

“There’s a west wind coming”: Sherlock Holmes in Meiji Japan

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Introduction

“There’s an east wind coming, Watson.” This was a phrase uttered by Sherlock Holmes on the eve of the First World War. As the story goes, a famous consulting detective (now retired and in his old age) had captured a German spy at the request of the British government. He confided to his dear old friend that he had a premonition of what was to come—a destructive storm originating in Germany that would eventually consume and reshape the world, altering irreversibly Britain’s standing within it.

This proved to be Sherlock Holmes’s very last mission, and the author Arthur Conan Doyle wrote this short story in 1917, when it seemed increasingly evident (at least to him) with all the scars and casualties of war that the heyday of the British Empire, what was once “the empire on which the sun never sets”, was well and truly over.

Six decades earlier, and on the other side of the globe, there was an equally severe wind that shook a small island country, “the land of the rising sun”. In this case, however, the wind blew not from the east but from the west, and was accompanied by Commodore Perry and his four U.S. Navy warships. The crisis induced by this event prompted Japan to end its isolation policy that had lasted almost three centuries. It soon brought down the Tokugawa Shogunate, and in 1868 the Meiji regime was established. Its impending task was to modernize Japan, and to achieve this, it was thought necessary to import not only Western technology but also Western culture and Western way of life. It took almost the entire Meiji era to convert their wooden junk into steel warship. It was a formidable wind indeed, creating waves that violently rocked as well as guided the new but somewhat ill-equipped ship.

This article aims to illustrate how Sherlock Holmes, that strangely immortal

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character (or so it seems to us today) created by Doyle, was embraced by the Japanese people during the Meiji period, and how the various ways in which Sherlock Holmes novels were translated and interpreted could serve to mirror and explain some of the profound cultural as well as social and political changes that occurred during this period of rapid modernization.

The Sherlock Holmes corpus as rendered by the Meiji translators conveyed impressions that were not always consistent with one another. It was seen on the one hand as belonging to the genre of English literature, a genre principally catered for the elite, but on the other, as a form of entertainment aimed at people at large. While this popular aspect meant that it was inferior (or so it was perceived by many intellectuals) to the high-minded literary oeuvre, the fact that Doyle's Holmes was a highly intelligent man equipped with exceptional aptitude for analysis and scientific reasoning signified that he was a figure to be taken seriously by those who aspired to elevate Japan to the status of the great powers. Indeed, Holmes was often seen as a personification of certain Western values—values that were considered by many Meiji intellectuals as the key to realizing their aspiration.

Chronologically speaking, it was not until the Taisho era that the translations of the Holmes series truly got underway in terms of achieving popularity and completeness. However, because there was no established style or mode of translation during the Meiji period, translators often felt free to interpret and translate the text according to their own preconceptions and intended purposes. Thus unsurprisingly, a host of disparate and often skewed translations appeared during this period. This is especially true of Holmes translations. However, it is interesting for this very reason, since by observing the sheer variety of interpretations and by analyzing the manifold ways in which distortions occurred, one could discern with a reasonable degree of accuracy the different purposes for which Sherlock Holmes novels were translated.

In what follows, I should like first to show how high-minded or publicly-minded people (be they public officials, intellectuals or private individuals) in the Meiji period considered the study of English literature to be conducive to Japan's national interest. In so doing, I hope to shed light on how this Westernization movement also served to create tensions and divisions among intellectuals. I should then like to consider briefly the context in which detective novels gained popularity during the Meiji period in order to illustrate the backdrop against which Sherlock Holmes appeared on the scene. Finally, by analyzing the Meiji translations of Sherlock Holmes novels, I will try to articulate some of the underlying intentions that led to their composition, thereby highlighting their bearing on the cultural, social and political spheres.

Japan's Aspiration and the Reception of English Literature

In Meiji Japan, books served as the primary means by which people learnt about Western civilization. Hence there appeared vast numbers of translations and commentaries on Western books, and it was considered the role of the enlightened elites to instill what they had learnt to the general public¹. A notable example which made considerable impact at the time was the translation of Samuel Smiles' *Self-help*, published in 1871 (NAKAMURA 1871, 1981). The translated text was not an easy read, since the style reflected the translator's familiarity with classical Chinese. Thanks, however, to the virile prose, it was enthusiastically received by the younger generation. Faithfully translating the text word for word, it conveyed the centrality of individual autonomy and self-respect, preaching (what we would today call) the ethics of democracy. Intellectuals who underlined the importance of "the spirit of civilization" claimed that this was something more difficult to acquire than the outward knowledge of science and technology, and thus devoted much effort (through translations and commentaries) to creating a new ethos amenable to the post-Meiji Restoration Japan (YOSHITAKE 1959).

While intellectuals committed themselves to these activities, the Meiji government invested much energy into establishing educational institutions aimed at fostering elites proficient in foreign languages. Thus was established the Tokyo Kaisei Gakko in 1873. At this supremely elitist institute, teaching was conducted exclusively in English (MOZUMI 1986: 89-90), and in 1875, foreign instructors began lecturing on classical English literature. In 1877, this institute was renamed Tokyo University and many students who enrolled in the intellectually demanding lecture on Shakespeare's plays later became prominent public figures². Tokyo University in 1886 became the Imperial University of Tokyo and a year later the Department of English Literature (together with the Department of German Literature) was established within the Faculty of Letters. English language training through study of English literary works became well and truly institutionalized, now recognized as forming part of national policy.

However, this is only half the story, for English literature served not only the elite but also people who remained outside the established circles. The rise of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement after 1874, a movement that criticized the policies of the Meiji government as tyrannical, coincided with the rise in popularity of translated political novels. The translation of Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *Earnest Maltravers*, which appeared in 1879, triggered this trend which was to continue until around 1887. A great many translations of political novels (including those of German and French origins) were published during this period. Particularly popular among English political novels were those of Bulwer-Lytton and Benjamin Disraeli. Interestingly, even Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* was translated with a political intent³.

What was distinctive about the body of translated works was that it evolved into a genre that catered not only for the elites with their preferred highbrow literature but also for the populace with their proclivity towards readily comprehensible and emotionally engaging entertainment. Due to this entertainment factor, translations often tended to deviate from the original by being deliberately skewed, truncated or exaggerated according to the translators' tastes. There were even those expressed in the seven-five syllabi meter, with a deliberate aim to evoke certain romantic sentiments favored at the time. Of course, there were criticisms⁴ towards these so-called "erratic translations" (*Ran'yaku*) or "audacious translations" (*Goketsuyaku*), but it can hardly be denied that they served as the medium through which many ordinary people (whose intellectual curiosity as well as political and social awareness were heightened with the rise of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement) encountered and imbibed Western culture⁵.

