

Josefin Battorā fujin:
An Illusory Translation Linking Kajiko Yajima with Josephine Butler

『ジョセフィン・バットラー夫人』:
矢島楫子とジョセフィン・バットラーをつなぐ翻訳書

Noriko Tada[†]
多田 典子

Abstract This essay clarifies the ambiguous status of *Josefin Battorā fujin* (Mrs. Josephine Butler) (1913), a Japanese translation of *Josephine Butler: An Autobiographical Memoir* (1909), and sheds light on a crucial part of the life of Kajiko Yajima, the president of the Japan Women's Christian Temperance Union established in 1886, who led the campaign against the state-regulated prostitution system in modern Japan. The essay elucidates conditions surrounding the 1913 publication of *Josefin Battorā fujin* by identifying the likely translator and the intended readership. To do this, it examines articles in *Kakusei* of Kakusei-kai (Licensed District Reform Association) and *Fujin Shimpō* of the JWCTU; related individuals; a possible schedule for the publication; and the social background of 1911-14 Japan. Focusing on Maurice Gregory, a British abolitionist whom Butler's organization sent to Japan in October 1911 as a designated advisor for Kakusei-kai, provided following aspects; the publication had been planned and completed by men sympathetic to women's rights and dedicated to Yajima; the fact that Gregory saw similarities between Yajima and Butler could fortify Yajima's leadership. This essay draws overdue attention to *Josefin Battorā fujin* as a primary source that may offer new perspectives from which to consider Yajima and the Christian abolitionist campaign in modern Japan.

1. Introduction

In 1913, the book *Josefin Battorā fujin*¹⁾ (Mrs. Josephine Butler, hereafter *Battorā fujin*), a Japanese translation of *Josephine Butler: An Autobiographical Memoir* (1909)²⁾ (hereafter *Memoir*), was published under the name of Kajiko Yajima (1833-1925), the founder of the Japan Women's Christian Temperance Union (JWCTU). The book has been overlooked by researchers, and questions remain about whether Yajima actually did the translation, as well as about the identity of the readership for whom the 1913 translation was published. This essay will elucidate conditions surrounding the publication of *Josefin Battorā fujin* by identifying the likely translator and disambiguating the

intended readership. To do this, it will examine articles in *Kakusei* of Kakusei-kai (Licensed District Reform Association)³⁾ and *Fujin Shimpō* of the JWCTU; related individuals; a possible schedule for the publication; and the social background of 1911-14 Japan. In doing so, this essay intends to draw belated attention to *Battorā fujin* as a primary source that provides new perspectives from which to consider Yajima and the Christian abolitionist campaign in modern Japan.

2. About the book *Josefin Battorā fujin*

The book *Battorā fujin* is an abridged Japanese translation of *Memoir* whose publication was largely due to the efforts of Maurice Gregory (1859~?),⁴⁾ a leading member of the International Federation for the Abolition of the State Regulation of Prostitution

[†] 愛知工業大学 基礎教育センター 非常勤講師

(hereafter the Federation). *Memoir* is composed of passages from *Personal Reminiscence of a Great Crusade* (1896)⁵⁾ (hereafter *Great Crusade*) and official letters by Josephine Butler (1828-1906), the British leader of a campaign (1869-86) to repeal the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866 and 1869 (the CD Acts) at home and abroad. Yajima, one of the early leaders of the Christian campaign against the state-regulated prostitution system in Japan, promoted monogamy, the prohibition of sending Japanese prostitutes to work overseas, and temperance since the foundation of the JWCTU in 1886.

