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New Media and Children's Arts Education in 20th Century Japan

presented by

Joelle Nazzicone

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Date: August 26, 2022

Schooling Artlessness:
New Media and Children's Arts Education in 20th Century Japan

A dissertation presented

by

Joelle Nazzicone

to
The Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations

in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of

Japanese Literature

Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

August 2022

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Dissertation Advisor: Tomiko Yoda Joelle Nazzicone

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New Media and Children's Arts Education in 20th Century Japan

ABSTRACT

How does the concept of the child re-write the social and material relations not only between art and education, but also between the components and parties entailed therein? In this dissertation, I present a series of critical investigations into early 20th Century Japanese children's arts education movements, and their experiments with new media technologies in the efforts to establish a more "natural" or "child-oriented" mode of learning. With close attention to the material conditions, practices, and reception of these experiments, I demonstrate how the process of applying the arts and new media technologies to pedagogy, on one hand, served as a means of intervening in or re-shaping existing educational models, and, on the other, necessitated key shifts in artistic forms, production methods, and discursive positioning that directly affected their subsequent afterlives. In particular, I highlight the ways in which these new practices and modes of engagement – at times, to the benefit of movement's intended goal, and at times, to its own unintended detriment – unsettled, if not completely re-arranged the very terms and relations of instruction and learning. Given how densely these movements have been interwoven with discourses about trajectories of children's development – which, in turn, have been used all too frequently as stand-ins for those of societies or nations – I argue that these movements, together with their interventions and frustrations, present a productive opportunity to critically reassess our preconceptions about temporality, utility, and their place in the ever-contested field of children's education.

The case studies that constitute each of the core chapters follow a roughly chronological, if looping order. Chapter 1 opens with a close examination of the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* (free arts education) movement, which advocated for pedagogical change primarily through print magazines, a great deal of which were edited by or featured the poet Kitahara Hakushū. While the movement's prioritization of the child served as the driving force for advocates' demands, the terms that defined their view of the child ultimately challenged the student-instructor relation at the heart of the movement's operations. Chapter 2 extends this inquiry into the "natural" to the issue of space in arts education, specifically as it was articulated in the *kateiyō jidōgeki* (children's plays for the home) movement, spearheaded by writer and literary critic Tsubouchi Shōyō. I pay particular attention to the ways Tsubouchi conceptualized and utilized different spaces to advance his cause, as well as to how he located the role of women/girls and the possibility of collective betterment in the navigation of these spaces. Similarly, Chapter 3 critically analyzes the discursive connections between space and education, while diving deeper into the temporalities entangled therein. In particular, this chapter presents a close reading of Seo Mitsuyo's animated film *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei*, its place in the tradition of re-working histories through children's tales, and its visions of shared futures extended to the children it was intended to educate in Japanese colonies in Southeast Asia. Last but not least, Chapter 4 examines the re-application of *dōyō* – a key component in Kitahara's advocacy, as well as in Seo's film – as language re-education materials in Japan-occupied Philippines. This chapter identifies key parallels between *dōyō*'s mediatic transformations and the projection of a larger, imperial body, while also highlighting the ways in which the specificities of engagement complicate the issue and fulfilment of even an imperial demand.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Here, at once the opening and close of distinct stages in this project, I recognize anew how incredibly fortunate I have been to receive the encouragement and support of countless others. The multitude of ways in which various people and groups have aided, inspired, and tested this project constitutes the momentum that has carried it forward, whittling the occasionally overwhelming nature of its undertaking into something much more concrete and approachable.

My gratitude goes first to my advisor, Tomiko Yoda, whose critical acumen, clear-sighted guidance, and abiding thoughtfulness have been pivotal not only in the process of conceiving and actualizing this project, but also, in the course of learning how to meaningfully inhabit the roles of researcher and educator. So much of these past years' growth, in both project and scholar, has been the direct results of her steadfast support for her students and advisees, her unfaltering commitment to seeing them to their goals, to prompting them to think deeply and critically about their work and place in the world. I am also deeply grateful to Alexander Zahlten, whose wealth of knowledge is surpassed only by his generosity and ready willingness to provide insightful feedback, fortifying encouragement for plumbing new avenues of research, and relatable advice or strategies for navigating the twists and turns of academic life. Moreover, I would like to express my profound thanks to Laura Frahm: the foundations and forward movement of this project owe so much to her infectious enthusiasm for intellectual exploration, her commitment to rigorous critical inquiry, and the undimming warmth and reassurance of her confidence in her students.

I would also like to wholeheartedly express my gratitude to Neferti X. M. Tadiar, whose incisive intellect and boundless generosity have not only shaped the course and scope of this project, but also served as an incomparable guide and source of inspiration. In turn, Genevieve Clutario and Hiromu Nagahara's thorough and thoughtful advice has been of immeasurable importance, identifying and opening critical doorways to scholarship from the earliest stages of the project's conception. Multiple parts of this project have significantly benefited from the helpful suggestions and feedback of Paul D. Barclay, JB Capino, Ryan Cook, Vanessa Joosen, Miki Kaneda, Sachiko Kawai, Helen Kilpatrick, Jie Li, Melek Ortabasi, Paul Roquet, Mark John Sanchez, and Weijie Song. Additionally, I would like to thank Thomas Keirstead and Atsuko Sakaki for the constancy of their care and mentorship, kindly and generously extended beyond the bounds of my alma mater.

In Japan, I have had the great privilege to be hosted by Kitada Akihiro, Kusahara Machiko, and Uzawa Yoshiko; the time I spent at their respective institutions was some of the most conducive to intellectual discovery and exploration. I am particularly grateful to Maeshima Shiho for her attentiveness in cultivating spaces to connect with and learn from fellow scholars, as well as to Makino Noriko for providing insights and advice for conducting research in Tokyo. I would also like to thank Shimizu Tomoko and Takeuchi Miki for their generous assistance in navigating and facilitating research opportunities across different institutions in Japan. Likewise, my sincere thanks go to, respectively, the Niwa Yoshiyuki and Watanabe Yasushi *zemi* for accommodating and welcoming a wandering stray.

Over the years and moves across multiple countries, I have had the very good fortune to be surrounded by some of the most supportive, inspiring friends and colleagues:

Peter Bernard, Steven Bohme, Andrew Campana, Minna Lee, Lingling Ma, Takuya Maeda, Noriko Morisue, Alex Murphy, Alex Schweinsberg, Jenni Ting, and Wang Jing. My project and broader scholarly work have also progressed and expanded through the helpful suggestions and leads kindly extended by Keung Yoon "Becky" Bae, Caitlin Casiello, Amin Ghadimi, Morita Noriko, Sean O'Reilly, Joshua Rogers, Takeda Yūki, Wang Min, and Subo Wijeyeratne. I am thankful for the presence of *senpai* like Josh Baxter, Sara Osenton, and Baryon Posadas, who have provided thoughtful, practical advice for the different stages of graduate student life and beyond, while also serving as the orienting points of broader, collegial communities. I am also deeply grateful to Philip Gant, Han Sang Kim, Stephanie Lam, Jungmin Lee, Asako Masubuchi, Hiro Yoshie, and Miya Qiong Xie, who, by counsel, example, or myriad acts of kindness, have made research, teaching, scholarly and professional work far less daunting and arduous. I would, in particular, like to thank the Grey Lounge Crew for formative lessons in both sharp, critical inquiry and the inestimable value of serendipitous, yet enduring fellowship; the 3PM Crowd for regular bouts of levity and (mis)adventures across the city; the Saturday *joshikai* for creating a space of calm and easy camaraderie. Special thanks go to Esther Jammes, Laura Kenner, Yusung Kim, and Ajjana Thairungroj for their abiding friendship and inexhaustible support, unimpeded by distance or time, consistently transmuting the challenges of muddling through life, both within and without the academy, into a shared source of joy and lightness.

At Harvard's Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, I have been very fortunate to enjoy the support and sense of community fostered by Gus Espada, Susan Kashiwa, Alison Howe, and Jim Zigo. I am especially thankful for Carolyn Choong's patience and infinite consideration in helping me navigate the final years of the program, especially

under the onslaught of challenges posed by the pandemic. From the project's earliest stages, I was able to find a stable foothold and the necessary launching momentum thanks to the guidance and assistance of librarians like Kuniko Yamada McVey and Kazuko Sakaguchi. Beyond Harvard and the United States, my work and worldview have likewise been enriched by the insights and generosity of archivists, collectors, and librarians like Mario Feir, Amalia Javier, Eimee Rhea Lagrama, Morimune Atsuko, and Ota Fumiyo.

I cannot overstate the impact that Harvard University's Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies and Asia Center have had on the development of this project, as well as on my own capacities as a researcher, which was granted every possible opportunity with the centres' generous support. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Jorge Espada, Catherine Glover, Yukari Swanson, and, in particular, Stacie Matsumoto for their ready encouragement, guidance, and commitment to creating spaces of belonging and collegiality. In turn, Gavin Whitelaw has been a staunch ally in navigating research and professional opportunities, both through and beyond the Reischauer. Through him and the Reischauer staff, I was able to spend two fruitful and formative years learning the ropes of academic publishing under Mark Selden and the *Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* team.

At Rikkyo University, I have the good fortune of having Chris Keaveney as colleague and mentor; his steady support, together with his ready willingness to lend a hand with everything from administrative work to complex issues in class management, has made the shift from research to teaching – particularly under the volatile conditions of education under the pandemic – a far more manageable and enjoyable experience. I also want to thank Sarah Asada and Yoko Ichiyama at Kyoritsu Women's University, as well as Naho Kawamoto, Makiko Noshiro, Wei-Tung Wang, Yoko Yoshiike, and Asako Yoshitomi at Tokyo

University of Foreign Studies, for making the transition into teaching as smooth and edifying as possible. Beyond the campus, I have been very fortunate to get to know and work with Ono Seiko, whose care and thoughtfulness extended not only to guiding me through some of my earliest work as a translator, but also to generously arranging meetings and other opportunities to further my research. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to her, as well as to Masuya Shūichi and the entire *Daily Bulletin* team, for making some of my earliest experiences in translation and publishing, in addition to film festival attendance, so memorable and richly rewarding.

Key parts of the research for this project were conducted under the aegis of the Monbukagakusho Scholarship Program, and I would like to thank Marcia Iwasaki for her assistance and guidance, which extended from application to post-program review. In addition, I greatly benefited from the chance to participate in the translation workshop at Newcastle University, which helped hone not only the necessary skills for conducting and communicating this research, but also the perspectives and approaches for teaching translation to others. I would like to express my thanks to Gitte Marianne Hansen and Michael Tsang for meticulously and generously arranging this wonderful opportunity. In my travels, I have had the good fortune to meet and befriend Haifa Saud Alfaisal, Padma Patil, and Ola Uduku, each of them bright reminders of the transformative possibilities engendered through kindness and solidarity. I also want to thank Hylton and Vesna Hoad for their ever-welcoming hospitality, and the wealth of knowledge that they freely share.

The research for the latter half of this project would have been impossible without my uncle Rolando, whose attentiveness and generosity meant that I lacked for nothing during my stays with his family. His untimely passing, precisely at the time of wrangling

and writing up the findings from those happy stays, continues to pose the challenging question of how to define the contours and practices of meaningful scholarship. I hope to do justice to his unfailing warmth and magnanimity. I am particularly thankful to my cousin Ronil, who obligingly rearranged his schedule to accompany me on my research trips, and patiently reintroduced me to Manila over the course of long waits in its infamous traffic. I also want to express my gratitude to my aunt Nilda and my cousin Rolando Jr. for their unflagging efforts in making my stays with them as colourful and enjoyable as possible. Likewise, I am thankful for the bolstering presence of Evelyn, Rosmel, and Roevie. I would, in particular, like to thank my cousin Nikki for being a consistent source of warmth and shared laughter throughout all of the ups and downs.

My last and greatest thanks go to those who have been in the most immediate vicinity throughout the lead-up, duration, and concluding stages of this project. To my grandparents, Juan and Leonila, who regrettably, could not see the completion of this stage of the project, but whose memory thoroughly coloured its conception and writing. And to my parents, Denis and Lita, who watched over both its progress and setbacks with patience and good humour, imparting unflinching conviction and quiet confidence, even and especially in the face of my greatest uncertainties. With love and gratitude.

PREFATORY NOTE

Japanese names are cited following Japanese convention: that is, family name first and personal name last. The only exceptions are for individuals who are based or publish in contexts outside of Japan and Asia, as well as for those who use a specific, preferred order or form of address.

All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are my own.

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation presents a series of critical investigations into early 20th Century Japanese children's arts education movements, and their experiments with new media technologies in the efforts to establish a more "natural" or "child-oriented" mode of learning. While tracing the discursive articulation and transformations of key concepts like arts education and the child meant to receive it, each chapter critically analyses the material practices and relations that grew out of actual movements and experiments for children's arts education. In particular, each chapter pays close attention to the unexpected developments, complications, and even misfires entangling each movement's ideological project and practical results. Attention to these elements is not intended as fuel for dismissing these movements – especially as their afterlives and reincarnations reach into the present day – but rather, as a means of critically interrogating characterizations or models of education and media engagement as unerringly top-down and absolute. Such insights are crucial not only for assessing these movements' modern-day successors, but also, for weighing the promises they extend, both then and now, with regard to gender, class, race, and national / regional identity. While each chapter presents a different case study, they are roughly connected by chronology, as well as by the spread of each movement's ideologies and practices across mediums and adjacent advocacy groups – together, they trace a broad arc from the theorization of a "natural" education, to the search for a "natural" space and common time for such education, to the projection of both in the performance of a common, "natural" language.

—

In turn of the 20th Century Japan, a series of heated and extended debates arose around the issue of children's education, driving a flurry of pedagogical experiments and advocacies, involving not only pedagogues and policymakers, but also everyone from parent and local interest groups, to labour collectives and artist circles. This widespread, if differently oriented investment in children's education was both a response to and part of Japan's accelerated push for a modern, nation-wide education system, one of the key priorities in efforts to re-configure the post-Restoration nation-state. While the administration and the general public shared the common cause of providing children with access to education, the process of defining, let alone establishing a system for it proved to be complex and time-consuming. Not only did successive orders and legislations frequently serve as amendments, if not outright nullifications, of their predecessors, but the sheer number of them also indicate a long process of re-negotiating the very terms and conditions of what exactly constituted a suitable system of education, especially one with as many demands from the various parties involved.

As a case in point, the 1872 Education Ordinance, its replacement in the 1879 Education Order, and even further, the latter's revised version in 1890 posit directly contradictory answers not only to the question of how much time should be allotted for a compulsory, basic education, but also, to the questions of where and by whom such education should be administered, especially if it had to ensure broad access for children across the country.[1] Moreover, while elementary school tuition fees were eliminated in

[1] See, for example: Benjamin C. Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education: Constructing the National School System, 1872-1980* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2009); Mark E. Lincicome, *Principle, Praxis, and the Politics of Educational Reform in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995); Sugimura Mika, *Meiji shoki ni okeru issei kyōjuhō juyō katei no kenkyū (Studies of the Reception and Processes for Collective Learning in Early Meiji)* (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 2010); Yukawa Katsumi, *Kindai Nihon yōji*

1900, public tensions and unrest over the levying of taxes and subsequent management of funds for education, as well as over what children would actually be taught in return for being withdrawn from the labour force, continued well into the 1920s and 1930s.[2]

Effectively, Japan's education system at the turn of the century was as new and evolving as the very students it was intended to teach. For, as studies and histories of childhood, both in Japan and across the globe, have consistently demonstrated, the very concept of the child as a distinct identity, as a unique social category, has a significantly more recent history comparable to, if not entirely concomitant with, that of the modern education system. Mark A. Jones, for example, has traced how the designation of the child as student, or more precisely, as non-labourer, became widespread only in the 20th Century, driven by major shifts in socio-political and cultural conditions. In particular, Jones attributes these newly conceptualized views of the child and childhood to the emergence of Japan's modern middle class, for which the "rearing of children became the defining emblem of [its] identity."[3] In a similar fashion, Karatani Kōjin has argued that the concept of the child, predicated on a sharp "division between childhood and adulthood,"[4] is a relatively recent, historical development, brought about by factors such as Rousseau's

kyōiku kihon bunkenshū (Foundational Documents of Modern Japan's Early Childhood Education) (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentā, 2017).

[2] Samuel Perry, *Recasting Red Culture in Proletarian Japan: Childhood, Korea, and the Historical Avant-Garde* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 46-68.

[3] Mark A. Jones, *Children as Treasures: Childhood and the Middle Class in Early Twentieth Century Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 2. Jones' focus on the middle-class child reflects only one of the ways in which "the child" in early 20th Century Japan has been framed and studied; it marks a distinct contrast against, for example, Perry or David Ambaras' respective focuses on the proletarian or delinquent child. See: Perry, *Recasting Red Culture*; David R. Ambaras, *Bad Youth: Juvenile Delinquency and the Politics of Everyday Life in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

[4] Karatani Kōjin, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, trans. Brett de Bary (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), 119.

"discovery" or identification of the child as a distinct identity, as well as by the introduction of a period of education separate from pre-existing models of learning via labour or apprenticeship – models that had marked no sharp difference between childhood and adulthood.[5]

While the emergence of the child and children's education as concepts have thus been attributed to various, if overlapping factors, the basic estimation of such concepts has remained the single, consistent point of general consensus. That is, the identification of the child as a distinct identity, together with the view of a child-oriented education system's necessity, went hand in hand with the insistence that both were important priorities warranting collective attention and resources, such that they could and often did supersede other, equally pressing social issues or concerns. Where the 20th Century concept of the child was separated from pre-existing patterns of labour or identities as labourers – and thus, from that which is frequently identified as generators of economic value – it was nevertheless deemed "emotionally priceless,"[6] attributed "enormous affective power"[7] that not only stretched over broad swathes of society, but also extended long after the concept's emergence. As Nicholas Sammond describes:

> Though grounded in real bodies and the real lives of actual children, the term *child* is a highly potent discursive tool that is invoked to shape, limit, or foreclose arguments about social and material relations between individuals and classes of people… More so than the terms *adult*, *senior citizen*, or *working-class person*, the

[5] Ibid, 118-131. See also: Carolyn Steedman, *Strange Dislocations: Children and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780-1930* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); Stefan Tanaka, "Childhood: The Naturalization of Development into a Japanese Space," *Cultures of Scholarship*, Sally Humphreys, ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

[6] Viviana A. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 209.

[7] Steedman, 18.

> term *child* performs specific operations that shape the possible understandings available when we attempt to speak of those relations.[8]

Unsurprisingly, the issue of children's education, so closely intertwined with this new understanding of the child, was accorded a similar level of priority and urgency. As previously discussed, there was little agreement on the precise details of such an education system, compounded by multiple cases of public dissent against the costs and disruptions of instituting it.[9] However, in its most basic iteration, the recurring point of contention was the particulars and toll, monetary and otherwise, of Japan's early systems of compulsory education for children. In sharp contrast, the fundamental act of educating children itself, of providing *some* form of education for children, faced significantly less pushback. As Karatani has noted, the content, form, or style of Japan's modern education system was met with frequent criticism and challenges, but the view of children's education itself as necessary went "unquestioned."[10]

This general attitude indicates the importance ascribed to children and children's education, specifically as they were conceptualized in early 20th Century Japan. At the same time, the framing of Japan's pedagogical project, to provide access to education to children across the country, yoked both concepts and their importance to that of the modern nation-state. While various, pre-existing systems of education, shaped by social class or students' anticipated vocation, had long been in place, Japan's post-Restoration project envisioned a move away from such modes of education, and towards a standardized, nation-wide

[8] Nicholas Sammond, *Babes in Tomorrowland: Walt Disney and the Making of the American Child, 1930-1960* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 3.

[9] Duke, 160-71; Lincicome, 160-97; Perry, 46-68.

[10] Karatani, 130.

system akin to those in America and Europe.[11] The promise of this project was manifold: not only would the "unquestioned" benefits of education be secured for "emotionally priceless" children across the country, but the project's accomplishment would also equate to a major success in post-Restoration efforts to reconfigure Japan as a modern nation-state, in no small part conceived as its comparability with other nation-states and their respective education systems, or at least, those identified as fitting models. Moreover, the distinction of the child from adult, along with the insistence on a system of education that bridged the two, could not but introduce an ordered, linear progression of time and maturation.[12] The successful establishment of a standardized, nation-wide system of education could therefore generate not only a nation-wide unity or purportedly shared experience in learning, but also, the continuation of that collectivity well into the future, carried by the promised, linear maturation of successive cohorts of child students. Effectively, early 20th Century conceptualizations of the child and children's education were closely intertwined with visions of the modern, post-Restoration nation-state (the exact terms of which were likewise undergoing cycles of definition and revision), whereby each of the component parts exerted mutual influence on the others.

In particular, while post-Restoration efforts to reconfigure Japan as a modern nation-state played a major role in articulating and proliferating concepts of the child and children's education, the importance and affective power that subsequently attached to these concepts, in turn, came to shape the discourses, priorities, and relations in visions of the modern nation-state. Accordingly, the child and children's education as key priorities

[11] Duke, 130-59.

[12] Karatani, 124.

entailed not only the re-direction of resources towards children and pedagogical initiatives,[13] but also multiple processes of re-writing the very timeline of the modern nation-state, whereby securing certain conditions in the future demanded changes or actions in children's present upbringing or education.[14] The insistence that such changes or actions were needed "for the children" generated a sense of urgency that coloured everything from debates on the content and format of the national curriculum, to the ways in which that curriculum's ideal outcomes – among them, the trajectory of the nation-state itself, its future citizens (*kokumin*), as well as their place both within and without the shifting borders of the nation-state – were articulated and promoted. That this invocation of children is familiar and yet recurring in various, present-day calls for action or change, across different parts of the globe, is testament to the enduring and compelling nature of the child's affective power, particularly on the definition, orientation, and driving motivation of a social collective.[15]

New and developing as they were, the early 20th Century concepts of the child and children's education thus took on near unassailable importance, becoming integral parts in any vision of the modern nation-state and its future trajectory. By the same token, the project of establishing a suitable system of education – as that which would shape the "emotionally priceless" child, and, in the process, help manifest visions of the nation-state's future – became fertile grounds for debates and pedagogical experiments, both on national

[13] See, for example, Okita Yukuji, *Nihon kokumin wo tsukutta kyōiku: Terakoya kara GHQ no senryō kyōiku seisaku made (Education that Made the Japanese Citizen: From the Temple Schools to the Pedagogical Policies of the GHQ Occupation)* (Kyoto: Mineruva Shobō, 2017).

[14] Duke, 1-7.

[15] Sammond, 2-6; Steedman, 18.

and local levels, driven by both government institutions, as well as private groups and individuals. Of these various attempts to define and establish a suitable system of education, some of most multi-faceted, exploratory, yet ultimately long-lived belonged to a loose collection of movements advocating for and experimenting with educating children through the arts. While loosely bound by a shared orientation and the fundamental goal of an arts-based education, these movements were incredibly diverse, not only because they prioritized different art forms, but also because they were driven by multiple, different artist collectives or working groups that advanced different interpretations of their respective art forms and their relationship with children's education.

