

# **Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*: An Inter-sociocultural Perspective**

**Mitsuya Mori**

Professor Emeritus, Seijo University

## **Abstract**

Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People* is frequently performed worldwide today. Its popularity must be due to the relevance of the problems depicted therein to the current global context, such as extreme individualism, democracy vs. mobocracy, environmental pollution, manipulation of information, and the conservative education system. *An Enemy of the People* was the first Ibsen play to be staged in Japan, although it was adapted for the Japanese setting. At the time of its staging, it reflected the then much-debated issue of copper mine pollution in central Japan. Norway and Japan underwent similar processes of modernization in the second half of the nineteenth century, although with a certain time lag. Therefore, in order to properly appreciate *An Enemy of the People* today, this article examines the play from an inter-sociocultural perspective. Adopting this perspective allows us to demonstrate the continued relevance of Ibsen to our post-modern world.

## **Keywords**

Ibsen, *An Enemy of the People*, Ibsen in Japan, environmental pollution, inter-sociocultural perspective

*An Enemy of the People* is one of the least performed plays of Henrik Ibsen's mature œuvre (Andersen 1995: 150), most likely because, after *The Pillars of Society*, it is the least regarded of Ibsen's realistic plays. In contrast to his other plays, there is no complex psychological investigation of characters or their relationships, nor is there any demonstration of complicated conflicts between characters. Furthermore, the plot does not expose the previous conduct of characters. For example, we are not informed as to why Thomas Stockmann had to move north and endure poor living conditions, or why brothers Thomas and Peter Stockmann are not on good terms. Further, the relationship between Mrs Stockmann and her foster father, Morten Kiil, is ambiguous. Thus, *An Enemy of the People* does not employ the so-called retrospective technique, which is the basic dramaturgical method used in most of Ibsen's middle and late plays. Instead, though the surface development of the plot creates the main action of the play, it is commonly regarded as dealing with the right to free speech or the ill effects of mobocracy. It has been viewed as very pertinent – even revolutionary – whenever and wherever the right to free speech is hindered. In 1950, for example, the American playwright Arthur Miller wrote an adapted version of *An Enemy of the People*, in which he made Stockmann more idealistic than in the original. Miller's version was aimed against the McCarthy committee's anti-Communist rhetoric of the same period. Miller naturally emphasizes Stockmann's final words, paraphrasing the original wording to 'But remember now, everybody. You are fighting for the truth, and that's why you're alone. And that makes you strong. We're the strongest people in the world... and the strong must learn to be lonely!' (Miller 2006: 341-2). Miller's version of the play was translated and performed in Japan in 1953; it was a performance aimed at countering the 'red purge' promoted by the General Headquarters of the Allied Forces, which ruled Japan after World War II. The play was not performed again in Japan until 1991.

In recent years, *An Enemy of the People* seems to have been produced more often than previously,<sup>1</sup> possibly because of increased incidences of rioting and the appeal of populist politicians. The focus of these productions is Stockmann's public speech in Act IV, which attacks the opportunism of the majority and declares that 'the minority is always

right'. However, the question of radical individualism had already been thoroughly debated in intellectual circles in nineteenth-century Europe (Koht 1932: 179; Aarseth 2008: 589). Ibsen often expressed the same idea as Stockmann in his letters to Georg Brandes and others (Koht 1932: 180). However, Stockmann – in this speech at a public meeting – seemed to deny the principles of democracy. His individualistic viewpoint was already subject to criticism at the time of the play's publication in 1882. Asbjørn Aarseth divides contemporary critical reactions into three categories (HIS 7k 2008: 622). The first category is critical of Stockmann's viewpoint from a political perspective; the second is critical of his lack of humility from the religious perspective; and the third supports Stockmann's individualism. Halvdan Koht lists three people who may possibly have influenced Ibsen's depiction of Stockmann's conduct. The first was the father of German writer Alfred Meissner, an acquaintance of Ibsen's who had to leave the spa where he was living because, as a doctor, he publicized his discovery of an epidemic in the town and, consequently, ruined the town's prosperity. Second, the Norwegian pharmacist Harald Thauow, who single-handedly fought against the top management of Christiania Dampkjøkken, a restaurant with an original mission of serving poor people, but which soon gave in to serve the rich. The third influence was Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, whose personality is reminiscent of Thomas Stockmann's (Koht 1932: 190). However, the story of *An Enemy of the People* develops from Stockmann's report of water pollution in the Baths, and the play proceeds with other characters' reactions. Although Aarseth quotes Koht's descriptions of the above-mentioned models for Stockmann (HIS 7 2008), neither Koht nor Aarseth give any source to support Ibsen's concern with water pollution. Indeed, it seems that no critic of *An Enemy of the People* has been very concerned with environmental pollution.

In Act IV, Stockmann suddenly changes the focus of his speech from the pollution of the Baths to the entire town, and his new speech provokes the townspeople attending the meeting; all but one vote in favour of the declaration that 'Dr. Thomas Stockmann is an enemy of the people'. Thus, the issue of water pollution is put aside, and the rest of the play deals with the aftermath of the public meeting. The play

concludes with Stockmann's 'great discovery' that 'the strongest man in the world is the man who stands alone' (OI VI 1960: 126). However, what state will the Baths be in from now on? It is impossible to keep the pollution secret, so it is inevitable that the town will be destroyed (as Stockmann suggested in his speech). One may object and say that Ibsen is only concerned with the process by which the play reaches its conclusion, and not with asking what will happen after the play ends. However, even within the plot of the play, we find several questions that are not easily answered. For example, the editor of the newspaper, Hovstad, says that Thomas Stockmann's article recommending the Baths was written during the winter, but Stockmann later says that his concern that the Baths were polluted also came to mind during the winter. Did Stockmann write the recommendation despite suspecting that the Baths were polluted? Arthur Miller, in his version of *An Enemy of the People*, tries to eliminate this contradiction by having Hovstad say 'at the beginning of the winter' and Stockmann 'later this winter' (Miller 2006: 270, 280). Perhaps his version is what Ibsen intended, but we may still question why Stockmann did not withdraw his article when he suspected the presence of pollution. Many such questions emerge from reading *An Enemy of the People*.<sup>2</sup>

However, most people would not ask these questions while reading or watching the play because they would simply follow the story of Stockmann's new findings and discoveries and have no time to reflect or pay much attention to psychological matters.<sup>3</sup> Such is the usual effect of comedy; indeed, Ibsen was unsure whether he should call this play light comedy (*lystspil*) or legitimate drama (*skuespil*) (Letter to Hegel, June 21, 1882). Brian Johnston has called it a political comedy, comparing it to Greek comedies by Aristophanes (Johnston 1989: 169), but I would rather refer to it as a comedy of agitation. The most effective way to produce *An Enemy of the People* is, it seems to me, to focus on whatever aspect of the play is most significant for the audience in the contemporary political situation. Therefore, the first staging of *An Enemy of the People* in Japan is worth examining from an inter-sociocultural perspective.

