

## Introduction: “Marriage... in the Japanese Way”

On February 24, 1854, as Commodore Matthew Perry’s negotiations to open Japanese ports to American ships dragged on, a young lieutenant assigned to the USS *Macedonian* noted in his diary:<sup>1</sup>

The Lieut. Gov. of Uraga told some of our officers, of course through interpreters, that when the Treaty was signed we could have plenty of Japanese wives, but said their women did not like mustachios, and hoped when the officers came to see them they would shave them off.

The promise of “wives” for officers involved a form of sexual relationship that soon became known as “temporary,” “treaty-port,” or “Japanese” marriage, the complexities of which Japanese officials would soon struggle to regulate and Westerners to explicate. The Treaty of Kanagawa, signed on March 31, established diplomatic relations and provided access to coaling ports for American steamships, along with protection for stranded sailors, but did not make intimacy quite as easy as shaving. Nonetheless, Townsend Harris, the first American consul-general, and translator Henry Heusken soon acquired mistresses, as did British diplomats Dr. William Willis and Ernst Satow, among other consular officials.<sup>2</sup> In 1858, the “Treaty of Amity and Commerce” with the Tokugawa Shogunate established treaty ports at Yokohama, Nagasaki, and Hakodate, giving American citizens more general rights to reside, trade, purchase real estate, and “employ Japanese as servants *or in any other capacity* [my emphasis].”<sup>3</sup> Other Western nations quickly entered into similar agreements.

<sup>1</sup> George Henry Preble, *The Opening of Japan: A Diary of Discovery in the Far East, 1853–1856*, edited by Boleslaw Szczesniak (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 125–26.

<sup>2</sup> See Gary P. Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy in Japan: Western Men and Japanese Women, 1543–1900* (London and New York: Continuum, 2003), 146–49; Yoko Kawaguchi, *Butterfly’s Sisters: The Geisha in Western Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 123–24. Diplomatic staff in Edo also took mistresses under the guise of servants. Simon Partner, *The Merchant’s Tale: Yokohama and the Transformation of Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), 15.

<sup>3</sup> Yunesuko Higashi Ajia Bunka Kenkyū Sentā (UNESCO Center for East Asian Cultural Studies), *The Meiji Japan through Contemporary Sources: Basic Documents 1854–1889* (Tokyo, 1969), 1:30.

Even before their official opening on July 1, 1859, treaty ports experienced a dramatic influx of merchants, missionaries, and naval officers stationed there or awaiting repairs of their ships.<sup>4</sup> As the only port after the closing of the country in the 1630s that had remained open to intercourse with foreign Chinese and Dutch traders on the island of Dejima, Nagasaki was well prepared to cater to the desires of the merchants and naval officers. Contemporary observers provide differing views about contractual sexual relationships in Nagasaki. Johannes L. C. Pompe van Meerdervoort, a young Dutch naval surgeon stationed on Dejima from 1857 to 1862, recorded his impressions at length from a physician's perspective, sympathetically drawing attention to the nexus of poverty, filial piety, and social acceptability underlying the practice of parents indenturing young daughters to brothels.<sup>5</sup> The first acting British Consul in Nagasaki, C. Pemberton Hodgson, alluding to "certain houses, built and furnished at Government expense," warned that they were "not the *tea-houses* we read of [...] but houses of ill-fame," summarizing the reasons for their existence with Victorian rectitude.<sup>6</sup> Henry Arthur Tilley, a British translator aboard the Russian corvette *Rynda*, reported that even before the official opening date, many Russian officers "had formed liaisons with some pretty Japanese women, and had their own ménage in town."<sup>7</sup> A tour of the city revealed how rapidly the pleasure quarter of Maruyama adapted to the change:<sup>8</sup>

The tea houses are situated in the upper part of the town, and confined to one or two streets. Some few are placed in gardens, laid out in Japanese style, with rocks, pools of water, mountains in miniature, dwarf cedars, and large shrubs of *Camel[ia] Japonica*. [...] The second story is generally reserved for the better sort of visitors, and lately, since the buildings have been opened to Europeans, for their use.

