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Birth of "Authentic" in Japanese Bar Culture: Focusing on the History of Bartenders from the Meiji to the Showa Era

駿 平* Shumpei Seki

関

This study aims to identify the factors that led to the emergence of "Authentic" bar culture in Japan, based on the history of bartenders from the Meiji to the Showa era. Bar culture is an imported culture. Today, the terms "Japanese bartending" and "authentic bar" in Japan are attracting attention; however, their origins are unclear. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) argue that traditional values are sometimes fabricated to assert a group's legitimacy. Thus, one may infer that at some point, the Japanese bar culture was imported but eventually took on its own authenticity, which is reflected today, and from which it must claim its collective legitimacy. A review of historical data reveals that "Authentic" in Japanese bar culture originated when bartenders working in cafés objected to sexual elements, developed their norms, and established their associations."Authentic Japanese bar culture" was eventually formed, and the term was popularized. This study will analyze the current bar culture in Japan. This will provide clarity on the history of bars in Japan and their relation to the café culture of Ginza. This discussion contributes to the study of the history of cafés, which until now has focused only on Jokyu (女給/women waitress) and consumers. Key words : Drinking Culture, Bar, Café, Ginza, Bartender

Introduction

The study aims to identify the factors that led to the emergence of "Authentic" bar culture in Japan, based on the history of bartenders from the Meiji to Showa era(Especially 1860s to 1940s). In particular, primarily referring to the autobiographies of bartenders and the historical data on the café culture that greatly influenced the formation of "Authentic" bars, we will list the important turning points in the history of Japanese bars and their causes and examine how they contributed to forming "Authentic" bars in Japan.

In the modern era, Japan imported Western culture as part of its development. At this time, Western

^{*} 社会学研究科社会学専攻後期博士課程3年

liquors were imported into Japan in large quantities and were enjoyed by the people through several drinking cultures. Ginza and its cafés were the most popular places and culture symbolizing this period. The café has not only been featured in novels and movies but also in various excellent historical studies, which have described its development history. However, the history of the institutionalization of another form of culture has not received much attention. Contemporaneous cultures that were seedlings may have grown into large cultures over time. The "Authentic Bar" culture in Japan is one such culture discussed in this study.

The Japanese bar culture is currently attracting attention from around the world. Although the bar culture came from outside of Japan, it is now highly regarded overseas as "Japanese Bartending." The fact that bartenders in Japan have been honored by the Japanese government as "Contemporary Master Craftsmen" (「現代の名工」) also shows the level of attention paid to this culture⁽¹⁾. Japanese bar culture differs from other countries in that its techniques are highly regarded. For example, Hidetsugu Ueno, who was selected as a "Contemporary Master Craftsmen" in 2021, is highly regarded as follows.

He has acquired traditional Japanese techniques and developed his own outstanding skills. He excels in shaking, which involves mixing ingredients quickly and aerating them to create a smooth taste, and in stirring, which involves mixing ice without damaging it (Kousei Roudo Sho 2021:31/Translated by Author⁽²⁾).

When Japanese bar culture is mentioned in this way, it is often for reasons such as sophisticated techniques, but no one has attempted to trace the roots of the term. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) argue that traditional values are sometimes fabricated to assert a group's legitimacy. In light of these facts, it can be inferred that there is a turning point in the Japanese bar culture that came from abroad and took on its own authenticity ("Authentic") to the present day, at which it must claim its collective legitimacy.

The circumstances that inspired this study and its significance can be summarized as follows. First, as stated, is the importance of focusing on the history of the development of bartenders and bar culture, which was going on behind the scenes of the history of the café that attracted the masses. According to Murata, traditional café research tends to be divided into five main periods: (1) the period from the end of the Meiji era to 1914, when cafés first appeared in Japan, (2) the period from 1914 to the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923 when cafés became widespread, (3) the period from the Great Kanto Earthquake to 1929 when cafés became rampant, (4) the period from 1930 to 1933 when cafés saturated Japan, and (5) the period from 1933 to 1939 when cafés declined and the start of WWII (2007). With this classification, Murata analyzes the history of the café's transformation from a place to simply eat and drink to the cutting edge of eroticism and its decline due to the increase in other kinds of coffee shops (2007). In this context, studies on the history of cafés have focused on the consumers and Jokyu ($\not{\pi}$ %/women waitress) (Baba 1998; Murata 2007;Saito 2020;Yamaji 2021). These two actors are, of course, important in the history of the café, but, as will be described later, there was also the bartender,