For example, while the *dōyō* (children's song) movement is frequently identified with the poet Kitahara Hakushū, there were, even among the writers, artists, and composers who collaborated with him, those who espoused diverging, if not completely opposite views on, among other things, what *dōyō* should look or sound like, whether and what terms should limit children's performance of it in public, or indeed, whether *dōyō*, as opposed to some other musical form, should occupy such a significant role in children's education.[16] Moreover, this array of approaches to children's arts education was further multiplied by the different reference points – for models of arts education, as well as for theories of the child and children's development, frequently from other groups and individuals across the globe – that fed into each movement's articulation of their priorities

[16] See, for example: Ishida Yōko, "Dōyō fukkō undōki no shotōka ongaku kyōiku rinen ni tsuite no hito kōsatsu: Ongaku kyōikusha no shōka oyobi dōyō-kan wo tegakari toshite (A Study on the Ideology of Musical Education at Elementary School in the 1920s-1930s: Mainly referring to Some Music Educators' Views about *Shoka* and *Doyo*)," *Shitennōji Daigaku kiyō (Bulletin of Shitennoji University)*, vol. 46, September 2009, pp. 193-206; Watanabe Yasushi, *Utau kokumin: Shōka, kōka, utagoe (Singing Citizens: Choral Songs, School Songs, and the Singing Voice)* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2010).

and recommended methods. Similarly, the movements were split on their respective positions on the federal administration's project to establish a modern, standardized, and nation-wide system of children's education, as well as on the priorities and curricula laid out under its umbrella. While some groups joined forces with the Ministry of Education or other government bodies to build, revise, or expand the official school curricula, others openly rejected its underlying philosophy, materials, and methodologies, insisting instead on arts education as the directly opposed, yet superior alternative, usually by reference to the arts' connection with the 20th Century conceptualization of the child. Others yet contributed to *and* broke sharply away from government institutions or projects at different points in time.

In this way, early 20th Century movements for children's arts education in Japan varied greatly, not only in the ways they conceptualized the connections between specific art forms and children's education, but also, in the ways they positioned themselves in relation to one another, as well as to other, contemporaneous pedagogical projects and initiatives. Crucially, despite such conceptual and methodological differences between them, these movements generally upheld and foregrounded the uniqueness of the child, frequently with reference to its distinct world or worldview.[17] In turn, commitment to this view of the child, and, in the same breath, to the necessity of an education system that

[17] Such views are perhaps most readily represented in the discourses and popularity surrounding the concept of *dōshin* (child's heart or mind), which was frequently invoked in materials and movements for children in the early 20th Century. See, for example: Hatakenaka Keiichi, "Kitahara Hakushū," *Taishō jiyū kyōiku no kōbō (The Light of Taishō Free Education)*, Tomita Hiroyuki, Sekiguchi Yasushi, and Nakano Hikaru, eds. (Tokyo: Kyōzansha, 1993), 39-49; Elizabeth M. Keith, "Dôshinshugi and Realism: A Study of the Characteristics of the Poems, Stories and Compositions in 'Akai tori' from 1918 to 1923" (Ph.D. diss., University of Hawai'i, 2011); Dafna Zur, *Figuring Korean Futures: Children's Literature in Modern Korea* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2017).

prioritized and responded to it, was repeatedly cited as the justification for children's arts education and its advantages over other forms of instruction.[18]

Moreover, paralleling their receptivity to new pedagogical theories and initiatives, the arts education movements of early 20th Century Japan also exhibited a willingness to experiment with new media forms and technologies, integrating them directly into their visions of arts education. The popularity of these experiments was such that they drew the involvement of the Ministry of Education and other government institutions, at times sparking frequently publicized debates between them, and at other times, becoming assimilated into the national curriculum, if not spearheading the development of an entirely new approach therein. Kitahara's advocacy for *dōyō*, for example, advanced through his collaborations with other writers, artists, and composers, as much as it did through their collective efforts to popularize *dōyō* by eagerly adapting it to a variety of new media technologies. These included not only the colourful, image-heavy children's magazines that became the trend and subsequent standard in the late 1910s,[19] but also, as they became available, radio, records, as well as new spaces and opportunities for children's public performances. The resulting abundance of multi-media material for *dōyō*, coupled with their and their creators' popularity, facilitated their ensuing integration into official school curricula, materials, and activities, as well as the development of new pedagogical projects or initiatives featuring *dōyō*, including, for example, educational film

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[18] See, for example, Kitahara's argument for arts education in the inaugural issue of the journal *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Free Arts Education)*, which was intended to advance the goals of the affiliated movement: Katagami Noburu, Kishibe Fukuo, Kitahara Hakushū, and Yamamoto Kanae, "Kantōgen (Preface)," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Free Arts Education)*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1921.

[19] Nona L. Carter, "A Study of Japanese Children's Magazines, 1888-1949" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2009), 89-106.

and language instruction materials. That *dōyō* thus came to have multiple forms, applications, and connections to yet other pedagogical materials in the official curricula indicates that the Japanese administration had recognized utility in the art form as a means of educating children, and, in the same breath, in this method of education as manifested across different mediums.

For both the advocates of children's education through the arts, and the government institutions in pursuit of a national system of education, the involvement of new mass media technologies presented a number of attractive possibilities. Crucially, they posed the promise of a solution to the issue of ensuring access to education, particularly on a nation- or region-wide basis. In the first decades of the 20th Century, mass media technologies like radio, records, or even the colourful magazines favoured by Kitahara and his group, were not readily available in many Japanese households, owing to factors ranging from cost, to the conditions of routes or infrastructure for distribution, to operational issues that plagued the early workings and applications of such technologies. Even so, the promise of what they could achieve – not just the replication of pedagogical material, but also and crucially, the conveyance of that material to many across an expanse of space – proved compelling for, among others, government institutions, corporate enterprises, public and private groups. Their subsequent investment into the improvement or integration of these technologies[20] helped facilitate broader familiarity and use among the general public in an accelerated span of time.

[20] Daqing Yang, *Technology of Empire: Telecommunications and Japanese Expansion in Asia, 1883-1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010), 284-305.

For example, though recording companies had, until the 1910s, faced various technical difficulties in producing clean recordings of performances, over the following decades, they made successive improvements to their recording environments and equipment, while also adjusting their approach to the selection of performers, with the primary goal of having these components work better together to produce a clearer, more easily marketable product.[21] The steps they took ultimately proved fruitful: over the course of the 1920s and 1930s, not only did more records circulate among homes and public establishments – notably, the number of homes that owned the necessary equipment to play these records multiplied over forty times in just six years[22] – but the abundance of materials also led to these records, a significant number of them *dōyō*, being incorporated into or even used as the basis for official Ministry of Education materials. Similarly, distribution notes and readers' letters from children's magazines indicate that they had initially circulated within a relatively limited space – frequently, Tokyo and its neighbouring prefectures – but, in less than a decade, they were able to reach readers in Korea and Taiwan, then under Japanese colonization. Because such magazines also circulated *dōyō* as printed sheet music or lyrics, *dōyō*'s reach extended not only through recently improved and more widely available records, but also through other mediums with their own cycles of production and patterns of circulation. In this way, while many of the newly emerging media technologies were initially ill-equipped to realize the vision of an expansive system of children's education, their rapid development, together with their

[21] Shūtō Yoshiaki, *Dōyō no kindai: Media no hen'yō to kodomo bunka (The Modernity of* Dōyō*: Media Transformations and Children's Culture)* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2015), 169-78.

[22] Masui Keiji, *Dēta · ongaku · Nippon (Data, Music, Japan)* (Tokyo: Minshu Ongaku Kyōkai Min'on Ongaku Shiryōkan, 1980), 16.

capacity to function in tandem with other media technologies, served as important counterweights, ultimately enabling them to advance the project of providing broader access to education and educational materials.

That early 20th Century arts education movements were able to take advantage of these emerging mass media technologies has no doubt been one of the key contributing factors to their materials' longevity. As case in point, Shūtō Yoshiaki has demonstrated how the present-day plethora of forms, genres, and spaces associated with *dōyō* can be attributed to its adaptations to and with different media technologies and practices over the course of the 20th Century.[23] As with other arts education movements and materials that emerged roughly at the same time, *dōyō*'s process of adaptation and transformation also extended to its reception, or, more specifically, the significance ascribed to it.[24] This is not to suggest that the shifting views of *dōyō* necessarily plot out a series of stark contradictions or outright rejections, but rather, that they map out a series of adjustments – often carrying through some thread of similarity – to the ways *dōyō* was received and positioned discursively. For example, where Kitahara and his fellow advocates tended to emphasize the connections between children and *dōyō*'s "natural" or expressive qualities, as well as between these qualities and a shared history or environment, more contemporary accounts tend to present *dōyō* not just as something to be "inherited" (*utaitsugu beki*, literally "should be inherited and sung"), but also as a "national" (*kokumin-teki*) art form that ties people together.[25]

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[23] Shūtō, 3-5.

[24] Ibid, 3.

[25] Ibid.

Given their adaptability and overall welcome among the public – and beyond that, their capacity to inspire a sense of collectivity, particularly on a broad or even national level – it is perhaps unsurprising that arts education movements and materials presented government institutions with a particularly attractive set of resources for their project of establishing a modern, nation-wide system of education. But, for artist-advocates like Kitahara, what was the appeal of championing the child and children's education, of launching artistic-pedagogic movements that, occasionally, ran counter to the national curriculum and its priorities? Some accounts have linked this interest in the child with the recognition of it as a new, profitable demographic,[26] while yet others, perhaps as best represented by Karatani, have identified conceptual parallels between early 20th Century views of the child and contemporaneous trends in literary or artistic production.[27] While such accounts present crucial insights into the study of childhood, children's education, or the underlying concept of the child, recent studies have also pointed to further complexities that preclude a single, straightforward explanation. For example, the business and profitability of producing materials for children is an undoubtedly important consideration in analyzing these movements, but case studies have also shown that the production of some arts education materials had been far from lucrative, driven frequently by near-voluntary labour and struggling with quality due to the lack of funding.[28] Similarly, a

[26] See, for example: Daniel Thomas Cook, *The Commodification of Childhood: The Children's Clothing Industry and the Rise of the Child Consumer* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

[27] Karatani, 123-5.

[28] This was the case for early animated films intended for educational or training purposes, which were frequently produced by small, largely amateur circles. See, for example: Hikari Hori, *Promiscuous Media: Film and Visual Culture in Imperial Japan, 1926—1945* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017), 160-6, 202-3; Inada Tatsuo et al., "Manga eiga zadankai (zoku) (Roundtable on *Manga eiga* (Continued))," *Eiga kyōiku (Film Education)*, December 1936, p. 21.

comprehensive view of their emergence and workings demands that early 20th Century concepts of the child be contextualized among coinciding trends and emergent concepts, but the recognition of this simultaneity alone neither acknowledges nor accounts for that which sets the concept of the child apart – that is, what Sammond has identified as the child's capacity to re-arrange arguments about social and material relations, specifically in ways that tend to take precedence over other terms, identities, and groups.[29]

While an in-depth investigation into the causes behind this distinction is beyond the scope of this project, it nevertheless accepts the basic premise that the child functions discursively with distinctly compelling force on arguments about social and material relations. Accordingly, while examining the early 20th Century artist-advocates' incentives for the movements and projects they led, this dissertation attempts to answer the question: How does the child re-write the social and material relations not only between art and education, but also between the components and parties entailed therein? These include, but are not limited to the relations between instructor and student, between student and (local / regional / national) collective, and by extension, between the spatial and temporal underpinnings of experiments in children's arts education, especially as furthered by emergent media technologies. Additionally, the discursive positioning of children's arts education, especially in arguments for its necessity, intimates several types of collectivity, attached to each of its component terms: at the very least, a collectivity committed to the child and its future trajectory, another to the value of, if not the very project of establishing an education system, and yet another to the appreciation of the arts, to a view of the arts

[29] Sammond, 3.

(as frequently referenced by artist-advocates) as indicating a common history, environment, or set of experiences. Given how much invocations of collectivity feeds into arguments for children's arts education, this dissertation also interrogates the ways in which such collectivity is expressed, challenged, or reneged, and by extension, considers what implications such re-writing of relations and collectivity might have for the long afterlives of these movements and their materials.

In order to unpack these complex issues, this dissertation critically analyzes a number of early 20th Century children's arts movements as case studies, paying particular attention to the ways in which they advanced specific conceptualizations of the child, and how these subsequently re-arranged social and material relations between the arts, education, the terms and parties involved therein. Chapter 1 begins by tracing the development of the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* (free arts education) movement, which was primarily driven and represented by Kitahara, and, at least initially, reached out to students and supporters via print magazines. Foregrounding a vision of the child as inherently or naturally artistic, advocates openly criticized official Ministry of Education curricula and methodology, as well as earlier ideas and examples of children's literature written by their contemporaries. While the movement's particular conceptualization of the child thus served as the driving force behind its demand for or proposal of an alternate set of relations between students, the arts, and education, that same conceptualization of the child ultimately called into question the relation between instructor and student central to the movement's own methodology.

Extending the inquiry into the idea of a naturally artistic child, Chapter 2 examines the *kateiyō jidōgeki* (children's plays for the home) movement, spearheaded by the writer,

playwright, and literary critic Tsubouchi Shōyō. Like the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* advocates, Tsubouchi identified natural affinities between the child and the arts, and in a similar critique of the national school system, argued not only for the necessity of a more suitable, more artistic form of education, but also, and crucially, a more natural space in which to conduct it. As indicated by its name, the *kateiyō jidōgeki* movement promoted education through theatrical plays performed specifically in the home. However, Tsubouchi's method of advocating for collective, nation-wide adoption of this type of education, coupled with his delineation of women's roles therein, complicated the possibility of fulfilling the movement's promises of sweeping, collective betterment.

Chapter 3 likewise pays close attention to the connections between space and education, but also dives deeper into a critical examination of the temporalities entangled with them. In particular, this chapter examines the work of director Seo Mitsuyo, who, unlike the critics in the previous two chapters, worked directly with government institutions to produce animated films intended as educational materials not only for children in Japan, but also, for those in Japanese colonies in Southeast Asia. While the content and deliberate choice of medium for these films promoted collective, orderly trajectories of time and shared history – reflecting the rationale of imperial expansion – the actual experience of watching the film cannot but disclose the multiplicity of discrete, heterogenous temporalities in direct contradiction of the imperial worldview.

Last but not least, Chapter 4 takes a closer look at *dōyō* – a key component in Kitahara's *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* advocacy, as well as in Seo's feature-length animated film – tracing its diffusion and re-application as language re-education materials in Japanese colonies, particularly the Philippines. The chapter identifies key parallels between *dōyō*'s

mediatic transformations and the projection of a larger, imperial body, one whose contours were defined by a common language and the shared experiences of learning it. Much like Tsubouchi's *kateiyō jidōgeki*, language re-education through *dōyō* depended greatly on the involvement of young girls and women, but the temporal and spatial trajectories prescribed to them ultimately revealed irreconcilable conditions to the promises of a larger, imperial collective.

In examining these case studies, I aim to demonstrate the multiple, complex ways in which literary and artistic trends, projects, and priorities were woven into Japan's media and pedagogical history in a mutually transformative process. In particular, while the discursive invocation of the child invested early 20th Century arts education movements with a sense of urgency and compelling force, the very prioritization of the child simultaneously necessitated adjustments or re-arrangements to the forms, components, and relations not only in these specific movements, but also in the broader practices and views of artistic and cultural production. By the same token, in analyzing the ways in which the child demanded the re-writing of social and material relations, I aim to offer a critical alternative to accounts that have characterized the child, children's education or media as mere representatives of a unidirectional, frictionless process of replication.[30] While these movements have both cited and been themselves cited in other artistic or pedagogical movements, both in the lead-up to and the wake of the early 20th Century, there have been, coincidently and consistently, key shifts in these processes of citation.

[30] A representative account might here be identified in the critiques of Jacqueline Rose, who theorized the "impossibility of children's literature" because it is written by adults as opposed to children themselves. Jacqueline Rose, *The Case of Peter Pan or the Impossibility of Children's Fiction* (London: Palgrave Macmillan Limited, 1984).

These shifts, in turn, pose important opportunities to critically reassess the assumptions or appeals – about, among other things, the nature of the child and the trajectories of learning – underwriting both past and present ideas about art, education, and media engagement.

CHAPTER 1

The *Geijutsu Jiyū Kyōiku* Movement and New Ideals for Children's Education

Introduction

In his passionate defence of artistic material for young children's education, the poet Kitahara Hakushū declared, "The true *dōyō* (children's songs) originally belonged to children themselves."[31] While it might strike a surprising note that Kitahara, himself a famous *dōyō* poet and composer, would attribute his art form to his intended audience, the core connection that he draws between children and poetry was not particularly unusual at the time. Indeed, as scholars like Peter Cave and Mark A. Jones have illustrated,[32] early 20th Century Japan saw an explosion of public interest in a vast range of art forms – literary, poetic, visual, and musical – for children, and how such arts might factor into children's education and development.

Perhaps most representative of this trend is the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* (free arts education) movement, whose proponents actively pushed for reforms to existing curricula and pedagogical approaches, in the hopes that these might better accommodate, if not be fully oriented towards, an education in the arts. Given the different fields in which the movement's advocates worked, the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* movement had a broadly defined understanding of the arts – one that inevitably led to notable points of divergence among them. Nevertheless, the advocates were unified in advancing the argument that the arts

[31] Kitahara Hakushū, "Dōyō fukkō (2) (The *Dōyō* Revival (2))," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Free Arts Education)*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1921, 11.

[32] Peter Cave, ed., *Children, Education, and Media in Japan and its Empire*, special issue of *Japan Forum*, vol. 28, no. 1, 2016; Mark A. Jones, *Children as Treasures: Childhood and the Middle Class in Early Twentieth Century Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010).

were not only necessary in children's upbringing, but in fact, the best form of "education" for young children.

This chapter traces advocates' arguments for children's arts education, especially as they advanced conceptualizations of the child as fundamentally artistic, inherently attuned to the very nature of the arts themselves. Critics have argued that such views, together with the advocacies they supported, grew out of factors like a Romantic nostalgia for the past, or inward-turning trends under modernity. While such factors certainly informed the advocates' visions for *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*, they do not encapsulate the complexity of shifting relations between the advocates, their child audiences, and the idea of the arts as pedagogy – especially as these relations were mediated by the movement's early dependence on print magazines.

As such, the advocates' efforts do not simply constitute another case of nostalgia, but rather, offer an important opportunity to interrogate the ways in which concepts of the child were articulated, and moreover, how such concepts subsequently impacted trajectories in the arts and education. Beyond a retreat inward or into the past, the figure of the child — one so intimately linked to the arts, and recently engaged through newer forms and practices of print as mass medium — also hinted at the unsettling of the relationship between educator and student, at shifting ideas of what it meant to be educated in the arts. The advocates' navigations of these complex relations would characterize not only the entire *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* movement, but also, contemporaneous and subsequent efforts to educate through the arts.

The *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* Movement

In January 1921, an editorial committee comprising of the literary critic Katagami Noburu, the teacher and school founder Kishibe Fukuo, the poet Kitahara Hakushū, and the artist Yamamoto Kanae released the inaugural issue of their new magazine, *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*. The magazine was intended as a platform for the four to promote what they argued were pressing, necessary reforms to existing educational systems and pedagogical approaches. Broadly speaking – since the four had their own, distinct points of emphasis in their respective arguments – these proposed reforms centred around the need for a robust arts-based curriculum in young children's education. All four maintained that there was something vital in the arts, something that could uniquely resonate with life and the essence of humanity. Accordingly, it was only through education in the arts that one's true nature could fully flourish – an outcome that was consistently posited as the antithesis of what the four saw as the rigid, utilitarian systems of present-day education. In the preface to the magazine's very first issue, for example, Katagami opened with the words, "It is through the arts that a person is revived, restored to life. The person who makes art, the one who appreciates it, and of course, the human who is its subject."[33] Education in the arts, he continued, was that which nurtured the human instincts allowing one to truly live, "the source of all human power, that is, a freeing, all-encompassing power."[34] In turn, this liberating power of arts education was, Kitahara asserted, to be applied in the "fight against the current narrow and inflexible (methods of) education."[35]

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[33] Katagami Noburu, Kishibe Fukuo, Kitahara Hakushū, and Yamamoto Kanae, "Kantōgen (Preface)," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Free Arts Education)*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1921.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

The arts were effectively positioned as both the core of and the means to human life, emancipatory as a simultaneously dismantling and restorative force. These divergent elements in the editors' views of the arts notwithstanding, it is clear that the presentation of the arts thus was calling for their prioritization, for a re-evaluation of the value of the arts. This stance on the arts runs as a common, binding thread throughout the magazine's issues, regularly invoked by the four editors, as well as by the large and varied cast of writers, artists, musicians, educators, and readers who contributed to the magazine. These contributors included students of the *jiyūga* (free illustration) movement spearheaded by Yamamoto, teachers and faculty from nearby schools, composers like Saijō Yaso and Hirota Ryūtarō, and literary celebrities like Arishima Takeo, Shimazaki Tōson, and Yosano Akiko.

Ultimately, however, the magazine was not particularly long-lived, falling short of completing its run even through its first year. Yet, as Nakano Akira has pointed out, the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* movement, as articulated and promoted in the magazine, occupies an important place in the history and development of arts education in Japan.[36] For one, it served as the coalescing point for different voices and approaches in the efforts to develop a suitable arts curriculum in Japanese children's education. Nakano notes that the absence of arts education in Japanese public schools dates back to the Ministry of Education's 1872 school ordinances. These conditions did not change until decades later, when a boom in children's pedagogy texts coincided with growing public interest in arts-related materials for children.[37]

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[36] Nakano Akira, "Taishō jiyū kyōiku to *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* (Taishō Free Education and *Free Arts Education*)," *Taishō jiyū kyōiku no kōbō (The Light of Taishō Free Education)*, Tomita Hiroyuki, Sekiguchi Yasushi, and Nakano Hikaru, eds. (Tokyo: Kyōzansha, 1993), 24.

[37] Ibid, 11.

Among the increased availability of pedagogy texts, John Dewey's *The School and Society* and Ellen Key's *The Century of the Child* both enjoyed wide readership, and went on to wield great influence in Japanese pedagogical circles.[38] Similarly, the approaches of educators like Maria Montessori and Helen Parkhurst were popular points of discussion and debate. However, in the field of early 20th Century Japanese children's education, the two texts that received the most attention were undoubtedly, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile, or On Education*, and Oikawa Heiji's *Bundanshiki dōteki kyōikuhō (Education by Group Kinetics)*. *Emile*, first translated by Miura Kanzō and released in October 1913, was in such demand that within four months of its initial release, it was already in its sixth printing. In turn, Oikawa quickly became a household name, dubbed "the Japanese Dewey," after his book reached its thirteenth printing within four years of its initial release in December 1912.[39]

Roughly around the same time, the call for a modern, children-oriented literature and aesthetics was steadily gaining momentum. Literary magazines for a child readership had, in fact, been in circulation in Japan since the late 1800s, the earliest example being *Shōnen-en (Child Garden)* launched in 1888, while individual children's stories had been circulated in woodblock-printed books from the 1860s onwards.[40] However, within the first decades of the 1900s, these publications came to be seen as too didactic, too attached

[38] Ibid, 8.

[39] Ibid, 9-10.

[40] International Library of Children's Literature Collections, "Part 1 The Beginning of Children's Literature," *Japanese Children's Literature: A History from the International Library of Children's Literature Collections*, 2017, http://www.kodomo.go.jp/jcl/e/section1/index.html. For a closer look at children's literature before the Meiji Restoration, and an argument for Japanese children's literature as dating back to the Edo period, see Kristen Williams, "Visualizing the Child: Japanese Children's Literature in the Age of Woodblock Print, 1678-1888" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2005).

to older models of education and artistic or literary sensibilities.[41] One common complaint was that existing literature and magazines for children were much too steeped in adult priorities and sensibilities, inevitably forcing children prematurely into the adult world without giving them time to inhabit their own.[42] It is this stance – on the uniqueness of children's worlds, and the connection that literature and the arts had in nurturing them – that informed much of the linguistic, visual, and thematic shifts in children's magazines in the early 1900s. In the preface to the first issue of the children's arts magazine *Akai tori (Red Bird)*, for example, the editor Suzuki Miekichi asserted that the goal of the magazine was "to preserve and develop the purity of children by gathering together the sincere efforts of the best writers and illustrators of today."[43] *Akai tori*, with its insistence on the child's unique perspective and the necessity of an approach geared to that perspective,[44] would not only influence the format, content, and style of other children's magazines, but

[41] Recurring points of objection included, for example, the use of older forms of language, and the attachment to literature coloured by older, Edo-period values. See, for example, Kitahara, "Dōyō fukkō (2)," 6-10; and Kitahara Hakushū, "Nihon hyōjun dōyō (1) (Japanese Standard *Dōyō*))," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Free Arts Education)*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1921, 1-6.

