² Siddle, pp. 43 - 44.
- ¹³ See both Kobayashi, Shigeru and others, *Burakushi Yōgo Jiten* (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō, 1985), p. 84. and Komatsu, Katsumi, *Buraku Mondai Dokuhon* (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1994), p. 59 - 61.
- ¹⁴ The Yi are mainly found in the mountainous southwest China, concentrated to the provinces of Yunnan and Szechwan.
- ¹⁵ Hall, John Whitney, *Japan from Prehistory to Modern Times*, [1st American] ed. (New York: Delacorte Press, 1970), p. 48 - 55.
- ¹⁶ Komatsu, p. 57.
- ¹⁷ Kobayashi and others, p. 126 - 27.
- ¹⁸ The different groups of *senmin* were collectively known as *Goshiki no Sen* (Five colors [kind] of despicable), Harada, pp. 49 - 50.
- ¹⁹ Komatsu, p. 58.
- ²⁰ Harada, p. 69.
- ²¹ Some, however, argue that the introduction came when the king of Paekche sent a delegation that included Buddhist monks to Japan in 552.
- ²² For a comprehensive survey of Buddhist history and its impact on early Japanese society, see Ishida, Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyōshi* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984).
- ²³ Hall, p. 42 - 43.
- ²⁴ Nagahara, Keiji, "The Medieval Origins of the Eta-Hinin," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 5, no. 2 (1979): 388 - 389.
- ²⁵ An ambitious effort of regulation in the Heian era. It consists of 50 volumes, compiled from 905 and presented to the Emperor in 927, it did not, however, go into operation until 967. Preserved in almost its entirety it presents a vivid picture of life in Japan before the 10th century.
- ²⁶ Kobayashi and others, p. 164 - 167.
- ²⁷ Nagahara: 388.
- ²⁸ Brooks, William Lyman, "Outcaste Society in Early Modern Japan" (Ph.D., Columbia, 1976), p. 11 - 12.
- ²⁹ A thorough exposition of *za* and their development is presented by Toyoda, Takeshi, *Chūsei Nihon Shōgyōshi no Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1972).
- ³⁰ Hall, p. 70 - 72.
- ³¹ According to Harada's appraisal only six of the feudal lords remained in place after this civil war, the rest (more than 200) had started penniless. Harada, p. 75.
- ³² Brooks, p. 28.
- ³³ Ibid., p. 28 - 29. He quotes and translates *Buraku no rekishi to kaihō undō*, *Buraku Mondai Kenkyūjo*, Kyoto, 1966 and Harada Tomohiko, *Nihon hōken toshi kenkyū*, Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1957.
- ³⁴ Ibid., p. 29.
- ³⁵ Komatsu, pp. 88 - 94.
- ³⁶ Hall, p. 156 - 159. and Neary, pp. 14 - 15.
- ³⁷ Brooks, p. 51 - 54.
- ³⁸ *Kokurahan Jinchiku Aratemechō*, 5 vol. Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1956
- ³⁹ Harada.
- ⁴⁰ The history of peasant revolts in Japan is commendably explained in Shingyō, Kūchi, *Ikkō Ikki no Kiso Kōzō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Hiroshi Bunkan, 1975).
- ⁴¹ Townspeople and their role in Tokugawa Japan is untangled in Nakai, Nobuhiko, *Chōnin*, *Nihonshi no Shakai Shūdan*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1990).
- ⁴² In areas with a long history of *senmin* residents, such as Kyoto, Nara and Osaka - where the majority of Burakumin are living - no such pattern of course exists. The same is true for small rural buraku. These however, only comprise a fraction of the total buraku population.
- ⁴³ Brooks, p. 25 - 27.
- ⁴⁴ A timeline presenting the peasant riots can be found in Aoki, Kōji, *Hyakushō Ikki Sōgō Nenpyō* (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1971).
- ⁴⁵ Harada, p. 122.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 123.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 136.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 134.

⁵⁰ Brooks, p. 271 – 273.

⁵¹ Quoted in Ibid., p. 272.

⁵² Ibid., p. 260 – 271.

⁵³ A detailed description is provided by Harada, p. 178 – 182.

⁵⁴ Some Japanese sources list the date as the 14th day of the 3rd month using the lunar calendar that was used at the time.

⁵⁵ Ōe's contributions are dissected in Brooks, p. 298 – 305.

⁵⁶ Harada, p. 186 – 87.

Chapter 3

¹ It should be pointed out that Mishima Yukio is also a pen name for Hiraoka Kimitake. While those in the field of literature often will refer to him as simply Mishima, he has not quite reached the level of “brand name” in the vernacular.

² Donald Keene states that “This work [Before the Dawn] alone sets him alongside his great contemporaries, Soseki and Ōgai. It wholly redeems his otherwise *uneven* (italics added) career.” Iwano Hōmei (1873 – 1920) on the other hand wrote “He [Tōson] writes in a bland style and lacks a distinguishing characteristic. I can only despair.” (Shimazaki Tōson as a Novelist, Waseda Bungaku, July 1911)

³ For a discerning translation with an edifying introduction, see Shimazaki, Tōson, *Before the Dawn*, trans. William E. Naff (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987).

⁴ John Whitney Hall points out that the Meiji Restoration began with “an element of cultural chock [that] was added which made the process of institutional and intellectual revolution doubly difficult and complex.” Hall, p. 245.

⁵ He was called Kichisaemon by the villagers and first selected the name Shigehiro when prompted by the Meiji authorities, but later opted for Masaki. Adachi, Isamu, *Shimazaki Tōson no Shōgai - Sakuhin to Geijutsu* (Tokyo: Shinkō Shuppansha, 1953), p. 2.

⁶ It opened in March 1869 with one representative from each *Han* and one from each ministry as well as representatives from some of the newly established schools. It was primarily an institution for inquiries and debates, rather than establishing laws.

⁷ De Vos, George A. and Wagatsuma, Hiroshi, *Japan's Invisible Race: Caste in culture and personality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966). The vote is described in Chapter 2, “Emancipation: Growth and Transformation,” by Totten, George O. and Wagatsuma Hiroshi on page 34.

