Jazz Music in Prewar Japan and Its Concept

(戦前の日本におけるジャズ音楽とその概念)

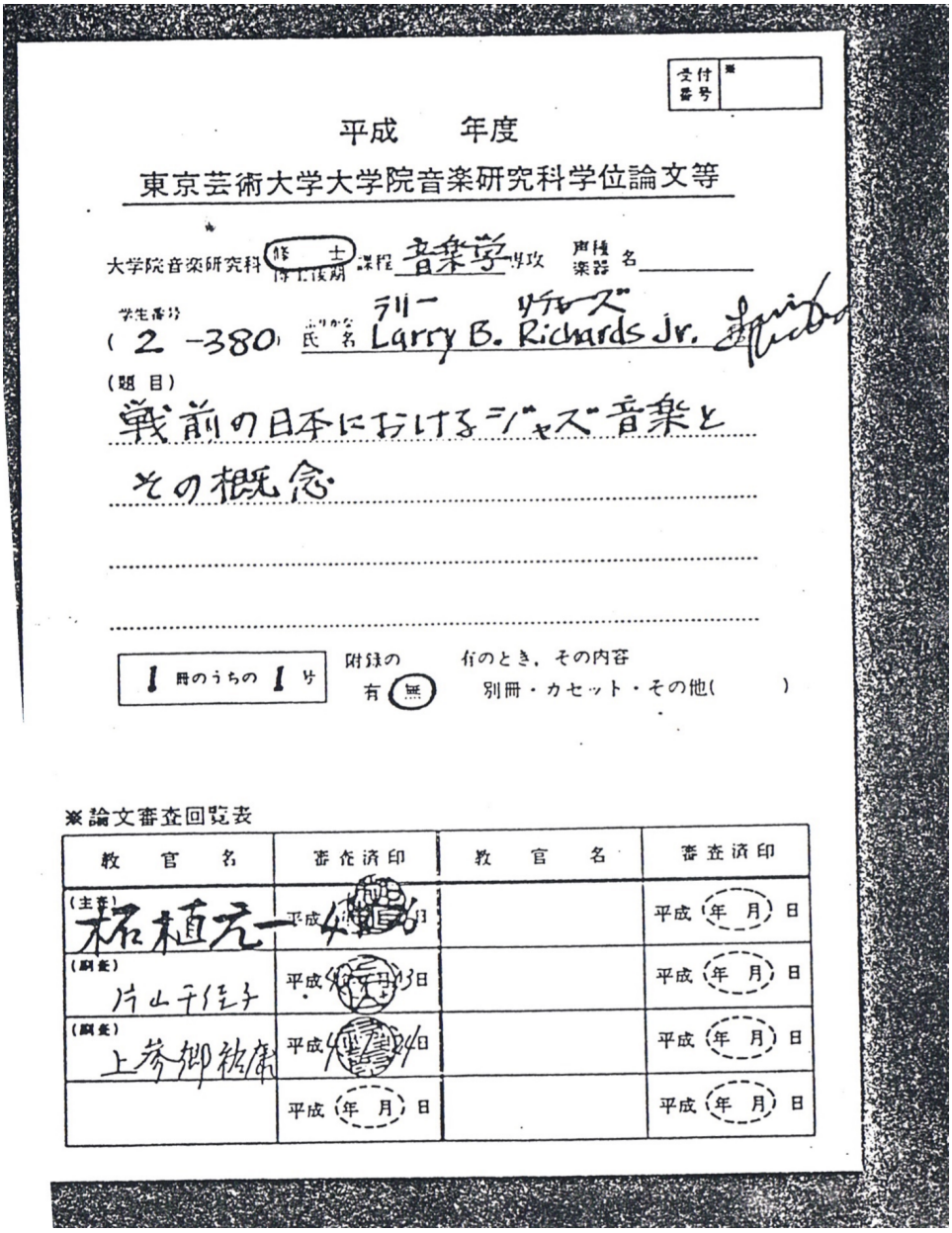
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Chapter 1 Introduction

A. On Defining Jazz

The word ”jazz” is truly difficult to pin down. The first thing that comes to mind is likely a certain kind of music, but exactly what kind of music it is remains unclear. In the jazz that developed after 1940, a wide variety of styles emerged, and even things far removed from what had originally been called jazz came to be called jazz. This thesis does not treat those, but even when one considers only early jazz, no conclusion has yet been reached, even today, as to what is jazz and what is not.

For example, in the 1920s Paul Whiteman, who was called the King of Jazz, was criticized for ”not being based on the conception of jazz.” And some say of the Original Dixieland Jass Band (hereafter abbreviated as ODJB), which made the first record to be billed as jazz, that ”because they are not Black, it is not real jazz.”Now, George Gershwin's work *Rhapsody in Blue* (1924) is designated as being ”for piano and jazz band,” but is it really jazz? Let us take up the following opinion.

> *Rhapsody in Blue* is not jazz. No, it is not even jazz dressed up. Although the composer wrote that it was an arrangement ”for piano and jazz band,” even a cursory look makes it clear that it is a symphonic work far more strongly influenced by Tchaikovsky and Liszt than by Buddy Bolden or King Oliver. (Kimball, Robert, and Alfred Simon; *The Gershwins*. New York: Athenaeum, 1973: 36, quoted in Hamm: 351) (author's translation)

This work, which had long been thought of as ”a mixture of jazz and classical,” has thus likewise come to be excluded from the category of jazz.

In *The New Grove Gospel, Blues and Jazz* it is stated that ”up to the present, every attempt to define jazz has failed. This suggests something about the hybridity at jazz's originsand the diversity of styles that are later observed in it.” (p. 223, author's translation) Moreover, that definition differs from person to person, from country to country, and from era to era.

The first time this word came into wide use was in 1917, after the ODJB from the city of New Orleans in the state of Louisiana, in the United States, released a record; but before long the word ”jazz,” rather than indicating a particular musical form, came to denote things that, from a Christian point of view, were sinful—immorality, voodoo sorcery, and the like—and at the same time a concept capable of encompassing modernization. By 1920, even if ordinary Americans did not concretely know what jazz music was, they at least understood the expression ”jazz” and what it signified.

Thus the concept of jazz had become generally current earlier than jazz music itself. And as this word became fashionable, various kinds of music came to be called jazz, some of which had indeed been influenced by jazz, and others of which had no relation to it whatsoever.

Originally, the mainstream of jazz consisted of two styles: New Orleans jazz and the Chicago jazz that derived from it. I do not wish to say that this is pure, authentic jazz. If one decides so, everything that is not such will remain excluded; so would it not rather be more effective to describe, through musical analysis, everything called ”jazz,” and to clarify why it came to be called jazz and what relationship it bears to New Orleans jazz and Chicago jazz?

Now, in explaining the characteristics of New Orleans jazz, I must first touch briefly on the history of the relationship between the American song and Afro-American music.

B. The Origins of the American Song

Originally, the publication of sheet music for popular song in the United States was carried on in numerous cities, but from 1881 onward, the city of New York came to dominate that market. By the end of the nineteenth century, the various sheet-music publishers had established their offices on 14th Street at

UnionSquare, which was New York's theater district. This 14th Street came to be called Tin Pan Alley, and this name became, just as it was, the name of the popular-song industry that it monopolized, and at the same time the name of a form of song.

The birth of popular song in the United States, however, can be traced back to 1789—that is, to the year the American Constitution was ratified. At that time, all secular performing arts, which had previously been regulated, came to be permitted; the Constitution established copyright law for books, sheet music, and other printed matter; and, taking this as their opportunity, publishers soon appeared in various places.

The American popular song that later evolved spread while being influenced by the folk songs and art songs of immigrants—Italians, English, Germans, Irish, and others—and, through sheet music, played the role of spiritually binding together a diverse and miscellaneous population.

At the time there were a great many residents of African descent, but the earliest American song was not influenced by music of African origin. Two reasons can be given for this. First, until the end of the Civil War in 1865, most Africans were enslaved and under the control of immigrants from Europe, and so they did not have the freedom necessary to perform music. Second, even if Africans had performed music before 1865, their way of conceiving it was so far removed from the European one that it was difficult for white people to understand.

On the other hand, the so-called minstrel show—a performing troupe in which white people put on blackface and sang to the accompaniment of the banjo and other instruments—showed remarkable popularity from 1840 and exerted a strong influence on American popular song. However, the lyrics were composed chiefly in the Black dialect that white people imagined, and although they depicted the lives of Black people, the music was in a European idiom, entirely unrelated to African music.

The representative composer of this genre, Stephen Foster (1826 − 1864), himself called "Ethiopian songs" the works he made with Black music in mind. Foster, who was born in Philadelphia and was of Irish descent, had only a Western classical musical education; and in his case, being a Northerner,Southern Black music seems to have been beyond his comprehension. When one actually analyzes the minstrel songs he composed, one finds that they resemble the Irish, English, and Scottish folk-song-style minstrel songs that earlier white people had made. That is, the melody is diatonic, the range is confined within one octave, and the pentatonic scale is frequently suggested. The tempo, too, is often brisk and dance-like. His verses, like the earliest minstrel songs, have a strong dialect, and the figure of the Black person depicted in them is that of a simple-hearted and cheerful, illiterate person who works all day and sings and dances late into every night.

Thus, although the American song before the end of the Civil War contains much that calls Black people to mind, it is unrelated to Afro-American music.

After the Civil War, however, once the slaves had been emancipated and set free, they immediately began various musical activities and came to tour not only the United States but also various parts of Europe. For example, in 1873 a gospel chorus called the Fisk University Jubilee Singers, all of whom had once been slaves, crossed over to Europe and introduced genuine Black spirituals.

The Afro-American music that was at last taken into the world of popular song, which white people had dominated, was ragtime, which was born at almost the same time as the rise of Tin Pan Alley. Ragtime, put simply, is piano music that employs syncopation, but wind-band music made in imitation of it is also called ragtime. This genre derives from what is called the cakewalk, which is thought to be Southern Black dance music, but it crystallized in the Midwest of the United States. Its representative composer is Scott Joplin, a Black man born in the state of Missouri.

In the earlier piano music that employed syncopation, it was common to repeat short − long − short figures in the melody, as in ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪, always sounding a note on the first beat of each measure while

avoiding the strong beat that came next and emphasizing the weak beat; but in ragtime there is the characteristic, as in ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪, of tying the last note of one measure to the first note of the next measure, with the result that the note on the first beat sounds as if it were omitted. Ever since Benjamin Robertson introduced ragtime in New York in 1887, rag-time came to be taken into the songs of Tin Pan Alley, but in the end only superficial elements took root, and the syncopation described above was scarcely adopted.

By the time of the First World War, the Tin Pan Alley song had taken a fixed form. And there is a view that the influence of Afro-American music upon it had been overwhelming.

> Stephen Foster created a truly indigenous American song. And with his death something inexplicable happened. The distinctive qualities he had taken from Negro music into American music vanished completely. And until Negro musicians became able, at the end of the nineteenth century, to perform before white audiences, the white public did not feel that "the Negro has an unusual talent, and something astonishing is rising up out of the Black quarter." In the period from 1885 to the First World War, there were various fundamental changes in American popular music. When these changes in rhythm, harmony, and melody were brought together into one, there was born a new and distinctive song—that is, the American song. (Wilder, Alec. *American Popular Song: The Great Innovators, 1900 – 1950*. Ed. and intro. James T. Maher. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972. Quoted in Hamm: 357) (author's translation)

The role of Afro-American music in Foster's songs is as described above; but as for Tin Pan Alley, let us quote from *Yesterdays, Popular Song in America* by Charles Hamm.

> The composers from the 1910s through the 1930s seem merely to have skimmed off a few extremely superficial elements from "Negro" music in order to add exoticism to their products. If one places weight on these superficial elements, one overlooks something more worthy of attention—namely, that the most important formal characteristics of these songs derive from Eastern European music and from the American composers of a generation earlier. (Hamm: 358) (author's translation)

And according to Hamm, American popular song follows, by era, a progression such as the following.

> 1. From the end of the eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century — strophic solo song, with multiple verses and sometimesa refrain at the end of a verse.2. From the early to the mid nineteenth century, the songs of Foster and the composers of the time,minstrel songs, etc. — strophic solo song, with multiple verses and a refrainat the end of each verse every time. The refrain is sometimes performed by a chorus. The solo portionis longer than the choral portion and contains the principal melody.3. After the Civil War — strophic solo song, with multiple verses and a refrainat the end of a verse, sung by a quartet or a chorus. The solo portion (verse) and the choralportion (chorus) are of roughly the same length, and the principal melody is contained in one or both of them.4. From the end of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, the first generation of Tin Pan Alley — strophicsolo song, with one or two verses, each of which has a refrain portion attached at the end.This portion, however, is called the chorus. The verse and the chorus are of roughly the samelength, but the principal melody corresponds to the chorus.5. 1920 – 55, the second generation of Tin Pan Alley — verse-chorussong. The principal melody always corresponds to the chorus. Whether or not the verse is sungis optional. (ibid.: 359 – 60) (author's translation)

In this way, when one considers the songs of the Tin Pan Alley era alongside their predecessors,it is perfectly obvious that they were by no means made from Afro-American music, but rather are the naturaloutcome of the continuous evolution of American popular song.

