

Casting Shadows on Japan's Enlightenment: Sada Kaiseki's Attack on Lamps

M. William Steele

Introduction

This paper seeks to take a new look at the old story of Japan's Westernization in the late nineteenth century. Just as there were powerful arguments on behalf of civilization and enlightenment (*bunmei kaika*), there were equally powerful arguments against change. As a popular woodblock print by Yoshifuji (Figure 1) demonstrates, the early Meiji period was a battleground, sometimes quite literally, between the forces of "enlightenment" (*kaika*) and "retaining past practices" (*injun*). The print depicts various contests underway: the jinrikisha versus the palanquin, Western "bat" umbrellas versus Japanese parasols, Western shoes in contest with Japanese *geta*, the post box struggling with the overland runner, and, quite prominently, the bright lights of the West grappling with Japanese lanterns and candles. To date, much scholarship has concentrated on official and non-official attempts to promote the introduction and use of Western innovations. My task is to take a more nuanced look at conservative side of the picture. Alongside the advance of democratic and scientific forces, the creation of an egalitarian and rational society, due weight must be given to evolving legacies of tradition, nostalgia, skepticism, and cultural conservation which are also part and parcel of what we now call modernity.

The paper focuses on Sada Kaiseki (1818–1884) and other critics of Westernization in the early Meiji period.¹⁾ Sada was trained in the Buddhist Pure Land tradition in Kumamoto and later, in the 1840s, studied Zen in Kyoto. Early on he revealed his conservative bent by criticizing the spread of Dutch Leaning: in the 1860s he wrote a monumental defense of Buddhist cosmology, rejecting any notion that the earth revolved around the sun. After 1868 he moved to Tokyo and emerged as a charismatic champion of the conservative cause. At the time Fukuzawa Yukichi and other enlightenment figures were spreading the gospel of Westernization, Sada was an untiring critic of imported goods, predicting that the introduction of lamps, umbrellas, and other Western goods would lead to the cultural and economic bankruptcy of Japan.

Despite the fact that Sada's name has all but disappeared from studies of the Meiji period, he was, at the time, well known for his campaign against the introduction of Western products and ideas. Indeed he adopted many of the techniques of his opponents who were advancing the cause of Japan's enlightenment and adoption of popular rights. He was a charismatic speaker and toured the Japanese countryside; he encouraged the formation of anti-Western associations and societies; he presented a series of anti-Western



Figure 1: Yoshifuji, “Contest between Foreign and Native Products”

(*Honchō hakurai nigiwai dōgu kurabe*), 1873 (detail)

Source: Author’s collection

petitions to the government; and he used the new mass media to spread his message, writing popular books, editorials for newspapers, and even resorted to humor and satire to advance his argument.²⁾

One of Sada's major concerns was the introduction of Western lamps into Japan. Indeed, he argued that lamps would bring on the destruction of Japan (*Ranpu bōkoku-ron*). Given the rhetoric of Japan's enlightenment, the spread of Western lighting devices was easy to equate with the "bright" rule of the Meiji emperor that had brought an end to a dark feudal past. Coal-oil burning lamps and gas street lights emerged as central symbols of Japan's modernity. A study of Sada Kaiseki, a serious thinker and critic of the West, and tireless opponent of the new bright lights of Meiji, offers a chance to cast shadows on Japan's Westernization process--the central narrative of Japanese modern history.

Parody and the Politics of Resistance

In addition to formal petitions to government authorities, newspaper articles, and academic publications, Sada took up one of the key "weapons of the weak" in attacking the on-going process of Westernization: parody. His "Ranking of Fools" (*Baka no banzuke*), issued around 1878, used a popular format to make a direct appeal to the common people of Japan. (Figure 2) Parody versions of Sumo wrestling ranking sheets (*mitate banzuke*) were common in the Edo period, used to rank all sorts of things, sometimes simply to provide information (where is the best place in Edo to eat grilled eel), but more often with humorous and satirical intent.³⁾ There were rankings of scholars, prostitutes, beauty spots, and fools. Sada Kaiseki's took advantage of this combination of humor and satire to popularize argument against the introduction of things Western.⁴⁾