⁸ The formal title is Gunchū Sōdai Shōya corresponding to County Wide Representative Headman.

⁹ Adachi, p. 2.

¹⁰ The others being the *Tōkaidō* to Osaka, *Nikkōkaidō* (or *Nikkōdōchū*) to Nikkō, *Ōshūkaidō* (or *Ōshūdōchū*), an extension of the *Nikkōkaidō* towards Sendai and the *Kōshūkaidō* (or *Kōshūdōchū*) going west from Edo to Kōshū in present Yamanashi prefecture.

¹¹ Also referred to as the Tokugawa period, a period stretching from 1603 to 1867 when the country was ruled by the Tokugawa family in their capacity as *Sei-i Taishōgun*, or Barbarian Subduing Generalissimo.

¹² A Honjin is best explained as an officially approved inn, primarily used by a Daimyō and his entourage going back and forth between Edo and his domain under the Sankin Kōtai system of leaving family members as hostages at the Shōgun's palace.

¹³ Often translated as National Learning. A movement in late 17th- and 18th-century Japan that emphasized Japanese classical studies of the *Kojiki* and the *Tale of Genji*.

¹⁴ The most eminent scholar in Shinto and Japanese classics. Applied meticulous philological methods to the study of Japanese classics. His commentary to the *Kojiki* caused a revival of the classics in latter part of Tokugawa Japan.

¹⁵ Disciple of Motoori's Kokugaku that stressed the emperor's divinity, his thinking was ideologically instrumental for those that wanted to abolish the Shōgunate and restore the emperor.

¹⁶ Edwin McClellan describes this kind of cultured and literate family as “country gentry.” This should however not be understood as a landowning class ranking just below the aristocracy. McClellan, p. 73.

¹⁷ The English terms conveys an image of a starched jaunty matronly woman, while the Japanese term is Gejo, literally “lowly woman,” far from achieving the status of her Western counterpart.

¹⁸ That is the name Tōson uses for her in *Oitachi no Ki* (Annals of a Childhood).

¹⁹ From Osanaki no Hi in Shimazaki, Tōson, *Shimazaki Tōson Zenshū*, ed. Yukio Miyoshi, XII vols., vol. X (Tokyo: Chikuma Shōbō, 1981), p. 372 – 73.

²⁰ Adachi, p. 32.

²¹ Shimazaki, *Shimazaki Tōson Zenshū*, p. 390.

²² Adachi, p. 18.

²³ Ibid., p. 32 – 37.

²⁴ Tōson describes the family and their financial irresponsibility in the novel *Ie*, but after his sister's death, he partly exonerates her in the novella *Aru onna no shōgai* (A Woman's Life).

- ²⁵ His time there is described in Adachi, p. 45 – 50.
- ²⁶ It was serialized in Bunshō Sekai from May in 1914 to June in 1918 and then published in 1919.
- ²⁷ In *Sakura no Mi no Jukusuru Toki*, he called them Tanabe.
- ²⁸ Shimazaki, Tōson, *Sakura no Mi no Jukusuru Toki* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1929), p. 65. In Japanese they are known as *Shikyō* and *Saden* (or sometimes *Sashiden*).
- ²⁹ Naff points out that Ōgai's and Sōseki's accomplishments were not accessible to someone with Tōson's background. See Introduction in Shimazaki, Tōson, *Chikuma River Sketches*, trans. William E. Naff, SHAPS library of translations (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991), p. xxii.
- ³⁰ (1832 – 1891) Philosopher, educator. Belonged to the first group of students being sent abroad by the last Shōgun to study English. Wrote under the pen name Keiu. Also translated J.S. Mill's "On Liberty."
- ³¹ Adachi, p. 60.
- ³² *Ibid.*, p. 66 – 69.
- ³³ It roughly corresponds to the western half of modern Aichi prefecture and was the home of such prominent historical figures as Oda Nobunaga and Minamoto Yoshitomo. The father's visit is rather akin to a night prowler in Buckingham Palace.
- ³⁴ Almost all foreign English teachers in early Meiji were missionaries and many of their Japanese students converted, by 1880 more than 30 000 had joined a church, thus the father's apprehension was founded in reality.
- ³⁵ Adachi, p. 68 – 69.
- ³⁶ Walker, p. 127.
- ³⁷ His time at Meiji Gakuin is thoroughly described in Itō, p. 304 – 320.
- ³⁸ Born in Kumamoto prefecture and best known for his translations of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Giovanni Boccaccio.
- ³⁹ Born in Kōchi prefecture. After a period as a central banker he became professor at Keio University, translated Alphonse Daudet and is also the translator of Tolstoy's *War and Peace*.
- ⁴⁰ Born in Tokyo. Taught at Tokyo Higher Normal School. Studied in England 1903 – 06, translated William Thackeray and Ezra Pound.
- ⁴¹ Shimazaki, *Sakura no Mi no Jukusuru Toki*. Chapter 5 describes this time. Adachi Yumio is Baba Kochō's alter ego and Togawa Shūkotsu is named Suge Tokisaburō.
- ⁴² McClellan, p. 74.
- ⁴³ Born in Saga in a family of high samurai rank. Studied English under an American attached to the Dutch settlement in Dejima outside Nagasaki. Held many senior posts in the early Meiji governments, democratic activist and member of the Mitsubishi zaibatsu.
- ⁴⁴ Adachi, pp. 78, 96.
- ⁴⁵ Katsumoto, Seiichirō, "Tōkoku Bungaku no Seimei," in *Kitamura Tōkoku, Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Sōsho* (Tokyo: Yōeid, 1972), p. 264 – 272.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁷ As quoted in Karatani, Kōjin, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, Post-contemporary interventions (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993), pp. 29 – 30.
- ⁴⁸ It is nearly impossible to overstate the influence Tōkoku had on Tōson. The literary magazine Kokubungaku (National Literature) devoted the entire issue of June 1964 to explore this relationship.
- ⁴⁹ As quoted in Keene, p. 197.
- ⁵⁰ Tanabe is perhaps better known under her married name Miyake Kaho. Together with her husband, Miyake Setsurei, they published *Josei Nihonjin* (Female Japanese).
- ⁵¹ Wakamatsu Shizuko was orphaned as a young child and came under a missionary's care in Yokohama where she entered Ferris School, one of few institutions of higher learning open to female students. She became a teacher at her Alma Mater and translated Tennyson. In 1889 she married Iwamoto. She is also known under her pen name Shimada Kashi.
- ⁵² Adachi, p. 124 – 25.
- ⁵³ For Tōson's relationship to Venus and Adonis, see Sato, Saburo, "Venus and Adonis in Shimazaki Tōson's Literary Evolution," *Comparative Literature Studies* 28, no. 3 (1991).
- ⁵⁴ Naff, William E. "Shimazaki Tōson: A Critical Biography" (Ph.D., University of Washington, 1964), p. 133.
- ⁵⁵ Born in Tokyo, medical officer with the Shōgunate. Studied in France and started the newspaper Hōchi Shinbun.
- ⁵⁶ It should be noted that researchers focused on Tsubouchi Shōyō, Mori Ōgai and the early Ronsō (literary debates) will for obvious reasons attach a higher prominence to the magazine Waseda Bungaku. It did not however introduce the volumes of new literature, prose as well as verse, nor did it have the same broad appeal as *Bungakkai*.
- ⁵⁷ Both Naff and Walker refers to him as Yūji.
- ⁵⁸ Itō.
- ⁵⁹ Shimazaki, Tōson, *Junrei* (1940), p. 266.
- ⁶⁰ Aoyama, Nao, "Kimura Kumaji to Shimazaki Tōson," in *Shimazaki Tōson* (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1971), p. 36.
- ⁶¹ Itō.