Although *Battorā fujin* links the names of the two prominent female abolitionists, Butler and Yajima, it appears that only Vera Mackie (2003)⁶⁾ and Sachiko Kaneko (1999)⁷⁾ even mention the title. One possible reason for its obscure status is the ambiguous nature of its intended readership, for neither advertisements nor announcements were placed in *Fujin Shimpō* and *Kakusei* when the book was published in December 1913. Further, its publication is not recorded in either of two books tracing the history of the JWCTU: *Gojūnenishi* (Fifty years of the JWCTU) (1936), edited by Azuma Moriya (1884-1975) who was a close associate of Yajima, and *Hyakunenshi* (1986), a JWCTU centennial history.⁸⁾ The absence of any mention of *Battorā fujin* in these publications strongly suggests that neither Kakusei-kai nor the JWCTU officially sponsored the publication; the book never circulated widely among JWCTU members. Even so, both the preface written by the former prime minister Shigenobu Ōkuma,⁹⁾ an advisor to Kakusei-kai from 1911 to 1916, and the acknowledgements done by Yajima, a vice president of Kakusei-kai, are indications that a wider circulation was initially anticipated. Another nebulous element is the identity of the translator of *Memoir*, as Yajima expresses appreciation to “Yamamoto” for the translation in the back matter of the book, but provides no further identification to confirm the translator’s identity.

The preface and acknowledgements do make clear, however, that the publication of *Battorā fujin* came about through the efforts of British social reformer Maurice Gregory who visited Japan from 9 October 1911 to 8 March 1912 as the representative of the British Committee of the Federation:

Fortunately, I had a meeting with Mr. Maurice Gregory, a prominent figure in Britain, when he visited Japan to support the campaign against the

state-regulated prostitution system. He was concerned about the Japanese campaign even after his returning home, and decided to publish the translation of the biographical memoir of Mrs. Butler. He asked his friend Rev. Gilbert Bowles¹⁰⁾ (1869-1960) to carry out the project. [...] I believe Mrs. Butler’s contribution will enlighten people in Japan. I strongly recommend the book to people in my country.¹¹⁾

... The book translated by the kindness of Mr. Gregory is very applicable to the present condition of Japan. I believe Mrs. Butler’s extraordinary work is impressive enough to awake our sleeping compatriots. I appreciate the effort of Mr. Bowles to publish the book and that of [Mr] Yamamoto to translate it.¹²⁾

Gregory made Bowles responsible for the publication of the Japanese translation of *Memoir*, which suggests that the project was very likely supported financially by the Society of Friends as both Gregory and Bowles were members. The organization entreated Butler in 1869 to become the leader of the campaign to repeal the CD Acts, and then supported her arduous campaign by forming the Friends Association for Abolishing Regulation of Vice in 1873.¹³⁾ This association published books written by Gregory and Butler.

3. Maurice Gregory and his activities with Kakusei-kai

Maurice Gregory was a leading member of the Alliance of Honour¹⁴⁾; he worked as the director of the British Committee of the Federation, and was the designated advisor for Kakusei-kai sent by the Federation to Japan. He probably brought *Josephine Butler: An Autobiographical Memoir* with him and introduced it to Kakusei-kai leaders.¹⁵⁾ When there were reports in Britain, the United States, and Australia about a great fire on 9 April 1911 in Yoshiwara, the largest licensed prostitution quarter in Tōkyō, the Federation asked Japanese abolitionist leaders whether or not it should send experienced staff to Japan to assist in the campaign against the quarter’s reconstruction. Then on 26 July that year, a tsunami destroyed the Susaki *yūkaku*, another licensed prostitution quarter in Tōkyō. The consecutive disasters stimulated the long-lasting albeit unsuccessful campaign against the state regulation of prostitution system in Japan.¹⁶⁾ Kakusei-kai, established on 8 July 1911 in response to the call for the reconstruction of Yoshiwara, decided to

accept the offer from the Federation.

During his five-month stay in Japan, Gregory toured with leaders of Kakusei-kai giving lectures and speeches at various public meetings nationwide. Yajima often presided at the meetings. Gumpei Yamamuro (Councilor from the Salvation Army) and Sakusaburō Uchigasaki (Director) frequently provided Japanese interpretation of Gregory's speeches.¹⁷⁾ Gregory also visited high-ranking government officials to make appeals for support of the campaign.¹⁸⁾ Gregory, patronized by Ōkuma, must have been an important guest for Kakusei-kai, as well as the Japanese government.¹⁹⁾ Therefore, Kakusei-kai likely initiated the project to publish *Battorā fujin* as the receiving organization.