Sada Kaiseki was a trained Buddhist priest, but many of the objections against the introduction of Western products relied on economics. "There are many different types of fools in this world, but there is no greater fool than the one who fails to use domestic products and instead demands the use of foreign imports, thereby causing day by day and month by month increasing amounts of capital to flow out of the country, thus leading the country to ruin." Many examples are given. The two Ozeki: "East—Japanese people who turn down rice and other grains and instead profess a love of bread." "West—People who give up using domestically produced rape seed oil or fish oil and instead depend on imported coal oil for lighting." Farmers were chided for turning their rice paddies into tea and mulberry fields; government officials were ridiculed for gathering at a western beef serving restaurants to discuss the imbalance of imports and exports, as were scholars who could speak foreign language fluently but who were unable to manage their personal affairs. In all some 42 fools were identified, and charged with the crime of abandoning Japanese products (lamps, toys, Japanese brush and paper, sake, musical instruments, headgear and haircuts, etc.) in favor of Western products, much to the detriment of the country.

Other Critics of Westernization

Of course, Sada was not alone in arguing against attempts to Westernize Japan. Recent scholarship has shown there were many people in "modernizing Japan" who failed to embrace modernity.⁵⁾ One print artist who literally cast shadows on Japan's enlightenment was Kobayashi Kiyochika (1847–1915).⁶⁾ As a young Tokugawa retainer,

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國産のみ袋を以て
船末の船蝸合を以て
日本の櫛を以てはばくち
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茶業を以てはばくち
ハコを好む日本人
米穀を食むるを以て

Figure 2: "A Ranking of Fools" (*Baka no banzuke*), c. 1878
 Source: Hayashi Hideo, ed., *Banzuke de yomu Edo jidai*, Kashiwa Shobō, 2003.

A Ranking of Fools

There are many different types of fools in this world, but there is no greater fool than the one who fails to use domestic products and instead demands the use of foreign imports, thereby causing day by day and month by month increasing amounts of capital to flow out of the country, thus leading the country to ruin. This parody of a playbill (*mitate banzuke*) presents a ranking of all of these fools.

• EAST	WEST
<p>• Ozeki</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The people of Japan who turn down rice and other grains and instead profess a love of bread. <p>• Sekiwake</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People who destroy perfectly good rice fields and instead seek to harvest tea and mulberry for silk <p>• Komusubi</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Members of parliament who decry the imbalance of exports and imports, but who hold parties in Western-style restaurants <p>Maegashira</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People who reject the use of umbrellas made in Japan and instead insist on using imported Western “bat” umbrellas • People who pull out Japanese trees and in their place plant trees that secrete a sticky substance • People who abandon the use of Japanese silk and cotton and instead take delight in wearing Western clothes • People who give up the use of Japanese paper that is deemed excellent beyond comparison in foreign countries, and instead insist on using imported paper • People who look down on Japanese lanterns and instead use gas lamps • Buddhist priests who wear white robes but preen about with Western haircuts • Commoner girls with unattractive faces but who keep their teeth white 	<p>Ozeki</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People who give up using domestically produced rape seed oil or fish oil and instead depend on imported coal oil for lighting <p>Sekiwake</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People who end their association with long-standing merchant firms and instead form companies (<i>kaisha</i>) and go bankrupt as a result <p>Komusubi</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speechmakers who can talk fluently in foreign languages about national economic issues, but don't know how to take care of themselves <p>Maegashira</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People who abandon the use of domestically produced cotton headgear and instead cover their heads with scarves that look like furoshiki • People who get rid of Japanese dogs and instead prize Western dogs • Japanese people who tear down wooden houses and build houses made of brick and stone • Japanese people who no longer drink sake but instead prefer to drink beer and champagne • Tea masters who no longer use domestically produced pottery, but instead use Chinese cups made with red-tinged clay • Shinto practitioners who no longer follow the practices of Shinto unique to Japan, but instead respect Western ways