- ⁶² Aoyama, p. 37.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.
- ⁶⁴ The Japanese word *hon'yaku* off course does not indicate whether it is singular or plural.
- ⁶⁵ This runs through Aoyama's entire article, see Aoyama.
- ⁶⁶ Shimazaki, *Sakura no Mi no Jukusuru Toki*, p. 155.
- ⁶⁷ McClellan, p. 75.
- ⁶⁸ Naff's introduction to Shimazaki, *Chikuma River Sketches*, p. xxiii.
- ⁶⁹ They are *Momo no shizuku* (Drops of a Peach), *Shin-katamachi yori* (From Shin-katamachi [one of Tōson's addresses in Tokyo]), *Shisei ni arite* (In the City), *Nochi no Shin-katamachi yori* (From the Latter Shin-katamachi), *Ikuradayori* (Tidings from Iikura [another address]) and *Haru o machitsutsu* (Still Waiting for Spring).
- ⁷⁰ The war lasted from August 1, 1894 to April 17 1895 and Japan materialized as an assertive Asian power. It is also the starting point for increased military influence on domestic affairs.
- ⁷¹ Shimazaki, Tōson, *Shisei ni Arite* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1930), p. 218 – 230.
- ⁷² McClellan, p. 93.
- ⁷³ Danly, Robert Lyons, *In the Shade of Spring Leaves* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), p. vii.
- ⁷⁴ Yabu, Teiko, *Tōkoku - Tōson - Ichiyō* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1991), p. 217.
- ⁷⁵ As quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 227. Tenchi sent Hirata with an advance to her for a manuscript but it did not arrive in time for the inaugural issue.
- ⁷⁶ This is Danly's translation of the title; Donald Keen opted for "Growing Up" in Dawn to the West. The literal meaning is 'comparing heights'.
- ⁷⁷ Danly, p. 152.
- ⁷⁸ Shimazaki, *Shisei ni Arite*, p. 213 – 215.
- ⁷⁹ Keene, p. 242.
- ⁸⁰ In 1901 Supreme Court Justice Yanagida Tadahira adopted him, when he married the daughter and consequently Kunio changed his name.
- ⁸¹ Adachi, p. 229.
- ⁸² A fuller description of Tayama Katai's life can be found in Henshall, Kenneth G. *Literary Life in Tōkyō* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), p. 19 – 28.
- ⁸³ Born in Chiba prefecture as Tetsuo of samurai heritage. Raised in Yamaguchi prefecture. War correspondent in the Sino-Japanese war, married after returning but was divorced after six months. Considered one of the leading Roman-ticists in Meiji literature.
- ⁸⁴ Born as Hasegawa Tatsunosuke, a low ranking samurai family in Edo. Studied Russian for four years and translated Gorky, Dostoyevsky, Chekov, Tolstoy and particularly Turgenev. Went to St. Petersburg as correspondent for Asahi Shinbun, fell ill and died during the return trip home.
- ⁸⁵ Henshall, p. 32 – 37.
- ⁸⁶ de Maupassant, Guy, *The Odd Number, Thirteen tales* (trans. Jonathan Sturges) Harper & Brothers, New York 1889 as quoted from Ikari Akira, *Tayama Katai to Mōpassan* (Tayama Katai and Maupassant) in *Jinbun Shakai*, Hirosaki Daigaku, Jan 1954 as reprinted in Ikari, Akira, "Tayama Katai to Mōpassan," in *Shizenshugi Bungaku*, Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Sōsho (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1954), p. 129 – 140.
- ⁸⁷ Tayama describes this in the chapter *Maruzen no Nikai* in Tayama, Katai, *Tokyo no Sanjūnen* (Tōkyō: Nihon Tosho Sentā, 1983).
- ⁸⁸ Ikari, p. 130.
- ⁸⁹ Naff, p. 130.
- ⁹⁰ Adachi, pp. 142 - 144.
- ⁹¹ Arima, Tatsuo, *Japanese Naturalism: the Limitations of Experience*, vol. 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 90.
- ⁹² His years in Sendai are covered extensively in Senuma, Shigeki, *Hyōden Shimazaki Tōson*, Kakioroshi Hyōden (Tokyo: Jitsugyō no Nihonsha, 1959), pp. 123 - 146.
- ⁹³ Yamamuro, Shizuka, *Shimazaki Tōson - Shōgai to Kotoba* (Tokyo: Fujimori Shoten, 1977), p. 48.
- ⁹⁴ Satō Saburō opted for 'Young Leaves', Naff entitled them 'Fresh Greens' and in Kodansha's Encyclopedia of Japan the title became 'Collection of Young Herbs'.
- ⁹⁵ Reprinted in Senuma, Shigeki, Miyoshi, Yukio, and Shimazaki, Ōsuke, *Shimazaki Tōson Zenshū Bekkan*, 19 vols., vol. Appendix (Tokyo: Chikuma Shōbō, 1971), p. 13 – 19.
- ⁹⁶ A rather bizarre title that is perhaps better understood when one considers that it refers to the ability of the Chinese singer Yü Kung to 'move even the dust on the cross-beam under the ceiling'.
- ⁹⁷ Naff, p. 155.
- ⁹⁸ Adachi, p. 269.
- ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

¹⁰⁰ Shimazaki, Tōson, *Hakai* (Tokyo: 1906). In the modern editions it is mentioned in the first note, the annotation by Miyoshi Yukio.