[42] See, for example, Kitahara Hakushū, "Dōyō fukkō (1) (The *Dōyō* Revival (1))," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Free Arts Education)*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1921, 15-24; and Suzuki Miekichi, "*Akai tori* no motto (*Akai tori*'s Motto)," *Akai tori (Red Bird)*, vol.1, no. 1, 1918.

[43] Suzuki, "*Akai tori* no motto."

[44] For a closer look at *Akai tori* and its influence on children's literature/media in Japan, see: Nona Carter, "A Study of Japanese Children's Magazines, 1888-1949" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2009); Japan Society for Children's Literature, Akai tori *kenkyū (Studies of* Red Bird*)* (Tokyo: Komine Shoten, 1965); Elizabeth M. Keith, "Dôshinshugi and Realism: A Study of the Characteristics of the Poems, Stories and Compositions in 'Akai tori' from 1918 to 1923" (Ph.D. diss., University of Hawai'i, 2011); Kuwabara Saburō, Akai tori *no jidai: Taishō no jidō bungaku (The Age of* Red Bird*: Children's Literature in the Taishō Era)* (Tokyo: Keiō Tsūshi, 1975); Nemoto Masayoshi, *Suzuki Miekichi to* Akai tori *(Suzuki Miekichi and* Red Bird*)* (Tokyo: Hato no Mori, 1973).

would also come to be seen as representative of children's literature during the Taishō period (if not, as Torigoe Shin argues, of Japanese children's literature in general).[45]

With voices rallying around the call for more artistic material for child audiences, coinciding with the ever-expanding interest in new approaches to children's pedagogy, it perhaps comes as little surprise that the objectives of the two trends came to be linked with one another. Indeed, even before the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* movement's goals came to be articulated in its magazine, other thinkers and writers were already suggesting that literature and the arts were the best kind of education for young children.[46] However, as Ueno Hiromichi points out, it was the people most directly involved with the *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* magazine that managed to translate the movement's ideas into concrete practice, introducing arts-centric curricula into elementary schools, and even founding schools shaped by the movement's ideals.[47] Shortly after the magazine concluded its run, for example, schools like Meisei Gakuen and the Ikebukuro Jidō no Mura Elementary School, oriented their school curricula around arts education, while in the middle of the magazine's run, the magazine's editors and regular contributors inaugurated the Arts Education Summer Course in Karuizawa, Nagano Prefecture, covering subjects from theatre, to

[45] See Namekawa Michio, "*Akai tori* no jidō bungaku-shiteki ichi (*Akai tori*'s Placement in Children's Literary History)," *Akai tori kenkyū (Red Bird Studies)* (Tokyo: Komine Shoten, 1965), 20-42; and Torigoe Shin, *Nihon jidō bungaku-shi kenkyū (Japanese Children's Literature Studies)* (Tokyo: Futōsha, 1971).

[46] See, for example, Ishikawa Takuboku's "Hayashinaka nikki (Diary in the Woods)," *Ishikawa Takuboku*, Matsuyama Iwao, ed., (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2002). Given Takuboku's involvement with the magazines *Myōjō (Bright Star)* and *Subaru (Pleiades)*, as well as with the *jiyūshi* (free poetry) movement – all of which counted a young Kitahara as a member – it is perhaps not surprising that there were significant parallels in his and the editors' stances.

[47] Ueno Hiromichi, "Gakkō wo toinaoshita geijutsuka-tachi (The Artists who Re-Thought School)," *Taishō jiyū kyōiku no kōbō (The Light of Taishō Free Education)*, Tomita Hiroyuki, Sekiguchi Yasushi, and Nakano Hikaru, eds., (Tokyo: Kyōzansha, 1993), 117. See also Nakano, "Taishō jiyū kyōiku to *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*."

poetry, to illustration.[48] Similarly, it was through Yamamoto and regular contributor Tsuchida Anson's disciples that the Ueda Jiyū Daigaku (Ueda Free University) – a school whose philosophy was rooted in Yamamoto's prioritization of *nōmin bijutsu* (peasant art), as well as in Tsuchida's insistence on the human power of art – would be established in Ueda, Nagano Prefecture.[49]

Not surprisingly, the efforts of *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* movement, magazine, and their proponents were quite successful in generating further discussions across a broader field of readers. The editorial members themselves were quite prolific,[50] but their work also inspired a wave of writing and debates on the importance of arts education,[51] as well as other periodicals modelled on *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*.[52] In fact, the increase in the output published after the magazine's run was so marked that scholars have noted the immediate

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[48] Jiyū kyōiku kyōkai shusai (Organizers for the Free Education Association), "Geijutsu kyōiku kaki kōshūkai (Arts Education Summer Course)," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Free Arts Education)*, vol. 1, no. 5, 1921.

[49] Yamano Haruo, "Tsuchida Anson to Ueda Jiyū Daigaku (Tsuchida Anson and the Ueda Free University)," *Taishō jiyū kyōiku no kōbō (The Light of Taishō Free Education)*, Tomita Hiroyuki, Sekiguchi Yasushi, and Nakano Hikaru, eds., (Tokyo: Kyōzansha, 1993), 96-8.

[50] See, for example, Katagami Noburu, *Bungei kyōikuron (The Theory of Literary Education)* (Tokyo: Bunkyō Shoin, 1924); Kitahara Hakushū, *Shi to ongaku (Poetry and Music)*, 1922-1923; and Yamamoto Kanae, *Jiyūga kyōiku (Free Illustration Education)* (Tokyo: ARS, 1921), all of which were published concurrently with or shortly after *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* concluded its run.

[51] These include, for example, Akai Yonekichi, "Bi no kyōiku ni tsuite (On the Education of Beauty)," *Geijutsu kyōiku no saishin kenkyū (Newest Studies on Arts Education)*, Teikoku Kyōiku-kai, eds. (Tokyo: Bunka Shobō, 1924); Obara Kuniyoshi, *Gakkō gekiron (The Theory of School Theatre)* (Tokyo: Idea Shoin, 1923); Obara Kuniyoshi, *Jiyū kyōikuron (The Theory of Free Education)* (Tokyo: Idea Shoin, 1923); and Shigaki Hiroshi, *Shinkō geijutsu to shin-kyōiku (Upcoming Arts and New Education)* (Tokyo: Kyōiku no Seiki-sha, 1924) – the authors of which would be highly influential not only in the discourse around arts education, but also, in the founding of arts-centric schools.

[52] See, for example, educational reformer Sakurai Hiroe's magazine, *Kyōiku bungei (Education, Literature, and Arts)* (Ashiya, Hyōgo Prefecture: Kyōiku Bungei-sha, 1926), as well as the special issues on arts education released by the *Teikoku kyōiku (Imperial Education)* magazine the year after *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* folded (Miura Tōsaku, ed., *Geijutsu kyōiku no saishin kenkyū (Newest Studies on Arts Education)*, special issues in *Teikoku kyōiku (Imperial Education)*, vols. 480 and 481, 1922). Harada Minoru, a pedagogical scholar who contributed to the *Teikoku kyōiku* special issues, was also quite instrumental in extending the discussions around arts education, particularly in the long-running journal, *Kyōiku jiron (The Educational Review)*, for which he served as chief editor.

years following as the period of *jiyū kyōiku*, specifically regarding its intermingling with the arts.[53]

In addition, the spread of discourse around arts education was no doubt furthered by the public events organized and promoted by the magazine's editorial team. Before, during, and (even) after the *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* magazine's run, the editorial team members were highly active in setting up exhibits, lectures, and performances – opportunities for the general public to see and hear for themselves what the organizers insisted was possible through arts education. One of the most famous of these events was Yamamoto's series of exhibitions featuring artwork produced under his *jiyūga* approach to arts education. Prior to his involvement with the *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* magazine, Yamamoto's interest in *nōmin bijutsu* (a direct result of his earlier travels through Russia) had led him to organize exhibitions and lectures on Japanese peasant art, the success of which established his connections to government officials, such as then Ministry of Education Undersecretary Minami Hiroshi, as well as to corporate entities like the Mitsukoshi group, the flagship department store of which served as the venue for Yamamoto's Tokyo exhibitions.[54] Accordingly, by the time Yamamoto was organizing exhibitions specifically for the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* movement, he was more than sufficiently well-positioned and well-known not only to initiate exhibitions with the wherewithal to travel across the country,[55] but also to attract audiences that included the dowager

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[53] Nakano, 24. Nakano specifically indicates 1923 as the year of highest publishing activity.

[54] Tsuzuki Kuniharu, "Yamamoto Kanae to nōmin bijutsu no undō (Yamamoto Kanae and the Peasant Art Movement)," *Taishō jiyū kyōiku no kōbō (The Light of Taishō Free Education)*, Tomita Hiroyuki, Sekiguchi Yasushi, and Nakano Hikaru, eds. (Tokyo: Kyōzansha, 1993), 137.

[55] "Jiyū kyōiku kyokai shōsoku (News from the Free Education Association)," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Free Arts Education)*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1921, 117-121. See also "Nihon ni okeru jiyūga kyōiku undō no keika (The Free

empress.[56] Yamamoto's exhibitions would, in turn, frequently inspire elementary schools across the country, from Miyagi Prefecture to Kyūshū Prefecture,[57] to hold similar, smaller-scale exhibitions of student work created under the *jiyūga* philosophy. Regardless of how remote these exhibitions' venues might have been, however, they were nevertheless rooted in the magazine, which, through the editors' efforts, became a hub for the general public to inquire after, learn of, and announce upcoming events on the subject of *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*. This connection between the magazine and its readers would subsequently help the editors organize public events, as it provided them with a list of schools implementing their approach, and consequently, of student works that they could subsequently exhibit.[58]

Tellingly, in the very first issue of *Geijutsu jiȳu kyōiku*, Yamamoto declared that the "immaterial grand architecture that is '*geijutsu kyōiku*' is just beginning. And this magazine is its design office."[59] While Yamamoto's description of the movement might have leant towards grander visions, his placement of the magazine's role therein was arguably accurate. It was indeed through the magazine that the editors were able to collect, develop, and focus different voices, approaches, and perspectives in the field of arts education. By the same token, the magazine served as a launching pad for further developments in arts education; it was not only a key point of reference for debates and extensions of *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* theories or practices, but also, a source of inspiration and simultaneously, an

Illustration Education Movement's Travels through Japan)," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Free Arts Education)*, vol. 1, no. 5, 1921, 83-5.

[56] "Nihon ni okeru jiyūga kyōiku undō no keika," 83.

[57] Ibid.

[58] "Jiyū kyōiku kȳokai shōsoku (News from the Free Education Association)," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Free Arts Education)*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1921, 101-3. See also "Nihon ni okeru jiyūga kyōiku undō no keika," 83-5.

[59] Katagami, Kishibe, Kitahara, and Yamamoto, "Kantōgen."

amplifying device for showcasing the results of those practices. Effectively, the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* movement and its magazine was a crucial intersection in early 20th Century efforts to negotiate the relationships between art, education, and the figure of the child.

Negotiating the Arts and the Child in *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*

At the heart of the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* movement was, of course, the child and its relationship with the arts. The four editors each had their own distinct ways of characterizing this relationship, and, coupled with the many contributors' own takes, the magazine ultimately came to present a range of views on how the child was connected to the arts. Nevertheless, the common thread running through the advocates' arguments was that there was an undeniable the relationship between the child and the arts, and to understand the nature of this relationship, it will be helpful to begin with the poet Kitahara Hakushū.

Kitahara, as Honda Masuko has pointed out, has widely been regarded as the leader of the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* movement, particularly in light of his organization of the Tokyo-based literature and arts collective, Pan no Kai (the Society of Pan).[60] Having emerged on Tokyo's literary scene in 1906 – specifically, as one of the new, rising poetic talents writing for Yosano Tekkan's literary magazine *Myōjō (Bright Star)* – Kitahara became a literary celebrity in 1909 with the publication of his debut poetry collection *Jashūmon (Heretics)*,

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[60] Honda Masuko, "Kitahara Hakushū no han-kindai—Pan no kai to geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Kitahara Hakushū's Anti-Modernism—The Society of Pan and Free Arts Education)," *Taishō jiyū kyōiku no kōbō (The Light of Taishō Free Education)*, Tomita Hiroyuki, Sekiguchi Yasushi, and Nakano Hikaru, eds. (Tokyo: Kyōzansha, 1993), 164. Fujita Tamao likewise notes that most of the energy driving the *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* magazine came from Kitahara, who treated it as if it were simply his own magazine. Fujita Tamao, "*Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* no kachi (The Value of *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*)," *Taishō jiyū kyōiku no kōbō (The Light of Taishō Free Education)*, Tomita Hiroyuki, Sekiguchi Yasushi, and Nakano Hikaru, eds. (Tokyo: Kyōzansha, 1993), 154.

which drew both praise and critical attention for its sensual poems rich with imagery and symbolism.[61] Kitahara's celebrity and reputation faced severe challenges in 1912, when the poet was embroiled in an adultery scandal, but continuing to publish poetry anthologies in the subsequent years, he was eventually recruited by Suzuki Miekichi as the poetry editor for *Akai tori*. As poetry editor, Kitahara was in charge of selecting and commenting on poems or *dōyō* (children's songs) submitted by the magazine's child readers, as well as of composing his own material for each issue. Indeed, it was during this period of working with *Akai tori* that Kitahara composed many of his best-known *dōyō*, often in collaboration with musical composers like Yamada Kōsaku.

Accordingly, by the time of *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*'s founding, Kitahara was already well established as a prominent, prolific figure both in modern literary circles, as well as in children's arts movements. His work in both fields, coupled with his efforts in the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* and *dōyō* movements, has frequently led to Kitahara being held up as the representative poet embodying the Taishō era ideal of *dōshin-shugi*,[62] or the principle of the child-heart (at its most basic, *dōshin-shugi* maintained the uniqueness of the child's perspective or experiences, often in terms of purity or innocence[63]). Like the majority of poets involved in the composition of *dōyō*, Kitahara was highly critical of *shōka*, the choral

[61] For more on public reception of Kitahara's earlier works, see Margaret Benton Fukusawa, *Kitahara Hakushū: His Life and Poetry* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, East Asia Program, 1993); and Earl Jackson, Jr., "The Heresy of Meaning: Japanese Symbolist Poetry," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 51, no. 2 (Dec 1991), pp. 561-98.

[62] Hatakenaka Keiichi, "Kitahara Hakushū," *Taishō jiyū kyōiku no kōbō (The Light of Taishō Free Education)*, Tomita Hiroyuki, Sekiguchi Yasushi, and Nakano Hikaru, eds. (Tokyo: Kyōzansha, 1993), 41.

[63] See, for example, the discussions of *dōshin/dōshin-shugi* in Keith, "Dôshinshugi and Realism"; Samuel Perry, *Recasting Red Culture in Proletarian Japan: Childhood, Korea, and the Historical Avant-Garde* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014); and Dafna Zur, *Figuring Korean Futures: Children's Literature in Modern Korea* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2017).

songs used in elementary school textbooks, which he saw as archaic,[64] devoid of artistic qualities (*higeijutsu-teki*),[65] and thus, wholly unsuited for children.[66] However, as both Hatakenaka and Nakano note, what sets Kitahara apart from other *dōyō* composers is his willingness to link his critique of the *shōka* form with his critique of the education system itself, insisting on curriculum reform that accounted for children's perspectives, as well proposing changes to school environments and teaching approaches.[67]

The reforms that Kitahara sought were driven specifically by his view of children, and the relationship they had with the arts. In line with his reputation as the poet most closely tied to the ideal of *dōshin-shugi*, Kitahara was indeed adamant on distinguishing a perspective unique to children. In his view, children occupied a world distinct from that inhabited by adults, one that was removed from the everyday (*hinichijō no sekai*), and more akin to a festival.[68] Unbound by the rules or logic of the adult world, children could wear many different, occasionally contradictory aspects: they were predisposed to love other living things, but were also naturally possessed by violent passions and recklessness; they were primitive and simple, but also had intimate knowledge of the divine.[69] For Kitahara, it

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[64] Kitahara Hakushū, "Dōyō fukkō (2)," 10.

[65] Kitahara Hakushū, "Hashigaki (Foreword)," *Tonbo no gindama (The Dragonfly's Silver Ball)* (Tokyo: ARS, 1919), and "Shogakkō shōka kashi hihan (A Critique of Elementary School Song Lyrics)," *Midori no shokkaku (The Feel of Green)* (Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1987).

[66] Kitahara, "Dōyō fukkō (1)," 24.

[67] Hatakenaka, 44; Nakano, 24.

[68] Hatakenaka, 41-3, and Kitahara Hakushū, "Dōyō shikan (Personal Views on Dōyō)," *Midori no shokkaku (The Feel of Green)* (Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1987).

[69] Kitahara, "Dōyō fukkō (1)," 13-7. Tani Etsuko notes that while there is a noted tendency to focus on the more optimistic aspects of Kitahara's views on *dōshin-shugi*, Kitahara himself was actually quite interested in children's feelings of loneliness and psychological distortions, wanting children to give voice to these aspects of their lives as well. See Tani Etsuko, "Dōyō・jidōshi to *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* (Children's Songs・Children's Poetry and *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*)," *Taishō jiyū kyōiku no kōbō (The Light of Taishō Free Education)*, Tomita Hiroyuki, Sekiguchi Yasushi, and Nakano Hikaru, eds. (Tokyo: Kyōzansha, 1993), 124.

was this capacity to inhabit this entire spectrum that deeply connected children to the arts, specifically to poetry: children, he wrote, "are rich in profound poetic emotion (*shijō*). It is poetry, it is song. It is essential (*honshitsu-teki*)."[70] Their vivid experience of the world was "the chance for enlightenment (*kaigan no kien*) that accomplished poets never stop searching for."[71]

Effectively, Kitahara's vision of the child is one directly linked to the nature, or even, the ideals of poetry. By equating both the child and poetry with emotion, Kitahara positions the two on the same plane, where they mutually define one another. Children, whose predominant trait is their ability to inhabit a spectrum of poetic emotion, themselves become poetic points of reference, the points of aspiration even for established poets. In turn, poetry, that essential (*honshitsu-teki*) element that colours children's spectrum of emotion, becomes inextricable from the child and the child's world – as a result, to keep the child from poetry would be to deny their very essence. It is through this understanding of the child and poetry that Kitahara levels his criticisms against the educational approaches of his time.

Reflecting on the shortcomings of public school education, Kitahara often returns to the story of his own first day at school – a rather unhappy occasion, where he clung to the school gate pillar, crying at what, to his child eyes, "looked like a terrifying hell."[72] This image of school stems from Kitahara's assessment that "school education was nothing more than the massacre of children's essence (*honshitsu*),"[73] a view that, in turn, derived from

[70] Kitahara, "Dōyō fukkō (2)," 6.

[71] Kitahara, "Dōyō fukkō (1)," 19.

[72] Kitahara, "Dōyō fukkō (2)," 9.

[73] Ibid.

what Kitahara saw as the school's over-reliance on *shōka* as teaching material. *Shōka*, he claimed, was completely removed from *dōyō*,[74] largely because the former involved the imposition of adult priorities, perspectives, and language. He observed that with *shōka*, the result was always the same: "Like parrots, children merely open their mouths, and vacantly sing [the songs] the way the adults sing… There is no way that children understand."[75] *Shōka*, which bypassed the child's world in favour of the adult's, was necessarily a rejection of the poetic emotion defining the child's world, and thus, also a rejection of the poetic, or the artistic (*higeijutsu-teki*). This style of education, which Kitahara traces back to Meiji era reforms, entailed the loss of poetic emotion and freedom, and resulted only in the production of children who were utilitarian, materialistic, and mediocre.[76]

Reform therefore meant a much closer engagement of the poetic, of the artistic, which, for Kitahara, revolved around *dōyō*'s content, theme, and language. Because children were possessed of poetic emotion, excellent *dōyō* was that which helped children flourish through the free expression of those emotions and psychology. Kitahara's insistence on this child-centred approach to poetry and education clearly swung in the complete opposite direction of his point of critique, *shōka*-based education, and it demanded the rejection of the adult world, especially of what Kitahara saw as the suffocating, conformist, and adult-derived subject of *dōtoku* (morals).[77] In turn, if this form of education was meant to encourage the expression of children's poetic emotion, then the

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[74] While drawing this sharp divide, Kitahara nevertheless notes that *shōka* might yet be improved if it were to take *dōyō* as its foundation. Kitahara, "Dōyō fukkō (2)," 10.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid, 6.

[77] Kitahara, "Dōyō fukkō (1)," 24.

language to do so was equally crucial. Kitahara therefore insisted that because children did not understand older forms of language, or even regional dialects, *dōyō* should be composed (or even re-written) in standardized language (*hyōjungo*).[78] Accordingly, in his analyses of poetic material for children's education, he not only rejected classical compositions,[79] but also objected to poems that were too verbose or employed dated, hierarchical language.[80]

In keeping with the qualities and priorities he espoused, the materials that Kitahara curated and wrote for the magazines (both for children and for artist-advocate circles) tended to favour simpler language and structure, showcasing the distinct world or experience of children, particularly as shaped by their intrinsic and abiding connection to poetry or the arts, and by the same token, the full range of emotion to which they gave expression. For example, *dōyō* composed by the poet Yosano Akiko regularly featured in the *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* issues, indicative not only of Kitahara's ongoing connections to the *Myōjō* circle of poets, but also, of his willingness, if not deliberate choice, to link *dōyō* with Yosano Akiko's established reputation for thoroughly re-working poetic forms, and, in the same breath, her break from traditional poetic practices and members of the literary establishment, who openly denounced her work because of it.[81] A representative example

[78] Kitahara, "Nihon hyōjun dōyō (1), 1.

[79] Kitahara, "Dōyō fukkō (2)," 10. Kitahara argued that poems from the classical anthology *Hyakunin isshu (One Hundred Poets, One Poem)*, among other examples, could only lead to mechanical repetition.

[80] Kitahara Hakushū, "Komoriuta (Lullabies)," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Free Arts Education)*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1921, 9-17.

[81] Hiromi Tsuchiya Dollase, "Awakening Female Sexuality in Yosano Akiko's *Midaregami (Tangled Hair)*," *Simply Haiku: A Quarterly Journal of Japanese Short Form Poetry*, vol. 3, no. 3, Autumn 2005, http://simplyhaiku.com/SHv3n3/features/dollase_awakfemsxlty.html; Steve Rabson, "Yosano Akiko on War: To Give One's Life or Not: A Question of Which War," *The Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese*, vol. 25, no. 1, April 1991, p. 47.

of her composition for *dōyō* (and of Kitahara's choices in curation) is "Ichi, Hana wo tsumu (One, Picking Flowers)," the first section of a longer collection of *dōyō* "Osanaki te ni (In Child Hands)." In its composition and very design as a song intended for a child singer, "Ichi, Hana wo tsumu" not only foregrounds the distinctiveness of a child's emotions, but also, identifies such distinction as rooted in the child's affinities with poetic or artistic expression:

Dare mo, dare mo,	Anyone, anyone
Haru no hi ni	On a spring day
Hana wo tsumu.	Would pick flowers.
Murasaki no hana,	Purple flowers,
Akai hana	Crimson flowers
Niwa de tsumu,	Pick them in the garden,
No de tsumu,	Pick them in the fields,
Yama de tsumu.	Pick them in the mountains.
Murasaki no hana	Purple flowers
Akai hana.	Crimson flowers.
Watashi mo hana wo	I, too,
Tsumu keredo,	Pick flowers, but
Sabishii watashi no	The flowers that
Tsumu hana wa,	My lonely self picks are
Unadareta hana,	Drooping flowers,
Naita hana.	Weeping flowers.
No ni mo, yama ni mo	Those that can't be found
Mitsukaranu	In the fields, nor in the mountains
Ukon no hana ya	Turmeric flowers
Aoi hana.	Blue flowers.
Haru ga kita tote	Even when spring has come
Soto e dezu,	I don't go outside
Jibun no kaita	But in the pictures
E no naka to,	I have drawn,
Jibun no tsukuru	In the songs
Uta no naka,	I make,
Soko de tsumu,	I pick there,
Hitori tsumu.	I pick on my own.
Ukon no hana ya	Turmeric flowers

Aoi hana.[82] Blue flowers.