Over against this American song there is Afro-American music, which gave birth to New Orleans jazz, the blues, and the like. As has already been stated, the traditional music of the Black people who were brought from Africa and enslaved was fundamentally different in kind from European classical

music. And although the oversimplified view that Afro-American music (including jazz) is "a compromise between African traditional music and Western music" is difficult to deny outright, it is rather more correct to say that in the music of African Americans the traditional aspect remains strongly present and forms the very foundation of that music. And since what was taken in from Western music was only what had been sufficiently filtered according to the tastes of Black people, the essence of Afro-American music is still African traditional music.

Let me add one more point, from Gunther Schuller's *Early Jazz, Its Roots and Early Development*.

> In jazz, more elements than has hitherto been supposed derive directly from the African musical and social tradition··· Is this not only natural? A tradition that is not mere artistic cultivation but is inseparably bound up with daily life, and that has endured for hundreds of years, cannot in any case be so easily cast off. (p. 17) (author's translation)

Therefore, when one discusses jazz music, one must first keep in mind the differences between African traditional music and Western music. Explaining this in detail would become very long, so here I will summarize those differences in broad outline.

C. African Traditional Music and Jazz

1. The Social Function of African Music

Both the indigenous music of Africa and jazz in America, unlike European art music—which is an autonomous phenomenon detached from everyday life—arose from an integrated view of human life. Even today, African music has no abstract function. It is only natural, then, that the very word "art" cannot be found in any of the African languages. Moreover, African blacks do not classify art into separate categories. For them, folk performing arts, music, dance, sculpture, painting, and the like are all woven into everyday life.

African languages and their meanings are also closely bound up with music. Language is invariably pronounced in accordance with rhythm, and in many cases a given word has a particular pitch, duration, and intensity. This close relationship between language and music survives in jazz as well. It is not unusual, for example, for a trombone to produce sounds resembling human speech, or, conversely, for a singer to imitate an instrument with the voice.

2. Rhythm in African Music and in Jazz Music

Two features may be singled out as the principal characteristics of jazz's rhythmic nature that distinguish it from Western music: namely, what is called "swing," and the equalization of rhythmic units. Both are derived exclusively from the music already existing in Africa.

Swing, in the broad sense, is a regular and steady pulse, but in the narrow sense it means fitting the notes precisely and correctly to the beat. In this sense, however, one could say that Western classical music also swings; if that is so, then what is the swing that jazz musicians speak of?

When one analyzes the swing in jazz, one finds that it has two features not to be found in classical music: namely, a certain manner of placing accents and of giving inflection to the notes sung or played, and a sense of direction arising from the continuity and forward propulsion of a series of connected notes.

These two features of swing are found in all the masterpieces of jazz, but they are not necessarily present in the masterpieces of classical music. In ordinary classical phrasing, for example, rhythmic propulsion often occupies a secondary position, but for the jazz performer, pitch cannot be conceived

apart from the rhythmic pulse. In that case, in musical expression, the importance of rhythm is equal to that of pitch and timbre—and probably rhythm is even more important.

The equalization of rhythmic units means that, rather than having strong beats and weak beats and keeping the weak beats subdued as in classical music, the weak beats and the strong beats are treated alike. Not only that, but the weak beats are sometimes even played (sung) more strongly than the strong beats.

One cannot overlook yet another important principle in the rhythm of African music: namely, that African rhythm is based not on a divisive conception but on an additive one. For the polyrhythm that Europeans imagine is the simultaneous use of contrasting rhythms in two or more parts, which nevertheless align at the beginnings and endings of phrases and at the bar lines. In the case of the African, however, polyrhythm is something sustained far longer and organized as a complex, multiple-phrase texture, and it is rare for the phrases to align vertically. What is most prized in this is polyrhythm, and the more subtle and complex it is, the better it is considered.

This irrepressible impulse that instinctively tends toward polyrhythm became the motive force behind the syncopation of ragtime and is also the original factor in swing. The custom among blacks of clapping on the weak beats is likewise based on this principle of polyrhythm. That is, within a 4/4 bar, the strong beats of the first and third beats and the weak beats of the second and fourth beats each strive to dominate the rhythm, giving rise to an antipodal polyrhythm. It is precisely this antipodal polyrhythm that is lacking in Western music.

3. Mode and Harmonic Practice in African Music and in Jazz Music

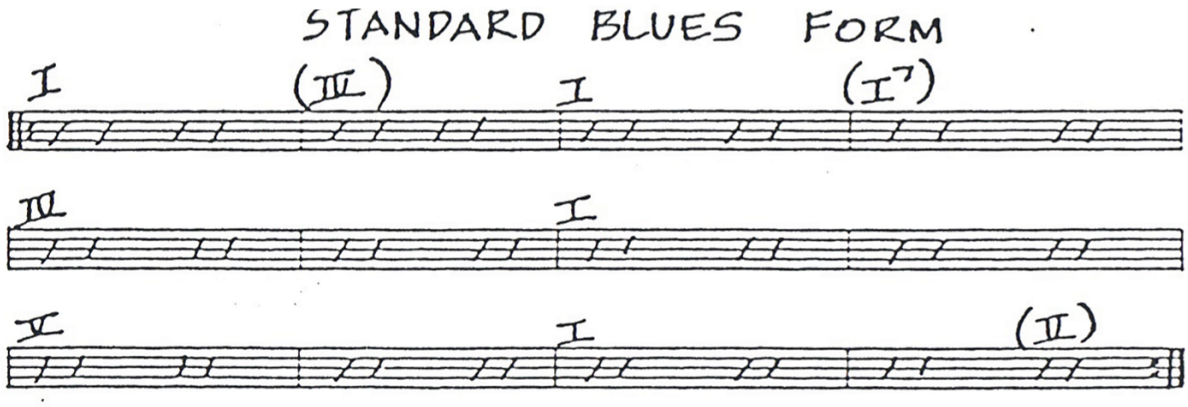
Among the various intervals used in African traditional music there are many not to be found in Western music, while, conversely, the seven-note scale (diatonic scale) that became the foundation of Western music is nowhere to be found in African traditional music. It must therefore have been difficult for people of African descent in America to sing to the accompaniment of Western instruments. Naturally, there are many non-Western elements in Afro-American vocal music—particularly in the melodic inflection of the genre known as the blues and in the handling of harmony in its accompaniment. These elements are thought to be vestiges of African music.

On the other hand, in purely instrumental music created by blacks, such as ragtime, the modes and tonality of Western music are predominant, whereas the blues has an ambiguous tonality that is neither major nor minor. This is because the third in the blues manner of singing often falls between the minor third and the major third. The seventh, in the same way, is in many cases neither minor nor major. The fourth, moreover, is sometimes raised, and the fifth lowered. These microtones are called blue notes.

In the case of many Western instruments, producing microtones is difficult or even impossible, but by sounding two adjacent pitches simultaneously one can suggest a blue note.

A note played on an instrument capable of producing only fixed pitches, in order to suggest a blue note, is likewise called a blue note.

In the accompaniment of the early blues, the guitar was used, and, employing the major triad or the seventh chord formed by stacking a minor third upon the major triad, it marked out the harmony to the singer's melody on each beat. In the beginning the form was indeterminate, but since the lyrics were chiefly in an A-A-B pattern, the musical form too came, following the lyrics, to be A-A-B. Each section consisted of four measures in four-four time. The chord progression is as shown in the following score.



Example 1. Standard blues form (the standard chord progression of the 12-bar blues).

The Roman numerals indicate the roots of the chords. It is customary to mark out on each beat, over each root, either a major triad or the minor seventh chord formed by stacking a minor third upon the major triad. The blues has various modifications, but this form is still regarded even now as its most typical one, and it is used in many genres such as jazz and rock 'n' roll.

What deserves particular attention here is the treatment of the seventh chord. In Western music, the seventh chord formed by stacking two minor thirds upon a major third is regarded as a dissonance and is used only as a dominant, but in the case of the blues it is a consonance, so there is no need to resolve it, and it is common to use it even as a final note.

The manner of singing in solo vocal performance carried out over such chord progressions was later taken up into the instrumental music of jazz as well. However, since the blues originally arose in the southern United States, there was little of the blues element in the jazz performances of players outside the South, who knew nothing of the blues at all.

4. Timbre in African Music and in Jazz Music

The timbre of jazz is indirectly related to African singing technique and language. The jazz performer's timbre is not the result of study and mastery of Western art music, nor is it something purchased at the instrument shop together with the instrument. What forms the very foundation of jazz is individuality, and so in the case of jazz, a musician without individuality is not a true musician.

The jazz performer therefore avoids a pure sound and seeks a muddy timbre.

5. Improvisation in African Music and in Jazz Music

Improvisation is both the soul of jazz and its reason for being. The same can be said of various other kinds of music, so this is by no means a quality found only in jazz, but the role of improvisation in music of European origin is not as central as it is in jazz.

The simultaneous improvising by several performers is one of the important principles in African music, and early jazz too inherited this custom. In the case of New Orleans jazz in particular, polylinear collective improvisation is a characteristic feature. However, when "arrangement" was introduced into jazz under white influence, this collective improvisation almost disappeared, and soloists came to improvise one after another in turn, and in a question-and-answer form.

Improvisation in jazz, with the exception of so-called free jazz, is carried out while following the chord progression of a given song. In that case, the improvising performer, as the chords change, ex-

presses himself by suitably fitting the melody he is playing to them. Jazz is therefore often said to be a medium of self-expression.

The differences between African traditional music and Afro-American music on the one hand and Western music on the other have been outlined above, and it is presumed that jazz was born from this Afro-American music around the beginning of the twentieth century.

D. The Dawn of Jazz

1. The New Orleans Style

It is difficult to estimate clearly the period of jazz's birth. Furthermore, the detailed circumstances leading up to that birth are extremely obscure. Its birthplace is held to be New Orleans, but from the 1900s into the 1910s, similar tendencies appeared in various places throughout America. However, not all the music that black musicians played was necessarily jazz; the kind of music differed according to the region and the social standing of the audience. Generally speaking, the places where jazz was performed were the saloons and brothels of the red-light districts. Besides these, in New Orleans it was also performed at funerals, at events such as industrial expositions, and at parties.

For some reason, among the performers born and raised in New Orleans and its environs, there were many who played a central role in the early jazz world. Consequently, the oldest style among the jazz records surviving to the present day is called New Orleans jazz. However, much of their playing was not recorded until they migrated to Chicago in 1923, which makes it all the more difficult to know what jazz was actually like at the outset.

Now, the New Orleans style has the following characteristics.

> 1. Melody: From beginning to end, a performance is almost entirely collective improvisation. Ordinarily the cornet paraphrases the melody of the piece, while the trombone supplies the roots or a tenor countermelody together with glissandos. The clarinet improvises a countermelody using arpeggios and ornamental notes. The saxophone and violin are also used from time to time. The players use inflections that imitate the voice and frequently use blue notes. Because many of the players were amateurs, the technical level is comparatively low.2. Harmony: Simple chord progressions based on the major or minor scale. Substitute chords are not used. The chord-playing instruments—that is, the banjo, the piano, and (rarely) the guitar—play the chords on each beat. The double bass (played pizzicato) and the tuba play in two-four time, emphasizing the root of the chord on the first beat and its tail note on the second beat.
>
> 3. Rhythm: The drums, reinforcing the two-beat of the bass and tuba, play a complex, march-like pattern. Compared with later jazz, the overall rhythmic feel is stiff, moving along as though plodding on foot.4. Repertoire: Because most of the players could not read music, they did not compose, and the arrangements probably changed each time they performed. Techniques called break time and stop time are sometimes used, but they do not seem to have been as refined as in Chicago jazz. Break time and stop time mean that, while a soloist is improvising, all the other members of the band keep up the accompaniment with a staccato rhythmic pattern. The repertoire includes European folk dances, ragtime pieces, marches, and popular songs, but on the whole the feel of the blues is strong. (Lyons: p. 584) (author's translation)

2. The Chicago Style

In 1917, when America's President Wilson entered the World War and declared war on Germany, New Orleans became a naval port. At that time, the Secretary of the Navy, with a resolute attitude, ordered the closing of Storyville, the red-light district of New Orleans.

> Storyville, which had concealed twenty years of splendor, closed the curtain on its history in November 1917. The disorderly houses, the cabarets, and the mansions that had boasted of their luxury were shut down, and the furniture, fittings, and mirrors were sold at auction. Willie Piazza's famous white piano, though already out of tune, was knocked down for a mere one dollar and twenty-five cents. The jazzmen who had been driven out of Storyville began, one after another, to head north in search of new territory. New Orleans jazz spread along the banks of the Mississippi, just like a fan being opened. (Yui 1957: p. 13)

Although the cause that brought about the collapse of New Orleans jazz was the World War, the cause that moved the jazz bands to Chicago was Prohibition.