<sup>4</sup> See James E. Hoare, *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements: The Uninvited Guests 1858–1899* (Folkestone, Kent: Japan Library, 1994), 23–24.

<sup>5</sup> J. L. C. Pompe van Meerdervoort, *Doctor on Desima: Selected Chapters from J. L. C. Pompe van Meerdervoort's "Vijf Jaren in Japan" (1857–1863)*, translated and annotated by Elizabeth P. Wittermans and John Z. Bowers (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1970), 112–16. On the prehistory, see Amy Stanley, *Selling Women: Prostitution, Markets, and the Household in Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), and Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy*, 100–25.

<sup>6</sup> C. Pemberton Hodgson, *A Residence at Nagasaki and Hakodate in 1859–60. With an Account of Japan Generally* (London: R. Bentley, 1861), 237–38. Hodgson notes a consul's blocking an intended "mock ceremony" of marriage (250–51) – a precedent for Sharpless's warning about Pinkerton's "pseudo-wedding" (*Fonti*, 217).

<sup>7</sup> Henry Arthur Tilley, *Japan, the Amoor, and the Pacific: With Notices of Other Places Comprised in a Voyage of Circumnavigation in the Russian Corvette "Rynda" in 1858–60* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1861), 60.

<sup>8</sup> Tilley, 66–67.

In addition to substituting the euphemism “tea house” for brothel (easily confused with a regular tea house, and sometimes indistinguishable from it),<sup>9</sup> Tilley corroborates the basic elements of van Meerdervoort’s analysis and Hodgson’s judgment from a more touristic point of view:

These girls are simple, modest in their demeanor, and would, if they could, be honest and faithful to one. They must not be judged by the same standard and measure as the fallen ones in European lands: it is their misfortune, not their fault. Received when children of tender age into these houses, they are carefully and even kindly brought up: care is bestowed on their education; they are taught to sing, to play the mandoline [shamisen], to embroider, and so forth; but their fate must be accomplished. Arrived at a nubile age, and often before, they are given over to some satyr of a Japanese, and henceforth they form part of the establishment. [...] When their time of servitude is accomplished they are free. Many are fortunate enough to be chosen as wives by Japanese during their stay in the establishment.

Similar details will eventually underlie Cho-Cho-san’s biography in John Luther Long’s “Madame Butterfly” and Puccini’s eponymous opera: a girl who would be “faithful,” indentured by impoverished relatives, trained to sing and play a shamisen (like a geisha), hired out when nubile (as Sharpless exclaims: “fifteen years old!”<sup>10</sup>) to a temporary “husband” (Pinkerton, for “only 100 yen”<sup>11</sup>), and could enter a real marriage with someone else after the relationship had been terminated (Yamadori).

The increasing demand for temporary partners by naval officers and foreign merchants strained the brothel system and the regulation of its women. In Yokohama, they were hired out on a monthly basis to clients’ residences in the foreign concession.<sup>12</sup> Although the government officially prohibited such relationships between foreigners and nonprostitutes, freelance recruitment of young girls also flourished, with intermittent attempts at control that confirm its presence.<sup>13</sup> An anonymous directory of residences

<sup>9</sup> Brian Burke-Gaffney suggests that the term originates in a linguistic homology: the names of the brothels in Maruyama all “end with the ideograph *ya*, meaning ‘house’ or ‘shop.’ But brothels in some other parts of Japan used the suffix *chaya*, meaning ‘tea-house,’ and this may be the origin of the use of the word as a synonym for brothel.” *Starcrossed: A Biography of Madame Butterfly* (Norwalk, CT: Eastbridge, 2004), 28 and 206–7.

<sup>10</sup> “Quindici anni!” *Fonti*, 215.

<sup>11</sup> “sol cento yen,” according to Goro, *Fonti*, 207; confirmed by Butterfly, “per me spendeste cento yen” (deleted in 1906), *Fonti*, 226.

<sup>12</sup> Kawaguchi, *Butterfly’s Sisters* (n. 2), 125.