## The first Ibsen production on the Japanese stage

In April 1902, a Japanese theatre company named Yoshiki-engeki-sha (Western Style Theatre Company) staged a play titled *Shakai no teki* (meaning *An Enemy of Society*) at a theatre hall called Kinki-kan in Tokyo. The play was subtitled 'a play based on Ibsen's original', referring to *An Enemy of the People*. The author of the stage script and director of the play was Hanabusa Ryugai (1872-1906), a young *shinpa* playwright. *Shinpa*, literally meaning 'new school', was a new type of theatre in modern Japan. It originated around 1890 as a sort of political theatre by political agitators who were forbidden to make public speeches attacking the conservative government; they decided to criticize them from the stage instead. These political agitators were called *soshi* (sanguine young men); thus, their theatre was called *soshi-shibai* (*shibai* meaning 'theatre'). Although the *soshi* actors were amateurs, their true-to-life fighting scenes between politically opposing parties and rousing speeches, which were directly addressed to the audience, were popular with the public. This genre eventually acquired a certain theatrical maturity and sufficient popularity to compete with kabuki, which had dominated the Japanese theatre scene for over 200 years. Thus, *soshi-shibai* came to be known as *shinpa*. At the same time, it became less political and more melodramatic. Consequently, *shinpa* can be regarded as semi-modernized theatrics. As a *shinpa* playwright, Ryugai was dissatisfied with this situation and passionate about creating a truly modern and socially-oriented theatre, such as Ibsen's.

Ryugai's production of *An Enemy of Society* was the first attempt to place Ibsen on the Japanese stage. At that time, only two of Ibsen's plays were available in Japanese translations: *A Doll's House* and *An Enemy of the People*. Two Japanese versions of the latter appeared in the previous year, 1901. One was printed in a newspaper in Tokyo, *Jiji shinpo*, in a daily series from June 15 to July 5; it was published as a revised version in book form in September of the same year. The translator was Mori Gaiho, a journalist. In reality, though, it was an adaptation (not a translation) of the play in a Japanese setting: the characters are Japanese and the story takes place in a coastal town in

Sagami in modern day Kanagawa Prefecture in central Japan. However, the plot and dialogue remain relatively faithful to Ibsen's original work.

Immediately after the publication of this adaptation, a complete translation – not an adaptation – of *An Enemy of the People* was published in book form in October 1901. The translator was Takayasu Gekko (1869–1944), and the book also included his translation of *A Doll's House*. Gekko was a young playwright who was eager to create a new type of modern theatre in Japan. His translations of both *An Enemy of the People* and *A Doll's House* began to be serialized in monthly magazines in 1893, eight years before the publication of the book; however, both series were stopped midway through their first acts. In a preface to the 1901 book, Gekko notes that it had been difficult for Japanese readers to understand Ibsen's plays eight years previously. Both Gaiho's adaptation and Gekko's translation were entitled *Shakai no teki* (*An Enemy of Society*). Hence, Ryugai's play also adopted this title. I would assume that the title *Shakai no teki* was derived from the first English translation of the play, *An Enemy of Society*, by Eleanor Marx-Aveling, which was included in *The Pillars of Society and Other Plays*, edited by Havelock Ellis (London: Walter Scott, 1888).<sup>4</sup>

It is not certain which version Ryugai referred to predominantly for his adaptation of *An Enemy of Society* – Gaiho's adaptation or Gekko's translation – because Ryugai's script is not extant. Instead, a fairly long synopsis of the plot was printed in two parts in the newspaper *Niroku-shinpo* April 2 and 3, 1902, approximately 10 days before the opening night of the performance. This is the only material that gives us a glimpse of Ryugai's adaptation. In this synopsis, however, the plot has almost nothing to do with Ibsen's original work. It consists of three acts, summarizing the story as follows:

#### Act I, Scene i

Many village people are gathering at a shrine in a village forest to go and accuse the cruel landlord Yamanouchi Rihei of his heartless conduct toward them. Rihei's wife Otane hears them and hangs herself from a tree out of anguish. A village policeman tries to stop the people, but they do not obey. Then, Agata Aikichi, a former university student, enters the scene and

persuades them not to demonstrate illegally. He will go to Rihei as a representative of the village people.

#### Scene ii

A room in a high-class tea house. Yamanouchi Rihei, with his guard men and geishas, is drinking and eating. Aikichi appears and makes a claim to Rihei. Rihei does not listen to Aikichi, and Rihei's guard men kick him out of the room.

#### Act II

In the house of the head of the district, Agata Moritsura, Aikichi's older brother. Moritsura calls for Aikichi and says, 'If you don't obey me, I will no longer give you financial support'. Aikichi replies, 'There is something more important than money; that is an independent mind'. Moritsura gets angry and tells him to leave this house. Aikichi's wife, Okiku, carries the little boy on her back and follows Aikichi out into the snowy weather. The boy cries, and Aikichi suddenly begins to sing a canzone out of tune.

#### Act III

On the bank of the Sumida River in Mukojima, Tokyo. The cherries are in bloom. Aikichi is drunk and cannot walk straight. Rihei comes along with his guard and geishas. Aikichi strikes down the lantern that Rihei is holding. Rihei shoots at Aikichi with a pistol but misses. Aikichi steals the pistol from Rihei and shoots him dead. He supports himself against the cherry tree. A student enters the stage but is shocked to see the murder scene. Curtain.