English thus became an indispensable means for dealing with or thinking about the pressing concerns of the day, be they cultural or political, domestic or international. It was widely thought by the Japanese people of this period that the study of English was intimately bound up with the destiny of the nation. For this reason, the number of institutions dedicated to English education increased drastically in a short period of time, both in the public and private sectors⁶. Moreover, it was generally believed by those involved in establishing English schools that learning English literature and absorbing the best of what it had to offer would work to the benefit of the country (SATO 2006, 2007).

As people became more and more familiar with English, arbitrary translations such as the ones seen in political novels became out of fashion, and the demand for accurate and faithful translations came to predominate. People increasingly desired to know the original author's thought and to experience the psychological effect as was originally intended. There was now a sense of mission to achieve this, and this in turn was founded on the self-confidence that it was indeed possible. "Japanization" or radical reinterpretation was no longer the order of the day.

"Europeanization" and the Rising Tide of Nationalism

Tokutomi Soho and his "Europeanism" (*Okashugi*) embodied in an extreme form these ambitions and self-confidence so characteristic of the younger generation's psyche during this period. His appeal for the ultimate victory of liberty in a world that moved steadily towards greater democracy (or so he believed rather naïvely) inspired hope and self-confidence, but at the same time his insistence on thorough Westernization of Japanese society (which implied the total rejection of Eastern and Japanese values, cultures, traditions and customs) meant that people would turn into *déracinés* (PYLE 2013: 78).

Soho's view was received with much enthusiasm by the younger generation.

On the other hand, there were journalists such as Kuga Katsunan who found this trend quite alarming. Katsunan and his associates defined their own position as “Japanese nationalism” (*Kokusuishugi*) and stressed the importance of maintaining Japan’s traditional values—viewing them as forming the spiritual pillar indispensable for national cohesion. Moreover, this degree of autonomy from Western value system was thought indispensable for staving off pressures from the Western powers. For Katsunan, it was necessary to resort to Japanese culture and history, the very things rejected by the proponents of Europeanization. This however did not entail chauvinism since it was argued that Japan by preserving its Japan-ness could bring cultural plurality and competition to the international society, thereby contributing to the world-wide progress of civilization. Nonetheless, this position made it very difficult to demonstrate rationally, objectively and hence unequivocally what Japan could proudly offer to the modern world.

The conflict exemplified by the rivalry between Soho’s Europeanism and Katsunan’s nationalism also corresponded with the inner spiritual tension⁷ experienced by many young individuals who tried to absorb Western civilization. Learning from the West was a precondition for elevating Japan’s status within international society; yet this was a move that led to a sense of inferiority. The dilemma was exposed during the debate concerning the revision of unequal treaty⁸, and prompted by the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education, Japan veered rapidly towards conservatism. In the same year that a treaty between Britain and Japan was revised, the Sino-Japanese War broke out. Japan’s victory, followed by a setback resulting from the Triple Intervention, caused such a state of delirium that even Soho reversed his position and became a nationalist (*Kokkenschugisha*). But perhaps one could surmise that Soho too was struggling with the inner spiritual tension, and even as he preached Europeanism, he was always in search of a stable source of identity.

In order to maintain independence against the rising tide of colonialism, many Japanese people of this period made great sacrifices, even to the point of self-denial. They tried their utmost to imbibe Western civilization and learn the ways of modern “civilized society”. As we have seen, however, this induced a serious psychological dilemma. And in order to overcome this identity crisis, many eventually returned to the traditional value system symbolized by the Imperial Rescript on Education, and chose to maintain and extend the state’s power through wars. Soho’s naïve Europeanism was no more. But neither was Katsunan’s relatively moderate and pragmatic “Japanese nationalism”, which was superseded by nationalism of a more extreme and chauvinistic kind.

It goes without saying that this development alienated those who could not follow suit. And as societal problems became increasingly more serious and divisive after the Sino-Japanese war, some turned to socialism. Others turned their backs on politics and escaped into their own secluded worlds. This latter phenomenon became

more conspicuous following the victory of the Russo-Japanese War and the successful revision of the unequal treaty—both of which served to disentangle (or rather sever) the complex web of tensions that characterized the Meiji era (MATSUMOTO 2012: 189-198).

Thus it was that hopes and sufferings, almost unimaginable to us today, prevailed in this era, and thus this era drew to a close.

The Standing of Detective Fiction

Now, how does Sherlock Holmes fit into all of this? To answer this, we must first observe how detective fiction as a genre came to situate itself in relation to Japanese society.

Detective fiction stories first appeared in newspapers and pulp magazines as real-life accounts of criminal activities (though some more real than others). Japan does not differ significantly from Britain and France in that such stories initially attracted an increasingly literate populace prone to be dazzled by sensational depictions of real criminal incidents. In Britain there was *The Newgate Calendar*, containing biographies of condemned criminals, published by the prison authorities for the purpose of enlightening the public. *Newgate Novels* were stories based on such biographies, though made considerably more dramatic and sensational. The French equivalent was *roman feuilleton* serialized in newspapers. Then in Japan there was *Tsuzukimono*⁹, consisting of exaggerated tales derived from minor newspaper¹⁰ articles. They were naturally considered to be lowbrow reading, since the medium as well as the themes and prose were intended to appeal to the masses.

It is worth noting that in the early Meiji period, fiction novel as a genre was generally not highly regarded¹¹. This remained the case regardless of the subject matter. Frequent social unrest characteristic of the age and preference for practical science meant that people were little inclined to attach importance to fiction. So for many popular novelists who composed fictitious stories during the *Bakumatsu* era (the last days of the Tokugawa Shogunate), it was only possible to continue their writing careers by becoming journalists that produced factual articles for minor newspapers.

The exception, however, was the aforementioned *Tsuzukimono*, which became rather popular with its dramatization of real events. The first best-selling story of this kind (derived from a newspaper) was based on a real incident but retold in a novel-like manner (KUBOTA 1886, KANAGAKI 1879-1880). Moreover from the late 1870s until the late 1880s, *Tsuzukimono* became a fad¹². Vamps and thieves often appeared in *Tsuzukimono*, and this in part reflected the traditional genre that dated back to the Edo period. But even at the time, this genre, exemplified by *Dokufumono* and *Shiranamimono*, was hardly regarded as highbrow.

There was, however, another precursor to detective fiction—the factual account

of investigation (*Tantei Jitsuroku*) aimed at both instructing the public officials and enlightening the general public on how investigation and judiciary matters ought to be handled. The first translation of foreign nonfiction detective story appeared in 1863. It was a translation of a book written in Dutch, entitled *Report on the Virtues of Dutch Politics*¹³, and the translator's intention was to introduce to the public officials "an exemplary account that demonstrates the virtues of Dutch politics equipped with a police system" (ITO 2002: 32). Similar examples abound, and indeed many works of detective fiction written in the two decades that followed from around 1890 were based on such foreign as well as domestic nonfiction detective stories¹⁴.