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commoners who endure painful feet but insist on wearing imported shoes • People who throw away their Japanese zabuton and instead put imported carpets on their floors • People who think that even horse piss, if put in an imported bottle, will be transformed into excellent medicine • Children who prefer to play with balls rather than fly Japanese kites • Buddhist priests who are entranced with Western learning and entertain doubts in Buddhist teachings • People who prize foreign ironwood in favor of fine native wood such as mulberry black persimmon [for woodcraft] • People who wash their private parts with Western soap and make complaints at the public bathhouse • Japanese people who ride down rivers on small Western boats (bateria) • Japanese people who give up on Japanese musical instruments such as the koto and shamisen and instead take delight in Western music boxes (orugoro) [the organ?] • Japanese people who abandon the use of domestic fire lighting sticks and prefer to use matches • People who imitate the natural features of foreign countries and use a reddish color when they paint eyes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People who think that allowing their hair to grow indiscriminately will make them civilized • Japanese people who abandon the use of brush and ink and instead use pens • Japanese people who hate to wear silk and cotton underwear and instead wear shirts • People who think that anything with a peppermint taste in a tin container is good medicine for all ills • Girls who no longer play with Japanese sting balls (<i>temari</i>) but instead prefer playing with imported balls • Shinto practitioners who do not know the proper pronunciation of Japanese words but like to read Western books • Fashionable people who no longer wear Japanese hoods but instead prefer to wear a chapeau • People who give up using lacquer that is deemed excellent beyond comparison in foreign countries, and instead use a foreign varnish (<i>henurushi</i>) • People who take delight in wearing rings made out of foreign silver • Japanese people who abandon the use of kotatsu and instead warm themselves with a fireplace • Commoners who no longer use Japanese lanterns but instead walk around with square hand-lanterns • People who relax their work in forestry and instead take up hunting as a side job
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Kanjinmoto Sponsors

Merchants of imported goods that betray the lifeblood of their country
 Japanese craftsmen who have abandoned fine craftsmanship
 and instead prefer things made by machines



Figure 3: Kobayashi Kiyochika, “Mt. Fuji at Dusk from Edo Bridge,” 1879
 Source: Machida City Museum of Graphic Arts

Kobayashi resisted the destruction of the old regime in 1868. He followed the last shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, into exile in Shizuoka and spent some years of wandering before emerging as a creative and highly original master of woodblock prints (*nishiki-e*) in the late 1870s. Largely self-trained, Kiyochika, as he came to be known, experimented with Western perspective and made effective use of light and shadows. His early Tokyo landscapes (1876–1881) showed a particular fascination with shadows. Henry Smith reckons that about one-fourth of his Tokyo views were night scenes.⁷⁾ One good example is his “Mt. Fuji at Dusk from Edo Bridge,” 1879. (Figure 3) According to Smith, “Perhaps it was Kiyochika’s fascination with gaslight, given form only by the cover of night, that accounts for his persistent concern in the Tokyo series with the rendering of darkness itself.” He referred to an essay by Maeda Ai that suggested Kobayashi’s shadows were a sort of nostalgia for his own Edo past as a bakufu retainer—a past that was being quickly erased by the bright lights of Meiji.⁸⁾

Around the same time, a number of *gesaku* comic writers were busy poking fun at Japan’s attempt at cultural transformation. Kanagaki Robun’s *Aguranabe* (1871) beef-eating narrative is well known: “Samurai, farmer, artisan, or trader, oldster, youngster, boy or girl, clever or stupid, poor or elite. You won’t get civilized if you don’t eat meat!”⁹⁾ John Mertz introduces other writers such as Mantei Ōga (1819–90) who in the 1870s wrote a series of attacks on the new modernity, some of them directed at Fukuzawa.¹⁰⁾ For example, Mantei’s “A Toad Fed Up on Modernity” (*Kinsei akiregaeru*) (Figure 4) tells the story of a giant toad disillusioned with the new age. The toad with the powers of human speech stands guard at a deserted pond in central Tokyo. The pond has become polluted



Figure 4: Mantei Ōga, “A Toad Fed Up on Modernity” (*Kinsei akiregaeru*), 1874
 Source: *Kyōsai Sashie (I): Kyōsai’s Illustrations from Novels and Humorous Writings*,
 Kyōsai Memorial Museum, 1985.



Figure 5: Mantei Ōga, “Sparrows of Learning” (*Gakumon no suzume*), 1874
 Source: *Kyōsai Sashie (I)*

because butchers have taken to disposing blood and meat waste in its waters at night. The toad warns people not to drink the polluted water and proceeds to lecture them on “Toad Disillusionment.” In once instance, the toad expresses his disappointment with the new gas street lamps: “The new night lights helps to illuminate the path for passersby, but fails to shed light on the darkness of the human soul.”¹¹⁾ As John Mertz notes, “The image of the ‘fed up toad’ is a displacement of Ōga’s own desire to make his readers aware of the devastating consequences of modernization and is consistent with his earlier and later works.”¹²⁾

Another is Mantei’s *Gakumon no suzume* (Sparrows of Learning) (Figure 5), a damming

parody of Fukuzawa's famous text, *Gakumon no susume* (An Encouragement of Learning) that champions the integrity and ideals of Eastern sparrows.¹³ Its opening line is a frontal attack on Fukuzawa and on the new morality: "It was indeed Heaven that created some men above others and some men below others!"¹⁴