During Gregory's stay, another conflagration occurred on 6 January 1912 and destroyed Namba-shinchi, a prostitution district in Ōsaka. Gregory, together with Yajima, Yamamuro and Moriya, rushed to Ōsaka to join Utako Hayashi (1864-1946), a powerful female general of the abolitionist campaign there,²⁰⁾ where they held large-scale public meetings²¹⁾ to appeal against the reconstruction of Namba-shinchi *yūkaku*.²²⁾ Having Gregory as a guest speaker, new branches of Kakusei-kai were founded in Ōsaka, Kyōto, Shizuoka and others. In his frequent meetings with Yajima, Gregory was impressed with her similarity to Butler. In addition to this comparison, Gregory made others between leaders of Kakusei-kai and their British counterparts: Diet member Saburō Shimada (President) was compared to Member of Parliament James Stansfeld; professors such as Isoo Abe and Uchigasaki were linked to Cambridge professor James Stuart. In a similar manner, Gregory also likened Tōkyō to London and Ōsaka to Manchester.²³⁾ It is clear that he was impressed with those male and female leaders who made him see an overlap between the campaign led by Kakusei-kai with that of the Federation in the 1870s-80s, and that this fueled his idea of publishing a Japanese translation of *Memoir*.

Gregory's speeches, which were published in *Kakusei*,²⁴⁾ cover the history of the CD Acts; the devastating effects of social immorality; and the process of abolitionists campaign in Britain and in Europe. He provided medical and hygiene statistics as evidence of the ineffectiveness of the CD Acts in the prevention of the epidemic of contagious diseases.²⁵⁾ He also introduced the projects of protection and guidance for young men and women conducted by the

Alliance of Honour. With the ardent acceptance of his lectures, Gregory seemingly convinced himself that the fragmentary speeches should be organized into a guidebook. Having played a leading role in publishing *Memoir* in 1909, it is not surprising that Gregory felt "his" book would be useful to Japanese counterparts.

4. A possible schedule for publication

A consideration of the possible schedule and skills required for the publication of *Battorā fujin* helps in identifying the "Yamamoto" acknowledged by Yajima as the Japanese translator. Firstly, the time allotted for collating *Memoir* with *Great Crusade*, one of *Memoire's* sources, and then translating and editing appears 7 months or less. Secondly, specific knowledge about Josephine Butler and her work, as well as extensive knowledge of British and European history, society, and the Bible was indispensable to finish the work within the limited time. Thirdly, editing skill was required to re-coordinate *Memoir* to make an impressive biography of a British woman activist for Japanese readers.

There is a span of 17 months between the start of the project, which began after Gregory returned to England around June 1912, and the translation's publication on 30 November 1913. When speculating about the span of the translation process, the date 27 January 1913 which follows is an indication of its finishing date. If so, then 7 months were spent on the translation, followed by 10 months for editing, printing and binding. The translation by "Yamamoto" is a 173-page abridgement of the 313-page political and religious memoir of Butler. Chapters devoted to Butler's campaigns seeking women's higher education and suffrage are omitted, while sympathetic episodes excerpted from *Crusade*, a source of *Memoir*, are added to the translation. That means "Yamamoto" must have been well informed of Butler's social reform works in order to be able to narrow down the description to her abolitionist campaign.

