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From the Brothel, to the Body: the Relocation of Male Sexuality in Japan's Prostitution Debate, 1870-1920

Abstract

This dissertation argues that the Japanese debate over prostitution regulation between the 1870s and the 1910s saw a fundamental shift in the construction of male sexuality as a political tool. Before the turn of the century the Protestant Christian "abolitionists" and the brothel-keeping "regulationists" who debated Japan's system of licensed prostitution did not describe erotic desire as an inherent property of male bodies; rather, both camps asserted that men did not experience erotic desire unless they visited brothels. On that shared understanding, the two sides debated whether desire itself was desirable: while abolitionists argued that desire harmed society by training men to use women as tools for pleasure, their opponents argued that the experience of desire stabilized male psyches.

After the turn of the century both camps reformulated their arguments based on the assumption that all male bodies harbored an instinctual desire for sex. Regulationists adopted the notion with gusto. And abolitionists proved no less willing, as they came to describe male sexual desire as the impetus for the romantic love that created stable families, and argued that commercial sex disrupted the natural courtship process. In the 1910s, secular feminists deployed the male sex drive to advocate for legislation to empower women within marriages.

The political use of the sexual instinct put male sexuality at the heart of several forms of social policy and critique. Therefore the debate over prostitution regulation is emblematic of the larger discourse on male sexuality as a subject of government intervention and social-policy activism.

Acknowledgements

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Introduction

This dissertation is about politics, not sex. True, it investigates discourses on sexuality *as* politics; but this does not entail an investigation into the sexual practices of the brothel or of the home. Moreover, this dissertation does not examine the lives of those I term "pleasure workers" or the circumstances in which they labored in brothel districts. Other scholars have done this to great effect. Indeed, without such scholarship to draw on, this project would not be possible. Furthermore, although this dissertation gives sustained attention to the roots of the demand-side of prostitution, it does not seek out or ask questions of individual brothel clients about their subjective experiences. Rather than the above, this dissertation gives sustained attention to a discursive reconstruction of male sexuality as a political tool in Japan in the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century.

In other words, between 1870 and 1920, a new conception of the fundamental nature of male sexuality replaced a previous one in the arguments of the prostitution-regulation debate; this dissertation tracks and interprets this change. In brief, the change was from debating policy based on the shared understanding that male erotic desire was contingent on a man's visiting a brothel, to debating policy based on the shared understanding that all men carried sexual desire within themselves at all times, requiring no external stimulus. The specific example in question is the debate over whether the Japanese government should continue to regulate prostitution through a two-layer system of officially-recognized brothels that indentured prostitute women through advance payments to their heads of households (usually their fathers), and of specialized hospitals that vaginally examined and sometimes incarcerated them, all administered by a strict and also specialized police apparatus. This system was in effect in Japan between the 1870s to

the end of the Second World War; however, because the discursive change in question ossified in the 1910s, it should suffice to extend the analysis only to 1920.

The Beginnings of "From the Brothel to the Body"

This project began from my reading of feminist theory from the 1970s and 1980s; my first engagement was reading Laura Mulvey's groundbreaking essay—"Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema"—while serving as a teaching assistant for a course on Japanese manga. (However, this dissertation is not a male-gaze analysis.) The essay, written in 1973 and published in *Screen* in 1975, details a psychoanalytic theory of "where and how the fascination of film is reinforced by *pre-existing* patterns of fascination already at work within the individual [male] subject and the social formations that have molded him."[1] Mulvey's argument that visual imagery of women interacts with the male subconscious precludes the intervention by the man's conscious mind. That is: "The cinema satisfies a *primordial* wish for pleasurable looking . . ."[2] Mulvey's particular contribution was to phrase male sexuality in terms of both psychoanalysis in its source and specifically linked to viewing in behavior, and many feminists have continued to do this under the broader rubric of "objectification." But as the following pages demonstrate, feminists around the world had long used this framework in a more expansive way.

I appreciate the utility of the "male gaze" framework. Across the twentieth century, feminists made highly-effective use of the idea that male sexual instincts inevitably guided male behavior in ways that damaged women's interests in particular as well as society's interests in general. Arguments constructed on this basis have been crucial to anti-sexual-discrimination and -harassment legislation, reform of rape investigation and prosecution, and more. This sea-change

[1] Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen*, vol. 16, no. 3 (Autumn 1975), p. 6.

[2] Ibid., p. 11. Current author's emphasis.

in attitudes and policies with respect to gender in society would not have come about without a large-scale problematization of male sexuality as a social-policy issue based on the assumption that men are always already prone to viewing women as sexual objects, and to do so in ways that incorporate denigration and violence. As opposed to viewing women as the source of sexual feelings within the man—"blaming the victim"—this framework rightly placed responsibility on individual men to control their supposedly-innate tendencies and charged society with enforcing this self-control. Therefore, the governmentality of male sexual desire has had a profound, positive impact on structural and physical violence against women in the United States and across much of the globe.

But it occurred to me that the underlying framework of Mulvey's analyses—which discursively roots male sexuality within the male body and the "primordial" evolutionary past is equally amenable to deployment in arguments against feminist calls for change. Any assertion that a man's sexual makeup is the product of evolution tends to validate it; thus her premise that male sexuality is inherently objectifying as a result of primordial forces can be used to support any status quo with equal logical force. The following pages describe the longer history of this interpretation of what I will term "male sexual-instinct theory" or "the notion of the male sexual instinct," demonstrating that it came to be used by both those who supported and those who opposed changes to the legal and social structures governing sexuality and sexual behavior, with prostitution being the most salient of these.

As I read Mulvey's and other feminist works in this vein, I became ever more interested in the political deployment of male sexual-instinct theory. I hear its basic premises invoked in every conversation on sexuality in both Japan and the United States; in discussions of the influence of male sexuality on women's self-images through the mechanism of media

representations of women, for example. According to these arguments, such phenomena as the private consumption of pornography and the public consumption of advertisements both reflect inherent male preferences and perfuse them into society.

As a historian, I decided to seek out early examples of rhetoric that make a political tool of this vision of male sexuality. As a historian of Japan, I decided to start my research in Harvard's Asian-studies library.

And as one does in starting a scholarly project, I cast about attempting to find the right source material.

It soon became clear that by the time Mulvey wrote in 1973, the idea of an instinctual male sexual desire was all but set in stone. It was also clear that this observation applied to Japan. This meant that Japanese history made a suitable context in which to study the development of this way of thinking. And to find out when and how this discourse became entrenched, it seemed necessary to look to materials from the prewar period. Because my interest started with feminist advocacy for policy change, I decided to pursue earlier manifestations of the social-policy activism surrounding male sexuality. Prewar Japan did not lend itself to a study of critique against pornography because, unlike the United States, it had no substantial debate over pornography. While pornography was banned, and prosecutions of pornographers did take place there, Japan had no iconic "moment" of the antipornography activism that led to something analogous to the U.S. Comstock Act of 1873, which criminalized the use of the mail to distribute material deemed obscene. There was likewise no corollary to the 1930 Hays Code governing film. Instead, these matters were decided largely behind closed doors between film producers and government censors.

What Japan did have was an active, and protracted, debate over prostitution regulation. I soon learned that the debate stretched from the 1870s up to the Anti-Prostitution Law of 1956, and indeed beyond that; but my interests settled on the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century because I discovered that it was then that a fundamental change in the discourse of male sexuality occurred; it was in this crucial period that debaters on both sides came to rely on three assertions about male sexuality: it had primordial, evolutionary roots; it represented either potential benefit or harm to society; and that it was the government's duty to shape institutions that would maximize its benefits to society while minimizing its costs. As an addendum to the third assertion, social-policy-advocacy groups such as Protestants, the brothel lobby, and secular feminists asserted their own authority in coaching the government in that task.

But what was the "before" picture to this "after"? The two texts that first crystallized my understanding of late-nineteenth-century discourses as dramatically different from twentieth-century ones were *Girō zenpai* (The Complete Elimination of Brothels) and *Sonpai jissai ron* (On the Realities of Regulation and Abolition). The two texts were written at nearly the same time, the former in December 1889 and the latter in March of 1890. Something in how the two authors described the basis of prostitution seemed fundamentally different from the representation it found in the twentieth century. The Complete Elimination of Brothels in particular has an intriguing passage. In it, Protestant abolitionist Iwamoto Yoshiharu wrote that brothel visits "stir lustful feelings." It is intuitive that Iwamoto referred to the awakening of previously-dormant, but also previously-extant desires. Repeated readings and further analysis, given in Chapter Two, revealed to me that in this passage Iwamoto actually described desire not as a dormant characteristic of young men. In fact it was as if it had not existed at all! Even more surprising in a way was that rereading the other text, On the Realities of Regulation and

Abolition, the same held true for regulationist as well. The two works became the core of the second chapter of this dissertation, which in turn can be taken as the heart of the dissertation as a whole.

The realization that an identical understanding of male sexuality underlay both regulationists and abolitionist arguments in the above two texts, written at nearly the same time, became a theme of this dissertation as I became more interested in what regulationists and abolitionists agreed on at any one time than I was interested in what they disputed. A gunfight cannot happen unless the gunslingers agree to meet in front of the same saloon; and while a debate requires that the two sides have their individual motivations and ideals, it is also based on a shared belief in the stakes, the fundamental forces in play, and the means of intervention. The following is an attempt to decipher how, in successive eras, those who agreed to debate regulation constructed these stakes, forces, and means—and when and even why they chose to reconstruct them. That is why both sides of the debate are described in each chapter rather than separately.

Historiography of Sexuality

Another product of the realization that late-nineteenth-century Japanese debaters held fundamentally-different understandings of the root of male sexuality was the extremely-intriguing that a debate over modern, medicalized prostitution regulation began decades before the now-familiar narrative of male sexuality took root in Japan. This, in turn, led me to reread Euroamerican texts on regulation with fresh eyes, and although it is beyond my expertise to give a full and confident analysis of these, I feel that I must give it my best shot as a way to reframe the larger historical and historiographical backdrop of "From the Brothel to the Body."

This dissertation makes an important contribution to the historiography of prostitution and of male sexuality that goes far beyond the Japanese context. Without attempting to invalidate the insights provided by existing research on regulation and prostitution, we can note that scholars most often treat the theoretical underpinnings of prostitution regulation as constant across all historical and cultural boundaries, as if it had no history. In other words, historians of sexuality, including both those who work on Japanese topics and those who work on Euroamerican ones, often overlook the differences between our current thinking on desire and those of our objects of study. This is in stark juxtaposition to the large number of careful analyses of the evolution of the practices of prostitution and its regulation in various historical and cultural contexts. Scholars have rightly taken a strong interest in who became prostitutes and why and in the moral judgments made (or not made) against prostitutes in ways that convey their specific and individual historicity and contingency. I am aware of no corollarous analysis of the evolving understandings of why men became those prostitutes' clients—which is to say the equally-historical and -contingent evolution of the logic behind support for regulation where it did not exist and calls for its dismantlement where it did.

An illustrative example of this lack of interest in the historicity of understandings of male sexuality is the historiography of the analogy of regulation as a "cesspool" for male sexual desire. In his pathbreaking work on several sites of regulation in England and its empire, one prominent scholar attributes the same understanding of male sexual desire to the ancient theologians Saint Augustine and Saint Paul to as he does to the nineteenth-century public hygienist Alexandre Parent-Duchâtelet, who authored numerous reports on sewers and sanitation in Paris an prostitution regulation in Paris before turning his attention to prostitution; the result of

the latter research was *De la Prostitution dans la ville de Paris* (Prostitution in the City of Paris). This particular scholar[3] asserts that

[3] There are many candidates for a critique of the status-quo interpretations of European antiquity that follows. These include John Brackett, who asserts without question that Augustine concerned himself with male, rather than female, lust: "Augustine argued that clandestine prostitution blocked grave effects on the ordinary life of the community because it provided a legitimate outlet for the libidinous desires of men, which otherwise would circulate within the community and pollute it"; Perry, who writes that Parent-Duchâtelet's "choice of sewers was absurdly, uncannily appropriate in the light of Parent's later work. Saint Augustine's maxim that the prostitute was the 'sewer in the palace,' the channel by which the gross impurities were removed from society, had long passed as a justification and a defense of prostitution, as Parent was aware"; Lansing, who attributes to Aquinas the conception that physiology was the source of desire: "Concupiscence, or disordered desire, is the body's pursuit of natural appetites in disregard of reason"; Mary Elizabeth Perry, who writes that "some sixteenth-century clerics invoked the writings of Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas Aquinas to argue that society needed brothels just as a palace required a cesspool "without attribution; and Keith Thomas, who draws an equals symbol between Augustine, Aquinas, Socrates, and Britons from the 18th through the twentieth centuries. John Brackett, "The Florentine Onesta and the Control of Prostitution, 1403-1680,"*The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 24, no. 2 (Summer 1993), p. 276; Jill Harsin, *Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 110; Carol Lansing, "Gender and Civic Authority: Sexual Control in a Medieval Italian Town," *Journal of Social History*, vol. 31, no. 1 (Autumn 1997), p. 41; Mary Elizabeth Perry, "Deviant Insiders: Legalized Prostitutes and a Consciousness of Women in Early Modern Seville," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 27, no. 1 (January 1985), pp. 142-43; Keith Thomas, "The Double Standard," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 20, no. 2 (April 1959), p. 197. Even when Ruth Block encourages historians to question the biological validity of the concept of the sex drive "in light of what we know today about the interactivity of mind, brain, and body," she does not similarly encourage them to question the *historicity* of the concept. Ruth Block, "Changing Conceptions of Sexuality and Romance in Eighteenth-Century America," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 60, no. 1 (January 2003), pp. 14-15.

> we can find much the same kind of statement about the "necessity" of prostitution in European antiquity and in the Middle Ages as we find in the most self-consciously enlightened and "modern" theorists of the nineteenth century onwards. For example, the great French hygienist and the most prominent promoter of modern regulationism, Alexandre Parent-Duchâtelet, famously likened the management of prostitution to the operation of municipal sewers, in a direct and explicit endorsement of the views of St. Augustine, St. Paul, and others.[4]

Here, the author declares that everyone in Europe from the first century onwards thought on male sexual desire in exactly the same way, and therefore that their support for regulation was identical. Interestingly, Howell does not name the theologian to whom this statement is usually attributed: Thomas Aquinas. Through statements like the above, scholars demonstrate an unexpected faith in nineteenth-century historiography of the ancient world.

Such oversights as the above misattribution surround this commonplace, even obligatory citation. Indeed, the larger tendency to take the history of male sexuality for granted plays out in miniature through this one equation of prostitute women and sewers. Howell is incorrect in his assertion that Parent-Duchâtelet equated prostitute women and sewers "in a direct and explicit endorsement." One the one hand, Parent-Duchâtelet did mention prostitution and sewers in the

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[4] Philip Howell, *Geographies of Regulation: Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Britain and the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 5. For another example of the casual citation of Aquinas and Augustine, Ruth Karras writes that "The 'lesser evil' argument attributed to Thomas Aquinas, among others, seems to have been taken quite seriously and prostitution was seen as a safety valve, *preventing the seduction or rape of respectable women*, or redirecting men away from sodomy."(Current author's emphasis). Augustine made no statements about prostitute women as a preventative for rape. Cf. Alexandre Parent-Duchâtelet, *Prostitution in the City of Paris*, trans. Roger Ridley-Smith, vol. 1 (Wellington: R. Ridley-Smith, 2010), pp. 3, 233; Ruth Mazo Karras, "Prostitution and the Question of Sexual Identity in Medieval Europe," *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 11, no. 2 (1999), n. 20.

same passage. In the introduction to his work on prostitution, Parent-Duchâtelet, evincing resentment at the fact that he was treated with contempt for even researching the topic, wrote:

> Seeing that I have been able, without upsetting anyone at all, to go down the drains and sewers, spend a part of my time in filthy rubbish dumps, come into contact with putrid materials, and to some extent live in the midst of the disgusting waste generated within towns, why should I blush at entering what is just another sewer, filthier, I concede, than all the others, but one where my studies might produce some good?

Yet on the other hand, Parent-Duchâtelet did not cite any classical sources here either directly or explicitly—or implicitly for that matter—in that passage. Hundreds of pages later in the final paragraphs of the work, Parent-Duchâtelet invoked Augustine, as described below; but no mention was made of sewers or of Aquinas there. Also, note that while Parent-Duchâtelet equated sewers with the condition of prostitution, he did not declare that they were equivalent in in the sense of operating to either contain prostitute women or provide an outlet for male desire; he did not ascribe to prostitution a social function based on the analogy of the sewer.

Moreover, there is reason to question whether Parent-Duchâtelet's understanding of male sexuality was identical to that of his ancient counterparts, and therefore to question Parent-Duchâtelet's interpretation of Augustine—and in turn our own interpretation thereof. Clues to a different reading of these texts lie in the historiography of female sexuality—a field that has seen tremendous change in a relatively short time of the past few decades. Focusing especially on Mary Magdalen, the scholarly consensus of the past twenty years is that the dominant discourse on prostitution in ancient and early-modern Europe described female lust as the cause of man's descent into sin.[5] Applying this insight to Augustine's words, we can reinterpret the supposedly-

[5] On early-modern European conceptions of all women (rather than all men) as innately guilty of the sin of lust, cf. e.g. Ruth Mazo Karras, "The Regulation of Brothels in Later Medieval England," *Signs*, vol. 14, no. 2

original trope of the cesspool. To Augustine, prostitute women occupied the bottom rung of the social hierarchy; but they belonged there:

> What is ghastlier than a savage and terrible public executioner? Yet he holds a necessary office in law, and is inserted in the social order of a well-governed state. His personal noxious character is ordered by others towards punishing other noxious characters. What is filthier, uglier, and more disgraceful than whores, procurers, and such-like plagues of humanity? Remove prostitutes from the social order, however, and lust will destroy it. Let them rise to the same status as married women, and you will dishonor matrimony with an unseemly stain. This most unchaste lifestyle, therefore, places its practitioners at the very bottom of the social order.[6]

Notice that Augustine compared prostitute women to *executioners* rather than to cesspools.[7]

(Winter 1989), pp. 399-400; Perry, "Deviant Insiders," pp. 139-41. This was a historical development in and of itself—one that centered on the reconceptualization as Mary Magdalene as a prostitute. Cf. e.g. James Brundage, "Prostitution in the Medieval Canon Law," *Signs*, vol. 1, no. 4 (Summer 1976); Paul Werth, "Through the Prism of Prostitution: State, Society, and Power," *Social History*, vol. 19, no. 1 (January 1994).

[6] Augustine, *On order—De ordine* (South Bend: St. Augustine's Press, 2007), pp. 65-67.

[7] This does not clarify matters, however. We should exercise the same care here that we should with any brothel-sewer analogy. While through this analogy Augustine attributed a place in the social order for both prostitute women and executioners, he specified neither the executioner's nor the prostitute woman's precise contribution, if any, to society's wellbeing.

He may have meant to draw a direct analogy between the utility of the executioner in eliminating criminals from society and the utility of the prostitute woman in eliminating lust. Yet Augustine did not assert that executions or executioners reduced crime, that employment as an executioner prevented those men suited it from committing crimes themselves, or that such employment kept them from intruding into other spheres and staining them with a "noxious" temperament. Likewise, the passage does not imply that Augustine thought that prostitution either eliminated lust or reduced the number of men or women who were lustful.

Augustine may have meant that the relationship between the executioner's murderous character and that of the condemned criminal whom he killed correlated to the relationship between the prostitute woman's lustful

Here, Augustine argued that if society attempted to eliminate the category of prostitute woman, lust would no longer be separable from matrimony. If those women who should be relegated to the brothel instead became wives, they would bring their promiscuous lusts with them, damaging that holiest of institutions. Ruth Karras makes the argument that prostitute woman was a gender identity unto itself in this time and place.[8] This fits within Augustine's larger body of work declaring that husbands and wives should not derive erotic pleasure from marital sex. Therefore, it seems reasonable to infer that if Augustine were to have described prostitution and brothels in terms of cesspools, any such metaphorical excrement to be contained within them would not have been men's sexual urges but *prostitute women's lust*.

Parent-Duchâtelet's thinking was surely different from this. For one thing, rather than consistently describing all women as inherently lustful, he vacillated between this condemnation and sympathetic descriptions of the destitution that drove women into prostitution. In one passage he declared that laziness paired with the desire for finery were the primary motivations of prostitute women—which is to say that he categorized prostitute women's sins as sloth and vanity.[9] However, the latter parts of the work firmly describe financial desperation as the cause of women's entering the trade.

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temperament and that of the client whom she served. In that case, executioners and criminals would form a closed loop, sealed off from the rest of society—and the same would apply to prostitute women and clients. So, was it the abstract human *characteristic* (murderousness or lust) that the *institution* (the justice system or the sex trade) contained? Or was it the *person* (the man predisposed to murder or the woman predisposed to promiscuity) that the *role* (executioner or prostitute woman) contained?

[8] Karras, "Prostitution and the Question of Sexual Identity in Medieval Europe."

[9] Parent-Duchâtelet, *Prostitution in the City of Paris*, vol.1, p.47.

Parent-Duchâtelet did not think of prostitution as "necessary," as Howell claims. Parent-Duchâtelet opened the second to last chapter—entitled "Are Prostitutes Necessary?"—by stating:

> Without wishing to express disapproval of this perception [i.e. that prostitutes are necessary] . . . I prefer to join the ranks of those who think that prostitutes will always be an indissoluble part of any large mass of people gathered together in one place. . . . We can only hope to limit the damage.[10]

Parent-Duchâtelet declared that *regulation* was necessary simply because prostitute women existed, not because the *prostitute women* were necessary themselves. Although this passage clearly implies that some of Parent-Duchâtelet's contemporaries thought prostitute women were directly necessary, this is not adequate reason to attribute the idea to Parent-Duchâtelet himself, nor to assume that those who saw it as necessary did so in terms of men's desires rather than in terms of immoral women or venereal disease without investigating the fact first.

Instead of describing prostitution as necessary, Parent-Duchâtelet emphasized its permanence. Parent-Duchâtelet identified the underlying cause of prostitution as many women's financial desperation. And because this underlying financial need was a permanent phenomenon in society, women would always enter the trade. He analyzed the wages of the major form of honest employment for uneducated women, needlework, finding it hopelessly inadequate for a woman's survival. Thus, while prostitution was necessary on an individual level, it was useless to society.

In the last chapter Parent-Duchâtelet finally got around to (mis)quoting Augustine's passage on the danger of eliminating the category of prostitute woman. Rather than interpreting Augustine's "genius" as perspicacity with regard to either men's or women's lusts, he interpreted

[10] Ibid., 2: p. 232.

it as Augustine's understanding the reality of prostitution's. According to Parent-Duchâtelet, Augustine saw that

> Prostitution exists, and it always will exist, in the bigger towns, because, like begging, or like gambling, it is an occupation and a resource against hunger; one could even say against dishonor, for however far an individual will go when he is deprived of all resources, and sees his very life threatened, this particular resource is, it is true, of the very lowest, but it exists for all that.[11]

The real cause of the need to regulate was the fact that these women would always gravitate toward the markets provided by "any large mass of people gathered together." This created a concentration of disease carriers precisely in the population centers where they would incubate the most damage. (This attributes a nineteenth-century understanding of urban epidemiology to Augustine.) Again, while prostitution was necessary on an individual level for financially-desperate women, it was useless on a societal level; on the other hand regulation was necessary because of the cumulative effects of venereal disease. This logic of the permanence of prostitution in history was one of the emblematic arguments of nineteenth-century regulationism and should not be attributed to Augustine.[12]

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[11] Ibid., p.233.

[12] While Parent-Duchâtelet made this argument in one brief chapter, William Sanger made it the focus of an entire book. Sanger wrote of prostitution as "coeval with society." After opening Chapter One with the assertion that the institution of marriage can be found in the earliest historical records, implying that it was the foundational legal apparatus of society, Sanger wrote that ". . . there appear to have been in every age men who did not avail themselves of the marriage covenant, or who could not be bound by its stipulations, and their appetites created a demand for illegitimate pleasures, which female weakness supplied," making prostitution the foundational extra-legal form of sexuality. Such thinking underlies the hackneyed cliché: "the world's oldest profession." William Sanger, *The History of Prostitution: Its Extent, Causes, and Effects throughout the World, Being an Official Report to the Board of Alms-House Governors of the City of New York* (New York: Harper, 1858), p. 35.

Meanwhile, Parent-Duchâtelet made no reference to Aquinas's famous statement about prostitution and sewers. His one mention of Augustine was very different. Drawing on his experience researching sewers and sewage treatment in Paris, Parent-Duchâtelet made his own comparison between prostitution and municipal waste:

> In any large city, the prostitutes are as *inevitable* as the drains, the streets and roads, and the refuse depots. The way the authority runs all of them has to be the same for the one as it is for the other. Its function is to supervise, to minimize by all possible means the inconveniences inherent in them, and as far as that goes, to hide them, to relegate them to the most obscure recesses it can find, and, in a word, make their presence as inconspicuous as possible.[13]

Here as well, it was incumbent on society to carve out a space—literal and figurative—for prostitute women to occupy. Yet Parent-Duchâtelet's analogy is structural, even infrastructural. For him, the analogy of streets and storm drains were as valid as conduits for excrement. Therefore, we should not accept Parent-Duchâtelet as making "much the same kind of statement" as Augustine, Paul, or Aquinas.

To be clear, men's impulses were also an eternal factor for Parent-Duchâtelet. But it was not because of sexual violence. In response to the argument that leaving prostitute women and client men to suffer unaided, which was at the time based on the twofold logic that the fear of venereal disease would cause most men to eschew prostitution and that most women would avoid entering the trade for fear of the violence they were vulnerable to as practitioners of an illegal trade, he wrote:

> I can hear this line of reasoning being offered by people who pass their days in monastic seclusion, or who, devoted since their earliest youth to pious works and the religious life, are blissfully ignorant of the world we live in. They will tell you that it is possible for a government to change the impulses of men, and steer them at will towards the paths of either vice or virtue. In real life, the circumstances are

[13] Parent-Duchâtelet, *Prostitution in the City of Paris*, vol.2, p. 232. Current author's emphasis.

> totally contrary to this, and I would have to regard anyone who supported views like these as a hypocrite.[14]

Here, the question was whether men's supposed impulses were subject to moral intervention. And as such they were a matter of the spiritual self rather than of the corporeal self. This is to say that according to Parent-Duchâtelet's opponents, and by extension Parent-Duchâtelet himself, the impulses in question were not biological instincts. Furthermore, Parent-Duchâtelet, like his forbearers, made absolutely no statements about a rise in sexual violence in the wake of a mythical disappearance of prostitution; nor did he mention physiological imbalances resulting from the end of men's access to sex. These two would only later in the century arise as arguments for regulation.

If it was impossible to put an end to the entrenched behavior of men patronizing prostitute women, to Parent-Duchâtelet's way of thinking it was the "job of the administration to see over the shoulders of these men to their wives and children. It cannot stop the disease-spreading forays of menfolk, but it must, in order to preserve the health of innocent parties, do what it can for the guilty ones."[15] This meant protecting wives and children indirectly by protecting men from the prostitute women they patronized.

Likewise, Parent-Duchâtelet saw potential for the government to help prostitute women themselves. Because their motivations were financial rather than lustful, they could recuperate in half-way houses operated at government expense; and although their marriage prospects were nullified by their pasts, they could go on to productive lives as domestic servants.[16] Meanwhile, he lamented the fact that some prostitutes went on to marry as "sad evidence of how little

[14] Ibid., p. 19.

[15] Ibid., p. 20

[16] Ibid., p. 255.

importance some men attach to the situation of the woman they choose for their life's companion!"[17] In light of this we can say that Parent-Duchâtelet saw the *registered prostitute woman* as the threat that should be contained.[18]

There is another nineteenth-century advocate of regulation who is invoked as a matter of course in scholarship on its history, and who is interpreted through the lens of present-day thought on male sexuality. This is Britain's William Acton, whose 1857 work on the topic was made famous by Steven Marcus's *The Other Victorians*.[19] Acton put forward yet another interpretation of cesspools. And he did so without reference to any saints. Like Parent-Duchâtelet, Acton vacillated between sympathy and condemnation while denying the prostitute woman's inherent lustfulness; he tended to favor poverty as the most appropriate explanation for why women engaged in prostitution in the pages of his 1857 work on prostitution, yet in another 1862 work he declared that "vanity, giddiness, greediness, love of dress, distress, hunger, mark women prostitutes, but not general sensuality" motivated women to become prostitutes.[20] Acton

[17] Ibid., p. 8.

[18] Alain Corbin, *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 10.

[19] Steven Marcus, *The Other Victorians; a Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England* (New York: Basic Books, 1974).

[20] William Acton, *The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs in Childhood, Youth, Adult Age, and Advanced Life: Considered in Their Physiological, Social, and Moral Relations* (London: Churchill, 1862), pp. 104-05.

furthered his French predecessor's analysis of the inadequate wages of the needle trades.[21] And again like Parent-Duchâtelet, Acton conceived of prostitution as a transitory state.

Yet a crucial difference sprang from this last commonality. While Parent-Duchâtelet hoped that labeling and sequestering prostitute women through regulation would prevent them from entering polite society, Acton thought of the reincorporation of former prostitutes among the respectable poor or even the middle class as harmless so long as they did not were no longer infected with venereal disease when they "amalgamated with society."[22] He advocated regulation as a means to identify infected women to prevent this. Like Augustine, Acton made no reference to sewers or excrement. But if he had, we can therefore infer that the metaphorical excrement Acton had in mind was *venereal disease itself*.[23]

Thus, between the writings of Augustine, Parent-Duchâtelet, and Acton we see an evolution in the choice of metaphor for the waste product in question and the vessel that was meant to contain it: referring first to the prostitute women's lusts, then to prostitute women themselves, then to the venereal disease that their bodies hosted (or even created).[24] It should be

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[21] William Acton, *Prostitution, Considered in Its Moral, Social & Sanitary Aspects, in London and Other Large Cities: With Proposals for the Mitigation and Prevention of Its Attendant Evils* (London: J. Churchill, 1857), pp. 21-31.

[22] Ibid., pp. v-vi.

[23] Fujino Yutaka, "*Kaisetsu: kokusaku toshite no baibaishun*," [Commentary: prostitution as state policy] in *Baibaishun mondai shiryō shūsei—senzen hen* [Collection of Sources on the Issue of Prostitution—Prewar Edition], edited by Fujino Yutaka (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 2002), p. 3; Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 53-55.

[24] In this varying terminology there is also a slippage between substance and its vessel. A cesspool, a public toilet, a latrine, and the sewage they contain (as well as the safety valve and the steam it releases), are not identical.

unsurprising to see such drift in a conversation that spans from the 386 to the 1857—only thirty years short of fifteen hundred. (Another interpretation, identifying the brothel as the container of all three dangers would appear in the in the succeeding decades.) My work demonstrates that only around the beginning of the twentieth century did yet another, and sharply distinct, concept—*male sexual desire itself*—become the metaphorical waste product in Japanese discourse.[25] I suspect that similar arguments can be made about this discourse in Euroamerican ones; but confirmation of this assertion is beyond the scope of this research. (To be sure, this last interpretation of medieval writings, apocryphal and otherwise, became dominant without entirely replacing other readings.)

English-language-scholarship on Japanese history follows this lead, consistently flattening the history of male sexual desire. In his groundbreaking, and otherwise-very-careful, history of moral suasion movements conducted by the Japanese government and social-policy advocacy groups *Molding Japanese Minds*, Sheldon Garon writes that:

> To Japanese officials, tightly regulated and segregated vice districts served as a "breakwater" or "public latrine," protecting society and the "daughters of good families "from foulness. Just as St. Augustine in the fourth century proclaimed, "suppress prostitution, and capricious lusts will overthrow society,"[26] Japanese

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Certainly, more can be said about evolution in these. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State*.

[25] In his semi-autobiographical novel of his sexual history, *Vita Sexualis*, Mori Ōgai had his main character describe two friends in this way: "Kojima thought of sexual desire as a sucking sewage drain. Koga thought of sexual desire as a chamber pot to be cleaned out occasionally." Mori Ōgai, *Wita Sekushuarisu* (Tokyo: Iwamami Shoten, 1935), pp. 70-71.

[26] Garon cites Henrique Fernando's version, also cited in Nickie Roberts, *Whores in History: Prostitution in Western Society* (London: Harper Collins, 1992), p. 61.

> proponents warned that repressing the sexual desires of men would only lead to increased rape and other sex crimes.[27]

Although both of the first two statements here are true for their own places and eras—1910s Japan and 500s Christendom—they do not link in a straightforward, transhistorical manner.

In fact, like their Euroamerican counterparts, the twentieth-century officials whom Garon studies (mis)interpreted Augustine to the effect that it was men's lust rather than women's that threatened society and required containment; and Garon reproduces the problematic equation of the two. Likewise, Sabine Frühstück treats as a historical constant the notion that "men's sexual needs" were the phenomenon in need of evacuation through the brothel as a "public toilet, a *kōshū benjo*. In his recent work on the rise and fall of networks of the sex trade between southern Japan and Southeast Asia, Bill Mihalopoulos attributes to Fukuzawa Yukichi—an important focus of this research—an understanding of men as needing a "safety valve" for their desires. In so doing, Mihalopoulos attributes to Fukuzawa an understanding of male sexual desire as inherent *within* the male body in the 1870s, which this research demonstrates to be three decades off the mark.[28] On this point this research questions what previous research has taken for granted.[29]

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[27] Sheldon Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds: the State in Everyday Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 100.

[28] Mihalopoulos, p. 104.

[29] Also cf. Liza Dalby, *Geisha* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), p. 167; Sabine Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 48; Chunghee Sarah Soh, *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), pp. 32, 39-41.

Japanese-language scholarship has exhibited the same tendency. Inoue Shōichi, for example, examines early-modern sexuality in terms of a transhistorical notion of the sex drive in *Seiyoku no bunkashi* (A Cultural History of Sexual Desire).[30] Take as another example, Saeki Junko, writes that "It is important to note that both pleasure workers and rural prostitute women embodied bodily sexual desires with a 'plus alpha' component" of artisanal sensuality. She sees this as unlike modern notions of sexual desire as dirty, declaring that Edo-period brothel-goers saw sexual desire as one of many sensations in the context of an evening's entertainment at a brothel. Thus, Saeki constructs the transition to modern prostitution as the forces of modernity stripping away of genteel eroticism, thereby attributing to sexual desire a historically static quality.[31]

However, several recent works in Japanese engage with the historicity of male sexual desire in innovate ways. These include philological investigations of the appearance of the term for sexual desire, *seiyoku*,[32] in the late nineteenth century and of how the term for romantic love, *ren'ai*,[33] became a tool to articulate the modern self, particularly for women, in literature after the turn of the twentieth.[34] The former tends to focus on sexological writings in isolation from

[30] Inoue Shōichi, *Seiyoku no bunkashi* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2008).

[31] Saeki Junko, *"Ai" to "sei" no bunkashi* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2008), pp. 21-21. Also cf. Okano Yukie, "'*Shūgyōfu' to iu hitsuyōaku: kaikaki shisōkatachi no shuchō*," in *Baibaishun to Nihon bungaku* [Prostitution and Japanese literature], edited by Okano Yukie, Hasegawa Kei, and Watanabe Sumiko (Tokyo: Tokyodo Shuppan, 2002).

[32] 性欲.

[33] 恋愛.

[34] Cf. e.g. Akagawa Manabu, *Sekushuariti no rekishi shakaigaku* (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1999); Inoue, *Seiyoku no bunkashi*; Oda Makoto, *Sei (ichigo no jiten)* (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1996); Saeki, *"Ai" to "sei."* For a

their social contexts while the latter tends to ignore the political consequences of understanding male sexual desire through the framework of the instinct. On the other hand, this body of work demonstrates careful attention to detail, making it vital to this research.

Fujino Yutaka has come closest to asking the same question as this dissertation when he paraphrases in quotation marks regulationist arguments as a means to frame his own analysis:

> No matter how the ethics of sex are developed, [some say] "there is no mistaking the fact that there are men whose sexual desires (*seiteki yokkyū*[35]) can only be fulfilled through prostitution." No doubt, if one looks at sex in this way, it will be impossible to eradicate prostitution so long as men have a sex drive. Really, though, is this the truth?

Although Fujino asks whether the male sex drive can be taken for granted, the question is rhetorical, and his business is elsewhere. He immediately continues:

> I do not reduce the root of support for prostitution to male sexual desire; I problematize state support for prostitution. How did the state permit prostitution, support it, use it? Did not the notion that so long as there is a male sex drive there will be prostitution come to exist in order to uphold this kind of state policy?[36]

Thus, Fujino questions the veracity of such arguments but does not actively refute them; it is therefore as much an a priori in his arguments as it is for those he critiques such that the question of how everyone came to describe the male sex drive in this way remains open.

Furthermore, Japanese historiography on "love" and "sexism hampered by a pair of tendencies. The first of these is to flatten the historicity of all concepts related to the history of

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summary of the subject, cf. Leon Antonio Rocha, "*Xing*: The Discourse of Sex and Human Nature in Modern China," *Gender & History*, vol. 22, no. 3 (November 2010).

[35] 性的欲求.

[36] Fujino Yutaka, *Sei no kokka kanri: bai-baishun no kin-gendaishi* (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 2001), p. 9. Fujino puts forward the same sentiment in the introduction to the *Baibaishun mondai shiryō shūsei*. Fujino, "*Kaisetsu*," p. 3.

sexuality as they evolved outside of Japan and before they were "imported" to it. In his work on the creation of *ren'ai* as a word-in-translation for romantic love, Yanabu Akira repeatedly asserts that this concept had a past in the West but not in Japan. Yet he attributes to Euroamerican history a static meaning of the terms "love "and "romance," going so far as to declare that "King Arthur and the knights of the round table are the epitome" of a concept of romance that is just as valid for transhistorical fairytales of knights and maidens as it is for relationships in the modern period in Euroamerica.[37]

The second tendency is to attribute to vocabulary the power to determine experience. In Japan before the Meiji period (1868-1912), Yanabu flatly declares, "There was no such word as *ren'ai,* so of course there was no such concept either. "Oda Makoto likewise describes vocabulary as determinative of thought, feeling, and experience: "Before '*sei'* as a word-in-translation to mean 'sex' and 'sexuality' was invented, in our [Japanese] reality there was no realm or experience of 'sexuality.'" For Oda, "experience and sensation do not take shape without words."[38]

Mark Driscoll has correctly pointed out another fault in Japanese scholarship, one that my research helps to amend: scholars often misapply the "Repressive Hypothesis" with respect to Japanese history. Foucault's assertion that scholars and many others "hypothesize" that the beginning of the Victorian saw a period of sexual freedom come to an end as kill-joy prudes cracked down on the free discourse of sex that had been widely enjoyed throughout the early-modern period. As part and parcel of this change, discourse on sexuality was "repressed" into a shadow of its former self. Foucault's purpose in paraphrasing the repressive hypothesis was

[37] Yanabu Akira, *Hon'yakugo seiritsu jijō* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1982), p. 92.

[38] Oda, *Sei*, pp. 6-7.

refute it. He called this reading simplistic, and pointed out that under the auspices of new forms of science and medicine discussions of sexuality were not reduced to whispers but rather amplified through endless descriptions, treatments, and prosecutions. Sexual discourse became the purview of the Victorian psychoanalyst, doctor, and policeman. The scholarship on regulation has often has taken another Foucauldian approach to this topic, focusing on colonial and domestic panopticism as explicated in his *Discipline and Punish*.[39]

As Driscoll trenchantly argues, the widely-praised work of Kawamura Kunimitsu adopts the very interpretation that Foucault critiques, and attributes this to Foucault himself, no less. Under the title of the repressive hypothesis as a critique of scholarly prejudice, Kawamura instead puts forward a repressive hypothesis as a historical fact. Much to Driscoll's chagrin,

[39]John Lie, "The Transformation of Sexual Work in 20th-Century Korea," *Gender and Society*, vol. 9, no. 3 (June 1995); Elizabeth van Heyningen, "The Social Evil in the Cape Colony, 1868-1902: Prostitution and the Contagious Diseases Acts," *Journal of South African Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2 (April 1984).Howell, 2009 #195Levine, 1994 #203; Lenore Manderson, "Colonial Desires: Sexuality, Race, and Gender in British Malaya," [Journal of the History of Sexuality], vol. 7, no. 3 (January 1997). Proschan, 2002 #215; Eileen Scully, "Prostitution as Privilege: The 'American Girl' of Treaty-Port Shanghai, 1860-1937," [The International History Review] *The International History Review*, vol. 20, no. 4 (1998); Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995); Song Yoenok, "*Chosen 'Karayuki-san': Nihonjin Baishungyō no Chosen Joriku Katei*," [Korean 'Karayuki-san': the Process of the Establishment of the Prostitution Industry by Japanese in Korea] *Josei Shigaku* [The Annals of Women's History], no. 4 (July; Vũ Trọng Phụng and Shaun Kingsley Malarney, *Lục xì: Prostitution and Venereal Disease in Colonial Hanoi* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011); James Warren, "Prostitution and the Politics of Venereal Disease: Singapore, 1870-98,"*Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2 (September 1990); Watanabe Kazuko, "Trafficking in Women's Bodies, Then and Now: The Issue of Military 'Comfort Women,'" [Women's Studies Quarterly] *Women's Studies Quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 1/2 (Spring-Summer 1999).

Kawamura describes early-modern Japan as a liberated space for sexual exploration that was colonized wholesale by Euroamerican, modern sexual repression.[40] This nostalgia for a supposedly-paradisiacal Japanese past delegitimizes modern discourses in the Japanese context as fundamentally foreign to it. Moreover, this dichotomizes the West and the East into leaders and followers, those who direct history and those who carry out their orders.

We have the tools to make more nuanced readings of the intellectual history of the male sex drive. Over the past four decades, historians of sexuality have made trenchant critiques of any simplistic reading of Victorian prudishness by pointing out that many sexual behaviors—prostitution not least among them—did not decline in the nineteenth century. As Foucault famously noted, moral condemnation of non-marital sexuality of all kinds, medical and police interventions, and a popular-science literature of fear all proliferated in the mid-nineteenth century. In the case of regulation, which is noticeably under-represented in Foucault's work, these interventions were not designed to eliminate or even substantially decrease prostitution, although there included fitful efforts to decrease its visibility. European states led the way in approaching prostitution as a set of behaviors and markets to be shaped and directed, not to be minimized or eliminated. Indeed, every bit as much as with conjugal, reproductive sexuality, heterosexual extramarital and recreational sexuality was often constructed by as societally

[40] Mark Driscoll, "Seeds and (Nest) Eggs of Empire: Sexology Manuals/Manual Sexology," in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, edited by Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), pp. 194-95.

valuable behavior. In fact, especially among militaries from the nineteenth century onward, efforts were often made to increase soldiers' use of prostitution.[41]

In minimizing his attention to regulation, Foucault consciously chose the salacious over the mundane, the challenging over the comfortable, and the queer over the heteronormative (as well as the metropolitan over the rural or colonial). This entailed concerning himself with the elaboration of four archetypes of the masturbating youth, the Malthusian couple, the hysterical woman, and the perverse adult.

Subsequent scholarship on the history of sexuality has likewise taken greater interest in what was coded as abnormal than in sexualities that were deemed socially valuable. The many ways in which it has illuminated the history of heterosexuality has largely been through its reflection in the discourses of problematic sexuality. This has entailed, among many other things, investigating the discursive construction of the prostitute woman's sexuality. This field has been on the forefront of another subfield: the history of the "New Woman."

This research examines the blandest archetype of all—the heteronormative man, adding to the growing scholarship of "masculinity studies," a development that has taken hold in Japan as well.[42] The fact that society endorsed the standard-issue man's sexuality does not mean that

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[41] John Lie, "The State as Pimp: Prostitution and the Patriarchal State in Japan in the 1940s,"*The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 38, no. 2 (Spring 1997); Michelle Rhoades, *'No Safe Women': Prostitution, Masculinity, and Disease in France During the Great War*. (Ph.D., University of Iowa, 2001); Julia Roos, "Backlash against Prostitutes' Rights: Origins and Dynamics of Nazi Prostitution Policies," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 11, no. 1/2 (January-April 2002); Annette Timm, "Sex with a Purpose: Prostitution, Venereal Disease, and Militarized Masculinity in the Third Reich," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 11, no. 1/2 (April 2002).

[42] Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: a Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Sabine Frühstück and Anne Walthall, *Recreating*

there was no "problematization" of it. In Japan, in Euroamerica, and beyond, every manifestation of the debate over licensed prostitution (or pornography) shows that what has become known as heterosexual male sexuality was no less frequently- or vociferously-problematized than any other sexuality. Throughout the historical period studied here, the problem of male sexuality was a threat to civilization according to both those who supported and those who opposed regulation. And by broadening the scope of the male erotic desire from a distinct commodity of the brothel to a universal property of the male body, the debaters further empowered themselves to put sexuality at the heart of governmentality. By engaging with the question of how these concepts of male desire vis-à-vis prostitution developed in the modern period this research forges ahead in the analysis of the discursive and institution al construction of the everyman.

What is "Social Policy"?