Mantei Oga also took aim at lamps. In his satirical compendium of modern "conveniences" introduced from the West, published in 1874 under the whimsical title, *Tōkyō hanagenuki* (Pulling out nose hairs in Tokyo), Mantei composed satirical verses that accompanied illustrations by Kawanabe Kyōsai. For lamps, observing that the new lights were a new source of eye strain, he wrote: "Eye medicine and eye glasses are big sellers these days!" And, echoing the disillusionment of the "fed up toad," the verse attached to "Street Lamp" ran: "Brighter than a street lamp is the light from burning fingernail clippings if you want to see into the heart of man." (the epitome of stinginess, according to an ancient Chinese proverb, was to burn one's fingernail clippings for light).¹⁵

Ōga Mantei's illustrator, the famous Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831–1889), and his satirical cartoon account of Japan's enlightenment (Kyōsai rakuga), can be counted as another powerful attack on the Westernization process.¹⁶ In one print, *Bakebake gakkō*, 1874 (The School for Spooks), Kyōsai depicts monsters learning how to be civilized [Figure 6]; in another (*Fudo Myō-o no kaikai*, 1874) the Buddhist God of Fire, the Fudō Myō-ō, is shown reading a modern newspaper while an acolyte cuts up meat for the new beefeater. Another (*Jigoku no bunmei kaika*, 1873) shows the introduction of enlightenment into hell—Emma, Hell's gatekeeper, is having his hair cut in Western fashion and is about to be crowned with a top hat while other demons have their horns cut off.

Lamps Will Destroy the Country

The first gas street lamps in Japan were installed in Yokohama in 1872; they quickly spread to Tokyo and other parts of Japan and emerged as one of the chief symbols of Japan's new age of enlightenment.¹⁷ Woodblock print depictions of Tokyo in the 1870s invariably included gas lamps in addition to telegraph lines, wheeled vehicles (including the jinriksha), bat umbrellas, and of course the steam locomotive. (Figure 7) Electric lights appeared on Ginza in the 1890s, but gas lighting remained the mainstay until the early 20th century.

In addition, kerosene lamps brought the new light of civilization into people's homes. Kerosene was initially distilled in 1846 by Abraham Gesner, a Canadian physician and geologist known as the father of the modern petroleum industry. Kerosene (or coal oil as it was commonly known) quickly replaced whale oil and other vegetable oils then in use as illuminants. The new oil burned cleaner and was less expensive than whale oil. The invention of a clean-burning kerosene lamp in 1857 revolutionized home lighting in the West, and from the 1870s, in Japan. Sada Kaiseki took aim precisely at these lamps, responsible for bringing Japan out of an age of darkness and tied so closely with the bright new Meiji government and its enlightenment policies. In 1878 he published a major attack on lamps: *Ranpu bokoku-ron* (Lamps and National Collapse). In it he listed 16 ways the introduction of lamps would spell disaster for Japan. In summary, his arguments were that lamps:



Figure 6: Kawanabe Kyōsai, “A School for Spooks” (*Bakebake gakkō*), 1874
 Source: Kawanabe Kyōsai Memorial Museum



Figure 7: “Famous Sites of Enlightenment Tokyo: Nohon-bashi”

(*Tokyo kaika meisho zue no uchi: Nihon-bashi*)

Source: ICU Library Collection

1. would waste money every night
2. would destroy domestic industries
3. would disrupt the economy
4. would hurt the livelihoods of farmers and craftsmen
5. would cause the price of lumber to rise
6. would encourage the use of rail transport
7. would encourage the import of foreign goods
8. would necessitate improved fire fighting techniques
9. would cause death by fire
10. would eventually cause the entire country to go up in flames.
11. would create new fire hazards
12. would burn down residential areas in villages and cities
13. would increase the five vices and cause a decline in morality
14. would cause an increase in crime and the number of criminals
15. would cause eyesight problems
16. would increase the ferocity of fires, leaving victims with nothing.¹⁸⁾

Sada Kaiseki was concerned about fire, morality, and failing eyesight, but his main argument was economic: the introduction of kerosene lamps would destroy native industries and make Japan dependent on foreign resources. The candle industry would collapse; the rape seed and fish oil industry would be destroyed; in fact, Kaiseki calculated that the introduction of lamps would lead to the destruction of 131 domestic industries.