<sup>13</sup> See Francis Hall, *Japan through American Eyes: The Journal of Francis Hall, Kanagawa and Yokohama, 1859–1866: From the Cleveland Public Library, John G. White Collection of Orientalia*, edited by F. G. Notehelfer (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 72–73, 153, 340, 362. A similar situation obtained in Nagasaki: Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy* (n. 2), 150–51.

in the foreign concession ca. 1862 purveyed information to Japanese readers about the inhabitants, listing by name 79 heads of household, 79 servants, 52 grooms – and 30 young women (*musume*).<sup>14</sup> A slightly later – and already censored<sup>15</sup> – edition lists 110 residences but mentions only heads of household. Its illustrations feature normal activities of foreigners and their families, but one image still depicts a bewhiskered merchant eyeing a potential consort in a brothel.<sup>16</sup>

In Nagasaki's Inasa quarter, there was a large Russian presence well before the treaty port officially opened for commerce.<sup>17</sup> Officers immediately began renting houses for themselves and temporary spouses or *rashamen*,<sup>18</sup> which – since they resided outside the foreign concession – required permission from local government officials.<sup>19</sup> Increasing demand from citizens of other European nations soon spread cohabitation beyond Deshima and Inasa to other quarters of the city, including the foreign concession in Oura. In 1872, the Meiji government (under international pressure from scandals involving indenture and slavery on the ship *Maria Luz* in Yokohama)<sup>20</sup> issued an “Emancipation Edict for Female Performers and Prostitutes,” which freed prostitutes from bondage and nullified their debts to brothel-keepers.<sup>21</sup> Far from abolishing the practice, however, the edict enabled a modified system in which the brothels became “rental parlors” employing sex workers outside the former system of indenture. The government endorsed the new system by putting local police “in charge of issuing licenses to individual women who, of their own ‘free will,’ had declared their intention to work as prostitutes” in designated areas.<sup>22</sup>

Occupying a transcultural grey area overlapping prostitution, concubinage, and morganatic liaison, “Japanese marriage” in the treaty ports was

<sup>14</sup> Harold S. Williams, *Foreigners in Mikadoland* (Tokyo and Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1963), 108–9.

<sup>15</sup> Possibly in response to local resentment. See Kawaguchi, *Butterfly's Sisters* (n. 2), 25–26.

<sup>16</sup> Kikuen Rōjin, *Yokohama kidan: minato no hana* (Strange tales of Yokohama: Flowers of the port city) ([Japan]: Kinkōdō, 1864?), 3v–4r. See image 6 in <https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:11761571>

<sup>17</sup> The standard Japanese works are Motoyama Keisen, *Nagasaki hanamachi hen* (The pleasure districts of Nagasaki) (Tōkyō: Shunyōdō, 1927), and *Nagasaki Maruyama-banashi* (The story of the Maruyama district of Nagasaki) (Tōkyō: Sakamoto Shoten, 1926).

<sup>18</sup> On the term, see Burke-Gaffney, *Starcrossed* (n. 9), 31–32, and Partner, *The Merchant's Tale* (n. 2), 60.

<sup>19</sup> Burke-Gaffney reproduces a letter of notification/intent from a Russian officer (37).

<sup>20</sup> Daniel V. Botsman, “Freedom without Slavery? ‘Coolies,’ Prostitutes, and Outcasts in Meiji Japan’s ‘Emancipation Moment,’” *The American Historical Review*, 116, no. 5 (2011): 1342.

<sup>21</sup> Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy* (n. 2), 196–97.