This dissertation frequently invokes the term "social policy" to describe the aims of those who debated prostitution regulation and its related institutions and laws. This term is meant to include changes to state regulation of sexuality that were proposed but not adopted, such as mandatory venereal-disease testing for men and, of course, the deregulation of prostitution. This is because, in a very real way, regulationists never-ending agitation represented a social-policy model in its own right, and because abolitionists thereby continually forced brothelkeepers and their allies to defend regulation, to buttress it with new arguments, and to tweak existing policy. This ever-changing situation—which had other manifestations in various geographic, national, and colonial contexts—meant that abolitionism had real effects on social policy regardless of its lack of success in prewar Japan.

Japanese Men (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Eve Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); Timm, "Sex with a Purpose."

While in retrospect it is no surprise that Japan maintained regulation, generations of abolitionists did not accept it as inevitable, nor did regulationists take it for granted. This sense of contingency is borne out in the global history of regulation. It was not etched in stone that in Japan regulation would remain entrenched policy while in the United States abolition would remain the dominant legal framework. Among the countries that lay in between these poles was the very country that inspired Japanese officials to adopt regulation, England. Between 1864 and 1884 it saw regulation take effect, gain momentum only to lose it, and then disappear from law.[43] France, Italy and Germany likewise went back and forth. In many places, it was the criminalization of prostitution that represented entrenched social policy while regulationism represented a proposal that was not to be. In those places, it would be abolitionists who were obligated to vigilantly maintain the status quo by reformulating their understanding of male sexuality in an ongoing battle of wits. Therefore it is not a stretch of the truth to include abolitionism in Japan under the term "social policy" even though it never went into effect.

This is a narrower focus than the "public sphere." By rights such an analysis would include literary invocations of prostitution and desire in, for example, multiple I-novels (*shishōsetsu*) and other venues in which the construction of male sexual desire did not play a vital role in arguments about the fundamental nature of society or its management.

Is relatively-limited view valuable? How do we know that the debate over prostitution regulation was relevant beyond the echo chamber of regulationism and abolitionism? If it is not

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[43] Pamela Cox, "Compulsion, Voluntarism, and Venereal Disease: Governing Sexual Health in England after the Contagious Diseases acts," *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 46 (January 2007). Meanwhile, Scotland came within a hair's breadth of joining the ranks of regulated countries. Roger Davidson, "Venereal Disease, Sexual Morality, and Public Health in Interwar Scotland," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 5, no. 2 (October 1994).

sufficient to point out that the issue saw debate on the Diet floor, in mass-market periodicals, and even popular novels consider the raw magnitude of the issue itself. The Meiji period saw a rapid and dramatic expansion of the brothel industry; in fact the industry was of integral importance to the daily lives and financial well-being of rural farming communities, urban entertainment consumers, and uppercrust politicians, not to mention pleasure workers themselves.

Brothel-prostitute women' labor and the untaxed income it generated not only for families but the government was in addition to the female labor in textile filatures (in reality another form of indenture). Historians rightfully recognize that textile exports almost singlehandedly changed Japan's balance of trade in the 1880s. This alone is insufficient, however. To the earnings of low-paid female labor in the textile industry, add the remittances that called *karayuki* sent to their families (the amount of which is unknown beyond the fact that it was enormous[44]) and it becomes clear that the role of female labor in bankrolling Japan's modernization at both the governmental and family level was far beyond what the field currently appreciates.[45]

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[44] In Malay, for example, Japanese women prostitute women were the first significant immigrant group; and they continued to outnumber Japanese men there until around the First World War. Cf. Yuen Choy Leng, "The Japanese Community in Malaya before the Pacific War: Its Genesis and Growth," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 9, no. 2 (September 1978). In 1901 a moral reformer in Hawai'i "noted that of the potential $214,000 annual income of the brothels in [the slum] Iwilei . . . $107,000 was sent to Japan." Joan Hori, "Japanese Prostitution in Hawaii During the Immigration Period," *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, vol. 15 (1981), p. 120.

[45] Hoshi adds that the revenue that the brothel industry generated compensated for a lack of an established tax base in the quasi-colonial project in Hokkaido. Hoshi Reiko, "*Kindai kōshō seido ni okeru fukin no jittai nitsuite: 1870 nendai no jittai wo chūshin ni*," [Regarding Fees in the Modern Prostitution-Regulation System: Centered on

Thus the debate threatened the practical, economic, as well as physical and legal edifices of brothel-going throughout Japan. Commensurate with this threat was an increase in the amount of ink devoted to the issue that defies quantification; the number of pamphlets, tracts, and petitions to the Diet proliferated in this period. This fit within the larger context of an explosion of the discussion of sexuality writ large.[46] While the specific concerns of the Protestant activists, brothelkeepers, doctors, secular feminists, and others who debated regulation comprised far less than a majority of those who wrote on sexuality, and while they tended to focus on each other and their own choirs, and while the specifics of their textual circulation are not investigated in this research, the fact of the matter is that the discourse of male sexuality was everywhere, and the debate over regulation was both a locus of the broader phenomenon that had a unique practical importance.

Three Female Sexualities

This dissertation firmly focuses on male sexuality in social policy debates. However, to the extent that conceptions of male and female sexualities are complementary, it would be negligent to leave out all consideration of the latter. And indeed, in illustrative ways the continual reconstruction of male sexuality often imbricated with the likewise-ongoing problematization of female sexualities.

I pluralize this last term because, interestingly, while male sexuality was largely treated as unitary throughout the period in question, Meiji and Taishō authors wrote copiously about no fewer than three categories of female sexuality. (It would be the 1920s before authors began to

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the Situation of 1870s Hokkaido] *Sōgō joseishi kenkyū* [General Research in Women's History], no. 18 (March 2001), p. 6-7.

[46] For an especially-impressive bibliography, cf. Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex*.

harp on the supposed threats posed by the masturbating boy and the homosexual man in texts that reached broad audiences.) The three categories of women were: the chaste, unmarried adolescent woman; her hysterical counterpart; and the maternal wife.

Most brothel prostitutes were filed under the first category, the chaste young woman. Both regulationists and abolitionists constructed them as safely asexual—these women had been pushed into the brothel industry by financially-needy parents. Out of filial duty they had accepted their fate with equanimity. While abolitionists decried this cruelty as an abdication of parental responsibility, regulationists applauded the women's noble intentions; either way, by remaining detached from the erotic experiences they sold, these women remained acceptable as members of society.

Prostitute women identified as hysterical were much more dangerous. In the general public, the hysterical woman was the subject of innumerable medical interventions, at least in mainland Japan.[47] Ensconced in the brothel, she was the "natural prostitute," who enjoyed her work and who might even have entered the brothel industry of her own volition. For example, Mogami Ryōhei and Yagi Kion cited the work of craniologist Paul Broca, who measured the skulls of prostitute women to determine who liked sex work and who did not. Most authors estimated that these unhealthy and dangerous women constituted twenty to thirty percent of the general population of registered prostitutes.[48] This was a new twist on the long-lived trope that

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[47] On hysterical women in the colonies, cf. Mark Driscoll, *Absolute Erotic, Absolute Grotesque: the Living, Dead, and Undead in Japan's Imperialism, 1895-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

[48] Masatomi Seinosuke implied the existence of "natural "prostitute women, he called the other women the victims of disaster (*risaisha*). In his 1937 *Kindai kasō minshū seikatsushi* (The Lives of the Modern Underclass) Kusama Yasoo put figures for those who became shōgi of their own volition (*jiko no*

the brothel served the important societal function of containing lustful women. Indeed the brothel revealed these women for who they were; once indentured, a seemingly-innocent girl might take to her work all too readily. The rhetorical treatment of the "natural" prostitute woman awaits extended scholarly treatment, a situation that this research does little to alleviate.

If this dissertation contributes anything to the scholarship of female sexuality (to English-language scholarship), it does so with respect to the discourse of the erotic life of the wife/mother. Chapter Two gives some description of how the membership of the Japan Women's Christian Temperance Union constructed the ideal wife as an asexual being who married out of a sense of responsibility to society rather than out of love or sexual desire, and who conceived and reared children accordingly. As the third chapter describes, an expanding discourse of female sexual response to male advances largely displaced this understanding of the wife in the twentieth century. While establishment authors continually fretted about the need to educate this vulnerable population so that they did not succumb to the predations of cads before they could be safely ensconced in marriage, Bluestocking authors (with the notable exception of Itō Noe) argued that while seduction was a real problem, properly-educated young women should be

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kibō) at an uncharacteristically-low three to five percent. Although the precise meaning of the term—whether a this "desire" was sexual in origin—Kusama leaves unclear. But he distinguishes it from other "internal" causes such as outstanding debts or need for income. Mogami Ryōhei and Yagi Kion, *Kōshō ron* [On Licensed Prostitution] (Tokyo: Hojudō, 1894), pp.10-19. Reprinted in *Baibaishun mondai shiryō shūsei—senzenhen*, vol. 7, pp. 111-72; Masutomi Seinosuke, *Kono risaisha or sukuhe* [Man! Rescue Captive Women] (Tokyo: Kakuseikai Honbu, 1911), pp. 1-2. Reprinted in *Baibaishun mondai shiryō shūsei—senzenhen*, vol. 1, pp. 362-66; Kusama Yasoo and Isomura Eiichi, *Kindai kasō minshū seikatsushi*, vol. 2: Shōfu [Prostitute women] (Tokyo: Genrinsha, 1937), pp. 833-50.

allowed to freely explore their sexualities before marriage, the better to identify the true emotional bonds that made for successful marriages.

The "Pleasure Worker"

First things last, there is the question of terminology for prostitute women[49] in the Japanese brothel system. My use here of "pleasure worker" instead of "sex worker" or "prostitute" follows Ann Marie Davis's example. Specifically treating the Meiji brothel industry, and building on English-language usage of the paired terms "sex industry" and "sex work," Ann Marie Davis coined the terms "pleasure industry "and "pleasure work" to describe the Meiji-period brothel industry—her argument for this usage is that it specifies a different transaction than the now-standard understanding of "prostitution," one in which activities such as flirtation and musical performance accounted for the first few or several hours of an evening's brothel entertainment. A shortcoming of the term is that it can imply that all pleasure workers themselves took pleasure in their work. That is not the intention of the usage here. By contrast, one thing that the term "sex worker" makes clear is that all sex workers engage in sex of some kind. The intention is to express that pleasure workers *purveyed* pleasure, sometimes through enacting it, rather than that they necessarily experienced it themselves.

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[49] The term "prostitute woman" itself perhaps requires description: the objection to "female prostitute" is that it identifies the prostitute as a human being's primary state of being, rather than as an occupation. Denoting the gender of the prostitute women is a small gesture toward preventing the elision of male prostitution. Such elision, along with distorting the historical record, also contributes to the identification of prostitution with all of female identity in a maneuver to construct womanhood as a permanent state of victimhood. Cf. Howell, *Geographies of Regulation: Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Britain and the Empire*; Amy Stanley, *Selling Women: Prostitution, Markets, and the Household in Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), pp. 15-16.

Another unfortunate side effect of the term "pleasure worker" is that it collapses the broader lexicon of prostitution in Japan. Japanese writers used three terms to refer to legally-indentured sex workers in modern Japan, and innumerable others in common parlance. Far and away the most common term was *shōgi*.[50] For these women, sex was an implicit part of their occupation, although this was not specifically delineated in their contracts after 1872. It was made implicit in two ways: the first was the enforcement medical examinations and hospital incarcerations. The second was by contrast with a second category, *geigi*.[51] In the early modern period, the term *geigi* was in common usage in the Tokyo region while the equivalent term *geisha*[52] prevailed in the Osaka region; for some reason, the latter term eventually became the standard term in the modern era. The law explicitly forbade *geigi* from engaging in sexual activity with their clients, and therefore exempted them from examinations. However, across the decades no one mentioned *geigi* without declaring, usually to lament, that they had sex with clients regularly.[53] These two terms were often collapsed into *geishōgi*.[54] The third legal

[50] 娼妓.

[51] 芸妓.

[52] 芸者.

[53] For example, the regulationist Murayama Gishichi made the acknowledgment of this fact part of his program for what one might call a counterreformation of the brothel industry. Murayama Gishichi, "*Sonpai jissai ron*, "in On the Realities of Regulation and Abolition, ed. Murayama (Tokyo: Nogami Katsuma, 1890), pp. 75-76. Kusama Yasoo made a very interesting study of this phenomenon in his 1929 study of the underclass. The numbers that Kusama gives indicate that while diachronically not all *geigi* were prostitutes, synchronically they were—in other words every *geigi* engaged in sexual activity at some point in her career lifecycle. Those who do not sell sex at all are those who are too old to do so (anymore) those who are too young to do so (yet). The more successful rose from the trenches to positions of greater respect, remuneration, and discretion with regard to their clientele. At any

designation was *shakufu*,[55] a category of prostitute women who omitted the formalities of dress and behavior that the other two as a rule maintained. *Shakufu* comprised the smallest portion of the industry.

On the positive side, Davis's innovations have broad potential for our investigations into the (re)construction of sexuality at the turn of the twentieth century. This term, she argues, underscores the fact that "many workers in the entertainment zone [i.e. the pleasure quarters] held a broader value to customers who hired them as companions during a variety of social engagements as well as interpersonal encounters" than either of the currently-standard terms hold. I fully agree that this "more expansive" term better describes the cultural significance of

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one time, the breakdown was that seventy percent of *geigi* were actively engaging in sexual activity with all clients without being selective, while others did so with a limited, long-term clientele or even exclusively with a single client. In his extended breakdown of the various ranks of *geigi* he wrote: "Thus when you reveal the various situations of *geigi* it becomes clear that, in a word, there are many types of ranks; *shikomi* will someday become apprentices and will then rise to *ippon* (*shikomi*), as such they are fledgling *geigi* . . . And so it cannot be said that they sell themselves during the time when they are in the various stages of *shikomi*. Also, those like *gyakushichi* whose share of the profits is large most always have a relationship with a specific customer, within which relationship they are like concubines, so that they do not indiscriminately sell themselves."(Therefore, we can conclude that no *geigi*—or her early-modern counterpart—could go through her entire career without engaging in sex with at least one client.) Kusama Yasoo and Ichimura Eiichi, *Kindai kasō minshu seikatsu shi*, vol. 2; *Shōfu* (Prostitute Women) (1990), pp. 1-6. For a contrasting interpretation cf. Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, p. 94 n. 26.

[54] 芸娼妓.

[55] 酌婦.

the labor that these women performed.[56] This improved attention to the meanings-in-context of paid companionship will help scholars better understand the cultural history of sexuality.

Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter One gives a narrative history of prostitution regulation in Japan. This is an attempt to synthesize a diverse body of scholarship on the roots of medicalized prostitution regulation from its European beginnings. Most salient for this research are its invention by the French military, its adoption by the British navy, and its subsequent introduction to the civilian brothel industry in Japan. Although this narrative is inadequate for a full appreciation of the history of regulation—a topic of international scope that imbricates with the history of colonialism and imperialism, race and the history of science, not to mention gender—it is nonetheless the most comprehensive description of the deeper history of regulation in Japan that any scholar has previously attempted. In terms of this research, the purpose of Chapter One is to fully explain why Japan is such a favorable context for the study of the history of the politicization of male sexuality in modern social policy.

Against this backdrop, the subsequent chapters construct the argument proper based on a description of the evolving understanding of male erotic and sexual desires that a variety of constituencies deployed to argue for or against regulation. Chapter Two treats the last two and a half decades of the nineteenth century, demonstrating that in those years, discursive constructions of male erotic desire in the regulation debate held it to be contingent on a man's visit to a brothel. This basic notion was common to both those who supported and those who

[56] Ann Marie Davis, *Bodies, Numbers, & Empires: 'Representing the Prostitute' in Modern Japan (1852-1912)*. (Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles, 2009), pp. 48-49.

opposed regulation in this era. This is reflected in their common vocabulary (which did not include such terms-in-translation as “instinct” or “sexual desire”).

Chapter Three describes the development of the evolutionary theory of human sexuality, focusing on Darwin’s theory of sexual selection. On this basis, the chapter goes on to examine the deployment of the theory of the male sexual instinct in the Japanese regulation debate. It shows that regulationists adopted the idea quite readily, a change made all the smoother because physicians and other scientifically-trained men came to dominate the regulationist side of the argument. It also demonstrates that abolitionists ultimately proved no less willing to adopt the idea that all men naturally desired sex; the last portion of the chapter describes how Protestant abolitionists incorporated the notion of the male sex drive into their theory of romantic love, according to which the male desire for sex was the initial driver of romantic heterosexual marriages.

The fourth and final chapter leaves behind these Protestants, brothelkeepers, and sexologists to focus on another group—secular feminists. Inasmuch as the driving force behind this project has been an interest in the longer history of the theory of the male gaze, feminist discourses are the logical destination. The two most important secular-feminist groups of the era, the Bluestocking Society and the New Women’s Association (NWA), are the primary focus of this chapter. Through their advocacy of a series of government policies designed to support and protect women in roles as wives and mothers, these women followed in the tradition of the previous groups in deploying the specter of male sexuality to pressure the government to adopt specific social policies. Of especial interest in this regard are the efforts of the NWA to petition the state to compel men who wished to marry to prove that they were not infected with venereal

disease. In so doing they incorporated statist visions of the immutability of the male sex drive into the foundation of an enduring feminist critique of male privilege.

Chapter One: The Meaning of Regulation

Introduction

In June of 1869, *British Medical Journal* wrote an editorial to tout the successes of British naval surgeon George Newton in establishing a so-called lock hospital in Yokohama, Japan. The journal's readership of physicians was readily familiar with this institution, which incarcerated prostitute women for venereal-disease treatment. Indeed, many of these men were working just as hard as Newton to establish and maintain medicalized regulation in national, colonial, and quasi-colonial settings around the globe, with the intention of maintaining the fighting strength of the British navy. As of 1869, these included locations in colonial Bombay, India; Plymouth, England; and, of course, Yokohama, Japan.

In content the piece summarized how Newton had convinced the new government, even then setting up the institutions of modern governance and suppressing armed resistance, to graft the British version of medicalized regulation onto the existing institutions of prostitution management.

Historian Fukuda Mahito has described Newton's efforts as evidence of Britain's lingering hopes to establish a fully-colonial foothold in Japan even as the modern regime began to take shape.[57] And Philippa Levine has argued that this was true generally of the British imposition of regulation in colonial contexts.[58] The window of opportunity for a small-scale

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[57] Fukuda Mahito, "*Kenbai no hajimari to kenbai no gensetsu: kindai Nihon baidoku no gensetsu*," [The Beginning of the Syphilis Inspection in Japan and its Discourse: a Cultural History of Syphilis in Modern Japan] *Genbun Ronshū* [Studies in Language and Culture], vol. 25, no. 1 (28 November 2003).

[58] Philippa Levine, "Venereal Disease, Prostitution, and the Politics of Empire: The Case of British India," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 4, no. 4 (April 1994), p. 596.

presence, such as had been achieved in Hong Kong in the wake of the Opium Wars, perhaps still seemed open. However, both the early-modern and the nascent-modern Japanese governments had anti-colonial strategies that were more than equal to the task of maintaining Japanese sovereignty. The hospital's location was what foreigners called the Yokohama Yoshiwara, properly called Miyozaki;[59] this was the brothel district that the Tokugawa shogunate established specifically for the patronage of foreign merchants, sailors, diplomats, and assorted other non-Japanese within the treaty port. Only a few dozen miles away in a city that had just been renamed Tokyo, sat the actual Yoshiwara. One of a relative handful of enclosed brothel districts in the Japanese interior, this would be the model upon which hundreds of other districts would be built in the following decades on the three traditional islands of Japan, its domestic colonies Hokkaido and Okinawa, and its international colonies Taiwan and Korea, and beyond. British medical regulation, the enclosure model of brothel districting, and the traditions of indenture contracts that bound prostitute women to the brothel industry soon came to define a new institution in Japan: the *kōshō seido*, the "public prostitution system."

Although fewer than 650 words long, the article reveals several processes at work in the history of modern regulation. It shows a Euroamerican imperialist foisting a modern, medicalized panopticism in a way that was quite new. But it also captures the modernization of regulation in Britain and its colonies at a crucial moment, when the tide was turning against regulation. In closing the article, the editor indulged in a bit of if-they-can-do-it-why-can't-we cajoling to his own government:

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[59] In its proper usage the term Yoshiwara denotes only one licensed quarter, described below. However, Euroamericans began using the term more generally for Japanese brothel districts, so that it became common for them to write of *a* Yoshiwara rather than *the* Yoshiwara.

> In concluding, we may quote one remark that we recommend to the attention of Her Majesty's Government. ["]The Japanese authorities, in a time of civil war, when their attention and funds were almost wholly absorbed, were able in less than six months to consider the propriety of making a change so novel to Eastern habits, as to build and set in working order a Lock Hospital with one hundred and fifty beds.["]

The editorialist found that he could not "avoid contrasting" Newton's and the Japanese regime's rapid success to British parliamentary foot-dragging.[60] These lines obliquely refer to the British Parliament's foot-dragging on a bill to expand a set of laws called the Contagious Diseases Acts (CD Acts) from a few of its own ports into a national system, that rose and fell in only two decades between 1864 and 1884, described below.

This chapter describes the longer history of Japan's particularly-robust and -long-lived modern regulatory system, its brothel industry, and the movement that arose to oppose these. The specifics of the early-modern history of prostitution regulation—how young women were indentured to brothels, how pleasure workers were examined and incarcerated, and how money was extracted money from the brothel industry—were integral to its modern industry as well as the development of abolition and regulation as policy models. Therefore, an appreciation of these factors is necessary to a full understanding of the politics of male sexuality in Japan between the 1870s and the 1920s. One purpose of the chapter is to support the argument that whatever the origins of medicalized regulation, the movements to repeal it, and scientific reevaluations of male sexuality, modern Japan is an appropriate cultural context in which to study the cultural history of the entrenchment of new ways of invoking male sexuality in social policy debates.

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[60] "Prostitution in Japan,"*The British Medical Journal*, no. 440 (5 June 1869).

Early Modern Regulation Models in Comparison

The history of confining specific sets of prostitute women to certain urban areas has a centuries'-long history in Japan. More than any other event, the 1617 founding of the Yoshiwara is the iconic moment in Japan's history of prostitution.[61] According to accepted records written in the 1720s, the establishment of the Yoshiwara was not the brainchild of officials but of the Yoshiwara's hopeful operators. Their proposal—which their purported leader, Shōji Jin'emon, submitted in 1612—offered to the government promises of easy policing of profligacy, of human trafficking, and the monitoring of potential subversives in the rapidly-expanding city in exchange for exclusive rights to operate brothels.

Official response was slow in coming; but when officials found the time to consider the petition, the assented. In 1617 the bakufu promulgated a set of regulations that by and large gave Shōji and his ilk their prize: it stipulated that no brothels were to operate outside the Yoshiwara, granting Jin'emon's group a monopoly. In addition to brothelkeepers' promises, the government stipulated that brothels were not to dispatch their prostitute women for business purposes beyond the Yoshiwara's enclosure, and—perhaps most stingingly—that brothels would be of plain construction and that prostitute women would wear drab clothing.

In 1656 the bakufu ordered that the Yoshiwara relocate even further from the center of the city. Edo had grown substantially since the founding of the brothel district, meaning that what had once been (literally) a backwater of the city was now in a relatively-central location. After a devastating fire, known as the Meireki fire, ripped through Edo in 1657, Yoshiwara proprietors found themselves without any reason to complain about relocating. And so the

[61] The second most common citation is to 1589 actions by Hideyoshi that established enclosed brothel quarters in the Precedent for enclosure in Kyoto's Misujimachi, based in Ming Chinese examples.

original site came to be known as the "Old" Yoshiwara (*Moto-Yoshiwara*) and the second site as the "New" Yoshiwara (*Shin-Yoshiwara*). Despite the bakufu's efforts to reassert these sumptuary codes, which came as part of larger reform and retrenchment efforts, the above restrictions on pleasure workers' behavior and dress were hardly ever enforced.[62]

Enclosure was not the rule for the majority of the realm, as Amy Stanley has recently described in detail.[63] Rural areas had their own cultures of sexuality, as did those people in urban areas who could not afford to patronize brothels. Despite these facts, most historians treat enclosure as the norm. And yet, in terms of their modern legacy, the enclosure system actually is the most important. This is because the enclosure model would become the rule in the modern period, as the Meiji government, its prefectures, and their municipalities realized that the new tax structure imposed on the industry created a tremendous source of revenue, as described shortly. In other words, the fact that so many think that the enclosure model was predominant in the early-modern era is because it *did* achieve near ubiquity *after* the change to medicalized regulation.

In light of this we can say that the rapid expansion of the enclosure model went hand in hand with the medicalization of regulation and the expansion of the Japanese military's footprint throughout the country.

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[62] Sporadic and uncoordinated crackdowns were not foreign to European cities—and from their lack of thoroughness we can (albeit only timidly) infer that the eradication of prostitution was neither sought nor envisioned as achievable. "Interestingly, the archdeacon limited his efforts to individual parishes instead of scheming to expel them from the entire city." David Mengel, "From Venice to Jerusalem and Beyond: Milíč of Kroměříž and the Topography of Prostitution in Fourteenth-Century Prague, *"Speculum*, vol. 79, no. 2 (April 2004), p. 423.

[63] Stanley, *Selling Women*.

To return to describing Japanese early-modern regulation, we should not a stark disparity between the concerns of the early modern regimes of Japan and their Euroamerican counterparts. In short, while the officials who operated in the Judeo-Christian regime of sexuality as it existed in that period were deeply concerned with the moral effects of prostitution, operating under so-called Neo-Confucian moral frameworks Japan's officials were much more concerned with the financial-cum-moral threat that the pleasure quarters as a whole represented. In other words, sexuality per se was not a major concern in early-modern governance there. It was in Europe where lust itself came to take up a great deal of officials' time.

Indeed, even the strictest Neo-Confucian was little concerned with sex as an inherently-transgressive act, meaning that the bakufu had no real stake in independent prostitute women or small-time pimps as either violations of morality or sumptuary regulations. As Marcia Yonemoto puts it, the governance of pleasure was minimalist so long as the order remained safe:

> Pleasure, while not offensive in and of itself, became problematic when it was gained at great financial cost, pursued to the detriment of one's official or familial duties, or the cause of public shame, disrepute, or conflict. In other words, the 'way' of pleasure should not under any circumstances interfere with the interpretation and implementation of the 'way' of good governance and moral exemplarity. Pitted against the public good, pleasure was a private matter.[64]

Under this model, male sexuality itself garnered little attention. Moralists who railed against the Yoshiwara named three problems: the contrast between the extravagant and very public indulgences that samurai clients of the pleasure quarter's engaged in versus the frugal example they wanted the that class to set, the absence of the deference that they wanted the

[64] Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period, 1603-1868*, vol. Yonemoto (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), p. 171. This was not entirely unlike the situation in early-modern China, as Sommer describes. Matthew Sommer, *Sex, Law, and Society in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), p. 65.

merchant class to display toward their betters, and the fact that elite women throughout the country took fashion cues from pleasure workers.

As the Introduction described, what early-modern European authorities—both secular and religious—most feared was female lust. Carol Lansing argues that

> town governments pursued sexual crimes in part because lawmakers believed that one cause of disorder—in the state as within the family—was concupiscence, which they associated with feminine nature. The creation of just order and authority required the restraint of sensual appetite.[65]

According to official theories and practices, although everyone experienced the same innate lust women naturally possessed more powerful lust and weaker self-restraint while men's inherent capacities for rational thought insulated them to a degree. The discrepancy in female nature—greater lust, less restraint—constituted women as the greatest sexual threat to the stability of society. In combination with the financial benefits to be reaped, this logic gave rise to policies of overtly- or tacitly-accepted brothel prostitution in early-modern Europe.

Furthermore, according to scholars such as Lansing it was the growth of a population of poor women who were not corralled in patriarchal institutions that spurred authorities to act.[66] Inasmuch as women were the primary sexual threat to society, the early-modern logic of the European brothel district—including its focus on confining prostitute women while allowing client men to go free—institutionalized this conception of lust in a logically-consistent manner.[67] Meanwhile, what societal function prostitute women held was not their venting of male lust, but another: European theories of sexuality did not hold that men were automatically heterosexual

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[65] Lansing, "Gender and Civic Authority," p. 33.

[66] Ibid., p. 35. Also cf. Roberts, *Whores in History: Prostitution in Western Society*.

[67] Cf. Brackett, "The Florentine Onesta and the Control of Prostitution."; Mengel, "From Venice to Jerusalem and Beyond."; Perry, "Deviant Insiders."

(something that they dearly wanted men to be).[68] From this standpoint prostitute women were low-hanging fruit that kept men from becoming habituated to male-male sex.

Despite the differing motivations of Japanese and Euroamerican regulators, Japanese early-modern regulation was in many ways similar to its European counterparts. Karras writes that: "while the regulation of prostitution and brothels varied across continental Europe, a number of characteristics were common. In most places, prostitution was forbidden except in particular streets or (especially in smaller towns) in one particular brothel."[69] As in Japan, bathhouses and barbershops were also typical sites of medieval European prostitution as well.[70] Even crackdowns were common to both, as when Henry VIII attempted to eliminate bathhouse brothels in 1537.[71]

The Home of Regulation: Britain or France?

Despite the fact that medical inspections of a sort were implemented in some early-modern contexts, such as Seville, credit for the development of this system almost always goes to France. The first appearance of medicalized regulation was in the late-eighteenth century, when dispensaries were set up specifically for the treatment of the population of women who took up residence in the vicinity of military barracks. Likewise, the first expansion of regulation to the civilian sphere occurred there—in the form of a dispensary in France, near Paris's red-light

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[68] Perry, "Deviant Insiders," pp. 142-43.

[69] Karras, "The Regulation of Brothels in Later Medieval England," p. 403.

[70] Brundage, "Prostitution in the Medieval Canon Law," p. 841; Fernando Henriques, *Prostitution and Society, a Survey* (New York: Citadel Press, 1963), pp. 54-60; Cecilia Segawa Seigle, *Yoshiwara: the Glittering World of the Japanese Courtesan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993).

[71] Henriques, *Prostitution and Society, a Survey*, p. 59.

district. As Alain Corbin and Jill Harsin have described, Paris became the first major civilian site of modern regulation. In Harsin's words, "The system began very quietly and unobtrusively in France. It originated in Paris, stemming from a simple administrative decision in 1802 to provide facilities for examining public prostitutes for venereal disease."[72] The municipal government set up a brigade known as the *police des moeurs*—the morals police—as well as dispensaries dedicated to incarcerating women deemed infectious. Because of this, regulation was often referred to as the "French" or "Continental" system. Europe's many military campaigns of the late-seventeenth and early-twentieth centuries concentrated men, doctors and generals concerned with the fighting strength of their armies, a concern that they addressed by targeting camp-following prostitute women.

By contrast, early-modern Japan enjoyed two and a half centuries without a sustained military campaign. Although a significant percentage of the male population, estimated at three to four percent, were samurai and therefore nominally soldiers, authorities took their military readiness as an article of faith. Meanwhile, Japanese did not draw the conclusions about any specific connections between prostitute women and venereal disease that their European counterparts did. Indeed, according to Susan Burns, if there even was an "archetypical "syphilis sufferer, he was male.[73]

Regulation soon proved extremely popular among governments both military and civilian, which established regulatory systems one after another. Russia was the second country to formally regulate prostitution, with a system that developed in "fits and starts" between 1843

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[72] Harsin, *Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, p. xvi.

[73] Susan Burns, "Bodies and Borders: Syphilis, Prostitution, and the Nation in Nineteenth Century Japan," *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal*, no. 15 (December 1998), p. 16.

and 1908.[74] The Netherlands in 1852, Italy in 1860, Norway by 1890, most of Switzerland by 1900, Denmark in 1906, the Netherlands, stepwise, by 1913.[75] Meanwhile, Argentina did the same in 1875.

Despite its French beginnings, Britain is arguably the most important nation in the global history of regulation; this certainly proved true for Japan. Britain's domestic version of regulation took the form of a body of legislation called the Contagious Diseases Acts, or CD Acts. The first CD Acts went into effect in 1864 (when in France a period Corbin describes as "hyper-regulationism" was approaching.[76] The domestic 1863 CD Acts were not Britain's first foray into regulation, and they were to an extent modeled on colonial predecessors, known as the Contagious Diseases Ordinances.[77] The first CD Acts established regulation in the immediate vicinities of eleven military garrisons and naval-dock towns in Ireland and England with a ten-year mandate. The 1869 Act, which the previously-mentioned article extolled—expanded the

[74] Laurie Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters: Prostitutes and Their Regulation in Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. 20.

[75] Stephanie Limoncelli, "International Voluntary Associations, Local Social Movements and State Paths to the Abolition of Regulated Prostitution in Europe, 1875–1950," in*ternational Sociology*, vol. 21, no. 1 (January 2006), p. 35.

[76] Corbin, *Women for Hire*, p. 21.

[77] Howell trenchantly critiques Levine's over-emphasis on race in the CDO. Sure, race is an invaluable in understanding the CDO—but if it was so indispensable then there would have been no basis for regulation in England. Howell, *Geographies of Regulation: Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Britain and the Empire*. Elizabeth Lublin also asserts the importance of the British influence. Fukuda Mahito, "*Eikoku kaigun gun'i, kenbai Nyūton to sono baidoku byōin, soshite baidoku gensetsu: kindai Nihon baidoku no bunkashi*," [British Naval Surgeon Newton, His Lock Hospital and His Discourse on Syphilis: a Cultural History of Syphilis in Modern japan] *Gengo Bunka Ronshū* [Studies in Language and Culture], vol. 25, no. 2 (2004).

system to five districts more, made the Acts permanent, and expanded police powers to ten-mile radii of each of the regulated areas. Thus, although the CD Act's original justification was tied to the fighting strength of the Royal Navy, within five years there were clear signs of the system expanding into the civilian sector. [78]

The CD Acts soon gave way to pressure from moral reformers, as described below. And in France too regulation would falter. After its establishment, governments set about losing the battle to enforce laws regarding the sex industry both within and without designated licensed quarters. By the late-nineteenth century, in the face of growing public protest at the harassment of 'honest' women, as well as what Corbin describes as changes in the tastes of prostitution's clientele that called for independent prostitute women, the actions of the morals police were curtailed. Thus by the late nineteenth century, authorities had more or less capitulated in the home territory of regulation. This decentralization, which Corbin terms neo-regulation, was not what Japanese officials had in mind, especially because they sought to maximize their income by reinforcing the power of that already-formidable constituency, brothelkeepers.

Japan's Medicalization Moment

One of the first international incidents that the Meiji government faced has long been considered the impetus of a sea change in the medicalization of Japanese regulation.[79] On 9 July

[78] Finnegan describes regulation in the United Kingdom in precisely these "internal colonization" terms. Frances Finnegan, *Poverty and Prostitution: a Study of Victorian Prostitutes in York* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[79] Strictly speaking the Yokohama Yoshiwara was not the first institution of medicalized regulation Japanese saw. For over two hundred years Nagasaki had maintained a trade zone for Dutch merchants on the reclaimed island of Dejima, in Nagasaki Bay. But it was imperial militaries and not merchant mariners who rode on the forefront of medical regulation (both at home and abroad). As Susan Burns describes, a Russian naval captain

1872 a Peruvian barque, the *Maria Luz*, bound from Macao to Peru put in at Yokohama harbor to seek repairs from storm damage. A few days later a Chinese man escaped and managed to swim up to a British naval frigate anchored nearby. Once brought aboard the man begged for assistance. He claimed that he had been shanghaied in Macao and that his subsequent treatment on the *Maria Luz* had driven him to jump overboard to attempt escape. The British captain and a few of his crew boarded the Portuguese the *Maria Luz* and found 229 other Chinese stuffed cheek by jowl in the hold. The Portuguese captain maintained that the Chinese had all signed indenture contracts to work in Peru. (Once there they would most likely have spent several years or the rest of their natural lives in hard labor on plantations and in mines.[80]) The British captain

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and his ship's doctor successfully lobbied Nagasaki officials to establish a separate brothel for their sailors in 1859, in which brothel the inmates were to be vaginally inspected by Japanese with specific medical training in that procedure. The process was so horrid to these prostitute women that their protests were almost-equally strenuous, and a few of them reportedly resorted to suicide. Nonetheless the vaginal examinations continued; protests ebbed to a level that authorities felt comfortable ignoring.

Burns attributes a great deal of importance to this incident because those who cooperated most closely with the Russian navy on this issue, went on to achieve important medical position after the Meiji Restoration. But, important as these men quite probably were in propagating the practices of confinement and vaginal inspection once they completed their training and returned to Japan, Newton's Yokohama Yoshiwara system was the model for the imposition of vaginal inspections for prostitute women as it was instituted among civilian brothels throughout Japan beginning in the 1870s. That Matsumoto spent the early 1870s receiving medical training in Germany (where they almost undoubtedly studied medical regulation), created a lag between their Nagasaki experiences and their subsequent participation in expanding medical regulation, supports my interpretation because in the meantime regulation expansion was soon underway. Burns, "Bodies and Borders."

[80] Watt Stewart, *Chinese Bondage in Peru; a History of the Chinese Coolie in Peru, 1849-1874* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1970).

immediately contacted Yokohama authorities and strongly urged them to address the situation on the charge that the workers' right to humane treatment was being violated. Unsure of how to proceed, seeing as how their judiciary had yet to gain its feet—let alone face a situation of this complexity and international scope—Japanese authorities decided to impound the ship, relocate the Chinese to a makeshift stockade, and consulted the British, American, German, and French consulates. Interestingly, European opinions differed: the British and French consulates urged the Japanese to release the Chinese on the grounds that Portuguese in Macao had kidnapped the Chinese would-be laborers or else gained their participation under false pretenses and had subsequently treated them in inhumane fashion. On the other hand, the French, German, Danish, and Italian consulates were less than enthusiastic about the prospect of Japanese courts intervening in what they saw as a contract dispute between Chinese and Peruvian parties. They urged officials to return the Chinese to the ship, forcibly if necessary.

Ōe Taku, the young official appointed as judge for the case, nonetheless ordered the Chinese freed and repatriated on the logic that Japanese law forbade slavery. And here is where Japan's legal regime with respect to indentured prostitute women entered the story. Because although the captain of the *Maria Luz* set off for parts unknown upon losing the trial, abandoning his crew and ship, the Peruvian government brought suit against the would-be coolies, urging the Japanese government to compel them to fulfill the terms of their contracts. Peru's representative at bar, Frederick Victor Dickins, argued that Japanese law recognized slavery under the aegis of the indenture contracts between brothels and the parents of indentured young women, and therefore that Japan had no standing to abrogate others' indenture contracts. Ōe outmaneuvered Dickins in his decision by asserting that it was one thing for a country to enforce indenture within its borders and another for a country to allow humans to be trafficked across them.

A month later the government promulgated the "Emancipation Decree for Female Performers and Prostitute Women"(*geishōgi kaihōrei*), which unilaterally canceled the all existing debts and contracts that bound prostitute women to brothels. The immediate outcome of the Emancipation Decree was very positive for Yoshiwara prostitute women: with their indentures unilaterally abrogated, hundreds immediately packed up and departed. Presumably, they pursued the normal life cycle of the pleasure worker, which was to return home and marry.[81]

For the time being the central government seemingly washed its hands of the issue. Left to their own devices, individual prefectures interpreted the Decree differently. Hyogo, for example, initially saw it as requiring the dismantlement of the hegemony of brothelkeepers by allowing prostitute women to operate independently. However, in most cases prefectural authorities cleaved to the side of the brothelkeepers—and quickly moved to shore up the industry

[81] An article of faith in the historiography of Japanese prostitution is that most of these very women reentered the trade soon thereafter because they had no other means of support. To be sure, the numbers of indentured women soon recovered; but the flow of women into the brothel system did not cease, and there is no evidence that the *same* women restaffed the brothels. Returning home and marrying at the end of the indenture was the typical plan for an indentured brothel prostitute woman—and there is no reason to assume that most or all of the women released in 1872 were unable to follow this course. As long as we are making assumptions, we should note that it was highly likely that a portion of a woman's original indenture payment was often set aside for her dowry, meaning that these women would be in prime position to take advantage of an early release: maybe most of them married, and a new crop of women were enrolled in indentures because on the one hand suddenly-short-staffed brothels offered favorable terms and because those who indentured their daughters hoped that the liberation might be repeated.

by such measures as banning private prostitution regardless of the fact that the Decree gave them no explicit basis to do so.[82]

Scholars long interpreted the Emancipation Decree as a "remarkable reversal of inherited policy."[83] Beginning in the 2000s, this interpretation was largely supplanted by a new one. To Hoshi Reiko, this so-called Emancipation "was only done to divert critical foreign attention from human trafficking and the slavery conditions in which pleasure workers existed."[84] Likewise, Yoshimi Kaneko and Susan Burns interpret these events as a public-relations maneuver designed to improve Japan's international reputation as it surpassed a Euroamerican nation, Peru, in demonstrating compassion for the oppressed, while Elizabeth Lublin writes that the changes made to prostitution policy were "cosmetic rather than substantive."[85]

This tends toward seeing a case of modern, humanitarian efforts (by those such as Ōe Taku) co-opted and corrupted by authoritarian, heartless elements of the Meiji state (specifically the police). The upshot of these analyses is that the Emancipation Decree represents the potential for a different Meiji, one in which liberal tendencies prevailed. In the most extreme cases, these interpretations a few different outcomes at key points in the Meiji period would have prevented the facisization that came to characterize the first half of the twentieth century. Here, the

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[82] Hitomi Sachiko, "*Meiji shoki no Osaka ni okeru yūsho seido to 'saihen kōshō sei,'" [*Pleasure-Quarter System and 'Reformulated Prostitution Regulation' in Osaka in the First Year of the Meiji Era] *Historia*, no. 213 (January 2009), pp. 24, 230-31.

[83] Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, p. 91.

[84] Hoshi, "*Kindai kōshō seido*," p. 1.

[85] Elizabeth Lublin, *Reforming Japan: the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the Meiji Period* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010), p. 105, note 9.

shortcoming lies in overvaluing the humanist motivations of the actors. These supposed liberators—led by Ōe Taku—were not motivated by pure sympathy.

Another set of scholars, who also take cynical views of the Meiji state, describe the Emancipation Decree itself as a means to modernize its regulatory system. This interpretation is common among those who draw a straight line from the Edo period Yoshiwara to the Comfort Woman stations of wartime Japan.[86]

However, the true story goes deeper. The decree drew on language from an 1869 petition to Japan's first modern deliberative body—the *Kōgisho*—submitted by legal scholar, bureaucrat, and social critic Tsuda Mamichi. Tsuda was perhaps Japan's first abolitionist, and his petition argued that all indentures reduced their subjects to the level of "horses or oxen." Furthermore, "the proposal noted that under current practices acrobats, prostitute women, and other performers were being denied their 'right to freedom and autonomy' (*jiyū jishu no ken*[87])"in a way unknown in other countries.[88]

Recent scholarship has brought both straightforward links between *Maria Luz* and the Emancipation Decree as well as simple interpretations of the Decree as window-dressing into question. The above interpretations continue to predominate despite the fact that Obinata Sumio's investigation of the territorial battle within the government has been available for nearly

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[86] Hata Ikuhiko, *Ianfu to senjō no sei* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1999), p. 27; Kim Il-myŏn, *Nihon josei aishi: yūjo, jorō, karayuki, ianfu no keifu* (Tokyo: Gendaishi Shuppankai, 1980), p. 19.

[87] 自由自主の権.

[88] Daniel Botsman, "Freedom without Slavery? 'Coolies,' Prostitutes, and Outcasts in Meiji Japan's 'Emancipation Moment,'"*American Historical Review*, vol. 116, no. 5 (December 2011), pp. 1339-40; Obinata Sumio, *Nihon kindai kokka no seiritsu to keisatsu* (Tokyo: Azekrashobō, 1992), p. 281.

two decades. Obinata details how the Decree drew on language from an 1869 petition to Japan's first modern deliberative body—the *Kōgisho*—submitted by legal scholar, bureaucrat, and social critic Tsuda Mamichi. Tsuda was perhaps Japan's first abolitionist, and his petition argued that all indentures reduced their subjects to the level of "horses or oxen. "Obinata notes that the Justice Ministry first considered reforms to the various labor 'contracts' that bound both boy acrobats, brothel prostitute women, and other performers on 23 June 1872, while United States and British diplomats submitted letters urging a Japanese-government inquiry on 29 June 1872 and Ōe Taku officially opened the Japanese investigation on 1 July. Furthermore as Daniel Botsman notes, Tsuda's 1869 "proposal noted that under current practices acrobats, prostitute women, and other performers were being denied their 'right to freedom and autonomy' (*jiyū jishu no ken*[89])"in a way unknown in other countries; this language drew on Euroamerican discourses of liberalism in a way only indirectly inspired by foreign pressures.[90]

Added to this is the general fact that during the upheaval of the last decades of the nineteenth century, no master plan guided the individuals and institutions that held stakes in prostitution, or indeed other developments of the Japan's modern state. With so many working at cross purposes and without communication or coordination, we should not conclude that medicalzing the brothel industry left the Tokugawa system intact wholly or even largely intact. Thus the *Maria Luz* was not the initial or only impetus for the reforms that followed. And therefore, any claims that the Decree was nothing more than window-dressing thrown up in reaction to the sudden exposure of the brothel industry to foreign attention should be revised accordingly. I echo Botsman in the opinion that "skeptical" views of the Emancipation Decree as

[89] 自由自主の権.