who was indispensable at that time. This study describes the history of bartenders as they developed simultaneously during the development of the café. It will add a new perspective on the bartender regarding the historical study of the café, which is expected to develop as a study in its own right.

In addition, many studies on drinking cultures (Douglas (ed) 1987; Marshall 1979) tend to overlook the presence of workers and their historical background (except for Richard Ocejo's work (2017)). The work in this study will contribute to our understanding of the practices and culture of bartenders in Japan today. With these issues in mind, this study will describe the history of the bar culture's arrival in Yokohama, Japan, and how its intersection with café culture created an opportunity to legitimize the culture and the birth of the "Authentic."

Yokohama: Landing in Japan

Japan's first bar was born with the opening of the port of Yokohama ⁽³⁾ in 1860 ⁽⁴⁾. Yokohama signed the Treaty with the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, and Russia. The demand for lodging facilities subsequently increased, and the "Yokohama Hotel" was born in 1860. It is said that the first bar in Japan was established in this hotel as an adjunct. According to Sawa, who studied French society in the Yokohama Settlement, the Yokohama Hotel was run by the captain of a Dutch sailing ship; in addition to guest rooms, it had a separate building attached to it consisting of a dining room, billiard room, and bar (Sawa 2001:6). The bar in this hotel was called "Macauley's Bar" (「マコーリの酒場」) because a man named Macauley was the bellboy (Shirado 1977:55).

Sawa describes the following based on the testimony of several users of the Yokohama Hotel at the time, including Franz von Siebold in his later years.

The bar of the "Yokohama Hotel" became the only place for travelers, residents, and sailors to exchange information and a meeting place for men seeking an outlet for their frustrations. Therefore, arguments and fights were a daily occurrence, and sometimes pistol rounds were exchanged, making it a very inaccessible place for women. (Sawa 2001:16)

Thus, the bar at the Yokohama Hotel, known as Macauley's Bar, was a place where not only the customers but also the bartenders were foreigners, and Japanese people were yet to be exposed to bar culture. Macauley's Bar is entirely different from the bar culture discussed in this study. It is the oldest bar in Japan, but no Japanese were involved as customers or bartenders; thus, it has little relevance to what is now called an "authentic" bar. However, it is essential to note that the business form of "serving Western liquor at a bar counter" came to Japan.

After the Yokohama Hotel opened, 45 small hotels were built around the port of Yokohama, among which the "Grand Hotel" ($\lceil \mathcal{I} \neq \mathcal{V} \restriction \pi \neq \mathcal{N} \rfloor$), which opened in 1870, was significant in scale and became the most representative hotel in Yokohama (Yokohama Shiyakusho ed. 1973:682). The Grand Hotel is essential in the history of "authentic" bars because it was the first hotel to introduce Japanese bartenders to bar culture.

The first significant event occurred in 1889. The Grand Hotel was initially owned by a Frenchman; however, when it did not perform well, it was purchased by four colonels of the Royal Navy, and the management was changed (Ito 1989:71). Later, in 1890, a man named Louis Eppinger was invited to the Grand Hotel (Edagawa 2006:19). Eppinger was a San Francisco hotelier who established the groundwork for the education of Japanese bartenders at the Grand Hotel.

Eppinger's contribution can be seen in "Bamboo" (「バンブー」), the first cocktail created in Japan. "Bamboo" was a cocktail that Eppinger improved upon "Adonis" (「アドニス」), a popular cocktail in the contemporary United States, and eventually became the first cocktail in Japan to become an international standard (Harada 2006:81–82). Later still, the cocktail invented by Eppinger, "Million Dollar" (「ミリオ ンダラー」), would become world-famous.

