



MUSIC AND THE MAKING OF
MODERN JAPAN
JOINING THE GLOBAL CONCERT
MARGARET MEHL





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11. The World in Sendai

Nevertheless, it is really thanks to her [Kate Hansen] that we can savour such complex harmonies even here in the back and beyond of Tohoku. If it were not for her, this gathering would probably have amounted to nothing.¹

Sendai is an extraordinary place; a place where really serious concerts are held.²

Before recorded music became widely available, music could only be heard through live performances, and concerts represented an important vehicle for disseminating Western music, as well as certain indigenous genres. But the public concert, a modern institution imported from the West, did more than that. We might look upon it as a ‘creative space’ where the people of Sendai encountered the wider world.³ While the literal space of the concert is a confined venue, the ‘creative space’ has no fixed boundaries. Within it, at a particular historical moment, people and their ideas interact, and all sides of the encounter are affected, with unpredictable outcomes. The character of the interactions is not necessarily defined by a particular power structure, or by notions of original and copy; the foreign and the indigenous mix and overlap in complex ways.⁴ Concerts thus represented a space in which music was

1 Masao [pseud.], ‘Ongakukai hihyō: jūgatsu sanjūichi nichi yūshi ongakukai zakkan’, *Shōshikai zasshi* 83 (1908): 149.

2 ‘Kakuchi no ongaku’, *Ongakukai* 225 (July 1920).

3 For the concept of ‘creative space’, see Denise Gimpel, ‘Introduction’, in *Creative Spaces: Seeking the Dynamics of Change in China*, ed. Denise Gimpel, Bent Nielsen, and Paul Bailey (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2012); Denise Gimpel, *Chen Hengzhe: A Life between Orthodoxies* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2015), 5–7. The title and some of the content of this chapter were inspired by Jeanice Brooks’ paper, ‘The World in My Parlour: Imperial Encounters in Sentimental Songs’ (20th Congress, International Musicological Society, Tokyo, 2017).

4 Gimpel, ‘Introduction’, 2, 5, 6–7.

performed and listened to. Music, however is always ‘music with’, and the effects of staging or attending concerts do not result exclusively from the music itself.⁵

Most of the concerts examined in this chapter were staged in schools by students and teachers and with the aim of presenting achievements in the mastery of (chiefly Western) music and of educating the local public. Arguably, concerts did more than that: they linked the local people to the wider world, and they did so in three ways. First, the concerts were an occasion for direct encounters between the Japanese organizers, performers, and listeners with members of the foreign population, particularly the teachers at the missionary schools. Second, a significant part of the repertoire performed and listened to consisted of works played and enjoyed worldwide. Third, many of the pieces performed evoked foreign places or past times; other worlds, in short, and thus had the potential to widen the horizons of the imagination of the listeners. Much has been said about the nation as an imagined community. The world of nations and the global community too are imaginary constructs, as is the notion of modernity. Although the commonalities of modernity include major political, social, and economic changes,⁶ another defining characteristic is the idea of progress and the consciousness of a major rupture with the past and traditional ways of life.⁷ In the face of the experience of loss that results from this rupture, ‘music becomes a site of both nostalgia and anticipation’.⁸ The concerts enabled participants, whether performers or audience, to experience themselves as part of the global community and to participate in ‘a globally shared culture of modernity’.⁹

5 See Tia DeNora and Gary Ansdell, ‘What Can’t Music Do?’, *Psychology of Well-Being: Theory, Research and Practice* 4, no. 23 (2014): 6, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13612-014-0023-6>

6 See Chapter 1.

7 Hugh De Ferranti and Alison Tokita, eds., *Music, Modernity and Locality in Prewar Japan: Osaka and Beyond* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), 10, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315596907> The experience of a rupture with the past is also a major theme in Julian Johnson’s analysis of musical modernity. See Julian Johnson, *Out of Time: Music and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 13–46, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190233273.001.0001> .

8 Daniel Chua, quoted in Johnson, *Out of Time*, 16.

9 De Ferranti and Tokita, *Music, Modernity and Locality*, 10.

By the early twentieth century, concerts featuring exclusively or predominantly Western music were becoming a fixture of cultural life in Sendai. Significantly, the early concerts featured predominantly Japanese or blended (*wayō setchū*) music. The concert as an institution thus predated the public performance of Western music. In the course of the 1920s, visiting artists from overseas began to perform in Sendai, while the impact of gramophone recordings and radio broadcasts made itself felt. Recordings separated the performer from the listener. They could and did profoundly change the experience of listening to a live performance; increasingly, the works performed at the concerts were already familiar to the audience from listening to recordings. Thus the period examined in this chapter, while largely determined by the availability of concert programmes in *Ongakukai*, represents a particular, transitional, historical moment: a time when a measure of familiarity with certain kinds of Western music, namely *shōka* and music played by bands, had been acquired, but the range of music performed was limited and the standard of performance modest.

Admittedly, we are on uncertain ground for several reasons. *Ongakukai* was published between January 1908 and November 1923 and reported on concerts held in Sendai between 26 October 1907 and 19 February 1921: forty-five in all, between two and six for each year.¹⁰ The published programmes (most reports included a programme) represent but a fraction of the concerts held in Sendai. The number of unreported concerts is impossible to tell, although information from local newspapers and other sources might fill some of the gaps.¹¹ Some reports included a general characterization of the music scene. For example, in the April 1908 issue, it was reported that there were fewer concerts than in the previous year: while four to five concerts were held between January and March in 1907, in the current year the only event that could be called a concert was the seventeenth concert of the Second High School.¹² Whether or not a report was published presumably depended on the initiative of individuals and, perhaps, the number of items submitted to *Ongakukai* for publication from sources throughout

10 For a chronological list of the concerts reported in *Ongakukai*, see the appendix.

11 I have not been able to examine in detail reporting in local papers. From what I did see, coverage in *Kahoku shinpō*, for example, was at best patchy.

12 'Sendai-shi no gakukai', *Ongakukai* 1, no. 4 (1908): 50.

the country. Programmes were published after the event, but may well have been prepared in haste and without confirming details with the performers, which would account for the lack of detail or the remark 'to be determined'. Individual items, moreover, may well have been swapped around or changed on the day. As an exact record of any given concert, programmes may therefore not always be reliable, but they do give us an idea of overall trends.

Identifying individual items on the programmes represents another challenge. Even the idea of an exact specification of the pieces to be performed at a given event may well have seemed outlandish at the time, and the programmes examined here rarely provide the details we expect from concert programmes today. Typically, they describe the items as instrumental (naming the instrument or instruments) or vocal; as solos, ensembles (duet, trio etc.), 'orchestra', or chorus. It is not always clear whether the groups sang or played in unison or in different parts; in some programmes, performances of part songs are explicitly described as such. The title of the piece performed follows, and sometimes the name of a composer. Titles were generally given in transliteration or in Japanese translation. Transliteration was not standardized and the Japanese script does not allow accurate representation of foreign names. With some titles, it can be anybody's guess what language was transliterated.

Japanese titles are no less ambiguous. In some cases we cannot even be sure whether the title represents a work from the Western repertoire or a Japanese piece, traditional or contemporary. 'Tsuki' (moon), for example, can be the title of a *koto* piece or of any number of *shōka*. The tunes of Western songs, both folk songs and art songs, were often given lyrics that had nothing to do with the original ones, such as Schumann's *Zigeunerleben*, which morphed into *Satsuma-gata*, before the German lyrics were translated.¹³ There are (at least) three songs with the title *Ōtōnomiya* (an alternative name for the Kamakura Shrine), two of them sung to the tune of Friedrich Silcher's song, *Der alte Barbarossa*; the third one a *shōka* published by the Ministry of Education. For some songs, the foreign lyrics were translated more than once. The same song could appear under different titles, which may reflect the source of the notated

13 See Chapter 6.

music.¹⁴ For instrumental pieces, nondescript titles like 'Andante' may well designate practice pieces from instrumental tutors.

Given all these uncertainties, some of the identifications of programme items cited here are merely educated guesses.¹⁵ Because of this and the limited number of sample programmes, no attempt at statistical analysis is made here. As an indication of general trends, however, the forty-odd programmes of varying detail and accuracy, covering the period from autumn 1907 until February 1921, do provide valuable evidence of musical activities at the grassroots level.

Even if we assume that the programmes are representative and give a fair indication of what was performed, they do not tell us how the performances were received. The audiences are difficult to identify, but it seems safe to conclude that many of them would have been associated with the performers, such as family, friends, or fellow students. We have limited information about entrance fees. Sometimes fees are mentioned in a way that suggests that they were the exception rather than the rule. Many if not most of the concerts held in schools may have been free. We rarely receive an indication of what Japanese listeners actually experienced when they listened to what was performed. Published reviews are not always telling. One detailed review of a concert by the Second High School (cited in this chapter) appears to be penned by the kind of arrogant man characterized by Kate Hansen in *Musical Consciousness*. If he is to be believed, the audience at the concert had little if any appreciation for art music.

Concerts were organized by different actors, most of them Japanese and associated with one of Sendai's many schools, which also provided the venue for the majority of concerts. Other organizers included local associations, and venues included churches and the Sendai-za theatre. Some of the concerts were joint efforts involving several groups. Foreign actors were prominent in the concerts organized at the Second High School, as well as at the mission schools. Most of the local performers were teachers and students. Most of the invited performers were associated

14 A useful source for researching song titles is the database at Kunitachi College of Music Library: Dōyō/shōka sakuin, <https://www.lib.kunitachi.ac.jp/shiryō/shoka/>

15 In making such guesses, I have assumed that by the twentieth century, sheet music that was available in Europe and North America may well have found its way to Sendai, whether through trade or through informal channels.

with the Tokyo Academy of Music. Among the public schools, the Second High School is represented with the highest number of concerts (nine), followed by Miyagi Prefecture Normal School (eight).¹⁶ Of the private institutions, Tōhoku Ongakuin led with nine concerts, followed by Miyagi College (five). Other schools were represented with one to three concerts, while eight concerts were staged by various associations.

The concert programmes examined reveal significant differences, but also broad similarities. Most of them featured predominantly Western music; whether because of the magazine's decreasing coverage of Japanese music in general, or because performers of Japanese music favoured other settings is hard to tell. 'Western music', however, is a blanket term, and the programmes published in *Ongakukai* illustrate the wide variety of musical performances it covered.

An exception is a programme of a concert organized by the Association for Native Japanese Music (Kokufū Ongaku Kai) that took place on 8 April 1908.¹⁷ The concert consisted of a daytime and an evening section, with fourteen and twelve items respectively.¹⁸ The programme of the evening section ran as follows:

1. *Tsuyugoromo* (A Cloak of Dewdrops) (2 *koto*, 1 *sangen*)
2. *Nihon nishiki* (Japan Brocade)¹⁹ (3 *koto*, 2 *sangen*)
3. *Sue no chigiri* (Pledge of Eternal Fidelity) (2 *koto*, 1 *sangen*)
4. *Ume no ukihashi* (The Bridge of Dreams) (3 *koto*, 1 *sangen*)
5. *Chidori (no) kyoku* (Song of the Plovers) (3 *koto*)
6. *Hagi no tsuyu* (Dew on the Bush Clover) (*koto*, *sangen*, *shakuhachi*)
7. *Dewa no kyoku* (Song from Dewa Province) (3 *koto*)
8. *Sato no akatsuki* (Daybreak in the Village) (*sangen*, *shakuhachi*)
9. *Miyagi (no) kyoku* (Song from Miyagi) (2 *koto*, *sangen*)

16 Including the normal schools for men and women after their separation in 1913.

17 'Sendai Kokufūkai ongakukai', *Ongakukai* 1, no. 6 (1908): 48–49.

18 Unlike in most cases, the evening section precedes the daytime one in the report. Four items were the same in both sections.