[90] Botsman, "Freedom without Slavery?"" pp. 1339-40; Obinata, *Nihon kindai kokka*, p. 281.

nothing more than a face-saving gesture mistakenly reduce the complexity of this set of developments.[91]

Attention to the *Maria Luz* affair is warranted, though. Although the incident did not initiate the government's interest in reevaluating early-modern indentures, it was a strong "shock" that added urgency to the government's actions on the issue and that influenced the outcome.[92] Likewise, Daniel Botsman argues for the significance of the international context, noting that Nicholas Hannen, informal advisor to Ōe Taku for the trial, argued in private that "the similarities between the contractual arrangements for Japanese prostitute women and the 'coolies' from the *Maria Luz* would make it difficult for the court to issue a strong ruling against Hereira,"[93] and indeed Ōe's decision gave the sense of hanging on a technicality. The most notable effect of Dickins's highly-publicized condemnation of Japanese brothel indenture was an increased urgency among officials to address the situation in an equally-public way. Another effect of this interplay is that the final Decree was limited to female performers and prostitute women, rather than the more general category of indentures. Furthermore, while the initial proposal was to limit the terms of indentures to one year or less, the finalized edict called for the complete emancipation of these women. Thus the *Maria Luz* incident precipitated a narrowing, acceleration, and radicalization of the Emancipation Decree.

The import of Obinata's argument is that officials saw 'liberating' prostitute women (and eliminating no-longer-acceptable forms of indenture such as that of boys in the sex trade) as a step toward the improvement of contract law in general rather than as a specific attack on the

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[91] Botsman, "Freedom without Slavery?"

[92] Obinata, *Nihon kindai kokka*, p. 282.

[93] Botsman, "Freedom without Slavery?""p. 1340.

prostitution-regulation system. The reregulation of prostitution under the Tokyo ordinances of two days later were similarly premeditated, with the intent of redefining the relationships between the state, the brothel, the parents of the prostitute woman, and the prostitute woman in terms of the new legal regime that nominally treated all parties to a contract as autonomous agents.

In so doing it provided the government with a high-profile opportunity to showcase its burgeoning commitment to "modern" humanitarian values, such as individual liberty and the benevolent treatment of women. And indeed, the Emancipation Decree would lead to changes in Euroamerican opinion of the Japanese government.[94] The decree cannot be completely divorced from neither the drive to earn the goodwill of the nations with which Japan had "unequal" treaties[95] nor the direct influence of agents of the British government. For example, Fujime Yuki identifies something of a conspiracy at work when she draws a direct link between the original French military system of the early nineteenth century and the Japanese system of the late nineteenth century.[96]

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[94] Ibid., p. 1337.

[95] Japan had concluded these under duress to most several the United States of America and several European nations beginning with the 1858 Treaty of Amity and Commerce. These treaties granted extraterritoriality, most-favored-nation status, and trade access to several ports that otherwise would have remained closed to foreign ships, and fixed import-export duties at rates highly-favorable to Euroamerican traders. The respective treaties between the Japan and the United States and Britain represented a larger portion of international trade than those between the nations that objected to Ōe's decision, and this factor may well have influenced his treatment of the case.

[96] Fujime Yuki, "Japanese Feminism and Commercialized Sex: The Union of Militarism and Prohibitionism," *Social Science Journal Japan*, vol. 9, no. 1 (April 2006).

As noted above, prefectures were ill-prepared to reconfigure prostitution-regulation in the immediate aftermath of the Emancipation Decree, a fact exacerbated by a lack of clear instruction from the central government. This is not to say that was ever a threat to the brothel industry though. In fact—and ironically, given the radicalized nature of the final decree—the language of freedom itself provided the framework for the reregulation of brothel prostitution.[97]

The Emancipation Decree made no stipulation against either brothelkeeping or prostitution per se. And inasmuch as it changed nothing with respect to families' need for cash as well as the cultural norms regarding indenturing daughters, working in the pleasure industry as a temporary occupation, or men's patronization of brothels, this should come as no surprise. Only two days after the promulgation of the Decree, the Finance Ministry informed brothelkeepers that "based on the desire of the person herself, those who wish to make a living are permitted" to enter the brothel industry so long as their motivation was the alleviation of family poverty.[98] Furthermore, the law would recognize traditional indentures so long as they incorporated this language among their clauses. Another development was that, for the first time, the subjects of

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[97] Botsman calls this language of nineteenth-century liberalism" gradually becoming "enmeshed in processes of social change that were already in motion." Botsman, "Freedom without Slavery?""p. 1344.

[98] "*Tōjin no nozomi ni yori tosei itashitaki mono ha kasakyo shidai*." Couching permission for women to enter to the brothel industry in the language of officials' benevolent concern for individual families' wellbeing had Tokugawa roots. Meanwhile, brothelkeepers in Hokkaido weathered the storm without interruption: Hokkaido was at the time a quasi-colony of Japan, and colonial officials forestalled their obligation to enact the decree by appealing to the central government for permission to maintain their indentures on the logic that brothels were important to the government's colonial effort; although their appeals eventually failed, the process delayed enactment of the decree until 1873, by which time the new regulatory system was in place. Hoshi, "*Kindai kōshō seido*," p. 3.

the indentures—the pleasure worker initiate—were to countersign the contracts that bound them. Thus, the government's "commitment" to liberal values did impeded neither official recognition of the brothel industry nor its very real commitment to extracting money from the industry.

In December 1873, the Tokyo municipal government, in cooperation with the Ministry of Justice's Police Division, promulgated the "Regulations regarding the Room-Rental Trade." The Tokyo municipal government soon made itself into a recognizable model for reregulating prostitution—one that was followed all but three prefectures, which switched to tacit regulation.[99] This system allowed pleasure workers who obtained certification, paid a monthly fee, and operated under the auspices of a certified *kashizashiki*[100] to prostitute woman. The code set the age minimum for pleasure workers at fifteen (while *geigi* were allowed to start training at age eight and entertain clients from the age of fifteen). It also compelled pleasure workers to undergo examination for venereal disease at least twice monthly.[101] It was this act that defined pleasure workers as the only legal prostitute woman group—slicing *geigi* out of the regulated-prostitution industry, criminalizing their engagement in paid sex, and designating them as asexualized performers.

As a new legal framework, the centerpiece of the system was the treatment of brothelkeepers and indentured prostitute women as discrete, even unrelated subjects of taxation under a social contract in which pleasure workers supposedly surrender their rights of their own accord.[102] In keeping with the language of autonomy, a loan nominally conferred fewer powers

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[99] Gifu, Wakayama, and Kagoshima.

[100] 貸座敷.

[101] Fujino, *Sei no kokka kanri*, p. 28.|

[102] Hitomi, "*Meiji shoki no Osaka ni okeru yūsho seido to 'saihen kōshō sei,'" pp*. 224, 30-31.

to the loaner over the body of the borrower than a traditional indenture.[103] And the early-modern indenture payments that brothel keepers gave to pleasure workers' parents (*minoshirokin*,[104] monies [in] exchange [for] a person) were redesignated as "advance loans"(*zenshakkin*[105]). Part and parcel of this new system was the official redesignation of brothels to "room-rental businesses"(*kashizashikiya*[106]). Under this configuration, it was the brothel prostitute woman, not the client, who "rented" a room for business purposes; the legal theory was that because the brothel prostitute woman was autonomous within it, any sexual activity that occurred was definitonally voluntary. To reinforce this, indentured prostitute women were to accept payment directly from clients, which money they were to turnover to brothelkeepers to pay the various "rental" and other fees as well as the interest on their indenture loans and to purchase the necessary goods for prostitution, such as makeup, clothing, and bedding. No matter what it was called, once indebted to the brothel, a young woman had no other means to repay the loan than what she earned in her room, and the only means she had of earning money in that room was prostitution.[107]

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[103] Other industries, such as textiles and manufacturing, which had long employed the same sort of contract (though for shorter periods of time and considerably less money) followed suit in changing to advance-payment contracts. Breakup of the *mibun seido*. S*hōgi* were an exception to this with respect to "space"(*ku*) and the limitation of the right to move about. Ibid., p. 219.

[104] 身代金.

[105] 全借金.

[106] Kim Il-myŏn reports that Ōe Taku, erstwhile emancipator of indentured prostitute women, coined the term. Kim, *Nihon josei aishi*, p. 98.

[107] Debt could function similarly in Euroamerican contexts as well. To take but one example, Karras notes that the chances of a prostitute woman's owing money to the brothel keeper" in medieval England, "were great: she

New work by Hitomi Sachiko is extremely informative in this regard. She elaborates on Obinata's interpretation—edifying, but ripe for reinterpretation—by detailing the new power arrangements that propagated from the de-Emancipation Decree. Osaka authorities had begun to tax brothelkeepers and brothel prostitute women separately in 1871. This dismantled a significant element of the early-modern regulatory system, under which the brothel prostitute woman was shielded from the direct intervention of government authority by the brothel as an autonomous institution. Reconstituting the brothel prostitute woman as the individual subject of taxation sped the introduction of the medical-examination system. One support for this view is that the fees charged to brothel prostitute women were nominally intended only to support medical examination. In other words: taxation was an impetus for and a vector of medical examination.[108]

Also stipulated in the new regulations was a schedule of fees charged to both brothels and their inmates, including *geigi*. These systems differed by prefecture, and aggregate figures are unavailable. Specific examples, on the other hand, are. According to Hoshi Reiko, in 1881 Hokkaido brothelkeepers paid licensing fees of three to seven yen per year. Meanwhile, individual pleasure workers paid a minimum of half a yen a month in the smaller cities—and in the largest city, Sapporo, pleasure workers paid fees between one and a half and three and a half yen per month. Thus each pleasure workers paid yearly taxes in the range of six to forty two yen. Meanwhile, one yen a month was an average person's rice intake, and the 1881 tax code stipulated a ceiling of five yen on other businesses even if their earnings were in the thousands of

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might have ended up in the brothel in the first place because of her own or her family's debts, or the keeper could have lent her money." Karras, "The Regulation of Brothels in Later Medieval England," p. 403.

[108] Hitomi, "*Meiji shoki no Osaka ni okeru yūsho seido to 'saihen kōshō sei,'*" p. 221.

yen.[109] Combined, fees levied against brothelkeepers and their indentured pleasure workers totaled in the thousands of yen, at the time a substantial amount of money for government appropriation. Pleasure workers as a group shouldered the greatest burden under this system.

Nominally, the fees charged to them had three purposes: medical examinations, hospitalizations, and home-economics-style training intended to enable pleasure workers to lead domestic lives after their indentures, but the actual situation was egregiously otherwise. In Hokkaido (which was undergoing development as a colony-cum-prefecture) funds derived from the industry comprised between seventy and eighty percent of that prefecture's tax revenue in the late 1870s, enabling the development of the region even when other sources of revenue fell short.[110]

The establishment of new pleasure quarters, the increase of medical intervention in prostitute women' lives, and the competition over the tax proceeds garnered from prostitute women and brothelkeepers proceeded at a rapid pace. The establishment of these districts became a major concern for urban planning, as cities expanded dramatically in the wake of the dismantlement of the Tokugawa laws that tied citizens to their rural localities.[111] For Kobe and Yokohama officials in particular, the presence of both Chinese and Euroamerican expatriate

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[109] Hoshi, "*Kindai kōshō seido*," p. 7. In this environment, it is unsurprising that some brothel keepers opted to pay the occasional fine rather than a regular tax. Cf. Hitomi, "*Meiji shoki no Osaka ni okeru yūsho seido to 'saihen kōshō sei,'*"p. 51.

[110] Hoshi, "*Kindai kōshō seido*," p. 6.

[111] Sumitomo Motomi, "Kōshō mondai to toshi seikatsu: 1910s no Osaka, Haneda yūkaku seichi mondai wo rei ni shite," [The Licensed-Prostitution Problem and Urban Life: Taking the Debate over the Establishment of the Brothel District in Haneda, Osaka in the 1910s as an Example] *Rekishi no Riron to Kyōiku* [Historical Theory and Education], no. 102 (10 October 1998).

communities entered the calculus of brothel districting,[112] while those in Tokyo began to fret over the negative impressions that would form among Euroamericans—and shuffled brothels to Nedzu. Regarding the second, Newton's initial scheme found acceptance in most or all of these locations in the early 1870s. Tokyo had one hospital for each of its six districts. And by 1873 Osaka already had four hospitals, one for each of its legal-brothel districts.[113] And as for the third, the expansion of the system enjoyed sustained success by closely following the expansion of the military.[114] Even as unlicensed prostitution experienced a boom after the turn of the twentieth century.[115] The system started with 38 brothels (circa 1872) and expanded to 59 by 1899. This expansion continued into the 1910s; it then plateaued before falling in the 1930s.[116]

The British Origins of Abolitionism

Early-modern regulatory models in Europe and Japan developed very differently, but also that their modern counterparts did so as well. By comparison, the development of abolitionism, movements against regulation dominated by Protestant Christian groups, developed in a decidedly-orderly fashion. Britain was the birthplace of abolitionism—and before long it became the shining example of abolition in the nineteenth century.

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[112] Hitomi Sachiko, "Kōbe, Fukuhara yūkaku no seiritsu to 'kindai kōshō seido,'" [Birth of the Fukuhara Licensed Quarters, Kobe, and Modern Licenced Prostitution] *Nihonshi Kenkyū* [Japanese Historical Studies], no. 544 (December 2007), pp. 30-31.

[113] Hitomi, "*Meiji shoki no Osaka ni okeru yūsho seido to 'saihen kōshō sei,'"*p. 222.

[114] Fujino, "*Kaisetsu*."

[115] Miriam Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: the Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

[116] Hoshi, "*Kindai kōshō seido*," p. 4; Sheldon Garon, "The World's Oldest Debate? Prostitution and the State in Imperial Japan, 1900-1945,"*The American Historical Review*, vol. 98, no. 3 (June 1993), p. 714.

Why did abolitionism begin in Britain? Two factors are of greatest importance: the extremely-robust communities of Protestant activism to begin with, and the fact that British abolitionists had something substantial to focus their energy on. A crucial protective characteristic of the modern Parisian and German systems forestalled the development of abolitionist movements: no law pertaining to regulation passed in France during the entire nineteenth century.[117] A similar situation obtained in Germany.[118] Harsin elaborates with regard to France:

> The regulatory system proved a very elusive target indeed, for there was no single law, or set of laws, whose revocation would automatically have ended the arbitrary treatment of prostitute women. . . . the policing of prostitution was one of the few areas of the government to be explicitly decentralized . . .[119]

Or even more succinctly: "the French never passed a law regarding prostitution in the nineteenth century."[120]

British Parliamentarians were not so savvy. And it is in part because of this lack that abolitionism was born. What made the British CD Acts novel in the history of state intervention into prostitution was their lack of ambiguity and their relative consistency across Britain. This, in turn, was part of their colonial legacy, where authorities had been free to codify regulation without fear of significant pushback from their fellow Britons.

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[117] Harsin, *Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, p. 80.

[118] "The regulation of prostitution in Germany depended not on legislation, as it did in England with the Contagious Diseases Acts, but merely on a wide interpretation of the powers of the police." Richard Evans, "Prostitution, State and Society in Imperial Germany," *Past & Present*, vol. 70, no. 1 (February 1976), p. 110.

[119] Harsin, *Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, p. 82.

[120] Ibid.

Nonetheless, opposition did not spring up instantly. It was only when members of Parliament expanded the system with the 1869 CD Act, and started to speak of taking the system both permanent and national, they caught the attention of Southampton's rural elite Protestant activists. When the CD Acts raised the public profile of regulation the golden age of regulation ended. So even though it took fifteen years for the LNA to achieve its goal, theirs was the first such victory in the history of regulation. And although it took even longer—until the 1890s—for the movement to take root in countries, like France and Germany, there eventually grew a worldwide, loosely-coordinated, hydra-headed movement for the abolition of regulated prostitution.

When Britain's Parliament expanded the CD Acts to include Southampton they caught the attention of the wrong woman: Josephine Butler. Southampton had stronger-than-average networks of Protestant activists than the other regions then under the CD Acts to begin with.[121] In December 1869 Butler and a constituency of like-minded women gathered to form the Ladies' National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts (LNA). Butler was by all accounts a powerful public speaker, and she soon became the voice of abolition in England.[122] Over the following decade and a half, these groups staged lectures across England, Scotland, and Ireland. And when regulationists attended to voice their protests, the resulting spectacles only

[121] Judith Walkowitz and Daniel Walkowitz, "'We Are Not Beasts of the Field': Prostitution and the Poor in Plymouth and Southampton under the Contagious Diseases Acts," *Feminist Studies,* vol. 1, no. 3/4 (Winter-Spring 1973).

[122] Walkowitz in particular valorizes Butler as a libertarian crusader for lower-class women's rights with respect to the government along the lines of late-twentieth-century secular-feminist activists. This stance has drawn criticism. Helen Mathers, "The Evangelical Spirituality of a Victorian Feminist: Josephine Butler, 1828-1906,"*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 52, no. 2 (April 2001).

served to increase the public profile of the abolitionist cause. Members also pursued opportunities to publish in journals and newspapers. These efforts forced Parliamentarians to defend their positions with respect to the CD Acts, and although there is clear evidence that lawmakers had explicitly supported their original passage,[123] they now stumbled over each other backtracking—claiming that the original acts had slipped under their collective radar. In the moral-reform climate of the 1880s, and in the wake of liberal gains in the House of Commons, repeal of the domestic regulation acts passed in 1884.

This did not spell either the end of abolitionism in general nor British participation in it. Even as the movement for repeal of the CD Acts gathered momentum, Butler and other English abolitionists looked beyond Britain's shores. They envisioned a wave of repeal crossing the continent. (Interestingly, their attention to repeal in the colonies never reached these heights, although in some cases they did.[124] This pattern would reappear in the Japanese-colonial case.)

Yet despite the eventual formulation of international networks, abolitionism in continental Europe proved anemic. For starters, abolitionism never took root in other European countries with regulatory systems, such as Italy and Spain.[125] This is unsurprising given that both of these countries were predominantly Catholic while abolitionism was, of course, predominantly a Protestant concern. Meanwhile, according to Bernstein, Russian abolitionism

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[123] Howell, *Geographies of Regulation: Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Britain and the Empire*.

[124] Heyningen, "The Social Evil in the Cape Colony."

[125] With respect to Italy and its relative lack of abolitionism, cf. Mary Gibson, *Prostitution and the State in Italy, 1860-1915* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986), pp. 91-92.

only got going at the turn of the twentieth century.[126] However, even then, "feminists included abolition in their political agenda, but they never organized a native equivalent of the Ladies' National Association—that is, an organization which would devote its energy to abolitionism alone."[127]

The strongest regional movements for abolition appeared in Germany and France. There, however, the ambiguous legal foundations of regulation continued to stymie abolitionist efforts—as intended. German abolitionism was based on and even a concern among male moral reformers to forestall the development of women's civic groups.[128] Current scholarship does not make thoroughly clear the degree to which abolitionists captured public attention. Yet even when abolition came about in the first half of the twentieth century, major declines in bureaucratic and expert-medical support for regulation was also a central factor. Anemic or not, though, the French and German movements saw their countries' regulatory systems falter to a greater degree than the Japanese movement witnessed. France disbanded its morals police and closed their examination dispensaries in the early 1910s and allowed a shift from large-scale, surveillable brothels to independent operations in what Corbin calls "neoregulationism. "Meanwhile, Germany officially abandoned regulation in 1927—although individual municipal police forces

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[126] She writes that support for regulation "disintegrated" by the turn of the century. Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, p. 175. Cf. pp. 202-18 on the Russian Society for the Protection of Women, which formed in 1899 and began rescue efforts.

[127] Ibid., p.293.

[128] Edward Dickinson, "The Men's Christian Morality Movement in Germany, 1880-1914: Some Reflections on Politics, Sex, and Sexual Politics," *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 75, no. 1 (March 2003).

continued to maintain networks of tolerated brothels. However, the Nazis soon overturned this success, reinstating prostitution regulation in 1933.

The major historical outlier with respect to regulation is, of course, the United States of America. There, the largest official regulatory system established was Chicago's, and its short-lived, troublesome example was not much followed, although a movement to institute it developed in New York. (This is not to say that the U.S. had no regulatory systems in place; so-called tacit regulation was extremely widespread.[129]) That additional proposals for regulation—such as those in New York—never got off the ground was due to the efforts of Protestant groups such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). In the form of the WCTU the United States of America exerted influence on Japanese abolitionism. So even though it did not have much of a history of regulation, its relevance to Japanese abolitionism was vital.

Abolitionism in Japan

This brings us to the beginnings of abolitionism in Japan. In the first decades of Japan's enlivened contact with Euroamerican nations, which began in the early 1852, Protestant evangelists made it their primary goal to spread their faith. As a secondary goal, they took up what they saw as the moral education of Japanese, opening academies that taught foreign languages, mathematics, and other basic academic topics in addition to religious doctrine.

[129] On tacit prostitution regulation in the United States of America, cf. e.g. Joel Best, "Careers in Brothel Prostitution: St. Paul, 1865-1883,"*Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 12, no. 4 (Spring 1982); Mary Murphy, "The Private Lives of Public Women: Prostitution in Butte, Montana, 1878-1917,"*Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, vol. 7, no. 3 (1984); Paula Petrik, "Capitalists with Rooms: Prostitution in Helena, Montana, 1865-1900,"*Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, vol. 31, no. 2 (1981); Neil Shumsky, "Tacit Acceptance: Respectable Americans and Segregated Prostitution, 1870-1910,"*Journal of Social History*, vol. 19, no. 4 (Summer 1986).

Among those who most eagerly took up evangelists on this invitation were of the samurai (and soon to be former-samurai) class. This created a substantial community of well-educated, -connected, and devoutly-minded men and women who were only inferior to their British and American counterparts in numbers, not zeal. By the late 1880s, when the debate over regulation gathered steam, many members of this community were second and third generation converts to Christianity—which is to say that they were evangelized and educated by fellow Japanese.

As in Britain, these Protestant Christians would spearhead a multi-pronged effort that included publishing, editorializing, and public speaking. Also like their British counterparts, Japanese abolitionists had a fairly-cohesive set of laws to contest. Yet while Britons had the luxury of nipping regulation in the bud before it expanded into a national system from a limited naval one, Japanese abolitionists confronted a centuries-old tradition of accepting prostitution as a set of institutions in urban life, strong support from the civilian government, and—most importantly of all—an extremely-powerful brothel industry. Another crucial difference was the indenture contracts that bound pleasure workers to brothels, which had just been updated to incorporate some liberalist verbiage so that they rested on a "modern" contractual basis. On the other hand, the officially-recognized status of these contracts, and the access that they granted to the inner workings of brothels, worked in abolitionists favor: this allowed abolitionists to focus on the humanitarian situation that pleasure workers endured in the often-dark, unhygienic, and fire-prone rooms that pleasure workers ostensibly rented.[130]

One of the homegrown Christian was Iwamoto Yoshiharu (1863-1942) He neither received his (initial) schooling in Christian theology from Euroamerican missionaries nor did he

[130] As early as the 1880s abolitionists even used the term *jinken* (人権)—long before its English-language counterpart, "human rights," became common parlance.

ever travel to Euroamerica. His academic education and early publishing efforts was in agriculture, based on which he worked to modernize Japanese farm practices with the improvement of rural standards of living in mind. Women's status in society, however, was his passion. He became an early and prominent advocate of women's education in Meiji Japan. He began his studies as a student of English at Dōjinsha in 1876, in 1880 he moved on to study agriculture, and then in 1882 to Christian theology. He was baptized in 1883, and in 1885 became one of the founding members of the Meiji Girl's School in Tokyo along with Tsuda Umeko, Shimada Saburo, and other prominent advocates of women's education. In 1892 he would become the head of that school. So although his technical training was in agriculture, and although he was devoted to helping Japanese farmers improve their practices, women's education and emancipation were his passion.

In 1885 Iwamoto led publication of *Jogaku Zasshi* (Women's Learning Journal), also in Tokyo.[131] In this endeavor he aimed to disestablish the practices of barring women from education and equal agency within marriage. However, his philosophy and practice continued to

[131] Tokyo was not the only site of abolitionists efforts, as many in more provincial locations concentrated their efforts locally. Gunma prefecture was an early site of abolitionism in Japan. Gunma's own Emancipation Decree predated Tokyo's. Edo-like concerns about profligacy—connected to Gunma's Edo-period experience of post-station prostitution, along the lines of Stanley's description.[131] Thereafter Gunma enjoyed pride of place in Japanese abolitionist texts. They especially enjoyed making political hay out of statistics drawn from Gunma and the two other prefectures—Wakayama and Kagoshima—that never reregulated. Onozawa Akane, *Kindai Nihon shakai to kōshō seido: minshūshi to kokusai kankeishi no shiten kara* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2010).

privilege men's tutelary roles with respect to women and his goal was to empower women as wives and mothers rather than as professionals or officials.[132]

By the late 1880s, when Iwamoto's writings on this issue began appearing outside of his own publications, he had already established himself in the Progressive Protestant community. I will focus today on his December 1889 *Girō zenpai* (Complete elimination of brothels)—which comprises a bit of original writing and a lot of text reproduced from Iwamoto's Women's education journal. As I mentioned, an international abolitionist movement was picking up speed at that time and its publications were spreading throughout the global Protestant community. *Girō zenpai* reveals Iwamoto's close attention to this international publishing effort. All of the main arguments of the abolitionist camp appear. These were: one, that prostitution was slavery; two, that its legality was a national embarrassment; three, that its legality encouraged the consumption of all prostitution because men saw no moral difference between registered and unregistered prostitutes; and four, that potential clients overestimated the effectiveness of the examination system, which drew them into putting themselves at risk.

This engagement with the international community of abolitionists took its most recognizable form when Euroamericans visited Japan to encourage or participate in the effort. The longest-lived of these came when Ulysses Grant Murphy (1869-1967) relocated to Japan between 1893 and 1908, during which time afterward Murphy worked tirelessly to spread

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[132] Nakajima Misaki, "Iwamura Yoshiharu no jinken/joken ron no tenkai: joshikyōiku no zentei toshite," [The Development of Iwamoto Yoshiharu's Thinking on Human Rights and Women's Rights—the Premise of His View of Women's Education] *Tokyo Daigaku Kyōiku Tetsugaku-Kyōikushi Kenkyūshitsu* [Bulletin of the Faculty of Education, University of Tokyo], no. 31 (30 march 1991) <http://ci.nii.ac.jp/naid/110000197666/>.

information about prostitution in Japan among his fellow abolitionists.[133] (He continued this campaign in Europe and the United States thereafter.)

Meanwhile, Japanese abolitionists' attended international conventions of Protestant activists from the 1910s on helped pave the way for the League of Nation's Convention on the Traffic in Women and Children of both 1921 and 1937. The report of these conventions included evaluations of prostitution in all corners of the globe, but it focused particular attention on Japan its colonies because prostitution was much more established there because as an accepted member of the "civilized world" Japan was an outlier in the scope of its legalized-prostitution regime.[134]

The most important single event of foreign influence came in 1886. The Tokyo WCTU (later renamed the Japan Women's Christian Temperance Union and hereafter referred to as the JWCTU) was another case of Japanese reformers drawing on various Euroamerican institutions to synthesize their own. In this case, while the content of their activism resembled that of the LNA in its focus on regulation, these women formed their group under the aegis of the American WCTU.

In 1883 Frances Willard, founder of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, urged one of her closest co-founders, Mary Clement Leavitt, to set off on an international tour to spread the group's message abroad. The mission was unfunded, a leap-of-faith that relied on the generosity of fellow Christian reformers in cities around the globe. Although the primary method was to recruit expatriate American and European women to undertake temperance activities in

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[133] Lublin, *Reforming Japan: the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the Meiji Period*. Also cf. Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, p. 92.

[134] Onozawa, *Kindai Nihon shakai to kōshō seido*.

foreign cities, she found an eager audience among the elite Japanese Protestant community. Leavitt traveled extensively and lectured constantly; but the crowning achievement of her visit was it catalysis of the formation of a group of Japanese reformers in Tokyo, who decided to form a branch of the JWCTU.

True to its name, the homefront WCTU targeted drinking as the locus of a broad array of social problems—such as domestic abuse, families' financial ruin, and prostitution. Japanese reformers, however, tended to see the brothel as the specific site of destructive revelry, and to see geisha and pleasure workers as the spreaders of these ills. The vector of this spread was not only the supposedly-hereditary transmission of alcoholism from fathers to sons, but geishas' dance and musical performances at official events and public advertisements for the pleasure quarters. Thus when the JWCTU voted itself into existence with a membership of around a hundred women and half a dozen men as honorary members on 6 December 1886 its founders immediately modified the objectives to meet their own ideas of what Japan needed and what their group could achieve.[135]

The JWCTU centered its efforts on publishing. Here more than anywhere else, the half dozen male honorary members proved invaluable allies to the cause—especially Iwamoto. He provided arrangements for meetings, space in which to edit the group's magazine, and a significant amount of the content for both. He also lent his name as editor to the journal, a necessity to circumvent the ban on women publishing on political matters.[136]

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[135] Lublin, *Reforming Japan: the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the Meiji Period*, p. 31.

[136] Ibid., pp. 29-34, 41; Noheji Kiyoe, *Josei kaihō shisō no genryū: Iwamoto Yoshiharu to 'Jogaku Zasshi'* (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 1984).

Yet another example of international cooperation also began in the nineteenth century. The Salvation Army, which began in London in 1865 and spread its organization to Japan 1895, was an important group in the fight against regulation, but much more salient was Purity Society. A proximal motivator for the formation of Purity Society was a 1911 fire in the Yoshiwara. The group comprised male and female activists and its objective was to convince the city to take that opportunity to retract the district's operating license. At their most optimistic, members of the group saw this as a springboard to national abolition. This movement eventually failed. However, Purity Society persisted and became the most powerful abolitionist group in the country. When a similar fire destroy Osaka's Namba brothel district in 1916, the group again attempted to prevent reconstruction through a combination of local grass-roots activism and long-distance agitation from its Tokyo headquarters. Although this campaign also failed, according to Sumitomo Motomi, this signaled the end of the placement of brothel districts as components of urban planning for major cities, although this was not the case for cities whose economies relied heavily on military installations.[137] In 1926 Kakuseikai, or the Purity Society, and the WCTU joined forces to form the Abolition League (*Haishō renmei*) and continued to publish the journal under the name *Kakusei,* which the group glossed as *The Purity*, until 1945.

The cardinal success of the Japanese abolition movement came when the Diet enacted voluntary deregistration (*jiyū haigyō*) for pleasure workers. (This term is usually translated as

[137] Jeffrey Hanes, *The City as Subject: Seki Hajime and the Reinvention of Modern Osaka* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Sumitomo Motomi, "*Kōshō Mondai to Toshi Seikatsu: 1910s Osaka, Haneda Yūkaku Secchi Mondai wo Jirei ni shite*," [The licensed-prostitution problem and urban life: taking the debate over the establishment of the brothel district in Haneda, Osaka in the 1910s as an Example] *Rekishi no Riron to Kyōiku* [Education and the Logic of History], no. 102 (October 1998).

"free cessation."[138] However, I find that "voluntary deregistration" conveys the meaning more clearly.[139]) However, the victory was largely a hollow one; and abolitionists spent the succeeding decades critiquing the policy as a sham even while they encouraged women to take pursue it.[140]

Authorities used the provisions of voluntary deregistration to take the wind out of abolitionists' sails without jeopardizing the stability of the system. This law changed the shape of the industry not at all because, among other factors, the debts incurred by the contract were too high to repay through any other labor available to uneducated women and their families. Nonetheless, with their moral cover intact, government officials and brothelkeepers largely went on their merry way. And with their most broadly-appealing argument—that brothel indenture was a violation of prostitute women' civil rights—largely defused, abolitionists were unable to maintain public interest in the issue of pleasure workers' rights. As a result, the debate lulled for almost ten years. This changed after the abolitionist Japan Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Salvation Army joined forces in 1911 to form the Purity Society. This happened

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[138] Cf. Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, p. 92.

[139] For one thing, deregistration was anything but "free" in the monetary sense of the word because women who took that action and their cosigners were liable for all of their debts. For another, the most important aspect of deregistration from the law's perspective was that women were ceasing to be registered. Incidentally, Ridely-Smith prefers this term for the French context in his translation of Parent-Duchâtelet. Parent-Duchâtelet, *Prostitution in the City of Paris*, vol.1.

[140] Cf. e.g. Abe Isoo, "*Shōgi haigyō no susume*," in Recommending deregistration to pleasure workers, ed. Abe (Tokyo: Kakuseikai Honbu, 1925); Masatomi, *Kono risaisha or sukuhe*. ; Shimada Saburo et al., "*Shōgi jiyū haigyō annai*," in A Guide to Voluntary Deregistration for Pleasure Workers, ed. Shimada, et al. (Tokyo: Kakuseikai Honbu, 1914); ed. Wada Hatsuji, *Shōgi to jinken* [Pleasure Workers and Human Rights] (Tokyo: Kaitakusha, 1900). Reprinted in *Baibaishun mondai shiryō shūsei—senzenhen*, vol. 1, pp. 185-216.

in the wake of a fire in Osaka's Namba licensed quarters; abolitionists saw this as serendipity, an opportunity to eliminate the district, which single abolition could be a springboard to a national repeal.

Like the campaign that brought about Voluntary Deregistration, the one that against the (re)establishment of licensed quarters ended in mixed success at best. Protest movements against the rebuilding of urban brothel districts brought an end to brothel districting as an overt component of urban planning in the pre-World-War-Two period.[141] However, Tokyo promptly rebuilt the Yoshiwara in 1911, and the Osaka district in question was relocated—even expanded—to three other areas of the city soon after 1916. As for voluntary deregistration: the very activists who had struggled so hard in support of the policy that allowed pleasure workers to remove themselves from the police registers without the consent of their parents would spend the following decades criticizing it as a sham. A pleasure worker's parents stood as guarantors of her contract, meaning that if she absconded or deregistered, her family would face stiff financial consequences. The procedure of deregistration was also extremely arduous, as a woman had to approach the brothel-district police and undergo stern lectures and intimidating warnings in order

[141] This would change in the immediate postwar, as Allied occupying forces cooperated with officials in Japan and the areas formerly under its control to create prostitution districts catering to U.S. forces. Sarah Kovner, *Occupying Power: Sex Workers and Servicemen in Postwar Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012); Katharine Moon, *Sex among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Onozawa Akane, "*Sengō Okinawa ni okeru A Sain Bā—Hosutesu no Raifu Historī*," [The A-Sign Bar in Postwar Okinawa—a Hostess's Oral History] *Ryūkyū Daigaku Hōbungaku Bu kiyō—Nihon Tōyō Bunka Ronshū* [Bulletin of the Ryukyu University Department of Legal and Literary Studies—Japan East-West Culture Essays], no. 12 (March 2006).

to follow through on her rights.[142] Indeed, the reason many if not most pleasure workers entered the trade in the first place was to assist in their family's finances, and an indentured pleasure worker owed a great deal more money than she could make through other forms of work. For these reasons deregistration was not a practical choice for the vast majority of pleasure workers. In the end, voluntary deregistration further legitimated the assertion that pleasure workers "chose" to remain in brothels. Meanwhile, the political capital of Christian elites depreciated after the turn of the century as new elites arose and as Christianity increasingly came to be seen as incompatible with Japanese identity.

The larger prostitution industry of which the brothel was one component did not remain static in this period. One factor was the rapid increase in other forms of female labor that bordered on sex work had cut into the brothel industry's market share. Particularly noteworthy is the café waitress, in whom Miriam Silverberg took an especially-strong interest. The café waitress was the leading example of a woman who, even when she did not offer sex, at the least provided an erotic experience for her clients through conversation, outright flirtation, and sexually-charged clothing while servicing tables in cafés.[143] As these new forms of interaction

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[142] Meanwhile, regulationists rehearsed counter arguments to deregistration; these often took on the character of canned lectures for brothelkeepers to use against employees who expressed a desire to deregister. Kimura Usaji, *Hōritsu no mitaru shōseido* (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1999). Reprinted in *Baibaishun mondai shiryō shūsei—senzenhen*; Nakae Chōmin et al., *Shōgi sonpai naigai taika ronshū* [Collected Essays on the Ins and Outs of the Prostitution Debate] (Tokyo: Kenkoku Shinpōsha, 1900), p. ii. Reprinted in *Baibaishun mondai shiryō shūsei—senzenhen*, vol. 7, pp. 322-71.

[143] Silverberg was at pains to distinguish the café waitress from both *shōgi* of her day and the "hostess" of today's Japan. However, I see strong similarities in the fact that both used means besides sex—the illusion of sexual ability—to attract and entertain clients. Furthermore, some café waitresses sold kisses while some (encouraged by

between female entertainers and male clients gained popularity, some brothelkeepers found themselves trapped by the legally-prescribed clothing and music and food that had carried over from the early-modern brothel. This extended to the procedures of a brothel visit, which required that the client and the pleasure worker engage in a perfunctory meal before retiring to her private quarters, and brief but equally-stilted procedures to pay her fees. In the late-nineteenth century, this format had been written into law, possibly at the request of brothelkeeping trade groups, in order to maintain quality control—in other words, to ensure that the brothel would always represent the finest of the early-modern tradition of the brothel. Ironically, these laws became disadvantageous to the industry as the practices they stipulated lost cachet in favor of more "modern" entertainments such as jazz music and flapper-style dress.

The twentieth century saw shifts in the regulationist camp as well. Three factors were important in this. Firstly, the downward expansion of the electorate and the rise of party politics had diminished the political influence of brothelkeepers relative to other constituencies. Secondly, as the nineteenth century turned into the twentieth, military installations became the fastest-growing market for brothel districts. This expansion was dramatic in the rural mainland before the turn of the century, and then shifted to Japan's overseas colonies; both of these were largely removed from the public gaze.

This narrative, short though it may be, allows for a critique of existing scholarship on the abolitionist movement. Japanese scholars are in the habit of asserting that abolitionists

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their employers) offered sex-for-pay outside of business hours. When a client walked into one of these cafés, therefore, he had the hope, if not the expectation, of getting something more than a wink for his money. Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: the Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times*.

"definitely," *kesshite*, never sought the complete elimination of commercial sex.[144] Abe Isoo was one such abolitionist. In fact, Abe was the first president of the Purity Society, and for the inaugural issue of that organization's journal he outlined "Misconceptions Regarding the Complete Elimination of Licensed Prostitution"(*Kōshō zenpai setsu ni taisuru gokai*). Addressing himself to the general public and his movement's opponents, Abe argued that Purity Society members were not so foolhardy as to seek the complete eradication of prostitution throughout society.[145]

Yet there are two problems with blanket statements to the effect that all abolitionists were realists. On the one hand, early abolitionist texts evince a strong optimism that sexual vice could be entirely eliminated. In fact, Iwamoto's 1889 text entitled The Complete Elimination of Brothels, supports this: he implicitly argued that the elimination of the spectral "evil friend," who was after all the true cause of prostitution, would lead to the gradual extinction of all sexual vice. And moreover, some later texts still describe the elimination of the brothel system as the first step toward an overwhelmingly-wholesome society. Throughout the prewar period, most abolitionists continued to argue for morality as a grand concept and for abolition as a first step on a longer road to moral reform. And although most texts explicitly focused on the elimination of the regulatory system, some authors continued to name all of prostitution as their goal, including

[144] Fujino, *Sei no kokka kanri*, p. 12; Fujino, "*Kaisetsu*, " pp. 4-5.

[145] Abe Isoo, "*Kōshō seido to shakai no fūgi*," [Regulated Prostitution and Manners in Society], *Kakusei* [The Purity], no. 1 (7 July 1911), p. 23.

that of a 1914 piece meant to represent the entire JWCTU.[146] Likewise, in the very first article of the first issue of *The Purity*, in the "The prospectus of The Purity"(*Kakuseikai no shuisho*), the group collectively declared that the abolition of regulation was only the first of their ambitions.[147]

Abolitionists certainly did have their blind-spots, especially when it came to prostitution in Japan's colonies (out of sight of judgmental foreign eyes).[148] What concerned abolitionists—especially the members of the JWCTU were overseas Japanese prostitute women who went to locations like Singapore or Hawai'i, where they were visible to Euroamericans.[149] But in sight of texts such as this one, we should not be so hasty as to conclude that abolitionists had given up.

The Significance of the Japanese Brothel Industry and the Regulation Debate

As already mentioned, the police expended the revenue generated by the labor of female prostitute women to suppress the populism of the Freedom and People's Rights movement as

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[146] Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai, "*Naze watakushi wa kōshō shishō no zenpai o shuchō shimasu ka*," in Why Do We Call for the Complete Abolition of Regulated Prostitution?, ed. Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai (Tokyo: Kakuseikai Honbu, 1914).

[147] "*Kakuseikai no shuisho*," [The Prospectus of the Kakuseikai], *Kakusei* [The Purity], no. 1 (7 July 1911).

[148] Song, "Korean 'Karayuki-san.'"; Yamashita Yone, "*Chosen ni okeru kōshō seido to Nihon* [Japan and the Prostitution-Regulatory System in Japan]," [The prostitution regulation system in Korea and Japan] in *Ajia Joseishi: Hikakuteki no Kokoromi* [Asian Women's History: a Comparative Experiment], edited by *Ajia Joseishi Kokusai Shinpojiumu Jikkō Iinkai* (Tokyo: Meiji shoten, 1996).

[149] Hori, "Japanese Prostitution in Hawaii."; Catherine Do not Cite Lee, "Prostitutes and Picture Brides: Chinese and Japanese Immigration, Settlement, and American Nation-Building, 1870-1920,"vol. Working Paper, no. 70 (February 2003); Bill Mihalopoulos, *Sex in Japan's Globalization, 1870-1930: Prostitutes, Emigration, and Nation Building* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011); James Warren, *Ah ku and karayuki-san: prostitution in Singapore, 1870-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

well as the hundreds of smaller protest movements in the 1880s. Scholars also appreciate the importance of the fact that, although brothelkeepers relinquished less of their income than their employees, their taxation was enormous in comparison to that over the average male laborer, who on average paid one yen in tax per year. This meant that, when, in 1890, the national government instituted male suffrage based on the taxation threshold of three yen per man per year, brothelkeepers' political self-representation far exceeded their relative number. This situation continued until the expansion of the electorate due to inflation and tax increases, whereupon the rise in the first decade of the twentieth century of political parties accountable to wealthy rural landlords and, later, enfranchised urban male laborers starkly reduced this overrepresentation. These developments changed the balance of power between the two groups—and it thus became important to later developments such as voluntary deregistration. Nonetheless, while it lasted, their high taxation allowed brothelkeepers to remain dramatically more powerful as a lobby than their abolitionist opponents (a situation unique in global modern history). It therefore stands as a defining characteristic of the Meiji prostitution-regulation debate.[150]

Drawing so much of its income from female laborers (who were firmly debarred from enfranchisement) allowed the Meiji state to avoid higher taxation of male property and labor. And yet taxing brothelkeepers less would have necessitated taxing other men more, which would have enfranchised a larger proportion of men with lower incomes. Likewise, taxing prostitute women' remittances would have enfranchised the patriarchs of low-income families that received their daughters' remittances—which counted neither as income nor as property with

[150] By comparison, Russian brothelkeepers—when they did enter the public sphere—worked against each other at least as much as for their collective benefit. Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters*, pp. 180-81.

respect to the tax code. And, last but certainly not least, enfranchising women by the same standard as men would have created a situation in which brothel prostitute women constituted the vast majority of both the female and proletariat electorate as well as becoming a significant bloc in their own right. Although, of course, such a threat to the patriarchy was unimaginable, the fact remains that these women were only one step away from political overrepresentation on a scale that would have been truly astounding.

The legal codes and bureaucratic frameworks of registering, examining, and incarcerating prostitute women were hardly older in mainland Britain than they were in Japan in 1867—and they were not inevitable developments of a modern science that would never look back. Indeed, the extent of the Acts in 1869 was quite limited. Five years into its efforts to medicalize regulation, the British parliament had enforced its system in only seventeen districts in England and Ireland.[151] Five years after 1869, dozens of lock-hospitals dotted the map in Japan. Fifteen years later, the officially-enforced regulation of prostitution would come to an end in the British Isles; in Japan it would continue for almost seven decades more.