5. Hideteru Yamamoto²⁶⁾ and Sakusaburō Uchigasaki

Extrapolating from the hint in Yajima's acknowledgement, it is quite possible that Hideteru Yamamoto (1857-1943) is the translator of the Butler memoir. Officially, Yamamoto was a member of the

Yokohama Band,²⁷⁾ a pioneer missionary, pastor, professor at Meiji Gakuin,²⁸⁾ and a theologian who specialized in the history of Japanese Christianity. With his expertise, he was appointed chairman of Nihon kirisuto-kyōkai (Church of Christ in Japan) in October 1909, an indication that he was an acknowledged figure in Japanese Christian society at the incipient stage.²⁹⁾ Although Yamamoto was not a member of Kakusei-kai, his career and Christian network illustrate his proximity to Kakusei-kai leaders who could have turned to him for the translation. He also had a personal connection with Yajima: His second marriage in April 1910 was to Suta Kurimoto, a graduate of Joshi Gakuin (a girls' missionary high school) when Yajima was principal.³⁰⁾

According to Okabe, Yamamoto emphasized the importance of data and the position of “letting the data tells the history.”³¹⁾ Although the book *Battorā fujin* is basically the translation of *Memoir*, some parts are complemented by lines of official declarations and minutes newly drawn from *Great Crusade*, Butler's official report of the campaign; the lengthy minutes of meetings of the Ladies National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts³²⁾ and the Federation are often abbreviated in *Memoir*.

Yamamoto was a prolific ecclesiastical historian, beginning with a memoir of J. C. Hepburn (1815-1911) published in March 1912,³³⁾ then, developed it into the November publication of Hepburn's biography.³⁴⁾ In 1918, he published two volumes of *Nihon kirisutokyō-shi* (The history of Christianity in Japan), followed by many history books of Japanese Christianity and missionary schools.³⁵⁾ If Yamamoto is the translator of *Battorā fujin*, it likely afforded him an opportunity to establish his distinctive approach to data-oriented book writing. Between October 1911 and November 1912 Yamamoto devoted himself to finishing Hepburn's biography,³⁶⁾ while possibly working on *Battorā fujin*.

Among the Kakusei-kai members frequently attending to Gregory in Japan was Sakusaburō Uchigasaki (1877-1947),³⁷⁾ a professor at Waseda University, minister of the Tōkyō Unitarian Church, and later a politician. Although based on circumstantial evidence, it is possible that the 36-year-old junior scholar Uchigasaki supported the translation done by the 56-year-old Yamamoto by providing the materials or preliminary translation. Uchigasaki contributed an article “Josefin Battorā den” (A biography of Josephine Butler) to *Kakusei* (October 1912) and stated that he

had written it based on *Great Crusade*. The timing of the translation suggests his involvement, as well. At the end of 1910, shortly before Gregory's visit to Japan in October 1911, Uchigasaki returned from Britain after the completion of three years of study at Manchester College.³⁸⁾ He contributed five articles to *Kakusei* in 1912,³⁹⁾ which provided *Kakusei* readers with basic knowledge about British society and abolitionist campaigns, supplementing articles written by Gregory. He supported women's suffrage in his August article.⁴⁰⁾

Uchigasaki was also a prolific scholar in the fields of literature and philosophy. He published *Guōron* (a translation of *William Ewart Gladstone* by James Bryce) in October 1911, just two months before Gregory's visit, and followed with *Kindaijin no shinkō* (Faith for modern people), a 615-page book based on the thought of Henri Bergson, published on 30 June 1913. A third publication, the 140-page book *Roido Jōruji* (David Lloyd George) appeared on 5 December 1913, which is about the time *Battorā fujin* was published.

There were other Kakusei-kai members who had studied abroad and witnessed the women's rights movement outside Japan, and were sympathetic to it in general. For example, Jiroshichi Yutani, one of Kakusei-kai directors, stressed the necessity of more Japanese women's joining Kakusei-kai activities to confront women's problems.⁴¹⁾ These progressive members as well as Gregory undoubtedly expected Yajima to deliver decisive leadership like Butler in the anti-prostitution campaign, which was a potent reason why Yajima was named as the “author” of the book.