19 Possibly a misprint for *Yamato nishiki*, a composition by the *jūta* performer and composer Yamashita Shōkin.

10. *Shin aoyagi* (New Song of the Green Willow) (*koto, sangen, shakuhachi*)
11. *Sanzan/Mitsuyama*²⁰ (*koto, sangen*)
12. *Shōchikubai* (Pine, Bamboo, and Plum) (*koto, sangen, shakuhachi*)

Most if not all the pieces appear to be in the *jiuta* genre, originally a *shamisen* genre and adopted by Ikuta Kengyō (1656–1715), founder of the Ikuta-school of *koto* music.²¹ He developed *jiuta* into a chiefly instrumental genre (*tegotomono*), often played by ensembles, including *koto* and *shamisen* (usually called *sangen* in this context). Later, the *sankyoku* ensemble, consisting of *koto*, *shamisen*, and *kokyū* (bowed lute) or *shakuhachi* became common.²² Ikuta *jiuta* is an example of a regional style (originating from the Kansai region) that attained nationwide currency from the late nineteenth century. *Miyagi no kyoku* was composed by Yamashita Shōkin (1848–1918). Another concert of predominantly *koto* and *shamisen* music took place on 30 August 1915 at the Sakuragaoka Public Hall and featured well-known performers from Tokyo.²³

Judging from the programmes in *Ongakukai*, Japanese and blended music were most often performed in concerts at the private Tōhoku Ongakuin (Tohoku Music Academy).

Tōhoku Ongakuin

Headed by Maedako Shinkin (1861?–1929), Tōhoku Ongakuin (Tohoku Academy of Music) was exceptional: a large private music studio that regularly organized concerts. As a major player in the dissemination of Western music it predated the Second High School, the other major organizer of concerts (see Chapter 9). Its main importance may well have been as an institution that trained teachers rather than as an

20 Possibly a misprint for Mitsuyama (written with an additional character), which is the title of a *jiuta* piece by Mitsuzaki Kengyō.

21 Number 5, *Chidori no kyoku*, here played on *koto* only, is a *koto* piece in the Meiji shinkyoku style. For a brief explanation for most of the pieces named here, see the website of the International Shakuhachi Society: <https://www.komuso.com/pieces/index.pl?genre=-1>

22 William P. Malm, *Traditional Japanese Music and Musical Instruments* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 2000), 170, 99, 208–09.

23 ‘Sendai Sōkyoku Sangen Gassōkai’, *Ongakukai* 168 (1915): 87.

organizer of concerts, but its outreach organization, Kyōseikai, as well as the descriptions, ‘Spring concert’ and ‘Autumn concert’, suggests that public concerts were an integral part of the Academy’s activities and that the nine concerts reported in *Ongakukai* represent a mere fraction of the concerts actually held. Unlike the concerts at the Second High School, which depended on the initiative (or lack thereof) of the students at any given time, the Tōhoku Ongakuin remained in the hands of Maedako Shinkin, who was, moreover, ably supported by family members, particularly his daughter Haruko, who would have been at least in her teens by 1908 and whose name features in every concert.²⁴ Her sister Nobuko graduated from the Music College of the East (Tōyō Ongaku Gakkō) in March 1917.²⁵ Shinkin’s son Wataru, who died in Tokyo in 1932 at age thirty-five, may well have studied music in Tokyo, like his sister: some of the violin pieces he reportedly performed are fairly advanced.²⁶ Otherwise not much is known about the family.

In contrast to the Second High School, Maedako Shinkin’s academy did not rely on foreign support: the performers, besides Shinkin himself and members of his family, were (presumably) his students and, on occasion, guest performers. Another marked difference from most of the concerts organized by schools was the high number of blended (*wayō setchū*) performances including guest performers who played Japanese instruments.

Blended performances, together with a few pieces played exclusively on Japanese instruments, featured prominently in the two concert programmes in 1912. The ‘Twenty-first commemorative concert’²⁷ on 20 October 1912, in which a total of twenty-four items were performed, included seven ensemble pieces played on the violin, *koto*, *shamisen*, and

24 She died in 1975, reportedly in her eighties.

25 Midori Takeishi, ‘Meiji/Taishō no Tōyō Ongaku Gakkō: Ensō ni kansuru kiroku, shiryō’, *Tōkyō Ongaku Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 29 (2005): 29, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/230043973.pdf> Nobuko is also recorded as a member of the school’s alumni organization. Maedako Nobu (variously spelt) features in concerts in April 1912 (no names in 1913 programme), 1914; April 1917; November 1920, as well as the Tohoku University concert that year.

26 His death is recorded on the stone of the family grave at Dōrinji in the Shintera area of Sendai.

27 There appears to be a mistake in the counting; see previous year. *Ongakukai* 5, no. 12 (1912): 64–65.

shakuhachi in various combinations, and a Japanese piece performed as an organ solo:

3. One *koto*, two *shamisen*, three violins (title not specified)
6. Organ solo – *Echigo jishi* (Echigo lion dance)
7. *Shakuhachi*, violin, *shamisen*: *Nagauta Echigo jishi*²⁸
9. *Shamisen*, violin – *Harusame* (Spring rain)²⁹
13. *Shakuhachi*, two violins (or violin and *koto*) – *Shōjō tsuru* (The crane on the pine tree)³⁰
17. *Shakuhachi*, *shamisen*, violin – *Chidori* (Plovers)³¹
20. Violin and *shamisen* – *Kokaji* (The swordsmith)³²
23. *Koto*, *shakuhachi*, violin – *Hagi no tsuyu* (Dew on the bush clover)³³

In addition, item 12, *Haru no kyoku* (Spring song)³⁴ performed with four violins may also have been a *koto* piece, although the title could conceivably describe a Western one. The Western music on the programme consisted of *shōka*, popular vocal or instrumental excerpts from operas, marches, salon pieces, and pieces with unspecific titles like ‘Andante’ or ‘Serenade’ and no composer named. The concert was special in that it featured a visiting *shamisen* player from the Kineya school (Kineya Rokukei), described as famous, who, as well as playing in the mixed ensemble items, performed two items in a duo with *shakuhachi* (15. *Tamagawa*, 22. *Yachiyo jishi*) and one with *shamisen* (19. *Kanjinchō*), as well as concluding the concert with an unspecified solo.

28 *Echigo jishi* is the title of both a *jiuta* and a *nagauta* piece (with the former considered one of the main sources for the latter). In this case, the *jiuta* would seem the more likely version, but the programme explicitly says, *nagauta*. The organ performance may well have been based on a different version.

29 *Jiuta*.

30 *Sōkyoku* from the Yamada school.

31 *Sōkyoku* from the Ikuta School, see programme of the Kokufū Kai.

32 *Nagauta* piece, composed for *shamisen* in 1832 by Kineya Katsugoro (I or II).

33 There is a piece of that title in both the Ikuta and the Yamada schools, the former being of the *jiuta* genre.

34 Or ‘Ode to spring’: *sōkyoku* in the style of Meiji *shinkyoku* from the Ikuta School, composed by Yoshizawa Kengyo II.

More typical, perhaps, was the programme of a concert on 3 November 1916. Although the Academy regularly held an autumn concert, the report in *Ongakukai* states that this particular one was held in celebration of the special holiday (investiture of the crown prince) and was attended by several hundred people.³⁵ The programme was as follows:

1. Organ solo – *Golden Dream*³⁶
2. Two-part singing (unspecified) – Six members of youth group
3. Organ solo – *Tsuki* (Moon)³⁷
4. Organ and violin – *Yūhō* (Friend)
5. Organ solo – *Tsuru kame* (Crane and tortoise)³⁸
6. *Shakuhachi*, violin, *sangen* – *Chidori* (Plovers)
7. *Shōka* chorus – *Tanoshiki wagaya* (Our happy home)³⁹
8. Violin duo – *Shukuten māchi* (Celebratory march)
9. Violin and *sangen* – *Haru no kyoku* (Spring song)⁴⁰
10. Violin, organ – March
11. *Shakuhachi*, violin, *sangen* – *Yūgao* (Evening face)
12. Organ solo – *Hail Columbia*
13. Violin, *koto*, *shakuhachi* – *Shin Takasago* (New Takasago)
14. Mandolin solo (no piece named)
15. Violin, *koto*, *shakuhachi* – *Aki no kyoku* (Autumn song)
16. Violin solo – Largo
17. *Koto*, *sangen* – *Ataka* (probably *Ataka no matsu*/The Pines at Ataka, a *nagauta*)

35 *Ongakukai* 182 (1916), 48.

36 Presumed transliteration. The Library of Congress has sheet music for a piano piece with that title by Joe A. Stipp (Church & Co., John, Cincinnati, 1871). See <https://www.loc.gov/item/sm1871.03480/>

37 Possibly a *sōkyoku* (Ikuta School) of this title, but it could also be one of several *shōka* with the same title.

38 *Tsuru kame no kyoku* is the title of a *sōkyoku* from the Ikuta School and of a *nagauta*.

39 There are several possible *shōka* with this title, including *Home, Sweet Home*.

40 This and the following items 11, 13, 15, are *sōkyoku* from the Ikuta School.

18. Violin solo – Romance
19. Violin, *koto*, *shakuhachi* – *Shōjō no tsuru* (A crane in the pines, Yamada school)
20. Violin (solo)⁴¹
21. Violin duo – Romance
22. Violin, *sangen*, *shakuhachi* – *Tamagawa*
23. Violin solo – ‘Kosucherutora ni bu’⁴²

In later years, the proportion of blended items in the programmes seems to have declined, and the programme of the last concert reported in *Ongakukai*, which took place on 13 November 1920 in Sanbanchō Kumiai Church, contains none at all. The number of programmes is too small to conclude with certainty that this reflects a trend, but if so, this would parallel the general trend of the time (see Chapter 8). As in the previous example, most of the Western pieces named in the programmes are *shōka*, marches, and instrumental pieces, but, unusually, specific titles and the composer’s name are given for nearly all the items.⁴³ The programme was as follows (the performers, presumably all affiliated with the Academy, are only named for some items):

Part 1

1. Violin duet – *Tsubame wa kaeru* (The swallows fly home) – by Abt⁴⁴
2. Male voices, 4-part – A. *Good Night* – by ‘Watkins’⁴⁵,
B. *Tayutau kobune* (The drifting small boat) – by Knight⁴⁶

41 ‘Vaiorinkinbo(po?)iseru’; possibly, a misprint for Tannhäuser.

42 This looks like a misprint. The performer is Maedako Shinkin, and it seems likely that he played a movement from a concerto, possibly in A (if the ‘ra’ stands for ‘la’ on the do re mi scale, and ‘ni bu’ might conceivably refer to the second movement.

43 ‘Tōhoku Ongakuin Shūki ensōkai’, *Ongakukai* 230 (1920): 34.

44 *Wenn die Schwalben heimwärts ziehn/ When the Swallows Homeward Fly*, by Franz Wilhelm Abt (1819–85).

45 The most likely transcription.

46 *Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep*, lyrics by Emma Hart Willard, music by Joseph Philip Knight, first published in 1840. The Japanese lyrics are by Kondō Sakufū, who wrote lyrics for numerous foreign songs. See Mamiko Sakamoto, ‘Kondō Sakufū to sono yakushikyoku saikō’, *Toyama Daigaku Kyōiku Gakubu kiyō A (bunkakei)* 50 (1997).