¹⁰¹ Shimazaki, Kusuo and Kafutsu, Tokuchirō, *Hakai wo Meguru Tōson no Tegami* (Tokyo: Hata Shoten, 1948), pp. 9, 13 and 30.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 62 and 91.

¹⁰³ Uncle Tom's Cabin appeared as a piracy edition in England, and it has been estimated that 1,500,000 copies, from which Stowe received no royalty, was sold.

Chapter 4

¹ Keene remarks that “newspapers and magazines were filled with discussions” in Keene, p. 256., and McClellan point out that literary historians agree that “it constitutes a landmark in the history of modern Japanese realism.” McClellan, p. 79.

² Miyoshi, Masao, *Accomplices of Silence* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1974), p. 21. and Keene, Donald, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe, 1720 - 1830*, Revised ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), p. 12 – 15 and also 40 – 44.

³ Yanagida Izumi (1894 – 1969) makes the claim in his *Meiji Shoki no Bungaku Shisō* that Robun held the brush and Kubota merely edited his work, but the strong kabuki sentiment and 5-7 rhythm of the dialogue that Kubota was partial to, as well as the foreword written by Robun, is strong evidence that Kubota wrote it himself, even if Robun's spirit and influence was present.

⁴ Okitsu Kaname, ed. *Meiji Kaikaki Bungakushū I* in *Meiji Bungaku Zenshū* vol. 1, Chikuma Shobō, Tokyo, 1966, p. 453

⁵ Kitagawa, Tetsuo, *Buraku Mondai wo Toriageta Hyaku no Shōsetsu*, Shohan. ed. (Kyoto: Buraku Mondai Kenkyūjo, 1985), p. 61.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁷ Biographical details from *Meiji Bungaku Zenshū*, vol 11, Fukuchi Ōchi by Yanagida Izumi, p. 409 - 411

⁸ *Meiji Bungaku Zenshū*, vol 11, *Ibid.*, p. 411

⁹ *Meiji Bungaku Zenshū*, vol 11, *Ibid.*, p. 413

¹⁰ A detailed description of this period is provided by Koyama, Fumio, *Meiji no Isai Fukuchi Ōchi* (Tokyo: Chōō Kōronsha, 1984), p. 149 – 161.

¹¹ It is also known as *katakiuchi* and was usually restricted to revenge the killing of a father or head of household. It was criminalized by decree in 1873.

¹² Kitagawa, p. 181.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

¹⁵ Umezawa, Toshihiko, Hirano, Hidehisa, and Yamagishi, Takashi, *Bungaku no Naka no Hisabetsu Burakuzō - Zenshen*, Shohan. ed. (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1980), p. 34 – 35.

¹⁶ *Meiji Bungaku Zenshū*, vol 11, Fukuchi Ōchi by Yanagida Izumi, p. 416

¹⁷ Matsuo Bashō (1644 – 1694), Yosa Buson (1716 – 1784) and Kobayashi Issa (1763 – 1828) are the indisputable masters of 5-7-5 syllable poems originally known as *hokku*. A collection of their poems in English is available in Hass, Robert and others, *The Essential Haiku : versions of Bashō, Buson, and Issa* (Hopewell, N.J.: Ecco Press, 1994). A meticulous discourse on haiku and haiku poets can be found in Blyth, Reginald Horace, *A History of Haiku* (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1963). For the language of seasons in haiku see Higginson, William J. *The Haiku Seasons - Poetry of the Natural World* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1996).

¹⁸ Ryan, p. 61.

¹⁹ Walker, p. 32.

²⁰ Tsubouchi used the term *waka* as an all-encompassing term for all Japanese poetry.

²¹ The translation is Ryan's from Ryan, p. 56.

²² Kato, Shuichi, *A History of Japanese Literature*, trans. Don Sanderson (London: Macmillan, 1979), p. 134.

²³ Keene, *Fiction*, p. 98.

²⁴ Beichman, Janine, *Masaoka Shiki* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1986), p. 32.

²⁵ Keene, *Poetry, Drama, Criticism*, p. 93.

²⁶ As quoted by Terada Tōru in *Masaoka Shiki – Meiji Bungaku Zenshū* vol. 53, Chikuma Shobō, Tokyo, 1975, p. 383. The Tenpō era lasted between 1830 – 1844.

²⁷ Donald Keene goes as far as referring to Bashō as “the Saint of Haiku,” Keene, *Poetry, Drama, Criticism*, p. 94.

²⁸ From *Shiki Zenshū IV*, p. 230 as quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 95.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

³⁰ His birth name was Sakutarō and although born in Edo he spent his youth in Nagano. After returning to Tokyo in 1887 he studied art under Koyama Shōtarō and won a prize at the World Exhibition in Paris 1900. He founded the Museum of Calligraphy in 1934. For more see his biography *Gakusho Sanketsu*, Seitō Shobō, 1970.

³¹ Keene, *Poetry, Drama, Criticism*, p. 98.