Institutional differences also make the Japanese case more appealing to the historian. Euroamerican nations all had their struggles with the social policy of sexual vice. What did Japan have that none of these other empires had? It had legally-sanctioned brothels that had inherited centuries of tradition, that enjoyed broad popular acceptance, that were able to organize at a national level, that succeeded in courting allies in government and business. Moreover—most relevant to this research—Japanese brothelkeepers demonstrated a sustained eagerness to publish texts that advocated for their industry in the public sphere. By contrast, regulation in all other countries and colonial holdings, whether tacit or explicit, was premised on the understanding that

[151] Walkowitz and Walkowitz, "'We Are Not Beasts of the Field,'" pp. 74-75.

brothelkeepers would keep as low a profile as they could. Given that this trend had begun hundreds of years before the invention of medicalized regulation, it is understandable that brothelkeepers were never able to court a receptive audience in the modern period. Instead, it was government officials and the odd medical doctor who made the case for prostitution, with or without brothels.

In contrast, the Yoshiwara had been at the heart of a national publishing industry since the seventeenth century, meaning that a significant portion of what we know about the cultural history of early-modern Japan derives from texts written by or about inhabitants of its "floating world." Long before 1870, the brothel industry was deeply entrenched in the popular imagination of male heterosociality and heterosexuality. Furthermore, the modern government depended on the industry for revenue, sometimes desperately—as did the thousands of families who engaged in the centuries-old practice of indenturing their daughters to the industry.

The sheer scale of the modern Japanese brothel industry and the symbiotic relationship that evolved between it and Japan's regulatory system also make it an important example. In the early-modern era, brothel districts had claimed pride of place in many local economies ranging from towns along trunk roads to minor cities. And the largest of pleasure quarters practically constituted towns unto themselves. While the cultural importance of the brothel decreased dramatically in the modern period, the brothel industry itself only expanded. In the modern, period local dependence on brothel quarters would spread as the new conscript military built bases throughout the country. The major naval installations at Hiroshima were a prime example

of this.[152] In terms of sheer numbers regulation in the Japanese homeland was the single largest system of prostitution regulation ever implemented; furthermore, in both its -civilian and military-colonial forms it reached a scope matched only by that of the British Empire at its brief heyday in the 1880s. Colonial Korea, Manchuria, and eventually the Philippines, Malaysia, and other south-Oceanic locations became involuntary hosts to military and civilian brothels run by Japanese. Singapore became a veritable extension of this system.

Historians rightfully recognize that textile exports almost singlehandedly changed Japan's balance of trade in the 1880s. This alone is insufficient, however. To the earnings of low-paid female labor in the textile industry, add the remittances that Japanese prostitute women overseas sent to their families (the amount of which is unknown beyond the fact that it was enormous[153]) and it becomes clear that the role of female labor in bankrolling Japan's modernization at both the governmental and family level was far beyond what the field currently appreciates Brothel-prostitutes' labor and the income it generated for their families and the government remains difficult to estimate, but not for a lack of magnitude.

By contrast, European governments did not extract money from the brothel industry. If the French government had, incoming revenue might have offset the regulation fatigue that beset

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[152] Imanaka Yasuko, "*Guntai to kōshō seido* (The Military and Prostitution Regulation)," in *Shokuminchi to sensō sekinin* [Colonies and War Responsibility], edited by Hayakawa Noriyo (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Hirobumi Kan, 2005).

[153] In Malay, for example, Japanese women prostitutes were the first significant immigrant group; and they continued to outnumber Japanese men there until around the First World War. Cf. Yeun, "The Japanese Community in Malaya before the Pacific War."In 1901 a moral reformer in Hawai'i "noted that of the potential $214,000 annual income of the brothels in [the slum] Iwilei . . . $107,000 was sent to Japan." Hori, "Japanese Prostitution in Hawaii," p. 120.

many French police officials.[154] But one of the chief inhibitors to a proper debate in France and Germany was that regulation was not actually legal in either nation. With no particular law to repeal and no specific institution to dismantle, abolitionists were at a bit of a loss for strategies. Often, official stonewalling was sufficient to prevent the emergence of a high-profile debate. And of course, national-level regulation was a nonstarter in the United States of America, making for a lopsided contest between those brothels that police agencies tacitly-allowed and dedicated moral-reform campaigns. For these reasons, Japan's particularly-intense debate deserves scholarly attention from those with an interest in the global history of prostitution regulation in addition to those who have an interest in Japanese history on its own terms.

Conclusion

The history of prostitution in this period is fascinating in its own right. Furthermore, several factors make prostitution regulation more important to the economic, cultural, and legal history of Japan than to its Euroamerican counterparts. By extension, the history of Japan's regulation debate offers a lot of food for thought to historians of prostitution and regulation in other cultural and national contexts.

It was within the context described here that Japan saw an uninterrupted public debate over the merits of prostitution unlike any other nation. The British debate over prostitution regulation would only gain significant public attention a fifteen-year period between 1869 and 1884. Immediately afterward, the British activists who had forestalled the proposed system would be instrumental in raising the temperature of the debate in continental Europe,[155] but there

[154] Harsin, *Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Paris.*

[155] Anne Summers, "Work in Progress: Which Women? What Europe? Josephine Butler and the International Abolitionist Federation," *History Workshop Journal,* no. 62 (Autumn 2006).

was relatively little national-level debate over prostitution regulation in Germany or France, where Protestants had trouble rallying broad support. German abolitionists finally succeeded in overturning regulation in 1927, only to see the Nazi regime reinstate it (and stifle opposition to it) in 1933.[156]

Meanwhile, precisely because Japanese abolitionists never succeeded in repealing regulation, the debate over it continued for so many decades that it gives scholars the opportunity for a longitudinal study of the debate; because the debate carried on for so long, we can see the dramatic changes in the shared conceptions of male sexuality in social policy unfold in discourse on a single topic more clearly than in locations with relatively short-lived debates, such as Britain, or tepid ones, such as the United States of America. The remainder of this dissertation explores how Japanese continually reimagined male sexuality as it bore on prostitution, its regulation, and their society as a whole.

[156] Evans, "Prostitution, State and Society in Imperial Germany."

Chapter Two: The Brothel as the Locus of Male Sexuality, 1874-1900

Introduction

To understand the crux of this chapter, one must take a step back from the way we normally think of sexuality today. Perhaps this can best be demonstrated by juxtaposing a "before" and an "after" snapshot of the discourses of male arousal in Japan across the turn of the twentieth century. For the former, consider how Iwamoto Yoshiharu, a prostitution-regulation critic, described male erotic desire in his 1889 *Girō zenpai*, The Complete Elimination of Brothels:

> It is not the case that brothels first became necessary because people's primal, bestial urges are difficult to control; instead because brothels already exist, bestial urges run rampant—such that in the end brothels become necessary. Look at young men: first they are told of lascivious matters by evil friends; this stirs erotic feelings (*injō o okosu*[157]). Next they are invited to play at a brothel . . . and desire soon becomes difficult to suppress, so that they drown in it, and in the end it poisons their entire bodies.[158]

Iwamoto's description of erotic desire as a disease process directly comparable to addiction, one that requires an external impetus, starkly differs from the discourse of male sexual desire as it would look only a few years later. Brothel-regulation proponent Tanaka Yūkichi defined male sexuality in 1900 thusly:

> The two desires of food and of sex (*iro*[159]) are the natural bodily desires that constitute the hearts and minds of people; and they are indispensable for self-

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[157] 淫情を起す.

[158] Iwamoto Yoshiharu, *Girō zenpai* [Complete Elimination of Brothels] (Tokyo: Jogaku Zasshisha, 1889), pp. 25-26. Reprinted in *Baibaishun mondai shiryō shūsei—senzenhen*, vol. 1, pp. 8-17.

[159] 色. Literally meaning *color*, this term was, and remains, synonymous with eroticism in Chinese and Japanese contexts. cf. Gary Leupp, *Male Colors: the Construction of Homosexuality in Tokugawa Japan, 1603-1868* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p145-46.

> preservation—not lacking them is the single most important condition for the preservation of individuals, and of our species.[160]

Consider this as an "after "snapshot.

In their respective texts, these two authors put forward opposing views on the desirability of prostitution regulation; but more divided their views than a yes-or-no assessment of a given policy. Though separated by little more than a decade, these two short passages reveal the 1890s to be a watershed separating two conceptions of the fundamental nature of male sexual desire. According to the older view, desire arose in the brothel and settled in the body—in the later view, it began in the body and terminated in the species. In the first, the appearance of lust was contingent on the intervention of an "evil friend" closely followed by the experiences of the brothel—one decade later, a man's health was seen as contingent on the unencumbered expression of a sexual desire that always already inhabited his body. In the first, desire was a gateway drug. In the second, sex was the partner to hunger as a pair of natural, necessary, and self-propagating instincts. The latter view soon colonized almost all discussion of sexual desire, representing a fundamental change in Japanese discourses on male sexual desire. Indeed, statements like Tanaka's became the standard way for a proponent of regulation to open an essay, and it became a regular component of abolitionist works as well.

One cannot overstress the fact that in the era when the first passage was written, 1889, both the proponents and the opponents of regulation based their arguments on the assumption that male sexual desire was inextricably linked to, even dependent on, the brothel. The so-called abolitionists of the late nineteenth century envisioned desire as a disease-process explicitly

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[160] Tanaka Yūkichi, *Kōshō ron* [On Prostitution Regulation] (Osaka: Hayakawa Seinosuke, 1900), p. 1. Reprinted in *Baibaishun mondai shiryō shūsei—senzenhen*, vol. 7, pp. 239-271.

comparable to alcoholism and opium addiction.[161] They wanted erotic desire to cease to exist. Likewise, regulationists did not view desire as always present in the male body. Indeed, they saw visits to brothels as necessary for men precisely because they created desire where none would otherwise exist. Such desire, they argued, was a natural mellowing agent for the productive—but also potentially destructive—male psyche.

Of course, shifts in this discourse were not instantaneous, and a particular challenge will be to represent its dynamism and the temporal overlaps between two very different ways of conceptualizing desire. Nonetheless, to the extent that they are chronologically differentiable, this chapter will focus on the rhetoric in the first of these passages and others like it to recover the foreignness of a discourse that constructed desire in a way that we all too easily misrecognize as familiar. The next chapter will pick up on key themes to elucidate how the discourse of desire evolved into a more familiar formation—that of the sexual instinct. This will reveal a significant commonality across the divide between nineteenth and twentieth century discourses—both the conception of desire as the product of the brothel and the conception of it as inherent in the (male) body were the fundamental premises of an ongoing debate over the proper relationship between sexuality and society.

To set the stage, the first portion of this chapter briefly describes the discourses of sexual behavior as they appeared in an Edo-period (1600-1868) dietetics of sexual behavior that did not strongly associate sex and desire but instead held that the best possible sexual practices assured both offspring to continue household lineages and to ensure long, healthy lives. Edo authors who referred to recreational sexual behavior were actually much more interested with what kinds of

[161] Iwamoto Yoshiharu and Shimada Saburo, *Kōshō kametsu* [Prostitution Can Be Eliminated] (Tokyo: Fujin Kyōfūkai Fūzokubu, 1890), p. 7. Reprinted in *Baibaishun mondai shiryō shūsei—senzenhen*, vol. 1, pp. 62-80.

partners to pursue than in the whys and wherefores of the urge to pursue these pleasures. In the hands of authors such as Ihara Saikaku, sexual consumption was essentially conspicuous and highly aestheticized. In the hands of the physician Kaibara Ekiken, it was a matter of health. This description is an attempt to show that a few themes of this mid-nineteenth-century discourse persisted for a time into the modern debate over licensed, medicalized regulation.

Eroticism in Edo-period Texts

The early-modern period was effulgent with discourses on sexuality. Some of these referred to the legendary foundation of Japan by two deities, the female Izanami and the male Izanagi; in such renditions the two were the first to take human form, and their coupling rendered heterosexual sex as a divine example of the harmony of heaven and earth, and between male and female. Such texts usually equated the two deities with the husband and the wife, but this was not strictly necessary. Readers also took great interest in the mechanisms of reproduction. And the role of sexual activity in the maintenance of health—especially male health—was another popular topic. Even marriage manuals often referred back to the brothel quarters whenever they, the manuals, described themselves as a means to bring the sensual pleasures of the brothel's "floating world" into the home. The noble goal of fostering connubial harmony sometimes functioned to allow interest in the prurient topic of brothel's sexual techniques.[162] This could take different, but related, forms in other genres. For instance, in a fanciful graphic novel (*gōkan*) that described marriage and married life through a parable, entitled *Nezumi no yomeiri* (The Rat

[162] C. Andrew Gerstle points to a counter-example in one manual. He notes that the forward to A Treasure Book for Women on the Way of Love―Day and Night (*Endō nichiya nyohōki*) asserts "that the book is a guide to sensual appreciation (*shikidō*), but this [usage of] 'sensuality' does not praise what one seeks in the pleasure quarters." C. Andrew Gerstle, *Edo onna no shungabon: en to shō no fūfu shinan* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2011), p. 198.

Wedding), the rodential groom compared "the wedding to a first meeting with a courtesan in the pleasure quarter." As Kristin Williams explains, in the story this comment celebrates the banquet and the bride as well as serving as "an acknowledgment that the banquet marks the beginning of a sexual relationship."[163]

The variations of these discourses are beyond counting. Other important examples include *yobai*[164] (literally "night crawling" but better translated into current parlance as "hooking up"), to treatises on the anatomy of reproduction, discourses and practices of sexuality encompassed much more than the Yoshiwara.[165] Under the "aesthetic paradigm" of sexuality that Gregory Pflugfelder has identified in early-modern Japan in his landmark *Cartographies of Desire*, followers of the "way of love" were to cultivate a sophisticated, and broad, appreciation of brothel services. This entailed developing an expertise with both male and female pleasure workers.[166] Anne Walthall describes yet another noteworthy example: texts that recommended masturbatory practices for the inhabitants of all-female living quarters in domainal-rulers houses described more pleasurable practices as more healthful.[167] One of the most popular discourses of sexuality from the middle of the Edo period onward was medical, with the relationship between

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[163] Kristin Williams, *Visualizing the Child: Japanese Children's Literature in the Age of Woodblock Print (ca. 1678-1888)* (Ph.D., Harvard University, 2012), p. 203 n. 10, with translation on pp. 177-78.

[164] 夜這い.

[165] Re *yobai*, cf. Akamatsu Keisuke, *Yobai no minzokugau* (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1994).

[166] Gregory Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600-1950* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), chapter 1.

[167] Anne Walthall, "Masturbation and Discourse on Female Sexual Practices in Early Modern Japan,"*Gender & History*, vol. 21, no. 1 (April 2009).

the frequency of sexual activity and physical health, as well as the processes of gestation, appearing frequently in medical texts.[168]

In other words, not all discourses of sexuality politicized sex, or were used to do so in the Meiji period. However, those who debated prostitution chose to adopt only the discourse of the brothel as the model to either promote or oppose. Inasmuch as this research focuses on the politics of sexuality, it sets aside apolitical—or less political—examples, because those who politicized male sexuality did the same. Among the multitude of early-modern discourse of human sexuality available to them, Meiji abolitionists and regulationists both independently selected the discourse of the brothel. Each camp had its own reason for doing so. Regulationists' aim was to maintain the brothel industry, so choosing a discourse that celebrated centuries of success was an instinctive decision. Moreover, in licensed prostitution they saw a government mandate to supply an indispensable commodity—as though the task had been subcontracted to them. Constructing the brothel as the site of erotic desire gave the impression that the brothel industry had a monopoly on that commodity.

For their part, Meiji abolitionists chose to discursively bind sexuality to the brothel because they wanted to alienate sensuality from the home. Because the government saw the family as the basic unite of the nation, if erotic desire was a native species of the brothel that threatened to invade the home, then the government was obligated to eradicate the former to protect the latter. Meanwhile, mythical couplings of heathen deities did not match the Japanese Protestant ideal vision of the Christian home. And while they might have adopted a discourse of

[168] Kawamura Kunimitsu, *Sekushuariti no kindai* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1996); Oda, *Sei*.

sexual activity that focused on bodily health and reproduction, they did not, choosing instead to focus on the potential for the home to foster spiritual health rather than the physical sort.[169]

Secularist Regulation Debates in Early Meiji

Elements of these discourses carried over into the next era of Japanese history, the Meiji Period. This era, ushered in by the so-called Meiji Restoration, arguably saw more change in a briefer period of time than any other in Japanese history. Yet it did not immediately see an immediate or total transformation in past discourses, including those of sexuality. What did change almost immediately was the use to which these ideas were put.

The preamble to the debate over licensed prostitution transpired in a journal named *Meiroku Zasshi* in the 1870s, and in its pages we find evidence of the persistence of early-modern understandings of sexuality.[170] Its contributors sought to become the nation's first public intellectuals, a role that they identified as lacking in Japanese society to its detriment in the "civilized" world system. These men came from samurai lineages and had trained in such fields as law and political theory during overseas trips—some of them prior to the fall of the bakufu and its ban on travel abroad. Their goal was to establish a Japanese intelligentsia in charge of a public sphere.

In *Meiroku* these intellectuals identified elements of Japanese society that required reform in order for Japan to "catch up" with Euroamerican law, culture, and industry. With respect to the institutions that governed relations between the sexes—especially marriage and

[169] Gerstle, *Edo onna no shungabon: en to shō no fūfu shinan*, p. 184.

[170] The name *Meiroku zasshi* combined elements of the year of its foundation—the sixth (*roku*) year of the *Mei*-ji era.

concubinage—the authors had much to say, and in each piece on this topic they condemned that age's norms of gender relations.

In addition to the petition Tsuda sent to the *Kōgisho* (and before British abolitionism got off the ground), Tsuda published on the issue in journals and, most notably, in the Meiji period's most-influential journal of social commentary, *Meiroku Zasshi*, in 1874, described in Chapter Two. However, on the one hand Tsuda was not a lasting presence in the discourse on regulation; and on the other hand, he was neither a member of the chief constituency of the movement nor an articulate advocate for the supposed moral damages of prostitution. And lastly, his writing was neither evocative nor forceful. His position was more instrumentalist than natural-rights oriented, as he—for one—worried first and foremost about international opinion in his *Meiroku Zasshi* writings.

The most vociferous critic of the unequal marriage laws in the Meiji legal code was Mori Arinori. Mori was a staunch nationalist; when he later became Minister of Education he militarized boys' physical education in an effort to strengthen Japan's national power. [171] Yet for him, militarization and the reform of gender-relations went hand in hand insofar as both were integral to Japan's modernization. This attitude was the norm. For *Meiroku* he wrote a five-part essay on the topic of marriage, the fifth part of which culminated in a proposed marriage code that was admirably egalitarian—its most notable deviation from the standard legal codes covering marriage throughout the "civilized "world was that it allowed either party to initiate a divorce. At the core of his critique was a condemnation of the double standard that allowed husbands to pursue extra-marital sex while barring wives from the same with the full backing of the law.

[171] Irie Katsumi, *Nihon fashizumu-ka no taiiku shisō* (Tokyo: Fumaidō Shuppan, 1986), p. 20.

Sensuality was not completely absent from the home in Meiji political discourse. However, it was not neither the wife nor the husband who introduced it—it was the concubine. Mori saw the law as giving husbands free reign to indulge lusts that were inappropriate for the modern home. He often evoked wives' point of view, such as when he asked, "How can we put into words the heartbreak of the wife when, even though she has already given him her body by becoming his wife, protecting her chastity even at the cost of her life, he pays no attention to this and even takes a concubine or buys a wench, giving free reign to his erotic desires? "I do not think that we can," he concluded.[172] What Mori called an injustice took concrete form whenever the son of a concubine—a woman who was usually drawn from the ranks of pleasure worker—succeeded to the head of a household. Mori saw this as especially anathema to legitimate wives, and as a marker of Japan's need for further Westernization.

This change meant the removal of erotic desire from the home. In *jōyoku* Mori saw a disruptive force that should be excised from men's lives rather than transferred from the brothel to the home. In other words Mori saw no positive role for eroticism; the home did not need eroticism in order to function. Furthermore, the solution was a simple one: removing concubines from the home would remove *jōyoku* from it.

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[172] Mori Arinori, *Saishōron, 3* [On Wives and Concubines, Part 3] (Tokyo: Meirokusha, 1874), p. 54. Reprinted in *Meiroku zasshi*, vol. 2, pp. 52-54. Current author's translation. A note on translation: In most cases, citations to *Meiroku zasshi* are taken from William Braisted's translation. However, in the cases in which Braisted's translation departs from the nuances of the Japanese—inasmuch as these are crucial to the current argument, I substitute my translations. ed. William Reynolds Braisted, *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment*, trans. William Reynolds Braisted, Adachi Yasushi, and Kikuchi Yūji (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976).

Yet the *Meiroku* authors were not advocates of women's rights by any stretch of the twenty-first-century imagination. Their central focus was on the relative rights of husbands and wives—and not of men and women in general.[173] They seldom problematized the behavior of unmarried men (or women). Moreover, in her astute analysis of the *Meiroku* authors' views of gendered rights, Anderson writes that "Close analysis of their language reveals that writers such as Mori and Fukuzawa [Yukichi] never intended to espouse equality in the sense of equal rights for the sexes. Moreover, the evidence suggests that when commentators . . . spoke of equal rights, their view was limited to the household and had a specific meaning." And when conservative *Meiroku* author Katō Hiroyuki "issued a scathing critique in which he warned against the 'injury of excessive women's rights,'" Mori hurried to clarify that he sought to increase women's status in the home, but not to give them equal rights.[174] Another way to put this is that Mori sought to curtail husbands' behavior rather than to empower wives.

Sakatani Shiroshi took his own turn with Mori's pet topic in the pages of *Meiroku*. Like Katō, he took Mori to task for promoting equal rights for men and women. Nonetheless, Sakatani agreed that certain forms of equality were necessary. Taking for granted that the law should reconcile the inequality between husbands' and wives' rights, Sakatani asserted that the law had two options to do so: giving wives the same license that husbands enjoyed, or putting husbands under the same restrictions that wives experience. "When husband and wife enjoy equal rights, it would seem that the wife should also have the right to take additional mates if her husband keeps concubines," he wrote. Important to his assertion that the unequal rights of husbands and wives

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[173] Marnie Anderson, *A Place in Public: Women's Rights in Meiji Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010), p. 62.

[174] Ibid., p. 64.

required reconciliation was the fact that he saw men and women as equally prone to unseemly sexual behavior. "Women [too] are by nature strong or weak, some being able to live without husbands all their lives, while others are not satisfied with several men," he wrote. Writing that "Morality is destroyed when men and women alike become so lustfully dissipated that they are no more than beasts, "between the two options of allowing wives greater freedom and restricting the rights of husbands, in agreement with Mori's assessment Sakatani firmly chose the latter—that the most prudent course was to circumscribe husbands' prerogatives rather than to strengthen wives' rights. "Thus the advocates of equal rights for men and women promote the establishment of morality by employing these rights to impose mutual constraints." In what might seem to us like an ironic twist, though, Sakatani opted to restrict husbands' prerogatives to maintain a more important feature of society. This was patriarchal power in the home. Despite the need for equality,

> Men stand above women, and husbands are above wives. Women are weak; men strong. The husband deals with the outside world while the wife manages domestic matters. . . . The true principle of equal rights, therefore, appears to be limited only to the prevention of sexual license by establishing mutual restraints in the bedchamber.[175]

Mori felt no need to elaborate on the connection between prostitutes and erotic desires, which testifies to the fact that the link he drew between the two was common sense to him and his peers. Nor did he feel a need to explain the lack of connection between wives and erotic desires. However, other *Meiroku* authors addressed this point more thoroughly. One of these was Sakatani; he targeted women's clothing and makeup, writing that the fact that

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[175] Sakatani Shiroshi, "Saisetsu no gi," [On concubines] in *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment*, edited by William Reynolds Braisted (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1875), p. 394.

> women are expected to take decoration as their principal purpose has been the source of the damage that women have wrought on society (*johei*[176]) throughout history as well as the reason for the obscenity and temptation that corrupt men's minds and [thus] ruin families and nations. [177]

Sakatani roundly blamed men for establishing the expectation that women decorate themselves, and by extension he placed responsibility for the "damage that women have wrought on society" back onto men. In his construction it is men's erotic desires that, in the absence of enlightened self-restraint, motivated men to coerce women into wearing makeup and adopting the behaviors that exacerbated lust. Sakatani therefore called on men to change their expectations for women, rather than on women to change their own behavior directly.

Sakatani wrote that "sexual desire is a fact of Nature (*tenri*[178]), as a consequence of which man and women mate and marry."[179] Admittedly, this confounds my periodization by appearing to remove the brothel as the only instigator of desire. He even considered this desire to be nearly insuppressible: "As lust is common to human beings of all times and all nations, can there be anyone born with 'passion' (*passhon*) but innocent of lust (*shikijō*[180])?"he asked. But a larger

[176] 女弊.

[177] Sakatani, "On Female Decorations," p. 269. This is a modification of Braisted's translation—which fails to convey Sakatani's meaning of the term *johei* (a compound of the character for woman and that for damage). In context this term clearly refers to the damage that woman do rather than the damage they suffer. This is despite the fact that the overall message of the essay is that women are damaged by their enforced decoration: meaning that in Sakatani's view women were forced to do harm to both themselves and society.

[178] 天理. On the various expressions for the concept of what we reduce to "nature," as a universal force, cf. Julia Adeney Thomas, *Reconfiguring Modernity: Concepts of Nature in Japanese Political Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 32-34.

[179] Sakatani, "On Female Decorations," p. 270.

[180] 色情.

point remains intact, because according to Sakatani although lust is ever-present, only when overstimulated did lust precipitate the damage that destroys individual men as well as their families and nations. Indeed, a moderate amount of decoration was women's, and men's, responsibility: "Men should not be without adornment, and women should not adorn themselves to excess."[181] Thus Sakatani's conception of lust was consistent with the larger trend of constructing it as the product of the pleasure worker's apparel and the sexually-charged atmosphere that she created rather than as the product of sexual activity itself. Also important is that Sakatani did not invoke social disintegration in the absence of this stimulant. He identified no situation in which lust would disappear; instead it would simply cease to be overstimulated if women stopped excessively decorating themselves, leading to a stable nation. In that circumstance it would presumably continue to fulfill its role in both reproducing humanity and making human lives worthwhile.

Sakatani was not alone in his interpretation. In the final issue of Meiroku, published in 1875, Tsuda Mamichi—the only of the Meiroku authors to take an explicitly-abolitionist position—agreed with Sakatani's instrumentalist view of the utility of desire. He declared that: "As our most important innate quality, desire is the basis of human existence." As Chapter One described, a few years previously Tsuda had played an instrumental role in the "liberation" of prostitute women. Unlike the abolitionists who would come to the fore in the 1890s, however, Tsuda was not a Protestant. On the basic point of abolition Tsuda and Protestants agreed. However, insofar as religiously-centered abolitionism of the period constructed male erotic desire as without utility or merit, Tsuda's position differed from theirs.

[181] Sakatani, "On Female Decorations," p. 269.

What is interesting is that despite his negative view of prostitution, Tsuda helped introduce a two-part view of desire that would be integral to the regulationist cause for decades to come. The first part saw practical utility in desire: "How could the human race reproduce itself if we lacked desire as part of our nature? Had men lacked desire, then the human race would long since have become extinct."[182] The second part attributed an aesthetic function to desire—that of making life worth living. He wrote that "desire is undoubtedly the Creator's great gift as it is the means by which He brings pleasure and comfort to our lives and by which He bestows great blessings" on humanity.[183] Regulationist authors would elaborate on this theme.

Thus we have two views of prostitution represented in the pages of *Meiroku*. Mori's sympathy for the wives who helplessly watched their husbands indulge their desires and who had no choice but to accept the consequences of their husbands' behaviors caused him to call for the elimination of eroticism from the conjugal home. Sakatani and Tsuda, agreed that the elimination of erotics from the home was necessary to the maintenance of morality—another word for social stability. But they also saw positive roles for erotic desire outside of the institutions of marriage, in the undefined, transhistorical space where the human species came into being. Tsuda, though, was even more willing to reject the Meiji period's institutions of sexual control: as the lone self-identified abolitionist in *Meiroku Zasshi*, he also rejected the brothel as an appropriate place for men—married or unmarried—to find erotic succor.

The next data point for tracing the changing understandings of male sexuality comes from the middle 1880s. One Fukuzawa Yukichi, the most famous proponent of Westernization in the period (and who had also been a prominent contributor to *Meiroku Zasshi*) first addressed

[182] Tsuda Mamichi, "Desire,"ibid., p. 421.

[183] Ibid., p. 422.

erotics and brothel-regulation through editorials published in a periodical that he helmed, the widely-read *Jiji Shimpō* (Current events). In these writings he expressed an inconsistent and idiosyncratic position. On the one hand, there can be no doubt that Fukuzawa placed himself firmly in the regulationist camp. On the other hand, firmly believing that Japanese conjugal relationships suffered a complete lack of eroticism, his primary purpose was to relocate sexuality into the conjugal home as much as possible. He attempted this because saw the gender norms of the day as failing society in general and married women in particular.

Three statements in Fukuzawa's first editorial on the topic, an 1885 essay entitled *Hinkō ron* (On Morality), seem to put the argument in jeopardy by linking unsatisfied erotic desire and violence. He conjectured that if all the pleasure workers of Tokyo disappeared,

> Before a few months could elapse, throughout the capital people would become unable to prohibit their bestial urges; illicit affairs between the children of good families would break out, and even lonely widows would fall into fornication; secret rapes and kidnapping-elopements would occur. Disintegration would ensue: society would collapse irretrievably because of fighting everywhere. There is no doubt of this; yet that such a tragic sight has fortunately never been seen is due to pleasure workers' effectiveness.[184]

In this passage we can see that while much of Fukuzawa's writing was consistent with the Edo notion of the consequences of sexual health when it came to women, it was starkly different when it came to the consequences of erotic dissatisfaction in men: because while the damage of women's lack of erotic pleasure was entirely individual and medical, the potential damage of men's lack of access to commercial erotic pleasure was societal—when not downright criminal. But did Fukuzawa actually write that bestial desire would accumulate in individual human

[184] Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Hinkō ron* [On Morality] (Tokyo: 1885), p .565. Reprinted in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshū*, vol. 5, pp. 547-78.

(male) bodies—or in the abstract body of the city? And more importantly, by what process would men's desire destroy society?

Along similar lines, Fukuzawa insisted that single men should enjoy continued access to brothels, but that they should do so with discretion. They should take pains to conceal this behavior—minimizing the public profile of the pleasure industry, especially with respect to foreigners: "Indeed, this is a topic one must never bring up before a civilized foreigner! . . . Personal honor and reputation are something built up by the accumulation of small deeds over a long period. The reputation of a nation is the same."[185] Fukuzawa's statements are ironically similar to those of his Euroamerican counterparts, who advocated for regulation specifically on the grounds that it helped to minimize prostitution's profile as viewed from outside the country. Therefore, his concern about the opinions of supposedly-civilized foreigners was itself based on Euroamericans' desire to appear civilized in the first place. Elsewhere in the essay he stated that "if it were possible, as the moralists propose, to keep the bestial impulse (*jūshin no ugoki*[186]) under control by will power, all well and good; but that has hardly ever been successful."[187]

The passage demonstrates the intuitiveness of reading an understanding of sexuality as grounded in the body into historical texts that are more than a century old, if not older. Yet we should not be too quick to connect the two. After all, while Fukuzawa both put pleasure workers front and center and invoked beastialism, he did not mention the body as the seat of anyone's desire. In fact, he does not even mention the body at all here. And we should certainly note that it

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[185] Ibid., p. 565; Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women: Selected Works*, trans. Kiyo'oka Eiichi (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1988), pp. 85-86.

[186] 獣心の動.

[187] Fukuzawa, *Hinkō ron*, p. 564. ; *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women*, pp. 86-87.

was not only men who would be to blame, with widows and the daughters of "good families "actively participating in the mayhem. (Or, to argue more conservatively, there is no indication that Fukuzawa was thinking only of men as perpetrators.) Also, we should note that the disaster was not limited to sexual norms but entailed all human morality going up in something of a mushroom cloud.

To Fukuzawa, it was not necessarily desire itself—at least not as narrowly defined—that would supposedly drive men and women wild, lead to sexual violence, and ultimately destroy society. These portions of Fukuzawa's texts reverse a simple understanding of his thinking as based the theory of innate, bodily instincts. Late-nineteenth-century Japanese discourse of beastialism—beastial desires, the stirrings of the beastial heart—was more a reference to Confucian understandings of the duality of human nature, divided between the civilized and the barbaric, than a reference to Euroamerican understandings of the sinful flesh, which were heavily influenced by the Christian tradition.[188]

A year later, Fukuzawa gave an interpretation of desire that further complicates and challenges any cursory reading of the above passage. In an essay entitled *Danjo kōsai ron* (On the Association of Men and Women), he again based his arguments on the connection between brothels and eroticism, yet he insisted that sex was not the only—indeed not even the primary—appeal of the brothel. The most important statement that Fukuzawa made was his starkest: regarding his usage of the term affection (*jō*), he insisted, "readers must not understand it as fleshly desire."[189]

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[188] Thomas, *Reconfiguring Modernity*, p. 70.

[189] Fukuzawa Yukichi, "Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshū," in FYZ, ed. Collected Works of Fukuzawa Yukichi (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1898), p. 584. Current author's translation.

If not fleshly desire, what brought men to brothels? "When men and women meet," he wrote, "the congenial air between them will be like the warmth of spring; together they dissolve the sharp edges of belligerence; the harmony attained will be like negative and positive electric charges seeking a balance of power between them." He continued to the effect that in mixed company, "the atmosphere somehow turns peaceful and buoyant; it does not become noisy and belligerent nor sink into silence; jests are not vulgar, conversation stays peaceful, and in some unexplainable manner the meetings become enjoyable."[190] It was this buoyant conversation that achieved the balance of positive and negative electrical charges.

In the Meiji period, the brothel was the primary site for heterosociality, and therefore when Fukuzawa mentions women and men gathering together, he meant pleasure workers entertaining a group of male clients. That (middle- and upper-class) men and women lacked the other opportunities to interact was due to the legacy of the social conventions of the samurai class, which otherwise forbade men and women from socializing together.[191] In this vein he wrote that although "individual reasons vary, the basic reason some men frequent the brothel quarters is the lack of opportunities for men to enjoy normal and platonic associations with women." Later in the essay Fukuzawa repeated that fleshly desires were not the primary draw,

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[190] Ibid., 581-605; *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women*, pp. 104-05; ibid.

[191] Fukuzawa was implicitly Euroamerican gender norms as a measuring stick to judge the institutions of gender interaction in Japan. First seeing ballroom dances and dinner parties in the 1850s, when Fukuzawa and other elites travelled overseas, Japanese were horrified. Yet before too long these same elites had changed their minds. In order to foster a better impression of Japan as it became more "civilized," the Japanese government had the Rokumeikan. Completed in 1883, this was a grand hall designed prominent British architect Josiah Conder. Over the succeeding decades, the Japanese foreign ministry used the Rokumeikan to host foreign dignitaries at Euroamerican-style balls. However, such public interactions between and women remained outside the norm.

going so far as to state that this was true even for men who by all appearances went to brothels only for sex: "For many men, because they are preoccupied with the pleasures of the flesh, the only way for them to enjoy life is to keep concubines or to hire entertainers. Their behavior is unsightly, but what they seek is not simply physical pleasures."[192]

But what attracted men and women to each other in the brothel or elsewhere? Here, finally, Fukuzawa decided to turn his attention to the body: "Some men, in their admiration of women, claim that there is a special scent in women's bodies, and call it "heavenly fragrance." From physiological studies, woman's physical makeup is known to be different from men's and it is quite conceivable that this kind of emanation exists." Yet although physiologies were different, they served the same purpose: "If women have heavenly fragrances, men too must have the same. That is, when a woman is spellbound at the sight of a man even before a word is passed between them, she must have breathed the man's heavenly fragrance."[193] This is extremely similar to Kaibara's yin-yang theory, in which the two were mutually balancing—albeit the body's fluids had become fragrances.[194] It also echoes Euroamerican discourses on the

[192] *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women*, p. 124. ibid.

[193] Fukuzawa Yukichi, "Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshū," pp. 581-605; *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women*, p. 107.

[194] The visuality of sexuality was very different. For example, Kawamura argues that it was not until the Meiji period (1868-1912)—with the translation of sexological manuals—that the body's erogenous zones became the primary focus of erotic attention. Kawamura, *Sekushuariti no kindai*, p. 60. Meanwhile, Inoue and Saeki note that, wrapped in several layers of kimono, pleasure-worker's body presented a rounded profile, without the voluptuous curves that have since become hallmark indicators of the visual sexiness of the female body in Japanese culture; but these very kimono appear in exquisite detail. Inoue, *Seiyoku no bunkashi*; Saeki, *"Ai" to "sei."*

attraction between the sexes, in which the metaphors of electrical charge and magnetic attraction were quickly gaining popularity.

Fukuzawa saw men's erotics as necessary for the stability of society but also viewed the concealment of this as necessary for personal and national reputation. For these necessities he blamed the social strictures that prevented men from expressing their natural desires for erotic pleasure in a respectable way. To sum up the essay as a whole, Fukuzawa wrote that

> the conclusion is that the greatest and weightiest of human relations is that between men and women. When they are together, there is peace; when they are apart, there is depression and belligerence. The happiness and the troubles resulting from the freedom of, or restrictions on, the association of the two are limitless in their relation with a person's life and household and with society at large.[195]

Thus his concern regarding male sexuality and his support for regulation did not correlate to a fear of sexual desire per se but to an understanding of unhealthful social strictures and their consequences. In addition to the above assertion that social strictures on women threatened their health, Fukuzawa repeatedly asserted that social strictures on men were responsible for the prevalence of prostitution. Taking Euroamerican gender norms as a measuring stick, Fukuzawa wrote that although "individual reasons vary, the basic reason some men frequent the quarters is the lack of opportunities for men to enjoy normal and platonic associations with women." He concluded this thought by noting that "a man must be blessed with an unusually strong and resilient makeup both in mind and body to enable himself to live in this drab society [outside the brothel] and keep his moral life clean so as to be shameless before Heaven."[196] Therefore, to Fukuzawa, a brothel visit progressed through a different sequence than what we would expect.

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[195] *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women*, p. 105.

[196] Ibid., p. 107.

To us, the sequence would be: a man walks down the street and his inborn sexual urges awaken; seeking to relieve this sexual tension he goes to a brothel; incidentally, while there, biding his time before the end of the evening, he also enjoys the female companionship on offer—as a kind of foreplay. In contrast, according to Fukuzawa a man walked down the street and suddenly felt a hankering for feminine aromas. He went to the brothel to inhale these aromas, which was accomplished by spending leisurely time in the company friends and pleasure workers. Only once he interacted with the women at the brothel did he—incidentally—become sexually stimulated.

By the same token Fukuzawa also argued for the reform of social practices for wives' sake, making gender distinctions notable by their absence. He wrote:

> The harm done to health by the lack of food is equal to the harm done by the excess of the same. Pleasure is the food for the emotions [*kairaku wa jō no tabemono nari*[197]]. And the women in Japan are starving for this food.[198]

This, he declared, led to bodily illnesses so severe that they sometimes killed their victims. Yet, he lamented that, even though "sometimes, an experienced doctor discovers the true cause, and he knows exactly what the patient needs, . . . because of the dictates of social morals, he does not diagnose that the patient suffers from erotic dissatisfaction (*shunjō no futei*)."[199] What women needed was the chance to ingest desire as one ingests food, rather than a place to expel desire as

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[197] 快楽は情の食べ物也.

[198] Fukuzawa Yukichi, "Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshū," p. 460. In general, by women Fukuzawa meant middle- and upper- class daughters and wives, who when young were sheltered from contact with men to avoid impropriety, and who as wives sat at home while their husbands patronized brothels or pursued sex with concubines who lived in separate residences.

[199] 春情の不逞. *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women*, p. 124.

one expels metabolic wastes. The solution for this was clearly not to have women engaging in extramarital sex—with male prostitutes, or anyone else. So how were they to get this food for the emotions? by joining their husbands (and replacing pleasure workers) in heterosocial parties.

In this way Fukuzawa did not draw distinctions between male and female sexual natures, only between the social expectations of men and women. (He challenged some of these without challenging all of them.) Implied in the fact that women would get the emotional sustenance they were starving for was the idea that if men interacted with their own wives, they would become sexually stimulated just—or almost—as easily. If this happened, conjugal sex would become erotic. In that case married men would have no further use for the brothel and wives' illnesses would be cured.

In this light, that he adamantly supported prostitution regulation even while he placed the conjugal home at the center of this program of reform is intriguing. This apparent contradiction resolves when we notice that Fukuzawa's arguments targeted husbands and wives—married men and women. Thus, his support for prostitution regulation was on behalf of men in between adolescence and marriage. And even then, those who put pleasures of the flesh first were to be criticized for their lack of discretion and civility, as Fukuzawa detailed in the fifth installment of "On morality." There, he particularly emphasized keeping the patronage of brothels out of the eyesight of Euroamericans in Japan. By contrast, did not concern himself with the plight of unmarried women, an oversight that drew criticism, as described below.

The fundamental problem as Fukuzawa saw it was that women and men had no chance to imbibe each other's aromas outside of the brothel. In women, the effects of this turned inward and became bodily sickness. And in men (in the hypothetical disappearance of pleasure workers) it would turn outward and become widespread chaos. As things stood, sexual contact with a

pleasure worker was entrenched as a stage in a visit to a brothel, but it was ancillary to what men truly needed and sought (even if only subconsciously).

Therefore, to Fukuzawa and other writers, "fleshly" desire was not an impulse that arose within one's body; rather, it was a longing for contact with another's body. Even then, Fukuzawa invoked this assumption only to reject it as narrow-minded. He sought a broader conception of the problem, one that applied to women and men alike and that included both hetero-social and -sexual contact. His was a two-fold suggestion. Husbands would have their parties at home rather than in brothels. In that case, husbands would have sex with their wives rather than pleasure workers, and both would receive emotional sustenance. Meanwhile, brothels would be maintained for the use of unmarried men, who would do their utmost to keep their visits discreet.

With this in mind, it is clear that there is no substantial reason to interpret Fukuzawa as meaning that desire began in and emerged from the male (or female) body. Indeed, we can question the extent to which "bestial impulse" Fukuzawa referred to was even sexual to begin with. It may have been something more abstract—as it would be for another regulationist author, Murayama Gishichi, who wrote only a few years later.

Protestants Begin Attacking Sensuality

Mori Arinori had been the primary agitator against concubinage in the early Meiji era, but by the 1890s, men had all but lost interest in the topic. It would be the JWCTU (Japan Women's Christian Temperance Union) that made it a centerpiece of their moral campaigns in the 1890s.[200] Soon after its 1886 incorporation, the JWCTU began petitioning the Diet with the *Ippu ippu sei no kenpakusho* (Petition for the System of Conjugal Monogamy). It failed to sway

[200] Bill Mihalopoulos, "Mediating the Good Life: Prostitution and the Japanese Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1880s–1920s,"*Gender & History*, vol. 21, no. 1 (April 2009).

the men of the Diet, but the JWCTU kept up the pressure by regularly resubmitting it. The text of the petition is lost, but we can be certain that it focused on the disharmony between husband and wife that nonmonogamy because this was a frequent JWCTU refrain.[201] In a particularly-vivid article describing the need for the passage of the petition upon its resubmission in 1891, JWCTU leader Yashima Taeko wrote that each generation of children instantly and inevitably came to great harm if they were born to homes that were not monogamous.

According to Yashima, by destroying the potential for the development of emotional relations, nonmonogamy for husbands had substantial consequences:

> The cause of the eighty or ninety percent of the daily instances of the suicides, robberies, frauds, arsons, fights, and love suicides that newspapers dredge up every day in their provocative articles is the chaos in husbands' and wives' marriages. Considering what the failures of men's and women's relationships leads to, we realize that there is an urgent need to rescue [the nation] from the damage concubinage causes. This damage includes rending of the land and the destruction of households, and it endangers every part of the entire nation, every day and every night, thousands and tens of thousands of times.[202]

The institution of concubinage had literal political-ramifications as well as figurative-geological ones. As Marnie Anderson has cogently argued, marriage became the central question of gender relations for elite Meiji households. In an age when all women were denied free speech, voting rights, and in most cases custody over their property and children too, wifehood was a woman's primary means of gaining political legitimacy as a citizen and subject of the empire. In this circumstance, increasing the power of the wife in her own home was a domestic means to a political end—and as a competitor for the husband's finances and to the wife's role in

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[201] Lublin, *Reforming Japan: the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the Meiji Period*, p. 59.

[202] Yashima Taeko, "*Teikoku gikai ni hoite ippu ippu no kenpaku no tsūka sen koto wo inoru*," [A Prayer for the Passege of the Petition for Conjugal Monogamy through the Imperial Diet], *Tōkyō fujin kyōfū kai zasshi* [Tokyo Women's Christian Temperance Union Magazine], no. 44 (19 December 1891), pp. 2-3.

providing heirs, the concubine was a direct obstacle to women's political rights.[203] Bill Mihalopoulos has argued along similar lines by detailing how the JWCTU constructed moral hierarchies to carve out the household as a political territory that wives could monopolize.[204] Of interest to this research is the question of how the JWCTU constructed male sexuality in order to carry out that project.