3. Violin trio – *Sayogaku* (serenade) – by Haydn
4. Violin quartet *Mune yori mune e* (From breast to breast/Heart to heart) – by Mozart
5. Baritone (tenor?) solo – *Sayogaku* – by Schubert⁴⁷
6. Violin duet – *Lovely Rose*⁴⁸
7. Soprano solo – *Subete o shireru kimi yori* (From you who knows everything) – Mozart⁴⁹
8. Piano duet – *Sasayaki* (Whisper) – by Gillet⁵⁰
9. Violin solo *Tanoshiki waga ya* (Our happy home) variations – by Sousa⁵¹

Part 2

1. Mixed choir– *Butō* (Dance) – by ‘Shuyotto’⁵²
2. Violin trio – From Opera, *The Barber of Sevilla* (sic; unspecified) – by Rossini
3. Organ solo – *Happy Moments* – by ‘Uaresu’⁵³
4. Violin quartet – Chor aus *Euryanthe* – by Weber⁵⁴
5. Female vocal duo – *Tsukiyo* – (Moonlit night) – by ‘Dēmusu’⁵⁵
6. Violin solo – *Malaguena* – by Sarasate

47 Possibly Schubert, *Ständchen*, although this is generally sung by a tenor.

48 No composer specified; possibly *Go Lovely Rose* by Henry Lawes (1596–1662); or Roger Quilter, *Go Lovely Rose*, op. 24/3.

49 *Voi che Sapete*, aria from *The Marriage of Figaro*.

50 Probably Ernest Gillet (1856–1940), whose compositions include *Doux murmure* for piano.

51 Presumably, John Philip Sousa, *Home, Sweet Home*, variations for violin and piano.

52 Conceivably Eduard Schütt (1856–1933), whose songs include *Elfentanz*.

53 Possibly ‘In Happy Moments’ from the opera *Maritana* by William Vincent Wallace (1812–65); music from *Maritana* was on the programme of concerts at the Second High School in 1913 and 1915, as well as one at Sendai Higher Secondary School for Girls in 1917.

54 Most likely the ‘Hunter’s Chorus’ in Act III of *Euryanthe* by Carl Maria von Weber.

55 There are several songs of that name by both Japanese and foreign composers. Maedako Nobuko and Wataru sang a duet with the title *Tsukiyo* at a concert given by Tohoku University and supported by members of Tōhoku Ongakuin on 1 May 1920, where Mendelssohn is named as the composer.

7. Violin duet – *La paloma* (Spanish serenade) – by Yradier⁵⁶
8. Soprano solo – *Ware wa samayou* (I wander about) – by Gounod⁵⁷
9. Mixed chorus – *Yū no kyoku* (Evening song)⁵⁸

The consistent inclusion of composers' names might suggest a new awareness of the distinctiveness of the individual works, even if they were part of edited collections. There are fewer *shōka* than the previous concerts, and although most of the pieces can be described as fairly elementary, others, like *Voi che sapete* are more demanding, and Sarasate's *Malaguena* (played by Maedako Shinkin's son Wataru) is certainly well above beginners' level.

That the Tohoku Academy of Music was still perceived as a major player in the Western music scene around 1920 is suggested by the fact that members of the Academy took part in the concert organized by students of Tohoku Imperial University on 1 May 1920.⁵⁹

The Second High School

The music club at the Second High School was the most important organizer of concerts featuring predominantly Western music in the first years of the twentieth century. The number of concerts is, however, difficult to determine, and might have been lower than that of the concerts given by Tōhoku Ongakuin. The Shōshikai association's magazine reported a total of eleven concerts before 1908, but reporting appears to have been irregular, particularly after 1908.⁶⁰ *Ongakukai* reported nine concerts with programmes between 1908 and 1920. The irregularity both of concerts held and of reporting is presumably explained by the fact that the students' level of initiative and activity varied from year to

56 Sebastián Yradier (1809–65); one of the most recorded pieces ever.

57 Charles Gounod wrote numerous songs, a few of which were given Japanese lyrics. Possibly, *Ave Maria*, which Maedako Nobuko sang in the concert given by Tohoku University that same year.

58 No composer specified. Possibly, Josef Rheinberger (1839–1901), *Abendlied* Op. 69, Nr. 3.

59 'Tōhoku Teikoku Daigakusei yūshi ongaku ensōkai', *Ongakukai* 225 (1920): 29.

60 For the period 1908 onwards *Shōshikai zasshi* recorded only one concert that was not reported in *Ongakukai*.

year; the spring concert in 1915, moreover, took place after an extended period of national mourning following the death of the Meiji emperor.⁶¹

While the members of the music club relied heavily on the participation of the foreign community, the extent of their involvement appears to have varied, and lessened over time. Relations with members of the foreign community may have been less close after the conclusion of the pioneering phase. With the gradual increase of music teaching in schools, new students entering the high school may well have felt more confident in their own abilities. Either way, just under six years after its first concert, the musical offerings and levels of competence in performance continued to be mixed. The concert on 31 October 1908, for example, included *shōka*, short instrumental solos, and two marches played by an 'orchestra'. Besides foreigners, several Japanese women performed: Mrs Kobayashi was the wife of a professor at the school and may have trained at the Tokyo Academy of Music; the others were, presumably, students from other schools. A review of the concert, which according to *Ongakukai* attracted a large audience, was published in *Shōshikai zasshi*. The author, who called himself 'Masao', may have been an older student; at any rate a young man who prided himself on his superior knowledge and powers of appreciation.⁶² The programme was as follows:

Part 1

1. Orchestra – *Gallop* – Members
2. Piano – 'to be determined' – Miss Hansen⁶³
3. Two-part singing – 'Orubōrudo, uotchi'⁶⁴ – Miss Izumi Kyōko (with one more)
4. Harmonica – *College March* – A member
5. *Shakuhachi* solo – *Kaze-ki no kyoku*⁶⁵ – Mr Adachi Kochō

61 *Ongakukai* 164 (1915), 71.

62 'Sendai Kōtō Gakkō ongakukai', *Ongakukai* 2, no. 1 (1909): 51; 'Ongakukai hihiyō: jūgatsu sanjūichi nichi yūshi ongakukai zakkan', *Shōshikai zasshi* 83 (1908): 149–51. *Shōshikai zasshi* did not include the programme, but the review suggests that at least the first part was largely as reported in *Ongakukai*.

63 Kate Hansen does not seem to have written about this concert in her letters.

64 I have not been able to identify this piece.

65 Possibly, *Kaze to ki to mizu to*, from the Tozan School.

6. Violin duet – Andante (Gluck)⁶⁶ – Mr Okamoto Fusao,
Mr Isawa Yoshiaki
7. Vocal solo – *Satsuma-gata* (Satsuma Bay)⁶⁷ – Mrs Kobayashi
8. Cornet solo – *Natsukashi no hahaue* (Longing for Mother)
(Stick)⁶⁸ – Mr Stick

Part 2

1. ‘Orchestra’ (*kangengaku*) – *Kriegsmarsch*⁶⁹ – Members
2. Four-part chorus – *Aki no urami* (Regrets of autumn) –
Miss Izumi Kyōko (with three others)
3. Harmonica solo – *Polka* – A member
4. *Shakuhachi* solo – *Zangetsu* – Mr Adachi Kochō
5. Vocal ensemble – *Yasumasa*; *Hanabi*⁷⁰ – Miss Nagao Seiko,
Miss Nagao Tomoko (with two others)
6. Violin solo – *Rekorēto*⁷¹ – Mr Okamoto Fusao
7. Vocal solo – *Apyū*⁷² – Mrs Kobayashi
8. Piano solo – (to be determined) – Miss Hansen
9. Mellophone solo – *Oh Master Take me through the Gate*⁷³

Part 3

66 Most likely ‘Dance of the Blessed Spirits’ from Gluck’s opera *Orfeo ed Euridice* (Act II Scene 2).

67 See Chapter 6.

68 Possibly the same piece as Stick performed on 23 May 1903, entitled ‘Of Thee Mother’ (*I Am Dreaming of Thee, Mother?*); another possible candidate would be *Dreaming of Home and Mother* by John Pond Ordway (1824–80; composed 1851). Stick may have arranged an existing composition for cornet rather than composed a new one.

69 Presumably Mendelssohn’s *Kriegsmarsch der Priester aus Athalia*, which was also performed in the Second High School’s seventh concert on 11 February 1905: see Kyūsei Kōtō Gakkō Shiryō Hozon Kai, ed., *Shiryō shūsei kyūsei kōtō gakkō zensho dai 7 kan: seikatsu/kyōyō hen* (2) (Tokyo: Kyūsei Kōtō Gakkō Shiryō Hozon Kai Kankō Bu, 1984), 550.

70 For *Yasumasa*, see Chapter 7. *Hanabi* (Fireworks) is presumably another *shōka*; there are several possible candidates.

71 I have not been able to identify the piece.

72 Or ‘Abyū’ (piece not identified).

73 Presumably a hymn (not identified).

Opera – *Kaichōon* (Sound of the Tide)⁷⁴ – Members

Masao, the (presumably) self-appointed critic, was not impressed with the concert, concluding that ‘artistically, there was no performance of overpowering force’.⁷⁵ His criticism began with the school song by the association’s members, which apparently preceded the programme: ‘one would expect people born as men to sing out’, he observed and suggested that if they could not do better, it would be better to have the audience join in. Nor was he impressed by the ‘orchestra’, which in his opinion did not deserve that name. His criticism of the harmonica performance (item 4) was particularly harsh:

Properly speaking, to even think of the harmonica as a musical instrument seems misguided. If it must be played at all, a march or similar might be acceptable. But when some hybrid version of ‘Echigo jishi’ or ‘Rokudan’ is played, blaring out so-called compound notes – oh my goodness, I involuntarily blushed with shame. It is like a beggar gate-crashing an evening reception on the Emperor’s birthday. [...] If you want to play that kind of thing, do it for a gathering of maid servants on the upper floor of your lodgings.⁷⁶

Clearly, the reviewer had no time for blended performances. When it came to more traditional Japanese performances like the *shakuhachi* solo that followed, he had to admit his ignorance and make up for it by quoting from a Chinese classic: apparently not uncommon among reviewers commenting on Western music they were unfamiliar with.⁷⁷ Significantly, this reviewer resorted to the same ploy when commenting on music he felt he ought to be familiar with, but which, as he admitted, he had not listened to with great attention.

74 The most likely candidate for the title is the modern kabuki play by Hasegawa Shigure (1879–1941) submitted from a competition held by *Yomiuri shinbun* in 1905 and premiered to acclaim in 1908 at the Kabuki-za in Tokyo in 1908. Another possibility is some kind of performance based on the collection of mostly French and Belgian poems translated by Ueda Bin in 1905. Some of these were set to music by Torii Tsuna (1886–1966), a violinist and composer who graduated from the Tokyo Academy of Music in 1906 and taught there for many years. However, the manuscripts of her compositions at Tokyo University of the Arts date from the 1930s, so this seems unlikely.

75 Masao [pseud.], ‘Hiyoō’, 149.

76 Ibid. According to the programme in *Ongakukai*, the piece played was a march. According to Masao, he played *Karl March* in the second part of the programme.

77 Compare Kume’s reference to ‘Hakusetsu’; see Chapter 2.

He was more confident in his evaluation of the piano and violin performances (items 2 and 6). Kate Hansen's performance did not pass muster: before concluding that her performance was an asset (see the quote at the beginning of this chapter), he asserted:

Miss Hansen's piano playing is certainly more than the fingerings of a novice's unskilled hand. However, precisely because her technique [he uses the foreign word] is flawless, one might, with the greatest respect, put it negatively, and say that it is like a music box. It still lacks the power to impress deeply and cannot be acknowledged to represent the life and soul of true art.⁷⁸

Ironically, his criticism mirrors Hansen's remarks about Japanese performers, although, if her own description of her performance (in another concert) of *The Devil's March*, a popular salon piece and hardly the last thing in high art, is anything to go by, Masao may well have had some justification for his remarks.