- ³² Janet Walker states that although Tōson was well aware of Shiki's manifesto on the objective haiku, he chose a method of objectivity firmly rooted in the haiku of Bashō and the *zuihitsu* of Sei Shōnagon claiming that Tōson became too analytical when practicing *shasei*, saying "that unless there is vitality in the description, one is not reflecting life." Walker, p. 162.
- ³³ Minamoto no Sanetomo was the official name of the third Shōgun of the Kamakura Bakufu. Deprived of any real power by his scheming mother he took a keen interest in traditional Heian aesthetics and composed a collection of 663 poems known as *Kinkai Wakashū* or The Collection of the Kamakura Minister of the Right. Most of Minamoto's poems are purely imitative of the dominant Shin Kokinshū style, but some 20 poems, believed to be the last he wrote before he was decapitated, show remarkable bravado and a finely honed attention to details of life. A detailed description of Minamoto Sanetomo's life and poetry can be found in Yoshimoto, Takeaki, *Minamoto Sanetomo*, Nihon Shijinsan, vol. 12 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1971), or Satō, Fūjin, *Minamoto Sanetomo no Shōgai* (Tokyo: Gyōin Shokan, 1988).
- ³⁴ A modern discourse on the subject of Shiki and *shasei*, and its relation to *genbun itchi* (unification of spoken and written language) is offered in Karatani, p. 73 – 75.
- ³⁵ Terada, *Ibid.*, p. 384
- ³⁶ This exchange is reproduced by Kameda, Junichi, *Tōson no Hakai to Masaoka Shiki*, Hyūman Bukkuretto, vol. 21 (Kobe: Hyōgo Buraku Mondai Kenkyūjo, 1993), p. 35.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.
- ³⁸ Another common name is "spider lilly," in Latin it is *Lycoris radiata*, and it belongs to the family of Amaryllidaceae.
- ³⁹ Umezawa, Hirano, and Yamagishi, p. 76.
- ⁴⁰ In *Byōjō Rokushaku* he pleaded for someone to help him out of his misery and pain. Masaoka, Shiki, *Byōjō Rokushaku*, Waidoban Iwanami Bunko, vol. 97 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993), p. 69., originally started as a series in *Hotodogisu* in 1902.
- ⁴¹ Karatani Kōjin defines it as: "Genbun itchi represented the invention of a new conception of writing as equivalent with speech" in Karatani, p. 39.
- ⁴² Tayama.
- ⁴³ Kanzaki Kiyoshi in *Meiji Bungaku Zenshū* Vol. 42, Tokutomi Roka, Chikuma Shobō, Tokyo, 1966, p. 377
- ⁴⁴ *Meiji Bungaku Zenshū* Vol. 42, *Ibid.*, p. 379
- ⁴⁵ *Meiji Bungaku Zenshū* Vol. 42, *Ibid.*, p. 378 – 379.
- ⁴⁶ *Meiji Bungaku Zenshū* Vol. 42, *Ibid.*, p. 378
- ⁴⁷ Kato, pp. vol. 3, 157.
- ⁴⁸ Tokutomi Roka, *Omoide no Ki* (chapter 5), *Gendai Nihon Bungaku Taikai* Vol 9, Chikuma Shobō, Tokyo, 1971
- ⁴⁹ Keene, *Fiction*, p. 228.
- ⁵⁰ He wrote several travelogues and this recollection is from *Ikao Miyage* (Souvenirs from Ikao) that is part of *Momo no Shizuku* (A Drop of Peach).
- ⁵¹ Terada Tōru, *Meiji Bungaku Zenshū* Vol. 68, Tokuda Shūsei, Chikuma Shobō, Tokyo, 1971, p. 371
- ⁵² Keene, *Fiction*, p. 271.
- ⁵³ Terada, *Ibid.*, p. 371
- ⁵⁴ Kitagawa, p. 73.
- ⁵⁵ A thorough treatment in German of *Yabukōji* is available in Jaschke, Renate, "Das Buraku-Problem in der Japanischen Literatur am Beispiel der Erzählungen von Tokuda Shūsei und Shimizu Shikin," *Japanstudien* 5 (1993). esp. part 3 Das Schattengewächs (Shade Plant) von Tokuda Shūsei, 398 – 406.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*: 399.
- ⁵⁷ Kitagawa, p. 74.
- ⁵⁸ Keene, *Fiction*, p. 272.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, as shown the subject was broached by Fukuchi Ōchi two years earlier and even as far back as 1877 by Kawatake Mokuami.
- ⁶⁰ As quoted in Jaschke: 400.
- ⁶¹ Kitagawa, p. 74.
- ⁶² Umezawa, Hirano, and Yamagishi, p. 70 – 71.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 71.
- ⁶⁴ Keene, *Fiction*, p. 276.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 272.
- ⁶⁶ Kitagawa, p. 73.
- ⁶⁷ Lebra, Takie Sugiyama and Lebra, William P. *Japanese Culture and Behavior : Selected readings*, Rev. ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986)., contains several articles analyzing Japanese concepts of and relations towards groups. Of special interest is the articles by George De Vos on Guilt Towards Parents (p. 80 – 99) and Nakae Chie on Criteria of Group Formation (p. 171 – 187)