> ...Prohibition sent forth into the world Alphonse Capone, the great boss of his generation and king of crime, who made his living by the illicit manufacture, smuggling, and bootlegging of liquor and who thought nothing of murder.
>
> Through the years of Prohibition, Al Capone manipulated many underlings at will, murdered his competitors and those who stood in his way, bribed politicians, and manipulated even government officials and the heads of the police to his own side; the masterly skill he wielded in the organized manufacture and sale of liquor and in the control and management of the speakeasies (secret saloons) said to number ten thousand in the Chicago area may truly be called the ability of a first-class businessman. What is more, when he had finished this work, he was a mere thirty-two years of age.It was precisely because of Capone that the jazz musicians driven out of New Orleans were able to find employment, in the ill-conditioned era of Prohibition, in every sort of place in Chicago. (ibid.: p. 14)

And so, soon after Prohibition took effect in 1920, Chicago became the center of jazz. Accordingly, the years from 1920 until the lifting of Prohibition in 1933 are called, in the history of jazz, the "Chicago era."Put simply, one of the historical significances of the Chicago era lies in the fact that young white musicians imitated the jazz of the blacks and established a jazz of their own making by whites. White jazz bands such as the ODJB already existed in New Orleans, but their playing merely took up the surface elements of black music (chiefly its rhythm), and it lacked the fundamental elements of Afro-American music such as improvisation and blue notes. On the other hand, however, the classically trained white players raised in the Midwest, though lacking an understanding of the southern blues and the like, learned from the rhythmic sense and the methods of improvisation in the Afro-Americans' approach to music, and, adding their own knowledge of classical music, contributed to jazz music in the matter of harmony.

As Chicago jazz came gradually to be performed indoors rather than outdoors, an enormous volume of sound was no longer necessary. As a result, the double bass came to be used in place of the tuba, and the guitar in place of the banjo. However, the instruments that carried the melody were still the trombone, the trumpet, and the clarinet.

Even though the white jazz bands of Chicago learned from the black bands, two distinct styles, "white" and "black," continued to exist. The music of black players who had moved from New Orleans—such as Louis Armstrong, King Oliver, and Jelly Roll Morton—was, compared with the jazz of whites, more complex and free in rhythm and strong in the feel of the blues. On the other hand, in the Chicago jazz made by whites, also called Dixieland, there were players from the Midwest, including Bix Beiderbecke, and they are called the Chicagoans. Rhythmically they have a stiff feel, like ragtime. The repertoire of the white bands was chiefly the popular songs of Tin Pan Alley, while that of the blacks consisted largely of New Orleans numbers and the blues.

3. Symphonic Jazz

Today, the name of Paul Whiteman seldom appears in the general literature on the history of jazz. In the 1920s, however, it was an era in which, to speak of jazz, one had also to speak of Paul Whiteman.

Whiteman conducted an orchestra whose members were white players gathered chiefly from the world of classical music, and what he produced by introducing the syncopation of ragtime into his classical conception was called symphonic jazz. He was given the title of "King of Jazz" by publishers and record companies and became, more than anyone else, the figure who symbolized jazz music.

> Whiteman's role in jazz and popular music is still vigorously debated even now. On the one hand, extreme jazz critics, who refuse to grant him any value at all, say that he exerted a harmful influence on Bix Beiderbecke and on jazz in general, while supporters of popular mass culture say that Whiteman was a great mediator between jazz and classical music. Paul Whiteman was a sociological phenomenon answering a certain special demand of the society of his generation—that is, of the 1920s... But as regards the music alone, the Whiteman Orchestra accomplished many achievements worthy of admiration, and it is a fact that a great many players, both white and black, respected (and in some cases envied) its music. ...Whiteman's finest performances have, like those of Basie and Ellington, a human quality that is his own, a sonority peculiar to him. It is simply that they are not based on a jazz conception. (Schuller, 1968: p. 192)

(author's translation)

It is paradoxical that a figure once dubbed the King of Jazz should now have been erased from the literature of jazz history, but if one takes the position of acknowledging that New Orleans jazz and Chicago jazz, derived from Afro-American music, are the mainstream of jazz music, then one must say that Paul Whiteman stood apart from true jazz.

Chapter 2 The Establishment of Jazz Music in Prewar Japan

A. Its Historical Background

In the 1970s a marked tendency to look back on the Shōwa period emerged in every field, and as part of this, alongside the rising interest in Japanese jazz, the reissuing of jazz records flourished and research into the circumstances of jazz in Japan was pursued vigorously. Since the details have been largely clarified by that research, I shall confine myself here to a brief confirmation of the facts.

The opening of jazz in Japan is generally dated to the Taishō era, but in order to understand this period I would like to begin by exploring the various circumstances accompanying the earlier "civilization and enlightenment" that made the reception of jazz possible.

1. Military Music

The three-hundred-year peaceful slumber of the Tokugawa shogunate was shaken awake by the Black Ships, and Japan greeted the dawn of a new era. The shogunate rapidly lost power, and in 1868 the new Meiji government was established. From the end of the shogunate into the Meiji era, as exchange with foreign countries flourished, Western music in Japan began to develop in earnest. Within the shogunate and the various domains, music by drum corps and fife-and-drum corps was already being performed, and the Kishū domain in particular was eager to introduce the bugle. Moreover, in Meiji 2 (1869) the Satsuma domain sent more than thirty young men to Yokohama to be trained by John William Fenton, bandmaster of the 10th Regiment of the British Royal Navy. This became the first wind band in Japan, and with these military bandsmen at its core, the Ministry of Military Affairs began organizing the Naval Military Band in May of Meiji 4.

2. The Introduction and Promotion of Western Music; Music Education

The Meiji government, which aimed at "a rich country and a strong army," devoted its energies to cultivating the human resources needed for this end, that is, to school education. After the abolition of the domains and the establishment of prefectures, it created the Ministry of Education in Meiji 4 (1871), and the following year, Meiji 5, it promulgated the Education System. At that time, as one of the elementary-school subjects, a subject called "shōka" (singing) was established, with the aim of "singing songs correctly to the accompaniment of an instrument, so as to cultivate virtue and refine sentiment." According to one view, this was influenced by "a tenet of Confucianism holding that a good government requires correct ceremony and music" (Waterhouse, 1983: p. 287). At first there were neither teachers nor teaching materials, and there were various other difficult problems, but the system of shōka education was established, and later, through it, Western music came to be introduced throughout the country.

In Meiji 12 (1879) the Music Investigation Committee, the forerunner of the Tokyo Music School, was founded, and thereafter it contributed greatly to the training of music educators nationwide. Thus, although the music education encouraged by the government had an educational effect because it used Western music as a kind of moral instruction, it did not manage to penetrate into people's hearts.

Horiuchi Keizō describes it as follows.

> Since the Meiji Restoration, Western culture had been imported with the force of a bursting dam and a raging torrent, and people were so infatuated with the West that imitating it was casually dismissed as "civilization and enlightenment" while maintaining old customs was dismissed as "stubborn conservatism." But music alone was a different matter. Trains ran, telegraph lines were strung, Western lamps were lit, Western umbrellas were carried, newspapers were read, and brick buildings lined the Ginza, yet Western-style music did not penetrate among the common people. (Horiuchi 1942: p. 118)

And Sonobe Saburō argues a similar opinion.

> In this way the full-scale transplanting of Western music began with the upper classes' imitation of Western fashion and gradually seeped into the lives of the people. But however proudly the vividly blooming Western flower may give off its fragrance within a transparently polished shop window, to move its seed to another soil and raise it there is by no means an easy task.
>
> Western music in Japan was, as it still is today, nothing more than a transplanted flower. It was something to be learned by being taught from above, but
>
> it was not something that sang and played so as to awaken what wells up in the hearts of the people, calling forth a sympathy in their very flesh and blood. (Sonobe 1956: p. 6)

Those who actually made Western music familiar to the general public were the professional musicians described next.

3. The Birth of Musicians Who Made Western Music Their Profession

In the 20s of Meiji, the number of retirees from the Army and Navy military bands increased, and from among them there began to appear those who made Western music their main profession. Thus, by the time jazz music entered Japan, the Japanese had already been working with Western instruments for several decades.

The pioneer of this was the "Tokyo Civic Music Band" led by Mr. Kagawa Chikara.

> It was the emergence of the "Tokyo Civic Music Society." This was a wind band organized in November 1886 (Meiji 19) by Kagawa Chikara, a former member of the Naval Military Band, and others, which gave casual performances in response to requests from all quarters. At that time the wind band was a kind of fashionable novelty, and when it played it gave off the scent of "civilization and enlightenment."

For that reason it came to be used not in the sense of listening to music but for merchants' customer-attracting advertisement and publicity. In due course its performance technique too went into decline, and it gradually took on the character of the later "jinta." Yet it cannot be denied that this civic music band, like the jazz of today's light music, played a great role in making Western music familiar to the general public in the early Meiji period. (Komiya: pp. 598 – 99)

The banquets of the Rokumeikan, a Westernized social venue, penetrated the society of the nobility and the former samurai class. However, even when one applied to the Army and Navy military bands or to the Gagaku Department of the Imperial Household Ministry to perform at the garden parties, celebrations, and opening ceremonies of the aristocracy and high society, it was not easy to obtain permission. It was against such a background that Kagawa Chikara founded, chiefly from former members of the Naval Military Band, Japan's first wind band of professional performers.

Around Meiji 11 this band was named the "Tokyo Civic Music Band," and it became the origin of professional music.

Kagawa Chikara, who had retired from the Naval Military Band, together with his juniors Nishimura Kuranjirō, Inoue Yoshio,

Kagehara Yoshiya, Hiraoka Keijirō, and Koga Sadahiko, and through Hiraoka's mediation, with investment from Hiraoka Hirotaka, the proprietor of Kagetsuen, and Shibusawa Eiichi, established the joint-stock company "Tokyo Civic Music Society." They then recruited young men aspiring to be performers of Western music, hired some twenty-odd of them, and set up an office at Yakushiji in Atagoshita, Shiba ward.

(Ōmori: p. 57)

Other military-band retirees who learned of the success of this "Tokyo Civic Music Society" realized that the path of a professional performer making use of Western performance skills lay close at hand, and many of the retirees pursued the path of professional performer, so that the thing called "jinta" (also called band-houses or music-troupe-houses) was born. Horiuchi Keizō describes it as follows.

From after the Sino-Japanese War to after the Russo-Japanese War, precisely the era when Japan's commerce and industry developed by leaps and bounds, town-rounds for advertisement and publicity were vigorously carried out. These were quite large-scale affairs in which, before and behind the civic music band (from six or seven to a dozen or more people), laborers would each shoulder several banners inscribed with product names, shop names, and advertising slogans, accompanied by two or three laborers distributing handbills, and several such troupes would pass by every day. The advertising town-rounds of the civic music bands were carried out all over the country. The number of "music-troupe-houses" must have been enormous.

The civic music band—abbreviated to "music troupe." The name "jinta" seems to have come into being in the early Taishō era—was used, besides for advertising town-rounds, to draw crowds for circuses and panoramas, and also for sales promotions and athletic meets. When the magician Shōkyokusai Tenichi's grand magic show celebrating his return from abroad was held (probably at the old Meijiza), I fondly recall how the then young star Miss Tenkatsu danced something like "The Dance of the Butterfly" amid beams of colored light, accompanied by the clamorous strains of the jinta. When moving pictures were occasionally screened at the Kinkikan in Kanda, the jinta provided accompaniment. Even after the Denkikan in Asakusa and the Shindokan in Kanda became permanent cinemas, the jinta accompanied them. The jinta took part in every "fashionable" event.

(Horiuchi 1942: p. 255)

After the economic panic of January Meiji 41, the town-round jinta decreased markedly for various reasons and their make-up also became smaller, and demand in other cases too declined. However, after the Russo-Japanese War, cinemas sprang up all over the country, creating a new source of income for the jinta musicians. The piano and violin, which had come in during the 40s of Meiji,also came to join the jinta's wind-band playing in the cinemas.

> The first use of an orchestra in a cinema was in Meiji 43, when, at the Opera Hall in Asakusa, Ikeda Tatsugorō served as bandmaster and performed with an ensemble of violin, cello, bass, piano, clarinet, cornet, and trombone to accompany such things as the dances of Toyoka in a "real-object applied motion picture"—the ancestor of the later rensageki (chain drama) [as related by Ikeda Tatsugorō]; from then on small orchestras came to be used gradually at each theater, and people also began doing such things as Japanese-Western ensembles together with the traditional hayashi.
>
> ... Because cinemas had kept hayashi from the start for accompanying Japanese period films, the orchestra immediately linked up with them and began Japanese-Western ensembles, which were quite well received. The cinema orchestra thus gradually settled in. In any case, it was here that the orchestra first came into contact with the masses. (Horiuchi 1942: p. 259)

However, when superior players were thus taken from the jinta into the orchestras, only the less skilled were left, so the jinta declined more and more.

4. The Expansion of Professional Music

Although the jinta itself declined, at that time, taking the jinta as its starting point, a new kind of civic music band was born and took over the publicity wind-band work of the jinta. That is, the thing called the "boys' music band." These were not independent groups formed by the players themselves, but were created as publicity devices for department stores. Beginning with Mitsukoshi's Nihonbashi main store and its Osaka branch, five department stores trained Western-music performers from the end of Meiji into the Taishō era and supplied much talent to Japan's professional music world.