This plot has indeed little to do with the story of Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*. Therefore, in the history of modern Japanese theatre, Ryugai's attempt has been scarcely appreciated. Although Ibsen was known of and discussed by Japanese intellectuals, it was only after his death in 1906 that the real 'Ibsen boom' occurred in the Japanese literary world. The first Ibsen production in Japan is commonly regarded as

*John Gabriel Borkman*, which was performed in translation in 1909 by *Jiyu-gekijo* (Free Theatre); but why did Ryugai make this adaptation of *An Enemy of the People* in 1902? First, it would have been immediately observed by the audience that Ryugai's play referenced the great demonstration of farmers, demanding that the government suspend copper mining at Ashio in Tochigi Prefecture, central Japan.<sup>5</sup> The Ashio Mountains had been producing copper under the management of the Edo government since the seventeenth century, but in 1876 the new Meiji government sold the Ashio Mine to a businessman named Furukawa Ichibei. The veins of copper appeared at the time to be exhausted, and everyone advised Furukawa not to buy the mine. However, it is said that Furukawa intuitively sensed the existence of new veins of copper and his intuition proved correct. As the amount of copper products increased, the amount of polluted water produced in the mining process also increased and was poured into the nearby river, Watarase. Soon after, the fish in the river began to be found dead and the river often flooded because the polluted smoke from the Ashio mining factory had destroyed the trees of Mount Ashio. The flooding spread the contaminated water over the neighboring fields, damaging rice and grain products. The farmers petitioned the local government to do something but in vain. They then marched all the way from Ashio to Tokyo in order to petition the central government to order the suspension of the Ashio Mine. In 1900, two years before Ryugai's production of *An Enemy of Society*, the fourth and largest procession was conducted, with the support of a member of the Diet, Tanaka Shozo (1841-1913). Tanaka had been working strenuously on behalf of the farmers and often asked probing questions of the Minister of Economy and Industry at the Diet, demanding that the Ashio Mine be suspended. The farmers' great march was stopped by troupes of policemen at the village of Kawamata *en route* to Tokyo and the farmers were brutally beaten and arrested. The trial of the arrested farmers lasted for two years. Tanaka Shozo, realizing he could not influence the Diet, resigned, and attempted to appeal directly to the Emperor in December of the following year, 1901. He stepped in front of the royal carriage, but was immediately stopped by policemen from reaching the Emperor. This type of direct appeal to the ruling lord was



called *jikiso* (a direct appeal), and, in pre-modern times, had been the very last means by which a man may ask for pity on low-class people, although it was strictly forbidden and a man who did it was severely punished. However, the Meiji government was at a loss as to how to treat Shozo's case. He was regarded as being out of his mind at the time of making the *jikiso* and released without punishment. However, the event was widely reported by newspapers countrywide. In Ryugai's adapted play in April 1902 it is easy to see that the name Yamanouchi Rihei alludes to the owner of Ashio mining company, Furukawa Ichibei (both given names look similar when written in Chinese characters), while the leader of the farmers in Ryugai's adaptation, Agata Ai-kichi, is the Diet member, Tanaka Shozo. In Ryugai's play, Rihei's wife Otane kills herself, taking her husband's bad behavior to heart. In reality, Furukawa Ichibei's wife also committed suicide by jumping into the river Kanda in down-town Tokyo after hearing about the large gathering of the anti-Ashio-mine movement in Tokyo. No doubt Ryugai wanted to draw public attention to the issue of the mine pollution at Ashio by using Ibsen's name for his production. It was planned that the play would be performed for six days, and that the income from the first three days would be donated to the farmers' movement (in actuality, however, the first night was cancelled due to insufficient preparation; thus, presumably, the income from the first two days was given to the farmers). Although the story of Ryugai's adaptation differs greatly from that of the original play, we find at least one possible reference to Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*. Aikichi's words of objection against his brother in Act II - 'I don't want any money from you. There is something more important than money; that is the independent [the Japanese word, *dokuritsu* literally means 'standing alone'] mind'- are reminiscent of Stockmann's last words, 'the strongest man in the world is the man who stands alone' (OI VI: 126).

It appears strange, then, that neither the synopsis of Ryugai's script nor the explanatory description by the newspaper editor references the environmental pollution by Ashio mining at all. Even Ryugai's short comment on the production, which he wrote a few days later in the same newspaper, did not mention that the Ashio event formed the background. He merely stated his intention to try a new, modern

performance style; the evening's program included two other pieces from the traditional kabuki repertoire, but performed in a modernized style, that is, without conventional acting styles or kabuki music. Ryugai's silence regarding the Ashio mining pollution may have been due to the regulation issued by the government two years previously, which forbade any stage performance from touching upon a current political issue (Theatre Performance Control Law, No. 33). Paradoxically, this reminds us of the original characteristic of *shinpa*, the later name of the aforementioned *soshi-shibai*, which began as a modernized form of theatre and criticized the government on the stage. Criticism of the government was easier when the political system was modernized after the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People* involves various aspects of modernization, which seems to have gone through a similar process in Norway and Japan, although of course with a certain time lag between the two countries.

### **Environmental pollution in modern society**

The modernization of Norwegian society began in 1814, at the end of the Napoleonic War. After the war Norway was ceded from Denmark to Sweden, as agreed in the Treaty of Kiel, which was endorsed by the Vienna Protocol at the Congress of Vienna. Thus, following its 400-year long subordination to Denmark, Norway entered a union with Sweden under the Swedish King. This was against the will of the Norwegian people but imposed upon them by the major European powers. Norway had to go through various political, economic, and social conflicts and difficulties to finally gain complete independence in 1905. In the process Norway transformed itself from a poor agricultural country to a modern technologically advanced nation-state during the second half of the nineteenth century.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, following the 200-year seclusion policy of the Edo era (1603-1868), the big Western powers demanded that Japan open up as a country. American Commander Matthew C. Perry and his fleets appeared off shore at Uruga, outside of Yokohama, in 1853. He was assigned by the American President to force the Japanese government to open its ports to American trade.

The Japanese government had no other choice but to accept Perry's demands under pressure from his gunboat diplomacy. European countries followed the American example, eventually resulting in the Meiji Ishin (Meiji Restoration) in 1868. Thus the Emperor's political sovereignty over the whole country was restored following the 700-year samurai regime, and Japan began to modernize following Western models in almost every field in the second half of the nineteenth century. Japan and Norway had experienced rapid nation-building toward a modern capitalistic society in a similar way to each other, although Japan was a couple of decades behind Norway. However, serious problems were to occur in the modernizing process, one of which was environmental pollution.

Environmental pollution is, in most cases, a byproduct of modern capitalism, i.e. modern industry and a money-orientated mindset. In *An Enemy of the People*, contaminated water has been produced in Morten Kiil's leather tannery since his grandfather's days. According to the article by Hark Park and Walter C. Labys, a tannery firm inevitably produces polluted water but this was long ignored in modern society.<sup>6</sup> The water pollution of the Baths in *An Enemy of the People* is the result of the capitalist mindset of the administrative board members of the Baths facility, the head of which is Peter Stockmann, Mayor of the town and brother of Thomas Stockmann.