Yashima's language closely matched the rhetoric of prostitution abolitionism, which put the membership of the Diet in the position of having to distinguish between prostitution and concubinage if they wanted to keep either. The Diet eventually proved willing to listen to the JWCTU on concubinage. With the passage of time, the legal privileges and protections afforded to the concubine disappeared one by one, so that between the 1870s and the 1890s, concubine's children lost the right to succeed to the head of their fathers' households, concubines lost their legal standing in the Civil Code, and their contracts became legally void. By differentiating concubinage and prostitution and sacrificing the former, the Diet succeeded in partially neutralizing Progressive feminist attacks on the latter.

An important fact is that the membership of the JWCTU did not assign wives (which is to say, themselves) the task of replacing concubines in the role of the husband's sex object. Instead they argued that sensuality, embodied by the concubine, should be removed from the home entirely. If the women of the JWCTU had assumed that male desire resided in the body, then they could not have hoped to eliminate it from the conjugal home unless they removed husbands from heterosexual marriage. To do this would be to destroy marriage in order to save it.

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[203] Anderson, *A Place in Public: Women's Rights in Meiji Japan*.

[204] Mihalopoulos, "Mediating the Good Life."

The Real Debate Begins

As with concubinage, secularist authors lost interest in prostitution long before the debate ended. In "On morality," Fukuzawa had confidently asserted that moralist opponents of regulation would soon give up.[205] Yet in fact, abolitionists were just getting started, and it was Fukuzawa who tired of the topic long before his opponents. One of those who would keep the ball rolling for years to come was Iwamoto Yoshiharu.

Fukuzawa and Iwamoto were not in complete disagreement over the nature of the problem. In a riposte to "On morality" Iwamoto essentially agreed with Fukuzawa's assertions that platonic interactions between men and women would facilitate a fundamental and beneficial change in gender relations. Yet unlike Fukuzawa, who called for women to be given the opportunity to experience the pleasure of men's company just as men already enjoyed the company of women, Iwamoto declared that men should be the ones to change—meaning that they should give up the habit of seeking erotic experiences altogether.

Iwamoto opened his response to Fukuzawa with sarcastic comments about the latter's theories pleasure workers as necessary. Iwamoto wrote that "if women's erotic desires actually developed greater strength, there would be no choice but to put in place male pleasure workers (*otoko jorō*[206]) to satisfy this erotic desire by setting aside part of the New Yoshiwara for the use of female clients." Iwamoto clearly assumed that his readers would find this idea ridiculous. The "existence of male prostitutes," he continued, "would delight [Fukuzawa] as another thing that

[205] *Fukuzawa Yukichi on Japanese Women*, p. 86.

[206] 男女郎.

would make the existence of pleasure workers seem inevitable.[207] Pointing out the inconsistency of providing for the needs of (unmarried) men while ignoring the needs of (unmarried) women was meant to hoist Fukuzawa on his own petard. This attack opened the way for Iwamoto to lay out what he saw as a more logically-rigorous plan.

Unlike Fukuzawa, Iwamoto diagnosed an overabundance of sexuality in the Japanese home. He wrote that "These days, husbands' love is only lust (*shikiyoku*). Lustful love (*shikijō no ai*[208]) resembles the feelings of animals. It is simply making one's wife into a tool to fulfill one's fleshly desires. It is an absolutely coldhearted sentiment."[209] To Iwamoto, men's patronage of brothels was both a symptom and a cause of this malady; in response, he urged that interactions between men and women, especially those between husbands and wives, be put on a new footing. If husbands no longer took advantage of their privileges to treat their wives as tools for the satisfaction of their erotic desires, they would create the opportunity to develop "true love"(*shinsei no ai* [210]) for their wives, which developed through "emotional interactions"(*jōkō*[211]) that went undescribed.[212]

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[207] Iwamoto Yoshiharu, "*Jiji shinpō no shōgi ron*," [On Pleasure Workers in *Current Events*], *Jogaku Zasshi* [Women's Learning Journal], no. 10 (10 September 1885).

[208] 色情の愛.

[209] Iwamoto Yoshiharu, "*Aijō ron*," [On Love], *Jogaku Zasshi* [Women's Learning Journal], no. 17 (5 March 1887).

[210] 真性の愛.

[211] 情交.

[212] Iwamoto Yoshiharu, "*Nihon no ishō oyobi jōkō*," [Japanese Thinking and Emotional Relations], *Jogaku Zasshi* [Women's Learning Journal], no. 27 (25 June 1889), p. 253.

In his response to Fukuzawa's advocacy for platonic relations between the sexes in "On the association of men and women," Iwamoto essentially agreed but declared Fukuzawa's thinking to be dangerously underdeveloped—that Fukuzawa failed to outline a specific program for men's and women's interactions. Using wildfire as a metaphor, he argued that the sudden deregulation of all gender interactions would be disastrous in a way not unlike Fukuzawa's vision of the deregulation of prostitution. To prevent this he suggested a four-step program whereby: first, women would develop relationships among themselves; second, married couples would interact; third, men with wives and women with husbands would meet in respectable social circumstances, and fourth, single men and women would be allowed to mingle.[213] Thus, Iwamoto clearly agreed with Fukuzawa's overall idea of fostering platonic social interaction between the sexes in non-eroticized contexts—which is to say, outside of the brothel. Many echoed this sentiment, such as when the author of *Seigi no hankyō* (The Reverberations of Uprightness) asserted that the simple practice of husbands and wives holding hands in public would foster romantic affection between them, leading to the improvement of men's moral character.[214]

Inherent gender distinctions were not absent from either Fukuzawa's assertion that men's especial susceptibility to the temptations of the brothel (as a consequence of their lack of opportunity to experience erotic interaction in the home) or from Iwamoto's assertion that men

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[213] Iwamoto Yoshiharu, "*Jiji shinpō no shōgi ron*,"*Jogaku Zasshi*, vol. Original Volume, no. 10, p. 253.

[214] Thus, according to that author a public display of affection would create private emotional bonds. Yasuaki Takeo, "*Seigi no hankyō*," in The Revervebrations of Uprightness, ed. Yasuaki (Tokyo: Hirano Zentarō, 1890), 13.

and women brought different assets to the table in their relationships.[215] And yet these distinctions only went so far: Iwamoto's vision of women held them to be equally inclined to use men as tools—albeit with fewer opportunities and in ways undescribed. His purpose was in this passage to educate his readers in the binary of love and erotic desire—one in which loving affection was the new element in marriage expectations and that lust was to be discarded just like concubines.

Another element of Iwamoto's thinking about the bestial urge is that it did not essentially differ between men and women. In a segment of The Complete Elimination of Brothels entitled "Boys are weaker than girls" Iwamoto argued that the "bestial urge" should theoretically be stronger in women: "According to physiologists, lust (*injō*[216]) decreases in those who work and increases among those who are idle; but even though they exercise vigorously, boys are more moved by desire than are girls."[217] This statement invokes a nineteenth century Euroamerican theory about the humors and flesh, which theory held that physical activity depletes the total energy available to the human body, reducing such things as "bestial urges" to healthful levels. Iwamoto's explanation of this discrepancy is that because women were not exposed to the titillating influence of evil friends and brothel advertisements they had no need to resist urges—indeed that they had no such urges in the first place. This proved to Iwamoto's satisfaction that the basis of men's appetites was behavioral—and thus that men's behavior required the proper intervention of government.

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[215] Iwamoto Yoshiharu, "*Fujin no chii (jō)*," [The Position of Women (Part One)], *Jogaku Zasshi* [Women's Learning Journal], no. 2 (10 August 1885).

[216] 淫情.

[217] Iwamoto, *Girō zenpai*, pp. 27-28.

Indeed, the philosophical heart of *Girō Zenpai* (On the Complete Elimination of Brothels) is Iwamoto's theory of the purpose of government. Iwamoto asserted that government stood as the ultimate expression of human potential—namely: that of taking control of evolution to bring to completion evolution's program of ever-increasing perfection. As James Pusey has argued in the case of Kang Yu-wei,[218] and as Julia Thomas has argued for Meiji intellectuals,[219] Neoconfucian ideals of the function of governance provided a framework into which late-nineteenth-century East Asian social theorists neatly incorporated some of the central tenets of Spencerism. This incorporation was intuitive in part because both Spencerism and neo-Confucian cosmology envisioned elites acting on the lower classes to bring their behavior into line with a universal principle:

> Gazing upon the phenomena of nature, [one sees that] every kind of thing, animal, vegetable, or mineral (*kinseki sōki gyokai konchū rokuchiku*[220]) evolves (*shinka*), daily, toward completion; this is the tendency of nature (*uchū*); whatsoever disobeys this in the slightest degree diminishes, and those things that obey it prosper. . . . Those who are the leaders, who conduct what is called government, must awaken to the need to follow this tendency.[221]

By this, Iwamoto emphasizes that government should not acquiesce to the venal desires of its charges but must take a positive and parental role in changing them. "Even though [we] should pity those who ruin themselves and their bodies by contracting venereal disease, [we must ask] what kind of government would allow this—protecting this bestial urge, providing it the means to have its way."[222] Indeed at one point in the text Iwamoto uses "evolve" as a transitive verb: "If

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[218] James Pusey, *China and Charles Darwin* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).

[219] Thomas, *Reconfiguring Modernity*.

[220] *Kinseki sōki gyokai konchū* rokuchiku; 金石草木魚介昆虫六畜.

[221] Iwamoto, *Girō zenpai*, pp. 7-8.

[222] Ibid., pp. 14-15.

on the other hand this protection were helpful in evolving the people, that would be acceptable."[223]

On the level of practical outcomes, Iwamoto's expectation was that putting an end to husbands' brothel visits would change conjugal relationships, revamping family life in line with a moral-natural ideal. In another work published later that same year, 1889, Iwamoto argued this theory from the other direction: he stated that illegalizing all prostitution would give rise to shame among prostitute women and their clients—shame for breaking the law; this would give rise to modesty, which would result in the men and women who participated in prostitution improving their behavior.[224]

Rather than constructing marriage as the embodiment of erotic desire, as others did, Iwamoto saw such desire as destructive of emotional bonds.

> The way of husband and wife is the origin of human life, and the most important human morality. If husband and wife did not exist there would be no emotional bond between parent and child, no sincerity between brother and brother. Thus we can say that this is the bedrock of not only a household but also of a nation.[225]

Because husbands currently lacked the clarity that purer relationships enabled, Iwamoto asserted, husbands saw nothing wrong in patronizing brothels, and this in turn created the problem of husbands and wives treating each other not as affectionate partners. And because Japanese husbands did not cultivate emotional bonds, wives were unable to respond accordingly.

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[223] Ibid.

[224] Iwamoto Yoshiharu, "*Shin no aijō*," [True love], *Jogaku Zasshi* [Women's Learning Journal], no. 17 (5 March 1887), p. 88.

[225] Miura Tai'ichiro, "*Ippu ippu no shinri*," [The Truth of Monogamous Marriage], *Fujin Shinpō* [Ladies' News], no. 13 (29 February 1896), p. 41.

The most intriguing aspect of Iwamoto's thinking on gender relations was that he saw no utility whatsoever in erotic desire. This is abundantly clear in The Complete Elimination of Brothels. To return to the passage excerpted at the beginning of the chapter:

> It is not the case that brothels first became necessary because people's primal, bestial urges are difficult to control; instead because brothels already exist, bestial urges run rampant—such that in the end brothels become necessary. Look at young men: first they are told of lascivious matters by evil friends; this stirs erotic feelings (*injō o okosu*[226]). Next they are invited to play at a brothel . . . and desire soon becomes difficult to suppress, so that they drown in it, and in the end it poisons their entire bodies.[227]

Here, Iwamoto could not have been clearer on the point that brothels existed before desires. In Iwamoto's metaphor, desire entered the body—and poisoned it—rather than emerging from within it. The fact that young men did not experience desire before they visited brothels, and furthermore that they had no inclination to visit brothels until "evil friends" intervened with peer pressure, means that according to Iwamoto desire was anything but innate; it was external. Moreover, erotic desire was passed from generation to generation not by genetics but rather by the seemingly-artificial, but more importantly, malleable, means of cultural practice. "The brothel's necessity for men is not based upon nature (*tensei*[228]),"Iwamoto wrote," but instead upon indulging desires; and if men controlled themselves they would find the same pure joys in chastity that women do."[229]

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[226] 淫情を起す. There is ambiguity in the term Iwamoto used—*okosu*, which I translate as "stirs": as well as "to awaken," the term can mean "to cause."(Nonetheless, it seems imprudent, even forceful to translate the term as "to cause" for the purpose of this analysis.)

[227] Iwamoto, *Girō zenpai*, pp. 25-26.

[228] 天性.

[229] Iwamoto, *Girō zenpai*, pp. 27-28.

Nor was erotic desire healthful. That Iwamoto saw erotic desire was a "coldhearted sentiment" that inhibited the development of healthful emotional bonds between husband and wife indicates that to his way of thinking a married couple should never experience erotic desire. He saw "true love" and sensuality as mutually exclusive phenomena. One was the basis of a stable and productive society; the other was addictive and maliciously destructive. Thus, according to Iwamoto, only the behaviors of lust begat erotic desires; but once these "bestial urges" awoke, they became difficult and even impossible to control. And, for Iwamoto desire's origin is external to both the body and to nature—it spread from the brothel. This institution created desire through the unique atmosphere it manufactured.

Regulationists Respond

Fukuzawa had lost interest in the debate over prostitution-regulation debate; but regulation never lacked for enthusiastic supporters. *Sonpai jissairon,* On the Realities of Regulation & Abolition, published in March of 1890 is one of many texts published by regulationists closely allied with the brothel industry to ward off abolition.[230]

The author of Complete Elimination, Murayama Gishichi, based his arguments in favor of regulation on a vision of Nature according to which society in general and the activities of abolitionists in particular were artificial attempts to redirect universal forces. "There is nothing as

[230] Information on Murayama is scant. I am unsure even of the precise pronunciation of his name (although Gishichi is a legitimate rendering given that many men of that era accepted more than one pronunciation. Iwamoto Yoshiharu, for example, was, and is, also known as Iwamoto Zenji). The inside cover of *Sonpai* describes Murayama as a former samurai from Hokkaido who resided with a family in Tokyo. Nakae Chōmin, famed activist Freedom & People's Rights Movement and staunch supporter of prostitution regulation, brushed an epigraph for the book, meaning that Murayama had substantial connections to the pleasure industry; but the exact nature of these is unclear.

unnatural as society," he wrote.[231] In light of this, the proper role of government was to follow Nature's lead—Nature dictated parameters and government adapted society to comply. In this way Murayama's conception of the relationship between Nature, government, and society at large were diametrically opposed to Iwamoto's.

If society was not part of Nature's plan, what was? In other words, what were the fundamental forces at play? Murayama's thinking relied heavily on early-modern discourses of the universe as a dualistic phenomenon.

> In the beginning Heaven creates animal life, in the male and female sexes, with their complementary emotional natures (*boko deko no shizen*[232]) in accordance with the principle of the unity of yin and yang; and therefore the mutual love (*sōai*[233]) between men and women is based in Nature; and therefore the basis of society is the unity of yin and yang. The harmony of yin and yang is in erotic desire, and because there is erotic desire there is *man and wife*; and because there is man and wife there is progeny; and thus erotic desire is the great principle of *society* and is our *greatest pleasure*.[234]

In this text, erotic desire is the glue that holds the universe, not to mention society, together. It resolves the tension between the opposing forces that comprise existence. Therefore, erotic desire was both the source and the consequence of a gender division within the cosmos.

A bit further along Murayama elaborated on the role that erotic desire played society, again referencing the phenomenological world:

> Nothing is done [by men] except for the sake of women; therefore it must be recognized that every action, from eating and drinking to the activities of birds

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[231] Murayama Gishichi, "*Sonpai*," pp. 34-35.

[232] 凹凸の自然. (The usual term is *deko boko*.)

[233] 相愛.

[234] Murayama Gishichi, "*Sonpai*," pp. 21-22. Emphases in original.

> and beasts, grasses and trees—everything between heaven and earth—evolves from women's mysterious effects (*onna no myōyō*).[235]

This discussion was more metaphysical than practical. Murayama saw no need to explain exactly how male grasses and trees sought out their female counterparts or what would happen if they could not find them. It was also unnecessary for him to explain whether female rocks even existed. But the idea that erotic desire motivated everything that occurred in the universe (including all human action) was important to Murayama: the ubiquity of this function proved to his satisfaction that erotic desire was absolutely impossible to eradicate. By extension, it was society's job to make humanity's "greatest pleasure" readily accessible.

Although Murayama often phrased his arguments in terms of women in general, and even though he specified that wives in particular were fundamental to human desire, he only described pleasure workers as erotic when it came time to give details. Murayama also rejected the limitation of sexuality to the monogamous household, rebuking those who advocated emotional bonds as the proper basis of heterosexuality and who described the conjugal home as the basis of society. "Although people often go ahead and put a pretty face on things by phrasing them in terms of matrimony or love, the truth is nothing of the kind," he wrote.[236]

If erotic desire was an inherent property of the universe rather than an inherent characteristic of men, what would befall a society that lacked it? In the most evocative passage of the text, Murayama elaborated on Fukuzawa's dire hypothesis about the disappearance of pleasure workers by expanding it to include all women—whom he conflated with erotic desire

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[235] 女の妙用. Ibid., p. 23.

[236] Ibid.

itself: "For the sake of argument, what if the world were devoid of lust (*iroke*[237]), an island of men?" Such a world "would immediately devolve into bloodthirsty strife, and there would be not even one day of peace in society."[238] However, violence was not the outcome that was foremost on Murayama's mind; instead he worried most about the motivation to go on living. Capping off the passage with his grandest rhetoric yet, he declared that in this hypothetical world without women

> all time would be taken up by consternation; the spirit of inspiration would be lost; bravery and ingenuity and intellect would ebb away bit by bit; or [to put it another way: we] would be made to suffer in a constricted world . . . like starving ghosts in an endless hell.[239]

The last of these statements reveals the malleability of discourses of desire. Starving ghosts, *gaki*, were a fixture of Buddhist mythology, and were especially popular in early-modern Japan. As the ghost of a person who failed to relinquish worldly hungers during life, a *gaki's* fate was to endlessly crave the most revolting phenomena of the human world. Driving home both the doctrine that desire clouded humans' perception of the true vileness of the phenomenal world and the pure ghastliness of the prospect of becoming a starving ghost, picture scrolls and other visual media depicted these wretched creatures dwelling invisibly among the living, feeding on human putrescence such as sweat, scabs, feces, and afterbirths. Starving ghosts came in thirty-six varieties, each with a gruesome appetite corresponding to a particular sin of desire. A carrion-eating starving ghost was in life a monk who violated his vow to forgo eating meat, for example.

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[237] 色気.

[238] Murayama Gishichi, "*Sonpai*," pp. 23-24.

[239] Ibid., p. 29.

One variety of starving ghost was the *yokujiki*. Those who had worn beautiful clothing to incite desire and had prostituted themselves suffered this fate; *yokujiki* literally means "desire-eater."[240] One description of the *yokujiki* declares that it "dons various sorts of clothing, decorates itself sumptuously, and behaves like a lewd woman—thus giving rise to desire among people." Prostitute women are destined to become such creatures. That is, if they are human at all. Thus it is wonderfully ironic that Murayama should invoke the starving ghost to make his point about the disintegration of a world without erotic desire. Whereas doctrinaire Buddhism held that desire led to an eon of tortuous cravings, Murayama depicted the starving ghost in precisely opposite terms—as the fate of those who lacked desire. This is another signal that Murayama was not reproducing early-modern discourses on desire and the body wholesale. To Murayama, the violence that would take hold of a world without women would be only a symptom of a larger cosmic disaster.

The final regulationist text under consideration here is entitled *Shōgi ron* (On Pleasure Workers), published in 1890. In general, its coauthors, Takaki Jūgotarō and Tomomatsu Ken, echoed Murayama's and others' cheerful thinking on the desirability and necessity of erotic desire. Early in the work they stated that "if Creation (*zōka*[241]) had not given us erotic desires, humanity would not procreate"; this made erotic desire "the greatest blessing Creation has bestowed on humanity."[242] And as with Fukuzawa's initial statements, some passages make it seem as though the two authors understood male sexual pleasure as independent from the full

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[240] 欲食.

[241] 造化.

[242] Takaki Jūgotarō and Tomomatsu Ken, *Shōgi ron* [On Pleasure Workers] (Osaka: Komaki Rokurō, 1890), p. 8. Reprinted in *Baibaishun mondai shiryō shūsei—senzenhen*, vol. 7, pp. 27-31.

experience of the brothel. Actually, to an extent, they did—when they were perhaps the first Japanese regulationists to assert that sex with a pleasure worker was itself the most important part of a brothel visit. As one would expect, the authors asserted that in the absence of pleasure workers, society would disintegrate, giving free reign to men who treat women lewdly (*inbonsha*[243]), creating the conditions under which venereal disease would spread, illegitimate children would be born, and societal disruptions (*gidō*[244]) would multiply.[245] Also like other authors, Takaki and Tomomatsu asserted that sensual desires were natural and that they had a purpose. They used the notion that everything above the level of rocks and trees experienced this desire to reinforce the idea that erotic desire was natural and inseparable from the human experience. And while for Murayama the cosmic origins and meanings of desire were most significant, for these two, the practical functions of erotic desire were primary.

Despite these similarities, On Pleasure Workers is a unique text. It is among the most interesting texts in the prostitution debate because it reveals a very surprising thing: that separating male sexual desire from the brothel was poisonous for the argument that brothels were important for a healthy society. Indeed, in this text, the idea that sexual desire was independent from the brothel impeded the regulationist argument at least as much as it reinforced it. Because of this quality, we can take this text as something of a turning-point in the debate; it introduced the new theme of inherent male sexuality, but it did not fully embrace that idea.

Unlike any previous author, these two specified sex as the most pleasurable component of an evening at a brothel: "even though listening to musical performances when we go to brothels

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[243] 淫犯者.

[244] 騒動.

[245] Takaki and Tomomatsu, *Shōgi ron*, pp. 5-6.

gives us great pleasure," they wrote, "it would kill the mood[246] if there were no element of fulfilling erotic desires" by sleeping with (*dōkin*[247]) a pleasure worker.[248] In fact, at first they wrote dismissively of the other accoutrements of the brothel. Even the term they used for musical performances, *itotake kensō*,[249] refers as much to a discordant racket as to pleasant melodies. Takaki and Tomomatsu supported their assertion about the vital role of erotic desires by comparing the appeal of one of these melodious rackets as performed by a young man to one performed by a woman. They concluded that the latter was more enjoyable: "Indeed it has to be this way." The music itself was presumably the same; the difference lay in the listener's attraction to the performer.[250]

This was a losing proposition. Dismissing musical performances, which had been one of the principal attractions of the brothel for hundreds of years, erased a key distinction between the brothel and the home. If the authors maintained that these entertainments were secondary, much less superfluous, it would imply that all sex was identical from the male perspective. In turn, this would mean that the conjugal home provided everything men needed, and therefore that the brothel as was every bit as unnecessary as its individual components—and as abolitionists

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[246] Applying this term is anachronistic for late-nineteenth-century English. But inasmuch as the Japanese term in question—*kanzatsu*—comprises the characters for "feeling' and "kill," it nonetheless seems to be the most appropriate term.

[247] 同衾.

[248] Takaki and Tomomatsu, *Shōgi ron*, p. 8.

[249] 糸竹喧騒.

[250] Takaki and Tomomatsu, *Shōgi ron*, pp. 8-9. They were typical in eliding Japan's cultural heritage of male-male pleasure work, as best described by Leupp and Pflugfelder. Cf. Leupp, *Male Colors: the Construction of Homosexuality in Tokugawa Japan, 1603-1868*; Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire*.

insisted. In other words, the more they focused on sex, the more they weakened the case for the brothel.

Recoiling from this, Takaki and Tomomatsu began drawing distinctions between the home and the brothel. First, they asserted that sleeping with a pleasure worker in particular was "the means for us to control our erotic desires" and that "by this we [men] substantially dispel our melancholies." Second, rejecting Fukuzawa's suggestion that the home be turned into a venue for heterosocial entertainment, they wrote that "it would kill the mood to have parties like [those in brothels] in normal homes."[251] This assertion, that parties—and sex—at home were inferior to the versions available at brothels, implied that not all parties or sex acts inspired erotic desire. It may not have been the melodious racket in particular, but something about an evening's entertainment at the brothel made the sex on offer there special and distinct from what was available at home. Regardless of what that might be, the important point was that the brothel had it and the home did not.

In the hands of Takaki and Tomomatsu (and many others besides), the fact that brothel sex was so pleasurable became serendipity. Revising their opening statement that sensual desire was Creation's greatest gift to humanity because it ensured the continuation of the human race, Takaki and Tomomatsu concluded that, "in the end what gives us the greatest pleasure is sleeping [with a pleasure worker]. It is through our organic processes that Creation blesses us."[252] At the last moment, Takaki and Tomomatsu managed to wrestle their own argument to the ground, saving the brothel from irrelevance.

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[251] Takaki and Tomomatsu, *Shōgi ron*, p. 9.

[252] Ibid.

It is because of the narrowness of the authors' victory over their own argument that On Pleasure Workers reveals the difficulty that the concept of inherent desires presented to regulationists in an era when it was intuitive to place the brothel at the center of discussions about what was erotic. The coauthors had begun with the assertion that desire ensured the procreation that sustained the species. To them this was implicit evidence that a higher power, Creation, wanted animal life to persist, and so had incorporated a desire for (reproductive) sex into it. Here, the argument took a U-turn. Implicitly, the fact that the continuation of the species required the intervention of a higher power proved that procreation was in fact not inevitably pleasurable. And if procreation was not pleasurable, neither was procreative sex—the initial premise of the syllogism notwithstanding. Therefore erotic desire divided between its function (procreation) and its mechanism (pleasure). Procreative sex accomplished erotic desire's function but did not fulfill its mechanism. Recreational sex activated erotic desire's mechanism without fulfilling its function. The last element was familiar: unfulfilled desire destabilized men; and unstable men threatened society. Therefore, recreational sex—only available at your local brothel—was necessary.

Conclusion

A body-centric view of male sexuality was compatible with neither regulationism nor abolitionism as they existed in the late nineteenth century. A man whose body desired sex would be unable to develop the emotional relations that Iwamoto desired; and similarly, a man who took erotic desire with him wherever he travelled would have had no need for a brothel. It was in flirting with the latter idea that Takaki and Tomomatsu nearly sabotaged their own argument.

Regulationists and abolitionists agreed on three assumptions about male sexuality as a premise for their debate: one, that male sexuality determined the survival of civilization; two,

that for good or for ill the pleasure worker's various performances created male erotic desire; and three, that the conjugal home was unerotic because it lacked these accouterments.

Yet this was clearly not a stable set of assumptions. As far back as the 1870s, Euroamerican natural-science discourse had become an integral component of the debate whenever someone like Sakatani premised an argument on the idea that without erotic pleasure the human species would not sustain itself through procreation. The following chapter will describe in more detail the expression of biological-anthropological understandings of human sexuality in the Japanese debate over prostitution regulation.

Fukuzawa stands as an outlier in this debate. Fukuzawa advocated the development of erotic lives for wives and the incorporation of the homosocial and hetero-erotic elements of the brothel into the conjugal household. Protestant abolitionists wanted to bring the Japanese home into line with a version of Euroamerican marriage; but like the missionaries who educated them they had a rather narrow, prudish vision of holy matrimony. Meanwhile, Japan's regulationists focused on the maintenance of a brothel industry (and its subculture) that had no satisfactory counterpart in the rest of the modern world. In contrast to both, Fukuzawa was an ardent supporter of a broad vision of the reformation of Japanese culture along Euroamerican lines and a pragmatist who both saw utility in brothels for unmarried men and wanted to keep the Japanese brothel away from the foreign gaze.

Given Fukuzawa's wide reading in Euroamerican languages, it is unsurprising that he was more up to date than his peers when it came to regulationist discourse. This is in evidence when he targeted unmarried men as the ones in particular need for the services of brothels, an argument based on the assumption that married men could and should fulfill their erotic needs

with their wives. This idea would reshape the debate in the years after the turn of the century. That Fukuzawa saw women's erotic needs as an issue at all was likewise ahead of the curve.

But in his insistence that what men sought in brothels was "not just fleshly desire" Fukuzawa's chief premises were very much of a piece with the Japanese debate of that era. Likewise, when he wrote in pseudo-scientific terms about what have come to be known as pheromones, his words only seem to speak to more recent understandings of human physiology and sexuality. The following pages describe in detail the adoption of the understanding of male sexuality as the product of an embodied instinct that was the product of biological and anthropological evolution.

Chapter Three: The Instinct for Sex; the Instinct for Love, 1900-1920[253]

Introduction

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the idea that a desire for sex was an inherent property of male bodies reorganized the debate over prostitution regulation. And it did much more than that. It would be difficult to overstate the effect that instinct-based theory of sexuality had on discussions regarding the structure of society. The emergent idea of the male sexual instinct was one element of a larger set of gendered desires related to reproduction within both men and women that brought about a sea change in how people described the relationship between human sexualities and human society. As part of the debate over whether to dismantle

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[253] A note on terminology. This dissertation consistently uses the term "male sexual desire" as a translation of *seiyoku* (性欲). "Male" is an elaboration on the Japanese term, which does not inherently denote a gender. However, inasmuch as the term often implicitly described the author's vision male sexuality even when the term was not gendered, this is not inappropriate. This implicit gendering is especially pronounced in the debate over prostitution regulation, which after all focused on the client's sexuality. When the term-in-context *is* used either generically or in ways specific to female sexuality, it here appears as "sexual instinct" and "female sexual instinct," respectively.

Strictly speaking, the current Japanese term for "instinct" is *honnō* (本能). However, this term hardly appears at all in the source material of this research. Furthermore, it was all but absent in texts until the turn of the century. When it does appear, it is most often part of the simple syllogism: "The *seiyoku* is the most basic of instincts *honnō*." *Seiyoku* was so important a term that, as Sabine Frühstück has pointed out, *seiyokugaku* (性欲学) was the standard term for what English-language authors called "sexology" rather than the more literal *seigaku* (性学).

Meanwhile, the terms *nikuyoku* (肉欲), *jūyoku* (獣欲), and *jōyoku* (情欲) are consistently rendered as "fleshly-, "bestial-, and "erotic desire," respectively. *Ren'ai* (恋愛) appears as "romantic love."

regulation in some countries, and whether to enact it in countries, it stands as an especially-illustrative expression of this historical development. This is because regulation took the interaction of the individual man's sexuality, the state, and society as its *raison d'etre*, meaning that everyone who wrote on the topic made describing this relationship their overriding goal.

The previous chapter identified a set of assertions about the nature of male sexuality that regulationists and abolitionists in the closing decades of the nineteenth century implicitly agreed to use in their arguments. At a basic level both sides agreed that under a wrong prostitution regime, men's psyches would tear themselves apart, leading to widespread or even total societal collapse. Furthermore, both agreed that erotic desire was the proprietary commodity of the brothel—that the conjugal home would not replace or displace the brothel as the center of men's erotic lives. The debaters simply disagreed on which policy was wrong.

This chapter investigates the debate in the first decades of the twentieth century, revealing both what changed and what remained constant in the shared premises of debate. First, what remained intact? Of course, and by definition, each side's conclusion about the desirability of prostitution regulation remained constant. Also, the protagonists continued to agree that the fate of society hung in the balance. Second, what changed? The primary change was that both abolitionists and regulationists reformulated the theory of male erotic desire by adopting the rhetorical tools of evolutionary biology and anthropology. The antagonists replaced arguments about the role of the brothel in creating erotic desire with assertions that men always carried sexual desire within their bodies, which desire they described as the culmination of a grand evolutionary history. Meanwhile, abolitionists came to argue that instinctual male sexual desire played a crucial, and all-too-fragile role in human affairs.

At the heart of the new regime was that other variety of Darwinian selection: sexual selection. This was not the "natural selection" of individuals by external factors like predation and disease; this was the evolutionary pressure on a species exerted from within whenever an individual chose to mate with a particular other individual or chose not to, based on a set of instinctual criteria. Participants in both camps came to understand human pair-bonding as a narrow set of heterosexual practices that were shaped by many ages of evolution by such forces. Furthermore, they believed that individual behavior directly influenced society as a whole. It also included the assumption that by correctly interpreting the evidence that evolutionary processes left behind, one could prescribe natural, healthful sexual mores for society that could be shaped by policy.

The twentieth-century debate over regulation is an example of non-experts utilizing the scientific discourse of evolutionary biology and anthropology as they existed then. In content the debate represented a broader transformation in the understanding of male sexuality and its relationship to human society, and in structure the debate represented the deployment of that new understanding in social and political practice. Therefore, the first two sections of the chapter survey the development of the concept of the male sexual instinct in its native context, beginning with Darwin's theories of sexual selection and traces their entry into Japan. The third section of the chapter describes early-twentieth-century regulationism. The chapter ends with an examination of post-1910 (male) abolitionist discourse that endorsed the male sexual instinct as an essential, though troublesome, force in human society.

The European of Birth Sexual Instincts

It might help to flesh out the above description of Darwin's two theories of selection. Natural selection is the idea that individual specimens of a given species exhibit varied traits, that

all traits are heritable, that some traits confer survival advantages, that those with advantageous traits reproduce more offspring, and that this unequal reproduction perfuses advantageous traits into the general population of a species. Darwin's extremely-influential 1859 work *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* perfused the idea of natural selection into discussions of race within the human species by reinvigorating the search for racial traits that might justify racial inequalities in modern societies by revealing that such inequalities represented permanent biological differences rather than contingent, socially-produced ones.

The core of Darwin's other popular work, his 1871 *Descent of Man*, was the sexual selection. He intended this second idea to be an extension of his first. Like it, the theory of sexual selection took as a premise the idea that variations in individuals were heritable, and that some conferred survival advantages. This time, however, Darwin sought to explain the differences between the sexes of male and female rather than the variations between races or species. Another difference was that it sought to explain these variations in terms of the reproductive success of individuals rather than survival rates; this is to say that Darwin was interested in the mechanisms of mate selection rather than differing resistance to predation or pathogens.

While the effects of natural selection on discourses of race and practices of racial prejudice received a great deal of scholarly attention, the influence that sexual-selection theory has had on discourses and practices related to gender has largely gone unstudied. Thirty years ago Stephen Jay Gould described, and debunked, the nineteenth-century science of craniometry, a method of measuring cranial minutia that supposedly revealed "racial characteristics" such as intelligence, creativity, and moral fiber.[254]

[254] Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: Norton, 1996).

Gould's work reveals that natural science and anthropology had a symbiotic relationship: while anthropological arguments supposedly demonstrated the damage that empowering women would have on society, psychological diagnoses revealed what was wrong with the kind of woman who wanted equality in the first place. Thus anthropologists fashioned a political tool out of Darwinian ideas of sexual selection and applied them to "the Woman Question" by creating a prehistorical narrative of male vigor and female inferiority.

In the wake of Gould's work, a strong body of scholarship has examined nineteenth-century science in equally-minute detail to reveal how it imbricated with racism, sexism, homophobia, and imperialism. For an example of its importance to gender scholarship consider *Sexual Science*, wherein Cynthia Russet gives nineteenth-century gender science the Gould treatment. Russet reveals that in their approaches to questions of gender, nineteenth-century scientists and anthropologists were not blinded by prejudice so much as guided by it.[255]

Building on existing discourses that put male agency and female passivity at the heart of the gender hierarchy, Darwin put instinct at the heart of his explanation of the differences between men and women, often using birds as a stand in. in one case, he wrote that

> generally, the female retains a closer resemblance to the young of her own species, and to other adult members of the same group. The cause of this seems to lie in the males of almost all animals having stronger passions than the females. Hence it is the males that fight together and sedulously display their charms before the females; and the victors transmit their superiority to their male offspring.[256]

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[255] Cynthia Russett, *Sexual Science: the Victorian Construction of Womanhood* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989).

[256] Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* (London: John Murray, 1874), p. 221.

In such passages as this, Darwin invoked two complementary models of mate selection. It could occur either through direct competition among males via fighting or via indirect competition as males offered themselves before the evaluating eyes of females. According to this logic, eons of females had selected for "passion" in males.

Yet Darwin gave females no credit for any agency in this regard:

> It is not probable that [the peahen] consciously deliberates; but she is most excited or attracted by the most beautiful, or melodious, or gallant males. Nor need it be supposed that the female studies each stripe or spot of colour; that the peahen, for instance, admires each detail in the gorgeous train of the peacock—she is probably struck only by the general effect.[257]

For Darwin, this demonstrated a universal principle: Males benefit by mating frequently and indiscriminately, with each successful copulation representing an extra chance to pass on their traits, while females mate infrequently, invest energy in rearing offspring and generally benefit by being choosy about mates. From that dynamic would emerge physical and behavioral differences between sexes.[258]

But the most crucial factor here is that by "passion" Darwin meant much more than simple sexual desire. Competition for survival and resources had already appeared as a key component of Darwin's earlier work on natural selection. In this too Darwin drew on broader, preexisting discourses on struggles between races, genders, and nations. Herbert Spencer—who coined the phrase "survival of the fittest "to refer to struggles between empires in the pursuit of colonial aggrandizements—was an especially-influential strong influence on Darwin in this

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[257] Ibid., Kindle Locations 7507-10.

[258] Brandon Kelm, "Traditional Sexual Values Challenged in Classic Animal Study," *Wired Magazine* (9 July 2012) <http://www.wired.com/wiredscience/2012/07/sexual-selection-challenge/>, Accessed 10 July 2012.

regard.[259] In Darwin's writing male competition for females identified male sexuality with other forms of initiative and resourcefulness. Indeed, according to this way of thinking, *all* societal developments were to be credited to men, and the entrepreneurial spirit that had created the great works of art, science, technology, and government ultimately stemmed from men's competition over women. The modern world was nothing other than the creation of male sexuality.

A key assumption was that males were sexually indiscriminate. Any male successful in competition with other males would mate with all available females. Or as Darwin put it: "In all ordinary cases the male is so eager that he will accept any female, and does not, as far as we can judge, prefer one to the other . . ."[260] This male lack of preference foreclosed any sexual selective pressure on females. It was this lack of sexual-selective pressure, argued Darwin and many others of the nineteenth century, that rendered females inert, plain, and unimportant in the evolution of animal species and human societies. Thus, even when they attributed agency in mate selection to females, evolutionists were constructing an argument for male superiority. Either way, according to these men, the majority of a species' bioenergetic capital was invested in its males. Furthermore, the investment in women's bodies was devoted to reproduction, explaining their supposedly-reduced physical capacities and proving by deduction that their mental and intellectual capacities were lesser too.

Thus, Darwin's theory of sexual selection also made mating the quintessential neutralizing agent in female evolution. And this, in turn, would be nineteenth-century science's

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[259] Marvin Harris went so far as to call for social Darwinism to be retitled Spencerism. Marvin Harris, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory: a History of Theories of Culture* (New York: Crowell, 1968).

[260] Darwin, *Descent of Man*, Kindle Locations 7483-85.

paramount contribution to sexism. It was a masculinist argument according to which those evolved to take action were entitled to monopolize all activity beyond reproduction. In humans, this included business, government, and, of course, the very science that came to give patriarchy its new legitimating framework.

Japanese Sexologists and Romantic Love

Even while these ideas were taking shape, educated Japanese paid attention to and adopted them. Even before British-style medicalized regulation became the object of a concerted opposition movement, Euroamerican views of sex and sexuality were of great interest to Japanese audiences. And European medical texts—a field of study known as *rangaku* (Dutch studies) because these texts were imported through the Dutch trade concession at Nagasaki—garnered interest from the learned and the unlearned alike well before Japan increased its contact with the wider world in the 1850s. From the 1860s onward, and with ever-greater swiftness, all of the major works on genital anatomy, sexual health, and family planning were translated into Japanese. These works ranged from William Acton, to Richard von Krafft-Ebing, to Havelock Ellis, and to Margaret Sanger. This gave birth to what Akagawa Manabu has termed *kaika sekusuorojī* (enlightenment sexology).[261]

These Euroamerican figures maintained their authority among Japanese audiences for quite some time. It was a diverse and erudite group reflecting the wide reading habits of Japanese sexologists. It included the British gynecologist William Acton, the German psychologist Krafft-Ebbing, the Australian sexologist Havelock Ellis, the Russian novelist-cum-spiritualist Leo Tolstoy, the French Pierre anthropologist Brocha, the Italian criminologist Theodor Lombroso, and the Swedish difference-feminist Ellen Key. Usually, at least three members of this list were

[261] Akagawa, *Sekushuariti no rekishi shakaigaku*; Oda, *Sei*.

name-checked in just about every sexological work from the 1890s onward. Interestingly, while Austrian psychoanalyst Freud received obligatory recognition in this body of work, Japanese authors tended to keep him at arm's length.[262] That being said, Japanese sexologists of the twentieth century were much more interested in writing than in translating, and their references tended to shift from quotations to paraphrases as the twentieth century opened.

As part of this, Japanese authors of sexological discourse were also interested in creating a Japanese vocabulary to describe their growing interest in the sex drive. In both academic essays and narrative fiction, Mori Ōgai (also known as Mori Rintarō) wrote on the topic of sexual desire at great length. Widely known for both genres of writing, Mori was the leading sexologist of the first decade of the twentieth century. Mori was not the first to use the neologism *seiyoku* to mean sexual desire or the sexual instinct, but in both his fiction and essay Mori proved to be the single most influential author on the subject.[263] In light of this, Saeki Junko takes Mori Ōgai as emblematic of how Japanese came to think of sexuality even though he self-consciously went against the grain in his writings.[264]

Mori was not the first to use the neologism *seiyoku* to mean the sexual instinct in fiction. Credit for this goes to Tayama Katai in his 1907 short story *Futon* (Mattress). However, Mori made his own literary use of the term in his 1909 *Wita Sekushuarisu* (*Vita Sexualis*). *Seiyoku*

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[262] This is perhaps because Japanese authors did not Freud's insistence that psychoanalysis was universal. Instead, even devoted Freudians such as Heisaku Kosawa thought of the Japanese mind as best described through a similar but distinct set of mythologies rather than a universal Oedipus complex. Anne Allison, *Permitted and Prohibited Desires: Mothers, Comics, and Censorship in Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 3-5.

[263] Oda, *Sei*, pp. 45-46.

[264] Saeki, *"Ai" to "sei,"* pp. 30-31.

came into general usage sometime between the Meiji 1890s and Meiji 1900s.[265] Mori's novella, once banned, proved to be one of the most popular texts on sexuality of the period.[266] The work amounts to a lightly-fictionalized, episodic narration of Mori's own sexual history in which the character Kojima stands in for Mori. The novella opens with Mori's/Kojima's first recollections of experience related to sexuality. As a six-year-old the stand-in character had been shown an erotic print, which he could not interpret. From there it moved through Kojima's adolescence and early adulthood before ending abruptly upon his marriage.

In his editorials, Mori describe sexual desires as primarily the domain of men, contrasting this to the reproductive drive of women. Nonetheless, Mori criticized the reduction of human life to sexual desire, seeing it as a self-fulfilling expectation. "If we observe life through the lens of sexual desire, the driving force behind every human act is no more than sexual yearning," he wrote.[267] In this he somewhat agreed with the Protestant position described below. ". . . love is not the same as sexual desire even though love may be closely related to it."[268]

In *Vita Sexualis*, along with descriptions of his sexual experiences Mori included didactic passages and asides in which he theorized about male sexuality. In one passage, harking back to decades-old metaphors he wrote: "Even in the bowels of the earth covered with eternal ice, raging flames are furiously thrusting upward from a volcano."[269] In another passage, sexual

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[265] Cf. Ibid.

[266] Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex*, pp. 77-78.

[267] Mori Ōgai, *Vita Sexualis*, trans. Ninomiya Kazuji and Sanford Goldstein (Rutland: C. E. Tuttle, 1972), p. 28.

[268] Ibid.

[269] Ibid., p. 151.

desire was a tiger: "People in general let loose the tiger of sexual desire they have kept under leash and occasionally ride on its back until they tumble into the Valley of Ruin. [Kojima] had tamed his tiger of sexual desire and controlled it."[270] In yet another analogy, Mori described sexual desire in terms of excrement and chamber pots. In that passage, Mori constructed a conversation between Kojima and a friend as a means to put different experiences and understandings of male sexual desire in dialogue. During this conversation, "Kojima thought of sexual desire as a sewage drain. Koga thought of sexual desire as a chamber pot to be cleaned out occasionally."[271] In passages like these we finally see the analogy of the sewage drain applied to the male sexual instinct specifically, as distinct from its other applications, described in the introduction.

This somewhat-jumbled analogy reflected Mori's other rhetoric. Although Mori did not find his own sexuality to be difficult to control, he advocated regulation for the sake of those who had not—or who had not yet—tamed their tigers. However, his vision was not doctrinaire: Mori rejected brothelkeepers, and argued for a system in which doctors supervised prostitutes directly.[272] Indeed, beyond the pages of novels, as Army Surgeon General, Mori advocated regulationism for military camp towns.

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[270] Ibid., p. 152.

[271] Mori, *Wita Sekushuarisu*, pp. 70-71.