<sup>22</sup> Botsman, 1343; see also Burke-Gaffney, *Starcrossed*, 134–37.

often called “term marriage” or “marriage-by-the-month”: a relationship of specified or renewable duration entered into by contractual agreement of both parties. In Yokohama, negotiations could be made with an official at the customs house; in Nagasaki it was done with the help of an intermediary. The interchangeability of procedures is expressed by a series of etymological transformations: the *Gankiro*, or prostitute quarter for foreigners established in Yokohama in 1862,<sup>23</sup> was known by a variety of Western bowdlerizations, such as the *Kangaroo*, which provided the name for Pierre Loti’s matchmaker in Nagasaki, M. *Kangourou*, who in turn furnished the model for Long’s and Puccini’s *Goro*.<sup>24</sup> The terminology of treaty port contracts also emphasizes the relationship’s temporal nature. According to the acting first British Consul in Nagasaki:<sup>25</sup>

Any of these women, and, I believe, nearly any woman in Japan [!], may be bought *for a time* by a foreigner, certainly by a Japanese noble; but the purchase has to be duly registered, the money paid down, and all the conditions formally and legally recognized; and at the expiration of the convention, the party has to be handed over, with any alterations or additions, to the primitive owner.

The contracts themselves are notable for an emphasis on the renewability of both the rent and the relationship on a monthly basis:<sup>26</sup>

Rent for the above-mentioned location will be set at 20 ryō in gold per month. We guarantee that the rules will be obeyed in this transaction, and in the return of the prostitute. While [her term of service] is limited to one month, at the end of that month, following negotiations, [the term] may be extended.

Puccini’s librettists Luigi Illica and Giuseppe Giacosa would also appropriate this terminology in their unsympathetic hero’s reference to the wedding party as his new relations, borrowed by the month (“tolta in prestito, a mesata”). Pinkerton’s introductory aria “Dovunque al mondo” discusses his marriage in the Japanese way (“all’uso giapponese”) as

<sup>23</sup> See Partner, *The Merchant’s Tale* (n. 2), 58–63; Leupp (n. 2), 151–52; Kawaguchi, *Butterfly’s Sisters* (n. 2), 18–22. For illustrations, see Julia Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions of a New Civilization* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1986), 32–39.

<sup>24</sup> See Elinor Barnes and James A. Barnes, eds., *The Diary of Dr. Samuel Pellman Boyer*, 2 vols. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1963), 2:30; on *Kangourou*, see Suetoshi Funaoka, *Pierre Loti et l’Extrême-Orient – Du Journal à l’œuvre* (Tokyo: Librairie-Éditions France-Tosho, 1988), 12.

<sup>25</sup> Hodgson, *A Residence at Nagasaki* (n. 6), 240.

<sup>26</sup> Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy* (n. 2), 154–55.

a relationship from which he is free to release himself every month (“salvo a prosciogliermi ogni mese”).<sup>27</sup>

Western bureaucracies scrambled to understand this system of contractual intimacy, largely because of concerns about the prevalence of venereal disease and its impact on military and diplomatic personnel.<sup>28</sup> Russian naval doctors’ insistence on examinations for syphilis led to the establishment of a separate brothel for sailors in the district of Inasa shortly after the opening of Nagasaki. Around 1865, the US Navy commissioned an investigation into the conditions awaiting its personnel in treaty ports, even taking photographs of brothels in the Maruyama pleasure quarter.<sup>29</sup> At the request of the British Foreign Office in 1867, Dr. William Willis compiled a report about the practice of prostitution. In addition to confirming basic elements of “temporary marriage,” he also furnished details about the current market:<sup>30</sup>

At one time the license for keeping a prostitute as a mistress at Yokohama reached 24 bu or about 32s.-d [£1.60p] a month. This sum was paid to the brothel authorities of the place. The entire amount paid for a month’s service by a foreigner at Yokohama amounted from twenty-five to thirty dollars a month. The established charge is higher at Yokohama than at Nagasaki. It is computed that there are about one thousand prostitutes at Yokohama, of which number between two and three hundred are employed as mistresses of foreigners, with an average wage, at the present time, of fifteen to twenty dollars a month each.