His comment on the violin duet's performance was even more scathing: 'I will merely point out that on the violin you should not make a sound like the whining of a mosquito suffering from a lung disease.'⁷⁹ Mrs Kobayashi's solo performance of *Satsuma-gata*, too, had him in the role of the discerning authority. Having heard it performed by a chorus at the Tokyo Academy of Music five or six years previously, he felt he could appreciate it more than the other members of the audience. He did, however, express his preference for the choral version and for the more recent Japanese lyrics by Ishikuro Kosaburō, who had translated the German text rather than compose an entirely different one.⁸⁰ Even if Mrs Kobayashi (who may conceivably have trained and learnt *Satsuma-gata*, at the Tokyo Academy) did not wish to sing the new lyrics, he remarked, she should at least have announced Schumann's song with the new translated title, 'Rurō no tami' (The vagrant people/gypsies), although the audience probably would not understand the words of either.

78 Masao [pseud.], 'Hihyō', 149.

79 Ibid.

80 First performed at the Tokyo Academy of Music with this title on 9 October 1908, although Ishikuro Kosaburō is only named at a concert on 8 and 9 June 1912. See Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, *Ensōkai hen 1*, 279, 343.

The lyrics of two other songs likewise gave him cause for criticism. *Aki no urami* he had heard sung as *Haha naki wagaya* (Our home without a mother),⁸¹ the words of which fit the tune better in his opinion. The song *Yasumasa*, on the other hand, he pronounced ill-chosen: the 'la la la (tsu) la la la la la' was 'a bit too unartistic', although the song was still better than the likes of *Roei no yume*.⁸² Recalling Hansen's remarks about ignorant self-appointed experts in Western music, one wonders whether he realized that the composer of the music of *Yasumasa* was Mozart. On the other hand, Mozart's composition and the Japanese lyrics cannot be described as a good fit.⁸³ The critic's low opinion of Kitamura's *Roei no yume*, together with his remarks about song lyrics and about playing Japanese tunes on a harmonica, suggests that he favoured Western art music. Indeed, he even appealed to the organizers to ban unmusical instruments like the accordion and the *biwa* from future concerts.⁸⁴ Kate Hansen would surely have approved.

If Masao was critical of several performers, he had equally harsh words for the behaviour of the audience. Having praised J. Monroe Stick's cornet solo, he remarked, 'this man's serious approach to his art never fails to fill me with respect.'⁸⁵ He contrasted this with the attitude of the audience, who 'hoot and heckle and confuse a concert with a playground' and who 'shout ridiculous nonsense as they enter'.⁸⁶ He expressed his contempt for the audience again after praising the bass singer in the vocal quartet: 'Of course one cannot expect the hooting crowd (*yajiren*) to appreciate the appeal of the bass singer. The soprano will attract attention on the strength of her beauty alone, but the manly (*otoko rashii*), truly deep voice that comes from the innermost heart (*haifu*) is too sober (*shibui*) for them and does not hold their interest.' The mob, he continued, might be satisfied by a female playing the *koto*, but knew no greater pleasure than listening to the *biwa* or a band accompanying Asakusa street artists. He suggested that such people should be discouraged from attending or at least urged to keep quiet.

81 Possibly *What is home without a mother*. By Alice Hawthorne (Septimus Winner, 1827–1902). New York: H. De Marsan (Data from the Library of Congress).

82 See Chapter 8.

83 Okunaka, *Wayō setchū ongakushi*, pp. 11–16.

84 *Ongaku no kankei no nai biwa toka tefūgin to ka* Masao [pseud.], 'Hihyō', 151.

85 Masao [pseud.], 'Hihyō', 150.

86 Ibid.

The assertion that the (predominantly male?) audience appreciated the female performers for their appearance rather than their musical performance resembles Kate Hansen's remarks in her discussion of the *koto* in *Musical Consciousness*; another indication that Western observers' disdain for popular Japanese music was matched by the local elites' contempt for music they deemed 'common'.

The 'so-called opera' performed in the third and final part of the concert presented Masao with another opportunity to express his contempt for the undiscerning masses, who seemed to enjoy the spectacle, although he himself thought that the only redeeming feature was Mrs Kobayashi's beautiful singing.⁸⁷

While the participation of foreigners in the concerts of the Second High School may have decreased over the years (the sample of programmes examined is too small to be sure), musicians from the Tokyo Academy of Music continued to perform at the invitation of the Second High School as they had done at the second concert in 1903. They performed at the school again at least in 1909 and 1913, as well as at other Sendai concerts.⁸⁸ For the concert on 1 May 1909, forty students arrived on 30 April, an event that merited advance announcements in the local newspaper *Kahoku shinpō*.⁸⁹ The guests performed a total of ten pieces, for piano, strings, and voice. Not all the works are specified (or identifiable), but they included a Romance for Cello solo by Georg Goltermann,⁹⁰ an unspecified work for piano trio, and the vocal solo, *Ninin no heishi* (*Die beiden Grenadiere*),⁹¹ described by *Kahoku shinpō* as 'a masterpiece (*kessaku*) by (Heinrich) Heine set to music by the great German composer Schumann', as well as a choral rendition of the song *Ōtōnomiya*, based on a song by the German composer Friedrich Silcher.⁹²

87 Masao [pseud.], 'Hihyō', 151.

88 'Sendai Nikō ensōkai', *Ongakukai* 2.6 (June 1909): 42. The *Ongakukai* report on their performance in the concert on 5 October 1913 stated that this was the third or fourth occasion. See 'Sendai ni okeru Dai Ni Kōtō Gakkō Gakuyūkai ensōkai', *Ongakukai* 6.1. (November 1913): 66–67.

89 'Sendai Nikō ensōkai', *Ongakukai* 2.6 (June 1909): 42; *Kahoku shinpō*, 26 April 1909, p. 2, and again on 1 May.

90 Georg Eduard Goltermann (1824–98); presumably one of the 3 *Romances sans paroles* for solo cello, Op. 90.

91 Today more generally translated as *Futari no tekidanhei*.

92 Silcher's four-part arrangement of *Der alte Barbarossa*, a poem by Friedrich Rückert (1788–1866). Although this is not the only song with the title *Ōtōnomiya*, this is the most likely version, because of its association with the Tokyo Academy of Music.

The song is another example of the type of blended performance practised in the early years of the Tokyo Academy of Music: a Western composition—in this case a four-part chorus—sung with Japan-themed lyrics.

We can assume that the singing by the students of the Tokyo Academy of Music was of a higher standard than that of their hosts, who also sang on this occasion. The audiences of Sendai, moreover, would have had little chance to hear a cello played competently: much less in a chamber ensemble.

The third part of the concert, consisting of six items with local performers, began with a four-part string ensemble of members of the Music Association playing ‘Tannhäuser’; possibly a performance similar to the one described by Kate Hansen after her first experience of a concert at the Second High School. Okamoto, who played an unspecified violin solo (presumably accompanied by Kate Hansen), was still described as *kōshi* in the programme, but by the concert on 22 November 1910 he appears to have been replaced by Kumagai *kōshi*.⁹³

A clear indication of the school’s ambition to present Western music at its most impressive were the efforts to perform as an orchestra, or at least a larger ensemble. The programme of the sixth concert on 15 October 1904 already included a band of sorts, although the majority of players may have come from outside the school.⁹⁴ In fact, it is hard to determine what exactly was behind the term *kangengaku* (generally translated as ‘orchestra’) in each case. In the concert on 23 September 1907, ‘orchestra’ described ‘four fellows with violins’, according to Kate Hansen. The *kangengaku* in the concert on 31 October 1908 did not merit the name either, according to the reviewer; nor did the *kangen gassō* in 1910: ten players led by the new teacher. In June 1915 a report in *Ongakukai* stated that the school finally had an orchestra (*kangengaku*) and that a full orchestra was planned for the near future. Even so, the description of the items on the programme of the recent concert makes this a dubious assertion. Although four out of a total of eleven items

Ōtonomiya (or Daitōnomiya) refers to the Kamakura shrine (Kamakura-gū) or to the fourteenth-century imperial prince who is enshrined there.

93 See *Ongakukai*, 4.1 (January 1911), 73. Kumagai Senta graduated from Tōyō Ongaku Gakkō in 1910: see Takeishi, ‘Meiji/Taishō no Tōyō Ongaku Gakkō’, 29.

94 Dai Ni Kōtō Gakkō Shi Henshū Inkaï, *Dai Ni Kōtō Gakkō shi*, 953–54.

are described as a 'string ensemble' (*gengaku gassō*) and one as a 'string and wind ensemble' (*kangen gassō*), the titles of the pieces suggest the usual fare of works arranged for a variety of instrument combinations. A possible exception is the 'first string ensemble' item, an adagio from an unspecified symphony.⁹⁵ Symphony orchestras were still a rarity in Japan in 1915.

The people of Sendai nevertheless had a chance to hear a major ensemble performing to a high standard at a concert on 23 October 1920, the last one at the Second High School reported in *Ongakukai*: a string orchestra and chorus consisting of students and staff from the Academy performed the *Grand March* from *Tannhäuser* under the baton of Gustav Kron.⁹⁶

In 1915 *Ongakukai* described the concerts organized by the music aficionados (*yūshi*) of the Second High School as 'the centre of the musical world in Sendai'.⁹⁷ This may, of course, have been the (hardly unbiased) view of a local observer: the ambitions of the music club clearly exceeded the skills and resources of the students. In the early twentieth century, it would have been rare to have learnt the violin or the piano from an early age, particularly for young men. Nor would they have had the opportunity to hear a symphony concert, much less a Western-style opera, so it is hardly surprising that the 'opera' *Kaichōon* or what the programmes describe as an 'orchestra' did not merit the name. But the students who organized the concerts succeeded in bringing together local musicians with different backgrounds who performed a wide range of works. Even allowing for the small number of programmes sampled and the appearance of the same piece under different names, there seems to be relatively little repetition. By hosting

95 'Nikō yūshi ongakukai', *Ongakukai* No. 164 (T. 4.6), p. 71: 1915 (no date given). The other pieces had the titles *Bara no hanaen* (Rose Garden); *Shōri no hata no shita* (probably 'Unter dem Siegesbanner' by Franz von Blon, 1861–1945), and *Kinkonshiki* (probably Jean Gabriel-Marie, 1852–1928, *La Cinquantaine*). The 'wind and string' ensemble performed *Hana yamome*, which may well have been the same selection of excerpts from Lehar's *The Merry Widow* performed by a 'string ensemble' at a concert on 5 October 1913 (*Ongakukai* 6.11 (1913): 66–67).

96 'Dai Ni Kōtō Gakkō ongaku ensōkai', *Ongakukai* 230 (December 1920), 34. See also the report in Gakuyūkai, *Ongaku* 11.12 (December 1920, 51) in Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku hyakunenshi: Ensōkai hen 1* (Tokyo: Ongaku no Tomosha, 1990), 515–16. Gustav Kron (1874–?) succeeded August Junker at the Academy in 1913 and taught there until 1925.

97 '[...] Sendai gakukai no chūshin', *Ongakukai* 164 (1915): 71.

concerts with musicians from Tokyo, the school made it possible for their local audience to hear works that could not otherwise be performed in Sendai.

Miyagi Normal School

Miyagi Normal School (Miyagi Shihan Gakkō) trained both male and female students until the founding of Miyagi Normal School for Women in 1913. Although the required subjects for future teachers included music, musical training was basic, and the criticism of music education at the school expressed in *Ongakukai* in one its earliest reports is likely to have been well-founded, judging from the available concert programmes.⁹⁸ We can assume that concerts were held regularly, perhaps twice yearly. They consisted mainly of *shōka*, as often as not sung in unison, with a few pieces for violin, piano, or organ. The instrumental pieces are not always specified in the published programmes, and are likely to have come from the teaching literature.