The bars opened in the early years of the Yokohama Hotel created opportunities to train Japanese bartenders, especially at the Grand Hotel. At that time, the bartender was mentored by a supervisor in the hotel. However, the guests were also instructors in training the bartenders.

The hotel bar in Yokohama was a place of relaxation for sailors who had disembarked from overseas. Even if they ordered a standard cocktail, They were quite a difficult guest to manage. They would tell the bartender their favorite recipe one after another, and if they did not like it, they would demand another drink without mercy. The Japanese bartenders who took their orders, which could be called first-generation hotel bartenders, began to acquire knowledge and skills as bartenders through their hard work in responding to the noisy orders. (Japan Hotel Barmen's Association 2005:17)

Bartender Manabu Ito recalls that, in the 1950s and 1960s, "there were many older bartenders who proudly said, 'I was at the "Grand Hotel" when I was young" (Ito 2015:49). Port town, with a foreign settlement, provided the perfect environment for bartenders to gain experience by learning drink-making techniques and fulfilling requests from foreigners because many bar customers were "instructors" who knew a lot about Western liquors.

Facilities are also an essential requirement for bartenders, who need Western liquors, ice, and a variety of equipment. According to bartender Noboru Suzuki, at the time, The Grand Hotel, with its well-equipped bar, was a suitable environment for Japanese bartenders to become experts (Suzuki 1966:227).

One of the legendary bartenders who was trained and nurtured at the Grand Hotel under these conditions was Shogo Hamada ⁽⁵⁾, who would become an important figure in the history of Japanese bars. According to his mentee and bartender Koji Yamamoto, Hamada was the first American chief bartender to teach cocktails at the Grand Hotel, as mentioned above, and he later worked as a bartender at "Tokyo Kaikan" and, then, at "Café Lion" after the Great Kanto Earthquake (Ebisawa 1995:81). Hamada later became one of the founders of the Japan Bartenders Association and served as its advisor, contributing to the institutionalization of bar culture in Japan.

In this way, bartenders and other Japanese people came into contact with bar culture, and Western liquors began to be served mainly in large hotels; however, Japanese people did not become involved in bars as customers until the development of the Ginza district. Sengoku Akita ⁽⁶⁾, who was a bartender at the Grand Hotel at the time, recalls the establishment as follows.

100% of the guests were foreigners. You cannot imagine what I am talking about to young people, but the atmosphere was different. Japanese people should stay in Japanese-owned hotels. Not that the "Grand Hotel" is the only one special, but I never saw a shadow of a Japanese person among the guests. So you are unlikely to see a Japanese, much less a Japanese woman, at a dance party. I would venture to say that there were a few women who spoke fluent English who came and went, but no Japanese. (Ito 1989;74–5)

In 1883, the Rokumeikan was built in Hibiya, where wine, champagne, and cocktails were served at the bar. In 1890, the Imperial Hotel opened for business, also in Hibiya. However, these were also aimed at foreigners, and only an upper-class minority had access to them (Suzuki 1966:228–9).

I should point out some essential points about bartenders. First, descriptions of the technique are primarily concerned with the technique itself. Japanese bartenders were taught in-depth about how to make cocktails and recipes, but there are few descriptions of customer service. Needless to say, a bartender must first be able to make cocktails. In addition, most of the customers were foreigners; thus, the lack of descriptions of customer service is probably natural, given the language and cultural barriers.

At that point, "Authentic bars" and similar labels did not exist. For bartenders of that period, the bar was characterized as a place where foreigners could gather at a bar counter attached to a hotel, where Western liquors (rare in those days) were served using special techniques.

Ginza: History of Cafés and Bartenders

Let's move the stage to Ginza, which grew to become one of Tokyo's most "Haikara" (High collar) and exciting places, by incorporating culture from abroad, toward the end of the 19th century. The first turning point in Ginza's history was the reconstruction of the streets after the Great Fire. Although Tokyo was a city that had repeatedly been burnt and rebuilt, the Great Fire of 1872 was particularly devastating, destroying 5000 homes in the Ginza areas (Tokyo to Chuou Kuyakusho 1958:797–803). In the wake of this fire, Ginza was remodeled with fire-resistant bricks to preempt damage, and with this redevelopment, it became a district on the cutting edge of modern culture. However, redevelopment was not the only factor. According to Keijiro Hattori, it was originally transformed into a district that attracted foreign culture by the concentration of government offices, economic centers for finance and commodity trading, transportation routes, and newspaper companies in its surrounding areas (Hattori 1973:39–40).