Personal accounts from Westerners involved in the system, of course, are rare. Dr. Samuel Pellman Boyer, a naval surgeon who treated the “wives” of fellow officers, described the “custom of the country” in his diary shortly after arriving in Japan. His generalization suggests that the practice of “marriage by the month” included freelance enterprise outside the brothel system well before the emancipation proclamation of 1872:<sup>31</sup>

A young lady when she arrives at the age of puberty is taken by her mother in charge, who hunts up a companion for her. Let us suppose a case. I am a young bachelor doing business in the place and wish a “moosmie,” as the young ladies are called. All I need do is to call on this young lady and hand her \$4, with which she

<sup>27</sup> *Fonti*, 216 and 207.

<sup>28</sup> Mark Harrison, “Health, Sovereignty and Imperialism: The Royal Navy and Infectious Disease in Japan’s Treaty Ports,” *Social Science Diliman* 14, no. 2 (2018), 51–55.

<sup>29</sup> Burke-Gaffney reproduces a photograph, *Starcrossed* (n. 9), 27.

<sup>30</sup> Hugh Cortazzi, *Dr Willis in Japan (1862–1877): British Medical Pioneer* (London and Dover, NH: Athlone Press, 1985), 142–43. Willis himself had a Japanese mistress and acknowledged his children. Hoare, *Japan’s Treaty Ports* (n. 4), 23.

<sup>31</sup> Barnes and Barnes, eds., *Diary of Dr. Samuel Pellman Boyer*, 2:30 (April 7, 1868).

buys a license from the Japanese custom house which entitles her to be my mistress for one month and a daily bath in the public bathhouse. I now have the right to have connection with the young lady. If she suits me, I tell her I will be her master. I then pay her from \$15 to 25 per month, and hire a room and servant for her, which costs \$10 per month. Thus, at an expense of \$39 dollars I can enjoy all the comforts of a married man. “Will she be true to me?” some might say. As a general thing they are true as long as you treat them decently. “Why don’t they allow everyone that offers them money to have connection with them since they only do it for the money?” I hire her by the month. She is certain of \$25 a month and a servant at her command, running no risk of becoming diseased so long as she is true. Thus, ere long she can raise enough money to get married with.

“Husbands” in temporary marriages rarely publicized their experiences because of societal disapproval in their home countries.<sup>32</sup> One notable exception, Grand Duke Aleksandr Mikhaïlovich of Russia, recounts how rapidly information about the practice circulated among naval officers. As a recently graduated midshipman, he was posted to the *Rynda* in 1886:<sup>33</sup>

The officers of the Russian clipper *Vestnik* came to visit us the moment we touched Nagasaki, bringing thrilling tales of the two years spent by them in Japan. Nearly all of them had Japanese “wives.” No ceremony of marriage had been performed, but they lived with their native consorts in the miniature houses bearing the appearance of toyland because of small gardens full of dwarf trees, tiny streams, cardboard bridges and Lilliputian flowers.

The description of his own “marriage” revels in the way young officers “played house”:

Now I had a home. A “pied-à-terre” in the full meaning of the word. The captain of the *Rynda* saw to it that we did not get “too soft” and made us work till six o’clock each day, but half past six found me in my Inasa residence, with a tiny creature seated at the dinner-table. The cheerfulness of her character was amazing. Never a frown, never dissatisfied, never irritated. I liked to see her dressed in kimonos of different colors and used to bring her yards and yards of silks. [...] I encouraged her passion for entertaining our friends because I could never get tired of admiring the serious dignity with which that doll received her guests and led them into the dining room. On holidays we hired a rickshaw and went to inspect the rice plantations and the temples, finishing our evening in a Japanese restaurant where a great deal of respect was invariably shown her. (106)

<sup>32</sup> Participants “almost never” referred to their relationships, “even in their diaries and personal papers.” Partner, *The Merchant’s Tale* (n. 2), 90.

<sup>33</sup> Aleksandr Mikhailovich, *Once a Grand Duke* (New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corp., Farrar & Reinhart, 1932), 103–05.