> Around the first year of Taishō (1912), the saying "Today the Teikoku Gekijō, tomorrow Mitsukoshi" became popular. That Nihonbashi Mitsukoshi, on February 16, Meiji 42 (1909), created a boys' music band to publicize the store. At the first Children's Exhibition in April (on what is now the store's grounds), they appeared early on in charming light-blue outfits with gold buttons
>
> and gathered popularity. (Uchida: p. 32)

Later, boys' music bands were formed at Matsuzakaya in Nagoya (1911), Takashimaya in Osaka (1923), and Izumoya in Osaka (1923), but in 1925, as a retrenchment measure against the recession caused by the Great Earthquake, the bands of Mitsukoshi's two stores and of Takashimaya were disbanded. In 1927, Toshimaen in Nerima ward, Tokyo, hired Hisamatsu Kōtarō as conductor from the disbanded Mitsukoshi band and formed the Toshimaen Boys' Band, which continued until 1929.

The longest-lived among them was Matsuzakaya's, which in 1932 became the Nagoya Symphony Orchestra, in 1940 the Central Symphony Orchestra, and in 1941 moved to Tokyo and was renamed the Tokyo Symphony Orchestra, before everything was burned down in the great air raid of 1945 and it was disbanded. (Uchida: pp. 32 – 37)

Furthermore, in the Taishō era the entertainment industries that demanded Western music (dance halls, new theater, cinemas, Asakusa opera, the Takarazuka revue, and so on) gradually developed, and the workplace for Western music kept on expanding. As a result, the masses at last became somewhat accustomed to the sound of Western instruments, to Western-style melody and harmony, and to tonal music.

Meanwhile, from 1912 shipping companies began putting musicians aboard their North American routes. This was to perform dinner music and social-dance music in order to relieve the tedium of the long voyage of about twenty days. The placing of these ships' bands aboard continued for twenty-nine years, from 1912 until August 1941, just before the outbreak of the Pacific War, and through those routes an enormous number of American popular songs flowed into the country. The members of these ships'

bands brought the techniques of jazz performance into the country. Domestic band-houses, department-store music bands, and the like acquired these techniques and spread them. (As related by Uchida Kōichi) (cf. Ōmori: p. 98)

Another factor in the transmission of jazz music to Japan was the Filipino performers. It was only natural that the Filipinos were more advanced than the Japanese in jazz music. Having been Spanish territory before 1898, the Philippine Islands were thereafter occupied by America, so that American popular culture was dominant there more than anywhere in Asia, and American music in particular flourished exceedingly. Moreover, the period from the 1920s into the 30s was the golden age of entertainment in the Philippines.

On the Filipino influence in Japanese jazz, Ōmori Seitarō writes as follows.

At that time [the 1920s] there were the Vancouver and North American routes operating out of Manila as their starting point. The Empress shipping company's "Empress of Canada," "Empress of Japan," and "Empress of Russia" operated them. To these were added Japan's "Taiyō Maru" and "Korea Maru" and the like, and Filipino performers were aboard those five ships. Jazz music developed at each port of call as well, opening up a path for jazz music into the major cities throughout the Orient.

In Manila in the Philippines there were the Manila Hotel and the two cabarets of Santa Ana and Maybae; in Hong Kong, the Hong Kong Hotel, the Repulse Hotel, and the Peak Hotel; in Shanghai, the Savoy Hotel and the Cathay Hotel; in Kobe, the Oriental Hotel; and in Yokohama, the Yokohama Grand Hotel and the like became bases for jazz music. At those hotels ... American and Filipino jazz performers were playing.

And many Filipino performers were working in Japan.

The first reason for this is that around Taishō 8 the bands of the two bandmasters P. Antonio and Bebe Mateas were already performing salon music and dance music at the Kobe Oriental Hotel, and in Taishō 10, bandmaster José Alcantar (drums), ... and others continued in succession, performing dance music every Saturday night. Moreover, the vogue of American jazz music, riding the tide of the times, permeated the Orient as well and brought a great influence to bear on Japan's professional music world.

The second is that many of the Filipino performers residing in Kobe had entered into international marriages with Japanese women and settled there.

The third is that the Filipino bands performing at the Oriental Hotel also advanced into the cafés and dance halls of Osaka and performed jazz music there.

The fourth is that among Japan's young performers there were those who were charmed by the new wave of jazz music and showed an inclination and trend toward its performance.

Thus, behind the dissemination of jazz music—one facet of American musical culture—in Japan lay the fact that, through the commercially keen café world of Osaka and the establishment of new dance halls and the like, jazz music came to be sought after.

Under such factors, jazz music flowed from Kobe to Osaka, and as professional music too it entered, in the Shōwa period, the maturing phase of "authentic jazz." (Ōmori: pp. 144 – 45)

B. Jazz in Prewar Japan: An Analysis of the Music

The first to begin performing jazz in Japan were, as described above, the musicians who had already made Western music their profession. Now, what was the jazz music that these musicians performed actually like? The details of the principal figures have recently been discussed vigorously in numerous studies, but almost no analysis of the actual works of prewar Japanese jazz music itself has been carried out. Therefore, I would like to explain the characteristics of Japanese jazz music while referring to several representative recordings.

1. Jazz Before the ”Jazz Song”

The first appearance in Japan of what was called a jazz band was in 1921.

> ... Shōchiku, which had advanced into Asakusa, performed a jazz band at the Teikokukan from June 17 of (Taishō) 10, and at the same time also began jazz at the Konparukan. (Kurata 1979: p. 250)

But at that time there was no such thing as a jazz record.

> Records billed as jazz suddenly began to catch the eye. In the motion-picture theaters they had already been performed since Taishō 10, but as records only from November of Taishō 14. Each company kept an exclusive band and gave them katakana names that had been unfamiliar until then. Let us take a look at what sorts of pieces each group was performing.

Carl’s Show Jazz Band:(Nitchiku)
14.11 Saint Louis Blues Medley
14.12 Hong Kong Dream Girl That’s my girl
15.1 Copenhagen Hard Hearted Hanna
Philippine Jazz Band
14.11 I want to be Happy Honolulu
15.2 Oriental Dance, Tee Teen on Me
Orchestra Rhapsody
14.11 Serenade Blues/Three o’clock in the morning
Mandolin Inn Orchestra
14.11 Foot Warmer/Some of these days
15.1 All Alone (Waltz)/Wonderful one (waltz)
Ōsaka Shōchikuza Orchestra (Orient)
15.7 Afghanistan Dance, Chichina
15.8 The Cat Dances, Baby
(ibid.: 296 − 97)

The monthly bulletins of the record companies of the time had a category called ”jazz” (written ” ジャズ” or ” ジャヅ”), and what was listed there was, as in the enumeration above, mostly foreign pieces, chiefly Tin Pan Alley numbers. But can these be called the first jazz records in Japan? In fact, similar pieces had been recorded and released by so-called jazz bands before this; only the name had now changed.

What must be noted here is the conspicuousness of the Filipino jazz bands. The ”Philippine Jazz Band” is of course literally so, but ”Carl’s Show Jazz Band” too was a band of Filipinos.

The three-disc record set *The Immortal History of Japanese Jazz and Popular Music* (不滅日本ジャズポピュラー史) contains reissues of jazz records from the first half of the 1920s, including both Japanese and Filipinos. If one compares the performances of the Japanese Hatano Orchestra and the Tenyō Maru Orchestra with those of the Filipino Carlton Jazz Band and the Nitto Jazz Band, which included both Japanese and Filipinos (as related by Segawa Masahisa), one can see that the bands in which Filipinos took part were the more advanced.

The Hatano Orchestra’s «Oriental Dance» (recorded 1923), performed after coming ashore from a ship, added drums and banjo to the orchestral instruments, but the overall rhythm is simple and stiff, with no syncopation or equalization of rhythmic units. The Tenyō Maru Orchestra’s «With the Coming of Tomorrow» (recorded 1923) is a march for wind instruments that could even be taken for a Sousa piece.

In contrast to these, the Nitto Jazz Band’s «Walla Walla»

> (recorded 1925) and the Carlton Jazz Band’s «Who» (recorded 1927) have singing in parts, and the pronunciation is so good that they could be taken for American work. The melody instruments improvise

> in syncopated rhythm, and in parts there is band improvisation, resembling Chicago jazz. Also, the banjo sounds a chord on each beat, but because it emphasizes the weak beats (the second and fourth beats of 4/4), it produces a swing feel. The melody is always audible, but it seems not to follow the score and to be varied improvisationally. Also, the instrument-only passages are longer than the passages where a singer or chorus is singing.

In records of around 1925, such jazz-like things are still comparatively rare, but singing to the accompaniment of Western instruments began around then. All earlier recordings of Western music had been instrumental, and as for vocal music, it had been accompanied by the shamisen. Once singing began to be added to Western instrumental music, the singing gradually became the center.

2. Jazz and Popular Song After the Appearance of the Jazz Song

All records up to 1928 were recorded acoustically (by horn). After that they became electrically recorded, and the sound quality was markedly improved. At the same time, the newly established Victor and Columbia companies, unlike the earlier record companies, took an aggressive stance and tried to make songs popular. When they did so, the record companies frequently joined hands with film companies to make pieces popular, and the maximum sales per record title rose from several thousand copies to several hundred thousand (Kurata 1979: pp. 333 − 34). Against such a background, the best-selling were Western-style songs that used Western instruments for accompaniment, and these came to be called "jazz songs." Jazz songs were of two kinds: those that put Japanese-translated lyrics to Tin Pan Alley pieces, and those composed and written by Japanese.

Horiuchi Keizō, the first to translate foreign popular songs into Japanese, speaks as follows about the early jazz songs and their rapid progress in a 1933 essay.

> After I entered the broadcasting station in October of Taishō 15, I gathered those who liked jazz from among the members of the New Symphony Orchestra and formed a thing called the "JOAK Jazz Band,"

> and broadcast with it frequently. This too was not very good, but I thought that, if we had to broadcast something anyway, it was more sensible to broadcast Japanese jazz than foreigners'. At least there was the reassurance that, since the members of the JOAK Jazz Band could read music, they would not give an unmusical performance.Before long I felt the need to put singing into the jazz. In foreign jazz bands the players sing, but the people in Japanese jazz bands do not, so I asked Amano Kikuyo and Futamura Teiichi to sing "Valencia," "The Song of Arabia," and the like in my Japanese translation in February of Shōwa 3, and continued this thereafter. Japanese-language jazz songs began from here.I thought that, if the Japanese were to like jazz songs, Japanese composition too would have to appear in this field. On the principle of "begin with the one nearest at hand," I made the foxtrot "Dark Eyes" and the tango "The Traveler's Song" and the like, arranged them myself for jazz band, and so happened to become a pioneer in this field.But I am not qualified to be a jazz champion. For one thing, I cannot dance, nor do I like dancing. I took part in jazz purely out of a musical interest, so when superior musicians appeared in this field and began supplying artistic jazz music to the masses, I promptly withdrew from the practical side of jazz and became one of its appreciators.In fact, Japanese jazz bands have become incomparably better and more musical than in their pioneering days. Among performing groups, the PCL Orchestra conducted by Kami Kyōsuke is an excellent, high-class jazz ensemble. Among composers, too, talented men such as Kami, Shōchiku's Tashiro, and Victor's Sasaki have appeared. As for singers, there are Kawabata Fumiko, Awaya Noriko, and others beyond count. Looking back on just a few years ago on the occasion of the present jazz festival sponsored by the Hōchi Shimbun, I am struck by the feeling of an epochal change. (Horiuchi 1934: pp. 78 − 80)

From this essay we can see that the jazz "frequently broadcast" by the "JOAK Jazz Band" was, first of all, instrumental music performed according to the score. That is, there was little improvisation. Here

the first broadcast of a Japanese-language jazz song is dated February 1928. The jazz song actually became popular only after «Tokyo March» (東京行進曲) was released in May of the following year. From then on, Japanese jazz developed in close connection with popular song.

Listening to «Tokyo March» today, one might wonder what on earth is jazz-like about it. There is no improvisation, no swing rhythm, no blue notes, nothing,so one might think the only reason is that the word ”jazz” appears in its lyrics. It might even sound Japanese. It is called a jazz song not because it is jazz-like but because it is Western-style. To the masses of that time, who heard for the first time a Western-style piece played on Western instruments with Japanese lyrics attached, it must have been an earth-shaking thing.

But where is it Western-style? Let us look at the score.



Example 2. «Tokyo March» (東京行進曲, 1929). Lyrics by Saijō Yaso, music by Nakayama Shinpei.

First, what seems to be a remnant of Edo folk song is the syllabic pattern in the lyrics (7·7·7·5) known as the kinsei kouta style. The yonanuki minor scale is in fact a Japanese-Western hybrid dating from the Meiji era onward. However, there are four clearly Western elements.

1. Symmetry in Form

Edo folk song, whether the dodoitsu or the Ōtsu-e bushi, is mostly of asymmetrical form. In Western music, on the other hand, in hymns, wind-band music, Tin Pan Alley pieces, and the like, symmetry is a fundamental principle that is taken for granted.

Nakayama Shinpei, who valued Western music, favored symmetrical forms and composed many symmetrical pieces. The twelve-bar «Song of Katyusha» (カチューシャの歌) has three symmetrical

phrases. Also, «The Gondola Song» (ゴンドラの歌) is in 6/8 time and, like «Tokyo March», consists of four phrases, each phrase having four bars.

2. The Characteristics of Tonal Music (the use of cadences in harmony and harmonic structure, etc.)

In the case of tonal music, the simplest chord progression is tonic − dominant − tonic. This is because a piece must always be in a particular "key," and what determines that key is the cadence. And the simplest cadence is the one above.