Structurally, the *dōyō* progressively emphasizes the child's distinctiveness with each verse: while the first verse describes what "anyone" might do on a spring day, in any number of places, the second and third verses present the same act – "I, too, / Pick flowers" – but under markedly different conditions. For one, the child-singer picks entirely different flowers, sad, wilting things that reflect the "lonely self" not only in their physical qualities, but also, in their figurative capacities, with "turmeric flowers" written with the *kanji* for "depression" or "low spirits," and "blue flowers" recalling Romantic thought and writing, wherein a blue flower was frequently used to symbolize poetry or the longings of a poetic soul.[83] Unsurprisingly, such flowers are nowhere to be found in the places where "anyone" might go to pick flowers, and instead grow in the child-singer's creative expression through drawings and songs.

The structure and imagery of "Ichi, Hana wo tsumu" thus form a series of concentric, self-referential loops. If the flowers function as symbols of poetry or poetic sentiment, then as flowers, poetry and poetic sentiment directly mirror the emotions of the child-singer. Notably, they mirror the sadder, less positive emotions that Kitahara had identified in the child, namely as signs of the child's ability to inhabit the full spectrum of human emotion, and, in the same breath, as indicators of the child's inherent connection to the arts and poetry.[84] Indeed, this connection between the child and poetry is further underscored in

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[82] Yosano Akiko, "Osanaki te ni: Ichi, Hana wo tsumu (In Child Hands: One, Picking Flowers)," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Free Arts Education)*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1921, pp. 35-7.

[83] Thomas Carlyle, "Novalis," *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. II* (Chicago: The American Bookmart, 1869), 49-50; Laura Kuch, "The seed of Romanticism: in search of the blue flower – exploring the German Early Romantics' concepts in and as a contemporary fine art practice" (M.A. diss., University College London, 2019).

[84] Kitahara, "Dōyō fukkō (1)," 13-7.

the third verse's specification of the flowers, as poetry or poetic sentiment, growing not in the spaces that "anyone" might expect, but rather, in the spaces uniquely generated by the child-singer's creative expression. If poetry and poetic sentiment manifest in the child's creative expression, then they do so in ways that reflect the child's emotional state, and that effectively generate spaces where the child might engage with or "pick" them exclusively, "on [their] own (*hitori*)," away from spaces where other, less poetic people pick more ordinary flowers. This process of generating, reflecting, and engaging – of essentially constituting one another – is, in turn, implied as recurring through the child's act of singing this *dōyō*.

In showcasing *dōyō* like "Ichi, Hana wo tsumu," Kitahara reinforces the view of the child as inhabiting its own world, as existing in sustained relation with multiple, abstract concepts at once: an entire spectrum of poetic emotion, and thus, a fundamental yet amorphous artistic essence, simultaneously marked by a remove from any specific local or social affiliation – especially in light of Kitahara's prioritization of composition in standardized language[85] – such that the child is identified only by its opposition to older (adult) cultural forms. Likewise, by rejecting any traces of *dōtoku* in *dōyō*, as well as in the broader pedagogical approach, Kitahara dissociates this figure of the child from any particular moral orientation. Indeed, by Kitaraha's account, *dōyō* or arts education is not meant to provide children with any framework with which to view their world, or even, to

[85] Kitahara's adherence to these qualities occasionally wavers, for while he insists that *dōyō* poets refrain from regional speech, he is nevertheless focused on educational reform specific to Japanese factors (e.g., for Japanese children, using Japanese poetic examples, in a Japanese education system and artistic environment). Likewise, while he rejects examples from classical Japanese literature, he repeatedly returns to traditional lullabies, to which he implicitly ascribes qualities of timelessness, as well as gives greater allowance for regional speech. See Kitahara, "Komoriuta," 2-22.

turn the children themselves into future poets.[86] Rather, the emphasis is entirely on encouraging and enabling the expression of children's poetic emotion, and by extension, their very lives. In arguing the necessity of *dōyō*'s revival, Kitahara asserts, "I am without doubt that existing school *shōka*, which are not rooted in *dōyō*, have absolutely no means to let children live (*kodomo wo ikashieru hazu wa nai*). The revival of *dōyō* is precisely the most pressing matter in *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*."[87]

Kitahara's argument for the necessity of *dōyō* and arts education follows similar patterns of expression as his characterization of the hellish school, but its objective is fairly clear and straightforward. The arts, specifically poetry, are the best form of children's education because they are intimately linked to children's fundamental nature. They are able to nurture and give voice to the artistic essence, the poetic emotion that is here attributed to the child. The urgency of educational reform then rests on the assertion that existing approaches cannot do what the arts can, cannot build the same relation with children or enable them to the same extent, and this outcome is cast as an intolerable failure, one that, in Kitahara's view, encroaches upon children's very lives. In this way, the characterization of the child as possessed of an artistic essence precipitates the argument for the distinction, the prioritization, and the indispensability of arts education.

While there are clear points of divergence among the four editors of *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*, this line of reasoning runs constant and largely unchanged in their respective arguments. For example, Katagami's point of focus was not *dōyō*, but more broadly, *bungei*

[86] Kitahara Hakushū, "Shin-dōyō to kyōiku (New *Dōyō* and Education)," *Midori no shokkaku (The Feel of Green)* (Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1987), 326-7.

[87] Kitahara, "Dōyō fukkō (1)," 24.

kyōiku (literary and arts education). What is more, in a stark contrast against Kitahara, he argued that *bungei kyōiku* was deeply rooted in *dōtoku*. In his essay, "Bungei kyōiku no teishō (A Proposal for *Bungei kyōiku*)," for example, Katagami declared, "The problems extending over all areas in the present day – they are all problems of a moral nature (*dōtokujō no mondai*)."[88] Literature and the arts, in turn, had the reformatory power to encourage the necessary moral sentiment (*dōtoku kanjō*), and enable one to grapple with these problems.[89] Though Katagami's stance marks a distinct break from Kitahara's separation of *dōtoku* from the arts and education, his overall argument for arts education follows the same pattern.

For Katagami, the child is possessed of an inherently human nature, one that is, in turn, intimately shared with literature and the arts. This connection, unique to literature and the arts, makes them the best means of education, of developing and encouraging the essentially human nature of children – a feat that is, by the same token, marked as impossible for other systems of education. Discussing the philosophy of *bungei kyōiku*, and of the magazine *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*, Katagami insists that their ultimate goal is the flourishing of "the true human."[90] He proposes that this human quality is already and always extant in the child,[91] but as with Kitahara's notion of poetic emotion, it nevertheless requires arts education to fully come into its own. In his argument for the prioritization of *bungei kyōiku*, he declares, "As the fundamental, all-encompassing power that enables one

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[88] Katagami Noburu, "Bungei kyōiku no teishō (A Proposal for *Bungei kyōiku*)," *Bungei kyōikuron* (The Theory of Literary and Arts Education) (Tokyo: Tamakawa University Press, 1973), 1.

[89] Ibid, 14-6.

[90] Katagami Noburu, "Bungei kyōikuron (The Theory of *Bungei kyōiku*)," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Free Arts Education)*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1921, 2.

[91] Ibid.

to reach an itch, that deeply and broadly nurtures true human nature, literature and art posses a preeminent educational power."[92] Here, the "itch" to be scratched is precisely this human nature in need of nurturing, and Katagami's association of the two casts this nascent human nature as a physiological sensation, something physically felt in the body and demanding a reaction. Katagami argues that this reaction can only be literary and arts education, because literature and art alone are able to fully nurture this human essence, and because that task, that "itch" has proven too elusive for all other methods of education.[93]

Katagami's characterization of the child as fundamentally human proved particularly popular – as well as a frequently reiterated key concept – among the writers both at *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*, and at other outlets. Though scholars have identified Kithara as the most vocal and public figure in the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* movement, Katagami's notion of the child as fundamentally human tended to incite both repetition and debates more frequently[94] – a development that might, in part, be attributable to the fact that discussions around children's arts education tended to take the idea of children's artistic inclinations (the most basic, simplified form of Kitahara's argument) for granted. In turn, while the inclusion of *dōtoku* in the framework marked a clear break between Kitahara and

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[92] Katagami Noboru, "Kyōikuryoku toshite no bungei (The Educational Power of Literature and the Arts)," *Bungei kyōikuron* (The Theory of Literary and Arts Education) (Tokyo: Tamakawa University Press, 1973), 45-7.

[93] Katagami Noburu, "Ningen ni modore (Return to Humanity)," *Bungei kyōikuron (The Theory of Literary and Arts Education)* (Tokyo: Tamakawa University Press, 1973), 104-5.

[94] See, for example, Hayashi Hirotrarō, "Jinsei kyōiku ka gakkō kyōiku ka (Life Education or School Education)," *Teikoku kyōiku (Imperial Education)*, vol. 480, 1922, 95-99; Minami Hiroshi, "Jiyūga ni tsuite (About *Jiyūga*)," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1921, 73-4; and Tsuchida Anson, "Horumusu no jiyū kyōikuron (Holmes' Theory of Free Education)," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1921, 6-12; Yoshida Kumaji, "Geijutsu kyōiku shichō to sono hihan (A Critique of the Arts Education Wave)," *Teikoku kyōiku (Imperial Education)*, vol. 480, 1922, 1-10.

Katagami,[95] the latter's pattern of argumentation maintains the same structure as the former's: for both, the child has a distinct nature, one that is intimately, uniquely shared by (and thus can only be answered fully by) the arts, therefore the arts should replace existing systems of education, which are drastically falling short.

Notably absent in both Kitahara and Katagami's arguments for arts education is any address of the precise roles that they, as established poets or literary authorities (or even, the broader circles of artists, writers, and thinkers), occupy in the mechanics of arts education. They are unambiguous about their roles as advocates for arts education – a stance buttressed by their positions as established, public figures in the field of literature – but beyond this advocacy, they are noticeably silent on the question of what the fundamentally poetic or human child, or on the other hand, what the spread of a "true" arts education would mean for them, for the broader literary or artistic community, or for the arts in general. The inattention to, if not outright unwillingness to address, these issues comes to the fore particularly when the goal of arts education is framed, as Kitahara insists, as removed from the task of raising the next generation of poets, writers, or artists. Even Katagami's move to frame arts education through *dōtoku* invariably raises questions about where a humane and moral field of arts/arts education would mean for the artists, writers, and thinkers themselves. In calling for greater attention to the child and its fundamental nature, the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* advocates instead became the centre of critical attention, as the unspecified relationship between arts education, the figure of the child at its centre, and

[95] It should be noted, however, that even the idea of *dōtoku* was framed in terms of human nature for Katagami. The act of developing moral character was equated with humanity, and occasionally, even used interchangeably in Katagami's arguments. See, for example, Katagami Noburu, "Bungei kyōiku sairon (Revisiting the Theory of *Bungei kyōiku*)," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1921, 12-23.

its literary/artistic advocates ultimately provoked intense interrogation and open challenge.

Critiques of *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*

Citing critical response to the shifts in Ogawa Mimei's approach to writing children's stories, Karatani Kōjin points out that the emergence of a children's literature genre in Japan was accompanied by a preoccupation with "the real child" or "the realistic child" – a concept that posed the question of whether the child represented in the literature was an accurate depiction of the way children actually were in "real life."[96] For Karatani, the idea that "the real child" actually exists is perverse, since it only serves to conceal the process of inversion that produced it in the first place. He argued that, much like landscape and modern literature, the child as concept was "discovered" and constituted not in an effort to reflect the world around the author or artist as it was, but rather, to allow for the construction and presentation of the author's or artist's interiority, or "self," as a priori and self-evident.[97]

In a similar line of argumentation, Mark A. Jones hones in on the artists, writers, and thinkers behind child-oriented developments like *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* in his study of early 20th Century Japanese children's literary and mass cultures. Jones argues that these artists,

[96] Karatani was specifically looking at Inokuma Yōko's reading of Ogawa's oeuvre, but this kind of analysis was (and still is) quite common in criticism of children's literature. The accusation that existing children's literature failed to reflect "the real child," for example, was a key driving force in the emergence of Japanese proletarian children's literature, which positioned itself directly opposite to what its advocates saw as the romanticized, apolitical child embodying privileged, urban sensibilities unknown to the majority of children outside of the capital. See, for example, Mika Endo, "Pedagogical Experiments with Working Class Children in Prewar Japan" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2011).

[97] Karatani Kōjin, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, trans. Brett de Bary (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), 114-7.

writers, and thinkers – of which Kitahara was *the* representative figure – felt threatened by the rapidly changing, increasingly unfamiliar environment they found themselves in, one that ran counter to their ideals by advancing industrialization and social stratification. The introduction of, and subsequent intense focus on, the concept of *dōshin* was therefore a reflexive response to this situation, where by insisting on the idea of the child's fundamental, inner essence – one that they might nurture through their efforts – the advocates were, in fact, indulging in the idea of a child-like essence within themselves. The idea of a child-like essence that advocates could recall, revisit, and address – an interiority of sorts – amounted to, for Jones, the advocates' desire to remain children. In this way, Jones presented the concept of *dōshin*, along with the movements that it drove, as constitutive of a nostalgic, regressive desire for an idealized past[98] – a critique that Honda Masuko likewise levels at Kitahara in particular. For Honda, Kitahara's repeatedly recalled memory of that horrible first day at school marks a constant return to the poet's own childhood. By the same token, the direct association that Kitahara drew between his experience and those of Taishō era schoolchildren reveals the construction of a continuing, unending childhood, one that allows for some form of kinship between the schoolchildren and Kitahara himself. Honda identifies the same driving instinct, the same persistent nostalgia for childhood in Kitahara's preoccupation with lullabies, which, framed in the *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* magazine through glowing praise for maternal love and care,[99] also

[98] Jones, 248-268.

[99] See, for example, Kitahara, "Komoriuta," 1-2; and Kitahara, "Nihon hyōjun dōyō," 1-6.

reflects an idealization of the mother, a portrayal of childhood as perpetually in relation to that ideal.[100]

Karatani, Jones, and Honda strike at commonly overlooked, yet defining structural points in the advocates' characterizations of the child, prompting us to re-evaluate the goals and trajectories of their proposed reforms. Indeed, a close examination of the poetic and/or human child – along with their ascribed qualities of, among other identifying traits, emotional precociousness and universal connection – leaves no question that romanticized ideals and abiding nostalgia were near tangible elements in the advocates' arguments, thoroughly colouring the advocates' visions of the child, and the necessary paths they set out in front of it.

While I am not interested in any sort of redemption for the advocates here, I nevertheless maintain the necessity of caution, particularly for any argument that would attribute the concept of a fundamentally human / instinctively artistic child, its persistence and affective power, entirely to a project of constructing nostalgic, romantic interiorities for literary, artistic, and scholarly celebrities, who may or may not have been fully cognizant of their personal entanglements, their subjective constitution through their respective advocacies. Likewise, such caution would be prudent in assessing arguments that characterize the concept of the child as akin to – and by extension, running along the same patterns, or generating the same responses as – other nostalgic, romanticized, modern inversions like the landscape.

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[100] Honda, 165-6.

As Nicholas Sammond has pointed out, in nearly every debate around social good, nothing has proven as consistently compelling an argument or as pressing a priority as the child, a concept that, however abstractly constructed, continues to trump all other equally important calls for reform.[101] It is difficult to attribute this longevity and compelling force to the mechanics of modern inversion or nostalgic regression alone, even if we extend these processes and identify them with a broader public, beyond the comparatively small, highly specialized (and overwhelmingly male) group of literati at the heart of Karatani and Jones' critiques. Indeed, the conditions highlighted in their studies – among others, the advance of industrialization, the emergence of a middle class and increase of social stratification – do not, in and of themselves, guarantee the conceptualization of the child, especially in the precise articulation as spotlighted by Karatani and Jones. The fact, for example, that the concept of the proletarian child, or the child / child-subject of the colonies, emerged roughly at the same time, under the same conditions, as that of the fundamentally human / instinctively artistic child indicates that the conceptualization of the child, its proliferation, longevity and compelling force, are neither straightforward nor given outcomes.

Karatani and Jones's respective accounts demonstrate a keen sensitivity to the range of social and economic factors that fed into the abstract concept of the child, namely that endowed with some universalizing essence. Yet their accounts nevertheless exhibit a tendency to oversimplify literary and artistic developments, skirting around – if not bypassing altogether – factors such as: significant shifts in artists'/writers' work,

[101] Nicholas Sammond, *Babes in Tomorrowland: Walt Disney and the Making of the American Child, 1930-1960*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 3-6.

affiliations, and philosophies (as well as within the broader artistic/literary circles); how the figure of the child (abstracted, romanticized, and nostalgic as it was) itself impacted such shifts; and what the concept of education – its type, form, aims, and values – meant for the ways in which the child, the arts, and the correlation between them were configured. Accordingly, a fuller, more nuanced understanding of the figure of the human, artistic child, its persistence and compelling force, particularly in the areas of education, the arts, and their convergences, requires a closer look at the subtler workings of literary and artistic developments. These include not only the shifts in the theoretical articulations and material practices of "the arts," but also, the ways in which the relationship between the arts and the child poses the promise of profound structural, cultural change, beyond even the imaginings of its advocates.

The Promise of *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*

In particular, beyond the structural and content reform that the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* advocates envisioned for public education systems, the predicated relationship between the child and the arts simultaneously pointed to the unsettling of the relationship between educator and student, and by extension, at shifting ideas of what it meant to be educated in the arts. In Ueno's analysis of the advocates' activities, there is a distinct sense that they tended to serve more than one purpose at any given time: on one hand, the activities were clearly intended as concrete examples of reform, as efforts to put the advocates' arguments into practice. At the same time, the changes necessitated by these activities also seem to suggest the purpose of justifying or bolstering the advocates in their new roles as educational critics and reformers. For example, the magazine's ability to travel, as Ueno

astutely points out, allowed the advocates to shift the location and change the accessibility of education, to reach out and appeal to a broader audience about the values of an education in the arts.[102] By the same token, changing the site and means of education allowed the advocates to present their case on their own platform, physical sites, and terms, removed from the space (and authority) of the public school system. The establishment of the summer school in Karuizawa, and the free university in Nagano, along with the organization of various exhibitions throughout the country, are similarly designed for fulfilling these double purposes at once.

By the same token, the advocates' stance on teachers for *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* seems to have been geared towards two simultaneous ends. Ueno points out that the advocates were quite particular about emphasizing the goal of having teachers strive to improve themselves, specifically by exposing themselves to the workings and materials of *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*. Accordingly, the aim of *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* was expanded beyond the development and encouragement of the child, and towards the betterment of the adult teacher, who did not, notably, have to be a specialist or trained in pedagogy.[103] This de-emphasis on specialization was a key point to which Katagami frequently returned: in line with his insistence that education was a broadly social, human issue, he argued that education should not be the domain of a chosen few, or depend on any distinction between those "within the gate" (*monnai*)[104] and out. He contended, "As long as one is human, every person should think about, theorize about, insist upon, and advocate for education, never

[102] Ueno, 120.

[103] Ibid, 118-122.

[104] Katagami, "Bungei kyōiku sairon," 14.

with any objection to, or else, advancing the ordinary person's [i.e., not a specialized teacher] assertions or advocacies as the very roots and life of education itself."[105]

As Sekiguchi Yasushi notes, Katagami's vision of educational reform was driven by his conception of a holistic relationship between literature, art, and education, whereby educational reform did not entail "literature and art intruding on the territory of education, nor education choking off the power of literature and art,"[106] but rather, the understanding that literature, art, and education were corresponding components of human life. This view, coupled with Katagami's resistance against specialist exclusivity, led him to insist that each individual strive to become that "ordinary person" wholly invested in education – which, under Katagami's framework, can only manifest as *bungei kyōiku*.[107] Effectively, Katagami's stance, much like the movement's magazine, extends the issue of education outwards to a broader public, presenting it as simultaneously pressing and wholly accessible to all. At the same time, Katagami's characterization of the literature-art-education relationship can be understood as sanctioning the advocates' arguments and activities calling for educational reform. After all, with the exception of Kishibe, none of the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* advocates had any practical experience in children's pedagogy prior to their involvement in the movement.

In this way, the methods and argumentation employed by the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* advocates sought to make the issue of education, particularly as envisioned and potentially

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[105] Ibid.

[106] Sekiguchi Yasushi, "Katagami Noburu—*Bungei kyōikuron* wo megutte (Katagami Noburu—On *The Theory of* Bungei kyōiku," *Taishō jiyū kyōiku no kōbō (The Light of Taishō Free Education)*, Tomita Hiroyuki, Sekiguchi Yasushi, and Nakano Hikaru, eds. (Tokyo: Kyōzansha, 1993), 55.

[107] Ibid, 56.

improved by the movement, widely accessible to a general public – which, strictly from the field of children's pedagogy, included a vast majority of the advocates themselves. Accordingly, we might also perceive these same methods and argumentation as serving the simultaneous purpose of authorizing the advocates themselves, providing the grounds for their critiques, proposals, and organized activities. Ueno notes that the advocates' stance on teachers paralleled that on children: that is, teachers did not need training or specialization, as it was a natural, human trait to be invested in the amalgamated issue of literature-art-education, and much in the same way, children did not need to be taught (in the strictest sense of the word), as their essential, a priori natures required only encouragement towards a full flourishing.[108]

The advocates argued for this style of "teaching" as a way of being truer to children's fundamental natures, and by the same token, of breaking free from the rigid structures of public education. However, it also hints at a destabilizing of the relationship between teacher and student, particularly when we take Kitahara's conceptualization of children's nature into account. To be precise, Kitahara's identification of the child as embodying the very essence of poetry, as already possessed of that which accomplished poets never stop seeking, cannot but unsettle the otherwise expected order of who is teaching whom. Instead of the poet sharing his talents and insight with young students – a re-affirmation of that connection between the "discovered" child and the interiority that produced it – Kitahara's vision of the essentially poetic child already manifests that which would define and make the poet, reversing the conventional order of aspiration and determination. In

[108] Ueno, 118-9.

this way, the conceptualization of the child as inherently poetic indeed makes a case for children not needing to be taught, but also, to a degree that disrupts established models of educator-student relationships, if not rendering such relationships entirely unnecessary. Though he makes no explicit address of this entailed effect, Kitahara seems to sense it well enough: interacting with the children in his neighbourhood, Kitahara remarks that he can never seem to measure up, to be as precocious about or immersed in the world, and he laments, "Ah, I do not know anything, I do not know where to go."[109]

While the notion of the inherently poetic child owes its articulation and strongest espousal to Kitahara, he was certainly not the only one to hold up the figure of the child, uniquely endowed with an artistic or human nature, and refer to it as justification for necessary educational reform. Kami Shōichiro, for example, points out that Yamamoto's rejection of what he saw as adult, abstract techniques entailed his insistence that educators instead give children's instincts free rein, and in so doing, let their capacities take hold. Yamamoto framed this kind of pedagogical approach as the moment when freedom is actually born,[110] and while it certainly signals a dismantling of conventional classroom dynamics, it simultaneously suggests that, with its existing instincts and capacities, the child does not even need to inhabit the role of student. By the same token, neither does the adult need to inhabit the role of teacher. Furthermore, the unsettling of the educator-student relationship, as it applies respectively to the adult and the child, occurs not only within the space of the classroom, but also, within the broader sphere of literary and

[109] Kitahara Hakushū, "Dōshin (The Child-Heart)," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Free Arts Education)*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1921, 94.