- ⁶⁸ Kawabata, Toshifusa, *Kindai Bungaku ni Mieru Jinken Kankaku* (Kyoto: Buraku Mondai Kenkyūjo, 1995), p. 190 – 201.
- ⁶⁹ Matsumoto Sachiko presents a thorough piece of research in Matsumoto, Sachiko, “Tokuda Shūsei no Kakei Nenpu,” in *Shizenshugi Bungaku*, ed. Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Kankōkai, Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Sōsho (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1975), p. 217 – 226., and there is no mention of neither English or any other foreign language. This was hardly unusual for rural schools at the time.
- ⁷⁰ Shioda Ryōhei, Meiji Bungaku Zenshū vol. 81 – Meiji Joryū Bungakushū, Chikuma Shobō, 1966, Tokyo, p. 436
- ⁷¹ It was Kishida Toshiko (1863 – 1901), another leading activist that introduced them to each other.
- ⁷² Meiji Bungaku Zenshū vol. 81, Ibid., p. 436
- ⁷³ She became a wealthy patron of arts and literature after the great commercial success achieved by the chain of pastry shops called Nakamura-ya she established with her husband. She was also a true internationalist, extending her generosity towards such people as the blind Russian poet Vasilij Yakovlevich Eroshenko (1889 – 1952) and the Indian independence activist Rash Bihari Bose (1886 – 1945) that married her daughter Ayako to circumvent an extradition order.
- ⁷⁴ Sōma Kokkō in Meiji Bungaku Zenshū 81 – Meiji Joryū Bungakushū, Chikuma Shobō, 1966, Tokyo, p. 403, originally published as Meiji Shoki no Sanjosei (Three Women of Early Meiji) in *Kōsei Kakkō* (September, 1940)
- ⁷⁵ Shioda, Ibid., p. 437
- ⁷⁶ Shioda, Ibid., p. 437
- ⁷⁷ Kitagawa, p. 54.
- ⁷⁸ Kawabata, Toshifusa, *"Hakai" to sono Shūhen - Buraku Mondai Shōsetsu Kenkyū*, Shohan. ed. (Kyoto: Bunrikaku, 1984), p. 94 – 95.
- ⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 95.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 96.
- ⁸¹ Nagao Masako has introduced yet another classification when she classified the novella as *Fūfu Monogatari* (Tale of a Married Couple) focusing on the love of a husband for his wife that survives the knowledge that she is a defiled woman. As quoted by Jaschke,; 411.
- ⁸² Imagine Mary Phelps meets Edmund Spenser. It would be as if *The Story of Avis* or *Doctor Zay* had been written in the style of *The Faerie Queene*.
- ⁸³ In Tokyo Joshidaigaku Hikakubunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō #4, his name might be pronounced Yūichi.
- ⁸⁴ Oda Sesshin, Meiji Bungaku Zenshū Vol 84, Meiji Shakaishugi Bungakushū II, 1965, Tokyo, p. 431
- ⁸⁵ Oda, Ibid., p. 432
- ⁸⁶ Kitagawa, p. 49.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 50.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 50 – 51.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 51.
- ⁹⁰ Watanabe, Naomi, *Nihon Kindai Bungaku to "Sabetsu"*, Hihyō kūkan sōsho ; 2 (Tokyo: Ōta Shuppan, 1994). in a foldout between page 32 and 33.
- ⁹¹ The process of reaching that goal is described in chapter 2 of Ryan, p. 37 – 95.
- ⁹² In *Ao Budō* (1895, Blue Grape) he gives a soul-opening rendition of his almost paternal concern for Shūyō (Fūyō) when he falls ill in what appears to be cholera.
- ⁹³ Oguri Fūyō, Neoshiroi, p. 151 – 152 in Itō Sei, Meiji Bungaku Zenshū vol. 65, Chikuma Shobō, Tokyo, 1968
- ⁹⁴ Oguri, Ibid., p. 157
- ⁹⁵ Oguri, Ibid., p. 158 - 159
- ⁹⁶ George De Vos and Hiroshi Wagatsuma write in chapter 11: “In certain Buraku, at least among the lower strata of the community, there is considerable casualness about marriage ties and sexual fidelity. Temporary liaisons are reported to be common. For example, a husband who goes to a distant place to work for a year or two may find another partner there. His wife, instead of remaining alone with their family, will take another man if the opportunity occurs. In the majority society, a scandal would arise, whereas in the Buraku it is taken as a matter of course if the person who forms the temporary liaison is of their own community or a neighboring one.” De Vos and Wagatsuma, p. 229 – 230.
- ⁹⁷ Keene, *Fiction*, p. 145.
- ⁹⁸ Umezawa, Hirano, and Yamagishi, p. 76.
- ⁹⁹ Kitagawa, p. 35 – 36.
- ¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 36 – 37.
- ¹⁰¹ Tozaka Yasuji ed. Meiji Shigekishū in Meiji Bungaku Zenshū vole 85, Chikuma Shobō, Tokyo, 1969, p. 394 – 395 and Kitagawa, Ibid., p. 286
- ¹⁰² He is perhaps best remembered for lecturing the then crown prince and princess (later Emperor Showa [Hirohito] and Empress Nagako) as an imperial household official, a position he held from 1914 to 1921.

- ¹⁰³ If this seems to be a harebrained suggestion, one ought to keep in mind that the powerful Ministry of Industry and Trade suggested the same policy for the ever-increasing number of Japanese retirees approximately 100 years later.
- ¹⁰⁴ Kitagawa, p. 57 – 58.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38 – 41.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 38.
- ¹⁰⁷ Senuma Shigeki ed. Meiji Katei Shōsetsushū in Meiji Bungaku Zenshū vol. 93, Chikuma Shobō, Tokyo, 1969.
- ¹⁰⁸ Kitagawa, p. 80.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.
- ¹¹⁰ Ryan, p. 39.
- ¹¹¹ Leiter, Samuel L. and Yamamoto, Jirō, *New Kabuki Encyclopedia : A revised adaptation of Kabuki Jiten* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1997), p. 378.
- ¹¹² Kitagawa, p. 184.