The relatively low level of performance and the limited range of genres performed do not, however, mean that the concerts did not contribute significantly to the musical education of Sendai audiences. The concert on 4 March 1911, for example, reportedly drew an audience of around 1,500; presumably it included a large number of parents, since the first part consisted of performances by pupils of the affiliated elementary school. Of the thirty musical items, nearly all were songs, sung solo or in groups of varying sizes. Two were violin solos, one of them performed by a man from the main school (he also performed in the second part); the third instrumental piece was an unspecified ensemble performance by volunteers from the main school.⁹⁹

The second part consisted of thirty-five items (including an opening address by Shikama Jinji and a closing address by the head of the school), again mostly singing. Six items were instrumental performances: an organ solo and a violin ensemble (pieces not specified); violin and organ, *Hail Columbia March*; violin ensemble, *Donauwellen*; violin, *Adagio*

98 'Sendai shi no gakujiō', *Ongakukai* 1, no. 6 (1908): 46. See Chapter 9.

99 *Ongakukai* 4, no. 4. (1911), 61.

(unspecified); violin, *Jūdan no kyoku* (Ten steps).¹⁰⁰ The songs are all given with Japanese titles, except for two that are spelt in *katakana* and were presumably sung in English, as they both appear in a three-volume collection of *shōka* in English published in 1910: *Massa's in de Cold, Cold Ground* and *Home Sweet Home*.¹⁰¹ The former, composed in 1852, is one of Stephen Foster's plantation songs, some of which gained worldwide popularity.¹⁰² Three items were billed as *tokuhon shōka* (reading textbook songs) without a specific title. These were songs based on the texts in the national readers used in elementary schools. The Ministry of Education published its first collection in 1910, but by then several had been published by individuals.

Subsequent concerts followed a similar pattern. The concert on 2 March 1912, the sixth, according to *Ongakukai*, included twenty-five musical items, six of them instrumental (violin and organ). In addition, a guest violinist, Hongō Kōshirō, performed two pieces: *Siciliano* and *Berceuse de Jocelyn*.¹⁰³

In March 1914, *Ongakukai* reported progress at the Normal School following the appointment of a new professor, who arranged concerts with good musicians in order to cultivate the students' taste in music. The concerts of the previous October, with students from the Tokyo Academy of Music, had fuelled the enthusiasm of teachers and students alike.¹⁰⁴ The concert on 7 February was deemed a great success, with 300 students performing, as well as children from the affiliated school, aficionados from the Second High School, and guest performers, including the violinists Hongō Kōshirō and Kumagai Senta. The

100 Items 5, 9, 13, 18, 21, and 26. *Donauwellen* is written phonetically; 'Koroshibia shikōkyoku' looks like a misprint, while *Hail Columbia (March)*, played on the organ or organ and violin appears on programmes of concerts at the Second High School (1905) and Tōhoku Ongakuin (1914, 1916); *Jūdan no kyoku* or *Midare* is a *sōkyoku* piece.

101 Items 19 and 24. See Katsuisa Sakai ed., *Eigo shōka shū* (Tokyo: Uedaya Shoten, 1903): vol. 1: 6–9; vol 2: 16–19.

102 See Chapter 2.

103 From the opera *Jocelyn* by Benjamin Godard (1849–95). I have not been able to find information about Hongō: he is listed as a composer in a catalogue of sheet music for songs in the Taishō era: Junko Konishi, 'Taishōki "uta" shiryō mokuroku', *Ōsaka Ongaku Daigaku Hakubutsukan Nenpō* 25 (2010), <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/10313756>

104 'Miyagi-ken Shihan Gakkō', *Ongakukai*, 149 (1914): 56. The concert was hosted by the Second High School.

reporter nevertheless regretted the small number of violin players, due to the fact that violin was not part of the standard curriculum. In fact, the published programme only included one solo violin performance by Hongō, while Kumagai is listed as a singer in a two-part song, *Tabi no yoru*.¹⁰⁵ The other instrumental items were the organ (six items), the piano (two), as well as two string ensembles of the students from the high school.

Hongō and Kumagai may have been regulars; perhaps they taught at the school on a casual basis. They also performed at the concert at the Normal School for Men on 26 February 1916: Hongō played a violin solo in the first part of the programme, accompanied by Kumagai. Kumagai also sang tenor in a choral number. In the second part (in which Hongō's name did not appear), Kumagai played a violin solo. The concert concluded with a string ensemble whose members were described as volunteers (possibly students from the Second High School) and presumably played violins, while Kumagai played the cello; they were accompanied by a female teacher.¹⁰⁶ Except for one more violin item in the first half (the performer is not named), the other instrumental performances were on the organ or piano (three each). All in all, ten of the thirty-two items on the programme were instrumental; the others were songs, mostly *shōka*. Among them, *Tipperary Song*, sung solo, may well have been a first in Sendai. *It's a Long Way to Tipperary*, first published in 1912 and recorded in 1914, is very much associated with the First World War. Japan had entered the war as an ally of Britain, and the Japanese navy saw battle both in Asia and in the Mediterranean. Compared to the Russo-Japanese War ten years earlier, however, the war was remote. The other items on the programme were not particularly warlike (if one discounts the usual military marches); indeed, the same singer's other offering was *Hanyū no yado* (Our humble dwelling), the Japanese version of *Home, Sweet Home*.

105 *Wanderers Nachtlied* (The wanderer's night song), music by Anton Rubinstein (Op. 48). There are at least three Japanese versions; the duet version listed in the Kunitachi database has lyrics by Hatano Juichirō (1851–1908). The duet was also performed at a concert at Tohoku University in 1920.

106 No piece is specified for Hongō's performance or the string ensemble. Kumagai played *Madrigal* by Achille Simonetti (1857–1928) and *Gavotte* by François-Joseph Gossec (1734–1829). Both are popular pieces to this day, and can be found in the Suzuki violin tutors, among others. The female teacher was Hoshizawa Toshiko, teacher at Prefectural Girls' High School.

The predominance of *shōka* over instrumental numbers was even more evident in the concert of the Normal School for Women on 24 February 1917: twenty-four out of the twenty-seven musical items were vocal (the programme specified the number of parts). They included Schumann's *Zigeunerleben*, now with the translated title *Rurō no tami* and (presumably) sung with the translated lyrics by Ishikuro Kosaburō.

A year later, *Ongakukai* reported the appointment of a new teacher, Inose, who performed for the first time at the concert on 16 February 1918, playing *Ave Maria* on the violin.¹⁰⁷ Another innovation was a new music club, the Orfeo Club, formed by aficionados at the school. The last item before the concert ended with the school song was *Gunkan mōchi* (Warship march), performed by a chorus and string ensemble consisting of students and aficionados. Composed and arranged by Japanese, it is still one of the most-performed Japanese marches.¹⁰⁸ The programme included one performance by a foreigner, Mrs 'Genzā', who sang *The Mission of a Rose*.¹⁰⁹

Singing, much of it in unison, also predominated in the concert in 1918, interspersed with performances on the violin, piano, or organ, usually solos or duets. The overall pattern of the concerts thus seems to have remained fairly similar during the period examined here. Standards are likely to have risen, as recorded in *Ongakukai*, but this is hard to tell from concert programmes alone. Unlike the Second High School, the curriculum of the Normal Schools included music, so the concerts served as an opportunity for the students to show what they had learnt. Nevertheless, performers from outside the school were invited as well, so the concerts were in part a joint effort involving the cooperation of different local groups. The last concert reported in *Ongakukai*, held on 19 February 1921, represented a major initiative, including as it did performances by pupils and teachers of several schools. The programme,

107 No composer is named; presumably, Gounod.

108 Lyrics by Toriyama Hiraku (1837–1914). The music arranged in 1900 by Setoguchi Tōkichi (1868–1941), based on a song of his own (*Umi yukaba*, 1897) with the addition of a trio based on compositions by Tōgi Sueyoshi (1838–1904) and Ōtomo Kotodatsu (Yakamochi, ?–?). For details, see Masajirō Tanimura, *Umi no gunka to reishiki kyoku: Teikoku Kaigun no ongaku isan to Kaijō Jieitai* (Shuppan Kyōdō Sha, 2015).

109 Spelt in *katakana* phonetic script: lyrics by Clifton Bingham (1859–1913); music by Frederic H. Cowen (1852–1935).

which consisted of thirty-two musical items, nineteen vocal and thirteen instrumental ones, was as follows:

1. Ensemble – A. *Gaisen seru shōgun o miyo* (See the Conquering Hero Comes) (Handel)¹¹⁰; B. *Kanashiki enbukyoku* (Sad waltz) (Ivanovich)¹¹¹ – string ensemble
2. Unison singing – A. *Kyōshū* (Longing for home); B. *Sakura* ('Cherry blossoms')¹¹² – Main department, first year
3. Piano solo – *Battle of Waterloo*¹¹³ – second year
4. Vocal solo – *Tsubame* (Swallows) – pupils from affiliated school¹¹⁴
5. Violin solo – *Madrigal*¹¹⁵ – fourth year
6. Unison singing – A. *Yoru* (Evening); B. *Chishima* (Kurile Islands?)¹¹⁶ – Kita Gobanchō Higher Elementary School
7. Piano and violin – *Csikós Post* (Necke)¹¹⁷ – two third-year students
8. Chorus, two-part – *Shun'ya no yume* (Dream on a spring night)¹¹⁸ – Higashi Nibanchō Higher Elementary School
9. *Shōka* – A. *Mittsu no fune* (Three ships) (round); B. *Yoru no o-yashiro* (Shrine in the evening)¹¹⁹ (two-part) – First High School for Women (Daiichi Kōtō Jogakkō)

110 From *Judas Maccabäus*.

111 Presumably Ion Ivanovici (or Josef Ivanovich; 1845–1902), the composer of *Donauwellen* (Waves of the Danube), features under various titles and in different forms in several programmes examined; possibly *Seufzer-Walzer* (Sigh Waltz). Of course, it might be just another version of *Donauwellen*.

112 There are several possible candidates for both titles.

113 Probably *The Battle of Waterloo*, by G. Anderson.

114 There are several songs of this title, including one in the first collection of songs for elementary schools published by the Music Research Committee, based on *Come, Come Pretty Bird* (lyrics and music by John H. Hewitt, 1801–90; 1938).

115 Possibly the same 'Madrigal' by Simonetti that appears in the programme of the school's concert in February 1916.

116 Both titles defy precise identification, but are most likely to come from the *shōka* textbooks for elementary schools. 'Chishima' appears in the first line of the song *Dōhō subete rokusenman* (Our sixty million brethren) from the sixth volume of *Jinjō shōgaku shōka*, published by the Ministry of Education in 1914.

117 *Csikós Post Galop* by Hermann Necke (1850–1912).

118 I have not been able to identify this.

119 *Yoru no yashiro*: lyrics by Yoshimaru Kazumasa, based on melody by Kreutzer; possibly Conradin Kreutzer (1780–1849). *Mittsu no fune* may be a translated Western

10. Piano solo – *Wiener Marsch*¹²⁰
11. Male voices, three-part – A. *Yū no inori* (Evening prayer);
B. *Yamato Takeru*¹²¹
12. *Shōka* – (no title given) – Higashi Nibanchō Jikka Kōtō
Jogakkō
13. Vocal solo – *Komori uta* (Lullaby) – students from Tōka High
School for Girls (Tōka Kōtō Jogakkō)
14. Piano solo – Allegro (Beethoven) – third-year student
15. Mixed chorus – A. *Koishiki haha* (Beloved mother);
B. *Taihei no homare* (In praise of peace)¹²² – Kenkyūkai
members from the school
16. Piano solo – *Ito tsumugu onna* (Raff)¹²³ – performed by Prof.
Yoshii, Dai Ichi Joshi Kōtō Gakkō

Part 2

17. Unison – *Tanoshiki misono* (Pleasant garden)¹²⁴ – six girls from
the affiliated elementary school
18. Unison – A. *Kono kimi kono kuni* (This ruler, this land);
B. *Enyūkai* (Banquet)¹²⁵ – second-year students

song, but there is also a *sōkyoku* (with song) piece of that name, which appears in a collection published by the Tokyo Academy of Music (*Sōkyokushū*, 1914).