[110] Kami Shōichirō, "*Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* to bunka gakuin (*Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* and the Cultural Institute)," *Taishō jiyū kyōiku no kōbō (The Light of Taishō Free Education)*, Tomita Hiroyuki, Sekiguchi Yasushi, and Nakano Hikaru, eds. (Tokyo: Kyōzansha, 1993), 109.

artistic production. Kitahara's identification of the child as possessing what established poets lack, as manifesting the points of aspiration even for experienced poets, has a clear parallel in Suzuki Miekichi's observations:

> I am, first of all, humbled by the unique intelligence of children, and their pure and clear sensitivity. Secondly, I am often struck by those compositions which suggest the significance of human life and imply a quiet criticism; in other words, they are serious works which depict the cross sections of human beings and can be presented as proof of humanity. The run-of-the-mill writers' handiwork doesn't even come close to them.[111]

Like Kitahara and Yamamoto, Suzuki's characterization of the child enthusiastically extols its natural essence, its untrained yet astute artistic instincts, and this is no doubt a useful platform for the argument that arts education is not only necessary, but in fact, the best means of children's education. At the same time, by positing the child as possessed of a fundamental artistic essence, one that is yet beyond the reach of even established poets, the destabilization of the educator-student relationship extends outward to that between the poet/artist and the child, or even more broadly, the non-poets/artists.

In this way, while the fundamentally artistic child, together with the arts education it necessitated, might have been intended to reclaim some measure of agency or authority from teachers and pedagogical specialists, it also managed to hint at the slipping of control in the wider territory of literary or artistic production. After all, if discussions about the content, approaches, and aims of children's education could not be limited to teachers or pedagogical specialists, then parallel determinations about the arts could likewise not be limited to established poets, writers, or artists (especially if the child is more attuned to the nature of poetry and art than they are). Kitahara has notably much less to say about this

[111] Suzuki Miekichi, *Tsuzurikata tokuhon—Tsuzurikata to ningen kyōiku (Guidebook to Composition—Composition and Human Education)* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1987), 15.

corollary to the fundamentally poetic child, but its implications (specifically for the broader literary and artistic community) cannot but raise the question of whether Kitahara's sense of them might not have contributed to his careful, repeated insistence that *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* was not intended to produce the next generation of poets or artists.

Kitahara's consistent presentation of the child's poetic nature – giving it free rein, and allowing it to fully flourish – as the ultimate goal of *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*, however, raises yet another set of questions about the nature and application of arts education. For example, Seki Katsuhiko points out that while Yamamoto's model of *jiyūga kyōiku* was able to successfully meet key objectives raised by the broader *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* movement, the actual practice of implementing its philosophies, of working towards its goals was not without its troubles. In particular, Seki points to how *jiyūga kyōiku* was originally identified by the Ministry of Education and its affiliates as a threat, a coup d'état that was all the more dangerous given its rapid spread through the nation.[112] Effectively, the *jiyūga kyōiku* movement had not only managed to grow enough to catch the ministry's attention, but also, and more importantly, it had done so in a way that made evident its position and structuring as directly opposed to those of the public education system. At the same time, Seki notes, the actual practice of teaching in *jiyūga kyōiku* was plagued by the same problem inherent to the broader *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* movement – that is, under the philosophy of a free arts education, precisely what kind of instruction would be acceptable?[113] In theory, Katagami's insistence that everyone could become an educator

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[112] Seki Katsuhiko, "Jiyūga kyōiku to watashi (Free Drawing Education and Me)," *Taishō jiyū kyōiku no kōbō (The Light of Taishō Free Education)*, Tomita Hiroyuki, Sekiguchi Yasushi, and Nakano Hikaru, eds. (Tokyo: Kyōzansha, 1993), 180-1.

[113] Ibid, 181.

should have provided a number of equally viable answers to the question – anyone could be an educator, after all – making the position much more accessible, and less daunting. However, his vision for the actual practice of filling this role remained unspecified, and the difficulty of figuring out its specifics would no doubt have only grown when one factored in the advocates' definition of the child, as that which was already in possession of what adult, would-be educators, artists, and poets were still searching for, and thereby, that which always posed the possibility of a reversal of positions.

Similarly, Kitahara's move to disentangle the goals of *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* from a career in the arts, or indeed, from any career-oriented trajectory, led to intense debates, particularly around the nature of arts education itself. As Torigoe Shin explains, these debates raged around the question of whether arts education, or more broadly speaking, children's culture should be focused on the learning/educational aspect, or should instead be purely enjoyable.[114] The characterization of arts education thus immediately provokes questions about, among other things, its identification of only two goals, and its positioning of those goals at opposite ends, but it also illuminates an important point: public views on arts education were clearly split between an understanding of the arts strictly as a pragmatic means to an end, and a view of the arts strictly as form of leisure.

Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku in Circulation

The dissemination of *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*, its philosophies, priorities, and materials, specifically through magazines, however, presented the movement's advocates with a

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[114] Torigoe Shin, "Zasshi *Geijutsu jiyu kyōiku* no koto (Regarding the Magazine *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*)," *Taishō jiyū kyōiku no kōbō (The Light of Taishō Free Education)*, Tomita Hiroyuki, Sekiguchi Yasushi, and Nakano Hikaru, eds. (Tokyo: Kyōzansha, 1993), 162-3.

convenient means of straddling the purported divide between the pragmatics and pleasure of the arts as a form of education. In particular, the movement's magazines and their offshoots – specifically, those aimed at child readers on the premise of cosmopolitan entertainment – allowed the movement to address the rapidly growing children's consumer culture in early 20th Century Japan.[115] At the same time, these magazines' open advertisement of established writers and artists at their forefront, bolstered by the framing of arts education as natural and thus requiring no pedagogical training or specialization for its instructors, endowed the magazines, their representatives and content, with some weight and authority as instructive or formative material.

As its advocates insisted, *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* was not meant to lead its students into future careers as poets or artists, so its magazines, especially when framed as print entertainment, effectively promoted a form of education not teleologically structured along the lines of professional development. But, given the movement's promise of encouraging and developing the child's inherent natures, interaction with the movement's magazines and materials nevertheless constituted the first steps of a broader, more generally (if amorphously) conceived developmental trajectory. Similarly, while the movement's magazines regularly ran scathing criticisms of the national school curricula, materials, and spaces, details of the magazines' production, circulation, and use indicate that the projected division between the movement and institutionalized schooling was neither so sharp nor strictly maintained. Not only were Ministry of Education officials and pedagogues involved

[115] Jones, 248-254. See also Keith, Dôshinshugi *and Realism*; Machiko Kusahara, "The "Baby Talkie," Domestic Media, and the Japanese Modern," *Media Archaeology: Approaches, Applications, and Implications*, Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Parikka, eds. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011); Benjamin Uchiyama, "Soldiers, Machines, and Wild Eagles: Youth Culture in Wartime Japan" (M.A. diss., Harvard University, 2005).

in the magazines' production as editors or contributing authors, but the magazines also frequently advertised or provided the materials for collaborative projects between such officials and the movement's advocates. These points of overlap between the movement, the media materials it produced, and the administrative institutions involved in children's education are particularly evident in the context of Japan's colonies. As indicated by their circulation information, a number of children's arts education magazines, either directly produced or simply inspired by the movement, established circulation and connection with readers in colonies like Korea and Taiwan. Moreover, as I discuss in further detail in Chapters 3 and 4, government ministries took cues from broader arts education efforts to design their colonial education systems, as well as directly re-purposed materials produced by *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* advocates, occasionally in direct cooperation with them, for colonial re-education purposes.

Kitahara himself was clearly conscious of the role that media technologies, particularly print magazines, had in furthering the goals of the movement, as well as in introducing change to the national school system, its approaches and materials. In late 1921, roughly three years after launching the *Akai tori* magazine with Suzuki Miekichi, Kitahara reflected more specifically on the impact of his involvement with the movement for *dōyō* revival (*dōyō fukkō*, which he used interchangeably with *shin dōyō sōzō* or "creation of new *dōyō*"), listing several key shifts that he had observed. While a few of these points addressed changes in the literary or poetic establishment, the vast majority highlighted changes in magazine or general print publication, leading into changes in pedagogical practice, as well as in target audiences. According to Kitahara, the brief spell of three years sufficed to bring about the following shifts:

- With the exception of *Akai tori*, the unending publication of imitation magazines.
- Throwing away the old boys' and girls' magazines, and, inspired by this, finally, (the throwing away of) the pre-existing *shōka*-like songs (*kayō*), and the start of welcoming new *dōyō* at long last.
- With the publication of each poet's *dōyō* anthology and each musician's *dōyō* music collection, the subsequent issuing of, at long last, magazines specifically for *dōyō*.
- The trend of having *dōyō*, or even *jiyūshi* (free poetry) written by children, in every newspaper and magazine.
- The encouragement of *jiyūshi*, and its development, in elementary schools across Japan.
- The replacement of state-sponsored *shōka* with *dōyō*. This means that the latter's eventual victory is certain.
- The publication of *jiyūshi* compilations written by children themselves.[116]

Kitahara's account thus exhibits keen attention to the role that magazines and print culture had not only in shaping public awareness and opinion of *dōyō* or *jiyūshi*, but also, in directing broader literary and artistic trends, introducing changes to pedagogical practices and materials in the national school system, as well as providing children with new opportunities for poetic or artistic engagement. This last development was of particular importance to Kitahara and his fellow advocates, in no small part because the publication of such engagement, together with the public attention and recognition it drew, entailed the possibility of setting off another wave of similar shifts across trends and practices. What is more, the publication of children's poetic / artistic compositions served as ready validation of the movement's priorities and advocacies, and, particularly when such compositions were published in the magazines overseen by *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* advocates, their inclusion turned the magazines into a kind of self-contained, self-affirming space.

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[116] Kitahara Hakushū, "Jidō jiyūshi ni tsuite (Regarding Children's Free Poetry)," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Free Arts Education)*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1921, p. 2.

After all, if the advocates' contributions to the magazines presented arguments and prompts for children's greater engagement in poetry or the arts, then the published submissions from child readers, printed in the same or adjacent magazines, were, at once, the examples that justified the advocates' arguments, the responses that met the terms of their prompts, and the public encouragement for successive waves of children's compositions and overall engagement with the arts.

Unsurprisingly, magazines like *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* regularly included notices soliciting submissions from their readers, addressing both adults and children, both within and without the school. Selected submissions were then printed in either the soliciting magazine or in another connected publication, such as a sister magazine or an anthology, and, particularly with Kitahara's style of curation, were frequently accompanied by commentary from the selecting editor(s). Such commentary, in turn, provided glimpses into what editors saw as noteworthy in the submissions, what they likely prioritized in such compositions, and thus, what readers could potentially use as models for their own entries. This cycling pattern of prompt, response, and affirmation – which was framed, moreover, as giving expression to the child's true nature – would no doubt constitute a textbook case of what scholars like Karatani and Jones criticized in early 20th Century trends in Japanese literature and print culture: the positing of the child's fundamental, inner essence, even as the advocates' direct involvement in identifying and reinforcing the terms of that essence – essentially, creating what was subsequently presented as naturally occurring – went largely unacknowledged or even omitted. While there is certainly much to critically assess in the magazines' methodologies and overarching philosophies, a closer look at the practices employed in calling for submissions can reveal subtler, more complex

relations between the advocates, their readers, and their early interactions as mediated through the magazines.

Notably, earlier calls for submissions entailed no specific requirements or ideal qualities for readers' compositions. Notices by Kitahara and the Association for Free Education (*Jiyū kyōiku kyōkai*), who were in charge of soliciting and curating, respectively, children's *jiyūshi* and *jiyūga* submissions, listed only the administrative details for submission: the mailing address, the preferred type and size of papers, and, if applicable, the monthly deadline.[117] The Association even explicitly noted that: "There are absolutely no stipulations for acceptance (*Boshū kitei ha nani mo arimasen*)."[118] Later calls for reader submissions, however, were more direct in specifying the desired qualities: several months after Kitahara and the Association's respective calls for submission, Hirota Ryūtarō, a composer who worked frequently with Kitahara to create musical arrangements for the latter's *dōyō*, issued his own call for reader submissions of musical compositions. Hirota not only indicated the technical qualities he sought in the submissions (e.g., solo or ensemble arrangements, complete with tempo markers), but also specified the lyrics, provided by Kitahara, that he wanted set to the readers' compositions.[119]

This difference in approach to soliciting submissions might, at least in part, be attributed to individual preference. Alternatively, it may reflect an adjustment in practices following several issues and rounds of soliciting, receiving, and sorting through reader

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[117] Jiyū kyōiku kyōkai (Association for Free Education), "Jidō jiyūga boshū (Call for Children's Free Illustrations)," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Free Arts Education)*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1921, p. 122; Kitahara Hakushū, "Jidō jiyūshi boshū (Call for Children's Free Poetry)," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Free Arts Education)*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1921, p. 122.

[118] Jiyū kyōiku kyōkai, "Jidō jiyūga boshū," 122.

[119] Hirota Ryūtarō, "Sakkyoku boshū (Call for Musical Compositions)," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Free Arts Education)*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1921, p. 59.

submissions. Whatever the cause(s) behind this difference, the effects of Hirota's stipulations actually extend beyond the readers themselves. That is, Hirota's stipulations certainly set some limiting terms to reader submissions – paradoxically, against that which was celebrated as the free expression of children's fundamentally artistic natures – but they simultaneously imposed the same terms on subsequent compositions by Hirota himself, as well as those by other musical composers. If, after all, the compositions he selected were exemplary – as ostensibly free expressions of children's artistic natures, or as examples that met the key qualities of musical compositions that he himself had identified – then they were exemplary models for both the child readers and musical composers who might then contribute to the magazine or the broader movement. Especially if Hirota had come to specify his stipulations or key qualities after sorting through reader submissions, the function of those submissions as exemplary models indicate that the advocates were effectively shaped by those they had initially set out to guide.

This kind of looping relation between the advocates and their child audiences discloses that, even as the former articulated and advanced conceptualizations of the latter in keeping with their specific interests or goals, those conceptualizations did not, in fact, function merely as still reflections of the advocates' projected selves, nor as nostalgic refuges against a rapidly changing world. Rather, the magazines' child readers, together with their conceptualization as possessed of fundamentally artistic natures, also necessitated various adjustments on the part of the advocates – namely, their practices in artistic production, in that which had initially positioned them as the experts or instructors, and thus, their very relation to the arts. While a nostalgic desire for the past no doubt informed movements like *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*, they neither functioned exclusively on nor

completely guaranteed a romanticized preservation of the past, obligating instead, however much in increments, however indirectly, a series of adjustments and compromises.

The growth of magazine and print culture thus gave the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* advocates more avenues to promote their movement, along with a steadily growing audience, but it simultaneously made way for a greater number of voices and perspectives on what the arts constituted, how its relationship or equation with education was to be understood.[120] Much like the advocates' extraction of the educator role from the site of the school or the discipline of pedagogy, the move to make the arts more broadly accessible – and in the same breath, to locate their essence in children – similarly renewed the question of whether specialization was necessary, and if so, what that specialization constituted.[121] In this light, the promotion of a fundamental artistic essence in the child, one that is nevertheless marked as distinct from the community of established artists, indicates that the advocates themselves were re-negotiating who and what the arts encompassed, even as they insisted on its broader application and accessibility.

In the inaugural issue of *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*, Kitahara declared that the failings of the public education system, along with its crippling impact on children, had a single, simple solution: "It is poetry. Poetry, poetry, poetry. Poetry will save us all."[122] Kitahara's accounts of the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* movement thus paints poetry as a kind of formidable,

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[120] Jones, 248-254.

[121] For example, Yamamoto's rebuttals against critics of the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* movement frequently took issue against how the arts were being defined, while simultaneously skirting around a conclusive definition himself. See Yamamoto Kanae, "Jiyūga kyōiku no hantaisha ni (To the Detractors of *Jiyūga kyōiku*)," *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku (Free Arts Education)*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1921, 25-35.

[122] Katagami, Kishibe, Kitahara, and Yamamoto, "Kantōgen."

rescuing force – saving the child from having its nature snuffed out, saving education from becoming a hellish, suffocating place, saving the arts from being neglected or forgotten under a utilitarian education system. As critics have pointed out, the presentation of the arts thus, together with the characterization of the child so intimately connected with it, made up a perspective that was laden with romantic, nostalgic ideals. At the same time, the main predicates of the *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* movement – particularly, the idea of a fundamentally artistic child, one whose essential nature negates the very need for formal instruction – pointed to shifts in the conceptual paradigms of the education system, the educator-student relationship, and the meaning of an arts education. The advocates' address of these shifts (or occasionally, lack thereof) signalled ongoing negotiations with the question not only of how to define the arts, but also of where that definition subsequently left the advocates themselves. With the spread of arts education – across regions, art forms, pedagogical objectives, and media platforms – such negotiations would characterize contemporaneous and subsequent efforts to educate through the arts.

CHAPTER 2

Re-Negotiating Space and Movement in Tsubouchi Shōyō's *Kateiyō Jidōgeki*

Introduction

The same year that Kitahara and his colleagues began advocating for children's arts education through their new magazine, the author, translator, and literary critic Tsubouchi Shōyō began a very public campaign to introduce and promote *jidōgeki* (children's theatre). Tsubouchi had, in fact, experimented with staging student plays as early as 1894,[123] and according to popular children's author Iwaya Sazanami, Tsubouchi had personally consulted him about the need for children's theatre as a form of education in Japan (this discussion would, in turn, lead to Iwaya introducing children's plays – performed by both adult and child actors – by 1902).[124] However, after negative public backlash against his efforts – specifically, over children being associated with the spaces and profession of the theatre[125] – together with the inconclusiveness of his consultation with Iwaya, Tsubouchi put the idea of *jidōgeki* aside until 1921, when, retired from his position at Waseda University, he re-visited the concept of education via children's plays. In particular, and perhaps as little surprise in light of his earlier experiences, Tsubouchi advocated for

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[123] Kitami Harukazu, *Tetteki to Shunsho: Kindai engi no hajimari (Tetteki and Shunsho: The Beginnings of Modern Acting)* (Tokyo: Shobunsha, 1978), 57.

[124] Iwaya Sazanami, "Doitsu no otogishibai (German Fairy Tale Plays)," *Kabuki*, 32, 1903, 3.

[125] The objections, in particular, stemmed from the association of actors with spaces of prostitution or poverty (i.e., those who lived along the riverbanks). For the critics of Tsubouchi's student plays, putting the children on a public stage was akin to making them actors, and by extension, putting them in such spaces of disrepute. See, for example, Fujikura Takeo, "An Examination of the Influence of Japan's Early Twentieth Century Anti-dramatic Attitude on the Development of Tsubouchi's Child Drama," *Waseda Global Forum*, 9, 2012.

theatre as education specifically within the space of the home – what he called *kateiyō jidōgeki* (children's plays for the home).[126]

Much like the founding editors of *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*, Tsubouchi saw arts education for children as a necessary intervention in the existing curricula developed under Meiji era reforms. For Tsubouchi, arts education – specifically, through theatre – was the superior alternative to the official, Ministry of Education approaches and materials. This was not only because Tsubouchi saw the latter as overly utilitarian and outdated in their artistic sensibilities,[127] but also because he maintained that theatre was much more fundamentally attuned to children's natures, to human qualities, and thus, better equipped to drive humanity's social advancement.[128] As I will discuss in this chapter, Tsubouchi's advocacy for children's home theatre was rooted in a specific understanding of theatre, childhood, and crucially, access, both to the means and benefits of the arts. In particular, as already suggested by the nomenclature of his project, Tsubouchi's understanding of these concepts was underpinned by what he saw as their appropriate spaces, and the movements entailed through these spaces. On one hand, Tsubouchi presented the space of children's home theatre as readily available to all, and therefore, as extending the promise of social advancement to all. On the other, the fluctuating demarcations of space, coupled with the movements through such spaces in the plays' content, thematics, and practice, complicated

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[126] Fujikura largely attributes this push for theatre education *specifically* in the home as a result of the backlash against the public nature of Tsubouchi's earlier student plays. Ibid, 20-2.

[127] Tsubouchi's critique of existing educational materials for children extended to his earlier work with children's readers in the early 1900s, around the same time that he discussed children's theatre with Iwaya. See, for example, Tsubouchi Shōyō, "*Shōgaku kokugo dokuhon* hensan yoshi (Editing Policies for *Elementary School National Language Reader*)," *Shōyō senshū (Selected Writings by Shōyō)*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Shunyodo, 1977), 698.

[128] Tsubouchi Shōyō, *Jidō kyōiku to engeki (Children's Education and Theatre)* (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppan-bu, 1923), 229.

the vision and fulfilment of universal access – to the arts and their benefits – as projected by the children's home theatre movement.

Tsubouchi Shōyō and the *Kateiyō Jidōgeki* Movement

Between 1922 and 1924, Tsubouchi published three volumes of *Kateiyō jidōgeki*, a collection of plays intended for children across a spectrum of ages (at least, before their later teenaged years[129]). The volumes reflect interesting intersections between curation, translation, and adaptation, combining Tsubouchi's original creations, which generally follow the narrative structure and style of fables; his dramatizations of Japanese mythology, such as *Orochi taiji (Slaying the Great Serpent)*, a story that appears in both the *Kojiki (Records of Ancient Matters)* and the *Nihon Shoki (The Chronicles of Japan)*; as well as his versions of fairy tales, fables, and nursery rhymes from Europe, the United Kingdom, and America. The first volume, for example, contains a script for *Inaka no nezumi to Tokyo no nezumi (Country Mouse and Tokyo Mouse)*, which as the title indicates, transplants the fable's characters and settings into Tokyo, as well as a theatrical version of the "Old Mother Hubbard" nursery rhyme, re-developed and expanded to more closely resemble a fable as *Merē-bāchan to sokaiinu Pochi (Old Mother Mary and Her Pet Dog Pochi)*. In turn, the script for *Sawaru to kin (The Golden Touch)* presents a theatrical version of the King Midas story, but one where the narrative's crucial turning point (i.e., the Midas character acquiring the golden touch) is brought about by the Japanese deity Daikoku.

[129] Tsubouchi felt that by the time children had reached their late teens, they were spending more time and entertaining interests more oriented to outside the home. Added to his view that younger children had greater capacities for learning and change, and by extension, more potential to carry out the greater task of driving social change (discussed later in this chapter), Tsubouchi proposed the early or mid-teens as the upper limits of *kateiyō jidōgeki*'s efficacy. See Tsubouchi, *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, 201-2.

Each play in the *Kateiyō jidōgeki* volumes is usually prefaced with annotations from Tsubouchi himself. The length and details of these notes vary, but Tsubouchi tended to include suggestions about the appropriate age range for each play (and occasionally, for each role), as well as the kinds of props or materials – usually, using the most basic and readily available items – that parents and children could put together and use to help set the scene. For example, in the preface of the first *Kateiyō jidōgeki*, Tsubouchi suggests that the setting of each play can be created with cloths of different colours: a blue one to indicate being outside during the day or being underwater, a green one to indicate the fields or mountains, and a black one to indicate nighttime.[130] Additionally, throughout the three volumes, Tsubouchi also included multiple diagrams to show readers how to make character masks out of cardboard.

Together with his essays on children's theatre, Tsubouchi's *Kateiyō jidōgeki* volumes would become a major force in promoting drama as a form of children's education (albeit not always in the ways he envisioned, as I will discuss later in this chapter). Even Obara Kuniyoshi – a highly influential education reformer, who published the equally popular *Gakkō gekiron (The Theory of School Drama)* in 1923 – cited Tsubouchi's writings as a key source of inspiration and point of reference.[131] In turn, Tsubouchi's advocacy sparked a series of debates and discussions among educators, policy makers, parents (particularly mothers), and the general public,[132] especially when, in the wake of the 1923 Great Kantō

[130] Tsubouchi Shōyō, "Shogen (Preface)," *Kateiyō Jidōgeki (Children's Plays for the Home)*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppan-bu, 1912), 2.