[272] Nakamura Miharu, "*Mujun ni michita kōshō rongi: Mori Ōgai no haishōron*," [Prostitution and Japanese literature] in *Baibaishun to Nihon Bungaku*, edited by Okano Yukie, Hasegawa Kei, and Watanabe Sumiko (Tokyo: Tokyodo Shuppan, 2002).

Saeki takes *Vita Sexualis* as a "case study" of the ideal vs. the unideal—of the romantic versus unromantic with respect to love and sex.[273] While the main character's behavior was anything but ideal in his youth, as time went on his behavior fell into line with the respectable norm. But while his older self reflected on his younger version, his attitude was more of bemusement than condemnation, and the overall message was that he had gone through a normal process of sexual maturation.

Mori provides a good example of a specific person's thinking; however no one person's thinking should be taken to represent the whole unproblematically. A 1922 collection of editorials and essays from various publications both specialized a general provides a good overview of the discourses of sex and love in this period—indeed the work's title, *Sei to ren'ai no kenkyū* (Researches on Sex and Love) reveals as much. As was typical of sexological texts from the late nineteenth century onward around the globe, the editors and many of the contributors decried the prudishness that supposedly had kept such discussion in the margins.[274] After making the obligatory call for frankness in discussions of sex education, they expressed hope for furthering the national dialogue on this issue of great importance.

The editors divided their collection between the two topics named in its title. And, tellingly, sex comes before love in both. The contributors to the first half of the book tended to be hard-nosed educators who called for sex education in schools (without describing the content of any such course); there, the primary subject of debate was whether to co-educate boys and girls to ensure that they would be able to develop proper romantic and sexual habits later in life.

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[273] Saeki, *"Ai" to "sei,"* p. 52.

[274] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Random House, 1990).

The authors agreed on the process of boys' adolescence as a tumultuous and dangerous time of sexual awakening. This was the process by which a boy's emergent sex drive became the center of his adult self's sexuality. Miyata Osamu thought of young men and women as so many "boats tossed about by stormy weather" and in "Avoiding the dangers of sexed advocated strict supervision of any time boys and girls spent together. Ogata Norio agreed: hormones cause adolescents to ride waves of emotion. Toward the end of his essay, Ogata Norio reiterated the idea that the sex drive and hunger were of a piece, which was by then common sense:

> The functions of reproduction that are especially active during adolescence as well as the various workings that arise from the hormones are identical to those of digestion. Therefore, these function, and the development of reproductive functions as well cannot be stopped by artificial means.[275]

Ogata went on to conclude the essay by writing that although moral thinking and distractions (such exercise) can limit the effects of sexual desire to a certain extent, those who think that such things are sufficient to fully control the sex drive are mistaken."[276]

In the thinking of these authors, the sex drive was indeed fundamental. Uchida Roan, for example, wrote that: "The sexual instinct is next to eating and drinking as a human instinct, so even if you're too squeamish to discuss it you cannot stop it. The sexual instinct has had a large impact on history because it is either directly or indirectly responsible for all significant

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[275] Nakajima Tokuzō, *Sei to ren'ai no kenkyū* [Researches on Sex and Romantic Love] (Tokyo: Nihon Shoin Shuppanbu, 1922), pp. 24-25. Reprinted in *Kindai Nihon no Sexushuariti*, vol. 17: Shisō Bungaku ni Miru Sekushuariti (Sexuality as Seen in Criticism), pp. 153-57.

[276] Ogata Norio, *Seiyoku to seishoku [Sexual instinct and reproduction] in Sei to ren'ai no kenkyū*ibid. (Reprinted in, pp. 19-25.

events."[277] Compare this to Murayama, who had called women's "mysterious effects" the cause of all the universe's phenomena—human and otherwise; one might also compare it to the thinking of Iwamoto, who had argued that erotic desire was behind all of history's disasters.[278] In a particularly-vivid and -entertaining conflation of the sex and hunger drives, the author went on to write: ". . . what would happen if the even-stronger instinct for food and drink went uneducated? [Humans would] eat rabbits and snakes by ripping them apart to drink their blood as it spilled out, like savages, or they might turn to cannibalism." He concluded that "Precisely because these [two] instincts arise either with or without education, we must use education to ensure that they end up developing healthfully.[279]

Despite their differences, when it came to romantic love, both those oriented toward spiritualism and those who took hard-nosed positions agreed that it was integral to human reproduction. As Nakajima Tokuzō put it "In a word, the truth about romantic love is that it arises from the two elements spirit and flesh."[280]

In many writings, such as those of Kuriyagawa Hakuson, also mentioned below, romantic love gradually took on much more meaning than the limited interaction between two people; as the primary motivator of all behavior that was distinctly human. Kuriyagawa elaborated on the

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[277] Uchita Roan, *Seiyoku kenkyū no hitsuyō or ronzu* [Explaining the Necessity for Research on the Sexual Instinct] (Tokyo: Shinkōron sha, 2006), p. 336. Reprinted in *Kindai Nihon no sekushuariti*, vol. 6: *Ansorojī: Meijiki no sei gensetsu o megutte* [Sampling Meiji-era Discourses of Sexuality];

[278] Murayama, op. cit.; Iwamoto Yoshiharu, "*Jōyoku no tsumi*," [The Sin of Passion], *Jogaku Zasshi* [Women's Learning Journal], no. 10 (8 December 1886).

[279] Uchita, *Seiyoku kenkyū no hitsuyō or ronzu*, p. 337.

[280] Nakajima, *Sei to ren'ai no kenkyū*, p. 157.

thinking of Nakajima on the relationship between the sex drive, the romantic love, and society thusly,

> . . . fleshly desire merely for the purpose of reproduction is an animalistic thing, not a thing of humanity or personhood. It is only when fleshly desire is purified and sanctified that it becomes human, and in turn becomes the single most important precondition [that defines] humanity.[281]

Though not sacred in itself, the sex drive was redeemed by its effects. Because it engendered romantic love, which in turn transformed into a grand love of humanity, the sex drive was the engine of human spiritual being. This made the couple—whether married or not—the basic unit of human society. As such, the sacred sex drive is the indirect expression of the sex drive, such as through art, charity, and other capacities that were taken to be distinctly-human.[282]

Regulationism at Its Logical Conclusion

The above developments in the general thinking on sex and love played out in regulationist and abolitionist thinking, which brought it to the center of their debate, with regulationists favoring the supposed linkage between hunger and the sex drive while abolitionists favored the connection of romantic love to human nature. Regarding the former, one might say that regulationism came into its own when it adopted the sexual instinct as its core concept.

Regulationists had long constructed male human nature as a threat to society, arguing that without experiencing the desire that brothels evoked, men's lives would not be worth living and that men might be driven to distraction by metaphysical or psychological angst. The sexual instinct was an improvement on this not only because it was more current in popular science and more closely matched to Euroamerican discourses, but also because it was more dramatic and

[281] Kuriyagawa Hakuson, *Ren'ai to jinsei*ibid. (p. 163. Reprinted in, pp. 160-64.

[282] Ukita Kazutami, *Seiteki shōdō no sūkōka [The Valorization of Sexual Stimulus] in Sei to ren'ai no kenkyū*ibid. (p. 139. Reprinted in, pp. 139-42.

far-reaching. The previous theory did not hold that erotic desire was necessary to a man's moment-to-moment existence; but according to the theory of the sexual instinct, desire was a constant presence in man's lives. And if *all* men were always sexually primed, then it would be more crucial for social policy to account for male sexuality on a massive scale.

In the years after 1900, statements on the theme of the sexual instinct as a fundamental component of human nature became part and parcel of regulationist rhetoric. One might call it the phrase that launched a thousand essays on prostitution. An increase in scientific literacy among regulationists, not to mention an increase in the number of medical doctors who took up the regulationists cause was partly responsible for this. As quoted in the introduction to Chapter Two, a brothel-regulation proponent defined male sexual desire it in 1900 thusly:

> The two desires of food and of sex (*iro*) are the natural bodily desires that constitute the hearts and minds of people; and they are indispensable for self-preservation—not lacking them is the single most important condition for the preservation of individuals, and of our species.[283]

Later texts repeat this construction. In his 1916 *Baishun romansu* Yamao Kiyomi laid out an archetypical 1910s line of regulationist thinking. In the last section of the text—entitled "Regulated and Illicit Prostitution," Yamao listed the causes of the increase of prostitution outside of the regulatory system in the first decades of the twentieth century. The first reason was straightforward: Yamao argued that the increase in prostitution was commensurate with the increase in the population of men, who gathered in cities across the globe in ever-greater numbers. In the second reason Yamao wrote that the basis of prostitution lay

> in males' sexual desire; at a certain point the sexual desire within men becomes more forceful than that within women. But there are cases in which this explanation does not suffice. Namely, those with wives as well as the educated

[283] Tanaka, *Kōshō ron*, p. 1.

> pay for prostitution because they have a taste for it; no other reason is thinkable.[284]

The third argument on which Yamao relied was the notion that the advancement of civilization led to an increase in prostitution. This diagnosis of the inherent pitfalls of civilization was a common diagnosis of all sorts of social ills, prostitution among them. He elaborated:

> Under civilization, education forces [people] to maintain virtue. . . . However underneath this there is the subconscious—namely, the instinct—that kicks back against these customary controls. Among complete savages men and women satisfy their sexual desires with just anyone; but civilized people have thought of innumerable methods and means to [limit] this.[285]

By this Yamao intended that prostitution is a means by which men satisfy sexual desires that they cannot point at "just anyone" in a civilized society. Civilization forced a certain degree of chastity on everyone—but the instinct could not be conquered. The effort to control virtue never entirely succeeded in ideal terms and had to be contained through realist means—regulated prostitution. Civilization was greatly superior to barbarism but was inherently less stable than it; the instinct was indispensable but it was also threatening.

Under the section-title "*Seiyoku to bai'in*"(Sexual desire and prostitution) in his *Haishō ka sonshō ka* (Abolition? Regulation?) Murayama Motomu agreed with his peers: "The sex drive is the chief instinct of living things; and was granted by Nature (*tennen*[286]). The single characteristic of living is the continuation of life. . . . In this way the sexual instinct is a sacred

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[284] Yamao Kiyomi, *Baishun romansu* [Prostitution Romance] (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1916), p. 345-46. Reprinted in *Baibaishun mondai shiryō shūsei—senzenhen*, vol. 29, pp. 300-405.

[285] Ibid., p. 346.

[286] 天然.

thing given [to us] by Heaven's will to sustain the species."[287] Unlike the Murayama Gishichi described in the previous chapter, this Murayama had as much to say about evolutionarily-oriented, embodied male sexual desire as Murayama Gishichi had had to say about Heaven-derived erotic desire. Continued Murayama Motomu:

> Because sexual desire is the strongest among all human desires, and along with the desire to eat, is the most basic desire in human life, if one is not a person possessed of extremely strong will, it is difficult to control it through discipline and practice. If there is a demand, then there is a supply. That prostitute women never cease to leave their mark in all times and places throughout the world is the result of the fact that human [men] desire the opposite sex to fulfill their hard-to-control sexual desires. We can say that prostitution arises from humans' basic desires, and will be with humanity from its beginning to its end.[288]

Much like Gishichi and other regulationists, he differentiated between those men who had and those who lacked the requisite self-control to avoid sexual behavior. This was a way to simultaneously acknowledge and write off abolitionist men who retained sexual continence.

While the hunger for food was not gendered, the desire for sex was. He only brought up female sexual desire to pathologized it, even while he described male sexuality as natural, healthful, permanent, and ubiquitous among men. This is despite the fact that he described sexual desire in terms of all humans, *ningen*.[289] As a result of these factors, of course, regulation was indispensable in his opinion:

> What would the result be if, under the current economic system, the country were to completely eliminate the prostitution-regulation system, and along with that extinguish illicit prostitution? Where would humans hope to satisfy those instinctual urges that arise from sexual desire, which is along with the desire to eat the strongest among human desire?

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[287] Maruyama Motomu, *Haishō ka sonshō ka* [Abolition or Regulation?] (Osaka: Baiefu Mondai Kenkyūkai, 1925), pp. 2-3. Reprinted in *Baibaishun mondai shiryō shūsei—senzenhen*, vol. 7, pp. 372-87.

[288] Ibid., p 46.

[289] 人間.

It is worth noting continuities as well. To support the above point Murayama quoted one of the most prominent sexologists of the day, Sawada Junjirō:

> Based on his knowledge as a sex-desire researcher, Sawada Junjirō explains his dim view of the elimination of prostitution: "illicit affairs, wild pairings, sexual assault, rape, attacks, spiritual death, and like immoral behaviors would arise. And why would these rise over time? It would be the result of sexual desire."[290]

Like Fukuzawa, Sawada, by way of Murayama listed immorality and the loss of vigor as possible outcomes of abolition. Despite its invocation of sexual rather than lustful desire, this text has a lot in common with the previous Murayama. But the substantial difference remains that for Murayama Motomu and his contemporaries, sexual desire was now as internal as appetite.

Protestant Views of Romance between 1890 and 1912

Because to us the male sex drive seems straightforwardly linked to, even concomitant with, regulationism, it might also be intuitive that the concept of an inherent male sexual instinct would present an insurmountable threat to the abolitionist position. Yet this was not the case. As the twentieth century got going, abolitionists would stop describing male sexual desire as inimical to conjugal happiness and societal stability. Indeed, Protestant abolitionists ultimately proved no less capable than their secular counterparts in deploying the concept of the male sex drive by incorporating it into their vision of courtship and romantic conjugal love. Albeit only after a long bout of handwringing, this vision of marriage became integral to the secular-feminist discourses that are the topic of the final chapter of this research. This came in the form of *ren'ai* (romantic love) and *ren'ai kekkon* (love marriages), which became the watchwords of heterosexual affection in the early twentieth century.

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[290] Maruyama, *Haishō ka sonshō ka*, p 58.

Abolitionists were devout religionists who envisioned the conjugal relationship as holy and saw flesh as vulnerable to infiltration by sinful desires that arrested spiritual progress. What gave them pause was the fact that incorporating the male sex drive into marriages threatened to put venality at the heart of their favorite sacrosanct institution; yet in the end they capitulated, because this framework also gave abolitionists a new means to articulate their vision of how marriage should operate as the foundation of a moral society. Nonetheless, abolitionists came to understand sexual desire as the physical substrate from which spiritual love sprung up. Their core argument was that sexual desire motivated men to romantically pursue women, inaugurating a courtship process that ended in holy matrimony. Accordingly, the idea that all sexual desire was morally destabilizing metamorphosed into the idea that only prostitution turned men into oversexed cads who contributed nothing to society, while a more reserved sexuality turned men into attentive suitors and then into loving husbands—men whose behavior improved society's stability.

As Chapter Two described, Iwamoto identified "emotional relations" as the key to harmonious marriages prior to the twentieth century. He declared that household relationships based on conjugal affection were the foundation of healthy societies, phrasing his opposition to regulation in terms of addiction. Inasmuch as their opposition to prostitution was an opposition to erotic desire itself, they did not advocate sensuality as a component of healthy marriages.[291] In fact, not only did they come to terms with it, they embraced it as one of the cornerstones of marriage.

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[291] David Notter, *Junketsu no kindai: kindai kazoku to shinmitsusei no hikaku shakaigaku* (Tokyo: Keiō Gijuku Daigaku Shuppankai, 2007), p. 20; Saeki, *"Ai" to "sei,"* pp. 13-14.

The goal of these reformers was to put marriage on a new footing. In the beginning of this process, as in the writings of Mori Arinori, this had entailed changing the legal and social understandings of marriage in Japan. Indeed, Iwamoto wrote as much when he eulogized Mori in the pages of *Jogaku Zasshi* in 1889.[292] However, even then, fifteen years into their campaign to reformulate the social basis of marriage, these elites had yet to clearly articulate exactly how they wanted love to operate. Even as of the 1880s and 1890s, Protestants had little to say on how love between husbands and wives would be achieved. What positive description they gave instructed established couples to socialize young men and women to each other. This was not so that the young people could develop romantic attachments on their own—chaperones were to make sure that did not happen. The idea was that by becoming accustomed to each other's presences in public and before marriage, the young people in question would be better able to interact with their eventual partners in private and after marriage. Yet while they were certain that young men and women should be socialized to interact with each other, details were unclear—for example, they were not sure of exactly what kinds of conversation were suited to mixed company. And besides vague assurances that emotional relations would occur between husband and wife if and when they interacted somehow, writers like Iwamoto and Ebina Rin had little in the way of instructions for their readers. What they were most confident of were the negative consequences of bad marriage choices.

The beginning of Protestant discourses of romantic love were anything but auspicious. The impetus was an 1892 essay by Christian and well-known poet Kitamura Tōkoku, entitled

[292] Iwamoto Yoshiharu, "*Mori Arinori kun no 'saishō ron,'" [*Mori Arinori's 'On Concubinage'], *Jogaku Zasshi* [Women's Learning Journal], no. 150 (16 November 1889).

Ensei shika to josei (Disillusioned poets and women).[293] It was largely because *ren'ai* term continually appeared in the pages of that magazine thereafter that by the end of the 1890s it had become the standard term for the (heterosexual) affection between two adults.[294] Indeed, it is for introducing the term into common usage that Kitamura is most famous today. Ironically, however, Kitamura's usage of romantic love made for an extremely-inauspicious beginning, because his essay was nothing other than a sour jeremiad devoted to the argument that romantic love and marriage should be kept as far apart as possible.

As he described it in *Ensei shika*, Kitamura saw life in terms of a continual battle between the ideals of youth and the responsibilities of the real world. To him, youth was an innocent time of pure ideas that one spent sheltered from the cares of the world. Young men grew into adolescence insulated from the real world "without experiencing pain, in a world of innocent thought (*honrai no sōsekai*[295])."This gave way to the "real world"(*jitsu sekai*[296]), a world of responsibility, upon marriage. As young men approached adulthood, their carefree attitude was bound to come into conflict with the hard-nosed character of men, and lose: "Certainly, there inevitably comes a time when the men of that world of pure thought—the world

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[293] According to Yanabu Akira, the term *ren'ai* first appeared, in passing, in an 1870-1871 serial translation of Samuel Smiles's *Self Help*. It then appeared in an 1887 English-Japanese dictionary. Scholars are unanimous in asserting that the term started to gain currency after Iwamoto began using it in *Jogaku Zasshi* in October 1890, and that the popularity of Kitamura's 1892 essay the cemented its place. Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help; with Illustrations of Character and Conduct* (London: John Murray, 1859); Yanabu, *Hon'yakugo*, pp. 95-96.

[294] Notter, *Junketsu no kindai*, p. 5.

[295] 本来の想世界.

[296] 実世界.

of innocence—and men of the real world—the floating world (*ukiyo*), or the world of forms[297]—fight and hate each other." The inhabitants of the world of innocence, "unaware of the world's discord" and therefore unprepared for hardship, inevitably lost this conflict. Survivors on the defeated side became just as disillusioned as their captors, which is to say that they became adults.

But this transition was not the same for all men. Some were imbued with a peculiarly-artistic spirit; and the transition was even more difficult for these poets—those who would become the disillusioned poets who were the subject of the essay. What became of these poet-boys as vanquished poet-men? Maintaining the military metaphor, Kitamura concluded the paragraph by writing that "the stronghold that reigns over the defeated world of thought after the war . . . is that which is called romantic love."[298]

By virtue of being more like women in their strong emotions, poets were more capable forming loving relationships with women. Yet such men were constitutionally incapable of shouldering the responsibilities of married life and of running a home; for such men marriage was an insufferable experience. "How strange that just as it is easy for love to blind poets, marriage is especially apt to disappoint them! Poets are unable to conform to the rules of society, are unable to conduct [the affairs of] a home in society." Those who entered marriages with the

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[297] 浮世. Although the term *ukiyo* usually refers to a realm that "floats" above the world of quotidian obligations—and especially refers to the pleasure quarters—Kitamura is clearly deploying its original usage. Here, the term invokes the Buddhist notion of the corporeal world as nothing more than illusion, according to which all the things that humans desire and hold dear are nothing more than ephemera. Thus the term "floating world" refers to Kitamura's "real world."

[298] Kitamura Tōkoku, "*Ensei shiko to josei* [World-Hating Poets and Women],"ed. Kitamura (1892).

wrong mindset—hoping that it would unite them with a muse—found themselves quite disillusioned indeed: "The morning after a man and a woman have become one [through marriage], their faces seem like cloudy skies and their voices sound like the chirping of birds" to each other. Simultaneously, the newly-wed husband found himself suddenly burdened with the responsibilities of managing a home: "society, which until now seemed distant, suddenly comes rushing close and duties and obligations that were suspended deep in the mind quickly come to pull [on one's attention]."Such was the outcome for those who married the women they loved: "Isn't it strange, just as it is easy for love to blind poets, marriage is especially apt to disappoint them. Poets are unable to conform to the rules of society, are unable to conduct [the affairs of] a home in society."[299]

Romantic love seduced many such poet-boys, including Kitamura himself, with promises of the ability to retain this youthful ideal into adult life. Kanno Satomi describes this usage of *romantic love* as a means to reattach the modern, alienated self to a sense of rootedness in a romanticized vision of the early-modern community, such that "Through love, the self is for the first time able to relate to society as an individual entity."[300]

The essay is rooted in Euroamerican traditions in an ironic way. Especially fond of the Romantics, he cited Marlowe, Shelley, and numerous others. It is clear therefore that he was drawing on these sources to construct his notion of ideal love; but at the same time the end result was distinct from these foreign influences. For example, Kitamura was especially fond of Byron, and he closed the essay with quote from Byron to the effect that when love failed and lovers parted, it was as though each departed into an endless winter night. While Byron was mourning

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[299] Ibid.

[300] Kanno Satomi, *Shōhi sareru renʾai ron: Taishō chishikijin to sei* (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2001), pp. 57-58.

how the end of romantic feelings had brought his brief relationship to a close, Kitamura mourned the end of romance precisely because his own marriage continued after the death of his affection for his wife.[301]

The essay is rooted in East Asian literary traditions as well. The character of the *ensei shika*,[302] literally "world-hating poet," can also be connected to the world-*weary* poet who spent his twilight years in isolation. One example of this is the eight-century Chinese poet Du Fu, who spent his last years languidly sailing down the Yangtze River after falling out of favor with the emperor. Thus Kitamura, at twenty-three, implicitly compared himself to a man who spent his old age deaf, half-blind, asthmatic, and in semi-exile. By referring to boys in the idiom of the world-removed poet, Kitamura seems to be inverting the meaning. Kitamura focuses on the transition from boyhood to the "noontime of life" through marriage, rather than on the transition from adulthood to the twilight of life through retirement. Thus in his essay the poet-boy is "removed" from the real world not because he has retired from it but because he has yet to join

[301] Op. cit. World-Hating Poets has a fascinating counterpart in "Obsession," Kato Midori's 1910 short story published in *Seitō* (Bluestocking). The female main character there is Hisako, a young wife who spends the story recollecting her courtship while contemplating her romance-deprived marriage. What makes the story so interesting is Hisako's attitude during courtship, when she has strong feelings of both foreboding and fatalistic resignation. She knows that a wife sacrifices any individual ambitions to her husband, a condition she had experienced previously while caring for her two younger siblings and she mistrusts the feelings that her suitor expresses, yet she experiences romantic affection for him nonetheless. In fact, even after her now-husband's affections turn elsewhere, she finds herself "obsessed" with love, such that before marriage he had been obsessed with her and after marriage she became obsessed with him. Katō Midori, *Obsession* (Ann Arbor: Seitōsha, 1910), p. 182. Reprinted in *The Bluestockings of Japan: New Woman Essays and Fiction from Seitō, 1911-1916*, pp. 182-93.

[302] 厭世詩家.

it. Relatedly, while the disillusioned poet physically removed himself from the society yet continued to engage with it through artful and nostalgic poetry, Kitamura's poet-boy was removed from his innocent youth but continued to engage with it through florid and lugubrious prose.

In fact, though, the tone of the essay reflected Kitamura's experience. He really did consider himself a man who had been "dropped into enemy territory." The essay is shot through with the cynicism, pessimism, and resignation of a man who married for love only to feel he had woken up the next morning beside a wife in whose face he saw a clouded sky and in whose voice he heard squawking birds. In 1892, the year he wrote World-Hating Poets and Women, and even while his wife was pregnant with their first child, he began an affair with a younger woman. Two years later, Kitamura took his own life.

But this is not to say that Kitamura saw nothing good in the real world, or in marriage. Kitamura wrote that "marriage makes people ordinary." But this was not an unfortunate thing:

> However, becoming ordinary is the means by which people come to their senses. . . . Therefore marriage is the means by which people become serious. Minimizing their delusions and implanting realistic thinking is the indispensable preparation for becoming entering the noontime of life.

The positive role of love was to disillusion boys. Romance drew boys out of their isolation and made them aware of society. Marriage took these boys and made them into men. The implication therefore was that young men should experience love before marriage, and then enter marriage without any illusions about sustained romance.

Suzuki Michiko's interpretation is that Kitamura "suggests that due to the innate nature of women, love cannot survive marriage." To support this claim she quotes Kitamura writing that "Women are creations of emotion, and thus *tend to love because they are loved, rather than love actively*." Suzuki observes that this "viewpoint is echoed in many works of Meiji literature in

which the male protagonist holds great hopes for love but is dragged down by the unenlightened Japanese woman, an unequal partner whose backwardness makes it impossible for the relationship to be sustained."[303] This coin has another side, though. Kitamura's assertion that women only love because they are loved implies that conjugal romance would not die if men continued to love their wives. In other words, it is not women's passivity but men's inconstancy that causes love marriages to fail. It is Kitamura who has a change of heart. The young man in love is the deluded party, and thus it is he who experiences disillusionment when he wakes in the morning.[304]

Scholars such as Kawamura and Kanno focus on this later essay because in it Kitamura described the double standard of chastity that would prove so influential. As Kawamura writes, "Probably, the people of the time had no idea what Kitamura was talking about. However,

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[303] Michiko Suzuki, *Becoming Modern Women: Love and Female Identity in Prewar Japanese Literature and Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), p. 67.

[304] While Japanese scholars note the groundbreaking nature of this essay in its introduction of *ren'ai*, they show less interest in it than in another essay entitled *Shojo no junketsu o ronzu* from later in 1892, in which Kitamura extolled the value of love in the context of a virginal woman, who was to be discarded one the romance had run its course. There, Kitamura strenuously emphasized the importance of chastity for women. That he applied this only to women—he had a lot of experience in the pleasure quarters, and although he deeply regretted this behavior, he thought of it as having no negative effect on his relationship with [his wife] Minako. He probably thought of the period in a relationship before a woman lost her virginity as the best [just as he thought of the period in a man's life before he married]. And as Kawamura Kunimitsu points out, this did not entail male chastity, as Kitamura demonstrated by cheating on his wife with a female student (who presumably had "protected" her chastity before meeting him). In fact, to the extent that Kitamura's thinking—if not his behavior—was indicative of the attitudes of his peers, we can see in *Ensei shika to josei* an oil-and-water juxtaposition of love and marriage. Kanno, *Shōhi sareru ren'ai*, p. 64; Kawamura, *Sekushuariti no kindai*, pp. 5-6.

Kitamura's words would eventually, or perhaps even shortly, came to control, or bewitch them."[305] This earlier essay is more important to this research because it reveals how what Kitamura in particular had to say about the relationship between love and marriage and because it reveals how Protestants of that decade intended marriage to work as a process. (The two were not identical, with Iwamoto and his other companions adapting *ren'ai* and putting it to a more upbeat use.)

Iwamoto had already demonstrated an affinity for love within the conjugal relationship, in part by his usage of other terms, described in Chapter Two. However, in publishing the essay, Iwamoto endorsed its general message. How are we to reconcile Iwamoto's endorsement of love in the conjugal relationship with his acceptance of an essay that rejected *romantic love*? The key to the answer is the meaning of *romantic love* as these two authors used it in 1892: to them, it meant something much closer to "infatuation" than "romantic love." Also, they saw it as impossible for infatuation to lead into romantic love.

Iwamoto's editorials from the early 1890s make it clear that he had not yet decided that conjugal love should grow out of premarital affections. Iwamoto may have read into Kitamura's essay a critique of how marriages functioned *then* and not of how they might be conducted *in the future*. In other words, although Kitamura's meditations on the pitfalls of combining love and marriage did not offer a means to make the two compatible, or even seem to hope for one, Iwamoto may have seen it as a call for change in the way men and women interacted before marriage rather than as a damning critique of romantic love as an ideal.

Moreover, the overall message aside, there were elements within the essay that Iwamoto could endorse. One statement in particular surely met with Iwamoto's approval. Arguing that

[305] Kawamura, *Sekushuariti no kindai*, p. 8.

love would make life livable for poets under occupation by the military forces of the real world, Kitamura wrote that,

> To say that men yearn for women and women yearn for men only in terms of biology is to reduce the value of humanity to that of animals. To say that love is born at the same time sexual feelings (*shunshin*[306]) awaken has long poisoned the thoughts of self-hating, life-despising sham novelist.[307]

The two sentiments here, that love was supra-biological and that trashy novels propagated the concept of venal desires, had been pet topics for Iwamoto for years beforehand.

Also, the essay clearly represents Kitamura's attempt to come to terms with his fate as someone who made a solemn commitment, however misguidedly. He worked to convince himself that staying in his marriage was the correct choice even though he had doomed himself to a loveless marriage by marrying his lover. He has experienced both love and marriage, and these were the two prerequisites to a man's ability to play a positive role in society. Therefore, the essay affirms the idea that both love and marriage had powerful, positive roles to play in society.

Finally, we should not take for granted that in the early 1890s, people like Iwamoto considered love marriage to be a courtship *process*, as they later would. Iwamoto's exploration of this issue was just beginning, meaning that an essay mentioning romantic love at all was sure to pique his interest no matter what. Or, at the least, their thinking on this was as of yet underdeveloped. In the 1880s and 1890s, Iwamoto spent as much time arguing that Japanese men and women were not ready to dance together and that Japanese society was not ready to see women riding horses as he spent arguing that men and women should be given the opportunity to

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[306] 春心.

[307] Op cit.

mingle in chaste settings.[308] He put forward no specific protocol for how this led to marriage, a gap into which presumably the elder members of the community would step in to fill by acting as go-betweens. In other words, through his writings Iwamoto hoped to encourage the development of romantic feelings, *aijō*[309] between already-married couples rather than between young, single men and women who would act with autonomy in choosing partners. In this light, the warning against marrying for love in "Disillusioned poets" fits within the discourse of love marriage as it then existed—which is to say, love *within* marriage. It would be two decades before romantic love became a prerequisite for marriage rather than an ideal for the already-married couple to cultivate.

So what was Iwamoto's vision of courtship? He often criticized marriage practices of the day, meaning arranged marriages between men who had not been socialized to interact with women of their own class (and who may or may not have previous experience in the brothel) and women who had not been socialized to interact with men at all. Iwamoto's views on the needfulness of wanted emotional relations to suffuse the conjugal home contrast to early-modern notions of love in Japan—which, at least for the purpose of pathos in novels and plays—often involved conflicts between marital obligation (*giri*) and human feelings (*ninjō*) that were extramarital and romantic.[310]

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[308] Iwamoto Yoshiharu, "*Tōbu to chōme narabi ni shin'nen no joyū*," [Women Dancing, Horseback-Riding, and Celebrating the New Year], *Jogaku Zasshi* [Women's Learning Wournal], no. 12 (5 January 1886).

[309] 愛情.

[310] Chikamatsu Monzaemon and Donald Keene, *Four Major Plays of Chikamatsu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), pp. 33-34.

Scholars have also described how this ideal developed among the literary intelligentsia in the Taishō period and became widely accepted as a program for heterosexual courtship. These love marriage would be big business for the media. According to Kanno, before the Taishō period, love marriage was not a widely-held ideal even among the middle classes.[311] Suzuki Michiko writes in agreement, specifying when and how awareness of love marriage became widespread:

> The 1920s were marked by the popularization of love marriage discourse through landmark works such as Kuriyagawa Hakuson's (1880-1923) *Kindai no ren'ai kan* (Views of love in the modern era, 1921), and by a number of public scandals, ranging from love suicides to high-profile extramarital romances.[312]

Along with selling newspapers and magazines chock full of salacious details about romantic and marital disasters, love marriage would become a profound threat to marriage norms (even if it did not have as much of an impact in practice). But in its own way, the ideal of loving marriage outlined in the pages of *Jogaku Zasshi* by Iwamoto and in *Meiroku Zasshi* by Mori Arinori before him were threatening as well—even if they were not nearly as sensationally so. They contributed to the dismantlement of concubinage as a legally-recognized tradition.[313]

Protestants had advocated a very different program—two people were to be married at their parents' direction, and if they performed their marital roles properly love between them would grow. Therefore, marriage remained more of a procedure than a dynamic process. Young people neither chose their partners nor whether to love develop affection for each other once they

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[311] Kanno, *Shōhi sareru ren'ai*.

[312] Suzuki, *Becoming Modern Women: Love and Female Identity in Prewar Japanese Literature and Culture*, p. 17.

[313] Craig Colbeck, "The Breakdown of Concubinage and the Maintentence of Regulated Prostitution in Meiji Japan," in Association for Asian Studies Annual Conference, ed. Colbeck (Toronto2012).

were married. This continuing reliance on adult mediators for young people's marriages also distinguished Japanese Protestant from contemporaneous European counterparts.

Historians of sexuality have marked the late nineteenth-century as the point when the conjugal home became the normative site of sexuality in Britain and the United States.[314] As an example, Rachel Mesch has shown, women were expected to become *both* housewives *and* harlots in order that their husbands not become ill for lack of sexual satisfaction.[315] This scholarship has marked the early twentieth century as the era in which husbands were instructed to reciprocate, by learning how to satisfy their wives' sexual needs to ensure better physical health, increased fertility, and generally-better marriages.[316] Thus, both husbands and wives were obliged to please and to be pleased by each other. As Sabine Frühstück has shown, these expectations for the marital relationships were popularized in Japan in the 1920s through the medium of what she calls "popular sexology."[317]

Eventual acceptance of male sexual desire was contingent on their ability to cast it as a part of God's plan for romantic love as the greatest expression of human bonding as an element of spiritual growth. In the 1870s Sakatani Shiroshi had described erotic desire as a blessing; Murayama Gishichi had called it the "greatest of [human] pleasures" in 1890, as had Takaki and

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[314] On some French discourses as exceptions, by distinguishing between marital sex as functional and extramarital sex as sensual, cf. Rachel Mesch, "Housewife or Harlot? Sex and the Married Woman in Nineteenth-Century France," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 18, no. 1 (January 2009), p. 76; Notter, *Junketsu no kindai*, p. 21.

[315] Mesch, "Housewife or Harlot?"

[316] Peter Laipson, "'Kiss Without Shame, for She Desires it': Sexual Foreplay in American Marital Advice Literature, 1900-1925,"*Journal of Social History*, vol. 29, no. 3 (Spring 1996).

[317] Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex*, Chapter 3.

Tomomatsu. But as Chapter Two argued, this did not equate to the idea that the evolutionarily-derived sexual instinct was the source of the urge to procreate or the source of the pleasure that resulted from sex. In the late nineteenth century Protestant most often wrote dismissively of biological understandings of sexuality, such as we saw in Kitamura's essay. This changed in the 1910s, as abolitionists began to not only accept the idea of an innate male sex drive, but even to attribute to it a positive role in society.

In 1900, in a two-part essay entitled "On Sexual Desire, "a Protestant abolitionist named Suzuki Daisetsu[318] cast the Darwinian sex drive as a means to an end in both the "lower" animals and in humans. As in the case of animals, sexual desire was the motor of human procreation, and thus it served an indispensable function. However, whereas it operated unproblematically in animals (whose existence served no higher purpose) it caused a great deal of harm in humans.

> For lower animals there is no purpose more than material existence. . . . But for humans things are very different; their existence is not simply a material one, and is truly a spiritual one. . . . In this light instead of devoting one's individual energies to sexual desire, one should convert these and hone an appreciation of spiritual wisdom, transmitting one's spiritual life into eternity, and hoping for growth.[319]

To Suzuki this pleasure is an incidental (*gūzen*[320]) byproduct, which, to paraphrase, had no more of an inherent necessity than the choo-chooing noise of a train. This pleasure led some people to make "private use"(*shiyō*[321]) of a public resource"—when they have sex for pleasure rather than

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[318] This Suzuki was a Protestant Christian, and should not be confused with the Zen monk of the same name.

[319] Suzuki Daisetsu, *Ansorojī: Meijiki no sei gensetsu o megutte* [AMSM] (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2006), p. 143. Reprinted in

[320] 偶然.

[321] 私用.

procreation, they brought moral and physical harm to themselves. This, in turn, did direct harm to the nation. Thus, the sex drive was to him a "burden" that humans must carry." Suzuki continued that while "There is no doubting that the biological history of love is its rise from the sex drive . . . those who have a refined moral character recognize the sacredness the love between men and women, and believe that in fulfilling the sex drive humans pay an onerous tax for their corporeal existence." Like Iwamoto, Suzuki believed that sexual desire served no purpose in the conjugal home. But his ideas were more elaborate, and explicit. Even husbands and wives were not to engage in recreational sex.[322] In one point of a nine-point conclusion, Suzuki declared that "We should not fail to restrict bodily contact between husband and wife if it is based on sexual desire."[323]

Suzuki made precise arguments about how love arose from the sex drive; but his theory of romance is notably underdeveloped. The text gives no information on how love should operate outside of marriage, such as whether it should inform how men and women select spouses, or about its role inside marriages. Love is defined as an emotion, a *jōsho*,[324] but other than that gets little description in terms of how it is supposed to operate, and what relationship it is supposed to have with sex (or perhaps what lack of a relationship). In other words, the sex drive leads to sex—necessarily but unhappily—and it is also a precursor to love.

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[322] Previously a Euroamerican idea, Japanese Protestants were most attracted to this idea as it appeared in the writings of Leo Tolstoy. Indeed Tolstoy's would become a mainstay work on the issue between the turn of the century and the postwar in the form of a collection of excerpts entitled *Seiyokuron* (On sexual desire), which was first published in 1915 and which went through twenty five editions by 1935.

[323] Sexuality, *Ansorojī: Meijiki no sei gensetsu o megutte*, p. 148.

[324] 情緒.

Given all of this, Suzuki's text is not strictly one of love marriage as this research defines it. Still, his essay contributes to the discourse. The text brought together love and the sex drive through the language of evolution. By writing in terms of single individuals and collective species, Suzuki tied individual humans' dissipation to potential harm to society. By describing love as an outgrowth of the animal sex drive, the author gives love a new history—positions it as historically and biologically superior to other forms of sexuality—and thereby simultaneously both sanctifies the sex drive and casts it as a threat to both the individual and society.

Others would develop the idea further. In an article entitled "The quality of the people,"(*Kokumin no hinsei*) one Miwata Motomichi wrote that

> The human sex drive can be refined so that it is not a thing of sin and degradation. . . . The uniquely-human system of marriage is absent among other animals and among plants; and through it our sexual desires take on a virtuous hue. . . . Sexual desire is not necessarily a sin—it is perfected through the institution of marriage. . . . This is so because [through venal behavior we] go against our most-sacred natural purpose (the one we should hold most dear). . . . We truly must cast off the unchecked incitement of lust because to go wild through the pursuit of every whim turns humans into beasts. Actually, because the behavior of men [who visit the pleasure quarters] foils the propagation of the species, disregarding this universal aim of all living beings, it is so extremely unnatural that it is despicable beyond animalism.[325]

The author concluded that to allow prostitution indentures in an age of so-called civilization meant that the victory of Japan over Russia—"which our country's citizens count as granting them the status of a first-rate nation"—was nothing more than a feat of brutish strength.

A 1914 article in *The Purity* entitled "The Abolition Question and the Sexual-Desire Question" attributed an even-greater importance to male sexual desire. The Purity Society enjoyed this essay so much that they published at least three times: in their periodical, again in a

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[325] Miwata Motomichi, "*Kokumin no hinsei*," [The Quality of the People], *Kakusei* [The Purity], no. 3 (1 August 1912), p. 9.

special issue designed for wider distribution, and yet again as an individual pamphlet, a strategy the Society often used to first preach to the choir, then reach out to the secular middleclass, and finally to address indentured prostitutes themselves. The author of the article was one Matsuura Uchitarō, a Tokyo Medical University professor who taught on the subject of skin ailments and venereal diseases.

The pamphlet rehearsed arguments that abolitionists had been using for more than twenty five years: that regulated prostitution violated prostitutes' human rights, encouraged immoral behavior among the citizenry, and thus stood as the single greatest impediment to society's moral righteousness. Brothel contracts, with the high debts they entail, were human trafficking—the supposed freedom of prostitutes to leave the industry was mere window dressing because no other employment would enable a prostitute to repay her advance loans. Against the regulationist claim that prostitution should be accommodated because it could not be eliminated, Matsuura counterargued that thievery was also ubiquitous—and that by regulationist logic the government should set up a system of regulated legal thievery.

One of Matsuura's main concerns was to defend his cause against the regulationist argument that abolition would lead to an increase in seduction and outright sexual violence because men lacked a conduit for their sexual energy. Not unlike Iwamoto, Matsuura turned this argument on its head: he wrote that the constant availability of venal sex inflamed the common man's sexual desires, while the government acceptance of one variety of venal sex also gave the common man the misimpression that all kinds of illicit sexuality were morally valid. Therefore, he concluded, the elimination of prostitution would inculcate in men a greater respect for the moral authority of the government, leading to a decrease in sexual-crime and venereal-disease rates.

Yet there are significant differences between their arguments. Iwamoto had asserted that salacious novels, pleasure workers strolling around town, and—of course—the goings-on of the brothel quarters enflamed men's (and women's) sexual behavior. However he had not argued that the desires involved preceded the pleasure industry's titillations. In 1914, Matsuura lamented the deleterious effects of these same sorts of things, but he argued that they corrupted desires that already existed within men. Prostitution created a problem in nature's graceful-and-delicate ballet of romantic courtship. Male desire was thus centered on coitus in Matsuura's text—which is to say that it was distinct from the erotic signifiers of the brothel. This carried to its logical extreme the discourses that authors regulationist authors had begun in the 1890s. To Matsuura, these other activities exacerbated sexual desire—but they were not necessary to initiate it. In this Matsuura broke from the previous notions of desire. A bit further on, Matsuura argued that while nature regulates animal sexuality, humans have the capability to, and the imperative to, regulate their own sexual behaviors:

> Because natural regulatory mechanisms are at work in animals, they do not put their health or lives at risk for the sake of sexual desire. Humans, however, do not have the protection of these mechanisms because they have free will. . . . As a result of having such freedom, humans [suffer from] sexual desires run amok. As free beings, humans must control each of their desires by learning self-control. People recognized that marriage was generally the appropriate way to control sexual desires. Other means were [nothing more than] profligacy or rape. Even after marriage, one must control sexual desire while traveling or during [one's spouse's] illnesses.[326]

Sexual desire—implicitly limited to men—not only preexisted contact with the opposite sex but also persisted after it.

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[326] Matsuura Uchitarō, *Haishō mondai to seiyoku mondai* [The Abolition Question and the Sexual-Desire Question]. Republished in *Baibaishun mondai shiryō shūsei—senzenhen*, vol. 2. 45-48. Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1997, p. 47.

There is a mind-body split here whereby the mind manages the body's desires. This is unlike Iwamoto's 1889 writing, in which there was no real distinction between mind and body because desire was more of a habit of mind *and* body—akin to opium addiction. The second element of a nine-point program for the improvement of morals that Matsuura put at the end of his article—which plan he intended the government to carry out—was for a Public Service Announcement campaign assuring (or reassuring) the public that no physical or mental harm came to men who abstained from sex. Thus, although Matsuura and his opponents agreed that the fundamental nature of the male instinct for sex as somatic, aggressive, and ever-present, he disagreed with Tanaka on the specific health threats of abstention. Proper education of the mind was sufficient to keep a young man on the straight and narrow until marriage, without any harmful side effects.

Conclusion

Perhaps the three authors immediately above actually were pursuing a pragmatic strategy when they accepted the male sex drive as the basis of prostitution just like their regulationist opponents did; but by declaring that the mere existence of the sex drive was not an insurmountable force in human affairs, they usurped the second half of the regulationist argument. Unable to beat regulationists at this game, abolitionists joined them. But because their words reveal an increasing and increasingly-detailed engagement with the concept of the male sex drive, and one that was unique to Protestants in its first appearances in abolitionist renderings, it would be hasty to dismiss them as pure instrumentalism.

But there is little reason to suspect that this was only a rhetorical strategy. Indeed it was largely by articulating what they did not want—extramarital sex being first on that list—that Protestants were able to stake out a new position on how love was to operate in marriage and

society. Their thinking on love marriage as a process of courtship and a practice of marriage only took shape when they adopted the idea of the male sex drive.