6. Readership and Yajima

The intended readership of *Battorā fujin* is obscure. Since the book was not featured in *Kakusei*, it would seem that the readership of *Battorā fujin* and *Kakusei* were not one and the same. In fact, the predominantly male readership of the latter were encouraged to read either of two collections of Gregory's speeches officially published by Kakusei-kai in 1912: a book of his transcripts in English⁴²⁾ and its Japanese translation.⁴³⁾ These were recommended as excellent guidebooks for the Kakusei-kai's campaign against the state-regulated prostitution system in “Guregorī-shi o okuru” (Farewell to Mr. M. Gregory), an article which appeared in the March 1912 *Kakusei*, and an advertisement for the latter appeared in *Kakusei*

on 15 December 1913, just after the publication of *Battorā fujin*.⁴⁴⁾ Consequently, it is evident that *Battorā fujin* was neither an official publication of Kakusei-kai nor a book promoted to its subscribers.

There was no direct promotion of *Battorā fujin* to the educated Christian women who were the primary audience of *Fujin Shimpō*, either. The absence of any advertisement suggests that they were not targeted as potential readers of the translation, either, despite the book bearing Yajima's name as the "author." Even if *Battorā fujin* was Gregory's privately funded publication, such an indifferent attitude of Kakusei-kai and the JWCTU appears incomprehensible. However, since there is no data on the number of books published, it is possible that circulation was limited by a small print run.

Yajima's reticence concerning the translation project also seems somewhat odd. For one thing, the extent of her participation in the project was likely very limited due to official preoccupations and personal troubles. Following a missionary meeting in August 1912, she found herself, at the age of 81, under pressure to retire from her position as principal of Joshi Gakuin.⁴⁵⁾ The date of publication of *Battorā fujin* coincides with the time of Yajima's retirement when she had to leave her official residence cum the JWCTU office on campus. Soon after she settled in the new office on 21 January, her adopted daughter Taeko Ukai died after giving birth to her seventh child. Yajima stayed with the bereaved for a month, comforting them.⁴⁶⁾

Although Yajima made few comments about the book, one nonetheless can speculate that she reinforced her determination to lead the campaign by acquiring Butler as her role model. Her description in the acknowledgement, "I believe Mrs. Butler's extraordinary work is impressive enough to awake our sleeping compatriots," implies that Yajima was convinced of her own mission. Actually, she soon afterwards adopted the press release as a new strategy of the campaign. The JWCTU at the annual meeting in April 1914 announced a resolution requesting the abolishment of the state regulated prostitution system in six years and prohibition of prostitutes' participation as entertainers at any official ceremonies,⁴⁷⁾ which inspired Ochimi Kubushiro (1882-1972),⁴⁸⁾ Yajima's successor, to join the campaign and raised heated arguments nationwide respectively. This announcement of the JWCTU's resolution in public was as significant

as that of the 1870 Women's Protest against the Contagious Diseases Acts released in the Dairy News that was the declaration of the anti CD Acts campaign led by Butler. The following period 1914-17 was the culmination of Yajima's leadership on the abolitionist campaign before Kubushiro succeeded to it. Yajima's leadership could have been empowered by *Battorā fujin* as well as Gregory's likening her to Butler.

Although Butler was presumably an important figure for Yajima, she may have refrained from advertising the publication of the Butler memoir in *Fujin Shimpō* partly because of the turbulent social conditions in 1913-14 Japan. Emotional attacks against the self-assertive *atarashii-onna* (the New Woman) provoked by Seitōsha flared nationwide, denouncing the New Woman's perceived deviation from the norm of "ideal womanhood." In a sweeping criticism against women seeking women's rights, some critics, even Ōkuma, denied women suffrage.⁴⁹⁾ Despite being an outstanding educationalist and social reformer, Yajima was classified as a defiant *atarashii-onna* by her nephew, novelist Kenjirō (Roka) Tokutomi (1868-1927), because of her strong will and defiant manner.⁵⁰⁾