[131] Ochiai Sōzaburō, ed., "Obara Kuniyoshi-sensei ni Nihon no gakkōgeki no oitaichi wo kiku (Asking Dr. Obara Kuniyoshi about the Growth of School Drama in Japan)," *Shōnen engeki (Youth Theatre)*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Nihon, Jidō Engeki Kyōkai, 2000), 30.

[132] See, for example, *Gakkōgeki no riron to jissai (Theory and Practice of School Drama)*, special issue of *Kyōiku no seiki (The Century of Education)*, vol. 6, 1924; *Jidō wa butai ni enjisaseru beki ka (Should Children be Allowed*

Earthquake, children's plays experienced an added boost in popularity when they were staged to raise both public morale and charitable donations.[133] Recurring concerns in these discussions included questions like what kinds of material were appropriate for children, how much parents or teachers should be involved in the production, and whether or not children should be encouraged to perform publicly in the first place.

Effectively, public discussion about children's theatre revolved around the very same issues that Tsubouchi had raised and struggled with in his own writings. While his views on children's plays, their appropriate content, form, and production shifted over the years,[134] he remained committed to the view that children should be granted access to theatre, specifically as performers and producers. Like the founders of *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*, Tsubouchi argued that children had a fundamental connection with art. With his interests in both Enlightenment thinkers like Jean-Jacques Rousseau, as well as in psychologists like G. Stanley Hall and scientists like Charles Darwin, it is perhaps unsurprising that Tsubouchi often expressed this connection in terms of human nature and (psychological/scientific) development. While Tsubouchi was, admittedly, rather indirect and tended to circle around any concrete, definitive concept of the child or childhood, he did favour a distinctly universal vision of them. For Tsubouchi, the essential nature (*honraisei*) of the child was

to Perform on Stage?"), special issue of *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun*, November, 1922; "Jidōgeki wo jidō enzeshimeru koto no kai (Benefits and Disadvantages of Having Children Act out Children's Plays)," *Josei (Woman)*, March, 1923; Monbushō Shakai Kyōiku Kenkyūkai (Association for Social Education Research at the Ministry of Education), ed., "Gakkōgeki ni kan suru iken (Views on School Drama)," *Shakai to kyōiku (Society and Education)*, 3.4, 1923.

[133] While these performances brought children's theatre to an even wider audience, Tsubouchi was deeply critical of the very public and (charitable intentions aside) commercial aspects of these performances. See Tsubouchi Shōyō, "Fukkōki geijutsu ni kan suru yosoku (Evaluations of Art during the Recovery Period)," *Waseda bungaku (Waseda Literature)*, 215 (1924).

[134] See, for example, Fujikura Takeo, "The Consequences of the Taisho Era's Child Drama Trend and the Resulting Causes of Tsubouchi's Endorsement of the School Drama Ban," *Waseda Global Forum*, 7, 2010.

the same regardless of whether it was "a savage child from Africa or one from Europe's civilized nations."[135] Defining differences existed in the systems and customs these children grew up under, but their essential natures remained indistinguishable from one another. Moreover, citing English physician and social reformer Havelock Ellis (particularly, his book *Man and Woman: A Study of Secondary and Tertiary Sexual Characteristics*), Tsubouchi attributed qualities like being "sanguine, sunny, lighthearted, realistic, and extremely shrewd"[136] to the essential nature of the child.

Given Ellis' point of focus, however, these qualities were also commonly attributed to, and therefore understood as shared with women, who, as Tsubouchi acknowledged, were subsequently perceived as large children or undeveloped (*mihattatsu*) men. In addressing this view, Tsubouchi closely followed Ellis' line of argumentation and maintained that if women were undeveloped men, then the inverse was also true, and men were undeveloped women. But, he argued, since men had engaged in mistaken artifice (*machigatta jin'i*), and had undergone too much negative development, it was the women, the "undeveloped men," who were the more genuine or pure (*junsei*) as humans.[137] He concluded, "We can say that it is the women, moreso than the men, who are the correctly developed (*tadashiku hattatsu shiteiru*) humans."[138] Ultimately, the qualities that mark women as child-like are also those that mark them as "undeveloped," and therefore, human. While Tsubouchi does not directly equate women and children – indeed, his stance on women's role in the process of child-rearing means that he has to see them as two

[135] Tsubouchi, *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, 14-5.

[136] Ibid, 15.

[137] Ibid, 15-6.

[138] Ibid, 16.

separate entities – it is clear that he sees them as possessed of similar, if not the same qualities. Effectively, for Tsubouchi, the child's essential nature is the same across the world, and children's sanguine, yet shrewd natures mean that they are undeveloped, and all the more genuinely human for it.

At the same time, it is important to remember that Tsubouchi's understanding of "undeveloped" is situated in a specific, comparative context against men's development. That is, women's "failure" to follow the same line of development as men already traces out a different developmental trajectory – by virtue of Tsubouchi's binary set-up, away from artifice and excessive negativity, and towards a more "correct" and genuinely human direction. For Tsubouchi, this developmental trajectory is not only necessary and universal (i.e., unfolding across the world, and in theory, accessible to all, regardless of gender), but it is also most readily observable in culture. He writes:

> Certainly, the men who further the strength of culture are seen as approximating (*kinji shite kiteiru*) women. Actually, if you look at Europeans today, you'll see that they are gradually becoming closer to women. If you look at the men of our Japan, those who have advanced the most are, in their cultural aspects, much like those who are branded as fashionably modern (*haikara*)… inclined towards the womanly. Becoming womanly does not mean putting on face powder, or painting one's nails red. It means that one's sensitivity has become very finely honed and rich in its workings, and that one's consideration for all things (*kotogoto ni omoiyari*) grows ever more profound.[139]

Tsubouchi is far from the first or the only thinker to associate modern culture with women or the womanly,[140] but unlike the more common laments or anxieties about an increasingly effeminate, modern culture, Tsubouchi links his vision of "correct development" with the

[139] Ibid, 17.

[140] See, for example, Kon Wajiro, *What is Modernology*, Ignacio Adriasola, trans., *Review of Japanese Culture and Society*, vol. 28 (2016), pp. 62-73; Barbara Hamill Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003).

process of "becoming womanly," which, in turn, is couched in terms of heightened sensitivity and consideration. For Tsubouchi, the process of "becoming womanly" does not entail the performance of gendered acts – what he might deem "artifice" – like wearing makeup, but rather, the development of one's relationship with his or her surroundings. Moreover, Tsubouchi underscores the social aspect to that relationship when he claims that the cultured person (*bunkajin*) is one who overcomes his basic instincts, and thinks about the others around him.[141]

At the same time, Tsubouchi's rosy views gesture at a peculiar set of relations, particularly in terms of culture. While "correct development" is equated with the process of "becoming womanly," when it comes to the development of culture, the ones who actually "further" or "advance" it are not women themselves, but men of culture. Put differently, while the qualities of "correct development" are ascribed to women, and by direct association, to their children – such qualities being sensitive and socially considerate, genuine and human, neither negative nor artificial – the developmental trajectory of culture remains outside their immediate influence or control. Indeed, at the core of Tsubouchi's exhortations to women,[142] and by extension, to their children, is the task of growing, developing not culture itself, but *themselves through culture*, even as he identifies women and children as the embodiment of "correct development" in the first place. There

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[141] Tsubouchi, *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, 17-8.

[142] In Tsubouchi's preface to *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, he explains how the volume is a revised and expanded version of his notes from lectures given to a division of Waseda University Press, specifically one aimed at giving talks for high school girls. It was, in fact, this division of lectures for high school girls that requested the expanded version of his lecture notes, and Tsubouchi acknowledges his awareness of his main audience: those who are already mothers or those about to become housewives. While he expresses the hope that fathers and instructors also read the volume, in light of such awareness, it is perhaps unsurprising that Tsubouchi's focus consistently returns to the central role that girls and women have in correctly raising their children.

is a parallel line of argumentation here between Tsubouchi and the founders of *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku*, whereby children (and women in the former's case) are identified with intrinsic qualities essential to art and artistic development, held up as the models or ideals of art and artistic development, at the very same moment that they are presented as needing external guidance on how to develop themselves *through* the arts. For Tsubouchi, that development could best be achieved only through theatre.

For Tsubouchi, theatre was the best form of arts education for children because it offered a number of pragmatic solutions to what he saw as the pressing pedagogical issues of the day. In particular, theatre allowed the necessary lessons to sink in naturally and stay with the child, exerting their positive influences longer than any moral teachings (*dōtokujō no kyōkun*) drilled at school. The latter method, he argued, was not only ineffective, but also invited rebellion.[143] Here, Tsubouchi cites both G. Stanley Hall and Alice Minnie Herts, a social worker and educator, who founded the Children's Educational Theater in New York in 1903.[144] Following both Hall and Herts, Tsubouchi argues that acting – in the sense of both performing and physically doing – was more effective than simply knowing something. Moreover, because theatre was so intimately tied up with emotion, it would teach children appropriate conduct based (again) not only on knowledge (*chishiki*), but also on their emotions, on the ways in which they were emotionally moved (*kandō*).[145]

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[143] Tsubouchi, *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, 158-9.

[144] In particular, Tsubouchi cites both Herts' *The Children's Educational Theatre* (1911) and *The Kingdom of the Child* (1918). There are clear lines of agreement between Tsubouchi's arguments and the universal arguments Herts makes in the former, as well as with the greater developmental trajectories – both individual and social – that Herts traces in the latter. See Alice Minnie Herts, *The Children's Educational Theatre* (New York & London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1911), and *The Kingdom of the Child* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, 1918).

[145] Tsubouchi, *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, 159.

Tsubouchi's emphasis on emotion and emotional responsiveness is in line with his prioritizing of sensibility and consideration (*omoiyari*), particularly of social, interpersonal relationships. Accordingly, when he writes about the nature of theatre's necessary lessons – what he calls "life's elementary knowledge (*jinsei no erementarī narejji (shoho-teki chishiki)*)" – he situates them in distinctly emotional, social, and human terms:

> [Children's theatre] has the effect of allowing them to understand the beginnings of worldly, human emotions (*seko ninjō no tansho*). We might more easily call them the beginnings of social, human emotions (*sesō ninjō no tansho*), but it becomes rather difficult to concretely understand them, once one has reached the stage of late adolescence (*seinen*). It is not at all difficult to know them as theory, but to comprehend to the point of also having active sympathy, empathy (*sekkyoku-teki na dōjō, dōkan*) – there are not a few cases where that is impossible even for those who are thirty or forty years old, given their characters, or alternatively, their circumstances.[146]

The fundamental teachings that theatre imparts are therefore those of emotional attunement, particularly with the people and society around the individual. Tsubouchi's account of theatre's effects is in keeping with his view of "correct development" as heightened sensitivity and consideration, moreover in a distinctly social context. Indeed, Tsubouchi describes theatre as a tool for socialization, something that helps children understand others' circumstances, and thus, prepare for their future roles in society.[147] Through its method of "instruction" and its impact, children's theatre is, for Tsubouchi, a rare actualization of the various pedagogical theories then circulating in Japan. That is, children's theatre puts theoretical ideals into actual, concrete practice, producing actual, concrete results in ways that current styles of education have not, all by way of actual,

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[146] Ibid, 165.

[147] Ibid, 156-69.

concrete doing or performing.[148] Tsubouchi's emphasis on going beyond the theoretical, beyond mere knowledge (*chishiki*), reasserts itself here, insisting that education should not only revolve around morals or history, sciences or sanitation, but also (and in truth, even more so) attend to human nature as fundamentally social creatures, teaching children how to understand and therefore co-exist with others, honing their inherent instincts to take up their future roles in society.[149]

In order to achieve such goals, Tsubouchi encourages parents and teachers to have children play as wide a range of characters as possible. The rationale behind this was the view that by acting out different roles, by trying out different personas, children will not only discover themselves – their own talents, individual interests, and hopes for the future – but also, and equally important, gain insights into others' circumstances, initiating the process of learning empathy and fostering understanding between themselves and others.[150] In turn, the material necessary for prompting such development, for imparting "life's elementary knowledge," needed both modernization and simplification. Older forms of theatre, and even children's story plays (*dōwa geki*) produced in more recent decades, were ill-suited to the aims and times of *kateiyō jidōgeki*. "Nowadays," Tsubouchi critiques, "not even children can find delight in that kind of saccharine, yet tedious material."[151] While he does allow for modification of older, more familiar theatre pieces (Tsubouchi mostly lists kabuki pieces as examples, particularly from the celebrated *Kabuki jūhachiban (Eighteen Kabuki Plays)* set, incuding *Shibaraku (A Moment)*, *Zōhiki (Dragging the*

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[148] Ibid, 161.

[149] Ibid, 142-56.

[150] Ibid, 163-5.

[151] Ibid, 221.

Elephant), and *Sukeroku*[152]), Tsubouchi insists that the updating of these pieces must align with the new priorities of the modern era, of "nowadays." For Tsubouchi, that era was largely defined by the new, widely held importance attached to children and the arts, whereby there was greater awareness of the former's interests, experiences, and perspectives, as well as greater access to, and thus, greater appreciation for the latter across class divisions.[153] In light of these new circumstances, Tsubouchi insisted that it was imperative that children's plays be highly attuned to children themselves, as well as easily accessible to and of sufficient artistic quality for those same children.

While Tsubouchi – as was the case when he wrote around his concept of the child or childhood – does not explicitly spell out what constitutes sufficient artistic quality, he does frequently return to the topic of what kinds of materials or playwrights might be suitable for children's plays. As with his reactions to kabuki discussed above – that is, a denunciation, followed quickly by a reversal (however slight) – Tsubouchi tended to shift between different ideas of appropriate material, but throughout his work with children's theatre, he maintained that if it was simplified and suitably dramatized, any literary or poetic work could serve as the base for children's plays. Accordingly, he lists well-known Japanese stories like *Taketori monogatari (The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter)* and *Hakkenden (The Chronicle of Eight Dogs)*[154] as good examples of possible adaptations for children's

[152] Ibid, 221-2.

[153] In keeping with his greater worldview and method of argumentation, the third defining characteristic of the modern era was, for Tsubouchi, the roles and importance that women had, accorded them by their own self-assertion. See Tsubouchi's "Genseiki no san tokuchō (Three Characteristics of the Present Era)" chapter in *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, 1-25.

[154] For a closer look at Tsubouchi's interpretation of and engagement with a work like *Hakkenden*, see, for example, Atsuko Ueda, "The Main Constituents of the *Shōsetsu*: *Shōsetsu shinzui*'s Criticism of Bakin and "Depoliticization"," *Concealment of Politics, Politics of Concealment: The Production of "Literature" in Meiji Japan* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2007).

plays, along with a whole host of British, European, and American literary figures, whose works would, when simplified and/or re-worked, make for good educational material.[155] Tsubouchi writes that it is necessary to include simplified, dramatized versions of world literature's masterpieces along with those of national literature – not only because that was the prevailing practice abroad, but also, and more importantly because:

> …they provide children with literary knowledge (*bungaku-teki chishiki*), and have the benefit of stirring their hearts, inspiring them to someday come in contact with the original work. For example, Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, Dickens, Tennyson, Stevenson, etc. And there are also people like Germany's Schiller, who had their start in theatre, so it will suffice to simplify (*tanjunka*) their work as is. A piece like *Faust* will be difficult to re-work, but *William Tell* is useful as is. Everyone can easily apply *Rip Van Winkle*, or any of Hawthorne's many works. If we tweak them even the slightest bit, they can be useful for the children of our country as well.[156]

Effectively, the use value of international literary masterpieces lay in their capacity to impart a new type of knowledge – not emotional and elementary, or even rote knowledge, but literary – as well as in their potential to inspire connections between children and literature, children and the bigger world beyond the readily familiar. Tsubouchi's choice of suitable examples might, in part, be attributed to his own interests as a literary scholar and translator, as well as to what he identified as the need to rectify existing deficiencies in Japanese children's literature and theatre.[157] At the same time, in the list of possible solutions he raises, there are almost no writers who actually wrote children's literature or plays. Stevenson might be linked with children's literature, namely by extension of *Treasure Island*'s own associations with the genre, while Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* might

[155] Tsubouchi, *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, 216-7.

[156] Ibid, 217-8.

[157] See, for example, Tsubouchi Shōyō, "Jissaijō kara mita jidōgeki (Children's Plays as Seen from an Actual Stage)," *Shōyō senshū (Selected Writings by Shōyō)*, vol. 9 (Tokyo: Shunyodo, 1977), 809-22.

be read as fables of a sort,[158] but they are nevertheless two quasi-examples in a large group of authors otherwise not associated with children's literature or theatre, not even in the formative days of either genre. Clearly, then, the line of reasoning behind such choices is less about using or creating the newest, most modern works of children's literature or theatre, and more about preserving – specifically by modernizing and simplifying – older "masterpieces" that frequently appear in various arrangements of canon. This approach is applied in Tsubouchi's discussions of both Japanese and world literature.

Tsubouchi, however, also stays consistent in discussing the specific "use" or "application" of such works. That is, he insists that literary or poetic works, both Japanese and international, were viable options for children's theatre providing they were simplified, a process that Tsubouchi sees as necessarily extending across all components of children's theatre. First and foremost was the issue of language: regardless of whether the piece to be adapted was a well-known Japanese folk tale or a poetic piece from a foreign country, it had to be translated into simpler language accessible to children.[159] Tsubouchi's own creations and adaptations in *Kateiyō jidōgeki* offer a glimpse of how he envisioned such translated, simplified language: in plays aimed at younger children, for example, the lines are notably short, usually expressing only one idea or fact at a time to set up the play's narrative, avoiding any complicated phrases or difficult vocabulary. At this level, rarely does a character speak more than one sentence at a time, while, with the frequently recurring animal characters in Tsubouchi's plays, lines composed almost entirely of

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[158] Perhaps tellingly, both of these works are specifically referenced in Tsubouchi's discussions of appropriate materials for children. See Tsubouchi Shōyō, "Jidōgeki no shinka (The Evolution of Children's Theatre)," *Jidō kyōiku to engeki (Children's Education and Theatre)*, (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppan-bu, 1923), 84-114.

[159] Tsubouchi, *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, 214-7.

onomatopoeias run throughout the plays. Moreover, Tsubouchi often structures the lines or the overall arcs of the plays so that there is significant repetition, either of character phrases or scenes, most likely in an effort to make both comprehension and performance easier for children.[160]

Tsubouchi's push for simplification extends beyond the language and structure of the play: he advises, for example, that if playwrights, children, their parents or instructors wanted to incorporate music or dance into the play, then it should be simple, something easy to learn and understand, like those used in British pantomimes,[161] or something along the lines of *dōyō* (children's songs).[162] Likewise, any form of extravagance or waste (*rōhi*) should be avoided at all costs, so costumes, backdrops, and other small props should be as simple and modest as possible.[163] While Tsubouchi's designs for character masks might raise questions about how far his dictates were actually upheld in practice, his suggestions in *Kateiyō jidōgeki*'s preface – specifically, for the minimal, three-option backdrop and the rather bare-bones set design[164] - fall very neatly in line with this particular principle. Additionally, recalling his conceptualization of "becoming womanly," Tsubouchi also advises against the use of make-up as much as possible.[165] Tsubouchi's rationale here

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[160] These kinds of strategies might be easiest observed in plays like *Kodama (Echo)* and *Merē-bāchan to sokaiinu Pochi (Old Mother Mary and Her Pet Dog Pochi)*, where simple and repeated lines or scenes are nevertheless used to drive the narrative forward. Tsubouchi Shōyō, *Kodama (Echo)*, *Kateiyō Jidōgeki (Children's Plays for the Home)*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppan-bu, 1912), 7-15; and *Merē-bāchan to sokaiinu Pochi (Old Mother Mary and Her Pet Dog Pochi)*, *Kateiyō Jidōgeki (Children's Plays for the Home)*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppan-bu, 1912), 65-85.

[161] Tsubouchi, *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, 218.

[162] Tsubouchi, *Kateiyō jidōgeki*, 81.

[163] Tsubouchi, *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, 222.

[164] Tsubouchi, *Kateiyō jidōgeki*, 2. Tsubouchi's suggestion for houses onstage, for example, was to have only the most basic silhouette, sketched out with five straight lines and no other distinguishing characteristic.

[165] Tsubouchi, *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, 227.

seems to be driven, in part, by his argument that children's theatre was a site for encouraging children to use their imagination more actively,[166] as well as by his insistence that children's theatre should not cultivate vanity in children, especially not to the point of making them consider future careers as actors.[167] Particularly in light of the latter caution, Tsubouchi's prioritization of simple sets and props might also be rooted in his desire to keep children's theatre as distinct from professional theatre as possible, which, in turn, is likely prompted by the backlash from his earlier experiments with student theatre.[168]

Tsubouchi's emphasis on the simplicity of children's theatre, especially when adapting literary or poetic work, fulfils the demands that he most frequently makes of children's theatre – that is, that children's plays prioritize children themselves, and that they are easily accessible and of sufficient artistic quality. Tsubouchi's promotion of adapting literary masterpieces is clearly meant to meet that last requirement, even on a perfunctory level, while his insistence on their simplified translations – for both Japanese and international works – is an effort to make them accessible or comprehensible to children. From a different angle, we might also understand Tsubouchi's focus on adapting literary masterpieces as a means of facilitating children's access to, or awareness of the arts, of "literary knowledge," which is all the more important in an era that, by Tsubouchi's evaluation, is defined by greater appreciation for and access to the arts. In turn, simplifying children's plays situates children as the first priority because such plays will essentially be

[166] Ibid, 124-5.

[167] Ibid, 189-96.

[168] Fujikura, "An Examination of the Influence of Japan's Early Twentieth Century Anti-dramatic Attitude on the Development of Tsubouchi's Child Drama," 20-1.

written from children's standpoint, and not, as is usually the practice, from that of adults.[169] By ensuring that children can access these plays, can understand and take interest in them, playwrights and artists can write specifically *for* the child performers, as opposed to the adult audiences – a necessary development that, in Tsubouchi's view, even contemporary artists have yet to adequately initiate.[170] Of course, for Tsubouchi, the best way to ensure access and the prioritization of children was to stage children's plays in the home.

Kateiyō Jidōgeki and the Home

Tsubouchi's conceptualization of the home, specifically as the best means of access to children's theatre, most clearly exhibits the influence of thinkers like Rousseau and Hall, all the while entrenched in his views about "correct development" and its gendered underpinning. Directly referencing Rousseau, and in line with the sentiments of Romantic thought, Tsubouchi argues that for all its positive effects, modernization has nevertheless had negative impact on society, particularly on children:

> …since reaching the height of material civilization's prosperity, the world has become so much bigger, and the nations of the world have grown closer like neighbouring villages. But at the same time, everything has become busier, more cramped, and in every city, the comings and goings of people and cars pierce the eye, while the city districts become extremely narrow, and, unlike the old days, children lose their places to play.[171]

Tsubouchi's picture of modern society shows a preoccupation with space, particularly its state of being crammed with things and people, and its eventual loss. Moreover, Tsubouchi's account expresses a wariness about the ubiquity of stimuli and their assault on

[169] Tsubouchi, *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, 83.

[170] Ibid, 230-1.