Regulationist arguments had changed as well. All rhetoric in support of regulation that took for granted the idea that male sexual desire was an inherent property of the male body, and that assumed a direct connection between sexual acts themselves and the satisfaction of male sexual desire represented a change from late-nineteenth-century regulationism. This dual focus on the male body and sexual activity had not always fit comfortably into the same argument, as the previous chapter demonstrated with respect to the work of Takaki Jūgotarō and Tomomatsu Ken. When that pair argued that sexual activity with the pleasure worker was the most important element of the brothel experience, they put themselves at risk of declaring that the brothel had no monopoly on male desire. If the two authors had not spent the next several paragraphs arguing against their own assertion to that effect, they may have accidentally ended up writing an abolitionist text.

Thus, just as late-nineteenth-century regulationists and abolitionists had cooperated to describe a single concept of male erotic desire even while they proposed diametrically-opposed social policies, early-twentieth-century regulationists and abolitionists came to share the same basic understanding of male sexual desire as the continued their debate.

How did the change in the shared understanding of male sexuality propagate through the other arguments of the debate? For one thing, the change raised the stakes. With the change to an instinct-theory of male sexual desire, debaters' surety that male sexuality was of vital importance to society only became stronger. Under the earlier view, male sexuality had been contingent on an external factor, and thus might not always be relevant to all men; an instinct perfused into all organisms through eons of selection, on the other hand, was an ever-present factor in all men's

lives. It was therefore omnipresent in society, and all the greater a threat for that. For another thing, the change to the universal concept of the instinct reduced the particularity of the Japanese brothel in the debate—which made Euroamerican statistics and arguments more applicable in the Japanese context.

This period saw a reconstruction of female sexuality as well. On the one hand in this period the prostitute woman became a key representation of female sexuality run amok. According to sexologists and other moralizing authors of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a woman who desired sex—who either became a prostitute willingly or who came to enjoy her sexuality while working as a prostitute—was the polar opposite of the healthy woman, whose desire was not for sex itself but for heterosexual romantic love and maternity. On the other hand, the period also saw sexologists and feminists reconstruct healthy female sexuality as a process of romantic, then sexual, then maternal awakening.

The turn of the century saw an increase in the number of doctors and other experts in the ranks of both abolitionists and regulationist; and in the writings of non-experts too we see a new reliance on anthropological and sexological fields of knowledge. Thus, whereas Fukuzawa Yukichi, Iwamoto Yoshiharu, and Murayama Gishichi had each invoked physiology, evolution, and human history in his own way, none of them relied more heavily on instincts, hormones, and historical anthropology to anything near the extent that their latter day counterparts did. And the differences were in kind as much as in degree. For the generation born in the 1830s and 1840s, physiology was a fragrance and evolution was a one-way road toward moral perfection. In the new century, physiology was a set of hormones that flooded into the veins of adolescent boys and girls, making them into young men and women who desired to take part in the various practices of reproduction. The crucial difference can be summarized in one term—*seiyoku*, the

sexual instinct. This, more than any other concept, undergirded the new iteration of the old debate.

And it would continue to dominate. The next chapter examines the role that instincts, historical anthropology, and romantic love played in secular-feminist discussions and activism regarding prostitution.

Chapter Four: Evolution and Gender Difference in Secular Feminism

Introduction

By the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century, male sexual desire had been reconstructed along the lines of the sexual instinct. This subdivided between regulationist and abolitionist positions, with each version serving as the basis of social-policy debates. This would recur yet again in the 1910s, when secular feminists used the male sexual instinct to lay claim in the public sphere to legal and political empowerment.

From its very commencement, the discourse of male sexual instincts and female reproductive instincts had been an antifeminist discourse. But a set of logical premises is available for multiple interpretations. And the instinct framework was no exception. This chapter investigates how Japan's secular feminists made certain that this potential did not go to waste. These women ably engaged in the discourse of sexual instincts as a societal problem in the same idiom as those who wrote explicitly to deny them political participation, often making arguments that were equal if not superior in logical rigor to antifeminist arguments.

Who were these women? The center of gravity for the study of feminism in early-twentieth-century is a group called the Seitōsha, or Bluestocking Society. In 1911, a group of women joined forces under the leadership of Hiratsuka Raichō. This name was a direct emulation of the Blue Stockings Society, an eighteenth-century literary society in Britain. The group focused its efforts on the publication of a literary journal—*Seitō*, simply Bluestocking. Most of the Seitōsha women came from affluent backgrounds, and several had graduated from Japan Women's University (the first such institution in the country). Some contributors, such as Yosano Akiko and Fukuda Hideko, were already well-known for their literary talents and political activism. Others, such as Itō Noe, Yamada Waka, and Ikuta Hanayo, fit none of these

descriptions—coming from working-class families, rural areas, and sparser educational backgrounds. These women nonetheless contributed substantially to the journal.

The Bluestocking Society began as a literary project; yet even from the start its stories and poems had strong political undertones. And this engagement only increased as its run elapsed. The society itself disbanded in 1914 when dwindling participation by contributors and editorial staff alike rendered it impossible to publish the journal that stood as the group's *raison d'etre*. However, the individual women continued to write and publish in other venues, often continuing conversations that had begun in Bluestocking journal. Some also went on to form new groups, the most notable of which was the Shin Fujin Kyōkai, the New Women's Society. Through both these publishing activities and her central role in the latter group, Hiratsuka remained the most-widely-known and the de-facto leader of the secular-feminist movement in prewar Japan.

Bluestockings were so-called New Women, participants in an international sisterhood of young women who embraced a then-radical vision of female freedom. In European countries, the United States, China, and many other locations, they flaunted norms of women's behavior in public through activities such as drinking, dancing, and romantic dating without regard to parental oversight. Though some pursued institutional change such as suffrage, not all of these women were politically active per se; but even in their pursuit of individual consumerism of fashion, media, and entertainment on their own terms, they represented a novel and disconcerting threat to paternalistic control. As the below pages describe, what made the Bluestocking approach to romantic love so bold and new—and, for many, appalling—was that the Bluestockings broached the question of whether sex before marriage could be permissible for non-prostitute women.

While the majority of scholars have taken an interest in how Japanese feminists advocated equality for women on humanistic grounds and in their literary achievements, a smaller group has investigated their use of social Darwinist—which is to say anthropological-evolutionary ideas. This chapter pursues the latter course in order to reveal how secular feminists made use of establishment rhetorical frameworks to empower women to make their own marriage choices. At a time when the questions of at what age and to whom a woman should marry determined a middle-class woman's career possibilities, her economic independence, and whether she was able to attend or complete a college education, many things were at stake than besides personal affection.

Setting aside the writings of establishment regulationists, Protestant abolitionists, and sexologists to look at secular feminists is a natural destination for this research because its initial inspiration was postwar feminist theories of male sexual desire as a source of societal ills. This is also relevant inasmuch as this research is interested in the ubiquity of sexual-instinct theory in discussions of sexuality and society. After all, medical experts had worked hard to disseminate sexological knowledge (without relinquishing authority over it), and Protestant abolitionists had worked equally hard to disseminate their moral agenda, but the modern use of male sexual desire as a political tool was limited to neither experts nor the religiously-minded. Indeed, the women examined here were the first secular group outside of the medical profession to noticeably oppose regulation since Mori Arinori and Tsuda Mamichi had written in the 1870s. Its manifestations among secular non-expert writers give another example of the extent to which the theory of the male sexual instinct became the normal idiom through which to describe men in their relation to society.

Until recently, scholarship on the New Woman as an abstract identity has been ascendant. Almost thirty years ago, Sharon Sievers's *Flowers in Salt* brought into English varied examples of Meiji women's political rhetoric—including their unsuccessful appeals for female suffrage. Twenty years ago, Sharon Nolte's and Sally Ann Hastings's description of "The Meiji State's Policy toward Women" delegitimized the commonplace notion that the Good Wife, Wise Mother was a 'traditional' framework and instead described it as a programmatic effort to coerce women into generating income for the home. As a side effect, both Sievers's portrayal of noble failure in politics and Nolte's and Hastings's portrayal of a coordinated patriarchal juggernaut—one that offered women a new role, albeit cordoned off from formal politics in the guise of the so-called Good Wife, Wise Mother—made the study of women's explicitly-political speech seem like a dead end for women's history.[327]

Taking a new tack, Miriam Silverberg, Barbara Sato, and others broadened our definition of political activity when they refocused our attention onto media representations of defiant female archetypes—the Café Waitress, the Modern Girl, and the New Woman. This scholarship revealed that when young women chose to enact these roles, they defied gender norms in a way that the state was unable to suppress. By exploring broad trends rather than specific actors, these

[327] Sharon Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: the Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983); Miriam Silverberg, "The Cafe Waitress Serving Modern Japan," in *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, edited by Stephen Vlastos (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Sally Ann Hastings and Sharon Nolte, "The Meiji State's Policy toward Women, 1890-1910," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). Ayako Kano's work represents something of a turning point in this regard, inasmuch as it explores the extrapolation of two individuals' behavior into an abstract media identity. Ayako Kano, *Acting like a Woman in Modern Japan Gender, Performance, Nation, and the roles of Kawakami Sadayakko and Matsui Sumako*. (1995).

scholars showed that while no individual woman controlled her representation, neither did any male-dominated institution.

But inasmuch as this scholarship focused on the popular, the sartorial, and the ephemeral, despite these authors' intentions young women's oppositional stances inevitably tended to take on an apolitical cast. A development of the past five years has been a renewed interest in the New Woman as a political subject in the works of scholars such as Sumiko Otsubo, Dina Lowy, Jan Bardsley.[328] In that vein, this research has sought to point out that there was political weight to expressions of female freedom. In so doing, these scholars remind us that women never stopped addressing themselves to the state and society at large—and furthermore that across the prewar period women continually repurposed patriarchal rhetoric for their own ends. Thus the works under review here bring an interest in political self-creation to bear on the specific women who spoke for themselves in the public sphere.

The first section of the chapter elaborates on the previous one's examination of sexological understandings of sexual instincts, focusing on what became the most prominent discourses of female sexual maturation and the instincts that emerged from it. The second section points out that Japan's secular feminists indeed accepted and deployed such instinct-based theories of male and female sexuality to their own ends. This meant creating feminist interpretations of this rhetoric to empower women to make their own romantic decisions, with a

[328] Jan Bardsley, *The Bluestockings of Japan: New Woman Essays and Fiction from Seitō, 1911-1916* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies The University of Michigan, 2007); Dina Lowy, "Love and Marriage: Ellen Key and Hiratsuka Raichō Explore Alternatives,"*Women's Studies*, no. 33 (2004).

particular focus on Hiratsuka.[329] The third and final section of the chapter also focuses on her to describe how the empowerment of women in romantic relationships imbricated with her program to empower women in the social policies of marriage, divorce, and prostitution.

Male Sexology and Female Sexuality

Anthropology was the complement to political theories such as Herbert Spencer's and biological theories such as the Darwinian theory of sexual selection. Today it almost goes without saying that the answers anthropologists constructed through these narratives were anything but objective. They helped to create a sense of Euroamerican superiority and entitlement that had profound effects on the ways in which governments treated non-Euroamericans in the form of racist colonialist practices that were both overtly and covertly violent. There were also important gender dimensions as well.

And just as anthropology pushed non-white peoples into the past, described them as anachronisms and examples of stalled progress, it treated women as underdeveloped men. One expression of this was the theory of matriarchy as a finite stage of human development that was limited to the primordial past. As described by Gail Bederman and many others—and brought into scholarship on Japan by Sabine Frühstück and Michiko Suzuki—Johan Jakob Bachofen was the first to make assertions about primordial matriarchy, which he did in an 1861 work entitled *Das Mutterrect*.[330]

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[329] This contravenes my own critique of the field for over-emphasizing Hiratsuka. Craig Colbeck, "Pitfalls of Representation: Using the New Woman to Criticize the Good Wife, Wise Mother," *Social Science Japan Journal*, vol. 14, no. 2 (Summer 2011).

[330] Suzuki, *Becoming Modern Women: Love and Female Identity in Prewar Japanese Literature and Culture*, p. 136.

The verses changed, but the chorus was always the same. According to Anne Allen, "Bachofen lent scholarly authority to one of that era's most radical ideas: that the dominance of man over woman, like other political arrangements, was not inevitable but was contingent on time, place, and culture." [331] Although slow to catch on, the theory came to dominate anthropological narratives. In the writings Bachofen and those of the generations of anthropologists and social theorists he influenced, all societies began when nomadic, polyamorous groups of humans settled into stationary, polyandrous ones. Because general promiscuity had rendered it impossible to identify fathers, these societies had been matrilineal and had granted women deep respect and placed them in leadership roles.

Whatever Bachofen's position on the inevitability of male dominance, his protégés were quick to assert that it had always been a matter of time before men awoke to their patriarchal destiny. In every society, men had eventually taken command, first when powerful individual men had asserted claims over the women of their choosing and then more generally as establishing paternity gained importance.

Eugenics—the pseudoscience of breeding better races through the promotion of physical fitness and hygiene as well as the encouragement of men and women deemed evolutionarily-fit to marry each other and have children—was a juggernaut in discourse of national prowess

[331] Ann Taylor Allen, "Feminism, Social Science, and the Meangings, of Modernity: The Debate on the Origin of the Family in Europe and the United States, 1860,"*The American Historical Review*, vol. 104, no. 4 (October 1999), p. 1092.

throughout the modern world in the first half of the twentieth century.[332] Termed *yūseiron* in Japanese, this theory of suffused the discourses of children's education, military preparedness, and sexology. Those deemed sexually pathological, physically deformed, and mentally insufficient loomed large in eugenicist texts as existential threats to Japan's survival; not only would they fail to contribute to society in their own lifetimes, many fretted, their children would compound this in the future. In Sabine Frühstück's *Colonizing Sex* in particular, the government's (in this case the military's) efforts to individually identify, classify, and utilize the fit—while simultaneously weeding out the unfit—comes to light. Frühstück also reveals that because this selection of men centered on military service, when it came to men, the main concern was their service to the nation during their lifetimes. When it came to women, the chief concern was their relative capacity to reproduce strong children, who would be judged by the same two criteria in turn.[333]

Therefore, although there was no rigorous and systematic efforts to classify women, this is not to say that no pressure was applied to them. In this way, descriptions of generic female sexuality (as distinct from hysteric or prostitute sexuality) rose in their importance to public

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[332] Driscoll, "Seeds and (Nest) Eggs of Empire."; Fujime Yuki, *Sei no rekishigaku: kōshō seido, dataizai taisei kara baishun bōshihō, yūsei hogohō taisei e* (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1997); Fujino, "*Kaisetsu*."; Hayashi Yōko, "*Haishōron to sanji seigenron no yūgō: Abe Isoo no yūsei shisō ni tsuite*," [The Overlap of Prostitution Abolitionism and Familiy-Planning: on Abe Isoo's Thinking on Eugenics] *Jendaagaku* [Gender studies], no. 13 (2005); Irie, *Nihon fashizumu-ka no taiiku shisō*; Tanaka Satoshi, *Eisei tenrankai no yokubō* (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 1994); Sumiko Otsubo, "Engendering Eugenics: Feminists and Marriage Restriction Legislation in the 1920s," in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, edited by Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).

[333] Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex*.

discussions of social norms and policies in the 1910s. This went hand in hand with the expansion of Good Wife, Wise Mother rhetoric to focus on questions of women's roles in nurturing future generations.[334] This, in turn, relied on the discourse of evolutionary female sexuality.

An article of faith in the discussion of the distinctions between male and female sexualities was that the former was simple while the latter was complex. In fact, female sexuality was depicted as delicate to the point of being basically troublesome. Whereas sexologists, educators, and feminists cast young men's sexual awakening as a one-stage process—akin to the flipping of a throw switch—they described young women's awakening as a multi-stage, fraught one.

This shared understanding developed over the first decades of the century. According to Suzuki Michiko, in the 1910s mainstream opinion held that girl-girl affection was the first manifestation of desire, and that this transmuted into heterosexual romantic desire during adolescence. According to many though not all of those who took it upon themselves to describe the nature of human sexuality, this process required the young man's intervention—by romantically pursuing the young woman he catalyzed the transformation of her immature girl-girl affection into heterosexual romantic desire. Again under Suzuki's framework, the woman's awakened sexual desire resulted in a desire for children, which in turn brought her sexual lifecycle to completion by transforming her sexual desire into maternal desire. Suzuki argues,

> During the first half of the twentieth-century in Japan, various ideas about love coalesced to create a modern image of the process of growth and development for women. This ideal process was conceptualized as an evolutionary trajectory. The

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[334] Kathleen Uno, "Womanhood, War, and Empire: Transmutations of 'Good Wife, Wise Mother' before 1931," in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, edited by Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).

> girl would first experience "innocent" same-sex romance; then, as she matured, she would move on to "real"(heterosexual) love, to be consummated in a love-based marriage; finally, she would become a mother and attain maternal love, the highest love of all.[335]

This concept of maternality (*bosei*[336]) became byword for the ideal of womanhood in the second decade of the twentieth century, as a word-in-translation from the works of Ellen Key.[337]

Once again taking the widely read Mori as a benchmark, we find that in his 1902 contributions to *Kōshū Iji* (Public Health) he wrote:

> In civilized countries today, when men think of progeny they do so in rational terms. During this they see no inflammation of desire. Therefore in real terms [men's] sex drive is a lust desire. Lustful desire is the sex-differentiated craving for ecstasy. It is not necessarily consistent with the desire to copulate—*begattungstrieb*, *copulationstrieb*.

The simplicity of male sexuality stemmed from its supposedly-rational approach to reproduction.

This, Mori declared, was very different from healthy female sexuality.

> In contrast to this, even among the people of civilized countries we see women who have a clear desire to procreate. . . . By and large, women's reproductive drives have priority over their erotic desires.[338]

The difference was so stark that it was impossible, or at least incorrect, to draw direct comparisons between male and female sexualities:

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[335] Suzuki, *Becoming Modern Women: Love and Female Identity in Prewar Japanese Literature and Culture*, p. 5.

[336] 母性. The term most commonly appeared in the compound *boseiai* (母性愛), meaning maternal love.

[337] Shiori Nomura, "The Voices of Women on Birth Control and Childcare: a Japanese Immigrant Newspaper in the Early Twentieth-Century USA,"*Japan Forum*, vol. 21, no. 2 (15 April 2009), p. 260-61; Oda, *Sei*, pp. 80-81.

[338] Mori Ōgai, *[Untitled]* (Tokyo: Kōshū ijisha, 1902), p. 175. Reprinted in *Ansorojī: Meijiki no sei gensetsu o megutte*, vol. 6, pp. 174-99.

> The place that a woman's sex drive occupies in her life does not compare to that a man's does. Therefore there is no doubt that thoughts and sensations are abundant in women's love—*erotische Elemente* [sic]. However, it seems as though this innocent lust (*jun-in'yoku*[339]) yields to a man. It is a mistake to misrecognize this love as lust. They completely lack lust and are suffused with love.

Mori declared that without external stimulus women felt no lust. Cases of women with overly-strong sexual instincts were few, and those stemmed from other psychological problems.

It would be difficult to find a better synopsis of 1910s discourse on female sexuality than Mori's.

> It is extremely difficult to comprehend the natural sexual instinct of women in particular. This is subject to external influences (various arousing stimuli, opportunities to interact with the opposite sex) and internal influences (habits of thought, religion, opinion, and particularities with regard to hygiene). In addition, these influences can affect strength and frequency, or even exacerbate or eliminate the sexual instinct. Some scholars say that civilized people's sexual instincts are stronger; some say they are weaker.[340]

Every position on sexuality he described was indeed easily recognizable in any number of texts; often incompatible descriptions appeared in a single text.

This points to the fact that the discourse of female sexuality was anything but flat—while a single understanding of male sexuality had come to clearly dominate, many different takes on female sexuality coexisted on a more-or-less equal basis. In addition to Mori's description of motherhood as females' only desire, another version held that women desired sex on its own terms under certain conditions. Indeed, apparently unfettered by any particular desire to argue consistently, Mori made such a statement in the same essay cited above. In that passage, he attributed a degree of sexual desire per se to women, however minor and marginal. Continued

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[339] 純淫欲.

[340] Mori, *[Untitled]*, pp. 176-77.

Mori: "Women never experience the desire to join [with a man] (*kōsetsuyoku*[341]) unless and until they experience sex. And even those with husbands often do not experience much of it. But that cases of nervous problems are not absent is indisputable."[342] This muddled passage bears strong resemblance to William Acton's mid-nineteenth-century writings to the effect that "The majority of women (happily for them) are not very much troubled with sexual feeling of any kind." However, a key difference between Acton's dismissive and simplistic characterization of female sexuality and those of twentieth-century authors like Mori is that the latter saw pitfalls at every step.

Take seduction, for example. This was a supposedly-false experience of sexual desire in women brought on by the external influence of a caddish young man. This understanding of female desire as a reaction to male attention was most evident in discussions of the seduction of young women (a topic that deserves a bookshelf worth of scholarship).[343] The above passage closed by bringing up this distressing phenomenon: "In the case of women who were not seduced by evil youths, it is hard to tell whether hysteria comes from natural forces or some sort of outside stimulus."[344] As Freud would have it in his foundational work *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*,

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[341] 交接欲.

[342] Mori, *[Untitled]*, p. 199.

[343] To date, scholars have taken greater interest in the figure of the seductress than that of the seducer. Cf. William Johnston, *Geisha, Harlot, Strangler, star: a Woman, Sex, and Morality in Modern Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); Christine Marran, *Poison Woman: Figuring Female Transgression in Modern Japanese Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007). Only the imbalance is unfortunate.

[344] Mori, *[Untitled]*, p. 199.

> In this respect children behave in the same kind of way as an average uncultivated woman in whom the polymorphously perverse disposition persists. Under ordinary conditions she may remain normal sexually, but if she is led on by a clever seducer she will find every sort of perversion to her taste, and will retain them as part of her own sexual activities.[345]

The boogey man of seduction appeared in tandem with the leviathan of hysteria. Moreover, it was common to characterize even women deemed healthy as fickle, an extension of medieval European discourses of gender.[346]

Breaking up the monotony of this discourse somewhat, one Umino Yukinori was slightly more generous in allowing for female sexual desire in his contribution to Researches on Sex and Love. Umino Yukinori described an ambiguous relationship between female sexuality and sexual desire proper—which he took to be a male phenomenon. Female desire was a normal and necessary step in the process of the development of maternal love:

> For a woman in whom the desire to have a daughter is strong, sexual desire is secondary and the desire to reproduce is primary; pursuant to this sexual desire arises and she then marries. Here we must say that the reproductive [desire] is primary and sexual desire is subordinate. Yet it appears as something besides sexual desire. Because it desires this result [i.e. reproduction], we can explain the "result of sexual desire"[in women] but we cannot explain this "sexual desire" itself. Even for a woman with a strong desire for a daughter, in the moment when this feeling grows most intense, the desire to be a mother vanishes and only the man's and the woman's feeling—sexual desire alone—governs. Thus we must say that the view that sexual desire and reproductive [desire] are the same is a misapprehension.[347]

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[345] Sigmund Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, trans. James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 2000), p. 57.

[346] Brundage, "Prostitution in the Medieval Canon Law,"833.

[347] Umino Yukinori, *Seiyoku to jinshu kaizō* [The Sexual Instinct and Racial Improvement] (Tokyo: Shinkōron sha, 2006), p. 343. Reprinted in *Kindai Nihon no sekushuariti*, vol. 6: *Ansorojī: Meijiki no sei gensetsu o megutte* [Sampling Meiji-era Discourses of Sexuality], pp. 343-50.

It is noteworthy that the man played no role in initiating either the desire for children or the desire for sex in Umino's text. This is, again, in contrast to the mainstream rhetoric that Suzuki Michiko describes. The man simply popped into existence at the appropriate point in the text, and was dismissed thereafter. He was merely a means to achieve both sexual desire and, much more importantly, a means to produce its result. The coincidence of his own desire was what gave him the little utility he had. The desire for reproduction transformed into the desire for sex, which in turn transformed into a daughter. (A related idiosyncrasy is the author's assertion that women specifically desired daughters—again, casting the male half of the species as epiphenomenal.)

In stark contrast to Suzuki's subjects' description of the process of female sexual desire transforming and maturing into a desire for children, Umino claimed that a woman's initial desire was for children, and that this momentarily transmogrified into sexual desire when it reached a sort of boiling point. At this point in time—presumably during courting, foreplay, and coitus—men and women occupy the same space of pure sexual desire. (While Umino's and Mori's cases do not match the three-stage model that Suzuki illuminates, this is not to disagree with her description of the latter or her evaluation of it as a salient discourse. Umino's and Mori's was the base model and that of Suzuki's subjects was the deluxe upgrade. Also, the bulk of Suzuki's analysis focuses on 1920s discourse, which represented a later elaboration on those of the 1900s.)

The most important point for the purposes of this research is that the majority of sexologists thought of female sexual desire as a chimera, whether in sickness or in health. In this light, what these multiple descriptions of female sexuality had in common is more important to this analysis than what differentiated them. With this in mind a phrase that might otherwise seem

straightforward reveals its complexity: "For a woman in whom the desire to have a daughter is strong, sexual desire is secondary and the desire to reproduce is primary; pursuant to this sexual desire arises and she then marries." The fact that the woman's marriage was contingent on the arousal of her sexual desire—however secondary—took love-marriage as a premise, inasmuch as it attributed the decision of whether to marry to the woman (even if it left the choice of man vague). This was as opposed to assuming that marriages flowed directly and uncomplicatedly from social convention or that the man instigated the woman's desire. Actually, it is better to say that Umino attributed agency in marriage to the woman's instincts; but the point stands that something internal to women precipitated marriage. Thus, even though Umino was outside the mainstream in largely eliding men rather than depicting them as indispensable agitators of female sexual desire, in arranging maternal desire before female sexual desire, and most notably in describing female instincts as proactive, his treatment of instincts as intrinsic to marriage and motherhood was quite conventional. It was to this kind of interpretation that secular feminists cleaved.

Secular Feminism and Female Sexuality

The very first page of Bluestocking opened with the intonation *Genshi josei wa taiyō de atta*: "In the beginning, woman was the sun." Continued Hiratsuka: woman had been "an authentic person. Now she is the moon, a wan and sickly moon, dependent on another, reflecting another's brilliance." This is often regarded as the "foundational work" of Japanese feminism.[348] Though often described as a "manifesto, "the essay was a poetic meditation on the character of modern womanhood. The most prominent interpretation of the comment is that it refers to the

[348] Bardsley, *The Bluestockings of Japan: New Woman Essays and Fiction from Seitō, 1911-1916*, p. 88.

origin myth of Japan. According to Jan Bardsley, this was not on Hiratsuka's mind.[349] (The phrase resonated widely; in fact, the regulationist Murayama Gishichi had invoked the phrase as mythical proof that women were the sole source of inspiration in men's lives.[350]) Though not originally Hiratsuka's phrase, her usage of it has defined her legacy, and she adopted it as the title of her autobiography.[351]

The statement can be also taken as a reference to the predominant theory of cultural evolution, which held that all societies were first incorporated as matriarchies. Declaring that women had been the sun implied that men had been the moon, and if one took the sun to represent the active role in society the phrase would refer to a past matriarchy. This interpretation is consistent with the body of Hiratsuka's writing from this period, as the following pages demonstrate.

Casting primordial matriarchy in a positive light was the first step in secular-feminists adoption of scientific rhetoric to make their arguments. This soon extended beyond anthropological frameworks to include the sexological discourses of the day. Furthermore, as described below, reproductive instincts (both male and female) became an important component of their thinking and writing on issues of women's rights.

The nature of male sexual desire played a relatively minor role in secular-feminist discussions of sexuality, which tended to focus on female desires, their social ramifications, and the social strictures that should or should not constrain these desires. Nonetheless, their discussions of male sexual desire formed an important backdrop to their discussions of these

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[349] Ibid., p. 89.

[350] Murayama Gishichi, "*Sonpai*," p. 22.

[351] Hiratsuka Raichō, *Genshi josei wa taiyō de atta: Hiratsuka Raichō jiden* (Tokyo: Ōtsuki Shoten, 1971).

topics. One of the ways in which this played out was in Bluestocking discussions of prostitution regulation. In this regard, Itō Noe was an outlier in among the group: she supported regulation. This made her the perfect foil for other members of the group, and from 1915 to 1916 Aoyama Kikue and Noe would engage in a spirited debate over the relationship between male sexual desire, prostitution regulation, and the subordination of women in Japanese society. Noe was the first to fire a shot in December of 1915; ironically, her initial target was not Aoyama but the JWCTU. Wrote Noe in a long and vitriolic critique of that group's efforts to abolish regulation:

> Even if what women of the pleasure quarters do is, as these women say, an ignoble occupation, that kind of work has a long history as well as deep roots in men's natural desires (*danjo no honzen no yōkyū*[352]). As long as those exist, [the pleasure industry] has a reason to exist.[353]

In the rest of the essay Itō countered the usual abolitionist arguments with the usual regulationist ones.[354] Itō's chief critique of the JWCTU was their motivations, which she characterized as self-aggrandizement.

Itō's evaluation of the JWCTU meet with little opposition in the pages of Bluestocking However, the stance she took on regulation proved to be a different story. Aoyama Kikue responded to Itō early the next year, writing in Bluestocking that while she agreed with Itō that Protestants' motivations were contemptible, their goals were not.

She also disputed the idea that prostitution was rooted in natural forces within men's bodies. Aoyama criticized Itō conflating historical precedent and human destiny. If were true that

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[352] 男女の本然の要求.

[353] Itō Noe, *Gōman kyōryō ni shite futettei naru Nihon fujin no kōkyō jigyō ni tsuite* [Regarding Arrogantly-Narrow-Minded, Half-Baked Public Service the of Japanese Women's Groups] (Tokyo: Seitōsha, 1915), p. 215. Reprinted in *Sei to ai wo meguru ronsō*

[354] Ibid., p. 206.

the basis of prostitution was natural male desire, "then is it not true for all of today's society? To say that [a phenomenon] has a long history and deep roots does not constitute a good reason for it to exist."[355] Aoyama counterargued that ". . . the prostitution system is based on the institutionalization of unnatural relations between men and women rather than on men's nature (*danjo no senzensei*[356])." Continued Aoyama:

> Even if for the sake of argument we accept that prostitution is based on men's natural desires—and not a few men disprove this—it does not mean that we should accept regulation. However much men may naturally desire, I will always oppose a system that puts women in such an unpleasant position.[357]

Aoyama therefore dismissed the idea of innate male sexual instincts as a justification for regulation and moreover expressed doubts over whether these desires existed as commonly described. However, the latter did not amount to a full rejection of innate male sexual desire, as we shall see.

Interestingly, while Itō's regulationist arguments had been a rehearsal of the usual arguments, Aoyama's critique took the discussion in a new direction. In between insulting JWCTU's motivations and endorsing their goal, Aoyama took issue with their means. In the rest of her essay she developed an argument that human society had the capacity to improve itself by changing or eliminating bad institutions. To her the issue of sexual instincts was secondary. She primarily argued from the position that society did not *need* prostitution—inasmuch as not all

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[355] Aoyama Kikue, *Nihon fujin no shakai jigyō ni tsuite Itō Noe shi ni atau* [To Itō Noe, Regarding Japanese Women's Public Service] (Tokyo: Seitōsha, 1916), p. 215. Reprinted in *Sei to ai wo meguru ronsō*, pp. 215-17.

[356] 男女の先然性.

[357] Aoyama, *Nihon fujin no shakai jigyō ni tsuite Itō Noe shi ni atau*, p. 216.

men patronized brothels—rather than arguing that there were men who did not desire sex. Aoyama words recall those of Iwamoto.

> This arouses unbeneficial curiosity and stimulates lust (*jōyoku*), increasing the opportunities for young men to stumble. . . . In short, the Japanese system of brothel regulation creates an unnatural relationship of [sexual] supply and demand, despoiling society. It is a policy of protected enslavement that seeks profit in others' excessive behavior.[358]

As intelligent animals, humans had the capacity to change this situation rather than resign themselves to historical precedent.

To Aoyama and other secular feminists, the primary foundation of prostitution was not men's immorality but the economic structures that allowed men to behavior immorally. Along these lines she asserted that (licensed) prostitution was premised on and had the effect of perpetuating women's economic subordination. (While Protestant Abolitionists had in fact criticized the social structures that subordinated women, these did not amount to critiques of capitalism itself.[359]) Women's liberation had the potential to eliminate this economic disparity, which in turn would put an end to prostitution. The key policy change that would bring about abolition, she asserted, was to punish the men who patronized illicit prostitutes as well as the women themselves. Eliminating this illegitimate source of income for uneducated women would motivate them to pursue education and other occupations that conduced to upward mobility. And

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[358] Ibid., pp. 216-17.

[359] Consider this statement by Abe Isoo: "There are probably many reasons why women become prostitutes; but I think the main one is poverty. That is, I think that the economic composition of society forces many women to become prostitutes. But as for why so many women are impoverished, there must be many reasons, but lack of education must be the biggest one." Abe Isoo, "*Kōshō seido to shakai no fūgi*,"*Kakusei*, vol. Original Volume, no. 1, p. 18.

this, in turn, would improve all women's power and eventually enable them to act as a political bloc that would end regulation.

While Aoyama question the strength of the male sex drive as it supposedly made prostitution necessary, and in her vision of abolition the male sexual instinct would continue to play a role in society. Noe and Aoyama exchanged two more volleys in the pages of *Seitō*. Aoyama elaborated on her argument that licensed prostitution operated both to excuse men in viewing women as animals and playthings (*dōbutsu shi ganrō butsu shi suru*[360]) and to encourage them to do so. In her third and final contribution on the topic Aoyama further developed her critique of regulation to elaborate on her critique of capitalism. "The supply of and demand for prostitute women are a result of the system of capital." The instability of life under capitalism encouraged women to marry for love. It also exacerbated the difficulty less-well-off men had in accumulating the resources to marry, "trampling the sacredness of romantic love" when these men sought less-expensive marriage partners with lower-class women through go-betweens. Japan's patriarchal society favored men over women in numerous ways, she continued—"Asserting that men's sexual desires are definitely irresistible and declaring that [abstinence] is harmful to the health rather than encouraging self-control is one example of this."[361]

Aoyama cited then-new research by two Euroamerican scholars to back up her point. One of these researchers had concluded that 28.8% of men who fall into sexual dissipation do so through the influence of a friend, and that another 18% do so through the influence of alcohol.

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[360] 動物視玩弄物視する.

[361] Aoyama Kikue, *Sara ni ronshi or akiraka ni su* [Again Making My Argument Clear] (Tokyo: Seitōsha, 1916), p. 244. Reprinted in *Sei to ai wo meguru ronsō*, pp. 240-54.

She paraphrased the latter Euroamerican sexologist said to the effect that ". . . those who say that [their dissipation] was the result of pure (*junketsu*) natural desires, it should have been possible to control them, and if they had had no opportunity [to debase themselves] the desire would have subsided on its own anyway."[362]

Aoyama seems to have been discussing the desire for prostitution in particular rather than for sex in general, which is to say that Aoyama did not reject the existence of the sex drive. "Moderate satisfaction of instinct and moderate self-control must be the same between men and women."[363] All people would be able to control themselves while pursuing satisfaction in moderation if the women's movement were able to dismantle capitalism. In such a world, women would no longer be subject to men's whims; rather, men would be subject to women's moderating influence—to the benefit of all.

In the same period when *seiyoku* became the byword for twentieth century discussions of male sexuality, a set of three terms—*junketsu*, *teisō*, and *shojo*[364]—became the most important terms for discussions of female sexuality. The first two refer more or less directly to "chastity," while the third was multivalent. *Shojo* denotes both a maiden—an unmarried, virginal woman—and female virginity itself. (Thus, a *shojo* might give up her *shojo* to a man, as we shall in

[362] Ibid.

[363] Ibid., p. 245.

[364] 純潔, 貞操, and 処女. For the sake of consistency, I translate the first term as "purity," the second as "chastity," and the third as "maiden" or "virginity," as appropriate. (The more common term for young women is 少女.)

Hiratsuka writings below.[365]) According to Saeki Junko, as with *seiyoku*, the term *shojo* had been in wide usage before the Meiji period but had not been laden with moral expectations; it was freighted in this way only once virginity for unmarried women was recast as an ideal.[366]

This slotted in to the most famous of the debates among secular feminists in the 1910s. Known as the Chastity Debates (*teisō ronsō*), this discussion began in Bluestocking and continued after that in other periodicals. And there too, Hiratsuka became the most prominent voice. The most famous of the many writers who disagreed with Hiratsuka was Yosano Akiko. She, for her part, had been a well-respected poet for years by then. She had translated the ancient Genji Monogatari, considered the world's first novel, into modern Japanese, and had been a fixture in literary circles since the 1900s. The work that made her famous, and the most important of her works in the context of the cultural history of sexuality, was *Midaregami* (Tangled Hair); this long-form poetry into a narrative of a young woman's sexual awakening, which included a premarital romance. However, Yosano later disavowed premarital sex for women as described below. This led to her disagreements with Hiratsuka.

To Hiratsuka's way of thinking, maidens (*shojo*) had an instinct to protect their virginity (also *shojo*) before the onset of sexual maturity: "When the virginity of a maiden—who is not yet passionate, who not cannot bear to have sex, who has no experience of organic desires (kannōyoku) whatsoever—is threatened, she will protect it with her life." This natural mechanism did not require social strictures for reinforcement. In fact, "For many maidens, not

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[365] Meanwhile, the corollarous terms are distinguished when applied to adolescent men. *Shonen* denotes a virgin adolescent man, while his virginity itself was usually denoted by *dōtei*. Moreover, *dōtei* is also used for virginity in general when discussing both sexes together.

[366] Saeki, *"Ai" to "sei,"* p. 91.

losing one's virginity for the sake of a member of the opposite sex whom they do not love . . . is an instinct (*honnō*)."Quite the contrary; social strictures had a deleterious effect on maidens' instincts. Packed into the ellipsis above was an argument that modern society was responsible for many women who had sex despite without love. The factors were two. On the one hand, society suppressed a woman's healthful instincts whenever a woman had no choice but to have sex "under the name of marriage," and on the other hand, there were "instances of women seduced by the ignorant misunderstanding [that they were in] love." The former problem was one of parental and economic pressures, while the latter was the fault of predatory young men who felt no qualms about taking advantage of young women's dearth of self-knowledge. The way to ensure that all girls had adequate self-knowledge was education, and the means to ensure that women did not end up in counter-evolutionary marriages was to allow them to make their own romantic decisions.[367]

This was where evolution entered the picture. *Kannōyoku*—directly translated as "organic desires"—was a woman's inherent desire to fulfill her evolutionary function in reproducing the healthiest-possible human race. In another parenthetical, Hiratsuka explained women's instinct to avoid sex without love in terms these, eugenicist terms: "(This is probably a type of instinct that nature has given to women to create a better race, through the avoidance of inappropriate sexual relations.)"[368] In other words, women's emotional bonds were the means by which nature avoided "inappropriate,"—or indiscriminate, random, and most importantly, involuntary—procreation.

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[367] Hiratsuka Raichō, *Shojo no shinka* [The True Value of Virginity] (Tokyo: Seitōsha, 1915), pp. 66-67. Reprinted in *Sei to ai wo meguru ronsō*, pp. 65-71.

[368] Ibid.

In this political "deployment of sexuality" it was important to secular feminist goals that the intervention came as soon as possible rather than only upon marriage. According to them, girls experienced a delicate process of romantic and sexual maturation. This was made especially fragile because it was prone to interruption in the modern, male-dominated world.

> Why do women readily wait until marriage, not easily able to lose their virginity even when, they naturally (*tōzen na koto de*[369]) come to experience romantic love, and organic desires follow on these feelings of love (*aijō*[370])? There is certainly the fear of [sex] itself, the threat of its realities, and unease about the pregnancy that it results in. But more than these factors, isn't the immense power that controls them the fear of the moral criticism and societal judgment regarding an unmarried woman who loses her virginity, or who becomes pregnant?[371]

Natural, organic perhaps, fears were a normal part of female adolescence, just as they were for men. The difference was that women faced the added pressure of artificial social strictures. Worst of all, society conflated these two. While one was natural, and actually conduced to female choice of the best mate, the other was decidedly unnatural, and was counterproductive from a racial standpoint. Therefore, the latter should be eradicated for the good of the family, and the state.

The logical extension of this was to empower women with all of the decisions. This meant much, much more than the question of whom to marry. The most radical element of the secular-feminist vision of gender relations in 1910s—a time when the vast majority of marriages for the middle class were decided by parents and go-betweens, and when there was great pressure on women in particular to enter marriage as virgins—was the assertion that *when* to engage in sex with a man should be left to the young woman. Yosano Akiko agreed on this point,

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[369] 当然な事で.

[370] 愛情.

[371] Hiratsuka, *Shojo no shinka*, pp. 66-67.

declaring that "I think that chastity is not a strict virtue; instead it is a blessing. And whether a person has it or does not is entirely that person's choice. This has nothing to do with a third party."[372] Here Yosano seems to have conflated chastity and virginity—meaning that for both men and women the question of whether their partner was a virgin at the beginning of the relationship, the mutual-exclusive nature of their relationship was what mattered. In this sense, chastity was a contract between the two members of the couple.

Oda Makoto makes two interesting points on Hiratsuka's thinking about the discourse of female sexual desire as a political expedient for women. The first of these is that by invoking inherent maternality, Hiratsuka gave the agency of becoming a mother to women. This in turn was a means to give women agency in their romantic and sexual lives before and during marriage. Maternality was turned into a supplement to the establishment of the modern discourse of sexual desire. The other point is that the feminist discourse of romantic love gave women the potential to carve out agency within the conjugal home more broadly. According to Oda, as we can see with Hiratsuka's statements about the deep desire for children at the root of the female sex drive increased women's agency with respect to romantic love by incorporating it into the modern family system.[373] As a crucial element in the maintenance of a healthy lineage, a woman's happiness in her conjugal relationship became indispensable. This could have practical benefits by putting pressure on husbands and his extended family to treat a wife with respect.

For Hiratsuka, romantic self-exploration was even more. It was paramount for young women to experiment in romance in order to discover what true love was to be; this meant

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[372] Yosano Akiko, *Teisō ni tsuite* [Regarding Chastity] (Tokyo: Fujin Shinbunsha, 1915), p. 92. Reprinted in *Sei to ai wo meguru ronsō*, pp. 92-94.

[373] Oda, *Sei*, pp. 80-81.

innocent girlhood friendships, adolescent heterosexual crushes, and then full-blown romantic relationships as Suzuki has described. But it also meant serial monogamy in young adulthood—or at least made allowances for it. This meant that women should be free from the artificial, patriarchal pressures of seduction and marriage at the direction of parents. To accomplish this, Hiratsuka insisted, premarital sex not only could be, but should be an accepted part of girl's freedom to grow from young women into adults under certain conditions:

> Every young woman must fastidiously maintain the virginity she has, without throwing it away, until the appropriate time arrives. Speaking further, just as it is a sin to throw away one's virginity at an inappropriate time, likewise it is a sin to not throw away one's virginity even when the appropriate time comes.[374]

This sort of thinking put Hiratsuka at odds with the majority of her contemporaries, and not only the stodgy ones. It was on this point that Hiratsuka and Yosano differed. By the end of the 1910s Yosano's views were in some ways plainly conventional for the time. While in her earlier career she had written fiction and poetry that portrayed female sexual morality more ambiguously, she later advocated such things as love "developing" within marriage rather than either a process in which heterosexual romance led to marriage and then to sex or a process in which romance led to sex and then to marriage. In this construction, it was the woman's responsibility to select the correct partner, being sure to avoid seduction. Moreover, once the selection was made, it was again the woman's responsibility to foster romantic love within the marriage, presumably because men had no innate capacity to do so. The fact that men were romantically inert also made them interchangeable. At the end of the day, Yosano's idea was that a woman's choice in men mattered very little and that her attitude within marriage mattered quite a bit. In fact, this amounted to an encouragement for women to force themselves to be in love

[374] Hiratsuka, *Shojo no shinka*, p. 69.

with their marriage partners when necessary.[375] (Yosano's ethic of one-sided self-sacrifice had echoed across her long, tumultuous, and no-doubt-trying marriage to Yosano Tekkan.[376])

Despite the fact that Hiratsuka was an outlier, her statements reveal that premarital sex was an important issue for the New Woman.

In antifeminist discourse, the assertion was that reproduction was the *only* way in which women were suited to contribute to society. Inasmuch as the survival of a species was always a tenuous proposition, the liberation of women to pursue economic and political achievement would detract from the biological resources they could devote to the rearing of children. In a continuation of the essay cited in the previous chapter, Umino Yutaka described the women's-liberation movement as nothing other than a betrayal of society. Naturally, Umino based his arguments on evolutionary biology:

> There are physiological and psychological differences between men and women. The differences between men and women are more than circumstantial; they are hereditarily set. Therefore the differences between men and women cannot be eliminated through argument or acts of the Diet. . . . Because arguments for women's liberation are not only empty but also, from the view of racial progress, bring about degradation in the human race they are useless and meritless to the nation.[377]

In Umino's vision of women's place in society—a view shared by innumerable peers—women's roles were very clear, and very narrow.