When the Japanese first put harmony to a song it was the triad on the tonic, but the next chord used was the dominant. At that moment the tension of the dominant was resolved into the stability of the tonic, and thus tonality was brought about. In later popular song tonality took root, and even in today's folk songs, in enka, and in pop music, one can say of everything that "it is in such-and-such a key."

3. Western Instrumentation

As already stated, putting Western-instrument accompaniment to a Japanese-language song was still comparatively new. The general public was more conscious of the fashionable timbre of the "jazz band" than of new musical elements such as tonality and form.

4. Western Vocal Technique

This was probably a result of shōka education, but the early Western-style popular songs had a strong tendency to be sung in so-called "bel canto" (the difficult melismatic kobushi found in enka and folk song were not seen until a few years after the war). This proves that the vocal technique of Afro-American music had not yet been transmitted. It seems that the various vocal techniques in Western song were all thought to be one and the same thing.

Symmetrical form, tonality, Western instrumentation, Western vocal technique. These four characteristicsare common to almost all the popular songs that followed. The influence of Western music education is overwhelmingly greater than the influence of jazz proper. Yet this came to be regarded as jazz.

In 1931, Shōchiku Films planned *The Neighbor's Wife and Mine* (マダムと女房), Japan's first full-scale talkie, and sought to depict modernity within it. Because it was a talkie, it had to make good use of sound. Accordingly, it includes the sounds of automobiles and airplanes, the sound of shaving dried bonito, the sound of an alarm clock, the sound of tearing paper, and so on. And of course it also had to include the noise of a jazz band. A theme song was commissioned for this purpose and was performed by the Teikokukan Jazz Band. In the film it is given as "Mammy Jazz Band." It was composed by Takashina Tetsuo with lyrics by Satō Hachirō, and the title of the piece is «Speed Era» (スピード時代).



Example 3. «Speed Era» (スピード時代). Music by Takashina Tetsuo, lyrics by Satō Hachirō (transcribed by the author).

This piece and performance can by no means be called outstanding for its time, but it is significant as the first jazz song used in a talkie, as well as a representative of the cinema jazz bands of the time.

The instrumentation is banjo, trombone, trumpet, saxophone, drums, woodblock, piano, and xylophone. In rhythm, the strong beats are emphasized, and since there is no syncopation or polyrhythm, it is a stiff rhythm that does not swing. All the members of the band are each playing improvisationally at random, so it is discordant and noisy. The singer Ichimura Mitsuko, too, sings in bel canto.

This form is constructed as 6·4·4·4·4·4 (number of bars), which is repeated several times. In the passages where the singing comes in, the phrases are all of four bars each. Because there is no instrument to produce a bass, the root of the chords is unclear. In the fifth bar an F major triad and in the sixth bar a B ♭ major triad can be heard, and since the last phrase of the melody also cadences on B ♭, one may say the key is B ♭ major. However, since the passage in between has no cadence, the chord progression

is ambiguous and one does not feel much harmonic tension and resolution.

A piece with such weak tonality uses a rhythmic cadence to make the tonic clear. The rhythm of the sixth bar is such a case. That is, it is the technique of a composer who was not accustomed to tonal music.

3. The Emergence of Jazz-Style Popular Songs

For the general public, the representative examples of jazz may well have been works such as «Tokyo March» (東京行進曲) and «Speed Era» (スピード時代). On the other hand, however, among the performers there were some who took an interest in jazz proper, and they studied authentic American jazz records with great enthusiasm.

Nanri Fumio (南里文雄) was one of them. In 1929 he crossed over to Shanghai, and during the seven months he stayed there he studied under Teddy Weatherford, the great pianist who had once been active alongside Louis Armstrong. Upon his return to Japan he formed his own jazz band, and besides giving authentic jazz performances, he also took part in the records of many other performers and singers.

In 1934 Dick Mine joined the newly established Teichiku, and on the recording of his first record, «Dinah», Nanri and his band, the "Hot Peppers," provided the accompaniment. On this record, unlike the jazz songs up to that time, there is a long introduction, followed by the singing, and finally an instrumental section again. This record became remarkably popular and took the world by storm. Thereafter each record company, seeking to share in the blessings of «Dinah», released its own «Dinah».

> "This '«Dinah» whirlwind' seems to have substantially revised Japan's sense of jazz. Jazz records, which had once failed to sell, dispelled their former image through «Dinah»." (Kurata 1979: 416)

Here let us take up the solo that Nanri Fumio performed.



Example 4. Nanri Fumio's solo on «Dinah» (♩ =126; transcribed by the author).

Chord progression

Eb,Eb,Ab,Ab,Ab,Ab,
Eb,Eb,Ab,Ab,Ab,
Ab,Ab,Ab,Eb,Eb,
Ab,Ab

This solo is short, but it is exceptionally fine. Up to this point the tempo is ♩ =126, but at the opening of Nanri's solo the tempo doubles.

There are three admirable points in this solo. The first is the swing in its rhythmic sense. Each note is played precisely, yet a forward directionality can be felt. The rhythm is highly syncopated, and the weak and strong beats are also equalized.

The second is Nanri's superb harmonic sense. Since this passage has only two chords, it is difficult to convey a forward directionality through improvisation in keeping with them; nonetheless, Nanri plays anticipatory notes ahead of the chord progression that follows. For example, the G and B ♭ in bar 6 anticipate the E ♭ major triad (dominant) of bar 15. Likewise, the B ♭, G, and E ♭ in bar 14 anticipate the E ♭ major triad of bar 15. The C, E ♭, and C in bar 8 anticipate the A ♭ major triad of bar 9, and bars 16 and 17 are the same.

The third is his excellent tone. The pitch of each note is clear, yet he adds inflection to each note and applies vibrato to long notes. It is a sound reminiscent of Louis Armstrong.

From 1936 on, titles of the form "So-and-so Blues" (ブルーズ, or alternatively ブルース) begin to stand out. The first of these was «Blues of Memories» (想い出のブルース), composed by Taniguchi Matashi (a trombonist); but later a flood of such titles overflowed, including «Blues of the Rain» (雨のブルース), «Parting Blues» (別れのブルーズ), «Canton Blues» (広東のブルース), «Blues of Memories» (想い出のブルーズ, composed by Hattori Ryōichi), «Shanghai Blues» (上海ブルース), «Atami Blues» (熱海ブルース), «Evening-Sky Blues» (夕空ブルース), «Tokyo Blues» (東京ブルース, two of them), «Izu Blues» (伊豆ブルース), «Saba Blues» (佐波ブルース), «Cherry-Blossom Blues» (桜ブルース), and so on. (See Tsuji 1985.)

In every one of these, the lyrics are melancholy, the melody is in a minor key, and the form consists of several four-barphrases. However, unlike the blues proper, none of them consists of three four-bar phrases, nor is any ambiguous tonality or any blue note in the melody to be found.

Hattori Ryōichi's «Parting Blues» (別れのブルーズ) is one of the representative examples of this.



Example 5. «Parting Blues» (別れのブルーズ). Music by Hattori Ryōichi, lyrics by Fujiura Kō (transcribed by the author).

Chord progression(sung) Cm,Cm,Fm,Cm,

Cm,Cm,A ♭ 7 G7,Cm
Cm,Fm Cm,Cm,Cm

Cm,Cm,G7,Cm
Cm,Cm,Cm,G7,
Cm Fm, Cm,Cm G7,Cm

(trumpet interlude)

Cm,Cm,Fm,G7,
Cm,Cm,Cm Fm,Cm,
Fm,Cm,G7,G7 Cm
Fm,Cm,Ab7 G7, Cm,(Cm)

Lyrics

When I open the window, the harbor comes into view,

I can see the lights of the Meriken wharf.

Carrying the night wind, the tide wind, the wind of love,
where does today's departing ship set sail?

O sobbing heart, O fleeting love,
O the heartache of the dancing blues.

On the record label it reads " ブルース" (Burūsu), but on the lyric card both the title and the lyrics read " ブルーズ" (Burūzu).

The form is symmetrical: there are three long eight-bar phrases, and each long phrase consists of four short two-bar phrases. The chord progression is organized according to the phrase structure, and at the end of each long phrase there is a cadence from the dominant seventh chord to the tonic. For this reason, the tonality is clearly felt.

The first half of the interlude is a trumpet solo (whether it is improvised is unclear), and the second half is a tutti with the orchestra. At the end of the interlude an extra bar is added.

Why have Japanese blues come to be like this? This is clearly different from what was explained in the Introduction. In fact, there is a clue that makes the reason clear in Hattori Ryōichi's autobiography.

Hattori believed that the genuine jazz was W.C. Handy's *Saint Louis Blues*.

He had also read the book *Blues* that Handy wrote. This was probably because, among the blues that had spread as far as Japan, *Saint Louis Blues* was the earliest. (Hattori 1982: 139 − 148)

Let us take up the structure of *Saint Louis Blues*.

Chord progression ‖ F,B ♭ ,F,FB ♭ ,B ♭ ,F,F,C7,C7,F,F ‖ ‖ Fm,Fm,C7,C7,C7,C7,Fm,FmFm,Fm,C7,C7,C7,C7,Fm,Fm ‖

The first twelve bars are clearly the typical blues form. Since the chord progression consists of major triads, if blue notes are sung over them, a tonality that is neither an ambiguous major nor a minor is produced. The latter half, however, is in a minor key, and moreover it is in a sixteen-bar form. It is clear that the blues Hattori composed derive from Handy's non-bluesy blues.

On this point let us take up a differing view.

> Just as the lyrics of the dodoitsu follow a 7-7-7-5 pattern, the simplest definition of the blues is that it is twelve bars, the lyrics are three lines, and the lyric content is AAB. Since what Fujiura Kō referred to in order to match the number and length of the bars was probably "Saint Louis Blues," when one compares the two they do indeed correspond.

I hate to see that evening sun go down.
When I open the window, the harbor comes into view,
I hate to see that evening sun go down.
I can see the lights of the Meriken wharf.
'Cause my baby, he's gone left this town.
Carrying the night wind, the tide wind, the wind of love, where does today's departing ship set sail?

> It is a correspondence; it is not a translation. "Saint Louis Blues" is three lines in AAB form, and following that, "Parting Blues" too is in AA'B form; one may understand that not only the form but also the content follows suit—the time is evening, and because the lover departs by ship, the feeling too is blue (melancholy). As for the lyric content, however, since lost love is a cliché in both blues and enka, it is only natural that they should come to resemble each other; yet there can be no doubt that, at the inception of the Japanese blues-enka's formation, Fujiura Kō was strongly conscious of "Saint Louis Blues," the

most famous ”blues” in the entire world at that time. It is interesting that the more he was so conscious of it, the more it turned into a dodoitsu meter. (Hiraoka: pp. 413 − 14)

There is a slight misunderstanding here. It is true that if one arranges the lyrics into three lines they become AA'B form, and if one arranges them into five lines they become AA'A"A"'B form; but in the original lyric card they are, as shown above, in four lines. Moreover, when viewed from the musical structure, the phrases can only be thought of as four.

At any rate, the Japanese blues came in this way to have a character entirely different from the blues proper. Yet, like other popular songs, the Japanese blues are very Western. In the 1930s, four musical elements—symmetrical form, tonality, Western instrumentation, and bel canto vocal production—took firm root in Japan and came to dominate the popular music that followed.

The elements that may be regarded as having taken root in Japan from jazz proper are two: the swing rhythm and the improvisational method of jazz. The blue note, it seems, was not favored. This may perhaps be because the Japanese already had their own distinctive microtonal intervals. Jazz music in prewar Japan was at its peak in 1937 or 1938, and after that its momentum declined owing to suppression by the authorities.

Chapter 3 The Concept of Jazz in Prewar Japan

A. Why Discuss the Concept of Jazz

In Japan today, jazz has become not merely a kind of popular music but also a cultural icon (a sacred image) with a long history that calls to mind a variety of images. In the play *Shanghai Bansking* (上海バンスキング) by Kushida Kazuyoshi and Saitō Ren, which premiered in 1979 to great acclaim, the life of Japanese jazz musicians during the Second World War is depicted, and the success of this work attests to just how deeply jazz has permeated Japanese popular culture. It is precisely because the image of jazz in Japan's popular culture is so strong today that jazz is used in a great deal of advertising, and it is often used as a brand name as well.

From ancient times, music has been not only sound organized by human beings but also, in many cases, something that symbolizes something else. Western classical music, for example, is closely bound up with Christian imagery and developed under the sway of Christian moral views. For many people in Europe and America, therefore, music must be not merely art or entertainment but something that serves such purposes as the worship of God and evangelism. From the latter half of the nineteenth century, on the other hand, the idea of art for art's sake appeared and exerted a strong influence on music. Yet this way of thinking was confined mainly to professional musicians; for ordinary people, music has continued to be regarded, down to the present day, as symbolizing ethical sentiments and the like, or as possessing some special meaning.

Next, popular music depends on the mass media and is relatively new compared with religious music or pure art music. Moreover, because the reason for popular music's existence is entertainment, it could not be dealt with by the symbolic interpretation applied to earlier music. Accordingly, a new conception of music was born in response to the problem of how the new phenomenon of popular music ought to be recognized. This conception differs from country to country and from age to age, but in each country's conception of popular music—or in the process by which that conception came into being—the various values of that country's society are clearly reflected.