At first Kaiseki argued against the use of all foreign conveniences, but soon realized the need to make compromises. He admitted that he depended on trains when he went on speaking tours. By 1881 he announced the invention of the *kankōtō*, a Japanese light “brighter than lamps” that used rape seed oil produced in Japan. He maintained that this and other examples of indigenous technology would save the country from financial ruin. Sada advertised his invention, listing some seven virtues of the Japanese lamp: 1) it would stop Japan from being dependent on foreign coal-oil, leading to an annual savings of over 10,000,000 yen; 2) it would be brighter; 3) it would be less harmful to the eyes; 4) it would be less prone to fire; 5) it would not produce black soot; 6) it would lead to the invigoration of the domestic rape seed industry; 7) it would invigorate the domestic fertilizer industry, because the byproduct of rape seed oil production could be sold as fertilizer.¹⁹⁾

Sada Kaiseki was a conservative, but he was not a reactionary; nor was he a narrow-minded nationalist. He simply believed that peoples everywhere were different. Japan, by the force of its history, geography, climate, human character, and physical endowment, was different from other countries in the world. And when he argued against “civilization and enlightenment,” his barbs were directed against the intrusion of Western “civilization and enlightenment” which threatened Japan’s own “civilization and enlightenment.” Indeed, Kaiseki was remarkably free of racial bias or arguments based on hierarchy. In typical fashion, he listed 13 differences between economic development in Japan and the West, and was willing to admit that the West, in many ways, was superior to Japan:

1. Machine-made versus hand-made: Westerners excel in making things by

- machine; Japanese excel in making things by hand.
2. Famine years: Westerners eat meat and therefore suffer fewer years of famine; Japanese eat grain and therefore are unable to avoid years of famine.
 3. History of foreign trade: Westerners have developed trade in their various countries over the past 300 to 500 years whereas we in Japan have only 10 years experience.
 4. Entrepreneurship: Westerners are very passionate about trade, whereas we are still immature, underdeveloped and not yet spirited.
 5. Capital accumulation: Westerners have a great deal of property and capital, whereas we have little.
 6. Trade products: All Western products are usable in Japan, whereas most of Japan's products are not suitable for Western markets.
 7. Type of products: All of the products that come to Japan from overseas are manufactured, whereas most of the products sent from Japan to overseas markets are natural products or raw materials.
 8. Sphere of commercial activity: Foreign countries concentrate on foreign trade whereas in Japan, domestic commerce is given priority.
 9. Agriculture versus industry and commerce: Western countries are highly developed in industry and commerce; our country is based on agriculture.
 10. Patience and long-term thinking: Westerners are patient in overcoming difficulties whereas Japanese are not. Foreigners seek success coming after one, two, or even three generations. Japanese people give in too easily.
 11. Navigation over the seas: Foreigners are better by temperament than Japanese in sailing long distances over the world.
 12. Love of domestic products: Japanese natural products are better in quality than similar products from foreign countries.
 13. Value placed on antiquity: Westerners place value on newness and look down on things old; Japanese and Chinese place value on things old and look down on things new.²⁰⁾

Kaiseki was concerned to protect Japan from Western cultural imperialism, but at the same time he sought to nurture the Japanese economy. His 1878 book on economic theory published was titled *Saibai keizai-ron*, indicating a concern to cultivate or nurture the economy. He defined economy (*keizai*) simply as the exchange of goods between places, but noted that some countries, such as Japan, placed priorities on domestic commerce and limited trade relations with foreign countries, whereas other countries took the opposite approach, maximizing foreign trade and minimizing the importance of domestic exchange. (Figure 8) In both cases, however, the cultivation of wealth required human effort. "Good and bad, healthy and ill, wealthy and poor: the former is something that everyone wants but is hard to obtain; the later is something that everyone doesn't want but is easy to obtain."²¹⁾ Sada's book attempted to show how Japan could and should nurture wealth and shun poverty. And he was no simple agronomist. He accepted change and attempted to profit from it. *Saibai keizai-ron* is full of examples of wealth gained through the spread of new techniques and new technologies. And in further contrast to Confucian economic thought, Sada placed particular emphasis on