In addition to the hostile outcry against the *atarashii-onna*, popular protests were frequently being held against the hardline cabinet of Tarō Katsura. Japanese militarism began to reassert itself in response to the heightened tension in Europe that led to World War I in 1914, while anti-Japanese sentiment, directed against Japanese immigrants, intensified in the United States. Under such frenzied circumstances where women's voices could hardly be heard, even a distinguished figure such as Josephine Butler could be identified with *atarashii-onna* whom Japanese public mocked and reproached. The backwardness of deep-rooted male chauvinism in Japan deferred the emancipation of women until the post-Pacific War period. In Britain, it took Butler 13 years to suspend the CD Acts, while in Japan almost half a century was consumed until the enactment of the 1956 Prostitution Prevention Law. Thus, a pragmatic Yajima⁵¹⁾ might have decided not to advertise *Battorā fujin* to avoid the risk of a backlash against the campaign. The publication of *Battorā fujin* was presumably conducted as a courtesy to Gregory, but its distribution was limited to the circle of Christian collaborators, including Yajima, for whom Gregory likely intended it. This means that the translation was a coterie

publication for a select readership, which also explains why there were no advertisements for the book.

7. Conclusion

This essay clarified the circumstances surrounding the 1913 publication of *Battorā fujin*, by focusing on the translator(s) as well as nebulous readership, which provide reasons for the absence of advertisements about the publication, and a point of contact between Yajima and Butler. In the process of examining articles in *Kakusei* and *Fujin Shimpō*, the interactions of Kakusei-kai leaders and Gregory during and after his stay in Japan were resolved; the publication of *Battorā fujin* had been planned and completed by men sympathetic to women's rights and dedicated to Yajima. The fact that Gregory saw similarities between Yajima and Butler may have served to fortify Yajima's decisive leadership. Further, Gregory connected Christian abolitionist campaign in Japan to that of the rest of the world. Clarifying the status of *Battorā fujin* thus sheds more light on a crucial part of Yajima's life. Future study will provide a more precise examination of the content of *Battorā fujin* and the nature of its influence on Yajima.

Notes

¹⁾ Yajima, Kajiko. *Josefin Battorā fujin* (Mrs. Josephine Butler), Keisei-sha shoten: Tōkyō, 1913, in Digital Library from the Meiji Era.

²⁾ Johnson, George W. & Lucy A. Johnson. eds., *Josephine Butler: An Autobiographical Memoir*, Arrowsmith: Bristol, 1909. The second edition was published in May 1911 with 313 pages.

³⁾ Kakusei-kai was established on 8 July 1911 to integrate Christian abolitionist groups and individuals, with Saburō Shimada as president, and Isoo Abe and Kajiko Yajima as vice-presidents. *Nihon kirisutokyō rekishi daijiten henshū iinkai*, p. 286.

⁴⁾ Gregory's correspondence with such prominent members of the Federation as H. J. Wilson indicates he was the organizer and manager of the project to publish Butler's 1909 autobiographical memoir. See the National Archives, "Josephine Butler letters correction" <http://apps.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/records.aspx?cat=106-3jbl_3&cid=-1#-1> on Aug./1/2014.

⁵⁾ Butler, Josephine E. *Personal Reminiscence of a Great Crusade*, Horace Marshall and Son: London, 1896. The second edition was published in 1898 and new editions were done in 1910 and 1911. Butler wrote

the book as an official record of the 1869-86 abolitionist campaign.

⁶⁾ Mackie, Vera. *Feminism in Modern Japan*, p. 30, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2003.

⁷⁾ Kaneko, Sachiko. *Kindai nihon josei-ron no keifu* (Genealogy of discussion about women in modern Japan), p. 80, Fuji shuppan: Tōkyō, 1999.

⁸⁾ Two history books of the JWCTU are as follows: Moriya, Azuma. ed., *Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai gojūnenishi* (Fifty years of the JWCTU), (facsimile edition), *Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai*: Tōkyō, 1936, in Kaneko, Kōichi. ed., *Shakai fukushi shisetsu-shi shiryō shūsei dai-ichi-ki: dai roku kan*, *Nihon tosho sentā*: Tōkyō, 2010; *Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai*. ed., *Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai hyakunenishi* (A hundred years of the JWCTU), Domesu shuppan: Tōkyō, 1986.

⁹⁾ He held the premiership twice, from June 1898-October 1898, and from April 1914-October 1916.