Amidst the various changing aspects of life, bars were also incorporated into Ginza, but in a different

form the hotel bars in Yokohama, not centering on bar counters. When bar culture was introduced from Yokohama to Ginza, bartenders worked at cafés.

According to Kaze Yoshimura, a café at that time was a combination of a Western-style coffee shop, and a restaurant and bar (Yoshimura 2015:180). Behind this, was the arrival of imported cultures such as Western food, coffee, beer, and cocktails. When people needed a place to consume these foods, the café appeared as a comprehensive eating and drinking establishment, that served Western-style food, drinks, and alcohol "as an intermediate existence that suited general tastes" (Tokyo To Chuou Kuyakusho 1958:981).

In the early Meiji period, Ginza was the economic center of the city, and various stores lined the streets. As the saying goes, "Ginza, after Printemps opened, would be inconceivable without the café" (Tokyo to Chuou Kuyakusho 1958:981). The café was one of Ginza's symbolic places of that time (Tokyo to Chuou Kuyakusho 1958:979).

"Café Printemps" ($\lceil \pi \neg x - \neg \neg \neg \checkmark \checkmark \checkmark \rangle$) and "Café Lion" ($\pi \neg x - \neg \land \uparrow \checkmark \rangle$) were the pioneers of cafés in Ginza⁽⁷⁾. "Café Printemps" which was opened in 1911, by Shozo Matsuyama and Gonpachiro Hiraoka, as a reproduction of a European café was the first café in Ginza to call it that (Tokyo to Chuou Kuyakusho 1958:982). At the time of its opening, the restaurant had to create regular customers to run its business; so, it recruited special members, that included artists, novelists, literary figures, and actors (Noguchi 1997:272–3), and had a selection of Western liquors, such as gin, whiskey, and sherry, as well as cocktails (Morishita 2008:136).

Regular customers gathered day and night for such a scene, so much so that groups were formed in the evenings (Tokyo to Chuou Kuyakusho 1958:982), which created "an atmosphere that was difficult for ordinary people to enter" (Ando 1977:80). Furthermore, Jokyus "sat modestly in the corner of the room and stood up when called by guests. All that was required of the waitresses were a few words and a little charm" (Tokyo Metropolitan Chuo Ward Office 1958:991). At this time, the café was solely a place for known customers to socialize with each other, a sort of members-only salon for cultural figures.

"Café Lion," which opened at the same time as "Café Printemps," was established in 1911, under the management of Tsukiji Seyoken, based on the recommendation of painters, who on returning from their studies in Paris, could not forget the taste of cafés which they had experienced there. It began operating as a full-fledged restaurant with a bar and banquet hall, in addition to a dining room (Ginza Lion 2018).

"Café Lion" was frequented by cultural figures, such as Kan Kikuchi, Uno Koji, and Masato Sakai (Matsuzaki 1986:77), but unlike "Café Printemps," which had an atmosphere that was difficult for ordinary people to enter, "Café Lion" was a large establishment with 30 workers, located in the center of Ginza-Dori (Ando 1977:80). While "Café Printemps" was started at the behest of some writers, "Café Lion" was opened by Seiyoken, a large business house, as there was a demand for a café-oriented audience in Ginza at that time (Tokyo to Chuou Kuyakusho 1958:983–4). Shogo Hamada supported Café Lion's popularity, and its bar was frequented by those who wanted "Honkakuteki" (Authentic)drinks (Ando 1977:80–2).

A café is characterized by its business format, and as described above, has no bar counters. Unlike

hotel bars in Yokohama, where Western liquors were sold, and customers faced the bartenders over the counter, Western liquors were not the only main items sold at cafés. Their interiors consisted mainly of tables, not a bar counter.