This trend is hardly surprising. After all, Japan's aim since the Meiji Restoration was to construct a modern state and normalize its relations with the Western powers, and this depended in part on maintaining public order by establishing an effective police force. Interestingly, in 1870, Fukuzawa Yukichi (the founder of Keio University) was asked by the recently established Meiji government to instruct them about the very basic notion of the police system, and to this effect Fukuzawa translated the article on "police" in the *New American Encyclopedia*¹⁵. This was indeed the first in a series of the Meiji government's vigorous effort to study the Western police system, which soon led to sending observation teams abroad as well as inviting foreign experts. In the process, the centralized model *à la* France and ultimately that of the Prussian monarchy came to prevail over the decentralized English or London model. By 1888, the basic institutional structure of the police system was in place.

As for the precise roles and responsibilities of the police in society, however, people remained generally ill-informed, and this held true not only for the general public but also for the members of the police force. This was why detective fiction stories assumed an educative role—something well-illustrated by the fact that many translated detective stories in addition to factual accounts of investigation (both domestic and international) were serially published in widely-read journals and newspapers catered for police officers¹⁶. For professionals dealing with criminal investigation, these detective stories were not simply a form of entertainment but a kind of manual that demanded expert attention¹⁷. It is noteworthy that, during the late Meiji period, translations of Sherlock Holmes appeared in police journals¹⁸.

In view of these different trends, how would one designate Kuroiwa Ruiko, that authoritative Meiji figure in the field of translated detective fiction? It was in 1889 that he published (in a small newspaper) his first serious translated detective fiction¹⁹. He went on to translate and publish detective fiction stories composed mainly by French authors such as Fortuné du Boisgobey and Émile Gaboriau. The stories were serialized in newspapers and became very popular. Just how popular a figure he was can be observed from the following data. When Ruiko stopped writing for the newspaper *Miyako Shimbun* in late 1892, its circulation dropped from 27,000

to 7,000. Subsequently, when he launched the *Yorozu Choho* newspaper, it became Tokyo's best-selling newspaper after just two years. Ruiko had become a pulp writer and he had no qualms about being labeled as such. As he himself proclaimed unabashedly, his detective fiction was “not a novel but a *Tsuzukimono*, not literature but journalism”²⁰.

However, it would be misleading to conclude from the above that he was solely devoted to popular entertainment, because one of his motives for translating detective fiction was indeed rooted in his commitment to enlightening the public. Through his translations, he was also trying to teach those people whose job it was to arrest and judge criminals the dignity of human rights and the importance of law²¹. It is furthermore noteworthy that Ruiko, as a young man, aspired to go into politics. It is no surprise then that he was eager to instill the general public with a true sense of social justice—especially at a time when the society was still rife with arbitrariness on the part of the government and its officials (despite their pronouncement of the dawn of a new era)²².

Recently, it has even been suggested that Kanagaki Robun, the seemingly vulgar and populist author who wrote *Tsuzukimono* to propagate government policies, included in his *Dokufumono* criticisms and sarcasms against elites such as government officials and lawyers, even mocking the legal language used by them (MATSUBARA 2013:43-61).

Thus it can be argued that detective fiction in Meiji society had multifarious implications. Entertainment and enlightenment, populism and elitism, state-building and social critique—these different factors intertwined to form a complex landscape in which detective fiction played its distinctive roles. It is at this juncture that we witness Sherlock Holmes entering the scene, bringing yet another important piece of the puzzle—English literature entangled in politics.

A Brief Overview of Sherlock Holmes Translations

“Foreignization” and “domestication” are two contrasting methodological concepts often employed in translation studies. “Foreignization” refers to a method that seeks to reflect as much as possible the lexical meaning and usage of the original language, and is underlain by the attitude to accept as part of foreign culture the awkward or unnatural expressions that result from it. In contrast, “domestication” is focused on adaptation to the vernacular context, showing (as it were) no compunction about changing the original wording or expressions. This contrast broadly corresponds with the more familiar distinction between translation and adaptation, literal translation and free translation (MIZUNO 2007, SATO 2006).

A typical attitude in favor of “foreignization” can be seen in the following statements by Morita Shiken²³, a famous translator who made a name for himself as “the king of translation” during the 1890s. “What is certain is that writings of one

country embody the ethos distinctive to that country, making it almost impossible for them in their original form to be translated into the writings of another country” (MORITA 1991: 285-286). “If possible, I would like to show to some degree the difference in the expressive style of language between the West and the East by retaining the [appearance of] difference” (MORITA 1991: 292). One could argue that Shiken perfected one mode of writing style in the tradition of literal translation, the origin of which can be traced back to Nakamura Masanao’s *Western Success Story* (*Saikokurishihen*, aforementioned translation of Samuel Smiles’ *Self-Help*). As many scholars point out, Futabatei Shimei’s *Meeting* (*Aibiki*, a translation of Ivan Turgenev’s *Meeting* included in his *A Sportsman’s Sketches*) composed in a new style sought to match the spoken with written language, and ultimately the writing style of modern Japanese literature itself evolved out of this tradition (MIZUNO 2007: 14, YANAGIDA 1935: 152-153, 190-191, YOSHITAKE 1959: 112, ITO 2002: 135-136).

But this development concerned for the most part the intellectuals and was centered around the debate over polite literature (*Jbungaku*). Not surprisingly, a different strategy was employed by the popular novelists whose focus was more on entertainment (SATO 2006: 57). This was true of Kuroiwa Ruiko, who comprehended the original work but reconstructed it to suit the readers—selecting certain sections and omitting others (ITO 2002: 57)²⁴. This, one could say, reflects the attitude that seeks “domestication”.

As mentioned earlier, Meiji translations of Sherlock Holmes novels belonged simultaneously to two categories—popular detective fiction and elitist English literature. Methods of translation varied considerably depending on which category was favored by the translator. Hence there were bold adaptations as well as literal translations with extensive footnotes.

Despite such seemingly disparate developments, however, it is possible to discern an overall trend that can be summarized chronologically as follows. The early translations were largely composed in the exclusively detective fiction mode, and the emphasis on entertainment often led translators to omit the details. So they tended to be abridged translations. But as literary scholars enchanted by Sherlock Holmes novels began to introduce them as works of English literature, thereby distinguishing them from the sensationalist popular novels, the number of literal translations increased. Correspondingly, the focal point of the story shifted from awe-inspiring ingenuity to scientific reasoning, and by the Taisho period, readers had become familiarized with Holmes’s intellectual appeal. Holmes was now rightly understood as “the most perfect reasoning and observing machine”, and readers embraced him for what he was with a great sense of delight. Moreover, virtues associated with Holmes were presented to them as those that Japanese people ought to cultivate in pursuing their elevated goals (sometimes on the world stage). This process of change leading up to its consolidation in the Taisho era signified a

rapprochement within Holmes's imagery—bridging popular entertainment with political aspiration of the learned elites, and creating a milieu in which the private and public interests coalesced.