Bjørn Hemmer says that *An Enemy of the People* has been called the first play about environmental pollution in world literature and that this ecological perspective gives this play a constantly renewed actuality (Hemmer 2003: 283). While this is true, Ibsen was certainly aware of the environmental pollution problem long before *An Enemy of the People*. Already in *Brand* (1866), he pointed out the contaminated air that was coming from Britain to Norway and polluting the air over the country (HIS 5: 456-457). The commentator on *Brand* adds a note to Brand's words – 'Brittens kvalme Stenkulsky' (literally, 'Britain's nauseating anthracite cloud') – and says that Ibsen found descriptions of the dangers of air pollution in Dickens' short stories in Danish translation that he borrowed from the library of the Scandinavian Society in Rome (HIS 5: 519). There was no actual event or story that might have suggested to Ibsen the water pollution of the Baths in *An Enemy of the*

*People*; however, Johan T. Ruud points out in his article 'Introduction to the studies of pollution in the Oslofjord' that biological studies of Oslo fjord, such as that by Danish zoologist O.F. Müller, began at the end of the eighteenth century, and that Müller's study was followed by that of G.O. Sars in 1865 (Ruud 1968: 457). Nevertheless, according to F. Rønning's report, 'Environmental health and industry pollution in the 1890s [...] were down-played because of the strong economic and political interests behind the new industries. The principal difficulties emerging in the 1890s with industrial pollution eventually lasted for nearly one hundred years' (Rønning 2001: 3561).

It is amazing, therefore, that Ibsen dealt with the water pollution caused by industry in Norway as early as 1882, the year of *An Enemy of the People*. It seems as if Ibsen foresaw the environmental water pollution of the near future and the capitalistic background to its emergence and continued harm to the environment, despite strong objections from the people. To Thomas Stockmann's argument that the truth of the polluted Baths should be made public, Peter Stockmann, the head of the administrative committee of the Baths, makes a counterargument from the economic perspective. He says:

Den etablerede vandforsyning ved badet er nu engang et faktum og må selvfølgelig behandles som et sådant. Men rimeligvis vil direktionen i sin tid ikke være utilbøjelig til at ta' under overvejelse, hvorvidt det med overkommelige pekuniære offere skulde være mulig at få indført visse forbedringer.

[...]

Det anliggende, her handles om, er ikke noget rent videnskabeligt; det er et kombineret anliggende; det er både et teknisk og et økonomisk anliggende.

(HIS 7: 592, 599)

(The existing water-supply for the Baths is now an established fact, and must be treated as such. But it is reasonable to suppose that in time the Directors might not be disinclined to consider how far, in the light of the prevailing financial situation, it would be possible to initiate certain improvements.

[...]

The matter in this instance is by no means a purely scientific one: it is a combination of technical and economic factors.)

(OI VI: 55, 59)

Today's politicians and businesspeople, too, would argue the same view on such a case as that raised by Thomas Stockmann. Moreover, it is only natural that the townspeople should stand on the side of the Mayor and accuse Stockmann, who would destroy the economic situation of the whole town without proposing any acceptable remedy. Indeed, no one would dare to refute the Mayor's argument without being prepared to endure poor living conditions. This is a trap, as it were, created by the capitalistic enterprising system, which entangles us once we have accepted it.

Ryugai's adaptation, *An Enemy of Society*, was produced in 1902, seven years after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) and two years before the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). The country's victories in these two wars made it possible for Japan to make rapid strides toward a modern capitalistic nation-state, in which the Ashio mining undoubtedly played an important role. Copper had been one of the principal products for exportation since the early Meiji era, and Japan badly needed foreign capital to purchase military weapons from the West in order to cope with the Western big powers who aimed to colonize Asian countries. In preparation for these wars, however, Japan also required copper for its own armaments. The Furukawa company of Ashio Mine had a strong connection with the government: Furukawa Ichibei, the owner of the company, adopted the second son of the foreign minister Mutsu Munemitsu, who would become the president of the company after Ichibei's death, while the vice president was Hara Takashi, a politician who was later to become prime minister.

Despite, or because of, the major demonstrations of farmers against the Ashio mining company, the government ordered Furukawa company of Ashio mine to install equipment to reduce water and air pollution. Furukawa Ichibei instantly accepted the government's orders and boasted that all the equipment was installed in the time allowed. He also boasted that the townspeople of Ashio, which had developed

rapidly from a tiny village to a large town due to the mining business, were willing to support the company and provide labour to achieve the government order. This case is quite similar to that of the townspeople in *An Enemy of the People*, who stand on the side of the administrative board of the Baths, which are the cause of their prosperity. However, the inadequacy of the protection equipment at Ashio was made clear by a great flood of the Watarase River in the following year. The farmers then demanded all the more strongly the suspension of the mining business at Ashio. In response, the government decided to create a reservoir over Yanaka-mura, one of the villages in the neighborhood of Watarase River, into which the river water would be siphoned when the danger of flooding occurred, to prevent the spread of the polluted water over the surrounding areas. This meant the resettlement of the entire population of the village of Yanaka to places offered by the government, such as the northern island of Hokkaido. While the people of other villages sympathized with them, now relieved from the flooding, they stopped their movement against Ashio mining company. The people of Yanaka desperately resisted this policy, but in 1908 the government ordered the compulsory clearing of all the houses in the village.

Three years later, in 1911, a new translation of *An Enemy of the People* was published. The translator was a navy captain named Ota Sabujiro, who had seen the play in Germany and was greatly moved because he had had an experience similar to Stockmann's in his navy life. He translated the play from the German version by Wilhelm Lang and so the Japanese title was *Jinmin no teki (An Enemy of the People)* instead of *Shakai no teki (An Enemy of Society)* of the previous translation. It was only natural that Ota should place more emphasis on the strongly individualistic character of Stockmann. The issue of the pollution problem of the Ashio copper mine had by this time faded from people's minds.<sup>7</sup> Ota's translation came out in August 1911 and was performed in Osaka in October of the same year, though again adapted for a Japanese setting. This time, it was the production of Kawakami Otojiro Company, which had toured in America and Europe from 1899 to 1901 and from 1901 to 1902, and left a considerable impression on the *fin de siècle* European theatre with its pseudo-

traditional Japanese plays (Anderson 2011; Pantzer 2005). Hanabusa Ryugai was a playwright in residence at Kawakami Company but stayed in Japan and produced *An Enemy of Society* in 1902, while the company was touring abroad. Kawakami's production of *An Enemy of the People* in 1911 is not well documented, perhaps because he died of pneumonia during rehearsals and did not appear in the performance. Indeed, the production itself was dropped after four days. However, *An Enemy of the People* was the first modern social drama that Kawakami attempted to stage after his long tours in America and Europe. We have no information about what plays Kawakami saw during his tours abroad, but we may speculate that he saw some modern social or political dramas. Thus we may also speculate that Kawakami, one of the main figures of the new theatre, intended to succeed his comrade Ryugai in his unfulfilled attempt to establish a modern drama in Japan by producing the same play *An Enemy of the People*.