Chapter 5

- ¹ Born in Nagano Prefecture, graduated Nagano Normal School in 1897. Professor at Tokyo Musical Conservatory. A thesis on the history of Kabuki earned him a Ph.D. in literature.
- ² Takano, Tatsuyuki, "Jijitsu to Sakubutsusan - Hakai Gōjitsuhyō," *Shumi* 4, no. 4 (1909).
- ³ Hakai no moderu — Inoko Rentarō koto Ōe Isokichi, Kobayashi Kōjin in Shinshū oyobi Shinshūjin, 1947
- ⁴ First published as Hakai ni Tōjō suru Inoko Rentarō no Moderu Ōe Isokichi, Mizuno Toshio in Kokugakuin Zasshi, 1962. Here the reprint in Mizuno, Toshio, "Hakai ni Tōjōsuru Inoko Rentarō no Moderu Ōe Isokichi," in *Shimazaki Tōson*, Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryo Sōsho (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1971). is used.
- ⁵ Aoki, Takatoshi, "Hakai no Moderu Ōe Isokichi no Shinshiryō," *Shinshū Shirakaba*, no. 17 (1975).
- ⁶ Shinomura, Shōji, *Fūsetsu no Sakyū* (Tokyo: Dai-Ichi Hōki Shuppansha, 1983).
- ⁷ Akatsuka, Yasuo, "Zoku, Hakai no Moderu Ōe Isokichi to Osaka," *Osaka*, no. 18 (1990).
- ⁸ Araki, Ken, *Hakai no Moderu - Ōe Isokichi no Shōgai* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppansha, 1996).
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13 – 14.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- ¹² Christian leader, essayist, and editor. He converted to Christianity and later went to study in the United States at Amherst College and Hartford Theological Seminary. He returned to Japan in 1888. Uchimura taught in several schools, but left after disagreement over principles deriving from his Christianity. The most famous dispute was when he failed to show sufficient respect to the signature of the emperor appended to a copy of the new Imperial Rescript on Education. Instead, Uchimura turned to writing. By 1897 he was senior editor of the popular newspaper *Yorozu Chōhō*. He became an outspoken pacifist and resigned from the newspaper when the publisher endorsed the government's warlike policies on the eve of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05).
- ¹³ Educator, author and diplomat. Held five doctoral degrees (two honorary) and became a professor at his Alma Mater, Sapporo Agricultural College. Published books written in both English and German. Introduced Japan to the West with his "Bushidō — The Soul of Japan" (1899). Participated in the Versailles Peace Conference and stayed on as Under-Secretary General for the League of Nations in Geneva.
- ¹⁴ Educator *extraordinaire*, introducer of Western knowledge, founder of Keiō University. Published the ten volume *Seiyō Jijō* (Western Conditions) between 1867 and 1870. This firmly established his position as the primary expert on things Western. Fukuzawa was convinced that only Western science and the spirit of independence could save Japan from becoming yet another Western colony in Asia.
- ¹⁵ For examples of lingering discrimination into the Taishō era see Totten & Wagatsuma in De Vos and Wagatsuma, p. 45 – 46.
- ¹⁶ Pestalozzi's life and his pedagogy is presented in Silber, Kate, *Pestalozzi : The Man and his Work*, 3. ed. ed. (London: 1973)., Downs, Robert B. *Heinrich Pestalozzi : Father of Modern Pedagogy* (Boston, Mass.: Twayne, 1975). and Biber, George Edward, *Henry Pestalozzi and His Plan of Education*, facsim. of 1831ed ed. (Thoemmes P. 1994).
- ¹⁷ Shimazaki, *Hakai*, p. 1:1.
- ¹⁸ Araki, p. 43 – 53.
- ¹⁹ For an introduction to the discrimination against Koreans and Chinese see Weiner.
- ²⁰ Araki, p. 44 – 45.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58 – 63.
- ²² A joint notation in the nomenclature of higher level civil servants below rank 3, meaning that Ōe belonged to the elite of higher ranked civil servants but had a lower status within that select group.
- ²³ As evidenced by the many letters Tōson wrote asking for financial aid while in Komoro. See Shimazaki and Kafutsu, *Hakai wo Meguru Tōson no Tegami*.
- ²⁴ Araki, p. 60 – 62.
- ²⁵ As reproduced by *Ibid.*, p. 68 – 69.

- ²⁶ Shimazaki, Tōson, *The Broken Commandment*, trans. Kenneth Strong, UNESCO Translations Collection (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1974), p. 10.
- ²⁷ He used the term “jinsei no jūgun kisha” in the foreword to *The Greenleaf Collection* (Ryokuyōshū, 1907), being depressed for having been rejected as a war correspondent in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05 while his good friend Tayama Katai went.
- ²⁸ Mizuno, p. 212.
- ²⁹ Araki, p. 102 – 107.
- ³⁰ Kikuchi, Sanka, *Nihon no Tokushu Buraku* (Tokyo: Tokyo Shidankai Henshū, 1961).
- ³¹ Reprinted in Araki, p. 142.
- ³² *Ibid.*, p. 139 – 140.
- ³³ (1851 – 19??) Born in the Chōshū domain, nowadays Yamaguchi Prefecture. Studied abroad in USA, took the initiative to establish Tokyo English School, and presided as dean of three faculties (law, science and literature) at Tokyo University.
- ³⁴ *Jinbutsu Awajishi* (History of Awaji People), Tamura Shōji, privately published, 1992
- ³⁵ Araki, p. 156.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 182 – 187.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 199 – 206.
- ³⁸ Shimazaki, Tōson, “Tanba-guni,” *Osaka Asahi Shinbun*, August 3 1927, p. 6.
- ³⁹ Published essays, poetry and fiction as a student at Tokyo Shōka Daigaku (now Hitotsubashi University), prominent critic and eminent scholar of modern Japanese literature. Real name: Suzuki Tadanao.
- ⁴⁰ Rogon Makaaru Seisho, *Shinchō*
- ⁴¹ Miyoshi, p. 73.
- ⁴² Hakai no moderu — Inoko Rentarō koto Ōe Isokichi, Kobayashi Kōjin in *Shinshū oyobi Shinshūjin*, 1947
- ⁴³ Mizuno, p. 213 – 215.
- ⁴⁴ Aoki, “Hakai no Moderu Ōe Isokichi no Shinshiryō.”
- ⁴⁵ Etchi, Haruo, *Hakai Shimazaki Tōson Hikkei* (Tokyo: Gakutōsha, 1967).
- ⁴⁶ Miyoshi, Yukio, *Shimazaki Tōsonron* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1984).
- ⁴⁷ Proponents of the “Chōmin School” are Kitahara Taisaku in his *Nihon Kindai Bungaku ni Arawareta Buraku Mondai* (Buraku Problems Appearing in Modern Japanese Literature), Shiobumi-sha, 1969 (the main points were published already in *Nihon Bungaku Zenshū* [Complete Works of Japanese Literature] by Kawade Shobō Shinsha in 1961) and Fujiya Toshio in *Buraku Mondai Rekishiteki Kenkyū* (Historical Research of Buraku Problems), Buraku Mondai Kenkyūjo, 1970
- ⁴⁸ For an ardent critique of the “model problem” see Yamamuro, Shizuka, *Tōson Ronkō* (Tokyo: Tōkisha, 1973).
- ⁴⁹ Shimazaki, Tōson, “Hakai no Chosha no Mitaru Sankoku no Shinheimin,” *Bunko* 31, no. 6 (1906).
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