This reminiscence channels a widespread sexual fantasy about the Orient.<sup>34</sup> Grand Duke Aleksandr's plaisance of "miniature houses, small gardens full of dwarf trees, tiny streams, cardboard bridges and Lilliputian flowers" resembles Arthur Tilley's teahouse "gardens, laid out in Japanese style, with rocks, pools of water, mountains in miniature, dwarf cedars, and large shrubs of *Camellia Japonica*," and – as we will see – Rudyard Kipling's "cabinet-work house on a camphor-scented hillside" and Pierre Loti's "little house buried among flowers."<sup>35</sup> Pinkerton's realization of his guilt in "Addio fiorito asil," the *romanza* added for the second performance of *Madama Butterfly* in Brescia, will mark an anguished farewell to such orientalizing fantasies.<sup>36</sup>

The pervasive diminutives in these descriptions not only convey a typical Western response to Japanese space, but also "belittle" and thereby domesticate the exotic, making it intimate and inoffensive. The process also transforms the *rashamen* or "wife" into an object – the Grand Duke's "tiny creature" or "doll." In John Luther Long's climactic meeting between Pinkerton's real wife and Cho-Cho-san, Kate addresses the heroine as "you pretty – *plaything!*"<sup>37</sup> Luigi Illica's libretto draft will use the same terminology.<sup>38</sup>

Inasmuch as Grand Duke Aleksandr's self-indulgent memoirs fill two volumes, including rosy reminiscences of other treaty-port liaisons, it comes as no surprise that he makes a point of ridiculing Puccini's opera:

The heartbreak of *Madame Butterfly* brought a gale of laughter in the Empire of the Rising Sun because none of the wearers of the flowered kimonos were silly enough to expect to remain forever with their foreign "husbands." The usual "marital contract" called for a period of from one to three years, depending on the length of the stay of a cruising man-of-war in the harbor of Nagasaki. At the end of that time another officer came along, or if the first one was sufficiently generous, the "wife" saved enough money to obtain a place in the community.

However, not all temporary wives in his Nagasaki were so fortunate or eager to remarry. Another young Russian officer was involved in what would later be called a real-life "Madame Butterfly" tragedy.<sup>39</sup> Ensign

<sup>34</sup> See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 206–8 for a perspective limited mostly to the Near East.

<sup>35</sup> *Madame Chrysanthème*, translated by Laura Ensor (Manchester and New York: Routledge, 1897), 286.

<sup>36</sup> See Steven Huebner, "'Addio fiorito asil': The Evanescent Exotic," in *Orientalismo*, 83–128, esp. 123–28.

<sup>37</sup> Long, 80; on the "incontro delle donne," see pp. 113–15. <sup>38</sup> Illica, 188.

<sup>39</sup> Vitaly Guzanov, "Madame Butterfly: A Russian Version," *Far Eastern Affairs* (Moscow) 3 (1992): 83–95. The episode appears to be the basis of Valentin Pikul's *Tri Vozrasta Okini-San: Sentimental'nyi Roman* (Moscow: Sovremennik, 1985).

Vladimir Mendeleev, son of the creator of the periodic table of the elements, was posted to Nagasaki in 1892. After entering a temporary marriage with a girl named Taka-san, he departed in 1894. After receiving a letter from Mendeleev, she wrote to inform him of the birth of their daughter, but the letter never reached him. For years afterward, she met incoming ships at the Russian docks hoping in vain for his return, sustained by the charity of fellow officers, none of them knowing that he had resigned his commission and died of pneumonia.

The Grand Duke's fantasy of playing house also ignores the reality of biracial children resulting from such liaisons – a significant social problem in an era of pervasive racism. Clara Whitney, who moved to Japan with her family in 1875 and became involved in missionary activities, observed shortly after her arrival:<sup>40</sup>

Young men here are wicked and depraved and insult the gentle Japanese as often as they can. Merchants – married men – keep native women in their houses as wives without marriage. Sailors are even worse still, and it is pitiful to see the poor little half-caste children running around uncared for, as the Japanese regard them as unclean and their fathers don't care.