In the United States, opinions about jazz in the 1920s varied widely. On the one hand, Leopold Stokowski, the renowned conductor of classical music, made the following prophecy about jazz:

> Precisely because jazz expresses its age, it will surely never die out. Because it expresses the vital, moving, and hyperactive present in which we live, it is useless to resist it. America's contribution to music lies in its power to regenerate the music of the past, just as it injects fresh common blood into a declining aristocratic society. America's Black musicians play a great role in transforming this music. Even what the accomplished classical performer has been taught "must not be done," the Black performer "does anyway," and from this entirely new methods of playing and new techniques are born. In other words, they are the pioneers of a new world.(Ogren: 7) (author's translation)

Stokowski was impressed by the creative capacity of African Americans. As a professional musician concerned solely with music, he recognized jazz too as music. At the time, however, jazz was felt to carry a symbolic meaning more strongly than a musical one. Writers of the Harlem Renaissance and many other Americans proudly held jazz forth, but there were also a great many who reviled it. White people were dumbfounded by the intense emotion and the sexual expression of jazz. In Black society, jazz was "the devil's music" and was strongly condemned as something that destroyed the image of the Black community.

Jazz was indeed "something that expresses its age." By analyzing people's opinions about jazz, one can grasp an aspect of the society of the time.

As already noted in this thesis, the word "jazz" began to be used in Japan in 1921, but by 1929 it had become "something that expresses the present" in Japan. At the time, Horiuchi Keizō wrote the following:

> Jazz is the music of the modern masses. In it our life and thought are reflected. Its superiority or inferiority, its rightness or wrongness, is not to be asked. Jazz is here. Throughout the world, the desires of the modern masses are poured into jazz. To deny jazz music is tantamount to denying the present age. (Shioiri 1929: 15)

As the foregoing shows, Japanese jazz clearly carried a symbolic meaning. The actual state of jazz music in Japan is as explained in the previous chapter; here, however, I wish to explore not that music but the concept of jazz—that is, its symbolic meaning.

B. The History of Jazz as a Concept

1. The Case of America

American newspapers of the 1920s all frequently carried topics related to jazz. A rich store of material relating to the concept of jazz at that time has therefore survived.

Paul Whiteman, who devised symphonic jazz, collected such articles and introduced several of them in his autobiography *Jazz* (1926 edition). A Japanese translation of this book by Natsukawa Tarō appeared in 1929, and the following year, 1930, a further translation by Futamura Teiichi was also published; here I have chosen to quote from Natsukawa's translation.

> The jazz age is a matter of extreme yet careful censure. As I set about assembling these accounts, I find that writings anatomizing jazz as music are almost nowhere to be seen, whereas criticism of the so-called customs and morals of jazz—whether constructive or not—is enough to fill a study.
>
> For nearly five years I have kept a scrapbook of jazz clippings, and whenever I was anxious I would take it out and look through it. It is more invigorating than an exhibition of popular songs. Engineers, clubwomen, teachers, and parents, ever since this music called jazz came into general use, have regarded it as a corruption of the young. They have insisted that "sin" is written into its "melodies." They have reviled it, mocked it, and "stamped it out," as far as it is possible to do so.
>
> "Jazz music induces drunkenness," one newspaper declares, citing the theory of Dr. Elliot Rowling of New York. "The rapid and jagged, broken rhythm of jazz music, together with the plaintive, pleading tones of the violin and clarinet, the mournful timbre of the saxophone, and the rhythmic beat of the drums

—all these relentless, unbroken melodies send an impressive stimulus to the brain, and thereby produce thoughts and fantasies that annihilate the will. Reason and reflection are lost, and human conduct comes to be led by a more powerful animal lust. To put it another way, jazz, resounding in the brain by way of the ears, brings about the same result as whiskey and other alcoholic drinks do by way of the stomach. It gives the same result as a narcotic, and through its use people become addicts."Wales, who serves as chairman of the Christian and Missionary [sic] Alliance Conference, said: "America's immature young girls are approaching the standard of African savages.⋯ America's little girls, under the influence of jazz and speed and violent passion, are maturing far too quickly."This same minister went on to say that, if the jazz tendency were left unchecked, in the next generation women would be old at twenty.The spirit of jazz was denounced by Dr. Harry Warren, chairman of the Life Rescue Alliance, in a report of 1924, as the cause of many of the fifteen thousand suicides in the United States.Florence Richards, dean of the medical faculty of the William Penn Girls' School in Philadelphia, mounted an argument against jazz on the basis of a long and careful study of the reactions of its thirty-eight hundred girls to this music.She explains: "The physicians' objection concerns the effect that jazz has upon certain human emotions. Various excuses may be offered on this point, but the consensus of leading medical and other scientific authorities is that it is as harmful and shameful to civilized people as it has been to the savages who produced it. If we leave our boys and girls exposed without limit to this harmful influence, the resulting poison will end by reducing our entire social structure to ruin.A certain Canadian physician produced statistics claiming that jazz had doubled the number of lunatics in America. I too sometimes think there is something that bears these statistics out.A certain woman in Ohio was granted a divorce on the grounds that [sic] her husband was so fond of this great American din that for six days a week he played "What'll I Do" on the Victrola until four in the morning. At almost the same time, Judge Lamberton of Illinois declared that three-quarters of the divorces in his court were the result of jazz.

⋯A certain historian from somewhere not far from Kansas asserted that he had discovered in jazz a new cause for the fall of the Roman Empire. (Natsukawa 1929: 113 – 118)

There is probably no need to describe the arguments against jazz any further. It is clear that for many Americans of the time, jazz possessed a strongly symbolic meaning. What, then, was jazz for Paul Whiteman?

I believe in jazz with all my heart. I consider it to express the American spirit, and I am confident of its future—more of its future than of its past or its present. (ibid.: 9)

It is interesting that he speaks of jazz as something to "believe in." For Whiteman, jazz was a kind of doctrine or creed.

In 1915, there were particular reasons why jazz, after only a brief performance by a number of orchestral conductors, at once astonished the world. The times were feverish. The whole tempo of America had been accelerated to the extreme; the wheels turned like mad and every factory worked day and night without rest. The life of the American—a word that embraces and binds together Slavs, Teutons, Latins, Orientals, and every other people—grew ever harder and more hurried. Some outlet was indispensable, yet this busy, overworked new people had neither folk songs nor village dances on the green. The unbearable bustle seemed likely to drive the whole nation into nervous breakdown or madness. Psychologists, seeing this danger, invoked the name of William James and issued long, specialized warnings about the danger that stimulation poses to the mental apparatus [sic], but in fact these had no effect.

In any case, meanwhile, in New Orleans the remedy for this national nervous disease was compounded. (ibid.: 12)

As is clear from the above, for Whiteman jazz also answered a certain need of society. It should be evident from all this that jazz in 1920s America was, beyond being music, a concept that provoked great controversy.

2. The Case of Europe

The reception of jazz in Europe naturally differed considerably from country to country. Here I wish to take up the situation of jazz in three countries: France, Britain, and Germany.

The jazz historian James Lincoln Collier writes: "Europeans wrote about jazz earlier than Americans did. And ever since, they have in many cases written better books about jazz than Americans have" (Collier 1978: 313). Daniel Filipacchi, too, writes: "It was clearly France that was the first to recognize jazz not as a novelty but as a genuine art. In 1928 the Parisian intelligentsia centered on Jean Cocteau declared that jazz ought to be recognized on a par with modern painting and the cinema" (Filipacchi: 488).

At a time when jazz was rarely praised in American journalism, it was frequently taken up in French-language newspapers and the like, where its artistic quality was affirmed. The Belgian magazine *Music*, written in French, began carrying articles on jazz in 1924, and later the magazines *La revue de jazz* and *Jazz-Tango-Dancing* were founded in France; in America, by contrast, jazz was not taken up in a music magazine until around the mid-1930s. In 1926 the Frenchmen Andre Coeuroy and Andre Schaeffner jointly published *Le jazz*, which attempted to trace the African origins of jazz. In 1932 Robert Goffin wrote *Aux frontieres de jazz* (At the Frontiers of Jazz), and in 1934 Hugues Panassie's famous *Le jazz hot* was published. An English translation of the latter was published in New York in 1936—several years before any American wrote about the history or analysis of jazz. (Franklin: $1-3$)

The French, on the whole, seem to have been interested only in the artistic quality of jazz and to have cared little about its ethical problems and the like. The reaction in Britain, on the other hand, stands in stark contrast.

In the British case, from around the 1890s a tendency to denounce social dancing grew ever stronger. "The waltz is immoral," the British Dr. J. Welch asserted in 1897. "Much of the vice and immorality now rampant is due to the insidious influence of the waltz." (Boulton: $173-74$; author's translation)

The arrival of jazz was therefore met with a cold eye. "It is natural enough that an ordinary father would not want his daughter to dance to jazz; but beyond that, he will not even permit her to listen to it." (ibid.: 172; author's translation)

In 1919 the ODJB (see Chapter 1) performed in London, and in 1923 the Paul Whiteman Orchestra also visited. Whiteman's symphonic jazz was comparatively well received, but British moralists bitterly denounced jazz as "a threat to morality" (ibid.: $36-45$).

The first defense of jazz in Britain was set out in 1927 in R. W. S. Mendl's *The Appeal of Jazz*. In it, Mendl attempts to refute many of the arguments against jazz. "If boundless sexual desire or sexual gratification took the form of music, then of course it ought to be rejected; but in the case of jazz this can by no means be said" (ibid.: 49; author's translation). Mendl, however, lacked knowledge of the origins of jazz in African American music.

Arguments against jazz in Britain were always connected with morality, but in Germany they were connected with problems within the ideology of National Socialism. Four contradictions between jazz and National Socialism can be cited. First, because improvisation in jazz signified musical freedom, it fundamentally contradicted the policy of a dictatorial regime that sought to marshal the free will of its subjects and drive them toward conduct that would achieve the state's imperialist aims. Second, for National Socialism, it was the "vulgar Blacks and Jews"—the very races regarded as their enemies—who created and performed jazz. Third, the syncopated rhythm of jazz was too complex for marching and could not be used as a propaganda medium. Fourth, what brings out the individuality of jazz is an individualistic space, which was incompatible with the collectivist ideal of the National Socialist party. Unlike in America and Britain, however, the arguments against jazz in Germany had nothing to do with

morality.

In Germany, for these symbolic reasons, the radio broadcasting of jazz was banned in 1935. Yet as an act that signified a defense of modernism and a resistance to despotic rule, many Germans continued to play jazz until the very end of the Second World War. (Kater: 13 − 15)

C. The Reception of Jazz in Japan

1. Background: Modernization and the Structure of Mass Society

Just as Japan changed from an agricultural society into an industrial one during the Meiji era, during the Taishō era ”folk culture”—or ”traditional society”—changed into ”mass society.” This evolutionary process, called ”modernization,” was due as much to people’s ways of thinking as to external factors in society. All the circumstantial changes that accompanied modernization awakened a new consciousness not only in the intellectual class but even among ordinary people. And it was this consciousness that determined the behavioral patterns of Japan’s twentieth-century mass society. (Martin: 332)

In a mass society, mass-produced goods and technology-based services spread to every class, with the result that people’s habits and attitudes become homogenized. If the masses respond in the same way to a common stimulus, and if the economic structure provides standardized goods in large quantities, then a mass society exists there. (ibid.: 333)

In this sense, Taishō Japan was indeed in the process of changing into a mass society. In 1925, in *Bungei Nihon*, Chiba Kameo wrote the following in an essay entitled ”On the New Sensibility”:

> ”In the vanguard of modern culture there are always color and noise. Posters, the telegraph, the telephone, radio, the phonograph, painted signboards, cosmetics, fashion, clothing, electric lights, arc lamps, automobiles, rotary presses, motors, airplanes, et cetera—thus we cannot conceive of modern culture apart from color and noise.” (p. 85)

Mass-produced goods had already begun to appear from the early Taishō period. Trademarks such as ”Tombow” pencils (1913), ”Morinaga” chocolate and caramels (1913), ”Miwa” soap (1916), ”Pilot” fountain pens (1918), ”Calmotin” sedatives (1919), ”Calpis” beverages (1920), ”Pine” sewing machines (1924), and ”Mazda” vacuum tubes (1925) became commonplace. Advertising by balloon began in 1917, and from 1920 the Kirin Beer Company was scattering advertising leaflets from airplanes. (Martin: 333)

The development of transportation during this period, moreover, was disorderly and unplanned, yet quite remarkable developments can be recognized.

In 1924 the Tokyo municipal bus service began operating; in 1925 the Yamanote Line loop was completed, and the railways between Tokyo and Kōzu and between Ōfuna and Yokosuka were electrified. In 1926 the new Keihin National Highway opened, and automatic platform-ticket machines were installed at Tokyo Station. In 1927 the Tōyoko and Odakyū electric railways opened, the Keisei Electric Railway extended into Ueno, and the subway between Ueno and Asakusa (Japan’s first subway) opened. Furthermore, in 1929 Japan Air Transport began passenger service between Tokyo and Fukuoka. (Nagao: 84)

At the same time, Tokyo exhibited four major features in its outward appearance.