The bartenders were not in charge of taking orders and serving customers, but rather the Jokyus. Although there was a bar counter, the fact that customer service was conducted mainly at tables is symbolized in the works of the painter Kunisuke Hashimoto, who painted the interiors of many cafés, and all his works showed the customers seated at tables. Bartenders were deprived of the right to interact with customers over the bar counters in cafés.

Why, then, are cafés, a different type of business, so important to the history of the Japanese bar? Moreover, why did bartenders work in cafés? It was because, at that time, cafés were the only places where bartenders trained in hotels could work. Cafés served Western liquor in the growing Ginza. However, to meet the demand of cafés, bartenders were the only professionals who possessed accurate knowledge and skills to handle Western liquor, which was not widely distributed at that time, and there was no one better than bartenders in terms of handling it. A book describing the career of the legendary bartender Rokuro Furukawa in Ginza wrote the following:

Formerly, in Japan, persons who could be called "bartenders" were professionals who had acquired the proper knowledge, skills, and service techniques related to Western liquors; been trained at full-fledged hotels, such as the "Grand Hotel" in Yokohama; or honed their skills on foreign cruise ships, such as the Nippon Yusen Line. All of them trained as bartenders on their own and faced Western customers across the counter, who served as their direct mentors. The first generation of bartenders who honed their skills in hotels and on foreign shipping lines during the Taisho era entered the cafés and bars that spread rapidly from the end of the Taisho era to the beginning of the Showa era, where the third lineage of bartenders was nurtured (Ito 1989:40).

Furthermore, most of the cafés were opened by cultural figures, capitalists, or mega-capitalists; yet, there were a few cases where bartenders were able to develop their own capital and operate "bars." As long as bartending was a profession, bartenders could not survive without a place to work. They were hired not as bartenders to stand at the bar counter and serve drinks, but as "specialists who could handle Western liquors" in cafés.

In the history of bars, the café was the first establishment where Western liquor was served and received by the Japanese. However, the early cafés were relatively limited to a small group of cultured, upper-class Japanese, and became popular later.

As described above, cafés emerged as a result of the development of the Ginza district, a business format far removed from the bar, and bartenders were unavoidably hired as specialists who could handle Western liquors, which were common to both bars and cafés. However, the café became an important place in the history of the bar, in that, it became a place where Japanese bartenders could work and serve Western liquor to Japanese customers.

Budding of Authenticity: Opposition to sexuality

In 1923, the Great Kanto Earthquake struck Tokyo. Meanwhile, Ginza underwent further urban development and became even more prosperous. A representative event was the opening of giant department stores. Matsuzakaya and Matsuya opened in the year following the earthquake, and Mitsukoshi opened in 1930. Then, the only three department stores in Tokyo were: Mitsukoshi in Nihonbashi, Shirokiya, and Matsuzakaya, so their entry into Ginza created a buzz among Tokyo residents (Mizuhara 1988:25–6).

The cafés that appeared thereafter, were distinct from "Café Lion" and "Café Printemps." The representative of these cafés is "Café Tiger" ($\lceil n \neg x - \beta \land n - \rfloor$ / Opened in 1924), which differed slightly from the cafés introduced in the previous section.

As mentioned previously, when cafés first appeared in Ginza, the Jokyus were modest in their service. They had a shady existence and never initiated conversations with customers. However, in the new form of cafés, represented by "Café Tiger," the Jokyu took center stage and began to push the sexual aspect. In "Café Tiger," the emphasis was on beautiful Jokyus and their services.

In the sexually oriented cafés, such as "Café Tiger," the Jokyu not only took orders but also served customers around the tables. According to a literary scholar, Baba Nobuhiko, this was a spatial device, unique to cafés called a "box" ($\lceil \vec{\pi} \forall \not{\sigma} \land \downarrow \rfloor$ where fixed couches faced each other across the table, short-ening the distance between customers and Jokyus, thus facilitating physical contact, and encouraging sexual services (Baba 1998:38).