### **The stock exchange in Norway and Japan**

*An Enemy of the People* is often regarded as having been written as a reaction against the accusatorial responses to *Ghosts* from almost all sides. Hence, it has the characteristics of a social drama in greater measure than any other of Ibsen's plays. It includes not only the environmental pollution issue and the individualistic viewpoint on politics, but also other indicators of modern society, such as the stock exchange, the social and political role of newspapers, and the modern education system.

The stock exchange plays a central role in the modern capitalist economic system. Ibsen was greatly interested in business investment and asked Hegel, his publisher in Copenhagen, to invest a part of the royalties from his plays in good business companies. In his first genuinely modern play (nutidsdrama), *Pillars of Society*, those 'pillars of society' are secretly conducting a form of insider dealing in railway construction. In the next play, *A Doll's House*, Nora's husband's bank is a joint-stock bank (Aktiebanken). In *Ghosts*, Pastor Manders seems to be well informed about profitable businesses in which to invest. Finally, in *An Enemy of the People*, Ibsen openly makes the stock

exchange a part of the story of the play. Morten Kiil, although a minor character, seeks shares in the Baths whose price has greatly decreased following Stockmann's public speech. When Kiil tells Stockmann that all the money he has spent buying shares in the Baths will become the inheritance of Stockmann's wife and children, Stockmann is tempted, even if only for a moment, to accept Kiil's proposal that he denies the pollution or at least suggests a way to diminish it so as to increase the value of the Bath shares.

King Carl Johan signed the first Stock Exchange Act for Norway in 1818, and in the following year, the Christiania Børs (Christiania Exchange) opened its first office on Toldbodgaten.<sup>7</sup> In Japan, on the other hand, it was as late as 1878 that the Stock Exchange was founded in Tokyo and Osaka. However, in early times in both Norway and Japan, the exchange dealt only with currency trading and the purchase and sale of commodities. In the history of the Oslo Exchange, the stock exchange first began to list financial instruments on a limited scale in 1881, with prices for thirty bonds and shares. A major part of these listed securities was railway shares. The situation in Japan was identical. However, local exchanges in Norway were established quite early: Trondheim in 1819, Bergen in 1837, Kristiansand in 1837, and Drammen in 1839. These local exchanges typically set foreign exchange rates and provided trading in commodities, but they also listed the shares of some local companies. Thus the exchange of Bath shares in *An Enemy of the People* is a credible event, whichever town Ibsen may have had in mind.

It may be noteworthy that Mori Gaiho's previously mentioned adaptation of *An Enemy of the People* in a Japanese setting in 1901 describes the characteristics of the joint stock company of the Baths and Morten Kiil's manipulation of the share price in more detail than Ibsen's original. In Gaiho's version, in which all the action occurs in a coastal town in central Japan, the Baths are described at the beginning of Act I as follows:

The Baths in this town were established partly through investment from the town, and partly by stocks. Therefore, it is a semi-local-governmental enterprise. The management is conducted by the



board of directors and the Mayor (Sudo Hyogo) is the head of the board.

(Ijji-shinpo, June 15, 1901. My translation)

Moreover, the scene in Act III, in which the Mayor reveals to the journalists how much the replacement of the pipeline to the Baths will cost, goes as follows in Gaiho's adaptation:

MAYOR ...If we renovate the whole facility, as my brother recommends, it will cost roughly 500,000 to 600,000 ryos.

ASUKA [Aslaksen] Oh, so much!

MAYOR Yes, not little, eh? For this, there would be no other way but to create new bonds of the town.

ASUKA What do you say?... Create new bonds of the town?... Then, the whole principal of the bonds and interests will be paid by the town tax?

MAYOR Yes.

[...]

HONDA [Hovstad] You say so, but I think that the stockholders should be responsible for the expenses, however much it might cost.

MAYOR No, Mr. Honda, you're wrong. As you know, the stockholders of the Baths did not buy the stocks to get profits.... Of course, the price of stock has increased by now and some people may have exchanged them. But the starting point was the idea that such bath facilities would contribute to the prosperity of the town, but the town did not have enough money for that. So, a joint stock organization was planned, and things have come to the present situation. To replace all the pipelines with such an amount of money is too heavy a task for the stock-holders, who in fact have not gained much profit till now. It would be impossible for them to bear such responsibility. So the only way is for the town to take responsibility.

ASUKA I see. In that case... Mr. Honda...?

HONDA Yes, indeed...

(Ijji-shinpo, June 29, 1901. My translation.)

In fact, in the original, Ibsen does not clarify how the Baths were financially established. Therefore, Mr. Honda's question to the Mayor in Gaiho's adaptation might be the same as that raised in watching Ibsen's original play. I suppose that the Mayor's answer to Honda (Hovstad) in Gaiho's adaptation would not be far from what Ibsen actually had in mind but did not clearly indicate in the play.

In his introduction to his adaptation, Gaiho does not add any note regarding the stock exchange business, while he says that the tyranny of the majority is a current problem in Japanese politics, as well as in Norway. For this reason, he says, he has chosen this play among Ibsen's social plays as the first Ibsen play to be rendered into Japanese. He does not refer to the water pollution of the Baths, either, even if he could have compared it with the current situation at the Ashio copper mine. Again, this may have been due to the government regulation forbidding theatre performances from touching upon current political issues. If so, it suggests how the press self-regulated to avoid government suppression.