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- ¹ Fujii, p. 49.
- ² Walker, p. 193.
- ³ *Ibid.*, p. 156.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. x.
- ⁶ Shimazaki, *Hakai*, p. 1:2.
- ⁷ Fujii, p. 6.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- ⁹ Aspelin, p. 147.
- ¹⁰ Svedjedal, Johan, “Det litteratursociologiska perspektivet,” in *Litteratursociologi - Texter om litteratur och samhälle*, ed. Lars Furuland and Johan Svedjedal (Uppsala: Studentlitteratur, 1997), p. 68 – 88. and Furuland, p. 16 – 49. both agree on Svanberg’s importance to the development of this field of study.
- ¹¹ Aspelin, p. 148.
- ¹² Early development in Sociology of Literature in Sweden is explained in Hansson, Gunnar, “Läsarnas litteraturhistoria - när, hur och varför?,” in *Litteratursociologi - Texter om litteratur och samhälle*, ed. Lars Furuland and Johan Svedjedal (Uppsala: Studentlitteratur, 1997), p. 376 – 87.
- ¹³ Shimazaki, *Hakai*, p. 1:1.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1:3.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14:1.
- ¹⁶ Quoted in Higashi, Eizō, “*Hakai*” no Hyōka to *Buraku Mondai* (Tokyo: Meiji Tosho Sensho, 1977), pp. 16 - 17.

- ¹⁷ According to *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- ¹⁸ Kawabata, Toshifusa, "Hakai no Ketsumatsu - Ushimatsu no Tekisasuyuki," *Buraku Mondai to Bungei* 1, no. 1 (1988): 23 - 32. provides a thorough discussion of the ending.
- ¹⁹ Kenneth Strong in his "Translator's Introduction" in Shimazaki, *The Broken Commandment*, pp. xxi - xxii.
- ²⁰ Keene, *Fiction*, p. 256.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*
- ²² Neary, p. 24.
- ²³ Shibata, Michiko, *Hisabetsu Buraku no Denshō to Seikatsu* (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobō, 1972), p. 84.
- ²⁴ Morimoto, Sadako, *Fuyu no Ie* (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1987), p. 242.
- ²⁵ Neary, p. 51.
- ²⁶ Harada, p. 256.
- ²⁷ Hane, Mikiso, *Modern Japan - A Historical Survey* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), p. 197.
- ²⁸ Neary, p. 52.
- ²⁹ Harada, p. 256.
- ³⁰ Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 258.
- ³¹ Neary, p. 35.
- ³² Harada, p. 215.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 240.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 267.
- ³⁵ Neary, p. 64.
- ³⁶ Harada, p. 272.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 271.
- ³⁸ Kawabata, "*Hakai*" to sono Shūhen - *Buraku Mondai Shōsetsu Kenkyū*, p. 210 - 211.
- ³⁹ *Yomiuri Shinbun*, April 4 1923.
- ⁴⁰ Wajima, Iwakichi, *Sabetsu Jiken to Kyūdanken*, Jinken Bukkuretto (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppansha, 1989), p. 12.
- ⁴¹ Shimazaki, *Hakai*.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*
- ⁴³ The translation is Kenneth Strong's from Shimazaki, *The Broken Commandment*, p. 229 - 30.
- ⁴⁴ Kitahara, Taisaku, "Hakai to Buraku Kaihō no Mondai," *Buraku* 48 (1978): 1 - 4.
- ⁴⁵ Shimazaki, *Hakai*, p. 22:2.
- ⁴⁶ Both Walker and Naff refers to him as Miyake Katsumi, a more common reading of his first name, but Japanese sources states that it should be pronounced Kokki.
- ⁴⁷ The development of *kyūdan* as political method is meticulously described in Wajima.
- ⁴⁸ Neary, p. 97.
- ⁴⁹ Shimazaki, *Hakai*, p. 18:2.
- ⁵⁰ Kawabata, "*Hakai*" to sono Shūhen - *Buraku Mondai Shōsetsu Kenkyū*, p. 213 - 214.
- ⁵¹ Naff, p. 265 - 267.
- ⁵² Translated superbly by William E. Naff and published by Hawaii University Press in 1987. Shimazaki, *Before the Dawn*.
- ⁵³ In Yūwa Jihō, January 1928, quoted by Kawabata, "*Hakai*" to sono Shūhen - *Buraku Mondai Shōsetsu Kenkyū*, p. 228 - 29.
- ⁵⁴ De Vos and Wagatsuma, p. 52.
- ⁵⁵ Kitahara, Taisaku, "Hakai to Buraku Kaihō Undō," in *Shimazaki Tōson, Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Sōsho* (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1971), p. 222. and Kawabata, "*Hakai*" to sono Shūhen - *Buraku Mondai Shōsetsu Kenkyū*, p. 215.
- ⁵⁶ Name is transliterated from Japanese.
- ⁵⁷ Keene, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe, 1720 - 1830*, p. 39 - 44.
- ⁵⁸ Kawabata, "*Hakai*" to sono Shūhen - *Buraku Mondai Shōsetsu Kenkyū*, p. 217.
- ⁵⁹ Shimazaki, *Hakai*, p. 1:3.
- ⁶⁰ This was a good move not only because of its racial implications; this sentence was also a chronological mistake contravening Tōson's aim for realism. *Hakai* takes place in 1891, in chapter five they celebrate the 24th year of emperor Meiji's reign, and the pogrom in Kishinev occurred in 1903.
- ⁶¹ Shimazaki, *Hakai*, p. 10:3.
- ⁶² Kitahara, "Hakai to Buraku Kaihō Undō," pp. 222 - 23.
- ⁶³ The trial is covered extensively in chapter twelve of Kockum, Keiko, *Itō Sei: Self-analysis and the modern Japanese novel*, Stockholm East Asian Monographs, vol. 7 (Stockholm: Institute of Oriental Languages - Stockholm University, 1994).

⁶⁴ Senuma, *Shimazaki Tōson-sono Shōgai to Sakuhin*, p. 195.

⁶⁵ Kusaka, Masayoshi, *Hakai to Dōwa Kyōiku - Sakubun Shidō wo Tōshite* (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1982), p. 153.

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