There was a major reason for Jokyus to push their attractiveness to the customers at that time and had a lot to do with their wage structure. Although some cafés paid wages monthly to Jokyus, their earnings basically comprised tips from customers, and in return, they had to pay a fine called "odesen" (お出銭) (Ando 1977:138;Jiji shinpo sha katei bu ed 2020:252). According to Kenkichi Yoshida who surveyed café attire, in 1928, the aprons of Jokyus had pockets to quickly slip in the tips they received (Yoshida 1986). Thus, Jokyu worked for tips. In some stores, customers sometimes paid 10% or more in tips(Jijishinpo Sha Katei bu ed 2020:252–3).

Cafés that pushed this sexual aspect were not limited to "Café Tiger," but appeared one after another. This led to a major division between cafés that pushed the sexual aspect, such as "Café Tiger," and those that only served, such as "Café Lion."

However, the battle between the cafés was won by "Café Tiger" owing to its popularity, and in 1931, "Café Lion" was forced to close its doors. This was featured in a newspaper article entitled "Lion Drowned in Eroticism: Jokyus cry over dinner party" (「エロに溺死したライオン—女給さんたちが 涙の晩餐會」) (Yomiuri Shimbun, August 17, 1931, morning edition). Ironically, this was also because Jokyus were pulled out of "Café Lion" to "Café Tiger," one after another, and with them, customers also moved to "Café Tiger" (Ando 1977:80–81). This was a symbolic event that marked the transition to an era in which the times and the public also sought sexuality in cafés. The fact that the description of Jokyus and sexuality appears in numerous famous writings by great writers of the same period, such

as Kafu Nagai's "Tsuyu no Atosaki" (『つゆのあとさき』)(1931) and Junichiro Tanizaki's "Chijin no Ai" (『痴人の愛』)(1924), can only be because they had seen such cafés and Jokyus during this period.

As sexual services became popular in these cafés, the disturbance of public morals caused by Jokyus became a social problem and was frequently mentioned in newspaper articles, resulting in the shutdown of the business by police authorities (Yomiuri Shimbun, October 15, 1935, evening edition).

The foregrounding of Jokyus' wining and dining services caused people to place less importance on Western liquors. For those who did visit the bar at "Café Tiger," it was "unfortunately not very complimentary." Of all the stands in the big cafés in Ginza, the bartenders here may be the lousiest" (Ando 1977:85), or "It cannot be the feeling of drinking beer, you know... 'Café Tiger' is only as good as its Jokyus. It's not a Ginza thing. You should go to Asakusa" (Yomiuri Shimbun, November 21, 1925, morning edition). For bartenders who had honed their skills and served Western liquors, nothing could have been worse. Thus, it resulted in the budding of the "authentic."

Some bartenders and resourceful Jokyus saw this situation as a problem, and they opened several bars that served Western liquor, mainly at the bar counter(Ito 1989:46). Typical bars at this time were "Lupin" ($\lceil \nu \nu \vee \rangle$), "Sans Souci" ($\neg \nu \vee \rangle$), and "Bordeaux" ($\lceil \forall \nu \vee \rangle$). These historical bars will be talked about later.

"Lupin" was opened in 1928 by Yukiko Takasaki, who had been a Jokyu at the aforementioned "Café Tiger," and started her own business with the support of novelists (Bar Lupin Ginza 2018).

"Bordeaux" is one of the legendary bar founded in 1927 by a Jokyu, who had previously worked in Shinbashi. As a pioneer of Ginza bars, it was a Western-style building with white walls and overgrown ivy. The bar was frequented by businessman Jiro Shirasu and others (Yomiuri Shimbun, December 22, 2016, Tokyo, Morning Edition).

"Sans Souci"s bar counter was small and had neither beer, sake, or wine, nor bottle keeping, snacks, female service, or music. This simple business format "created a unique atmosphere of authenticity" (Ito 1989:48).