What has been presented thus far is a rather sketchy depiction of just one aspect of Sherlock Holmes story as it unfolded during the Meiji period, and no doubt there were other aspects that do not fit the scenario quite so well. Nonetheless, this scenario seems an important one, but since it still remains at this point a theory, the search for evidence must continue.

Sherlock Holmes Refracted Through a Prism

Let us begin by looking at examples that may seem at first sight to contradict the theory just outlined. There were indeed people, from the very early Meiji period, who developed a deep and sophisticated understanding of Sherlock Holmes; and while it is true, as some scholars have indicated, that readers in the mid-Meiji period had a preference for astonishing plots over scientific reasoning²⁵—and this was no less true of many translators of Sherlock Holmes novels—there was a small number of people who fully appreciated Holmes's science of deduction²⁶. The very first translation of Holmes novel into Japanese was entitled *Indulgence of Begging (Kojikidoraku)*²⁷, which appeared in 1894. While it contained some elementary mistranslations, on the whole it was a faithful literal rendering of *The Man with the Twisted Lip*. In 1898, a translation of *The Speckled Band* appeared as part of an anthology bearing the Japanese title, *Proses of English Great Writers with Annotations (Eimeika Sambun Chushaku)*²⁸. The annotator gives a rather detailed account of Holmes's "rapid deductions", while drawing the readers' attention to the meaning of "the speckled band", suggesting that it is there that one must look for the key to solving the case²⁹.

These examples illustrate that Holmes was first discovered, translated and read by a small number of learned elites. However, Holmes's rise to recognition in Japan can be said to owe more to the renditions of *A Study in Scarlet* and *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*, which appeared in 1899 as *A Bloodstained Wall (Chizome no Kabe)*³⁰ and *The Wondrous Detective (Fushigi no Tantei)*³¹. These were paradigmatic examples of domestication and the translators' willingness to entertain at the cost of accuracy paid off. Both stories were relatively well received and their long serialization continued till the very end. Incidentally, it is questionable how much the translators themselves appreciated the scientific and rational aspects of Holmes's "deduction". For instance, in the first instalment of *A Bloodstained Wall*, the illustrator portrayed the protagonist Omuro Tairoku (Sherlock Holmes) as Bodhi-Dharma, the founder of Zen Buddhism—a man of spirituality rather than of reason. This is perhaps indicative of the translator's or editor's intention to allure the readers with something other than the power of reasoning.

The above trend was not to last, however, and as the Meiji period progressed, it gradually lost momentum. Was it because these translations failed to capture sufficiently the essence of Holmes's character? Or was it because the readers were simply not ready for them? One could only speculate. In any case, towards the end of Meiji, it was once again the elitist strand of Holmes translation which picked up the thread. Thus, new translations appeared in 1901 and 1902—three short stories in the *Keio University Bulletin* (*Keio Gijuku Gakuho*) and *A Study in Scarlet* under the title of *The Strange Tale of Mormons* (*Mormon Kitan*, MORI 1901)³² published serially in *Jiji Shimpō*. Interestingly, from around this time, intellectuals seem to have launched a kind of campaign to elevate Doyle's standing in the eyes of the learned people, if not the general public. For instance, a critical biography of Doyle was published in the *Keio University Bulletin* (ANONYM 1902), and Doyle appeared alongside great figures such as Tolstoy and Spencer. Moreover, Doyle was described not merely as a celebrated writer but as a high-minded patriot in service of the state, and Holmes's methodology was lauded as one of ingenuity founded on scientific reasoning.

About the same time, Yamagata Isoo published *The Rough Coast* (*Araiso*), a translation of Doyle's short story (YAMAGATA 1901). Yamagata mentioned how Doyle's natural talent for story-telling was enhanced by "his noble style and lambent expressions". *The Rough Coast* included extensive annotations and was intended as a study-aid book for learning English. Considering Doyle to be a master of English prose, Yamagata urged the Japanese elites to emulate his writing style.

It is noteworthy that eight out of twelve translations of Holmes stories published in book form during the Meiji period were annotated versions underlain by similar motives (KAWATO 2001a). For example, *The Bank Robbers* (*Ginko Tozoku*), published in 1907, was intended mainly for ambitious students who wished to acquire English for the purpose of playing a role in shaping Japan's future³³. A biography of Doyle which appeared in the *Keio University Bulletin* recounts that even some of the academic textbooks employed in Japanese educational institutions at the time contained his short stories. Considered together with the fact that English education formed a part of national policy to nurture elites during this period, it is perhaps not unreasonable to infer that the figure of Sherlock Holmes (as represented in these books) served to highlight some of the virtues which were thought indispensable for the young aspiring elites.

An image of Holmes common to these annotated versions was constructed around the notions of ingenious insight, power of logical reasoning and commitment to justice³⁴. However, one should not forget that the original Holmes, as rendered by Doyle, was a more complex figure—a righteous man no doubt, but one displaying symptoms of fin de siècle decadence, a reflection as it were of the lights and shadows of the British Empire³⁵. This aspect of Holmes was rarely visible to the Japanese public and it is perhaps not a coincidence that *The Sign of Four*, which

begins with an unforgettable scene in which Holmes sinks into cocaine addiction (thereby exposing his weakness and vulnerability), was not translated into Japanese until the very last year of Meiji³⁶.

The image of Sherlock Holmes as a somewhat eccentric but righteous and genial fellow was shared by the more entertainment-oriented versions as well. Homma Kyushiro's self-published translation of *The Yellow Face* is a case in point (HOMMA 1906)³⁷. Not only was the book title changed to *Holmes, The Genial Fellow* (*Kaikan Holmes*), the following note was added to the passage where Watson mentioned Holmes's cocaine addiction: "Save for the occasional use of cocaine, he is an honorable gentleman who helps the good and punishes the evil"³⁸. This emphasis on the good nature of Holmes reflects the translator's intention, which was to depict Holmes as a simple and amiable man so that his tales will be welcomed by ordinary people.

The above examples illustrate how the complex, subtle and tormented Holmes, the original Holmes as conceived by Doyle, transformed into a more or less one-dimensional persona through the process of translation during the Meiji era. However, with the passage of time, literary scholars with their literal translations gradually succeeded in steering the public towards appreciating Holmes's "science of deduction". Correspondingly, the tales that were once classified as lowbrow reading became recognized by critics as novel par excellence, worlds apart from other stories of the same genre. As one critic remarked, these tales were "not the ordinarily tawdry and unseemly kind but exceptionally noble"³⁹. Particular emphasis was placed on the intellectual pleasures derived from scientific method and analytic reasoning, as well as on their positive influence towards younger generations⁴⁰.