## Newspapers

It is a well known fact that Ibsen was an avid newspaper reader even during the time he lived abroad. However, in most of his plays, newspapers or journalists are talked about critically or suspiciously. In *A Doll's House* (1879), Nora implores Helmer not to fire Krogstad, saying, 'That man writes in all the nastiest papers, you told me that yourself' and also 'You remember all the nasty insinuations those wicked people put in the papers about Daddy?' (OI V: 241 & 242). In *Ghosts* (1881), Engstrand harasses Manders after the orphanage fire, saying, 'I don't suppose the papers are going to let you off very lightly, Pastor' (OI V: 408). However, *An Enemy of the People* is the first play in which Ibsen actually allows journalists to appear as dubious characters engaged in modern political manoeuvres. It is noteworthy that the would-be politician Stensgård in *The League of Youth* is mentioned in *An Enemy of the People* as Hovstad's predecessor, that is, the former editor of the *People's Herald* (*Folkebudet*). He is now a sheriff (stiftamtmand), and Billing calls him a turncoat (overløber). However,

in his student days, Ibsen often contributed articles to newspapers, in which he expressed radical views on politics and literature. In 1851, he wrote a satirical verse, *Norma*, or a *Politician's Love*, in *Manden (man)*. *Manden*, later called *Andhrimner*, was a weekly newspaper founded by three university students, Botten Hansen, A. O. Vinje, and Ibsen himself (although Ibsen had failed his entrance exams in Greek and algebra, he was allowed to be called a student). Ibsen's *Norma* alluded to Vincenzo Bellini's opera *Norma*, which had been performed in Christiania Theatre on May 20 1851, while Ibsen's *Norma* appeared in *Manden* in two parts on June 1 and 8. It is a short satirical parody on a politician named Adolf Bredo Stabell, who had been a radical editor of the newspaper *Morgenbladet (Morning Newspaper)* but later became a member of Parliament and stood close to the government in regard to the Labour Union movement (Bergsgård 1964: 161). In *An Enemy of the People*, Stensgård apparently resembles the politician Stabell, and if we may be allowed to further speculate about Ibsen's inner feelings, he may have felt an element of self-reproach, as reflected in the figure of Stensgård. In 1850-51 Ibsen was associated with the Labour Union movement and contributed articles to its official newspaper *Arbejderforeningernes Blad*. However, in July 1851, the government suddenly arrested more than one hundred persons connected with the movement. The leaders, Marcus Thrane and Theodor Abildgaard, with whom Ibsen had been acquainted, were also arrested and eventually sentenced to four years of imprisonment after three years of custody. Ibsen, by the merest chance, escaped arrest, and from then on became unwilling to have any practical connection with the political movement, although he had been hailed as a radical thinker since his *Pillars of Society* in 1877 (Meyer 1967: 96-97). Another character in *An Enemy of the People* taken from *The League of Youth*, the printer Aslaksen, was also based on the real printer of the weekly paper *Andhrimner* (Meyer 1967: 98). Yet another journalist appears in *Rosmersholm* (1886) in the guise of Mortensgård, again an opportunistic journalist, though he appeals more to our sympathy than the journalists in *An Enemy of the People*. *Rosmersholm* is enacted against the background of the real life ruthless struggle between the right and left camps in Norway at the time.

A medium to circulate information to the public regarding interesting events was already in existence in ancient Rome, but what we can reasonably call a newspaper did not appear until the eighteenth century in various European cities.<sup>9</sup> The first Norwegian newspaper, *Norges Intelligenz-Seddel* (*Norwegian Intelligence-papers*), began in Christiania in 1763, and then spread to Bergen (1765), Trondheim (1767), and Kristiansand (1790). These papers were published weekly. The first daily paper was the aforementioned *Morgenbladet*, which was founded in 1819. The Norwegian Constitution, which was hastily drafted at Eidsvoll in 1814, included a paragraph securing freedom of expression. Thus, *Morgenbladet* was able to voice critical opinions about the government's conservative policies. The second half of the nineteenth century was the period of the great expansion of newspapers, both in terms of numbers and publishing places. In 1850, 40 newspapers were being published in Norway, in 1880 there were 100, and in 1918, 250. Newspapers made clear their own political tendencies, and the introduction of the parliamentary system encouraged political parties to have their own newspapers. However, it would be understandable if newspapers in small towns were swayed by local politics.

In this field, too, a similar situation was to be found in Japan during the Meiji era (1868-1912). As a medium to spread news of interesting events over remote areas, the first known print is from 1615 and concerned the Osaka Summer War (1615), in which Tokugawa's army defeated Toyotomi's. Tokugawa subjugated the entire country, and its regime, called Tokugawa or Edo (the present Tokyo) regime, continued until 1867. During the Tokugawa or Edo era, information regarding unusual events was circulated in public on tile-printed and later wood-printed papers, which were called *kawaraban* (tile print) (Ono 1970: 15-16). In 1862, during the final days of the Tokugawa period, the government issued the official paper *Batahiya-shinbun*, which comprised translations of some articles from a Dutch weekly paper *Javasche Courant*. Other similar papers that translated from foreign papers or foreigner-managed papers followed. The first genuinely Japanese paper, managed by a Japanese person, was issued in February 1868, the year of Meiji Restoration. By May of the same year, fourteen

newspapers were being published as private enterprises. In December 1870, the first daily newspaper in Japan started in Yokohama (Nishida 1966: 25). Most of these papers were critical of the new government, but in 1872 *Tokyo nichinichi shinbun* (*Tokyo Daily News*) adopted a stance that was closer to the government than other papers. In 1877, the civil war *Sei-nan senso* (West-south war), which was the final revolt of the local opposition party against the new Meiji government, was easily suppressed by government military forces. *Tokyo Daily News* reported their battles from the frontline, as a result of which the number of subscribers greatly increased. The editor of this paper was Fukuchi Ochi, who is highly regarded in the history of modern journalism as one of the most important newspaper editors of the Meiji era. However, after approximately ten years of editing the *Tokyo Daily News*, he became a new kabuki playwright, which may imply an intimate relationship between journalism and the theatre. Most newspapers printed novels or plays, domestic or foreign, on a daily basis in serial form, although sometimes only in synopsis.

In the second half of the 1870s, many local papers were published in Japan; they were at first possible only with the support of local governments. However, in the 1880s, looking forward to the forthcoming creation of the Constitution of Japan in 1889, most papers clarified their political standpoints: right (pro-government), left (opposition), or neutral. The *Jiji-shinpo*, which, as previously mentioned, printed Gaiho's adaptation of *An Enemy of Society*, was founded in 1882 by Fukuzawa Yukichi, supposedly the greatest enlightenment thinker of the Meiji era and the founder of one of the most prestigious private universities in Japan, Keio-gijuku University. Fukuzawa and *Jiji-shinpo* maintained a politically neutral position (Nishida 1966: 107). On the other hand, *Ni-roku shinbun* (*Two-six Newspaper*), which printed a synopsis of Hanabusa Ryugai's adaptation of *An Enemy of Society*, was first founded in 1893, but had to suspend publication two years later. In 1900 it restarted as a popular newspaper and gained the greatest circulation in Japan by printing sensational or scandalous news about both personal and corporate matters, together with ruthless attacks on government. I earlier indicated that this newspaper, when it printed the synopsis of Ryugai's adaptation of *An Enemy of the People*, made no

reference whatsoever to the play's allusion to the Ashio mine pollution, and speculated that this may have been due to the governmental regulation forbidding plays from touching upon current political situations. However, it may also have been because the relaunching of *Ni-roku shinbun* was financially supported by a businessman named Sakamoto Kin'ya, who was the owner of a mining company in Okayama Prefecture, a fellow businessman of Furukawa Ichibei, the owner of Ashio mining company. If so, this once more implies that the press was biased. Ibsen caricaturizes it in *An Enemy of the People* and Gaiho lays emphasis on it in his adaptation of the play.