¹²⁰ By Carl Czerny.

¹²¹ Yamato Takeru is a mythical imperial prince whose story is told in the *Record of Ancient Matters* (*Kojiki*). There are several songs with this title. The Kunitachi database has an entry for a three-part setting by Albert Methfessel (1785–1869), a German composer whose works include part-songs for male voices. (Lyrics by Fujimura Tsukuru).

¹²² *Koishiki haha* not identified; *Taihei no homare* can be found in Naruse Jinzō, ed., *Shinpen jogaku shōka*, vol. 4 (Osaka: Miki Sasuke, 1927 (1926)); the volume includes a title, *Kokyō no haha*. Gabriel Marie is given as the composer. No lyricist is named; the preface states that the lyrics have been added with consideration for a good fit with the music, so presumably the editor is the composer.

¹²³ Joachim Raff (1822–82); *La Fileuse*, étude de concert opus 157 n°2.

¹²⁴ Not identified.

¹²⁵ *Enyūkai* (Garden party—written with a different character), lyrics by Takeshi Morisako, music by August Söderman (1832–76); *Kono kimi*, lyrics by Yoshimaru Kazumasa, music by François-Adrien Boieldieu (1775–1835), from his opera *Jean de Paris*. The collections cited in the Kunitachi database are of a later date, but presumably the songs were published in earlier collections.

19. Violin duet – Allegro (Bōmu)¹²⁶ – students from the extracurricular course at the Dai Ichi Kōtō Jogakkō
20. Mixed voices – *Sansaijo* (Three females)¹²⁷ – female students
21. Vocal solo – *Ongaku ni yosu* (To music)¹²⁸ – fourth-year student
22. Piano solo – *Hochzeitsmarsch* (Wedding march)¹²⁹ – fourth-year student
23. Female voices, three-part – *Shungyō* (Spring dawn)¹³⁰ – Tōka High School for Girls, fourth-year students
24. Organ solo – Fantasia and Fugue (Bach) – Ichikawa, teacher at the school
25. Mixed voices – *Haru no uta* ('Spring song')¹³¹ (a cappella) – female teachers from city schools and Kenkyūkai members from this school
26. Piano solo – Fantasy (Mendelssohn) – Professor Imai from the Tōka High School for Girls
27. Violin solo – Romance (Wieniawski?)¹³² – Tejima, teacher at the Sendai High School for Girls
28. Male four-part Chorus – *Rurō no tami* (*Zigeunerleben*) – from school
29. Piano duet – *Kalif of Bagdad*¹³³ (Boieldieu) – Miyagi Jogakkō teachers Ono, Satō

126 Most probably the Austrian violinist, violin teacher, and composer Joseph Michael Böhm (1795–1876).

127 *Sansaijo* from the Monbushō *shōka* collection for elementary schools for the fifth year, 1913.

128 Possibly Schubert, *An die Musik*.

129 Presumably Mendelssohn.

130 Lyrics by Nakamura Akika, music by Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814).

131 Possibly, Mendelssohn, *Vier Lieder*, Op. 100: III. Frühlingslied or *Sechs Lieder im Freien zu singen*, Op. 59: II. *Frühzeitiger Frühling*.

132 Possibly, Henryk Wieniawski's Romance from Concerto No. 2 d minor, Op. 22, II. Romance: Andante non troppo, which is not quite as virtuosic as some of Wieniawski's other works.

133 *Le calife de Bagdad* (The caliph of Baghdad), opéra comique in one act by the French composer François-Adrien Boieldieu; the overture is still popular today.

30. Chorus, three-part – A. *Lascia ch'io pianga* (Handel);
B. *Lindenbaum* (Schubert)¹³⁴ – Chorus of the Engineering
Department of Tohoku University (Tōhoku Daigaku Kōgaku
Senmonbu)
31. Wind and string ensemble (clarinet; violins 1, 2, and 3; cello)
– A. *Moment Musical* (Schubert); B. *Minuet* (Beethoven) –
afficionados from music club at Tohoku Imperial University
32. Mixed chorus – a cappella *Kōen no uta* (Festive merriment
song)¹³⁵ – female teachers from city schools and Kenkyūkai
members from this school

The concert brought together teachers and students from several schools in Sendai: besides the Normal School and its affiliated schools, performers came from at least six other institutions, ranging from elementary schools to the Imperial University. The Second High School is not named, but some of its music enthusiasts may have joined the larger ensembles. No foreign performers are named; unlike twenty or even ten years earlier, there were enough experienced Japanese teachers and performers. The overall programme did not differ significantly from previous ones: more than half of the thirty-two items were songs; only thirteen were instrumental performances, with most of the titles suggesting a fairly elementary level, except, perhaps, those played by teachers (assuming they were played with a reasonable level of competence). The works do, however, represent a wide range of musical styles in a single concert, something that by this time may well have been appreciated by the more experienced concert-goers in the audience. Some of the pieces may have been familiar to them from previous performances.¹³⁶

Compared to most other programmes, particularly the early ones, this one included a fair number of works from the canon of the composers generally perceived as the greatest representatives of European art music: Händel (items 1; 30); Bach (24); Beethoven (14; 31); Schubert (21; 30; 31); Mendelssohn (22; 26; possibly, 25); and Schumann (28). Clearly,

134 There are several choral arrangements of both.

135 Lyrics by Yoshimaru Kazumasa; music by August Söderman (1832–76): *Eine Bauernhochzeit*.

136 This is difficult to gauge, because of the small sample of programmes, but works like *Csikòs Post* and *Zigeunerleben* appear on multiple programmes.

local actors on the Sendai music scene had made both the institution of the concert and the music performed at it their own.

Miyagi College

The highest standards of performance by local players may well have been achieved in the concerts organized by Miyagi College. Certainly, levels of ambition were high, as Kate Hansen's activities demonstrate. The college regularly held concerts and recitals (significantly more than the five reported in *Ongakukai*), as well as other events that included musical performance: the annual graduation ceremonies, for example, would have included musical recitals, as did the programme of the 'Twenty-third Anniversary of the Miyagi Jo Gakko Literary Society' on 27 November 1914.¹³⁷ In addition, the recital by Florence Seiple reported in *Ongakukai* in 1915 would not have been the only one. Kate Hansen's 'little private recital' mentioned in a letter to her sister in February 1908 may well have been the first of several.¹³⁸ But while all these events would have exposed locals to Western music, they were not always open to the general public. Most of the performers in the concerts reported in *Ongakukai* were foreigners, predominately missionary teachers and their families. Whether *Ongakukai* found these concerts more newsworthy, or whether concerts with performances by the female students tended to be for a restricted audience is hard to tell. Although Kate Hansen did not mention it, the more conservative families in Sendai may well have had reservations about letting their daughters perform in public concerts.

The programme of the concert described by Kate Hansen in May 1908 (see previous chapter) is the most varied of those published in *Ongakukai*: none of the others include Japanese music, although that does not mean that none was performed. Still, as Miyagi College's musical ambitions rose, they may well have felt they could dispense with such concessions to their audience. These were concerts where the local audience had the opportunity to hear works from the what today is perceived as the standard repertoire, such as a Beethoven sonata, performed by Kate

137 This was presumably the event referred to as a 'Christmas show' in Kate Hansen's letter. See previous chapter: programme in Hansen Papers, SRL.

138 KH to AFH, 2 February 1908, Box 1 Folder 22; the collection at the SRL includes several programmes of recitals by KH.

Hansen or Mrs Denning—or at least a single movement. We cannot be sure that the entire work was performed in each case: Hansen and Denning may not have played the entire sonatas by Grieg and Beethoven respectively at the concert on 10 May 1912, of which Hansen wrote to her mother that it was regarded as ‘the best thing musically that’s ever been given in Sendai’.¹³⁹ The other twelve items on the programme were songs or short instrumental pieces. The concert ended with Wagner’s *Walkürenritt* for piano for four hands played by Hansen and Denning, a performance that must have represented an impressive finale. The other offerings do not appear very different from those at other concerts, but the experience of regularly performing in public may well have resulted in a rise in standards of performance among the foreigners as well as the Japanese. Hansen performed the *Walkürenritt* again in a school concert on 11 March 1916, with Mrs Kriete.¹⁴⁰

By 1912 Miyagi College was already known for the quality of its music: two years earlier, *Ongakukai* had described it as an ‘authority in the musical world of Sendai’ and praised the concert held on 16 June 1910.¹⁴¹ The concert featured performances by three sisters, the daughters of Henry Mohr and Emma Marie Landis, Presbyterian missionaries and teachers at Meiji Gakuin College in Tokyo. Possibly the programme in *Ongakukai* is incomplete, as it only lists nine items, all played by the sisters: for piano duet, *Spanish Dance* and *Polish Dance* by Moszkowski¹⁴² and an unspecified piece from Gounod’s opera *Faust*; for piano solo, *La fileuse* by Raff; ‘Nocturne’ for left hand by the Russian composer Scriabin (the programme mentions his nationality); a work by Chopin, and *La Polka de la Reine* by Raff;¹⁴³ for violin, a fantasy by Vieuxtemps; *Bohemian song* by Antonin Dvořák and *Barcarole* by Hauser, and *Romance* by Beethoven.¹⁴⁴

139 See Chapter 10.

140 *Ongakukai* 174, 54.

141 ‘Sendai Miyagi Jogakkō ongakukai’, *Ongakukai* 3, no. 7 (1910): 53.

142 Moritz Moszkowski (French: Maurice Moszkowski; 1854–1925), a German composer, pianist, and teacher of Polish-Jewish descent, composed numerous small-scale pieces for piano, including Spanish and Polish dances (Op. 12 and Op. 55).

143 *La fileuse* (The spinning maid) by Joachim Raff (1822–82), Op. 157 no. 2; Prelude and Nocturne for left hand, Op. 9, D-flat major, composed in 1894 by the Russian composer Scriabin; if ‘uorufu’ in the programme is not a misprint for ‘waltz’, it might conceivably be the prelude dedicated to Wolff, although supposedly not published until 1918; Raff’s *Polka de la Reine* (Op. 95, composed 1861).

144 Henri Vieuxtemps (1820–81) wrote more than one violin work with ‘Fantasia’ in the title; the best known is the *Fantasia appassionata* for violin and orchestra, Op. 35

According to *Ongakukai* the three young ladies had chosen pieces that suited the people of Tohoku. The (unnamed) commentator particularly praised the Fantasy by Vieuxtemps and the *Faust* duet, and concluded that the three performers had truly contributed to the local music scene.¹⁴⁵

The Landis sisters performed again the following year: in a letter to her sister dated 21 May 1911 and describing the twenty-fifth anniversary concert at Tohoku College on 16 May (of which she enclosed the programme), Kate Hansen wrote, 'The Landis girls are the same ones who helped with a concert here last spring, when they were just back from Germany. They really play well.'¹⁴⁶ Indeed, the programme of the concert in 1910 suggests that the three sisters, although still in their teens, were highly proficient on their instruments.¹⁴⁷

Recitals by the teachers at Miyagi College represented a new format for the local audience. Hansen describes one she gave on 9 June 1914 as 'the first of its kind ever held in Sendai'. The school had invited the local foreigners and 'all the Japanese we knew of who had studied any music, the parents of all the schoolgirls, a lot of the common-school teachers and principals, all our own alumnae and students, and a crowd of other people of the kind we want to get interested in our school.' Hansen played the programme from memory, a first for her and 'terrifying in some ways'.¹⁴⁸ She was supported by Carl D. Kriete and his wife Beth

(c.1860), which is also performed with piano; Dvořák wrote several short pieces for violin, but seemingly none by that title; the Japanese 'Bōto no uta' by 'Hūsaa' Miska most probably refers to the Austro-Hungarian violinist and composer Miska Hauser (1822–87), whose numerous salon pieces include 'Op. 16. No. 1, Barcarole', published in *6 Pièces p. Violon av. Acc. de Pfte.* Wien, Müller (Hofmeister); the programme does not specify which of the two violin romances by Beethoven was performed.