This trend was to continue. In 1911, the first installment of Mitsugi Shun'ei's serialized detective novel *Dr. Kureta* (*Kureta Hakase*) appeared (MITSUGI 1912-1915). The protagonist, Dr. Kureta, is a detective whose character is a fusion of Sherlock Holmes and Richard Austin Freeman's Dr. Thorndyke. In 1912, the year of transition from Taisho to Meiji, the publisher advertised the third book of Dr. Kureta with these words: "As young citizens of a civilized nation, Japanese youth, who are more energetic and courageous than the European youth, should cultivate scientific thought by reading books of this kind".

Only a few years earlier, just after Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War, a curiously similar statement was announced in an academic journal on English literature entitled *The Rising Generation* (*Eigo Seinen*):

As an undisputed champion of the East, our nation now stands high in the world, its strength mounting, like the morning sun ascending to the heavens. In order to enhance further this nation's strength and to maintain the fruits of victory, even greater efforts must be directed to diplomacy and commerce. This would require us, the victorious people, to be proficient in foreign languages,

especially the language of our ally, which is effectively the lingua franca. Those of us Japanese who speak English should furthermore enjoy the literature of English-speaking countries. To familiarize our nation, a nation of brave warriors, with English literature is the mission of our Rising Generation (ANONYM 1906).

Both these remarks reflect unequivocally the aforementioned nationalistic sentiment which became pronounced towards the end of Meiji. We have already seen how English education became a part of national policy. Through the process of translation, detective fiction eventually aligned itself with this policy by transforming into a vehicle of Western values. Detective fiction as a genre was no longer looked down upon as vulgar reading fit only for entertainment. Its status rose to the point of accommodating ideals and aspirations common to the elites.

This attitude was passed on to the next generation and reflected in the magazine *The New Generation (Shinseinen)*, first published in 1920. The editors emphatically claimed how “high-minded detective stories” proved most fitting for “gentlemen”. Detective stories were indeed welcomed by many young readers bent on fostering advanced scientific thought for the purpose of “exploring the world”⁴¹.

Needless to say, Doyle’s Holmes was classified as belonging to the “high-minded detective stories” category⁴². Thus terms such as “science”, “deduction” and “observation”—terms that were often underemphasized or ignored in the translations of early-Meiji—became the hallmarks of Sherlock Holmes stories in the Taisho era. This further prompted people to pay attention to other aspects of Holmes’s personality. Kato Asatori’s complete translation of *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* (KATO 1916) illustrates this point well. By rearranging the order in which the stories unfolded, Kato managed to instill in the readers the idea that Holmes’s scientific method was inseparable from his obsession with detail. Furthermore, Holmes’s eccentric character, as well as the decadent mood of the fin de siècle (conspicuous in the early tales of original Holmes), were vividly conveyed by Kato’s graceful as well as tense writing style. The simplistic and idealized Holmes was no more. Twenty years on from the first translation, Holmes had finally appeared before the Japanese readers as that eccentric, complex but brilliant and enchanting detective figure as originally envisaged by Doyle.

Conclusion

As we have seen, Sherlock Holmes in the early Meiji period lived a double life. On the one hand he appeared in popular novels, and was eager to entertain the populace. On the other, he appeared in English learning books, and was keen to educate the elite. But as social and political contexts shifted, so the distance between the two narrowed. The literal word-for-word translation, the aim of which was to

provide knowledge of English, served to convey the appeal of the original text. Sherlock Holmes, the righteous man who fought against the ills of society with his scientific method, was eventually seen by the Japanese readers as a role model. As readers finally learned to enjoy as a form of entertainment the investigative process of “the most perfect reasoning and observing machine that the world has seen”, it became possible for them to receive the darker or more melancholic side of Holmes.

What this entails for an individual mind is the coexistence of scientific reasoning that could be put into the service of the state and decadence or pessimism that could induce a retreat into the inner citadel. There is also a duality in the role assumed by detective fiction as a literary genre—education of the elite and entertainment of the populace. It may even be possible to see the reception of this duality in light of the division experienced by Japanese society as a whole in the post-Meiji period—division between parochial nationalism and escape from or reaction against it.

Sherlock Holmes established a special status in the age of turbulence that was Meiji. He symbolized Western values that came with the “west wind”. Indeed, he was part of this “west wind” that shook as well as drove Japan towards modernization.

Despite the odds, Japan survived the storm. Moreover, many Japanese at the time believed that they had succeeded in obtaining the means of mastering this wind. This was certainly true to a certain extent. But how true was it? Where and when did hubris begin? The answer that Soho and Katsunan sought in earnest though without success probably existed somewhere on the border between rightful pride and outright hubris.

Who were these Japanese that lived in a semi-Westernized non-Western state? What could they become? What should they become? Who are we? More than one hundred years have passed since the end of Meiji and yet we still do not possess clear answers to these questions. But the questions themselves remain pertinent in an ever shrinking and interdependent world where almost two hundred nation states exist side by side.

This was the strange and unfamiliar tale of Sherlock Holmes who lived through turbulent times in a faraway land, very far from London of the Victorian era. Yet he served as a mirror, reflecting hopes and fears among high and low, but also as a vehicle, bringing foreign values to a nation of people struggling to find their own ways, as they tried to brave the west wind.

NOTES

1. Fukuzawa Yukichi made the following plea to a group of scholars in 1875. “By immersing in Western books and by shedding light on domestic affairs, you

should broaden your views, engage in discussions and write what can be termed truly as a grand treatise on civilization, thereby endeavoring to reform Japan on a national scale” (FUKUZAWA 1962: 12). Yoshitake Yoshinori commends Fukuzawa Yukichi for having revolutionized and established the foundation of modern Japanese writing style. According to him, Fukuzawa had succeeded in breaking away from the traditional style, which often tended to be arid and formalistic, and instead came up with more simplified expressions readily comprehensible by ordinary people. See YOSHITAKE 1959: 26.