(1) The spread of high-rise buildings (the verticalization of the city)

(2) The development of lighting (the turning of night into day)

(3) The development of high-speed transportation(4) The chaotic deterioration of small dwellings, small workplaces, and small factories (ibid.: 85)

Another aspect of modernization is the birth of journalism. Behind the rise of popular movements during the Taishō democracy period lay the improvement of ”literacy” through the spread of education,

the popularization of journalism such as newspapers and magazines, and the expansion of the information network that this supported.

In this way, each class among the masses responded to universal stimuli, and, together with a subjective and collective modern consciousness, a mass society and a mass consumer market were born. Next, this mass consumer market made possible the mass production of entertainment, music included. And entertainment came to be supplied in an organized fashion by large capital, and so entertainment became industrialized.

> The industrialization of entertainment was achieved in a very short span of time, from the end of the Taishō era into the Shōwa era, with the emergence of what is called the mass-society condition. The increase in demand for entertainment made the organized provision of entertainment on the supply side inevitable. (Ishikawa 1981: 176)

The popular entertainment of the Meiji period can basically be seen as an extension of Edo (ibid.: 25), but after the Great Kantō Earthquake, according to Nagai Kafū, "What remained of Edo culture has become farmland; the culture of Meiji, too, has turned to ash." (Narita: 138) There is thus also the view that Tokyo's full-scale modernization began only after the great earthquake.

> The Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923—Taishō 12—burned down most of Tokyo's downtown. The damage was enormous, but Tokyo took the occasion to transform itself into a modern metropolis. (Kata 1975: 2)

Tokyo's transformation around the time of the great earthquake extended not only to its outward appearance but to its manners and mores. In November 1928, Uchida Roan wrote the following in *Chūō Kōron* under the title "Speaking of the Modern":

> Comparing the Ginza before and after the Great Kantō Earthquake, its appearance gives the sense of a gap of not merely five or ten years but of at least a quarter of a century. (Nishizawa 1980: 20)

This was written not about the architecture of the Ginza but about the fashions seen there. It is not that the period before the great earthquake had not been modernizing, but afterward the pace seems to have risen dramatically.

2. Jazz and Modernization

There were many words that symbolized modernization—*modanizumu* (modernism), *mobo* (modern boy), *moga* (modern girl), and so on—but one of the most frequently used was jazz. In 1928 the publisher Shun'yōdō issued *Modern Tokyo Waltz (The Cutting Edge of the World's Great Metropolises: Jazz Literature)* (モダン TOKIO 円舞曲（世界大都会先端・ジャズ文学）), and in the advertisement for this book there is the following passage:

> The whole of the world's great metropolises⋯ it is a crossing, a vortex, a jazz of light and sound and dust and liquor and women, of body odor and tobacco and money and thieves and madmen and the movies. The scramble for political power, wars and disarmament conferences, the runs on banks handling millions, bankruptcies, the sale of chastity, adultery, abandoned children, marital quarrels, airplane crashes, automobile collisions, swindling and gambling, murder, factory closures, unemployment, the difficulty of finding work, strikes⋯ every event is performed to the accompaniment of this jazz.

In that same year, 1928, a sociologist named Murobuse Kōshin wrote as follows:

> There can no longer be any doubt in anyone's mind that America dominates today's world. Europe has today lost its dominant position in every sense—politically, economically, and even culturally.What is it that dominates our lives today? What about that Marunouchi Building? What about that cinema? What about that jazz? What about the radio? What about the Ford? What about the monetary worldview?

> What about sports? What about aviational heroism? It is not merely that America dominates our lives. This is already a principle. Americanism has become the governing principle of our lives. (Murobuse 1928: 33)

The foregoing is quoted from Murobuse Kōshin's book *Sociology of the Streets* (街頭の社会学); one chapter of this book is entitled "What Is Jazz?" At its opening, Murobuse writes the following:

> Jazz is today one of the world's fashions. And it is probably the fashion that possesses the greatest universality, the greatest seductiveness, and, at the same time, the greatest conquering power. Among the things America has produced, jazz is, it seems to me, the one that holds the greatest value and historical mission.⋯ It is indeed a purely American art. It is probably something that only America could have produced, something inconceivable without America. But for that very reason it is all the more significant on a world scale. (ibid.: 132)

Because Murobuse's material is based almost entirely on Paul Whiteman's autobiography, little of it is original to him; but he applies Whiteman's arguments to Japan as follows:

> Jazz is a rebellion. A human rebellion against mechanization, a rebellion of the barbarous against high civilization.⋯ Jazz does indeed carry such a decadent mission—not that jazz will bring about America's destruction. Rather, at the very summit of high civilization, we are called upon to jazz. The age has now ripened for jazz. (ibid.: 136 – 37)

And in his conclusion:

> Here there exist two characteristics of jazz. One is emotion as opposed to reason. This is no longer any kind of European, intellectual, scientific music. As that nearly mad, almost haphazard dissonance shows, it signifies a purely emotional art, an art of instinct, an unconscious barbarism set against a civilization of consciousness.
>
> But along with this, it carries another grave characteristic. This is that it is an art of the masses as opposed to an art of the intellectual class. Jazz has confirmed that only emotion, only instinct, only the unconscious—only the soul that does not engage in "purposive consciousness"—is truly of the masses. (ibid.: 137 – 38)

so it reads.

At the time, a journalist named Uenoda Setsuo, who had studied in America, was writing a serialized column about Japan's modern urban manners in the English-language magazine *The Japan Advertiser*, and in 1930 he gathered it into a single volume titled *Japan and Jazz*.

Its subtitle was "The Emotional Aspect of the Japanese People—Some of the Old Sentiments which have so Far Survived and of New Sentiments which have come into Being in the Vicissitudes of City Life." Jazz seems to signify the "New Sentiments."In its fourth chapter, "Jazz Songs of Japan; Modern Hits from Tokyo's 'Tin Pan Alley,'" he describes the following:

> Japan is jazz-crazed. A messenger boy sings jazz songs as he rides his bicycle about his work. A maidservant, bored with her housework, hums them. Students, salaried workers, all young men and women—if they sing in their hearts, it is a jazz song, and they even converse in a jazz-like manner. Everyone, not wanting to fall behind the times, tries to acquire some knowledge about jazz.⋯ Jazz has come to Japan just as the rest of American civilization flows in with irresistible force. It is a product of the very spirit that made possible America's present-day management, industry, enterprise, engineering, philosophy, and literature. Jazz was born in Japan out of the current of American civilization. It arrived at just the perfect moment to shatter the eerie atmosphere and the monotony of the economic panic that followed the great earthquake. Japan's jazz is perhaps a rebellion against traditional morality. (Uenoda: 30 – 32) (author's translation)

For Uenoda, the representative example of Japanese jazz is, after all, «Tokyo March» (東京行進曲). In the book he explains in English the lyrics of four songs—this one and «The Rouge-Shop Girl» (紅

屋の娘), «Kanda Ballad» (神田小唄), and «Habu Harbor» (波浮の港). He says that the spirit of these songs is jazz-like, because their lyrics depict the modern age.

In the Japan of that time, there were many people—like Uenoda and Murobuse—who discussed jazz with little reference to its musical characteristics. In the 1920s, when the sound of jazz was spoken of, it was often a matter of ”noise.” This is particularly borne out in the journalism of the time. There were also many cases in which ”jazz” was used in place of ”noise.”For example, in the issue of *Asahi Graph* for 2 November 1927, the headline ”The Jazz of Great Tokyo—The Jazz Band of Great Tokyo!” adorns the top of page 7. Around a conductor standing with his back turned at the center of the page, the various sounds that could be heard in the Tokyo of the time are depicted in photographs and words.

A steamroller (kara-kara-karaka), an automobile (bub-ban), a streetcar (chi-chi-chiin chiin, gatan-goton), a shower of sparks from the overhead wires (spa), a man in an automobile who, having collided with a large handcart loaded with lumber (telephone poles?), shouts in anger (Lumber coming through! Watch out! You moron! Don’t space out!), an automobile (boo-boo), the hand-operated signal at an intersection (gashan), a traffic policeman’s whistle (pirrirriri), a strolling shamisen player (chiri-chi-chito), the tofu seller (bububoo, aa-uu-i), the sweet-potato vendor (pii-pii), an airplane looping the loop (bururu-bururu), and so on—over each photograph its onomatopoeia rains down.

Hosokawa Shūhei explains this as follows:

> (Here) we see the transitional road conditions of rapid modernization. By means of the conductor, these countless sounds are gathered up into ”jazz.”
>
> Why was it called neither ”the sounds of Great Tokyo” nor ”the noise of Great Tokyo” but ”the jazz of Great Tokyo”? Why did jazz become a metaphor for loudness? From this question, does not the intimate bond between the city and jazz come into view? What lies at the bottom of a sensibility that regards the chaotic totality of street-corner sounds as a jazz orchestra? What kind of urban imagery did the word ”jazz” evoke?
>
> ⋯Noise, more than anything else, made people feel the real chaos in which the morals and ways of life of the Meiji and Taishō eras had collapsed. That this was heard as a new music—jazz, the symphony—was not without reason. (Hosokawa, installment no. 31)

Noise became a problem in Tokyo in connection with the reconstruction work after the great earthquake. In 1924, Saitō Motosuke described the scene in an article titled ”Sightseeing Among the Post-Quake Barracks”:

> Taking in the Ginza boulevard from around Shibaguchi—well, the liveliness of it; truly it is almost fussy and grating. I had heard before of its great prosperity, but when I actually see the swirling ornamentation of that hastily thrown-up architecture, I feel my chronic headache about to come on. The Ginza before the earthquake was like a specimen of a childish Europhilism—comical, yet with a little something endearing about it—but as I walk along the present-day Ginza boulevard, strangely enough the association arises of cheap, heavily made-up whores lined up on both sides dancing to jazz music, and my very ears begin to ring and pound.⋯ Ah, a pleasure quarter is a noisy thing indeed. (Hosokawa, installment no. 31)

In this way jazz was something that called to mind a ”noisy,” ”clamorous,” ”bustling” scene. The ”jazz” that had been played as accompaniment for social dancing at places such as the Grand Hotel in Yokohama, the Kagetsuen in Tsurumi, and the Imperial Hotel vanished with the great earthquake and moved to the Kansai region, not returning until the death of the Taishō emperor (1926); yet it survived as a cultural icon symbolizing modernization and noise.

3. A History of Jazz Studies by Japanese, and the Concept of Jazz Seen Therein

The pioneer of jazz studies among Japanese is Horiuchi Keizō (founder and former president of Ongaku no Tomo Sha; died 1983). In 1917, the year the ODJB cut the first jazz record in history, Horiuchi, then nineteen years old, crossed to America to study mechanical engineering and entered the University of Michigan. For Horiuchi, however, who had loved music since childhood, music seems to have been more interesting than engineering. Fortunately, the University of Michigan's school of music was one of the most prestigious in America, so it was "extremely convenient" for studying music as well. Horiuchi next earned a master's degree in elasticity at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston and returned to Japan just before the great earthquake of 1923; during his nearly six years in America, he had studied American musical affairs and contributed articles to *Ongakukai* (The Music World).

Horiuchi was fascinated by ragtime, but at first he seems to have found jazz hard to warm to. In a serialized piece on ragtime in the October 1920 issue of *Ongakukai*, he left the following historical record of his first impressions of jazz:

> What I have described so far concerns the orchestra used to accompany ragtime songs in theaters and the like; next I shall describe the orchestra used for dancing, called the jazz band.The makeup of the jazz band is not fixed. Still, the piano, the saxophone, the various percussion instruments, the violin, the banjo, and so on may be said to be instruments common to any jazz band.No special score is made for the jazz band. Ordinarily the players put it together as they please. Of course one could use an ordinary orchestral score if one wished, but they do not.The piano strikes about twice as many notes as when it is accompanying a song—one might say it is playing almost at random. So long as the bass makes no mistakes, the right hand need pay little attention, as long as it can produce a big sound.
>
> The saxophone is often the tenor saxophone in C. Originally the B-flat was the usual one, but because its score is hard to read, the C saxophone came to be used. The saxophone plays the melody and also plays an obbligato melody. This obbligato melody is a very free thing and takes almost no account of harmony. What the saxophone often does is a chromatic progression. This produces a curious effect. Another feature of the saxophone is that the player blows it while half dancing.
>
> For the percussion instruments, they gather up a great many things that make strange sounds. Some have everything ready, from the drums and cymbals and xylophone mentioned earlier, to the cowbell, wood scraps, scrap iron, toy whistles, and even a blank-firing gun. With these they raise as much extra noise as possible.
>
> The banjo diligently strikes chords. The charm lies in the fact that these chords do not necessarily agree with the chords played by the piano or the chords called for in the score.
>
> The violin mostly plays the melody on the E string.
>
> When the trombone is used, its slurs are exploited to the extreme.
>
> The marimba is a large xylophone, with the resonating tubes hanging down one by one at the place of each note. Because this "bokon-bokon" sound is amusing, it is often used in the jazz band.
>
> In the end, the jazz band is an orchestra that stirs up a "commotion." It is far removed from "music." (pp. 14-15)

Since this article is dated April 28, 1920, Horiuchi was still in Michigan at the time. The "jazz" he heard in Michigan then was perhaps nothing but a clumsy imitation performed solely by whites. Later Horiuchi's opinion of jazz gradually changed, and in 1923 he went further still, in an article in the same journal titled "A Glimpse of the Jazz Band," transcribing jazz and analyzing it in very fine detail. His interest seems to have grown, but he had not yet come to like jazz.