¹⁰⁾ A Friends Mission in Japan and director of Tokyo Friends Girls' School (1901-41). He was one of the prominent leaders of a peacekeeping organization, *Dainihon heiwa kyōkai* founded in 1906. His wife, Minnie Pickett Bowles (1868-1958), was a foreign member of the JWCTU. *Nihon kirisutokyō rekishi daijiten henshū iinkai*, p. 1294.

¹¹⁾ Yajima, pp. 1-3, Preface; excerpted and translated by Tada.

¹²⁾ Yajima, p. 174, Acknowledgements; excerpted and translated by Tada.

¹³⁾ Later in 1910, the organization was renamed the Friends Association for the Promotion of Social Purity. It published books and reports regarding the campaign including books written by Butler and Gregory. WorldCat Identities "Friends Association for the Promotion of Social Purity" <<http://worldcat.org/identities/viaf-305979934>>; "Gregory, Maurice" <<http://worldcat.org/identities/viaf-259359875>> on Aug./14/2015.

¹⁴⁾ A social purity organization founded in Britain in 1904.

¹⁵⁾ The second edition was published in May 1911, so Gregory could have brought it with him.

¹⁶⁾ Since the 1872 perfunctory ordinance of the emancipation of prostitutes, Christian activists had unsuccessfully challenged the state regulation of prostitution system.

¹⁷⁾ *Kakusei*, no. 1 (Jan, 1912), pp. 42-45; no. 3 (March, 1912), pp. 43-47.

¹⁸⁾ Among them were Vice Minister of Home Affairs, Director of the Peace Preservation Police Bureau, Director of Public Hygiene, and the Surgeon General Rintarō Mori, a well known novelist Ōgai Mori. *Kakusei*, no. 1 (Jan, 1912), pp. 43-44.

¹⁹⁾ In July 1911, three months before Gregory's arrival, Japan and Britain signed the third Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

20) *Fujin Shimpō*, no. 176 (Feb, 1912), pp. 54-59.

21) About 3500 citizens attended the public meeting held at Nakanoshima Public Hall on 20 January 1912. *Fujin Shimpō*, no. 177 (March, 1912), pp. 105-106; Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai, p. 296.

22) Once the reconstruction plan was repealed on 5 February 1912, though, in 1916, the construction of Tobita *yūkaku* started under the administration of the next governor as an alternative of Namba-shinchi *yūkaku*. This default made the JWCTU leaders convinced of the importance of women's suffrage. *Fujin Shimpō*, no. 176 (Feb, 1912), pp. 54-59; Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai, pp. 296-302.

23) *Kakusei*, no. 3 (March, 1912), "Ryūbetsu no ji" (a farewell address), pp. 5-7.

24) *Kakusei*, no. 6 (Dec, 1911), pp. 4-8; no. 1 (Jan, 1912), pp. 15-19; no. 2 (Feb, 1912), pp. 15-18.

25) Gregory had published three books on these issues from the Friends' Association for the Promotion of Social Purity before visiting Japan.

26) Yamamoto's life, career and works have been detailed in the following book: Okabe, Kazuoki. *Yamamoto Hideteru to sono jidai: dendō-sha kara kyōkai shika e* (Hideteru Yamamoto and the period he worked: from a missionary to ecclesiastical historian), Kyōbun-kan: Tōkyō, 2012.

27) A group of Christian pioneers taught by J. C. Hepburn (1815-1911), S. R. Brown (1810-80) and J. H. Ballagh (1832-1920), belonging to Nihon kirisuto kyōkai (Church of Christ in Japan), the first Protestant church in Japan. Okabe, p. 6.

28) Former Tōkyō icchi shingakkō (Tōkyō Union Theological School). Yamamoto graduated from it in 1882. The seminary was established in 1877 under the jurisdiction of Nihon kirisuto-kyō icchi kyōkai (The United Church of Christ in Japan. Among the first students to enter the school were Kajinosuke Ibuka, Masahisa Uemura, Tōru Miura, Sen Segawa, and Hideteru Yamamoto who later became leaders of Japanese Protestant churches. Nihon kirisutokyō rekishi daijiten henshū iinkai, pp. 920 & 1392; Okabe, pp. 282-283.