2. Tsubouchi Shoyo, later known for his translation of the complete works of William Shakespeare, was one such student (SATO 2006). At the time, the Faculty of Letters at Tokyo University was comprised of two departments, one for learning Western thought and another for studying Chinese classics. Regardless of the department to which the students belonged, they were required to take the courses of both departments for three years. Incidentally, Nakamura Masanao, who had translated Samuel Smiles' *Self-help*, was a professor who taught Chinese classics at one of the departments.
3. For example, see KAWASHIMA 1886, MIYAZAKI 1883, TSUBOUCHI 1884, SEKI 1884, FUJITA 1885, WATANABE 1886. *London To Wa* and some other novels published with political intentions at the time were translated from books which Itagaki Taisuke had brought back from Europe (YANAGIDA 1935: 52, 67). As for *Quatrevingt-Treize* of Victor Hugo, Itagaki received a copy from the author himself (AKIYAMA 2000: 78).
4. According to Yoshitake, notable writers critical of this style of translation were Tsubouchi Shoyo and Nakae Chomin (YOSHITAKE 1958: 50). *Keishi Dan* also criticized this style and instead committed himself to developing the mode of literary translation (FUJITA 1885: explanatory notes i-ii). This deeply influenced Morita Shiken, “the King of Translation” of the Meiji era. Many researchers agree on the importance of *Keishi Dan* in the formulation of a new style which was later to crystalize into Morita's *Shumitsubuntai* (literary translation with Sino-Japanese style, see n. 23). (YANAGIDA 1935: 80-84, YOSHITAKE 1958: 64-68, SATO 2006: 58, MIZUNO 2007: 9).
5. Regarding growing information literacy, interest in politics and familiarity with English literature among the public, see SATO 2006, OTSUBO 2010, IROKAWA 2008.
6. Foundation of Kokumin Eigo Gakkai in 1888, English Literature Department of Tokyo Semmon Gakko (later Waseda University) in 1890, English Department of Tokyo Higher Normal School in 1895, Seisoku Eigo Gakko in 1896, English Department of Tokyo School of Foreign Language in 1897, and so on.
7. For Fukuzawa Yukichi, this situation provided a “great opportunity for scholars”. “Compare and contrast what you have learned in the previous life [i.e. Japanese culture before the Meiji Restoration] with what you have learned in this life about the Western civilization, and see how they mutually reinforce one

another. That would most certainly consolidate your discussion” (FUKUZAWA 2002: 12).

8. To the nationalist camp, controversy surrounding the revision of treaties “provided a platform on which to express dramatically their effort to articulate Japanese identity. Nevertheless, this controversy did not contribute to realizing their objective. Instead, it served to expose the doubt or anxiety of many Japanese about their standing in the world” (PYLE 2013: 191).
9. Regarding *Tsuzukimono*, see OMOTO 2013.
10. A small-scale newspaper in which every *Kanji* (Chinese character) has *Kana* syllables written beside it to indicate the pronunciation. *Yomiuri Shimbun* (launched in 1874) was the first of many such examples. Unlike the large-scale newspapers catered for the learned readership, this type of newspaper targeted ordinary people including women and children who could not read the Sino-Japanese writings. So effort was directed to legibility and entertainment.
11. Regarding Nakamura Masanao’s diatribe against novels, see NAKAMURA 1876.
12. According to Nakajima Kawataro, stories based on real-life accounts of criminal activities were widely published during the second decade of Meiji, because the old-fashioned popular novelists (*Gesakusha*) complied with the moral educative policy of the Meiji government (NAKAJIMA 1993: 16). In fact, when the government issued the “Three Fundamental Articles on Creed” (*Sanjo no Kyoken*) in 1872, with the aim to propagate the Emperor-centered nationalism, a number of prominent intellectuals were appointed to the position of “semi-governmental evangelist of Shinto” (*Kyodoshoku*), among them the famous novelist Kanagaki Robun. Robun also submitted a joint letter to the government with his fellow novelists announcing their intention to change their style in compliance with *Kyoken*. State endorsement helped to restore their social and moral status (OMOTO 2013: 96-99). It is also noteworthy that in 1875, prior to writing *Tsuzukimono* stories, Robun made several attempts to translate and publish William Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*—English literature par excellence—in the *Hiragana Eiri Shimbun*, a small-scale newspaper (SATO 2006).
13. The translator Kanda Kohei, born in 1830, was also an economist and a politician during the Meiji period. He carried out extensive research on the Dutch political system, and translated Christemeijer’s *Belangrijke Tafereelen uit de Geschiedenis der Lijfstra ffelijke Regtsplegling* (KANDA 1861) in the hope that Japan would adopt a capital punishment system similar to the one in the Netherlands. People paid very little attention to this book at the time and it was soon consigned to oblivion. However, it was rediscovered by Narushima Ryuhoku, who in 1877 published a section of it under the new title of *Yongeru no Kigoku* in the journal *Kagetsu Shinshi*. In 1886, it was republished as a book entitled *Yongeru Kidan*. Incidentally, Mori Ogai remembered its serialized

version (*Yongeru no Kigoku*) and made mention of it in his novel *Gan* (NAKAJIMA 1964: 3-13).

14. See examples mentioned in NAKAJIMA 1964: 17; TAJIMA 1875, NARUSHIMA 1892, Ministry of Justice 1881.
15. OBINATA 2012: 330. Fukuzawa in return obtained from the government the right to use the former residential area of the Shimabara domain in Mita for Keio Gijyuku's educational purposes. This later became the Mita Campus of Keio University.
<http://www.keio.ac.jp/ja/contents/mamehyakka/13.html>
16. For example, *Fumin Fukyu Keisatsugan* (The Eyes of the Police Never Sleep), *Keisatsu Kyokai Zasshi* (Journal for Police Association), *Keisatsugaku* (Police Study), *Keisatsu Shiso* (Police Journal), *Housei Zasshi* (Journal of Law and Politics), *Kempei Zasshi* (Journal for Gendarmerie), *Gunji Keisatsu Zasshi* (Journal for Military Police), *Nihon Keisatsu Zasshi* (Journal of Japanese Police), *Nihon Keisatsu Shimbun* (Japanese Police Newspaper).
17. "These facts are highly instructive and should serve as shining examples for those who engage in detective work by profession" ("Tantei Koseki Daichi: Tanju Goto Shimizu Sadakichi [Achievements of Detectives vol.1: Shimizu Sadakichi, A robber armed with a revolver]", *Keisatsu Kyokai Zasshi*, 1907, 7:56).
18. For Sherlock Holmes stories published in police journals, see KON NANDO 1907, FUJIMOTO 1909-1910. In the preface of "Kuro Shinju", the translator remarks that the author Conan Doyle was in fact a detective who displayed "exceptional competence and penetrating insight". "Kuro Shinju" was a translation of *The Adventure of Six Napoleons*. This short story ends with a scene in which Inspector Lestrade, on behalf of the Scotland Yard, showers Holmes with praise. Perhaps this is why the translator chose this piece, believing that Holmes would serve as a role-model for real detectives. Similar examples can be found in other countries as well, including France and Egypt. Some commentators claim that Holmes stories were used as textbooks in the Egyptian police academy. BOOTH 1997: 208, O'BRIEN 2013: 87, NORMAN 2010: chap. 13.
19. KUROIWA 1889. *Kon'nichi Shimbun*, the newspaper in which Ruiko published this novel, was later renamed *Miyako Shimbun*. Its circulation increased dramatically after signing an exclusive contract with Ruiko.
20. KUROIWA 1893. This statement was intended as a protest against literary figures such as Uchida Roan and Shimamura Hogetsu, who denigrated detective fiction as being superficial and puerile. Their criticism was based on Tsubouchi Shoyo's definition of novel in *Shosetsu Shinzui*: "The duty of novelists must be to penetrate into the depth of human nature and depict every aspect of the human heart—not only of the wise and the virtuous, but of all kinds of people regardless of age, sex and moral inclination" (TSUBOUCHI 2010: 52). Against

this kind of view, Ruiko retorted with pride in declaring that, since detective fiction belonged to the genre of “story”, it could not be evaluated according to the criteria of the “novel”. He also added, often with pointed and caustic sarcasm, that the critics of detective fiction had not the slightest idea as to the nature of detective fiction (ITO 2002: 75-76, 120-121). As for Shimamura Hogetsu, while he expressed his disdain for detective fiction, saying that it was unworthy to be called a novel (SHIMAMURA 1894), he did make an exception for Doyle. In the preface to *The New Translations of Masterpieces*, published in 1907, he remarked that “if detective fiction achieved the level attained by Doyle, it was admirable” (HONMA 1907).