### **The education system**

In the final scene of *An Enemy of the People*, Thomas Stockmann turns his eyes to poor children as his future activity. His family supports his idea of teaching them, even if Mrs Stockmann's support is not wholehearted. Therefore some critics think that Ibsen is suggesting the new education of poor children as an ideal future for Stockmann (Hemmer 2003: 298; Gjesdal 2015: 124). Indeed, Stockmann's daughter Petra criticizes the current state of teaching at her school, and his two sons are happy to be told they no longer need to attend school. We may say that Ibsen did not have absolute confidence in institutional education in Norway. He strongly criticized the Norwegian Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs for not exempting his son Sigurd, who had been educated abroad, from *examen philosophicum*, a common first-year examination, at the Christiania University (Ferguson 2010: 257-259). Private teaching is often shown or mentioned in his plays, and in *Little Eyolf* the final decision of the desperate couple who have lost their son seems again to be for the private teaching of poor children. In fact, the modern system of general education was gradually established in the nineteenth century as one of the most important public institutions in Norway, as well as in Japan.

Various types of educational organization had already been founded in the Middle Ages in both countries, but, in Norway, elementary school education was first established in the 1730s under the Danish-Norwegian King Christian VI, who was greatly influenced by the

pietistic movement.<sup>10</sup> In 1739 the first Norwegian school legislation was issued, and *grunnskolen* (the elementary school) was established. Thus, Denmark-Norway already had obligatory schooling in the 1700s, which made it more advanced than most countries in Europe. However, for many youths, this simply meant learning how to read one book. After finishing school, youths could leave, be regarded as adults, and get married. Nevertheless, at the turn of the century (1800), illiteracy had mostly been overcome. Although the exact statistics are lacking, this was quite early in an international context. Many scholars believe that this was because the king was personally greatly influenced by pietism, which had traditionally placed importance on education. However, some scholars' more critical viewpoint on the history of education is that the common school (*allmueskolen*) was an instrument of oppression, by which the king could enforce his own power over the common people and impress on them the supremacy of the king as well as God.

The 1739 ordinance was, however, concerned only with schools in rural areas and more than ninety per cent of the population was living in the countryside. The usual form of such schools was an ambulatory one. The foundation of the schools largely depended on priests, especially on pietistic priests, as they were responsible for training teachers. Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson's novel *En glad gut* (*A Happy Boy*) paints a bright picture of a common school in the countryside. In reality, however, farmers complained about paying tuition fees for what seemed to them useless; priests complained that the teachers were incompetent and neglected their schoolwork and God's word; and teachers complained of the poor wages and that they were not welcome when they came to open a school. For pupils, on the other hand, the schools were welcome because they did not have to work during school hours. In 1848 and 1860 more laws were passed to make schooling compulsory. In 1889, both rural and urban schools were unified under the rubric of *folkeskole* (people's school). The archdeacon P.A. Jensen wrote in 1863 a textbook, *Lesebog for Folkeskolen og Folkehjemmet* (*Reader for School and Home*), which contained more general subjects than simply knowledge of Christianity, reading, writing, and arithmetic. Nordahl Rolfsen then published a new reader, which broadened and

strengthened the literary aspects of knowledge with illustrations by contemporary artists in five volumes that emphasized Norwegian patriotism. This remained a dominant textbook in Norwegian schools until well into the post-World War I era.

However, working-class children were faced with the problem that they had to work for money to help their parents. An investigation of children's labour in cities made it clear that sixty-five per cent of boys and thirty-three per cent of girls in common school were engaged in paid employment. This was also a problem for the labour movement. Many thought that the broadening of learning would make poor families even poorer. However, the leaders of the movement were confident in the idea that learning would bring a better life to poor people. They started a campaign to eliminate children's labour and, at the turn of the twentieth century, the absentee rate in most schools had reduced to less than ten per cent.

In *An Enemy of the People*, Stockmann's daughter Petra is a teacher. In 1869, the parliament decreed that women could also be teachers, openly proclaiming their hope that this would produce cheaper teachers. At first, women were only allowed to teach needlework, followed by the youngest pupils and female-only classes. This made it difficult for women to teach at rural schools, where boys and girls were in the same class. However, in towns, the number of female teachers increased rapidly, and in 1890, they comprised sixty-two per cent of teachers in *folkeskolen*.

The Japanese education system went through a process that was, again, similar to the Norwegian system. Already in pre-modern times, some educational organizations or institutes were active; these varied from higher institutes for government bureaucrats, managed by the central or local governments, or private schools for ambitious young samurai, to private class-rooms, *terakoya*, for children in villages or towns.<sup>11</sup> *Terakoya* (literally, 'temple children's room') were managed by persons of intellect, not necessarily priests, in their own homes, and numbered in the hundreds of thousands throughout the country. At *terakoya*, children learned reading, writing, and arithmetic. This proved to have a preparatory function for the new educational system in modern times. In 1872, the new Meiji government issued the decree



of educational institutions, which divided the whole country into three categories: eight higher school zones, 250 middle school zones, and 53,760 elementary school zones. It was, however, impossible to establish so many elementary schools at once. Even three years later, in 1875, only 24,500 elementary schools had been founded, forty per cent of which were established in old temples and thirty per cent in ordinary private houses. This situation is reminiscent of the ambulatory schools in Norway after the 1739 Decree. Tønnessen cites the description by an ambulatory school teacher Lars Skjegstad i Romsdal as follows:

I denne stue kogtes i regelen mad to gange om dagen, morgen og aften, i den var familiens senger, og i den arbeidet i allefald kvinderne og til dels ogsaa mændene, og denne stue var ogsaa skoleværelse. (Tønnessen 2004: 19)

(In this room, a meal was cooked twice a day, morning and afternoon, the family's beds were to be found, and women and sometimes men worked, and this room was also used as a schoolroom.) (My translation)

Japanese children attended elementary school for eight years, spending four years in a lower class and four years in a higher class. But the percentage of elementary school attendance was only forty-seven per cent according to statistics, but in actuality must have been even lower. While equality between boys and girls was the aim, attendance by girls was less than thirty per cent. Many could not pass the exams to enter a higher class, and so gave up learning. In rural areas, people did not see the necessity of contributing to the foundation of a school and felt antagonistic to what their children were learning. Therefore they sometimes tried to destroy the school, which is similar to the situation in Norway. Towards the end of the 1870s, a great debate ensued between the conservative reactionary bureaucrats and the liberal pro-Western scholars over the conflict between the Western system of education and traditional Confucian morality teaching. This conflict not only occurred in education but in almost every cultural

field in Japan. In *An Enemy of the People*, Petra complains about the conventional view of education in her school. She would have uttered similar complaints if she had been a Japanese teacher at the time.