Thus, bartenders were forced to labor in cafés with a different business format to accompany the prosperity of Ginza. As cafés became sexualized, the bartenders, who had been treated as trivial, even in terms of their own identity—specialists in handling "Western liquor,"—became independent and started their own businesses that reflected their "authenticity." This was formally similar to the counterculture movement, in that, it opposed the sexualized business practices that were mainstream at that time, but in reality, it was a genuine attempt to "be like this." However, for Japan, which adopted the bar as a foreign culture, it was not based on the roots of bar culture, but was positioned in opposition to the café by "not doing it (sexual favors, etc.)." The simple business format described above is proof of this.

The development of Ginza was a pivotal turning point in the history of the bar, a period of upheaval that can only be described as the budding of authenticity. Bartenders experienced a crisis of identity for themselves and the bar. At this point, "authentic" had not yet appeared as a word. However, a review of current bartender sources places these bars as "pioneers of the Japanese bar" (Edagawa 2006; Fukunishi and Hanazaki Yamazaki 1995; Ito 1989;). The "authentic" bars would later become

institutionalized, where "authenticity" would be further established.

Institution: Nippon Bartenders' Association

In 1929, shortly after the appearance of the above-mentioned bars, the first institution of bartenders was established in Japan and began operations under the name Japan Bartender Association (JBA)⁽⁸⁾. It was founded "with the aim of developing a beverage culture, improving the skills of its members, and promoting mutual cooperation among them" (Nippon Bartender Association 2019:6). Naohisa Ogino was the first president, and Kojiro Takahashi who served as the second bartender at the "Grand Hotel" was its vice president. Fifteen other Tokyo(Mostly Ginza)-based bartenders, who were at the forefront at that time—including Tokubei Takahashi(bartender in "Sans Souci" who had worked in bars on cruise ships)and Shogo Hamada—were also its founders (Nippon Bartenders Association 2019:6). The association's office was set up in Ginza, and 40 bartenders gathered for its formation ceremony (Nippon Bartenders Association 2019:6).

A significant activity of the JBA is the publication of its internal magazine, "Drinks," in which bartenders put their own social world into words. Here, we find articles that reveal a strong rebellion against the sexual element(Takeuchi 1950:36–7), as well as discourses that shape "authenticity," such as what a bartender should be. In this case, the term "Honkakuteki" (Authentic) or "Junsui Bar" (Pure Bar) is used instead of "authentic" (「オーセンティック」) (Suzuki 1966:233). In the advertising section of this magazine, there are many bar advertisements. They claimed their professionalism, such as "Honkakuteki bar" (本格的バー) and "specializing in Western liquors" (「洋酒専門」)(Drinks in 1951/1).

Other events confirming "Authentic" can be found in the association. At that time, behind the glamorous café business, counterfeit liquor was rampant, and trust in Western liquor was dwindling (Suzuki 1966:234). In 1934, the JBA was commissioned by Western liquor distributors to establish an organization called "The federation for the Promotion of Authentic Western Liquor Beverages" (「真正洋 酒普及連盟」), which was documented to have been involved in the eradication of counterfeit liquor, promotion of superior domestic Western liquor, and a campaign to raise tariffs on imported Western liquor (Suzuki 1966:234–5). This would confirm that bartenders at that time wanted correct knowledge about Western liquors to be spread. It also indicates that bartenders at that time were positioned as experts in Western liquors.

Simultaneously, the bartenders further formed the soil for fostering the art of creating Western liquors. One of the most significant results of this process is probably Maeda Yonekichi's book titled "Cocktail," which was published in 1924, dealing exclusively with Western liquors, with bartenders as its authors. Numerous books on cocktails followed, with various bartenders and JBA members as authors (Yoshimura 2015:182–4).

The institutionalization of the association and the appearance of cocktails would have a significant impact on Japanese bartenders. In 1949, a national competition was held in Japan, where bartenders competed to improve their skills (Nippon Bartenders Association 2019). Thus, by the 1920–1930s, Japanese bar culture had set up store, become institutionalized and a solid culture had taken shape that was

expanding its international scope.