21. “I have translated this story in order to show how those engaged in detective work faced many challenges in their profession and how judges bore heavy responsibilities in passing sentences—in short, wishing to demonstrate the dignity of human rights and how laws must not be treated lightly” (KUROIWA 1888: 1).
22. ITO 2002: 56. After witnessing the rampant corruption and increasing poverty in the post Sino-Japanese War society, he advocated “the idea of social reform” and founded the Risodan with Uchimura Kanzo, Kotoku Shusui and others (MATSUMOTO 2012: 165-166).
23. Morita Shiken’s translation, with its distinctive style (*shumitsu buntai*), made a literary sensation. *Shumitsu buntai* grafted literal translation of European languages onto classical Sino-Japanese writing style, and owing to its novelty as well as its lofty tone, it was widely accepted by the readers of different generations. Many literary figures were also charmed by Shiken’s translations. Izumi Kyoka was influenced by his style in the early days of his career. Tayama Katai mentions in his *Shosetsu Saho* how Shiken’s writing-style had been popular among the youth. Futabatei Shimei claimed that his favorite book was Victor Hugo’s *Tantei Hubert* translated by Shiken (TAYAMA 1909:178-179, YANAGIDA 1935: 191, MIZUNO 2007: 13). As for Nakae Chomin, he showered lavish praise on Shiken by stating that “as for translation, the late Morita Shiken was simply the best”. Incidentally, Nakae also extolled Ruiko for his virtuosity in adapting foreign novels. According to Nakae, Shiken and Ruiko were the two great figures in the Meiji translated literature (NAKAE 1901: 83).
24. Ruiko himself wrote the following in his “Preface to the *Beauty in the Court*”: “I do not profess to be a translator” (KUROIWA 1889).
25. NAKAJIMA 1964: 76, ITO 2002: 145, YOSHIDA 2011. However, Kawato Michiaki raised objections to these viewpoints. KAWATO Michiaki “Meiji no Hon’yaku Mystery [Translated Mystery in Meiji]” in KAWATO (2001a).
26. Ryuen Sanji wrote in the preface to Kuroiwa Ruiko’s detective story that there were dilettanti in the Meiji period who could grasp the essentials of detective fiction and find pleasure in following the reasoning process *à la* Holmes: “In

my opinion, a true detective fiction involves a detective investigating traces of serious crime from tiny clues, or listening to things unheard and seeing things unseen”. RYUEN Sanji “Boshi no Ato Jo [Preface for “Trace of a Hat”] in KUROIWA 1894.

27. Translation by ANONYM of DOYLE Conan (1891) “The Man with the Twisted Lip”. In KAWATO 2001a. (Original translation published in *Nihon-jin*, January-February 1894). The magazine *Nihon-jin* was a mouthpiece for the Kokusui-shugi nationalists, and yet it willingly introduced translated novels of Western origin in the literary column. This perhaps goes to show that their nationalism was not simply characterized by xenophobia.
28. The annotator Inoue Jukichi was one of the greatest scholars of English literature in the Meiji and Taisho period. He was an intellectual par excellence, having studied in England from the age of nine, first at Rugby School and then at King’s College London. It is noteworthy that he was also renowned for being a great amateur of mystery novel, so much so that his suggestion and advice had contributed greatly to enhancing the reputation of the magazine *Shinseinen* [New Generation]. Since it was launched in 1920, the editors of *Shinseinen* introduced many foreign detective stories of quality (NAKAJIMA 1964: 228-233). As Edogawa Rampo remarked in an article published in the *Shinseinen* in 1923, Inoue was someone who had both the mind of a scholar and a taste for detective fiction (EDOGAWA 1988: 10).
29. During the Meiji period, translators did not always pay attention to this point. There were even instances in which the title “The Speckled Band” was inappropriately translated, for instance as “The Poisonous Snake”, serving in effect to give away the plot, thereby spoiling the mystery. Similarly, one version of “The Red-Headed League” translated the title as “The Bank Robbers”.
30. Translation of DOYLE Conan (1887) *A Study in Scarlet*. In KAWATO 2001b vol. 1. (Original translation published in the *Mainichi Shimbun*, April 1899). The story was utterly and spectacularly Japanized. For example, Wada Shin’ichi (Dr. John H. Watson) was injured not in Afghanistan but in Taiwan by some bandits after the Sino-Japanese War, and the Mormons in Utah became the settlers in Hokkaido. The translator devised ways and means to make the story of foreign origin easier to understand and relate to by average Japanese people of the time, and he sometimes even added extra elements (such as those concerning the motives of the main characters) to this end. Moreover, in the latter part where the mystery was being unveiled, the translator freely inserted a section from another story “The Case of Identity”.
31. NAN’YO 1899, Translation of DOYLE Conan (1892) *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*. Although the names of characters and places are Japanized, all the stories are situated in Berlin.
32. The translator Mori Gaiho reversed the order of incidents to match the chronological order—thereby recounting the past tragedy in America first and

then explaining how the murder in London constituted revenge. This change, however, spoiled the mystery and was later much criticized by researchers as “very regrettable” (NAKAJIMA 1964: 75).