[171] Ibid, 129.

the senses. Indeed, quoting Obara,[172] Tsubouchi cautions against the intensity of stimuli in the city, the excess of which will inhibit the development of children's true natures (*honsei*), turning them instead into "the holders of small, narrow-minded, and timid sensitivities."[173] He critiques the parks in Tokyo (Ueno, Shiba, and Hibiya) as unviable solutions, as they do not have facilities designed specifically for children, and laments the fact that, unlike other countries like the United States, there have been no social movements (such as the Play Movement)[174] to ensure places for children to play even in Japan's urban centres.[175] In turn, the space of the school, while developing under the ongoing work and enthusiasm of teachers, is still very much reliant on exposition or one-way transmission – that is, teaching by rote – as the dominant form of instruction. Tsubouchi then argues that because this style of education is so heavily dependent on memorization or imitation (by sound or by sight), there is no opportunity for children to discover a means of self-expression or self-manifestation (*jiko hakki*), making them little more than parrots.[176]

Thus, if the public spaces in the city, along with the semi-public spaces of the school, are not conducive to children's development, to learning or play, then the last remaining –

[172] For more details on Obara's views on theatre as education, see, for example, Monbushō Shakai Kyōiku Kenkyūkai, ed., "Gakkōgeki ni kan suru iken," 43-7; Obara Kuniyoshi, *Gakkō gekiron (The Theory of School Drama)* (Tokyo: Idea Shoin, 1923). In quoting Obara, Tsubouchi acknowledges the former's experience as a teacher at the well-known Seijō Elementary School, which, with former Minister of Education Sawayanagi Masataro (a strong advocate of the Taisho New Education movement) as principal, afforded Obara the space and freedom to develop and test his theories onsite.

[173] Tsubouchi, *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, 131.

[174] For more details on the Play Movement, from which Tsubouchi drew much inspiration, see, for example, Henry S. Curtis, *The Play Movement and Its Significance* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917); Michelle Beissel Heath, "Recycled Stories: Historicizing Play Today Through the Late Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Play Movement," *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, vol. 7, no. 1, Winter 2014, pp. 107-133.

[175] Tsubouchi, *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, 128-31.

[176] Ibid, 190-1.

and by Tsubouchi's account, the best – option is the space of the home. Tsubouchi's rationale for this assertion is rooted in both the natural and the social. Firstly, Tsubouchi's conceptualization of "home" might be understood as stretching the boundaries, however minimally, of the usual or expected definition: in his view, "home" does not just constitute the inside of a family dwelling, but also, and equally importantly, the area around it, which, in his descriptions, almost always seems to feature nature or some other form of greenery – either the garden, or if the child is fortunate enough, the fields around his or her house.[177] Indeed, when Tsubouchi describes the merits of children's theatre, particularly over *dōwa* (children's stories), he points out that the latter is static, bound to the inside of the house or a room, but the former is dynamic and social, able to be held both inside the house and out-of-doors, in the open air.[178] In light of his critique against modernization's transformation of the urban environment, Tsubouchi's automatic assumption of green spaces around each family home is downright idealistic. At the same time, his attribution of this quality to domestic spaces (however much it might not have been reflective of actual circumstances) indicates an attempt to draw a clear distinction between public spaces and the home. For Tsubouchi, the latter offers what the former cannot, and the attribution of nature to the home thus functions as a metonym for the kind of learning and development that Tsubouchi envisions happening in its spaces. That is, in the "natural" spaces of the home, a child can access a "natural" means of learning, open and uncluttered with modern distractions like pedestrian and vehicular traffic, free of the rigidity of institutional

[177] Tsubouchi, *Kateiyō jidōgeki*, 3. See also his suggestions for staging plays outside, as in the case of *Kodama* (7).

[178] Tsubouchi, *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, 79.

instruction, and crucially, offering children a chance to exercise their own initiative.[179] Coupled with Tsubouchi's observation that young children spend most of their time at home,[180] the home's attributions with aspects of the "natural" make its spaces the far superior option for staging children's theatre.

In turn, Tsubouchi views children's theatre in the home as a means of reinforcing social bonds between children and those around them. In line with his views of children's theatre as a tool for socialization, Tsubouchi recommends that the audience should consist of "together with the parents and siblings, other family members (*kajin*) or the children of relatives, or even the children in the neighbourhood."[181] This kind of audience arrangement ensures that children can learn empathy with those already closest to them, unburdened by the pressure of having to perform in front of strangers, which poses the threat of inhibiting children's process of discovery, or cultivating vanity in them. By the same token, children's theatre with a family-based audience ensures harmony (*waraku*) within the household and intimacy (*konshin*) with close relatives.[182] This is particularly important for Tsubouchi because the modern era has not only brought about distractions and cramped spaces, but has also emptied homes of parental figures.

> In the homes, the fathers are absent nearly every day, while mothers are nearly faint with (*me ga mawaru yō*) household chores. Alternatively, the capable women (*yūi na fujin*) have to go out to and be active in what we call high society (*shakōkai*), and on the days that they are involved with things like political problems or the labour problem, they have no other recourse

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[179] Ibid, 175-8.

[180] Ibid, 67.

[181] Ibid, 207.

[182] Ibid.

> than to neglect (*hōridashite*) their children's education, and leave them in the care of the kindergarten, a wet nurse or a nanny, or the school.[183]

Clearly, the push to have children's plays be attended by parents and family members is an attempt to rectify the problem of strained, if not entirely non-existent, family ties and interaction. Effectively, children's theatre in the home is as much a demand on parents as it is a means of learning and development for children – a demand, specifically, to re-centre priorities on the child, above all the other "distractions" of the modern age. At the same time, Tsubouchi's focus and tone make it clear that the demand falls more heavily on mothers. Despite his passing acknowledgement of women's labour, the critique sits heavy and present in his otherwise minimally commiserating account: women are neglecting, or throwing aside, their duties to their children – an act made worse by the implication that it is done so by choice. After all, unlike fathers, mothers are already present in the home, while the capable women are being distracted by "things like" fashionable issues set as priorities not by the women themselves, but by "high society" and the socio-cultural aspirations it implies. Tsubouchi's argument, then, is that the first and most important work for women is that of educating their children – a task that, under Tsubouchi's conceptualizations of women, children, and the home, is less actual labour, and more an extension of their essential, overlapping natures.

Because women are closest to children in terms of their fundamental natures – specifically, being "undeveloped" in the way of men, and thus, being more genuinely human – and because women indicate the trajectory of "correct development," they are, for Tsubouchi, the "natural" and best choice for educating children in the space of the home.

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[183] Ibid, 133-4.

Tsubouchi expands on these connections when he points out that women have a naturally close (*shizen ni missetsu*) relationship with their children, having birthed and raised them. What is more, because mothers spend more time at the home than fathers, their interaction (*shinsha*) with their children is much more sincere. Coupled with their innate, naturally deep love (*tennen shizen ni fukai jiai no jō*) for their children, this kind of sincere interaction allows mothers to more deeply understand their children and their individual qualities, which then enables them to better guide and educate their children.[184] In this regard, Tsubouchi asserts, the requirements of a home educator are "both the unique right (*tokken*) and feature (*tokuchō*) of women."[185] By taking up that role of home educator, women must turn the home into art (*geijutsuka*), must situate the arts as the most essential tools (*daiichi no yōgu*) and methods, with home education as the most pressing (*mottomo kin'yō*) matter – all for the sake of moulding and deploying (*zōshū*) the humans of the future.[186] Indeed, beyond the immediate space of the home and the child(ren) there, women's roles are projected onto an even grander scope: because future change could be driven only by children, "the humans of the future," Tsubouchi extrapolates their development in the home onto the progress of the entire human race.[187] He concludes *Jidō kyōiku to engeki* by reasserting his view that women, who oversee children's development

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[184] Ibid, 34-5.

[185] Ibid, 34.

[186] Ibid, 44.

[187] Citing children's education advocate Ellen Key, Tsubouchi asserts that all of the "serious human depravities (*ningen no daidaraku*)" she had experienced in the wake of recent world wars could only be redressed through a fundamental reform of education methods, and thus, the act of fundamentally improving humans (*ningen wo konponteki ni kaizō*). "Because [that] is by no means possible (*tōtei mō dame*) for those who humans who are now already grown, there is no other way but to make the humans of the future anew (*arata ni shōrai no ningen wo tsukuru*). The humans of the future are the children – that is to say, it is through children that we bring about human improvement and a new era." Ibid, 24-5.

in the home, shoulder the task of human improvement (*ningen kaizō*). That responsibility, he points out, falls particularly heavily on mothers, who must cultivate (*tōya*), mould and deploy the "coming race (*kamingu rēsu*)," or the human race of the future (*mirai no jinshū*).[188]

Tsubouchi's conceptualization of the home and women's place in it thus rests upon ideals of women's essential natures, as well as what presents itself as a kind of pragmatics. That is, it is only "natural" that women take up the role of home educator not only because they spend the most time at home – a sort of practical extension of their existing work at home – but also because their innate bond with their children, strengthened through their presence in the home, makes them better attuned to the task. Effectively, Tsubouchi draws what he presents as only "natural" connections between women, the arts, and their children, which all converge and shape one another specifically within the space of the home. More specifically, it is in the natural space of the home (separate from the urban landscape and its modern distractions, while also intimately identified with the nature and natural work of the mother) that women can leverage their natural understanding of and intimacy with (*shizen ni missetsu*; *tennen shizen*) children, in order to develop the latter's essential nature (*honraisei*) through the arts, which through their natural method of doing and resonating emotionally, especially within a social context, foster human nature as fundamentally social creatures. In other words, it is in the "natural" space of the home that the "natural" qualities and capacities of women, the arts, and children come to define and, in turn, be defined by one another.

[188] Ibid, 229.

As briefly discussed earlier, Tsubouchi saw the new importance associated with children, the arts, and women as key, defining characteristics of modernity. Tsubouchi's decision to situate the home as the point of their convergence and role fulfilment therefore identifies the home as a site of crucial importance. Indeed, his account of the human race's development as originating in the space of the home underscores both its centrality to Tsubouchi's vision of arts education, as well as its significance in the greater trajectory of social development. What is peculiar about his conceptualization, however, is its assumption of the home as a natural given, as an already extant, widely established set of conditions and relations accessible to broad swathes, if not the entirety, of the nation's children and their mothers. The assumption underwriting this view is in stark contrast against the work of scholars like Samuel Perry, Jordan Sand, and Barbara Sato, who illustrate how, even in the first few decades of 20th Century Japan, the concept of the home – along with the place of and relationship among women, the arts, and children in it – was not by any means firmly established, but rather, a yet nebulous, emergent subject at the centre of much debate and (re-) definition.[189]

Tsubouchi's decision to present the home otherwise is clearly one of the many visions proposed in these debates, but by attributing universality to the home – in the sense of everyone having access to its space and possibilities – he makes the greater project of human and social development, rooted in the space of the home, appear more feasible. Put simply, because every child has access to the space of the home – a space of both art

[189] See, for example, Samuel Perry, *Recasting Red Culture in Proletarian Japan: Childhood, Korea, and the Historical Avant-Garde* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014); Jordan Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: Architecture, Domestic Space, and Bourgeois Culture, 1880-1930* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003; Sato, *The New Japanese Woman*.

(*geijutsuka*) and nature (nurtured by mothers and nurturing children's essential natures) – every child can partake in and benefit from the project of theatre as education. These conceptualizations of the home, of theatre as education align neatly to pose an ideal solution to Tsubouchi's critique of current educational systems: by adopting a more natural form of education – one that functioned through doing as opposed to learning by rote, that promoted socialization through emotional understanding – specifically in the natural and universally accessible space of the home, children's education could be taken outside the exclusive control of the school institution. By the same token, theatre education in the home meant that, in keeping with the spirit of the times and its new appreciation for the arts, children would not only be exposed to the arts from an early age, but people in general would also have more opportunity to access and appreciate art in their everyday lives, regardless of class or financial backgrounds.[190] At its most basic interpretation, *kateiyō jidōgeki*'s greatest promise thus lay in easy, equal access to the arts, and subsequently, individual and social development.

Of course, as briefly touched upon, the conditions to that access – that is, a "natural" home centred around and managed by the figure of the mother – were more of an ideal than an actual reality for most households at the time. Moreover, a closer investigation into the connections Tsubouchi drew between, on one hand, the space of the home and, on the other, the development it promised reveals more provisions to the latter than is initially projected by the attribution of universality to both. To better understand the nature and impact of these provisions, it will be helpful to look at how Tsubouchi envisioned

[190] Tsubouchi, *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, 5-7

movements in and through the space of the home, along with how these movements defined the specific developmental trajectories he identified with that space.

While Tsubouchi purposefully situated children's theatre within the boundaries of the home, its ultimate goal of socialization, of learning the empathy to understand others and their circumstances, simultaneously oriented it outside those boundaries, towards the larger, public society outside of the private home. It is here, in articulating the movement from private to public that Tsubouchi exhibits the most influence from G. Stanley Hall. Citing Hall, Tsubouchi explains that bad impulses (*warui shōdō*) – such as bullying the weak, getting into fights, telling lies, or stealing things, all of which he identifies as the behavioural remnants of survival skills developed during a distant, more primitive age – are best treated when children are allowed to act on or act out such impulses in an appropriate manner (*tekigi na hōhō de* act out *(jikkō)*). Tsubouchi uses the English phrase "act out" in his writings, appended with his translation of *jikkō* (practice), indicating his view of children's participation in plays as actually manifesting or realizing the impulses that neglected or worse, restricted, would otherwise drive children to negatively "act out" or openly rebel.[191] In line with his views of theatre as education, Tsubouchi identifies theatre's effectiveness in that when performing, children are not merely passively watching or absorbing something, but rather, actively, and on their own initiative (*nōdō-teki*), enacting the events and lessons themselves. Moreover, because Tsubouchi ascribes greater fluidity, if not outright equivalence, between performance and reality for children, play

[191] Ibid, 146-51.

(*tawamure*) can be serious and earnest (*shinken*), while the ephemeral (*ke*) can be true (*shin*) and actual (*gen*).[192]

As a result, when children participate in plays – particularly those that feature roles defined by primitive, negative impulses – they are *actively* learning about such impulses, specifically by manifesting or embodying them. Effectively, through theatre, children actually become the bully, the fighter, the liar, the thief. However temporary the actual assumption of such roles may be – and indeed, the temporary nature of such impulse manifestation is crucial in Tsubouchi's conceptualizations of theatre's educational impact – that outcome is far more preferable than the alternative. Scolded, punished, or otherwise forced to repress their more primitive impulses, children are more likely to suffer from those pent up (*pento-appu (tojikomeru)*) impulses doubling their energies (*ikioi*) to the point of rupture (*haretsu*), which in turn, will cause them to regress to primitive, uncivilized ways (*yaban jidai no seikatsu ni gyakumodori suru*). However, through theatre, children are afforded a chance to actively manifest, to engage and explore these impulses. In doing so, they are able to satisfy their curiosities, and upon understanding firsthand their negative impact on others, undergo a natural, cathartic purge of such impulses[193] – an outcome that, for Tsubouchi, indicates how the indulgence or manifestation of bad impulses is nothing permanent. Moreover, because these impulses are being manifested and explored within the space of the home (or even, the school), the potential damage they pose can, with adequate preparation, be safely contained.[194]

[192] Ibid, 149-51.

[193] Ibid, 146-9. Tsubouchi specifically references Aristotle's concept of catharsis in discussing the educational effect of theatre on young adolescents/boys (*shōnen*).

[194] Ibid, 196-7.

The home thus functions as a kind of testing grounds for acceptable social behaviour, as well as a containment site for all of its failed or unacceptable elements. If theatre is a socialization tool meant to teach children how to understand others and their circumstances, the home functions in tandem with theatre towards their shared goal, whereby the former serves primarily as a closed space in which, in the process of learning, mistakes can be made and left behind. For Tsubouchi, children's individual and social development is therefore marked by movement from the private space of the home to the public space of greater society, whereby the negative elements of primitive, uncivilized social behaviour are left behind in the home. At the same time, when considered together with Tsubouchi's identification of women's "unique right and feature" as home educators, along with his charge that women take up their "natural" role and responsibility to mould the "coming race," it is clear that the path of individual development, oriented out towards greater society, does not extend to all in the same way that the space of the home does, however idealized. Rather, under Tsubouchi's conceptualization of the home and its role in developmental trajectories, women are obligated or "naturally" turned not out towards public society, but in towards the private space of the home. Moreover, this obligation or orientation does not emerge with motherhood, but rather, is rooted in girlhood: describing the easiest method to turn the home into art (*mottomo yōi katei geijutsuka no dandori*), Tsubouchi recommends that children be allowed to engage in the types of play that come most naturally to them in the space of the home, driven by instinct (*honnō*) or impulse (*shōdō*). Such play, for girls, naturally consists of playing mother (*mamagoto*) or house

(*haujingu (oie-gokko)*).[195] The natural inclination for girls is thus towards the home, an inclination that carries over into and fundamentally defines their womanhood. As a result, girls' individual trajectory of development never leaves the private space of the home, but always circles back to and remains within it.[196] Compared to boys, who should, in Tsubouchi's view, play war games at home as a means of preparing for life in public society,[197] girls never undergo development as a movement from private to public, but rather, exist in a kind of loop, or even stasis within the private space of the home.

In that space, women's characterization as "undeveloped" (*mihattatsu*) acquires further facets. As discussed earlier, Tsubouchi's identification of women's "undeveloped" nature rests on the distinction he draws between women and the developmental paths that men have taken, where the former has remained true to more genuine, original human qualities (specifically, sensitivity and attunement to everything around oneself), whereas the latter has gone down the path of artifice and excessive, negative development. The attribution of the negative to the latter aside, Tsubouchi's definitions fall roughly in line with the distinction he draws between the developmental trajectories for girls and boys, where the former remains (figuratively with the aforementioned original qualities, and physically within a developmentally originating space), whereas the latter moves along on a developmental trajectory across different spaces. With the identification of home education as the "unique right and feature" of women, women's characterization as

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[195] Ibid, 45-6.

[196] For more on the history of and discourses around education and social advancement, specifically the contrasts between those for girls and those for boys, see, for example, Sharon H. Nolte and Sally Ann Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women, 1890-1910," *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, Gail Lee Bernstein, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Sato, *The New Japanese Woman*.

[197] Tsubouchi, *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, 45.

"undeveloped" is appended with a direct, intimate association with children's primitive behaviour, with impulses that predate proper socialization – behaviour and impulses that women are purportedly better and fundamentally equipped to understand and re-direct. Moreover, because (specifically male) children's development depends on leaving such behaviour and impulses behind in the home, girls and women, who are defined by and most closely identified with that space of the home, must essentially co-exist or share that space with the cast-offs of development. In this way, Tsubouchi's vision of theatre specifically as *home* education can be understood as depending on women to fill two related functions: on one hand, the preservation of qualities marked alternately as human, primitive, or pre-social; and on the other, the catalysis of a developmental trajectory in which they themselves might never directly participate.

The great promise of *kateiyō jidōgeki* was not simply individual and social development on a sweeping scale, but also and more importantly, that such outcomes could be guaranteed, specifically through the form of theatre (more resonant and effective among children) and the space of the home, premised as universally accessible. However, a closer examination of the ways that Tsubouchi conceptualized the space of the home, as well as how theatre functioned in that space, reveals different sets of relationships with the home and theatre, and consequently, different sets of conditions to the accessibility of *kateiyō jidōgeki*'s promised benefits. Such distinctions likewise manifest in the plays Tsubouchi writes and recommends for children.

In the play *Kodama (Echo)*, for example, the boy protagonist, Tarō, is playing outside, when he hears his lines echoed back to him from the nearby mountains. Though he is initially curious about his interlocutor, he quickly becomes frustrated when the latter

seemingly refuses to directly answer his questions, and the exchange dissolves into Tarō yelling and cursing at his echo. At the sound of his raised voice and filthy language (*kuchigitanai koto*), Tarō's mother pops out of the house's window to admonish him, and suggest that he use a kinder approach, so that he, in turn, might be treated kindly. The subsequent exchange mirrors the one preceding the mother's intervention, but with markedly more solicitous language between Tarō and his echo. The play ends with Tarō remarking that it was the act of doing exactly as his mother said that enabled him to make a new friend straightaway. The final lines are then delivered by the mother, who reiterates her (and the play's overall) lesson, for both Tarō and the audience: "When you treat others kindly, everyone will be kind to you. Please keep this in mind from now on."[198]

Kodama epitomizes both the qualities Tsubouchi seeks in children's plays, as well as his conceptualizations of the home, theatre, and the distinct roles that mothers and children have therein. Structurally and linguistically, the play closely abides by Tsubouchi's recommendation that children's plays be simple. Accordingly, Tarō's lines are short, almost consistently express just one idea or emotion, and are phrased in casual, uncomplicated speech, avoiding any long or difficult words entirely. The echo's lines are even simpler, being repetitions (and sometimes, even just partial repetitions) of Tarō's lines, immediately after he delivers them, making memorization unnecessary. While the mother consistently has slightly longer lines, she has the least amount of lines overall, limited to her two very brief appearances in the play, wherein – much like Tarō and his echo – her lines in her second appearance roughly repeat those in her first. Similarly, the

[198] Tsubouchi, *Kateiyō jidōgeki*, 14.

overall structure of the play is neatly divided into two halves, with the latter exchange between Tarō and his echo mirroring the one preceding the mother's intervention, only with less aggressive language. In the closing scene, the mother's final remarks neatly sum up the play, at the same time that it, too, echoes her first intervention, which gives shape to the play by serving as its pivot point.

Thematically, the play is likewise straightforward and in keeping with Tsubouchi's recommendations: the crux of the play is Tarō's experience of learning how to interact or make friends with others – that is, his socialization, specifically as guided by his mother from within the space of the home. When encountering a situation that does not unfold as he would like, Tarō's first instinct is towards anger, to hurl accusations and abuse at his echo. This instinct, which Tsubouchi would identify as primitive, is gently corrected by Tarō's mother, and as a result, Tarō himself not only recognizes the negativity and futility of his initial impulses, but also, and more importantly, abandons it in favour of a more sensitive, considerate approach to others. Crucially, both Tarō and the child playing his role test, manifest, and subsequently leave behind that first, primitive instinct within the space of the home – a sequence that marks their individual and social development. Though Tarō and his child actor never actually leave the space of the home at any point in the play – the natural spaces immediately outside the home, after all, still constituted a part of the home for Tsubouchi – by the end of the play, they are clearly equipped with the knowledge necessary to make the move to the public space of broader society.

Tarō's development, both as an individual character, as well as of the skills necessary for a shift out into public society, is in sharp contrast with his mother, who functions as the catalyst for his development, but remains firmly ensconced within the

home. As Tsubouchi describes in his brief preface to the play, *Kodama*'s setting is a home in the country, where the country cottage (in which Tarō and his mother are summering) and the natural spaces around it constitute the entirety of the home. In this setting, the mother never sets foot outside the house, not even to join Tarō outside – indeed, when she intervenes, she only sticks her head out of the house window.[199] At all other times, Tsubouchi notes, the audience should see only half of the mother's form from behind, as she tends to some work inside the house.[200] Effectively, there is a layered quality to situating Tarō's mother inside the home: not only is she kept separate from the natural spaces outside the house, being kept inside the house within the greater space of the home, but also, she is partially obscured by the house walls, almost swallowed up by the house as, for most of the play, she directs her attention to work further inside the house, facing away from the outside and the audience beyond the house's window. Her only movement outwards is physically partial, but entirely for the purpose of initiating her son's individual and social development. In contrast, Tarō has, from the beginning of the play, always been outside the house, in the natural spaces of the home, and by the end, is poised to go even further beyond to the bigger, more diverse space of public society.

Kodama thus crystallizes Tsubouchi's visions and key concepts for *kateiyō jidōgeki*, but these same elements, presented in varying ways, also shape the other plays across the three volumes. For example, one of the main protagonists in *Oya-suzume to ko-suzume (Sparrows)* charts a similar path as Tarō's, learning to put aside its primitive instincts of fear and tendency towards tantrums, in order to join its siblings in flight, and leave those

[199] Ibid, 11.