145 *Ongakukai* 3, no. 7 (1910), 53. Sadie Lea Weidner was the school's principal from 1909 to 1913; Hayasaka was the registrar.

146 KH to AFH, 21 May 1911, SRL Box 1 Folder 25. In the same letter she describes Mrs Denning as their best player, albeit subject to performance nerves.

147 Their parents, Henry Mohr Landis (1857–1921) and Emma Marie Landis (1859–1935), who was German-born, married in 1888 and came to Japan the same year, where they taught at Meiji Gakuin, where they spent their entire working life. Their (presumably) firstborn, Fritz (b. 1889) died in infancy; they were survived by three daughters and two sons. See Meiji Gakuin Rekishi Shiryōkan, ed. Meiji Gakuin Rekishi Shiryōkan shiryōshū dai 13 shū: 'Meiji Gakuin no gaikokujin senkyōshi' Segawa Kazuo ikōshū. Tokyo: Meiji Gakuin Rekishi Shiryōkan, 2018, 49–50. Obituaries in Samuel John Umbreit, ed. *The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea and Formosa: A Yearbook of Christian Work, Twentieth Annual Issue* (Federation of Christian Missions Japan, 1922), 299–300; *Japan Christian Yearbook* (Nippon Dempo News Agency, Tokyo: 1936), 321–22.

148 KH to her family, 14 June 1914, SRL Box 1, Folder 27.

(the couple was based in Yamagata), whom she described in a letter to her sister as ‘thorough musicians’.¹⁴⁹ Carl Kriete had sung baritone in the choir as a student, while Beth, a pianist, was conservatoire-trained.

A year later, on 16 April 1915, Florence Seiple gave a recital accompanied by Hansen, who also played solo. The reporter for *Ongakukai* speculated that Seiple may have hoped to become an opera singer, because her impressive rendering of an aria from *Samson and Delilah*, ‘where Delilah seduces Samson’, suggested that it was a forte of Sendai’s ‘primadonna’.¹⁵⁰ Presumably, this was *Mon cœur s’ouvre à ta voix* from Act 2 of Camille Saint-Saëns’ opera; indeed a daring choice for a missionary wife. Seiple’s other offerings, songs by Johannes Brahms and the American Romantic composer Edward Alexander MacDowell (1860–1908), were more conventional.

The school’s first graduation recital, on 22 March 1919, was another landmark. Of course, graduation concerts were common by then, but they involved groups of graduates and other members of the school, rather than a single individual. ‘I think we have set a new standard for this part of Japan’, Hansen wrote the following day and continued:

It’s a long way back from this to the concerts they used to have here, when audiences of a couple thousand people would listen gravely for half an hour at a time to boy students’ playing exercises and scales with one finger and imagine they were hearing Western music! They were still having them in my first year or two in Sendai. Now there is a considerable public which is beginning to know quite a bit about what music really is, and that helps our school, of course.¹⁵¹

The concerts at Miyagi College probably reached a smaller and less diverse audience than those held at the Normal School. For those who did attend, however, they represented an opportunity to hear major works of European art music as well as what we today might regard as salon pieces, played to a relatively high, sometimes professional

149 KH to AFH, 10 June 1914, SRL Box 1, Folder 27 (a programme is included at the back of the same folder), Carl D. Kriete (1883–1962), who from 1930 to 1940 served as seventh president of Miyagi College, and his wife had come to Japan in 1911. Beth (née Martin) Kriete (1883–1962), who taught at Miyagi from 1935 to 1941, had studied music at Arnold School of Music, Cincinnati College of Music. See ‘Miyagi Gakuin no yakuin mata wa kyōin de atta senkyōshi’, *Miyagi Gakuin Shiryō Shiitsu nenpō/Miyagi Gakuin Archives of History Review* 18/19 (2011/2012).

150 ‘Sendai tsūshin’, *Ongakukai* 164 (1915): 70–71.

151 KH to her family, 23 March 1919, SRL, Box 1 Folder 29.

standard. Performances would have included the oratorios Kate Hansen mentioned in *Impressions*, although, possibly, performed in a church service rather than a concert.¹⁵²

Japanese students and audiences, however, were not the only ones whose experience of Western art music increased and deepened. While Hansen only hints at it in her letters, she —and presumably her Western colleagues —also developed and progressed. In Sendai they had opportunities to perform that they might not have had to the same extent if they had stayed in their home countries. They may well have been more confident, knowing as they did that their audience (at least initially) were undiscerning, and have chosen works they might not otherwise have dared to play in public. Of Hansen we know that she took every opportunity to further her skills and knowledge. She revised her initially low opinion of the audience, and her choice of repertoire pieces like *Devil's March* were replaced with sonatas by Beethoven and Grieg. We might also ask ourselves whether Florence Seiple would have performed Delilah's aria of seduction for an audience in an American provincial town. Miyagi College provides a striking illustration of how the musical encounter affected all the parties involved, not just those generally perceived to be at the receiving end.

Other Institutions

Concerts were also organized at other schools, but they may well have been smaller, less public affairs. At any rate, only a few were reported in *Ongakukai*, and not all reports included a programme. One that did was a concert held on 23 March 1917 at Sendai High School for Girls.¹⁵³ The programme listed an opening and a closing address and nine musical items: vocal, piano, and violin solos and a violin duet. The duet was played by Hongō and Kumagai (the latter described as an external teacher). That same year, on 21 November 1917 a concert held at Shōkei School for Girls was reported, with a programme of eight items: chorus, vocal solo, piano, and organ.¹⁵⁴ Neither of these two was significantly

152 *Ongakukai* has no report of an oratorio performance.

153 'Sendai Kōtō Jogakkō sōbetsu ongakukai', *Ongakukai* 187 (1917): 73–74.

154 'Sendai Shōkei Jogakkō ongakukai', *Ongakukai* 195 (1918): 72–73.

different from the other programmes described. Performers at Shōkei included Mrs Iglehart, the wife of a Methodist missionary.

Local societies also organized concerts. In December 1916, *Ongakukai* reported the establishment of the Sendai Musical Amateur Club (Sendai Ongaku Dōkō Kurabu).¹⁵⁵ The club had been formed in November with the intention to refine the local people's musical sensibilities and to study and cultivate Western music, perceived as being underdeveloped in the city, which did not even have a dedicated concert hall.¹⁵⁶ The inaugural concert on 18 November, in the auditorium of the Second High School, featured three performers from Tokyo: Tōgi Tetsusaburō (violinist), Ōwada Aira (singer and cellist), and Hirota Ryūtarō (composer and pianist).¹⁵⁷ All three were graduates of and teachers at the Tokyo Academy of Music. While the programme was not unlike others in Sendai at the time, it included two string quartet items, in which the local violinists Hongō and Kumagai joined the guests (each playing second violin in one), as well as two piano trio performances.¹⁵⁸ The concert was deemed a success, attracting an audience of 1,400.

The club organized another concert in May 1917, again with musicians from Tokyo. This time Tōgi and Ōwada were joined by the pianist Sakakibara Naoshi and the soprano singer Takeoka Tsuruyo.¹⁵⁹ Besides Mendelssohn's piano trio in G minor (performed by Tōgi and Ōwada, with Sakakibara at the piano), a string quartet by Haydn in G major,¹⁶⁰ and Mozart's *Eine kleine Nachtmusik*, the audience were

155 'Ongaku ensō taikai', *Ongakukai* 182 (1916): 48; for the programme see Sendai Chōmarusei [pseud.], 'Sendai gakukyō (February 1917)', *Ongakukai* 184 (1917): 61.

156 Sendai Chōmarusei [pseud.], 'Sendai gakukyō (February 1917)'.

157 'Ongaku ensō taikai', *Ongakukai* 182 (1916): 48. Tōgi (1884–1952), who came from a *gagaku* family, graduated from the Tokyo Academy of Music in 1905, where he taught from May 1906 until January 1908. Ōwada (1886–1962) taught *shōka* at the Academy from 1907 to 1913. Hirota (1892–1952) taught at the Academy from 1914 to 1939 and was also a member of the Hōgaku Research Committee. See Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, ed. *Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku hyakunenshi: Tōkyō Ongaku Gakkō hen 2*. (Tokyo: Ongaku no Tomosha, 2003), 1566; 1551; 1572 (Hirota).

158 Only the titles of the movements are named, not the actual works. In the quartet items, Hirota played the viola part, according to the programme.

159 'Sendai Amachua Kurabu shunki ensōkai', *Ongakukai* 189 (1917): 46. Takeoka is not named in the programme, but her identity is evident from another report published in a later issue. See 'Sendai Amachua Kurabu kinkyō', *Ongakukai* 191 (1917): 54–55. The city hall was completed in May 1916.

160 The programme describes it as '*to chōchō (7 ban)*', but this may be an error: Haydn wrote several quartets in G major, none of which is identified as 'no. 7'.

treated to Beethoven's 'Moonlight' Sonata (or at least a movement from it) and the final movement of Mendelssohn's violin concerto in E minor.¹⁶¹ Again, the local violinists Hongō and Kumagai took part.¹⁶² This concert too was described as a success, with 1,300 people attending in the newly built city hall. According to *Ongakukai*, this was all the more noteworthy because of the difficulties of organizing concerts in provincial towns. Another report in *Ongakukai* two months later even claimed that the audience had numbered 2,500 and praised Takeoka's singing, adding that her songs had become popular among the local girls. Nevertheless, Takeoka was not actually named together with the other guest performers from Tokyo, and her name did not appear in the programme: since no other singer is named, she presumably sang *Hiru no yume* (Midday dream), composed by Fukada Sada, and the soprano part in an unspecified duet from Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni*, with Ōwada Aira singing the other part.¹⁶³ Possibly, the omission was due to a notion that the name of a young woman who had only graduated the previous month did not merit a mention together with the famous stars, or else she had been roped in at the last minute. Takeno continued into the graduate department and went on to an impressive career as a performer and pedagogue, as well as a co-founder in 1926 of what today is Kunitachi College of Music.

The author of the report concluded by praising the work of the society, but then ended on a critical note. The habit of people in Tohoku to argue about everything hampered progress: 'Those who devote themselves to music and while teaching at one school go to the extreme of interfering with the staging of other concerts, are behaving outrageously. Those who aim to further the growth of music must eliminate these members as quickly as possible.'¹⁶⁴ The cooperation of different parties evinced by several of the concert programmes was clearly far from self-evident.

161 'Sendai Amachua Kurabu shunki ensōkai', *Ongakukai* 189 (1917): 461.

162 Kumagai is listed as taking the viola part in the string quartet performances.

163 Presumably *La ci darem la mano*, the most famous duet from the opera, although 'jichūon' in the programme usually means 'tenor', and the part of Don Giovanni is scored for bass or baritone.

164 TN, 'Sendai Amachū Kurabu kinjō', *Ongakukai* 191 (1917): 55.

Representing the Nation and the World in Sendai

By the early 1920s, then, participation in concerts whether as listener, performer, or organizer, had widened and diversified, with new actors, such as the Amateur Club and members of Tohoku Imperial University, appearing on the scene. The people of Sendai had the opportunity to hear a wide range of Western music, sometimes performed to a high standard. As for Japanese music, the reporters for *Ongakukai* were chiefly concerned with Western music, so other sources would have to be consulted in order to reach definite conclusions, but the absence of references to Japanese music in the later reports, together with its disappearance from published concert programmes, suggests that the distance between the two musical worlds had increased.