Although higher education was founded from the outset of the modern education system, the first university in Japan, Tokyo University, was established in 1877. However, each higher school zone had at least one or two teacher's colleges, due to the urgent need to train teachers. Education was regarded as one of the most important tools for promoting the national motto 'Enrich the country, strengthen the military', as industry workers and military men needed to understand and handle the complex mechanics of industrial equipment and armaments respectively. Illiteracy had been almost entirely eliminated in Japan by the beginning of the twentieth century, which was certainly one of the principal reasons why Japan modernized more rapidly than any other country in Asia. However, it also provided a means for Japan to colonize certain regions of Asia and oppress the people. *An Enemy of the People* concludes with Stockmann's innovative idea of teaching street children in a private classroom. This is a sort of modern revival of *terakoya* in pre-modern Japan, setting up a private system in contrast to the conformity of the public system.

The nineteenth century was a time when both Norway and Japan were in the process of establishing themselves as modern nation-states. In *An Enemy of the People*, Ibsen depicts various consequential problems. Even greater problems are evident today: climate change caused by industries, the control of the world's economy by the stock exchange, the violently expanding new forms of mass communication, the chaotic situation in the education systems of many countries, and, above all, the degeneration of democracy into mobocracy or populism. Although *An Enemy of the People* focused mainly on the problem of majority versus minority, all these issues are illustrated in the play and are closely interrelated. It is quite suggestive that the Stockmanns gather to maintain the family as the final fortress against the oppression of outer society. Today, it is a sort of mantra for people to say that the family is more important than their paid work. In reality, however, how will the Stockmann family live after the curtain falls?

In conclusion, we should examine these issues in *An Enemy of the*

*People* with a critical eye and stage them as problems of our own if we wish to perform it as a theatre piece that remains significant today.

## Endnotes

The text uses the abbreviation OI throughout for *The Oxford Ibsen*, HU for *Henrik Ibsen samlede verker Hundreårsutgave*, and HIS for *Henrik Ibsens skrifter*.

A note on names: In this article Japanese names are presented in the Japanese fashion, family name first and personal name second. The one exception is the author's name, Mitsuya Mori, which is listed in the Western way: personal name followed by family name.

<sup>1</sup> For example, in September 2014, the International Ibsen Festival at Nationaltheatret in Oslo included three productions of *An Enemy of the People*, which were Belgian, Norwegian, and German productions. In 2015, Stockholm's Stadsteatern premiered a new production of *An Enemy of the People*, and Laurence Senelick reported on two productions of this play in 2013 in Russia, which were the first Russian productions of the play in over a century (Senelick 2014, 91-6). Hong Kong Art Festival included a production inspired by this play in 2015, and in the same year two different productions of *An Enemy of the People* appeared on the Japanese stage: one was a commercial production, and the other a fringe production.

<sup>2</sup> Other examples are:

(i) Why is Morten Kiil discriminated against in the town?

(ii) In Act II, the Mayor says to Stockmann that replacing all the water pipes will cost several hundred kroner, but to journalists in Act III, he says 200 kroner, and at the public meeting in Act IV, 100 kroner. Why does he mention different amounts?

(iii) Why do Hovstad and Aslaksen so easily accept the Mayor's idea that the expenses of replacing the water pipes should be paid by the town, that is, a tax on the townspeople, because the owners of the Baths would not pay for it? Arthur Miller tries to rationalize their acceptance by making the Mayor say that the Baths corporation is a private one so that 'if the people want the Baths changed, the people naturally must pay the bill' (Miller 2006: 305).

<sup>3</sup> Aarseth sees four major discoveries by Stockmann in the play:

(i) the polluted water in the Baths, (ii) the contamination of the whole society of the town, (iii) that the worst enemy of freedom or truth is within ourselves or the compact majority, and (iv) that the strongest man in the world is the man who stands alone (Aarseth 1999: 112). Between these discoveries Stockmann also encounters many unexpected findings.

<sup>4</sup> (OI VI: 426) The title *An Enemy of Society* was soon replaced by *An Enemy of the People*, which has been the seemingly authorized English translation for the original *En folkefiende*. However, 'society' may be closer to the original implication: the Mayor calls Dr Stockmann 'an enemy of society', in Act II, for his insistence on publicly revealing the pollution.

<sup>5</sup> Numerous books have been written about the Ashio Mine pollution. In the present paper, I have mainly referred to the following four books: Shoji Kichiro 2014 [1984]; Mori 1882; Yamamoto 1986; Tamura 1975.

<sup>6</sup> Three processes of tanning may be identified: (a) the beam house; (b) the tanhouse; and (c) the finishing process. With multiple unit operations, the pollutants generated by each process create serious environmental problems (Hark Park & Walter C. Labys 1998: 95).

<sup>7</sup> In December of the same year, a local newspaper in Akita Prefecture, *Akita Sakigake Shinpo*, printed a review by Nakaizumi Kinpu, a local zen priest, of Ota's translation of *An Enemy of the People* over four days, December 3, 5, 6, and 7. Nakaizumi admires the great individualism of Stockmann, although he sees a weakness in Ibsen's dramaturgy in this play. Thus, his criticism is similar to some of those in Scandinavia at the time of the publication of the play.

<sup>8</sup> The following descriptions of the historical aspects of the Norwegian and Japanese stock exchanges are based on *The history of Oslo Børs* (online), *Milestones in the history of the Norwegian stock exchange* (online), and Arizawa 1978.

<sup>9</sup> The following descriptions of the history of the press in Norway and Japan are mainly based on Syvertsen 2015 (online), Ottosen 2002, Haruhara 1969, and Ono 1970.

<sup>10</sup> The following description of the history of education in Norway is mainly based on Tønnessen 2004.

<sup>11</sup> The following description of the history of education in Japan is mainly based on JICA INSTITUTE (online), Monbusho 1981, and Ishikawa 1987.

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