29) Okabe, pp. 182-183.

30) Okabe, pp. 184-186.

31) Okabe, p. 289.

32) It was established in 1869 when the third CD Act passed the Parliament to repeal them.

33) It was published in *Fukuin Shimpō* and *Shirokane*. The former is a Christian weekly firstly published in 1890 by Masahisa Uemura, one of the Yokohama Band members. The latter is the school periodical of Meiji Gakuin. Okabe, p. 194.

34) This was his first book, *Shin Nihon no onjin: Igaku hakushi Hōgaku hakushi Kun santō Hebon den* (James Curtis Hepburn: A Benefactor of the New Japan). Okabe, p. 220.

35) Okabe, pp. 217-218.

36) Yamamoto wrote *Hebon den* at a stroke with

materials at hand. Okabe, p. 219.

37) Nihon kirisutokyō rekishi daijiten henshū iinkai, p. 174.

38) A Unitarian College that became Harris Manchester College of Oxford in 1990.

39) The titles are "Shūkyō seisaku ni tsuite" (About religion-related policies) in January, "Shakai zakkan" (thoughts about society) in March, "Dōmei-koku no ōensha (An adviser from an allied country)" in April, "Shūkyō-sijō no josei" (women in the history of religions) in August, and "Josefin Battorā den" in October. In the article of August, Uchigasaki supports the cause of British women's suffrage movement and criticizes the male chauvinism in Japan.

40) Uchigasaki probably witnessed women's suffrage demonstrations organized by, for example, the NUWSS lead by Millicent Fawcett and the WSPU lead by the Pankhurst during 1908-1910 Britain.

41) *Kakusei*, no. p. 6, pp. 52-62.

42) Gregory, Maurice. *The European Movement for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice: Brief Summary of the Facts Used by Maurice Gregory in Very Numerous Interviews with the Japanese, in Newspaper Articles in the Japanese Press, and in Many Public Meetings in Japan, During the Winter of 1911-12*, Kyōbun-kan: Tōkyō, 1912.

43) Gregory, Maurice. *Ōshū shokoku shūgyō kōnin seido haishi undō* (The European movement for the abolition of state regulation of vice), Kakuseikai Hombu: Tōkyō, 1912.

44) The Japanese translation was strongly recommended twice, in 1912 and 1913.

45) *Fujin Shimpō*, no.196 (Oct, 1913), pp. 17-19.

46) Kubushiro, Ochimi. *Yajima Kajiko den* (The biography of Kajiko Yajima), pp. 259-261, Fujiya shobō: Tōkyō, 1935.

47) The enthronement ceremony of Emperor Taishō was held on 10 November 1915. Customary even at official ceremonial parties, geisha (hostesses trained to entertain men with conversation, dance and song) had served guests. The JWCTU requested to stop the practice. Nihon kirisutokyō fujin kyōfūkai, pp. 335-336; Moriya, pp. 22-23.

48) Yajima's grandniece. Impressed by the 1914 JWCTU resolution and recruited by Moriya, she took the position of secretary for the abolitionist campaign in 1916.

49) Ōkuma, Shigenobu. "Fukenzen naru fujin undō (Strained women's rights movements)", *Taiyō*, June 1913, in Iwami, Teruyo. ed., *Ansoroji atarashii onna-tachi*, pp. 198-208, Yamani shobō: Tōkyō, 2001.

50) Tokutomi, Kenjiro. *Takesaki Junko*, pp. 861-863, Fukunaga shoten: Tōkyō, 1923.

51) An episode delineates Yajima's pragmatic way of thinking. When she was decorated with the Sixth Order of Merit, people teased her pointing out the contradiction between the principle, being the president of JWCT (temperance) U and the reality, receiving a gold sake cup as a memento. She answered implying

that the decoration was one thing and the memento was another. Moriya, pp. 27-28.

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