Conclusion

This study has shown the important turning point of "Authentic," as it was formed from the Meiji period to the early Showa period. The culture of the "authentic" bar was clearly defined by the prevalence of sexuality in the Ginza café era. However, bartenders were forced to work as part of cafés, not bars, and were not even allowed to stand at the bar counters. The bartenders' solution was to challenge the status quo and open their own establishments. "Authenticity" was positioned as an opposition to the sexual element, with a simple orientation of "not doing it (sexual favors, etc.)." Around the 1920s, the authentic bar emerged as a storefront with cultural contours, that were clarified by the JBA as an institution. As noted at the beginning of this study, the contemporary authentic bar culture is valued for techniques. To reinterpret this from the findings of this study, bartenders accepted techniques as their own "Authentic" based on "not doing it" throughout history.

As mentioned above, this study has a certain significance as it depicts the birth of "authentic," and describes the history of bartenders, which were hidden behind, and in conflict with the history of cafés. The culture's claim of legitimacy by "not doing it," as described by this paper, may be adaptable to other studies. Comparisons with other studies are needed to be addressed in future studies.

However, some issues remain undetermined in this study. For example, it can be inferred that the circumstances surrounding bars in Japan changed drastically after World War II, with the appearance of mass bars run by Suntory and other companies, as well as bars of other genres, and numerous conflicts with the social world. As Takaaki Chikamori states, the discourse questioning "authenticity" is likely to switch its arguments and objects with the changing times (Chikamori 2017). What has been identified in this study is only the emergence of the name "Honkakuteki," which could be positioned as a prototype of authenticity, although the actual use of the term "authentic" ($\lceil t - t \geq \overline{\tau} \land \forall \rho \rfloor$) was noted much earlier. Therefore, it is also necessary to consider the history of the transition of "authenticity" in the bar culture in the postwar period. Moreover, since this study is centered on Ginza, it is necessary to discuss further and make comparisons with other Tokyo entertainment districts such as Osaka.

Notes

- For example, Hisashi Kishi (2008), Kazuo Ueda (2014), Keiichi Hayakawa (2019), and Hidetsugu Ueno (2021) were selected as "Contemporary Master Craftsmen".
- (2) All citations are translated by the author.
- (3) The first place in Japan to be called a bar is the well-known "Kamiya Bar," which has a store in Asakusa. However, as described by Kamiyama, Kamiya Bar started calling itself a "bar" in 1912, and Kamiya Bar is not related to the Yokohama bar and café trend. Its characteristics are different from an authentic bar (Kamiyama 1989:17).
- (4) There are various views as to whether the "Yokohama Hotel" opened in 1859 (Edagawa 2001) or 1860, which are discussed in Sawa (2001). However, since there are descriptions of the "Yokohama Hotel" at least as early as 1860, this study also assumes 1860.

- (5) Born in Yokohama, Japan. He entered the bar of the "Grand Hotel" as an apprentice in 1912 and was promoted to a bartender in 1914. He continued his training at the "Grand Hotel". In 1922, when Tokyo Kaikan was completed, he was given his first bar assignment but moved to Café Lion when the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 made Tokyo Kaikan inoperable. After the war, he ran a small bar in the basement of the Nichigeki Theater (日劇) and began to go to the Tokyo Kaikan bar to help out. In addition to bartending, he also served as president of the Japan Bartenders Association and the first president of the Tokyo Bartenders School. (Edagawa 2006:20-2)
- (6) Born in 1897, he entered the bartending department of the Kyoto Hotel as an apprentice bartender in 1910 at the age of 13, acquiring knowledge and skills in Western liquors under the tutelage of Western customers. At the beginning of the Taisho era (1912–1926), he moved to the Imperial Hotel, one of the most luxurious hotels in Japan at that time. In the middle of the Taisho era, he moved to the "Grand Hotel" in Yokohama to further hone his skills as a bartender. He can be called the first generation of conscious bartenders in Japan (Ito 1989:70).
- (7) "Café Printemps" was the first to begin calling itself a "Café" in Ginza. However, 「台湾喫茶店」(1906~) and 「メゾン鴻の巣」(Noguchi 1997:271) did not use the word "Café," but their business form was similar to Café.
- (8) Now, The name has been changed to the Nippon Bartenders Association (N.B.A.).

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