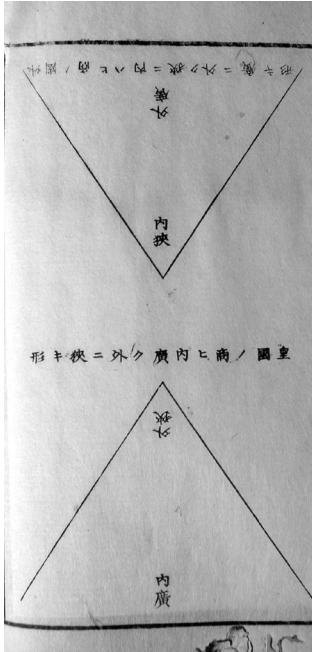


Figure 8: Sada Kaiseki's representation of different economic systems
 Source: *Saibai keizai-ron*, jō 1878, fascicle 25

consumption. The key to making the country wealthy, he declared, was to find ways to increase consumption. He was no moralist; he rejected calls for frugality and declared that the consumption of luxury goods and even money spent on prostitutes would enrich the country. The problem was how to avoid the lure of foreign goods, the consumption of which would harm rather than help the economy. Sada was thus in favor of growth, change, new products, and new techniques so long as they contributed to preserve Japan's cultural and economic integrity; like his arch rival Fukuzawa, he was very much a child of the enlightenment.

Conclusion

How can a study of Sada Kaiseki and other critics of Westernization help us understand Japan's modern experience? In writing the history of modern Japan, historians often exaggerate the narrative of change, highlighting the process of Westernization and industrialization. Recent scholarship has given special attention to voices of opposition, nostalgia, conservation, and antimodernity. In addition to the heroic story of Japan's modernization, it is equally possible to construct narratives emphasizing the role of tradition or even antimodernity in modern Japan.²²⁾ The civilization and enlightenment movement that began in the 1870s challenged and in many cases destroyed established political, economic, social and cultural conventions and institutions. But the process was not immediate, nor did it go uncontested. Sada Kaiseki and other critics of Westernization sought to maintain established ways of doing things; they were defenders of tradition. We should be aware, however, that the notion of tradition itself was a modern invention. In the Meiji period the urge to preserve, to retain past practices and values, was as novel as the urge to adopt the trappings of civilization and enlightenment.²³⁾ To properly understand the modernization of Japan, we need to

include both the voices of resistance and those voices that proclaimed the need to promote change. The short haircut song is well known: “Tap a head cut short and it will shout out *bunmei kaika*; tap an unshaven head and it will resound with *kosoku injun*—go back to the past.” My argument is that we need to pay equal attention to both sides of this historical equation. What would England be like without the contributions of Ruskin, Morris, and the National Trust? I imagine it would be like Japan without Sada Kaiseki, Okakura Kakuzō, Yanagi Sōetsu and others who defended the integrity of Japanese society and culture.

Notes:

- 1) David Howell referred to Sada Kaiseki in a talk he gave in 2000, “Embracing Modernity in Meiji Japan,” available on the internet (<http://www.macalester.edu/courses/asia11/howell.html>, accessed September 10, 2006); otherwise apart from a brief appearance in George Sansom’s *The Western World and Japan* (Random House, 1949, p. 367), he appears to be absent from English scholarship. In Japanese, an introduction to Sada’s life and thought is presented in two essays: a chapter in Oku Takenori’s book *Bunmei kaika to minshū* [Commoners and Bunmei Kaika], Shinhyōron, 1993, and a chapter in Tanaka Satoshi’s book, *Kaibutsu kagakusha no jidai* [The Age of Ghost and Monster Scientists], Sōbunsha, 1998. Honjō Eijirō edited a selection of Sada’s writings, especially his major thesis on economics, *Saibai keizai-ron*, first published in 1878, in *Shakai keizai-ron, Meiji bunka sōsho*, vol. 1, Nihon Hyōronsha, 1941. The accompanying commentary (*kaisetsu*) by Honjō is especially useful. *Saibai keizai-ron* was also reprinted in *Meiji bunka zenshū, shisō-hen*, vol. 15, Nihon Hyōronsha, 1929, pp. 307–410.
- 2) In 1874, one year after the formation of the Meiji Six Society, Sada submitted a 23 point memorial to the Japanese government, arguing against “bunmei kaika” in general, and in particular: the solar calendar, Western seating, Western clothing, Western learning, Western forms of etiquette, Western military reform, Western buildings, railroads, taxes, freedom and autonomy, the care of forests and mountains, and 10 other worries over the Westernization of Japan. The 23 point memorial, and all other of Sada Kaiseki’s numerous memorials to the Meiji government, are included in Irokawa Daisuke, ed., *Meiji kenpaku shūsei*, 9 vols., Chikuma Shobō, 2000. The 23 point memorial is reproduced in vol. 3, pp. 922–72.
- 3) The use of Sumo playbills for parody purposes has been discussed in several recent books, including Ishikawa Hideo, *Dai Edo banzuke jōjo*, Kōdansha, 2004 and Hayashi Hideo, ed., *Banzuke de yomu Edo jidai*, Kashiwa Shobō, 2003. The *Banzuke de yomu Edo jidai* includes a discussion of *Baka no banzuke* in a section by Iwaki Noriko, “Ishin to bunmei kaika,” pp. 108–117.
- 4) In 1882, Sada published a book of popular anti-Western jingles: “Yo o naoshi iroha uta, Yonaoshi itotsutose bushi.” One of the verses ridiculed people who persisted in using kerosene even after their house had been repeatedly burnt to the ground. The booklet is available online from the Japan National Diet Library Digital Book Archive: http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/BIImgFrame.php?JP_NUM=40032019&VOL_NUM=00000&KOMA=2&ITYPE=0
- 5) Brian Platt, *Burning and Building: Schooling and State Formation in Japan, 1750–1890*, Harvard University Press, 2004. Gerald Figal, *Civilization and Monsters: Spirits of Modernity in Meiji Japan*, Duke University Press, 1999. Mark Ravina, *The Last Samurai: The Life and Battles of Saigō Takamori*, John Wiley & Sons, 2004. I once focused on one family, the Ishizaka of Notsuda, who did embrace modernity. (M. William Steele, “The Ishizaka of Notsuda, a Family in Transition,” in Anne Walthall, ed., *The Living Tradition in Modern Japan*, Scholarly Resources, 2002). Ishizaka Shōko rose from a small village headman to become an elected member of the National Diet and later Governor of Gumma Prefecture. I could have just as easily examined the Kojima family in the neighboring village of Onoji. Kojima Tamemasa was Ishizaka Shōka’s close friend and confidant in the 1860s, but after 1868 refused to cut his hair, change his dress, or leave his village. He remained a teacher of Confucian texts and calligraphy. His example is a good reminder that the scale and speed of Japan’s modern transformation is easily exaggerated.
- 6) For insights into the life and work of Kiyochika, see Henry Smith, *Kiyochika; Artist of Meiji Japan*, Santa