Judging from the sample of concert programmes published in *Ongakukai*, performances varied between the different organizing institutions and over time. Nevertheless, some general characteristics are discernible. Performances included solos and vocal and instrumental ensembles ranging from duets to small orchestras. The predominant musical instruments were the piano or (reed) organ and the violin, and, in Japanese music, the *koto* and the *shamisen* as well as the *satsumabiwa*. The local musicians consisted mainly of students and their teachers, among them the foreign teachers and other members of the foreign community. Visiting musicians most commonly came from the Tokyo Academy of Music.

The repertoire consisted largely of *shōka*, hymns, and fairly elementary instrumental pieces. The number and variety of *shōka* published in Japan by this time means that close examination would require a study of its own. The later collections increasingly included compositions by Japanese. Indeed, for *tokuhon shōka* (reading textbook songs) this could not be otherwise, since the text was a given. Even *shōka* not specifically described as such were often based on the contents of school textbooks. Setting existing lyrics to a tune represented a marked departure from the adoption of *shōka* in the early days of the Tokyo Academy of Music, when Western tunes had to be fitted with suitable Japanese lyrics.

Chronologically, the repertoire ranged from the European Baroque era to contemporary music. Among the instrumental pieces, marches

were particularly frequent, reflecting the strong presence of military-style music in the repertoire of nineteenth-century Western music. Many items might be classified as salon pieces, with the term used in a broad sense to include both music composed chiefly for playing at home and arrangements of popular excerpts from larger works such as operas and oratorios, including works largely forgotten today, such as unspecified items from Flotow's opera *Martha* (conceivably, *The Last Rose of Summer*, the melody of which would have been familiar to most Japanese from one of the earliest *shōka*); or from Wallace's *Maritana*.¹⁶⁵ Other operatic favourites included Carl Maria von Weber and Richard Wagner.¹⁶⁶

The most iconic 'great masters', on the other hand, are strikingly underrepresented. Beethoven, for example, for all the reverence the Japanese expressed for his name, (as attested by Kate Hansen) and for all his status as the icon of European art music, is conspicuous by his absence in most of the programmes examined. He is named (or can be definitely identified) as a composer in seven of the programmes examined, four of them performed by foreigners at Miyagi College or musicians from the Tokyo Academy of Music.¹⁶⁷ Mozart, that other iconic composer, is named in eight concert programmes (twice in two of them), with two of them featuring local Japanese performers.¹⁶⁸

The breadth of the repertoire reinforces the understanding of these concerts as a creative space in which the imagination, stimulated by the sonic experience and the different titles that described its elements, could roam beyond the borders of the city and the prefecture to encompass the whole Japanese nation, and the world beyond its

165 *Martha*: ('Māsa') Sendai Association, October 1907; Second High School, January 1908; Miyagi Shihan, February 1918; possibly Tohoku University, May 1920 ('Maruta'); William Vincent Wallace (1812–65), *Maritana*: Second High, October 1913 (probably); Second High, November 1915; Sendai Girls' High, 1917); Tohoku Academy of Music, 1920.

166 Works by Weber were included in at least eight of the programmes examined; pieces from *Tannhäuser* in at least five.

167 Performances by Japanese include an organ solo by a fourth-year student at Miyagi Normal School for Men, 26 February 1916, playing an unspecified funeral march (from Op. 26?), and a piano solo as well as an ensemble performance at a concert by the Miyagi Normal School, 26 February 1916; an unspecified funeral march (from Op. 26?), 19 February 1921; an unspecified allegro and a minuet respectively; the ensemble members came from Tohoku University.

168 Second High School, 1903 and 1920; Miyagi College, May 1908, 1916; Normal School, 1914; Amateur Club 1917; Imperial University, 1920 (2); Tohoku Academy, 1920 (2).

borders. The extent of the familiarity of the pieces would have varied, from Japanese and blended music, and *shōka* that by the 1900s had been sung for many years, to the marches and dances that were staples of military and civilian band performances, and, finally, Western popular songs and instrumental works that evoked faraway and mythical places, and, less often, chamber music and solos that might be described as art music proper.

The programme of the concert at the Normal School in 1921, introduced above, includes examples of all of the (Western-style) genres mentioned. The opening work, *See the Conquering Hero Comes* from Händel's *Judas Maccabäus*, is an example of a work based on a story from Biblical times. The popular chorus has been adapted and arranged in many forms, and had probably been performed at previous concerts.¹⁶⁹ Another example is the *War March of the Priests* from Mendelssohn's *Athalia* (Op. 74), which in the nineteenth century was as popular as his *Wedding March*, performed in the same concert (item 22), and appeared on at least three programmes in Sendai.¹⁷⁰ Other exotic settings are the (Middle Eastern) Orient, represented by *The Caliph of Baghdad* (29), and the gypsy camp portrayed in Schumann's *Zigeunerleben* (28), now sung with translated lyrics.¹⁷¹ Gypsies are also evoked in Sarasate's *Zigeunerweisen*, still one of the most popular violin pieces in Japan (and elsewhere); the performance by Tōgi Tetteki at the Sendai Amateur Club's spring concert in 1917 (billed as *Rurōshi no uta*) may well have been a Sendai first, given its level of difficulty.

The audience would not have known this, but François-Adrien Boieldieu, the composer of *The Caliph*, also composed the tune of *Kono kimi kono kuni* (This ruler, this land; item 18), a patriotic song that begins with 'The height of Mount Fuji, the depth of Lake Biwa...'. The famous landmarks would have been almost as distant as a foreign country to

169 For example, Pt 2, item 3 in the Second High School concert in November 1910 lists a string ensemble of *gaika* (victory song), which may well be Händel's chorus, which appears in the repertoire of violin tutors.

170 Second High School, February 1905; and October 1908 (ensemble); Miyagi Jogakkō, May 1912 (organ). About the popularity of *Athalia*, see Marian Wilson Kimber, 'Performing "Athalia": Mendelssohn's Op. 74 in the Nineteenth-Century Choral World', *The Choral Journal* 49, no. 10 (2009).

171 *The Caliph of Baghdad* was also performed at a concert held at Miyagi College in June 1916. *Zigeunerleben* (with the translated title *Rurō no tami*) was also programmed at the Normal School for Girls in February 1917.

most of the population of Sendai before the political unification of the country and construction of the railway network. If *Chishima* (Kurile Islands; item 6B) is, as seems likely, the song *Dōho subete rokusenman* (Our sixty million brethren), then the opening lines, ‘From Karafuto and Chishima in the North to Taiwan, Penghu, and the eight provinces of Korea in the South’, describe the extent of the Japanese empire at the end of the Meiji era. The (mythical) beginnings of the Japanese nation are the subject of *Yamato Takeru* (11). The song of the *Gunkan mōchi* (Warship march), on the other hand, performed at the Normal School concert in February 1918, bore the message that Japan had to protect itself against a potentially hostile world.

Many compositions in other concerts evoked foreign nations or regions in their titles. The concert programme with the Landis sisters (16 June 1910) alone included a ‘Spanish’ and a ‘Polish’ dance as well as a ‘Bohemian song’, while two composers were described as French and Russian respectively. The names of several marches included place names; for example, the Second High School concert on 31 March 1903 included the *Louisville March*, *Grand Russian March* and *Washington March*.¹⁷² The American patriotic song *Hail Columbia* featured in several concerts.¹⁷³

Perhaps as a counterweight to a world that had become larger and, even while fascinating, more threatening, *shōka* expressing a nostalgic longing or a sense of loss were popular items. In the 1921 programme examined here, *Kyōshū* (Longing for home; item 2) and *Koishiki haha* (Beloved mother; 15) almost certainly fall into this category. The all-time favourite, however, was *Home, Sweet Home*, which was sung or played in several concerts either in English, or in Japanese, as *Hanyū no yado* (Our humble dwelling) or *Tanoshiki wagaya* (Our happy home).¹⁷⁴ Even in the sentimental evocation of the home—another modern construct—the Japanese in Sendai and elsewhere were in tune with their contemporaries in the English-speaking world. *Home Sweet Home*, composed by Henry R. Bishop and premiered as part of Payne’s 1823 operetta *Clari, or the Maid of Milan*, became one of the most popular sentimental songs of the

¹⁷² See Chapter 9.

¹⁷³ Second High School, 11 February 1905; Normal School, 4 March 1911; Tōhoku Ongakuin, 25 October 1914 and 3 October 1916.

¹⁷⁴ *Tanoshiki wagaya* might also be one of several other songs with that title.

nineteenth century (and beyond), widely circulated as sheet music and sung by amateurs at home and by professional singers on the stage.¹⁷⁵ The song has since featured in American films, and plays a central part in Ichikawa Kon's 1956 film *The Burmese Harp*. Early in the film, a company of Japanese soldiers find themselves surrounded by British in a remote Burmese village. They sing *Home, Sweet Home* with Japanese lyrics in order to trick the British soldiers into believing that their presence has not been noticed by the Japanese. But as they prepare for a surprise attack, the British soldiers respond by singing the same song with its English lyrics. The Japanese soldiers surrender and learn that the war ended three days previously. In this scene, singing together, albeit in different languages, is represented as 'a unifying act', through which the soldiers on opposing sides recognize their common humanity.¹⁷⁶

War, of course, represents a major break with the past, both for the nations and the individuals involved. But modernity itself is defined by the notion of progress and rapid movement away from the past. Nostalgia, a melancholic sense of irretrievable loss, depends on this notion and is a quintessentially modern phenomenon.¹⁷⁷ Music gave expression to that loss. Julian Johnson describes the nineteenth-century Lied as 'a vehicle of nostalgia' and as 'one of the most explicit genres of musical re-remembering, defined by a peculiarly modern quality of temporal dissonance to which it gives exemplary form.'¹⁷⁸ The examples he analyses are art songs from the classical canon, but the characterization would seem to apply to the songs by composers like Stephen Foster and Henry Rowley Bishop. For Japan and other non-Western countries, the break with the past was particularly extreme because it involved being confronted with cultural traditions radically different from their own.¹⁷⁹

175 Bridget Bennet, 'Home Songs and the Melodramatic Imagination: From "Home, Sweet Home" to *The Birth of a Nation*', *Journal of American Studies* 46, no. 1 (2012): 178, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021875811001356>

176 For a detailed discussion of the episode and its effect on Japanese and Anglophone viewers respectively, see Stephen Parmelee, "'Such Inexplicable Pain': Kon Ichikawa's *The Burmese Harp*", *Christian Scholar's Review* 40, no. 4 (2011), <https://christianscholars.com/such-inexplicable-pain-kon-ichikawas-the-burmese-harp/>

177 Peter Fritzsche, 'Specters of History: On Nostalgia, Exile, and Modernity', *The American Historical Review* 106, no. 5 (2001): 1589, 95, <https://doi.org/OI:10.2307/2692740>; Johnson, *Out of Time*, 26, 85.

178 Johnson, *Out of Time*, 37.

179 De Ferranti and Tokita, *Music, Modernity and Locality*, 10.

Nostalgia is strongly present in Japan's culture today, musically and otherwise, something generally ascribed to the abruptness and rapidity of Japan's course of modernization, Westernization, and urbanization.¹⁸⁰

The modern space of the concert brought inhabitants of Sendai from diverse backgrounds together for the purpose of performing and listening to music. This in itself was new. Through the foreign music they encountered the world outside Japan. Whether as listeners or performers, they could, simultaneously with their contemporaries in other parts of the world, imagine and experience themselves as part of a much wider world than the provincial city they lived in, or even the nation it belonged to. By performing the music, they were simultaneously performing an imagined worldwide community: symbolically 'keeping together in time' and (increasingly) in tune with the modern world of nations.

180 Jennifer Milioto Matsue, *Music in Contemporary Japan*, Focus on World Music Series, (New York: Routledge, 2016), 55–58.