33. “Literature is spiritual nourishment for the nation. This being so, should Japan with all its active energy simply content itself with the shibboleth of *Setsugekka* [snow, moon and flower—the three elements representing Japanese traditional aesthetics], indulging in the delicate beauty of twinkling stars and violets? You cannot avoid learning English. If so, would vapid textbooks suffice to win the hearts of the youth full of vitality?” (SAGAWA 1907: Preface).
34. “This character of acute intellect, fearless heart and eccentric personality thrusts himself into the mystery of serious crime, and it usually results in great success. Every deed he performs is unpredictable, uncommon and extremely entertaining so that the public would soon receive his tales with enthusiasm and his name Sherlock Holmes would become a synonym for the king of amateur-detective” (YAMAGATA 1901). “So this was the reason for the great success achieved by the doctor’s [Doyle’s] detective stories: unlike the detectives whose methods are bizarre and against the principles of science, what the doctor would describe as “unnatural and divorced from technology”, [Holmes’s] viewpoints are unusual but solid, his approaches are unpredictable and yet rational (ANONYM 1902). “An amateur detective, audacious as well as nimble, whose name is Sherlock Holmes, often exposes his life to danger in order to unearth serious crimes and atrocities hidden in the dark, thereby endeavoring to make the light of justice shine. His ideas and actions are truly surprising and unpredictable, always defying peoples’ predictions so as to make the readers cry out “bravo!” (“A short biography of Doyle” in SAGAWA 1907).
35. An image of Holmes’s arm being penetrated with a needle full of cocaine from South America could perhaps be interpreted as a metaphor for Britain’s body politic being intruded by morally debilitating wealth taken from the colonies through imperial expansion (McLAUGHLIN 2000).
36. It could have been, of course, that *The Sign of Four* was considered too lengthy for an annotated book for learning English. Its sole rendition during the Meiji period was the freely adapted version by Hara Houitsuan entitled *Zangetsu-to no Hiji* [Mystery of the Morning Moon Tower]. Its freely adapted nature is all too apparent from the truncated use of *The Sign of Four*—only its plot is incorporated, and even that in the latter half of the story. It may also be possible to detect the translators’ intension by paying attention to which stories were more frequently selected for translation. Those that deal with diplomatic incidents seem to be preferred over others. For example, there are three versions of “The Naval Treaty” and two versions of “The Second Stain”. These two stories are included in *The Memoir* (1893) and *The Return of Sherlock Holmes* (1905) respectively, but given that stories from these two books were far less frequently translated than those from *The Adventure*, one could infer

that the choice of “The Naval Treaty” and “The Second Stain” reflects the translators’ intention as well as the public’s demand to focus on matters that were of pressing concern for Japan with regard to international affairs.

37. According to Edogawa Rampo, Homma Kyushiro was “the first great benefactor who introduced true detective fiction to Japan” and the first translator of Holmes series, though the latter point is incorrect (EDOGAWA 1988: 11-12). Perhaps one could infer from this that Homma’s translations of Holmes were relatively widely read at the time. Homma had published *Jintsuriki* (selected stories from *The Memoir*, HOMMA 1907), *Koganemushi* (including “The Adventure of the Yellow Face” from *The Memoir*, HOMMA 1908) and *The Noble Bachelor* (selected stories from *The Adventure*, HOMMA 1913). As for *Jintsuriki*, he deliberately employed the title as well as the names of the characters from Oguri Fuyo’s translation of *The Study in Scarlet*, “Jintsuriki” (1906, in KAWATO 2001b vol. 1). This was intended as a rejoinder to Oguri whose translation was so poor as to call into question the motive behind its attempt. Oguri was a member of Ken’yuSha, a literary circle hostile to detective fiction; so it was suspected that Oguri had produced poor quality translations with the aim to denigrate the genre of detective fiction, including Holmes series. Thus Homma made some sarcastic remarks in the preface of his *Jintsuriki* to criticize and ridicule Oguri’s translation. Incidentally, in the collected works of translated masterpieces *Meicho Shin’yaku* (HOMMA 1907), Homma included Doyle’s non-Holmes short story along with the selected works of Edgar Allan Poe and Nathaniel Hawthorne, both of whom were considered great writers during the Meiji period. Moreover, Homma included *Kogaemushi* in the first volume of another version of collected works on English literature, and perhaps this is indicative of Homma’s view that Doyle was suitable for common as well as for learned readers.
38. One could argue, however, that he had dared to translate the passages where their omission would not have affected the main thread of the story.
39. OKAMURA Shohaku (1907). “Joyu Irene Adler [The Actress Irene Adler]”. In KAWATO 2001b vol. 2. (Original translation published in *Taiyo*).
40. Towards the end of the Meiji period, instances in which Holmes translation appeared in magazines for the young gradually increased. *Chugaku Sekai* [World of Junior High School] was one of the earliest examples, and it published “The Adventure of the Gloria Scott” (UEMURA Sasen, “Kaijo no Sangeki [Atrocity on the Sea]”, in KAWATO 2001a) in 1903. Given that only 0.4 percent of the twenty year old male population were junior high school graduates in 1900, there was little doubt that this magazine was catered specifically for the elite or the aspiring elite (NAGAI 2010: 29).
41. NAKAJIMA 1964: 207-216, IKEDA 2011. Interestingly, Ikeda indicates that a similar tendency could be seen among the young in China of the same period.
42. This is well captured in Edogawa’s following remark. “I have once

conjectured that, if standard works of literature provided nourishment for the emotions, detective fiction and science fiction occupied a unique position in literature by mainly supplying food for the intellect, thus worthy to be called ‘Intellectual Literature’. However, I should qualify this by saying that it only applies to what one would call superior works such as those by Poe, Doyle, Verne, Wells, and other comparable writers” (EDOGAWA 1988: 10).

Being a part of “gentleman’s culture” in Japan, Holmes had many distinguished fans—the high-profile Japanese “Sherlockians” or “Holmesians”. Okakura Kazuo, the son of Okakura Tenshin, recalls how his father used to read Holmes stories to his family. This was around 1900, only shortly after Holmes was introduced to the Japanese public, so it appears that Tenshin was using the original English edition, which had been in his possession for some time. Judging from this recollection, it is also probable that Kazuo, 20 years of age at the time and probably a student at Keio University, used *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* as textbook for learning English (OKAKURA 2013: 198-202).

Edogawa Rampo, who (as we have seen) greatly admired Doyle, was one of the founding members of the first Oriental branch of the world’s largest Sherlockian association. Thus was founded in 1948 the Baritsu Chapter of The Baker Street Irregulars (headquartered in New York). In the list of founding members, we find names such as Yoshida Ken’ichi and his grandfather Makino Nobuaki. At the first congress, Makino presented a paper on “baritsu”, a term invented by Doyle (and which appears in “the Adventure of the Empty House”) to designate something akin to Japanese martial art, and which became the name of the Chapter. Richard Hughes, an Australian journalist and a founding member of the Chapter, wrote about the aforementioned congress and published it as an article in *The Sunday Times* in 1950.

Given that the former Japanese Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru, who was the husband of Makino’s daughter and the father of Yoshida Ken’ichi, enjoyed reading the original English editions of Holmes stories (ASO 2013: 232), and given also that the two former US Presidents—Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman—were both honorable members of the Baker Street Irregulars, the following tribute paid by Hughes to Holmes’s achievement in this article may not sound altogether far-fetched. “As the Nipponese chapter includes leading Japanese, it can be said that a common devotion to the memory of The Master of Baker Street was the means, peace treaty or no, of first restoring Japan culturally to the comity of nations. ... Truly Holmes ... has succeeded in bringing the East and the West together, irrespective of race, colour and political ideology.” (*The Sunday Times* 1950).

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