> Whatever you might like to think about women's responsibilities, they are to bear children, to educate girls, to run the household; woman as mother, as wife as her husband's helper—these are the duties she must fulfill. What one must explain

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[375] Saeki, *"Ai" to "sei,"* pp. 108-16.

[376] Laurel Rodd, "Yosano Akiko and the Taisho Debate over the 'New Woman,'" in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

[377] Umino, *Seiyoku to jinshu kaizō*, p. 348.

> about the contentions of New Women is not women's liberation, it is the improvement of the race.[378]

Thus, they declaimed, feminism was an existential threat to civilization. In this version women had an innate instinct to reproduce. And inasmuch as all instincts were assumed to be adaptive (meaning a factor that increases the evolutionary fitness of a species), this meant nature assigned women a unique role, and that women were better at mate selection.

Secular feminists were not defenseless against this. Such women wrested control of the evolutionary-sexology discourses by taking them at face value and developing their own, perfectly-logical interpretations. Granting women control over with whom and when she should become sexual active was a logical extension of the sexual-selection theory that regulationists were using, as described in Chapter Three, because it rested on the premise that whatever was seen in nature was automatically valid. Female sexual response was an instinctual cue indicating that a couple would produce eugenic children.

The discourse of sexual selection attributed less energy to female instincts than to male ones. Yet this was available to interpretation. Although females were passive in the sense that they selected only from the available population of males, they were active in that they had the power to choose the best mate and reject all others—or even the power to reject all potential mates if none were adequate. Indeed, female "fitness" was defined by the ability to best choose a mate. To do that, and to rear young, were deemed the capacities females could claim to have.

There was more to the question of the social conventions of female chastity than individual women's happiness or even the abolition of prostitution. When secular feminists debated the issue among themselves, and when they engaged their religionist feminist

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[378] Ibid., p. 349.

counterparts as well as their secular-moralist opponents, their goal was to increase Japanese women's rights in concrete ways.

To this end, they leveraged concepts such as primordial matriarchy and the power of women's role in evolution. In the hands of Hiratsuka and her compatriots, these idea had strong feminist applications. For its part, primordial matriarchy was a framework to understand women's role in society and the ideal treatment they should receive. The idea circulated globally among feminists of the period. Bernstein identifies Charlotte Perkins Gilman as a key figure in feminist readings of matriarchy. But, she writes, "Gilman was not alone in seeing primal man as a rapist who destroyed a peaceful prehistoric period of sexual equality; the idea was already a commonplace among feminists who invoked a lost matriarchy."[379]

Writing in *Fujin Kōron* in 1916, Hiratsuka gave her own interpretation of the idea:

> In primordial times, when women were at the height of their powers, the power to rule was completely in women's hands. In the age when women had the freedom to their choose partners, and when the so-called matrilineal system was in effect, the family was centered on the relationship between mother and child, and, naturally, the position of head of household was held by women.

This extended to women's economic independence: "In addition to raising the child who was her only family, by engaging in agriculture, women gained economic power as individual producers." Continued Hiratsuka:

> However, women were unable to protect this position forever. The intelligence that had developed in men as a result of women's [mating] choices gave rise to the [male] idea that sexual relationships and procreation should be linked, to the desire for male privilege, and to the demand that men and women share [custody of] their children. After men and women began to live under the same roofs, men began to make evil use of their physical superiority (forgetting that this was a gift

[379] Bederman, *Manlines and Civilization*, p. 142.

> born of women's [mating] choices) to control women and to make women victims of their selfishness.[380]

The switch from matriarchy to patriarchy occurred when men took over responsibility for the labor outside of the home. This labor had been the source of women's independence, and now it was the source of men's dominance. They were producers (of children), alienated (erotic) laborers, and commodities in themselves: "Namely, women came to perform hard labor as men's beasts of burden, to serve men as tools of erotic satisfaction (*jōyoku manzoku no kigu*), and even at times to be bought and sold by them."[381]

The irony was that women had created the very capacities that men abused. Giving women credit for their contributions to the foundation of modern society would be a good start toward a rectification. "To my way of thinking there is no other way to renew men's sense of propriety with respect to chastity than through women's power. And it goes without saying that this is through the power of choice that women exercise over men."[382]

The term *jiyū ren'ai* was tightly imbricated with evolutionary theory, especially in Hiratsuka's rendering. Written on the opposite side of that coin was an empowerment of women that began with romantic freedom—*jiyū ren'ai*.[383] This was the empowerment of women over men premarital as well as marital relationships, and ultimately in motherhood. Thus it boiled down to reproductive choices—which is to say a proper reassertion of women's control of evolution.

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[380] Hiratsuka Raichō, *Sabetsuteki sei dōtoku ni tsuite* [Regarding the Sexual Double Standard] (Tokyo: Fujin Kōronsha, 1916), pp. 124-25. Reprinted in *Sei to ai wo meguru ronsō*, pp. 123-130.

[381] Ibid., p. 125.

[382] Ibid., p. 128.

[383] 自由恋愛.

According to Hiratsuka, because those who criticized Bluestockings bought into the evolutionary interpretation of women as only suited to romance yet fickle and flighty in it, they failed to understand what romantic love meant on a basic level:

> Because people do not know the difference between the old and the new moralities, there has been quite a bit of misguided criticism of what we have put forward. To paraphrase the gist of this criticism, it says that what we have called free romantic love ignores chastity and is shameless. . . . what they mean by the term romantic love has a very low standard indeed, being nothing more than a carnal thing, and therefore a temporary, irresponsible thing.

Hiratsuka responded in the vein of the competing yet complementary theory of (human) evolution, the one that conceived of female mating choices as adaptive, as beneficial to a species in the struggle for survival. Hiratsuka immediately continued: "In our explication of freedom, the authority (*kenri*) that it advocates in the form of romantic love is a matter of character that advances life based on [a couple's] mutual happiness and that includes a sense of responsibility toward descendants."[384]

If women were the arbiters—or better yet gatekeepers—of evolution, then they had a responsibility to choose their partners well. By the same token, it was best for them to make their romantic choices with minimal intrusion, coercion, or deception by men or interference from society at large. Furthermore, society had a responsibility to educate women in exercising this power so that they did not succumb to the counter-adaptive force of seduction by unscrupulous men, as cited above.

If love was the basis for both sex and marriage, and if sexual compatibility was necessary for a successful marriage, then a woman feeling sexual attraction for a man was an unassailable proof of their fitness as a couple. Meanwhile, because it was based on an indiscriminate sexual

[384] Hiratsuka, *Sabetsuteki sei dōtoku ni tsuite*, p. 127.

instinct, the man's attraction was both taken for granted and dismissed as maladaptive. Thus, the discourse of instincts empowered a woman to reject a suitor over the objections of family members, as well as the wishes of the would-be husband himself. After all, her instincts were taken to be better informed about the needs of the species than the social conventions that guided her parents' choice of a partner for an arranged marriage. In sum, the mechanism of choice that women had in primordial times and that ideally would exercise in the future was none other than romance.

The Petition for "Marriage Regulations for Men with Venereal-Disease"

The political context in which these women worked was forbidding. In addition to being denied suffrage (as were three quarters of men) the government took further measures to politically neutralize women. The Peace Preservation Law of 1900 banned women from joining political parties, speaking publicly on politics, or attending political rallies. The civil code also limited the right to initiate divorce to husbands. The 1896 Meiji Civil Code furthermore banned women from joining political parties, speaking publicly on politics, or attending political rallies; it also limited the right of divorce to husbands. Publishing and petitioning the Diet were about the only avenues of activism open to women; and these feminists avidly pursued.

Although the health problems Hiratsuka developed while editing Bluestocking forced her to remove herself from that position and to scale back her efforts for the time being, the set back was temporary. And before long she would once again turn those efforts to organizing and publishing. In 1919, she, Ichikawa Fusae, Oku Mumeo, and others formed the Shin Fujin Kyōkai, or the New Women's Association (NWA). This group would also prove short-lived, as it disbanded in 1922. But during its tenure, the NWA put forward some of the most provocative and potentially-impactful reform proposals that the prewar era would see. And by far the most

provocative of these was the petition for Marriage Regulations for Men with Venereal-Disease (*Karyūbyō Danshi Kekkon Seigen*).

Bringing together these themes in twentieth-century policy debates in accordance with the dominant idiom of sexual instincts, in February of 1920, the NWA submitted the first of three versions of a petition to the Imperial Diet that would have required men to undergo venereal-disease testing in order to receive marriage licenses and that would have entitled wives to divorce and financial restitution whenever their husbands infected them with venereal disease. The first version of the petition required that all men who wanted to submit proof that they were not infected to the household of their would-be wives. The officials who reviewed the petition disliked the gender bias built into it, but they accepted the validity of the supposed threat to the Japanese family and Japan's women. The petition made it as far as committee debates, but died there. When the NWA resubmitted the petition later that year, the same pros and cons led to both careful consideration of the issue and the dismissal of the petition.

The heart of the petition lay in the appended commentary, which opened by invoking the shared understanding of the epidemiology of venereal disease, according to which the prostitute woman was venereal disease's source, the client-husband its carrier, and the wife/child its victim. This lay behind the statement that "It goes without saying that it is not only men who bring venereal disease into the home. Women, however, and especially Japanese women, do not require the same type of regulation that men do . . ."Citing statistics from the Ministry of Home Affairs to the effect that men comprised between two thirds and three quarters of venereal infections, the commentary stated that "the probability of a man bringing venereal disease into the home is greater than that of a woman" to support the idea that it was Japan's men who

required supervision rather than its women.[385] As Otsubo Sumiko notes, for the first time the NWA's campaign put Japan's middle- and upper-class men "in a position where they themselves might be considered 'unfit' and subject to restrictions, at least within Japan."[386]

Legislators who remembered Hiratsuka's behavior in the late 1900s and early 1910s—which involved public drinking, love affairs, a highly-theatrical attempted love suicide, and an overnight visit to the Yoshiwara—may have been somewhat bemused to encounter such a petition from her. But her past behavior was hardly sufficient to question her use of a line of reasoning that so closely resembled their own. This argument put lawmakers in a bind: the logic of the "family system" that lawmakers where so vociferously holding forth on should have demanded that the law privilege the bride-to-be over the groom-to-be in the same way that the law privileged the brothel client over the brothel inmate. In this light, there is reason to see more than just anger or sexism underlying Hiratsuka's call for the nearly unilateral testing of husbands-to-be and not wives-to-be.

The two 1920 versions both failed because of their gender bias. Yet despite this the NWA forged ahead. The third and final version of the petition included only a gesture toward appeasing the politicians of the Diet: in 1921 required that men present their certificates to their municipal office rather than the family of the prospective bride. The language continued to exempt women from this responsibility, unless requested by the husband, on the assertion that it would violate the particular chastity of Japanese women. Stipulating that a public office would

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[385] Cited in Akiko Tokuza, *The Rise of the Feminist Movement in Japan* (Tokyo: Keio University Press, 1999), p. 162.

[386] Engendering Eugenics," p. 233.

receive the certificate rather than private individuals perhaps made the prospect even less attractive to the Diet men.

There are four salient perspectives from which to consider this set of petitions: its place in the history of suffrage; its role in the international history of laws that linked venereal disease and marriage; the history of eugenics; and the history of the gendering of wives, husbands, mothers, prostitute women, and even children.

The venereal-disease campaign was actually one of three petitions that the NWA submitted that year. The other two would have granted woman's suffrage and would have ended the ban on women's participation in political parties. The Diet rejected the suffrage petition roundly, on the grounds that it would damage the fundamental traditions of Japanese womanhood and thus weaken the social fabric. The second petition passed the Diet before too long, in 1922, and became law.

As one component of a threefold strategy, the petition was something of a middle road. Without question, women's suffrage was dead on arrival in the Diet. Even if the petition had been successful, tax-based female suffrage would not have enfranchised man, women—who almost by definition did not earn income or own property, especially once they signed these over to their husbands upon marriage.[387]

The petition's involution of patriarchal rhetoric is telling. By rejecting the suffrage petition on grounds that it would "undermine the family system," Baron Fujimura Yoshiro contributed to a discourse that attributed to women, and demanded of them, inherent

[387] This represents a development away from its original manifestation, according to Sally Ann Hastings and Sharon Nolte. These two describe the good wife, wise mother as a rhetorical tool to encourage upper-class women to engage in thrift and paid labor. Hastings and Nolte, "The Meiji State's Policy toward Women, 1890-1910."

wholesomeness in the form of obedience, political docility, and reproductivity.[388] The petition revealed the limits of the participation that the Diet would allow, while the venereal-disease petition revealed the extent of the practical ramifications of the Good Wife, Wise Mother that they could stomach. Thus, in appealing to the national goals, and proactively volunteering to help carry them out, the venereal-disease petition pointed out the hypocrisy of Diet rhetoric on what they expected from wives and mothers. Meanwhile, the petition to allow women's political speech resonated widely in the era of so-called Taishō Democracy, when state limitations on political speech that supported state goals were on the decline.

To draft the venereal-disease petition, Hiratsuka examined U.S. laws in various states that required such testing for those who wished to marry. She ignored the fact that almost all of these laws required testing of both men and women in favor of the only state that required examinations for men alone—Oregon. This represents less of a discrepancy in Hiratsuka's thinking than the fact that the U.S. examples she drew on were not relevant to the Japanese case. Venereal disease testing in Japan was already gendered well before the NWA put forward this petition. Ever since the 1870s, the law had demanded that only pleasure workers and not clients submit to examinations for venereal disease. And because no U.S. state had a system of medicalized prostitution regulation, there was good reason to do no more than take U.S. precedents under advisement.[389]

In 1999 Akiko Tokuza described the discriminatory nature of the petition against husbands "'feminist anger,' a counterproductive force," and describes the eugenicist, nationalist

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[388] Tokuza, *Rise of the Feminist Movement*, p. 167.

[389] Prostitution was legal in the State of Nevada, but state law there would not require medical examinations for prostitute women until 1937.

rhetoric as a "facade." To her way of thinking, these were either a sarcastic jab or a strategy of pandering to accomplish the purely-feminist goal of challenging "the pernicious patriarchy that had survived economic modernization."[390] However, such assertions do not jibe with the historical record.

Writing more recently, Otsubo has taken Hiratsuka's appeals to racial improvement on their own terms. After all, Tokuza's downplaying of Hiratsuka's use of eugenicist rhetoric is contradicted by the increasingly-nationalistic rhetoric that *all* interwar women's groups embraced. Hiratsuka in particular became notable for incorporating eugenicist rhetoric into her writings from the mid-1910s onward, and her use of it was far too frequent to be a fluke or mere rhetorical flourish. Furthermore, Otsubo also sees long-term impacts in the NWA petitioning: she concludes that,

> It might be fair to say that Hiratsuka had a greater impact on the popularization of eugenic principles than scholars who had published either scholarly or popular books on eugenics. Public awareness about eugenics was one of the factors that led to the enactment of the 1940 National Eugenics Law.[391]

Indeed, Hiratsuka deployed eugenic reasoning far too often for it to be a fluke or a purely-rhetorical maneuver. Unlike eugenicist programs that sterilized criminals and the mentally ill, or in other ways imposed statist "pronatalism," Hiratsuka's vision pushed the government out of reproductive choices.[392] Instead letting the government determine who should reproduce, with whom, and how often, Hiratsuka's plan would have assigned government the role of ensuring that husbands treated their wives with respect.

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[390] Tokuza, *Rise of the Feminist Movement*, pp. 164-65.

[391] Engendering Eugenics," p. 245.

[392] Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex*, Chapter 5.

Otsubo's laudable appreciation for Hiratsuka's eugenicist rhetoric aside, her analysis leaves something to be desired. She considers the insistence on treating men and women differently evidence that Hiratsuka was focused on the specific issue of middle-class wives' vulnerability to diseases that their husbands contracted. However, this does not fully explain her refusal to make concessions on the issue of having women also submit to exams as a matter of course. A petition rewritten along these lines would have been more likely to pass, and would in practice have protected women no less than the original version. While there is no reason to question whether she was committed to protecting the particular sanctity she attributed to Japanese women's bodies in text of the petition, perhaps it is more precise to say that Hiratsuka's insistence on treating women deferentially at least in part stemmed from her strong desire to draw attention to this specific example of wives' vulnerability in the context of the larger issue Hiratsuka saw in mothers' reproductive roles. As Otsubo also writes:

> Perceived gender bias was the principal reason for the effort's failure. But as some have pointed out, the engendered nature of the movement attracted media attention and thus, ironically, helped to expose eugenic ideas to a wider public. It might be fair to say that Hiratsuka had a greater impact on the popularization of eugenic principles than scholars who had published either scholarly or popular books on eugenics.[393]

Otsubo argues that the petition deserves especial attention ". . . precisely because it was one of the earliest examples of women's own initiative in politicizing their own bodies, particularly their reproductive abilities . . ."[394] Meanwhile, we can note that the campaign politicized men's sexual bodies just as much as it politicized women's reproductive bodies.

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[393] Engendering Eugenics," p. 245.

[394] Ibid., p. 247.

Most important to this research is the way in which the petition created a hierarchy of genders that went well beyond the simple dichotomy of men and women. Ruth Karras has argued with regard to the European Middle Ages that "prostitute" was a distinct sexual identity in the discourse of sexuality. Just as "homosexual" has become an identity, according to Foucault only in the modern period, so too can we find that the generic identities man and woman were not the only ones to populate the texts of European theologians, Karras argues.[395] While the argument that prostitute woman constituted a gender identity unto itself in modern Japan—as I suspects it did—is beyond the limitations of this research, this was certainly true in the case of the petition and its commentary.

This distinction of a third adult gender had deep significance for the petition and its commentary. By the time the petition was written, it was primarily the supposed need to mitigate venereal disease while placating men's sexual desires that undergirded the prostitution regulatory system. In other words, examining pleasure workers for venereal disease was a proxy to examining their clients. Protecting pleasure workers themselves was decidedly secondary. All along it was deemed more practical to examine all pleasure workers several times a month than to ever examine a single male client.

The petition assumed that because prostitute women were the only women who had sex with multiple partners, they were therefore the only women who would contract and spread venereal disease. More tellingly still, the commentary ignored the fact that the majority of prostitute women went on to marry after exiting the trade, meaning that former prostitute women would bring venereal disease into homes in a way that would disrupt any easy assumptions about who was responsible for infections in the home. In other words, the petition focused on the rights

[395] Karras, "Prostitution and the Question of Sexual Identity in Medieval Europe."

of women who had never been prostitutes, not of women in general. Exclusively targeting clients who became husbands for state intervention required excluding prostitute women who became wives.

Even as it distinguished two female genders, the petition collapsed any potential distinctions among men. It did this by elaborating on a longer tradition of assuming that all men patronized brothels before marriage and that many or most husbands continued to do so afterward:

> Men's sex lives tend to be far more indulgent and dissolute than women's and . . . Therefore, women who contract and carry venereal disease are usually prostitutes, while the male carriers are part of the general public. This is verified by a doctor's admission that the number of male patients who have contracted venereal disease from their wives is very small compared to the number of female patients who have contracted it from their husbands.[396]

In so stating, the petition cast men's supposedly natural virility as a clear and present threat to the home/nation. The highest ambitions of the petition were to change such behavior: "This law aims not only to protect women at home. It aims to be a sanction against men's sexual indulgence. Thus, it has a moral significance as well."[397]

In Japan and around the world abolitionists had pointed out for decades that if protecting clients was the goal, clients should be the ones subject to examination. The favorite counterarguments to this were pragmatic—clients would prefer illicit prostitution to the bother of seeking out a doctor's certificate before, or the embarrassment of undergoing venereal examinations at the time of, entering a brothel. In the petition this rhetoric became a means to call for state access to male bodies for a change. "The physical examination of unmarried women

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[396] Cited Tokuza, *Rise of the Feminist Movement*, p. 161.

[397] Cited in ibid., p. 163.

for venereal disease would be very difficult to carry out in light of Japanese custom and could create problems. Since women contract venereal disease much less than men, we see no need to undertake this difficult task." [398] Given these women's innate modesty it was now the examination of women's bodies that was supposedly less pragmatic.

Implicit in the proposed system was that by the same logic of protecting the client at the expense of the pleasure worker's dignity it was reasonable to examine all intended husbands at least once. The licenses that pleasure workers were required to carry enforced the system of examining pleasure workers on a regular basis, and to enforce the examination of men could be easily achieved by adding this function to marriage licenses as they already existed. In this way, the proposed law created a very subversive construction: the pleasure worker is to client as the husband is to the wife: just as the pleasure worker was a threat to the client, so was the husband a threat to the wife; just as the pleasure worker's dignity was sacrificed at the clients' convenience, so was the husband's sacrificed for the wife; this was because just as the client examining the pleasure worker was a proxy for the client, examining the husband was a proxy to the true objective of regulation, wife. This closely matched language that described Japanese women as innately wholesome. Usually invoked to deny women access to the public sphere, it now was meant to entitle them to concrete rights.

The petition constructed wives and *their* children as victims, simultaneously constructing the husband as an interloper in his own home. At worst, he was metaphorically identified with debilitating venereal disease itself, a foreign body that infected a healthy organism. The mechanism for this infection and victimization was the law as it then stood. In the petition's wording:

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[398] Cited in ibid., p. 161.

> . . . the domestic tragedies that are so common today, and that we cannot endure to remain silent about, are especially disastrous for women. A chaste and healthy maiden of good family, once she has married a man with venereal disease, will see ruin befall her, her innocent children, and a home life that would have been happy. She will lose her status as a wife because of the calamity that her husband has imposed upon her, and she has no legal protection against it.[399]

In the above quotation the commentary invoked the child to bring home its argument that the state should empower wives/mothers. The child was an embodiment of the future of Japan—a better and more powerful nation *in potentia*. The wife represented this entity in the public sphere, a theme that the commentary repeated in closing: "We hereby call for the legal regulation of men with venereal disease in order to protect homes, wives, and unborn children from it. Our larger goal is the improvement of our race, which is the basis of national power. We act in the service of our race, which is the duty and mission of both men and women."[400]

In each of the above ways the petition subverted patriarchal rhetoric by taking it at face value. In the context of the supposed precariousness of the Japanese race's future—a future that Good Wife, Wise Mother rhetoric charged wives with protecting—the prostitute woman would get no legal recognition. (Nor would the child.) Meanwhile, while the husband-client saw his political capital undermined by his association with the prostitute woman, and the wife saw hers augmented by the child. In fact, as a statute the petition would have privileged wives and their bodies over those of husbands and theirs (not to mention the privilege it gave both over prostitute women's bodies). Drawing on vague promises that the state would support women so long as women limited their political activity only to wifehood and motherhood, the petition concluded that such a social contract entitled wives to concrete rights. Even more subversive, when the

[399] Cited in ibid., p.164.

[400] Cited in ibid., p. 164.

petition differentiated no fewer than three adult genders, it assigned the highest political value to the wife.

Conclusion

As Barbara Molony states with regard to the various movements for women's rights across the divide between the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries,

> . . . the idea of rights as protection *from* the state was a very minor thread in women's rights talk—instead the main focus was on inclusion *in* the state and equality in both the private domain of the family and the public domain of civil society. . . . women sought to empower themselves in the family ('private') through means of the law ('public') . . .[401]

NWA legislative activism in the 1920s was very much a part of this preference for inclusion.

In fact, both the discussions of premarital sex and the petition examined here were efforts to achieve *greater* inclusion in the institution of marriage. In Hiratsuka's usage, the idea that women's experience of romantic love preceded and set the state for her experience of sexual desire became an argument for women's agency in the selection of marriage partners. This in turn was the basis of her argument for the improvement of the most potentially-disempowering institution in women's lives.

Therefore, the Bluestocking challenge to the conventions of marriage was not an attempt to dismantle marriage itself. These women found themselves repeatedly correcting assertions that they hoped to do so. And Bluestocking-women's individual behavior bore out this support for marriage, as many of them went on to marry. Hiratsuka herself was the longest to hold out; but even she married her long-term partner Okamura Hiroshi in 1941 to prevent stigma against their

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[401] Barbara Molony, "The Quest for Women's Rights in Turn-of-the-Century Japan," in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, edited by Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), p. 465.

two children. Rather, in their discussions of romantic love, their hope was to reform the pathways into marriage. Rather than parentally-directed, they wanted marriage decisions to be self-directed—for women in particular. It would be overly cynical to say that romantic love was simply a smokescreen to empower women in the decision of whom to marry, but in its practical ramifications it would do just that.

Most prewar secular feminists were not against state intervention into the conjugal relationship after marriage began either, as demonstrated by their discussions of "motherhood protection." To meet with Yamada Waka's approval, this would have entailed direct financial assistance for all mothers to guarantee their financial independence both in marriage and divorce. More generally in Bluestocking writings, motherhood protection would have begun and ended with the elimination of husband's adulterous prerogative, allowing women to retain their own assets after marriage, and enabling them to advocate mothers' and wives' interests through the exercise of the vote.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, no argument for a change in social policy found its mark better than one based on a concern for the health of the Japanese race. And if the author of the argument foretold the doom of the Japanese race, it was all the better for her or his case. Yet not all eugenicist arguments were equal. If everyone had taken the theory that in nature females drove evolution through their selection of mates seriously, they would have to grant women primacy in marriage and relationship decisions. Rather than indulging men's sexual whims through regulated prostitution and using marriage as means to corral women, societal expectations should favor women's instinctual romantic choices. Moreover, inasmuch as women were the gatekeepers of evolution and the ones charged with rearing each new generation of Japanese citizens, the government had a special responsibility to protect women from men's

instinctual tendency toward sexual callousness. Eugenicist warts and all, the petition exposed the hypocrisy of Good Wife, Wise Mother ideology.

Despite their investment in eugenicist rhetoric, the powers that were proved unwilling to follow secular-feminist interpretations of that line of reasoning. The supposed female role in mate selection and reproduction was logically valid when it derided female intellect and called for the circumscription of women's potential to make real contributions to governance. The primordial matriarchy especially was a strategy to cast female participation in, let alone leadership of, government as a transitory state at best and as a failed project at worst.

The identification of female sexuality, fickleness, and lack of intellectual agency—epitomized in hysteria—continued to dominate the question of women's individual autonomy in romance, sex, and marriage. As a result, the majority of marriage decisions remained in the hands of parents, and the expectation that women would enter marriage as virgins would not remained intact.

These various elements of the New Woman's political rhetoric were nonetheless powerful on an individual level, and important in the development of the feminist movement. While the petition did not become law, and while the majority of women found that the decision of whom they would marry remained beyond their control, both the Chastity Debates and the petition for venereal-disease testing for husbands proved that secular feminists articulated goals for their personal lives and the public lives of their peers. By defining the prostitute woman as a political non-entity and depicting the client/husband as a saboteur, the petition implied that only wives deserved the nation's consideration. And by its very existence the petition itself was textual evidence that only the members of the New Woman's Association had the nation's best

interests at heart when it came to this issue. When they politicized genders—their own, their husbands', and prostitute women's—they made themselves heard.

Conclusion

A little over a hundred years ago the shared understanding of male sexuality was quite different from the one that holds today in Japan and beyond. Furthermore the transition from the former understanding to the recent one took place quite quickly there. Although this research does not ferret out the early-modern roots of the discursive construction of erotic experiences at the beginning of the modern period in 1868, according to which eroticism had mollifying and healthful influence on men, the dissertation elucidates a crucial turning point in the discourse of male sexuality.

Until the close of the nineteenth century, there were clear differences in the specific conceptions of male sexuality between the abolitionist and regulationist camps. The outlier Fukuzawa aside, regulationists expected conjugal sex to remain unexciting yet for desire to continue as the greatest of Creation's blessings. Men's ready access to the pleasure industry would sustain a harmonious and productive society, free from the furrowed brows and endless hunger that Murayama Gishichi so vividly described in 1890. For their part, abolitionists saw desire as a curable illness. They expected that the elimination of brothels (as well as salacious novels and the like) would create a lust-free society. In that case, erotic desires would cease to impede the flourishing of emotional relations (*jōkō*) between husbands and wives. These ideal homes would be the nuclei of a more modern, more moral society.

Yet there was a deeper, more fundamental understanding that the two sides shared: that male sexuality required a specific external stimulus that found its highest expression in the pleasure worker. Regulationists' rejection of the conjugal home as a possible replacement for the brothel, and abolitionists hope that confining male sexual activity to the home would put an end to their erotic desires both rested on this way of thinking.

This pattern of similarity underlying differing positions characterized the debate in the twentieth century as well. In the beginning of the twentieth century, a pair of new understandings of male sexuality came to the fore. To regulationists, shaped by evolution and therefore valid, male sexual desire was an instinct that not only inhabited all male bodies, but constituted their cores. Sexual desire motivated men to develop embellish society just as a peacock embellished its plumage. Thus, without desire men, would default to laziness and society would fall into disrepair. But also, without the means to control desire—which was recreational sex—male sexual desire would become corrupted and would destroy the very society it had created.

Likewise, according to abolitionists and moral reformers, male sexual desire was the product of a natural process that was valid by definition. This sexual desire was integral to the ballet of courtship that created the basic unit of society, the conjugal home. Although the courtship process went no further than reproduction in lower animals, it was just the beginning for humans. Conjugal love was the basis of a larger moral love that motivated humans to improve themselves, thus male sexual desire lay at the heart of moral reform itself. Male sexual desire became a threat when it was overstimulated by recreational sex. In that instance, it became self-direct and created immoral men who neither participated wholeheartedly in conjugal marriages nor found fulfillment in the effort to improve humankind.

This time, the underlying similarity was the surety that male sexuality was an internal, biological phenomenon that derived from a long evolutionary history. For both sides, sexual desire was like hunger, a self-creating and healthy experience that shaped and defined men's lives. Abolitionists hoped that the elimination of prostitution would allow male sexuality to play what they saw as its natural role of inspiring romantic love and pair-bonding. Regulationists saw

conjugal sexuality as legitimately erotic, but declared that this was not sufficient to supply the needs of all men in a modern society like Japan's.

Another set of voices would join the discussion in the 1910s to give yet another interpretation of the instinct-based theory of male sexuality. Secular feminists took this logic to a different logical conclusion in order to empower women like themselves—which is to say young and unmarried women. Their primary interest was female sexuality, but this entailed adopting the current assumptions about male sexuality as a foil to women's sexuality. Derived from evolution and therefore valid, male sexual desire was the crucial impetus not to marriage itself but to romantic love. Unlike their moral-reforming counterparts, they saw the mother and child as the fundamental unit of society. The latter represented the continuation of the race, a future that the former gave shape. The further difference was their interpretation of female sexual desire within the delicate ballet of courtship. Derived from evolution and therefore imbued with an evolutionary function, female sexual desire prevented indiscriminate sexual pairing. Only sex graced by a woman's romantic affection could be trusted as evolutionarily fit. Therefore, young women should be given the freedom to choose among potential male partners. Furthermore, even in love and marriage male sexual desire would continue to be indiscriminate—men would continue to desire recreational sex and they would continue to pursue it if permitted. Recreational sex, especially with pleasure workers, threatened to introduce venereal disease into the conjugal home—harming the future of Japan. Therefore, the government should protect wives and children from this prospect by empowering women after marriage as well. It was this interpretation of the instinctual male sex drive in balance with the instinctual female desires for affection and motherhood that undergirded secular-feminists calls for social policies such as the venereal-disease legislation described above.

This dissertation has also shown that debate over "modern" medicalized regulation preceded the entrenchment of "modern" instinct theory. Although it might be intuitive that the notion of instinctual sexuality would be prerequisite for a debate over whether to use medicine to regulate prostitution, it in fact was not. Likewise, when the idea of innate desires appeared in these texts, how best to use them in the service of the brothel industry and regulation was not immediately clear. In their haphazard use of this new discourse, Takaki and Tomomatsu almost torpedoed their own argument.

At the most basic level, all of those who argued for or against regulation proposed institutional solutions to the problem of male sexuality—indeed the debate shows that everyone saw patriarchal institutions as the only viable means safely to incorporate male sexuality into society. They simply chose different institutions for this purpose. Regulationists chose the brothel to support male recreational sex. This did not mean that they rejected marriage, however. They saw the two as a natural pair. Abolitionists and secular feminists argued that only conjugal marriage would suffice, and indeed would operate best on its own.

The most important theme that this dissertation has developed is that at any one time, regulation's debaters operated on a shared understanding of the fundamental nature of male sexuality. In a snapshot of the debate in 1890 or 1910 what stands out are the points of disagreement between the two camps; but considered in its diachronic fullness, what stands out in the debate are what the two camps agreed on at each point in time. Indeed, without a shared understanding they could not have debated; an abolitionist from the late nineteenth century and a regulationist from the twentieth century would have had a hard time understanding each other, and therefore would have been hard put to refute each other's arguments.

The two camps' ability to agree on where desire came from and what excessive desire led to in any one decade created common ground for debates over such issues as marriage and women's suffrage, in addition to that over regulation itself. This was true even though the two sides disagreed on the precise role of desire in health. Both camps constructed and reconstructed their arguments in unison—creating a shared set of debate premises that persist to this day in support of social critiques of both "liberal" and "conservative" persuasions. And this common understanding of the relationship between lust, the institutions that created and shaped it, and the social policy that properly addressed its dangers, defined the scope of the debate from its earliest manifestations to its most recent.

Legacies: The Wartime Comfort-Woman System

At many points during the researching and writing of this project I have been asked about what my work reveals about Japan's wartime Comfort Woman system.[402] At first, the question

[402] Ever since it came to the public's attention in the 1990s, the so-called Comfort Woman Issue has been one of the most contentious issues in East Asian history, and is most likely the single most contentious issue in Japanese history. In the wake of former Comfort Women coming forward to press claims against the Japanese state, greatly assisted by the work of an international group of feminists that includes Koreans, Japanese, Americans, and beyond, a historiographical contest over the numbers of women, the conditions under which they were inducted into the system, the degree of brutality in the system, and even the existence of any coercion and maltreatment have been bitterly contested by the above parties, nationalist partisans on all sides, and government bodies in the nations involved. The issue has been particularly fraught with controversy in Korea, which on the one hand was the homeland of the largest portion of comfort women, and which on the other hand is the nation that has had the most contentious relationship with its former colonizer. The Japanese Supreme Court's decision to deny compensation to victims of the system, and the failure of the leadership of the Japanese legislature and executive to make anything more than the wanest of apologies on behalf of their predecessors has ensured that the issue receives continued attention.

seemed like a misidentification of the questions that my work sought to elucidate and the question seemed like a vexing impediment to my describing the project. After all, this research addresses a civilian rather than a military phenomenon, a domestic rather than a colonial one, one that involved paid indentures as opposed to one that almost without exception entailed unpaid servitude—not to mention the fact that one played out decades before the other came into existence.

Yet eventually an instructive and useful answer occurred to me: if the idea that all men were host to sexual instincts had never taken root, Japan's Comfort Woman system would not have come into being, and its particular crimes would not have been perpetrated.

In other words, those who established the Comfort Woman system did so because they understood their soldiers to have sexual "needs" born of embodied impulses—instincts. They furthermore thought that if left unfulfilled these impulses would destabilize their soldiery, damaging their military preparedness by leading to unruly, undisciplined sexual behavior. So rather than seeking to curtail soldiers' sexual behavior by encouraging their fighting men to take personal responsibility for their conduct, military leaders chose to provide female sexual objects as an imperial "gift."

While many have retroactively protested the system and proactively applied pressure to the Japanese government to compensate its victims by officially apologizing and making financial amends since the 1990s, few have questioned whether the military's decision that the system was necessary was *contingent* on historical developments in the understanding of male human nature.

This is in the context of scholarly examinations of the 1930s colonial, military system that construct the Comfort Woman system as a natural outgrowth of the domestic, civilian

system of licensed prostitution that took shape in the Meiji period. In fact, some scholars have drawn a straight line between the two systems. Some even include the early-modern system as well.[403] This takes the Comfort Woman system to be a natural, even an inevitable extension of civilian prostitution regulation—its logical conclusion. In part by drawing such connections between the domestic regulatory system and the military requisition system, such analyses construct the Comfort Women System as the synecdoche of all imperialism. The opening pages of Sarah Soh's recent work on the topic, for example, reveal her construction of the comfort woman system as a synecdoche of colonialism, capitalism, patriarchy, racism, and class inequality.[404] To this way of thinking, Japan's imposition of sexual servitude represents in a nutshell everything that is wrong with society. Such a rhetorical maneuver requires that one overlook the fact that *other* empires *did not* put such systems in place. But not everyone overlooks this fact. And the comfort woman system takes on impression of being so outside the norm that it is uninformative about that norm.

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[403] Kim, *Nihon josei aishi*. For a careful examination of historiography of the so-called "*karayuki-san*," Japanese prostitute women working overseas during the prewar period, cf. Bill Mihalopoulos's treatment of Yamazaki Tomoko's *Sandakan Brothel no. 8*, cf. Mihalopoulos, *Sex in Japan's Globalization, 1870-1930: Prostitutes, Emigration, and Nation Building*, pp. 5-7, 15-16; Yamazaki Tomoko, *Sandakan Brothel no. 8; an Episode in the History of Lower-Class Japanese Women*, trans. Karen Colligan-Taylor (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1999). Recent scholarly treatments of the Comfort Woman system have been measured, appreciating its complexity and with careful consideration of the unknowables to the extent possible. Moon, *Sex among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations*; Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, "Comfort Women: Beyond Litigious Femisism," [Monumenta Nipponica], vol. 58, no. 2 (Summer 2003).

[404] Soh, *The Comfort Women*, pp. 123, 126, 183-84.

Judging a previous regulatory regime guilty for the crimes of its supposed offspring is always dubious interpretation, because of its underlying teleological framework. Nonetheless, if we understand the specifics of the debate over regulation at the turn of the twentieth century, we can better interpret its legacies, such as how the understanding of male sexuality was instinctual, that came of age in the debate over civilian regulation informed the later creation of the Comfort Woman system. One did not inexorably create the other; but the former set some of the parameters of the latter.

Taking in the broader view of scholarship on the imbrication of (discursive constructions of) male sexuality in its relation to the state, we have Sabine Frühstück's *Colonizing Sex*, which traces the history of how the male sex drive was used to justify Japan's pronatalist, militarist, and antifeminist policy frameworks. But in so doing her work makes the male sex drive seem as much a natural fact of the material body as its tangible institutional outcomes. This characteristic holds true for Frühstück's analysis of everything from the enactment of military conscription for men to the denial of birth control to the easy approving of Viagra by the late-twentieth century government. By connecting the reality of the male sex drive to the reality of government policy, Frühstück's work reifies rather than calls into question the justification of patriarchal policies. Likewise, historiography that reconstructs soldier's supposed sexual "needs" as the justification for the "Comfort Woman" system as a bitterly-ironic euphemism attacks the branch rather than the root of the issue. It questions the *morality* of the system but leaves its underlying *premises* intact. In other words, this historiography casts soldiers' sexual needs as a genuine phenomenon that was serviced in an illegitimate way, rather than revealing that this construction of male sexuality was dubious to begin with.

By narrating the entrenchment of the idea that male bodies have an inherent desire for sex as it unfolded through social-policy debates in the decades around the turn of the twentieth century, this research can inform historiographies such as that of the Comfort Woman system. It holds the potential to help scholars understand the intellectual history of the imperial Japanese military's justification for establishing the system. The leaders of Japan's military would not have thought to force young women to attend to the sexual "needs" of its soldiers—their "need" for "comfort"—if they did not consider male bodies to be host to an instinctual sexual drive.

What this research has shown to be a stepwise development in the metaphors used to describe the effluent to be contained by the "cesspool," "public toilet," or other vessel. As new understandings of male sexuality replaced older ones, the cesspool, the public toilet, and the safety valve periodically exchanged referents. In medieval Europe the brothel was the cesspool to contain female lust; in nineteenth-century Europe and Japan the brothel was the cesspool sometimes to contain the prostitute woman herself and at other times to contain venereal disease; only in the twentieth century was the prostitute woman to become the designated container for the male sex drive. (In another metaphor, only in twentieth-century Japan did the male body itself become a container that built up steam that needed to be off-gassed by the safety valve. Thus the preferred description of the military comfort woman as a "public toilet" was only as born in the 1910s. In this light it represents a new rather than a timeless technology of patriarchal power.

Understanding the historical contingency of the discourse of the male sexual instincts reveals that it was not the inevitable outcome of Japan's military project, reconnecting the Comfort Woman system to the larger history of governmentalized sexual policies—transforming it from a phenomenon of unique, and therefore isolated, magnitude into one of extreme degree

but of broad relevance. Thus this research might be of especial interest to scholars who want to understand the historical backdrop of the Comfort Woman system. The choice of it is a crucial part of this story; this research offers an incentive to seek how and why "comfort"(*ian*) was chosen to stand in for sex, attributing gravity and historical contingency to the choice rather than mere on-the-nose irony. (It is interesting that "comfort woman" is, along with "ethnic cleansing," one of very few euphemisms for systematic oppression and violence to become accepted nomenclature.)

Feminism, the Male Gaze, and Male Sexual Desire

The best place to close this dissertation is to return to what inspired it: male-gaze theory. The initial question of this dissertation was that of when and how feminists adopted instinct-based theories of male sexuality as a policy tool. Therefore, this project terminates in 1920 because the idea of the male sexual drive had become entrenched by that period. Therefore, although my work does not directly engage with military discourse on the subject of the male sex drive as it pertained to soldiers' battle readiness, it does reveal the steps by which leaders came to think this way. Likewise, although this research does not illuminate the historical context in which Male Gaze theory itself came into being or the role it came to play in Japanese feminism, this research does demonstrate that the underlying concepts and rhetorical methods became integral to feminism in Japan in the early twentieth century.

So what new insights might arise from the deeper history of Male Gaze theory that this research provides? Laura Mulvey's turn toward psychoanalysis seemingly opened the possibility of ending the male gaze as an embodied practice. This is because, even in Freudian theories that place almost all their emphasis on patterns of mind that cannot be altered after infancy, a window of opportunity to shape a better man presumably opens every time another boy is born. If one

only knew how, one could imprint the child with patterns of mind that did not conduce to gendered objectification while his brain was still wet. Meanwhile, more optimistic psychoanalytic models hold that it is possible in theory to retrain the adult male brain even after it has all but completely dried. However, this is overridden by at least two factors. The first is the fact that the idea that male sexual desire is physiological, and therefore beyond the reach even of psychology, is the much-more-popular theory—even in feminist rhetoric. In this view, evolution through sexual selection is the only thing that can change male human nature and this shows no sign of being under way or of being amenable to a feminist eugenics. The second is that, even if accepted as possible, the psychological retraining of men on a culture-wide or even global scale is expected to require many lifetimes to achieve—in no small part due to the fact that a suitable technique has yet to be developed. Thus they are easily dismissed by the skeptical and they inspire little confidence even in the dedicated.

This dissertation demonstrates that throughout the long twentieth century, feminists were equally avid in deploying male sexuality as their regulationist counterparts were. The twentieth-century nation-state disciplined men to act as the combatants, entrepreneurs, bureaucrats, and ideologues of fascism and total war in part by constructing sexual desire as the fundamental driving force of the male psyche. But twentieth-century feminists too wanted the state to discipline male sexuality—so that men would participate in the home, allow women into public life, and protect the homeland.

Feminist and antifeminist deployments of male sexual desire are two sides of a coin. Thus, ironically, statist-feminist projects of discipline that rely on the idea that male sexual desire is a natural fact ineluctably revitalize the idea that male sexuality cannot be overcome or altered. No assertion that male sexual desire is psychological and therefore perhaps maybe someday

amenable to the undertaking of a multi-decade reformation can dislodge assertions that it is permanently beyond human reach. They are two valid conclusions from the same set of premises. What this can and, I would argue, continually does, is put antifeminists in the better strategic position. If the feminist program of reformulating male human nature through the interventions of a feminist state is Sisyphus pushing his rock up a hill, antifeminism is the slime that causes him to slip and fail to complete his task. More plainly stated, if feminists insist that male sexual desire is pervasive and deeply entrenched, they imply that a patriarchal state is equally if not better equipped to deal with it through policies of accommodation than a feminist one is by a retraining of male nature that is likely impossible to begin with.

Therefore, the destabilization of male sexual desire that this dissertation proposes is useful for feminists. The ideology of male sexual desire has done great things in feminist hands. But the war over male sexual desire has become entrenched, having devolved into a decades-long battle over the same scrap of territory with no end in sight (rape as war crime being an exception). But, if we understand the rise of male sexual desire to pride of place in the governmentality of sex as historically contingent on both a will to empower men over women *and* on a will to empower women with regard to men, then we have gained the means to question its continued utility as a tool for feminism. (Hopefully, the fact that the discourse of male sexual desire began as an antifeminist tactic might sour its flavor for feminists.) In other words, if we stop accepting the notion that male sexual desire is a transhistorical, *natural fact* from the primordial age and therefore a natural basis of social policy-making from St. Augustine's age on down to the present day, we can begin to see male sexual desire as a relatively-new, readily-dispensable *institutional fact* of social policy-making. Dissolving male sexual desire as a fact of politics from the feminist end could be the beginning of the end for the incumbency of male

sexual desire in the politics of sexuality. It would further liberate us to envision a new feminist politics that neither privileges male sexual desire as a fact of life nor encourages others to do so.

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