> The harmony of jazz is not nearly so advanced as its rhythm, nor is it interesting. Of course, under the influence of modern music, its harmony is incomparably more complex than that of the old popular songs; but when it is safe it is flat, and when it is novel it is full of strain, so that, to my ears at least, it does not resonate well. (p. 10)

Nevertheless, in that long article of fourteen pages he gives sharp descriptions of the jazz band's rhythm, instrumentation, harmonic method, and the like. To recognize jazz as music to the point of analyzing it was, at the very least, a rare thing at that time, and perhaps only a Japanese might have done so.

After returning home, Horiuchi continued to write about jazz, and in the January 1925 issue of *Ongaku Shinchō* he fondly reminisces, in "Idle Talk on the Art of Jazz," about the jazz he had heard in America. This time his view stands in contrast to the earlier one.

> Now then, if one asks whether this is jazz, the answer is not necessarily so; for a thing "to become jazz," superior performers are required. (p. 13)...In fact, I had intended to put together a jazz band in Tokyo, but since I could find no suitable performers, I have abandoned it. I feel lonely that I have no occasion to become familiar with jazz except through the phonograph. (p. 17)

In October of the following year, 1926, Horiuchi became a contract staff member at the Tokyo Central Broadcasting Station (JOAK, now the Japan Broadcasting Corporation), and at last was able to "put together" a jazz band. There he translated foreign tunes into Japanese and began broadcasting them on the radio from 1928, which became a major cause of the "jazz mania" that Uenoda described in 1930.

Jazz research up to the great popularity of «Tokyo March» (東京行進曲) in 1929 was carried out sporadically, but if one lines up the publications concerning jazz from around that period, one can see just how much jazz was in vogue.

Date	Event
March 5, 1929	Murobuse Kōshin, «Sociology of the Streets» (街頭の社会学) (Inakasha)
May 1929	«Tokyo March»
June 15, 1929	Broadcasting ban on «Tokyo March»
August 4, 1929	A popular-song debate breaks out in the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, prompted by Iba Takashi's "An Open Letter and Protest to the Folk Song: The Weak and Tasteless Contemporary Folk Song" and Saijō Yaso's "An Open Letter and Protest to the Folk Song, Addressed to Mr. Iba Takashi —'Tokyo March and I'—." It continues until August 20.
August 14, 1929	Horiuchi Keizō joins the debate and defends popular song.
September 1, 1929	Natsukawa Tarō's translation of Whiteman's *Jazz* (ジャヅ・ホワイトマン著) (Inakasha) (original *Jazz*, Whiteman, Paul and M. McBridge, 1926)
September 5, 1929	Shioiri Kamesuke, «Jazz Music» (ジャズ音楽) (Keibunkan) (with introductions by Horiuchi Keizō and Iba Takashi)
December 12, 1929	Kawabata Yasunari's «The Scarlet Gang of Asakusa» (浅草紅団) begins serialization in the *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*.
December 25, 1929	Murashima Yoriyuki, «The Café: Palace of Pleasures» (歓楽の王宮カフェ) (Bunka Seikatsu Kenkyūkai)
May 8, 1930	«Modern Tokyo Waltz (The Vanguard of the World's Great Cities: Jazz Literature)» (モダン TOKIO 円舞曲(世界大都会先端・ジャズ文学)) (Shun'yōdō)
November 15, 1930	Futamura Teiichi's translation, «Jazz Music» (ジャズ音楽) (Taishū Kōronsha) (original *Jazz*, Whiteman, Paul and M. McBridge, 1926)
December 23, 1930	Uenoda Setsuo, *Japan and Jazz* (Kyōbunkan)
1930	Kosei Mubō, «Those at the Vanguard» (先端をゆくもの) (Shiokawa Shobō)

In this way, "jazz mania" extended even into the literary world. Writers who sought to depict modernism came, without exception, to employ the image of jazz.

For example, within «Modern Tokyo Waltz (The Vanguard of the World's Great Cities: Jazz Literature)» there is Ryūtanji Yū's "Pavement Snapshots—From Midnight to Morning," and there too he uses jazz in order to evoke noise. "The crowd of dancers, drowning out the fickle jazz with their footsteps, endlessly tracing circles on the floor"; "...The magnificent face-brick cathedral of the Marunouchi Central Telegraph Office is truly the brain center of a city stricken with insomnia. Phosphorescent fireworks, across the Pacific night, play a jazz of radio waves; the irritated nerve-network of the whole world is concentrated here, and the windows blaze one after another like a fire"; "In the office, the jazz of typewriters. The scratch of pens, the ringing of telephones, the banging of the mail chute, the stamping of dates.—" (Unno pp. 78-79)

In Kawabata Yasunari's «The Scarlet Gang of Asakusa», jazz is used in a decadent sense to depict the entertainment scenery of Asakusa. From the sentence "Eroticism, and nonsense, and speed, and topical-cartoon-style humor, and jazz songs, and women's legs..." was born the famous catchphrase "ero-guro-nonsense."In Kosei Mubō's «Those at the Vanguard» too, jazz carries a strongly vulgar image.

> Two jazz dancing girls—burning "It" and red love...—Jazz and the dancing girl— The jazz dancing girl!?If the laughing dancing girls, dancing drenched in sweat amid color and tempo and jazz and lust, revel and rave while dragging tens of thousands of spectators into a purple reverie, then they are indeed none other than the two young star attractions of the rising dance world of 1930 (Shōwa 5), "Haruno Yoshiko" and "Ame Eiko." (ibid.: 83)

«The Café: Palace of Pleasures» is a detailed account of Japan's modernization. In it, Paul Whiteman is again cited to explain jazz, and it even contains a chapter titled "The Importation of Jazz into Japan."Shioiri Kamesuke's «Jazz Music» sold extremely well; a popular edition appeared in 1934, and in 1936 it was reissued under the revised title «Introduction to Jazz Music (A Guide to the Latest Jazz)» (ジャズ音楽入門（最新ジャズの解説）).

Needless to say, jazz was also a major topic in the newspapers and magazines of the day. In any case, as modern consciousness grew, jazz research by Japanese gradually flourished in the 1930s as well. Those who affirmed modernization naturally supported jazz, but conversely there were also many who lamented the decline of traditional customs and rejected both modernization and jazz.

4. Opposition to Jazz in Japan

To quote Horiuchi Keizō's words once more: "To deny jazz music is tantamount to denying the modern age" (Shioiri 1929: 15). Opposition to jazz in Japan was exactly as he described. Those who rejected jazz denounced the "weakness and bad taste" of its lyrics far more vehemently than its musical inferiority. Jazz was also frequently condemned by being lumped together with social dancing.

Here I have confined myself to the very earliest instances, but jazz was also widely used as music for dancing. Yet as dancing grew popular, the Metropolitan Police Board began to keep a watchful eye, and in June of Taishō 11 (1922), about ten dance halls in Tokyo were inspected for the first time. Around that time in Osaka it was even said that "those who dance are traitors to the nation" (April 27, *Osaka Jiji Shinpō*). One can well imagine the general public's estimation of jazz. Yet young people's orientation toward dancing did not wane in the least. When the dance halls of Osaka and Kobe were banned in the early Shōwa period, modern boys and modern girls (abbreviated mobo and moga) flowed into the city of Nagoya. The remark of the angry governor of Aichi Prefecture captures the social climate well, so I introduce it here.

> "There is a limit to taking Aichi Prefecture lightly. Just what do they think of my being here? That bob-haired girls should swagger about, and that modern boys in sailor trousers, red neckties, and silk handkerchiefs should smugly dance locked in embrace—this is utterly intolerable. For Japanese girls,

> who possess fine black hair, to imitate the hairy foreigners (keto) and cut it short is to utterly damage the very essence of our nation." (*Nagoya Shinbun*, evening edition, April 9, Shōwa 3)

It goes without saying that the dance halls within the city of Nagoya were closed. In Tokyo, however, the Nichibei (Japan-America) Dance Hall opened (May, Shōwa 2), followed by the spread of the Florida, Izumibashi, Kudan, Union, and Kokka halls. (Kurata 1979: 298)

In a corner of the *Asahi Nenkan* (Asahi Yearbook) for Shōwa 7 (1932), the following editorial is developed:

> The way in which the utterly fickle movie ditties and jazz-style popular songs wound the sentiments of children who ought to be pure, and bewitch young men and women, is astonishing. Moreover, some of these vulgar ditties are composed [sic] under the pseudonyms of persons who hold the dignified position of educators... (quoted in Shiozawa p. 24 and Ikeda p. 74)

The February 1930 issue of *Gekkan Gakufu* records a survey titled "Opinions on Popular Music," directed at educators, critics, politicians, and others. There, almost none of the respondents touch upon jazz. Rather, they seem to be concerned about the phenomenon that "non-didactic music is becoming popular." The Western music that had hitherto become generalized was educational music, and they were grappling with the new problem of how one ought to regard commercialized Western-style music.

Entering the 1940s, wariness toward the "enemy-nation character" of jazz heightened, and the establishment of a music policy became urgent. Thus "Views on the Regulation of Jazz Music" was published in July 1941 in issue no. 138 of the *Shuppan Keisatsuhō*. This document analyzes jazz in surprising detail, and moreover affirms it.

> As a practical matter too, I believe that merely rejecting so-called jazz music will not solve the question of music policy. Rather, picking out the merits of jazz music must even today be regarded as a requirement, both for cultivating the public's love of music and for providing musical guidance to the public. (Uchikawa p. 349)...In short, regarding jazz music, which of late is called "light music," in view of the generally favorable recent tendency and of the fact that it has secured its place as a modern popular music in our country as well, the conclusion is that it should not be rejected altogether but should be accepted while removing its unhealthy elements as far as possible. (ibid., p. 351)

It is truly most regrettable that the author is unknown, but if I may venture a guess, it would be Shioiri Kamesuke. In any case, this very "Views on the Regulation of Jazz Music" serves as proof that opposition to jazz in Japan was not very strong. Of course, when the war began, American music was brought under control. The officers of the Japan Music Culture Association, "completely manipulated by the nationalism and the militaristic, loyalty-and-patriotism doctrine inculcated by successive governments," rejected jazz music through the music world. (Sonobe 1956: 208) It seems particularly strange that Horiuchi Keizō put on the mask of a xenophobe and reviled jazz. Given that it was wartime, perhaps it could not be helped.

When Japanese opposed jazz, there were reasons peculiar to the Japanese. The grounds for opposition to jazz in Germany, England, America, and Japan each differed, but if there was one point in common, it would be resistance to the modern age.

Chapter 4 Conclusion

As explained in Chapter 1, "jazz" is the name of a kind of music, but it is at the same time a word bearing various symbolic meanings. One can therefore think of it by dividing it into "jazz music" and "the concept of jazz."

The word jazz took root in Japan around 1920, but rather than serving as the name of a kind of music, it symbolized modern noise. From 1925 it began to be used in the sense of ”imported popular music,” and from 1928 the word ”jazz song” appeared, coming to include domestically produced Japanese popular songs as well. The early Japanese-made jazz songs were unrelated to jazz proper, but because they sounded highly Western—that is, modern—they came to be called jazz.

At the time, dance-hall musicians like Nanri Fumio were captivated by New Orleans jazz and Chicago jazz, imitated their records, and acquired the performing techniques of authentic jazz. Before long, with the popularity of «Dinah» (accompaniment by Nanri Fumio, vocals by Dick Mine) in 1934, jazz songs that were genuinely jazz-like appeared. Thereafter jazz exerted considerable influence on popular song in Japan, but in general the highly Afro-American musical elements—such as the blue notes of jazz proper and the ambiguous tonality of the blues—did not take root. This was because so-called symphonic jazz was prized, and there was a tendency to ignore music made by black people.

As this study has demonstrated, the symbolic meaning of jazz in Japan was closely bound up with modernization. Especially after the Great Kantō Earthquake, the rapidly changing modern society craved a word that would symbolize, all together, the many new noises and stimuli. The time was ripe for the reception of jazz.

The opposition to «Tokyo March», which was called a jazz song, was in the end unrelated to jazz. Rather, the very popularity of non-didactic songs was itself seen as a threat to Western music education, which had sought to ”elevate the taste of the masses.” Therefore, the word ”jazz” used in the popular-song debate of 1929 is probably better interpreted as ”popular song,” in keeping with the intent of those involved.

Opposition to jazz tied to morality, as in America and England, was scarcely to be seen in the Japanese case. Nor was opposition to jazz citing racial discrimination as its reason, as in Germany, to be found. When jazz was subjected to condemnation in Japan, the motive was always rebellion against modernism.

Jazz research by Japanese was comparatively early by world standards. It was at least earlier than jazz research by Americans. Moreover, much foreign jazz research was promptly translated into Japanese and introduced in Japan. However, every one of the jazz research books by Japanese from 1928 onward took Paul Whiteman’s autobiography as its starting point, and dealt little with music made by black people such as Louis Armstrong, King Oliver, and Duke Ellington.

In this thesis I have examined Japanese jazz and its concept, focusing on the period up to around the mid-1930s, but there remains room to be pioneered—jazz under wartime, jazz under the American occupation, and so forth. I strongly hope that in the future such research will be accomplished on the foundation of this thesis.

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