By the 1890s, the practice seemed nearly universal among single merchants, making the presence of Eurasian offspring more noticeable:<sup>41</sup>

What would be regarded decidedly wrong at home looks right enough in Asia. [...] Every foreigner engaged in commercial pursuits, is expected, if he has no family at home, to take a Japanese wife. [...] But supposing the merchant retires from business? Then he "divorces" his wife, provides for her future and that of her children, if she has any; and sails away to European respectability. Sometimes he departs without making any provision for his offspring, and leaving their mother to poverty. Still, as the relation, in Japanese eyes, is a sort of wedlock, her reputation is in no way injured, nor her chances diminished of making another marriage.

In cases of "divorce" by abandonment, the problem of mixed-race children became acute, in part because the 1873 law legalizing mixed-race marriages assigned them the father's nationality and denied Japanese citizenship.<sup>42</sup> John Luther Long's name "Trouble" for Butterfly's son seems prescient

<sup>40</sup> *Clara's Diary: An American Girl in Meiji Japan*, edited by M. William Steele and Tamiko Ichimata (Tokyo, New York, San Francisco: Kodansha International, 1979), 38 (September 24, 1875).

<sup>41</sup> [Dr.] Albert Tracy Leffingwell, *Rambles through Japan without a Guide* (London: Low, Marston, 1892), 8–9.

<sup>42</sup> Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy* (n. 2), 196–97, 204–11. Goro alludes to the problem in the first version of the libretto, *Fonti*, 266.

indeed, and the problem of his biracial heritage will feature prominently in Puccini's opera and a 1953 Takarazuka musical featuring him as its hero (see Chapter 6).

Victorian propriety ensured that Eurasian orphans never became a widely discussed public issue in the West. Missionary publicity emphasized efforts at evangelizing, establishing hospitals, and founding schools for socially prominent students who would lead the westernization of a Christian Japan – tangible signs of success in the never-ending process of fundraising.<sup>43</sup> Missionary women and wives, however, were also active on less publicized fronts, and – with a growing reform movement against prostitution in the late 1880s – established rescue homes, orphanages, and day schools for Eurasian children.<sup>44</sup> In the next chapter, we will encounter a Methodist Episcopal missionary wife engaged in social outreach – Jennie Correll, the sister of John Luther Long.<sup>45</sup>

Although few Westerners had firsthand familiarity with treaty-port liaisons, knowledge of “Japanese marriage” was widespread. The most detailed and profusely illustrated Italian book on Japan at the *fin-de-siècle* explained that it could be brief on this delicate subject:<sup>46</sup>

It will not be necessary to discuss temporary marriages, which are so often arranged between European men and Japanese women: it is something that is far too well-known. I will only say that these matrimonyes have a justification for their existence in a country where marriages and divorces take place with exceptional speed, and where – as we have seen – the basis for marriage is completely different from the principles and the ideas held in Europe and America.

Two telling examples suggest how writers could evoke the subject merely through innuendo. Rudyard Kipling exploits the ambiguity of a Nagasaki “tea-house” encounter with a girl named O-Toyo, extrapolating from the

<sup>43</sup> Ronald D. Klein, *Japan as Western Women Saw It: A Bibliographic Companion* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 57–58, 66–67, 78–80, 99, 115–16, 139.

<sup>44</sup> See Mara Patessio, “Western Women Missionaries and Their Japanese Female Charges,” *Women and Public Life in Early Meiji Japan: The Development of the Feminist Movement* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies, 2011), 71–105. On Methodist Episcopal women, in particular, Patricia Hill, “Heathen Women’s Friends: The Role of Methodist Episcopal Women in the Women’s Foreign Mission Movement, 1869–1915,” *Methodist History* 19, no. 3 (1981): 151–53; on their work in Nagasaki, Frances J. Baker, *The Story of the Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1869–1895*, rev. ed. (Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings, 1898), 329–32.

<sup>45</sup> The Methodist Episcopal girls’ school in Nagasaki (Kwassui Jogakkō), for example, enrolled a large proportion of students on scholarship or entirely supported. Patessio, “Western Women Missionaries,” 79–80.

<sup>46</sup> Giovanni De Riseis, *Il Giappone moderno* (Milan: Treves, 1896), 520–21.