- Barbara Museum of Art, 1988.
- 7) Ibid, p. 38.
 - 8) Ibid. See Maeda Ai, “Kiyochika no hikari to yami,” in Maeda Ai, *Toshi kukan no naka no bungaku*, Chikuma Shobō, 1982, pp. 118–24.
 - 9) John Mertz discusses works by Kanagawa Robun in his *Novel Japan*, “Fashioning Modernity at the Beef Pot,” pp. 1–30. The quotation is on page 1. For a translation of “The Beefeater,” see Donald Keene, “Modern Japanese Literature,” Grove Press, 1956.
 - 10) John Mertz, *Novel Japan: Spaces of Nationhood in Early Meiji Narrative, 1870–88*, Center for Japan Studies, University of Michigan, 2003.
 - 11) *Kinsei akiregaeru*, reprinted in Kawanabe Kasumi, ed., *Kawanabe sashie-shu* (I), Kawanabe Kinen-kan, 1985, pp. 194–96. John Mertz has translated “Toad Fed Up with Modernity”: <http://www4.ncsu.edu/~fljpm/FL394/Mantei.Toad.pdf>
 - 12) Mertz, *Novel Japan*, pp. 76–77.
 - 13) A selection of Mantei’s writings are included in Okitsu Kaname, ed., *Meiji kaikaki bungaku-shu, Meiji bungaku zenshu*, vol. 1, Chikuma Shobō, 1966, including “Kinsei akiregaeru” (A Toad Fed Up With Modernity). Kawanabe Kyōsai was the chief illustrator for Mantei’s works. Reprints of his illustrations may be found in Kawanabe Kasumi, ed., *Kawanabe sashie-shu* (I), Kawanabe Kinen-kan, 1985; *Kinsei akiregaeru*, pp. 194–96, *Gakumon no suzume*, pp. 216–218.
 - 14) Quoted in Oikawa Shigeru and Yamaguchi Seiichi, *Kyōsai no giga*, Tokyo Shoseki, 1992.
 - 15) Kawanabe Kasumi, ed., *Kawanabe sashie-shu* (I), Kawanabe Kinen-kan, 1985, pp. 183–84.
 - 16) Timothy Clark, *Demon of Painting: The Art of Kawanabe Kyōsai*, British Museum Press, 1993. The “School for Spooks” is introduced on p. 127. “In Kyōsai’s topsy-turvy ‘school for spooks’ there are two classrooms: in the background Shoki the Demon queller, dressed in Western-style uniform, is instructing the demons from hell with the aid of pictures, teaching them various useful pieces of hell-related vocabulary such as ‘flaming chariot of fire’ (*hi no kuruma*), ‘needle mountain’ (*hari no yama*), and ‘iron cudgel’ (*testsu no bo*); while the Thunder God, dressed in the top hat of a school inspector, looks on. In the next class *kappa* (mythical water creatures) are being taught words in the roman alphabet for their favourite things—cucumbers, rivers and *shirikodama* (a ball of meat inside the anus they were supposed to suck out if you fell into the river). More demons who are trying to enter through the school gates get blown away by the head of the Wind God, mounted in the lantern above the entrance—presumably for failing the entrance exam. A Western umbrella has sprouted legs and is trying to run away; but even hell imagery cannot escape the march of progress.” (p. 127) Another print from the Kyōsai rakuga series, “The Enlightenment of Fudō Myō-ō” is described on p. 126. The immovable deity “has finally been forced to move with the times and follow the fads of Civilization and Enlightenment. ... Fudō sits engrossed in reading *Shinbun zasshi*, a weekly propaganda organ of the Ministry of Education that enthused about Western customs. Seitaka, his boy attendant with the red skin gingerly slices chunks of meat for dinner.” The “Enlightenment Comes to Hell” picture shows Emma, the King of Hell, getting a Western Style hair cut about to don a silk hat. Other demons are having their horns trimmed. Kawanabe Kyōsai has long attracted the interest of Western scholars and artists. Joseph Condor, the architect responsible for many of the Western-style buildings of the Meiji period (including the Rokumeikan), produced one of the first comprehensive studies on Kyōsai: *Paintings and Studies by Kawanabe Kyōsai: An Illustrated and Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings, Studies and Sketches, by the Above Artist, with Explanatory Notes on the Principles, Materials, and Technique, of Japanese Painting*, Maruzen, 1911. For more recent scholarship, see Oikawa Shigeru, *Saigo no ukiyoe-shi: Kawanabe Kyōsai to hankotsu no bigaku*, NHK Books, 1998, Yasumara Toshinobu, *Kawanabe Kyōsai, bakumatsu-Meiji no gaka-tachi*, Perikansha, 1992. On Kyōsai’s caricatures, including illustrations of Mantei Ōga’s works, see Oikawa Shigeru and Yamaguchi Seiichi, *Kyōsai no giga*, Tōkyō Shoseki, 1992. Oikawa Shigeru (Japan Women’s University and University of Paris) recently gave a talk on Kyōsai’s illustrations at the International Symposium held at the University of Vienna, “Caricatures on Japanese Woodblock Prints in the 19th Century,” (May, 2006): “Caricatures by Kawanabe Kyōsai in the works by Mantei Ōga.”
 - 17) On the history of gas lighting in Japan, see *Nihon toshi gasu sangyo-shi*, Nihon Gasu Kyōkai, 1997 and *Yokohama gasu-shi*, 1971. See also Edo-Tokyo Hakubutsukan, ed., *Akari no ima-mukashi: hikari to jito no*

- Edo-Tokyo shi*, Edo Tokyo Hakubutsukan, 1995.
- 18) The text for “Ranpu no bokoku-ron,” can be found in Honjo Eijiro, ed., *Shakai keizai-ron, Meiji bunka sosho*, vol. 1, Nihon Hyoronsha, 1941.
 - 19) Tanaka, Satoshi, p. 29.
 - 20) Oka, Takenori, pp. 132–34.
 - 21) *Saibai keizai-ron shohen*, jō (vol. 1), 1878, fascicle 5–6.
 - 22) Albert Craig’s 1960 insights into the Meiji Restoration are relevant here: he concluded that the Restoration was a revolution carried out in the name of old values. Albert Craig, *Chōshū in the Meiji Restoration*, Harvard University Press, 1960s, p. 360. For a study of of the forces of anti-modernity in modern Japan, see Steele, “Higashi wa nishi, nishi wa higashi: hankindai-shugi to mingei no haken,” in Kumakura, Isao, *Yanagi Sōetsu to mingei undō*, Shibunkaku, 2005, pp. 115–139.
 - 23) The word that served to describe tradition, *dentō*, was not in common use until the early years of the twentieth century.