[200] Ibid, 7.

instincts, along with the nest, behind. As with Tarō, it is the mother who pushes the child (literally in this play) outwards from the space of the home. Similarly, in *Kumo to hae (The Spider and the Fly)*, the mother functions primarily as the mouthpiece for lessons about broader society – in this case, how to avoid certain dangers – and, much like Tarō's mother, withdraws from the rest of the play's happenings, from the actual events of the child's development once the lesson has been delivered. Interestingly, Tsubouchi's adaptation of the King Midas story, *Sawaru to kin (The Midas Touch)*, swaps the roles, but nevertheless maintains the same set of relations between the home, primitive instincts, and development. Here, it is not the child, but Old Man Maida who must learn to put aside his greed, and as repeatedly bid not by his mother, but by his young niece, Kogane, turn his attentions outside, particularly to the natural wonders that, for her, surpass the artificiality of gold coins. Kogane herself appears only to urge him to re-direct his focus outwards, and upon being subjected to the golden touch, literally becomes an object that catalyzes the change in Maida. Maida's development is then marked by a much closer relationship with his niece, as well as his final act of moving outside, away from his material preoccupations.

Kateiyō Jidōgeki in Motion

The *Kateiyō jidōgeki* plays frequently reiterate these sets of relations and movements, whereby development repeatedly manifests movement outwards, away from the home or from instincts that interrupt one's relationships with others. The process of leaving something behind goes hand in hand with the acquisition of something new – knowledge, primarily, but also, abilities, as well as new or improved relationships with others – which, in turn, is often prompted by a mother or female figure, whose primary

purpose is ensuring that that process is initiated in the first place. While these characteristics were neatly packaged and made easily transmissible through the plays' simple structures, language, and style, the actual practices for staging them complicated both the fulfilment of Tsubouchi's visions for children's home theatre, as well as the key concepts that underwrote them.

For one, the plays themselves left the space of the home early on, and their movement to other, distinctly more public spaces frequently involved adjustments, which increasingly superseded Tsubouchi's own concessions and conditions for that initial shift outwards to public performance. Public demonstrations of Tsubouchi's *kateiyō jidōgeki* began as early as November 1922 – at Tsubouchi's own planning and direction – intended as semi-private events: a limited series of performances before parents, children, educators or specialists. Even so, with those first performances being staged at Tokyo's Yūrakuza Theatre, which seated 600 people, the space, audience size and composition for those performances were necessarily far removed from Tsubouchi's original visions for children's home theatre.[201] Indeed, while these performances, which led to travelling shows staged across various cities outside of Tokyo, enjoyed great success among its audiences – drawing praise and admiration from educators like Chiba Haruo,[202] as well as inspiring similar performances of children's or student theatre[203] – they also drew some

[201] Takeo Fujikura, "Shoyo Tsubouchi's Child Drama," *The International Association for Japan Studies Newsletter*, no. 10, 2014.

[202] Chiba Haruo, "Subete ni jinsei no haikei wo egaite (Portraying the Entirety of Life's Scenery)," *Kyōiku no seiki (Century of Education)*, 2.6 (1924), 16.

[203] Performances of Tsubouchi's plays, for example, would go on to be staged in various schools, while the Yūrakuza performances would inspire similar performances, such as the Tōyō Kasei Girls' School's *Dōyō geki taikai (Children's Song and Theatre in Concert)*, held at the same venue just a few months after Tsubouchi's demonstrations, and presented before a full house. For more details, see, for example, Tsubouchi's observations on school performances of his plays in Tsubouchi Shōyō, "Jidōgeki no mohan jitsuen no hitsuyō (The Need for Children's Theatre Demonstrations)," *Shōyō senshū (Selected Writings by Shōyō)*, vol. 9 (Tokyo:

criticism for essentially contradicting Tsubouchi's own tenets for children's home theatre.[204] In an article that coincided with the launch of the travelling performances, Tsubouchi revealed both an awareness of such criticism, as well as a willingness not only to put *kateiyō jidōgeki* on the public stage, but also, to adjust it for the latter's space and audience. Dismayed by school and popular interpretations of his work, Tsubouchi argued that public demonstrations of *kateiyō jidōgeki* were necessary, primarily as a means of presenting educators and parents with a model or point of reference. Moreover, because these demonstrations were on a larger, more public stage, Tsubouchi amended his earlier insistence on simplicity, and maintained that sets, costumes, and other props needed some enhancement, so that they might be perceived by all members of the audience, even those further from the stage.[205]

The enhancements to Tsubouchi's public demonstrations of *kateiyō jidōgeki* were enabled, in no small part, by corporate partnership, particularly with the Asahi Shimbun company. Following the overall success of the Yūrakuza performances – which, even if reception was not exclusively favourable, were very effective in generating public interest in children's theatre – together with the publication of the second volume of *Kateiyō jidōgeki*, Asahi partnered with Tsubouchi to produce a series of public performances,

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Shunyodo, 1977), 831-5; as well as accounts for similar performances in "Dōyō geki taikai (Children's Song and Theatre in Concert)," *Geijutsu kyōiku (Art Education)* (May 1923), 22.

[204] The criticism, in particular, centred around Tsubouchi's decision to use a public stage, professional actresses, as well as what were deemed elaborate costumes and settings distinct from the simplicity Tsubouchi had advocated for in *Kateiyō jidōgeki*. See, for example, Mita Kō, "Tsubouchi-hakase no kateiyō jidōgeki wo mite (On Seeing Professor Tsubouchi's Children's Home Theatre," *Kyūshū Nippō (Kyūshū Daily)*, 6 October 1924, 4.

[205] Tsubouchi Shōyō, "Kateiyō jidōgeki wo gekijō de jōen sasuru riyū (Reasons for Staging Children's Home Theatre on the Public Stage)," *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* Getsuyō Furoku (*Tokyo Asahi News* Monday Supplement) (Tokyo), 4 June 1923, 1.

intended to present local teachers and children with a demonstrative model of Tsubouchi's artistic pedagogy in practice. Beginning in June 1923, these performances travelled across the country, visiting cities like Nagoya, Kyoto, and Fukuoka, and were renewed the following year, shortly after the publication of the third *Kateiyō jidōgeki* volume. Effectively, *kateiyō jidōgeki* did not just move from the private space of the home to the public space of the stage, but also extended outwards from the capital region, and into other cities and locales across the country. In the process of doing so, *kateiyō jidōgeki* – both as a genre, and as specifically Tsubouchi's project – came to be embedded in new networks of corporate, pedagogical, and artistic relations.

For example, while Tsubouchi had backed the public performances as a means of furthering his project, in ways that would be truer to his original visions of art and pedagogy, Asahi had advertised the performances in distinctly different terms. In the advertisements for the Kyoto performances, for example, there is no mention of *kateiyō jidōgeki*'s pedagogical goals, but rather, a full-throated promotion of Asahi's new children's magazine, *Kodomo Asahi (Children's Asahi)*. For Asahi, and for at least some of their audiences, the public performances of the *kateiyō jidōgeki* plays were therefore, primarily, a means of commemorating *Kodomo Asahi*'s inauguration.[206] This connection likely came about over the course of the *kateiyō jidōgeki* tours: Asahi had launched the magazine late in 1923, months after the first national tours had set off across the country. By that time, as

[206] See, for example, the programmes listed in collections like Date Minoru and Omura Hiroyoshi, "Kateiyō jidōgeki oyobi pējento jōen tenmatsu (Records of Children's Home Drama and Pageant Performances)," *Shōyō senshū senshū (Selected Writings by Shōyō)*, vol. 9 Supplement (Tokyo: Shunyodo, 1977); Kokuritsu Gekijō Kindai Kabuki Nenpyō Henshū Shitsu (The National Theatre's Editing Department for Chronologies of Modern Kabuki), *Kindai kabuki nenpyō: Kyōtō-hen (Chronologies of Modern Kabuki: Kyoto)*, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 2002).

evidenced by the advertisements for the Kyoto performances, the touring performances were being promoted less as a new innovation in pedagogical practices or artistic theory, and significantly more in the context of *Kodomo Asahi*'s emergence. In so doing, the *kateiyō jidōgeki* tours were eventually presented not only in conjunction with the Asahi company itself, but also, with the history, orientations, and people of *Kodomo Asahi*.

Inaugurating the magazine was, in fact, a re-branding and re-launch of *Kodomo no tomo (Children's Friend)* and *Kodomo no kuni (Children's Country)*, respectively launched in 1914 and 1921. As with their successor, both of these magazines were directly associated with the *geijutsu kyōiku (arts education)* movement, and its push to provide children with more artistic materials that prioritized children's interests and worldviews over those of adults. In this sense, *kateiyō jidōgeki* was, from the outset, already aligned with the goals and larger movement driving *Kodomo Asahi*. At the same time, the Asahi company's decision to link them in their promotions made that connection explicit, and brought *kateiyō jidōgeki* further into sphere of the *geijutsu kyōiku* movement, aligning Tsubouchi's project with the movement's aims, as well as its most vocal supporters – people like Takei Takeo, Hatsuyama Shigeru, Saijō Yasō, and Kitahara Hakushū, artists and poets who not only advocated for *geijutsu kyōiku*, but also served as influential figures on the editorial boards of children's arts magazines, such as *Kodomo no kuni* and *Kodomo Asahi*. As a result, *kateiyō jidōgeki*'s move from the home to the stage had the added effect of situating it at the centre of much attention and debate, particularly among artists and educators, introducing it to some, and fanning its popularity or criticism among others.

In the wake of the national *kateiyō jidōgeki* tours, for example, children's theatre – both in the home and elsewhere – became a recurring topic of discussion in magazines

ranging from the pedagogy-centric *Kyōiku jiron (The Educational Review)*, the women- and mother-oriented *Josei (Woman)*, and even in the investigative surveys and discussions conducted by the Ministry of Education.[207] Similarly, children's theatre spread widely across different venues, particularly in the space of the school, such that in Tokyo, the city office's Educational Affairs Section ultimately required public elementary schools to formally request permission for any theatrical performances.[208] Interestingly – especially in light of Tsubouchi's vision for girls, women, and private/public spaces – it was children's theatre as performed by students at girls' schools that frequently took the further step from the semi-public space of the school, to the fully public space of the stage.

The *kateiyō jidōgeki* performances at the Yūrakuza Theatre had already inspired similar performances at the same venue, such as those staged by the Tōyō Kasei Girls' School, and, in like fashion, the national tours gave rise to large, public performances by students from girls' schools. The Kuzuryū Shuga Jogakkō (Kuzuryū Girls' School for Needlework Painting), for example, not only held biannual performances at their own large-capacity auditorium (one that seated 900), but they also came to perform for charities (especially in the wake of the Great Kantō Earthquake) and various companies, including restaurants, hotels, and corporate offices.[209] In fact, these performances drew such media attention and comparison to professional theatre troupes (to the point that

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[207] See, for example, "Gakkōgeki no mondai (The Issue of School Drama)," *Kyōiku jiron (The Educational Review)*, vol. 1375 (1973); *Gakkōgeki no riron to jissai*; "Jidōgeki wo jidō enzeshimeru koto no kai"; Monbushō Shakai Kyōiku Kenkyūkai, ed., "Gakkōgeki ni kan suru iken; Shimonaka Yasaburō, et al., "Kodomo shibai gokoro (Children's Dramatic Spririt)," *Kyōiku no seiki (The Century of Education)*, 2.6 (1924).

[208] "Gakkōgeki no mondai," 1.

[209] Ochiai Sōsaburō, ed., "Kuzuryū Shuga Jogakkō no Engeki Katsudō (Dramatic Activities at Kuzuryū Girls' School for Needlework Painting), *Shōnen Engeki (Youth Theatre)*, vol. 1 (1967), 34.

even students were being featured as if they were celebrities)[210] that the Minister of Education, Okada Ryōhei, eventually released a statement condemning school theatre that catered to the public's pleasure, that participated in the business of theatre with the use of make-up and disguise in school settings.[211]

Though he does not directly reference Tsubouchi, Okada's views are clearly underwritten by the same views on the child, children's theatre, and the appropriate spaces for them that inform Tsubouchi's visions of theatre as education. More precisely, the object of Okada's critique is what Tsubouchi might consider a pre-mature movement out into the public sphere, one that yields social relations not in terms of interpersonal understanding and appropriate conduct, but rather, entertainment, commerce, and elaborate trappings like makeup and disguise. For Tsubouchi, the heavier emphasis on the latter presaged the undesired effect of cultivating vanity in children, possibly to the point of encouraging children to enter theatre professionally.[212] Moreover, the fact that such movement and indulgence were being undertaken by girls was in direct contradiction of Tsubouchi's (and the Ministry of Education's)[213] visions for girls and women, who should instead have been oriented towards the private space of the home. Takeo Fujikura notes that by 1924, just before the launch of the national tours for the third volume of *Kateiyō jidōgeki*, Tsubouchi

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[210] For more information on media coverage of school drama as presented by girls' schools, see, for example, Takeo Fujikura, "Reevaluation of the Effects of Shoyo Tsubouchi's Theory of Child Drama: Child Drama for Domestic Presentation" (PhD. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2006).

[211] "Monsō no kunji enzetsu (Instructions from the Minister of Education)," *Kyōiku jiron (The Educational Review)*, vol. 1410 (1924), 32-3.

[212] Tsubouchi, *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, 189-96.

[213] For more details on the educational/developmental goals proposed for girls, see, for example, Nolte and Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women, 1890-1910"; Sato, *The New Japanese Woman*.

was so disillusioned with what children's theatre on the public stage had become, that he himself withdrew from the tours, and ceded direct supervision to one of his students.[214]

At the same time, while Tsubouchi had despaired of what public children's theatre had become, drawing as much of a distinction between it and his demonstrational performances, the two were, in fact, not so far removed from one another. As discussed earlier, Tsubouchi's partnership with Asahi not only led to the omission of the performances' pedagogical goals, turning them into more entertainment-oriented events, but also directly linked them to the sale and branding of a new magazine. Moreover, if we recall Tsubouchi's acknowledgement of his own concessions to the public stage,[215] it is clear that even he is willing to pay more attention (if not outright prioritize) public entertainment, as well as to include elements like more elaborate make-up and disguise – things that, for Tsubouchi and Okada, had been the hallmarks of theatre as a profession and business best avoided by children. Indeed, critics were quick to point out the discrepancy in Tsubouchi's advocacy for simplicity in staging children's theatre, and not only for moving it outside the space of the home, but also, for involving professional actresses, along with elaborate make-up and designs.[216]

Takeo Fujikura notes that the make-up, costuming, and overall presentation left precious little to help audiences distinguish between Tsubouchi's *kateiyō jidōgeki* demonstrations – ultimately intended for the private space of the home, and performed by

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[214] Date and Omura, "Kateiyō jidōgeki oyobi pējento jōen tenmatsu," 20.

[215] Tsubouchi, "Kateiyō jidōgeki wo gekijō de jōen sasuru riyū," 1.

[216] Mita, "Tsubouchi-hakase no kateiyō jidōgeki wo mite," 4.

children at play – and those presented by professional theatre troupes with child actors.[217] What is more, the similarities between Tsubouchi's demonstrations and the professional performances did not simply come about with Asahi's involvement, but rather, extended back to those first demonstrative performances at the Yūrakuza.[218] For example, advertisements for the 1923 national tour performances, intended to showcase new material from the second *Kateiyō jidōgeki* volume, indicate that the programmes also included plays from the first volume,[219] which had been the basis and focus of the Yūrakuza plays. The inclusion of these first volume plays in the 1923 national tours strongly suggests that elements, if not entire shows, had been carried over into the touring performances – these elements including the involvement of professional actresses, as well as the use of elaborate make-up and costumes. Put differently, the enhancements to Tsubouchi's demonstrative performances – enhancements that pointed to the business and profession of acting – did not come about as a result of Tsubouchi's new, commercial partnership with a printing and distribution company, but rather, out of his own experiments with putting children's theatre on the public stage.

Fujikura counts this discrepancy as one of the many in Tsubouchi's theory and practice, suggesting that Tsubouchi's lack of actual experience as a child educator inevitably led to gaps between his expectations and the end results.[220] At the same time, Tsubouchi's writings exhibit an easy familiarity with the major trends in children's

[217] Fujikura, "The Consequences of the Taisho Era's Child Drama Trend and the Resulting Causes of Tsubouchi's Endorsement of the School Drama Ban," 31.

[218] Fujikura, "Shoyo Tsubouchi's Child Drama."

[219] Kokuritsu Gekijō Kindai Kabuki Nenpyō Henshū Shitsu, *Kindai kabuki nenpyō: Kyōtō-hen*, 154.

[220] Fujikura, "Shoyo Tsubouchi's Child Drama."

pedagogy and theatre of the time – trends that, as his own citations reveal, directly shaped the way he conceptualized children's theatre, its form and goals. If Tsubouchi's theory of children's theatre was thus moulded by the major pedagogical and theatrical trends of the time, it is quite likely that his practices for staging it underwent similar processes of development and iteration. Indeed, in discussing how children's theatre be staged, Tsubouchi references familiar forms of Japanese theatre, such as kabuki, Noh, and kyogen (traditional comic theatre, usually performed as a kind of intermission between acts in Noh), along with more child-oriented theatre, such as the British pantomime and school theatre in Japan, particularly as performed in *gakugeikai* (arts festivals in the schools). In this light, we might understand Tsubouchi's project, especially after it emerged on the public stage, as having generated widespread public interest and inspired a number of children's theatre productions, at the very same time that the project itself took its cues and defined itself in reference to other forms of popular theatre. One such relationship of mutual influence is of particular interest here, especially given Tsubouchi's criticisms of commercially oriented plays that featured girls in very public, outward- or audience-oriented roles. That relationship is none other than the one between Tsubouchi, *kateiyō jidōgeki*, and the Takarazuka Revue (*Takarazuka Kagekidan*; at the time, the troupe was called Takarazuka Girls' Opera Company (*Takarazuka Shōjō Kagekidan*)).

Founded in 1913, with its first public performance in 1914, the Takarazuka Revue is an all-female, musical theatre troupe based in the city of Takarazuka, Hyōgo Prefecture in western Japan. The troupe was founded by the business magnate Kobayashi Ichizō, who had been seeking a form of entertainment that, in conjunction with the department store

and spa facilities that he had built,[221] could draw tourists to use his company's train lines, Hankyū Railway, all the way to its terminus in the city of Takarazuka, the opposite end of the train line extending out from the major urban hub of Osaka.[222] The revue's origins and initial purpose were therefore entrenched in distinctly commercial pursuits – not only entertainment, but also, transportation and lifestyle retailing – but Kobayashi was quick to package it as a form of wholesome development: in January 1919, just a few short years after the revue first took the stage, the Takarazuka Ongaku Kageki Gakkō (Takarazuka School of Music and Opera; currently named the Takarazuka Ongaku Gakkō (Takarazuka Music School)) was founded,[223] under the promise of providing young girls with the necessary training and discipline to become good wives and wise mothers (*ryōsai kenbo*),[224] along with an education in the arts. In 1923, the school would set the age of admittance between 13 and 19, but before that, especially at the time of the revue's founding, performers were more commonly between the ages of 12 and 17.[225] Incidentally,

[221] "What is the Takarazuka Review? The Secret Story Behind a Century of Spectacular Theater," *Official Website Takarazuka Revue*, https://kageki.hankyu.co.jp/english/about/index.html, accessed 7 January 2020.

[222] Kobayashi's marketing model or lifestyle retailing – that is, the strategy of building department stores and other attractions at train terminals to attract travellers – proved a successful and highly influential strategy, one that was subsequently adopted by other companies. For more details on Kobayashi's and marketing, specifically through spatial management, see, for example, Kazuo Usui, *Marketing and Consumption in Modern Japan* (Routledge, 2016).

[223] Sources commonly list 1913 as the year of the school's founding, likely because several months after the troupe was formed that same year, the troupe's name was changed from Takarazuka Chorus Troupe (Takarazuka Shōka-Tai) to Takarazuka Girls' Opera Training Association (Takarazuka Shōjo Kageki Yōsei-Kai). However, it was not until 1919 that an official period of study in a school setting (i.e., one year of training before performing with the company) and thus, the actual status of being a student were prescribed. The decision to align the school and its curriculum with the goal of making "good wives and wise mothers," in turn, presented the school as in keeping with the Meiji Civil Code, as well as upholding the patriarchal, conjugal household. See Jennifer Robertson, *Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1998).

[224] Ibid, 14-6.

[225] "What is the Takarazuka Review? The Secret Story Behind a Century of Spectacular Theater."

the latter was the same age range that Tsubouchi tended to recommend as suitable for mother roles in his *kateiyō jidōgeki* plays.

Looking at the chronologies of the Takarazuka Revue and the *kateiyō jidōgeki* plays, we can see that at the moment the latter is just venturing out onto the (national) public stage, the former had already enjoyed a very successful decade of featuring girls on public stages, who, in their professional capacities as actresses, were immensely popular, and had amassed a great number of predominantly young, female fans. This popularity and the troupe's performances were not limited to Takarazuka alone, but also extended to Tokyo and other urban centres like Nagoya.[226] Indeed, by 1924, when the last national tour of the *kateiyō jidōgeki* plays was just setting out from Tokyo, the Takarazuka Revue had reached such popularity that it had already formed its third troupe (a sort of grouping within the revue characterized by specific performance styles and content), and had built a new theatre, the Grand Theater (*Dai Gekijō*), in Takarazuka, with a seating capacity of 3,000 to accommodate its fans and audiences. Not surprisingly, while he acknowledges the impact of Tsubouchi's public *kateiyō jidōgeki* demonstrations, Fujikura points to the Takarazuka Revue and its popularity as one of the major causes behind the accelerated spread of school theatre, particularly in girls' schools across the country. The revue's influence was further compounded by the fact that, unlike Tsubouchi, it was willing to perform and cater to

[226] The revue's first performances in Tokyo, at the Imperial Theatre (Teikoku Gekijō), reportedly drew 2,000 people a day. By the early 1920s, the revue would establish its own theatres in both Takarazuka and Tokyo, both of which would undergo damage, repair, and reconstruction over the decade. From "Takarazuka Revue Timeline," *Takarazuka Forever*, http://takarazukaforever.weebly.com/timeline.html, accessed 7 January 2020.

audiences hungry for theatrical entertainment in the wake of the Great Kantō Earthquake).[227]

Tsubouchi's relationship with the Revue traces an interesting, roughly mirror pattern with his own experiments of staging *kateiyō jidōgeki* publicly. As with his demonstrative performances, Tsubouchi initially identified much promise in the revue's performances, seeing in them a chance to encourage and further cultivate girls' cultural taste through operetta.[228] In fact, in 1916, after seeing a Takarazuka performance, Tsubouchi reportedly remarked that he had just seen his theory for new school drama (*shingakugeki*) realized.[229] Fujikura notes that the revue, then called the Takarazuka Girls' Operetta Company, had actually "produced many of Tsubouchi's child drama pieces,"[230] while, at other times, it had staged plays that were heavily influenced by Tsubouchi's writings. Sakata Hirō, for example, notes that the Takarazuka's production of *Urashima Tarō*, bore heavy resemblances to Tsubouchi's *Shinkyoku Urashima (Urashima to New Songs)*,[231] an experimental play incorporating song and dance that received both popular and critical acclaim.[232] Takarazuka adaptations of Tsubouchi's plays would carry through

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[227] Fujikura, "The Consequences of the Taisho Era's Child Drama Trend and the Resulting Causes of Tsubouchi's Endorsement of the School Drama Ban," 43.

[228] Tsubouchi Shōyō, "Airashiki shōjo kageki (Charming Musical Theatre by Girls)," *Takarazuka shōjo kageki kyakuhonshū (Collection of Scripts by the Takarazuka Girls' Opera Company)*, vol. 1916, 455.

[229] Roland Domenig, "Takarazuka and Kobayashi Ichizô's Idea of *Kokumingeki*," *The Culture of Japan as Seen through its Leisure*, Sepp Linhart and Sabine Fruhstuck, eds. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 271.

[230] Fujikura, "The Consequences of the Taisho Era's Child Drama Trend and the Resulting Causes of Tsubouchi's Endorsement of the School Drama Ban," 30.

[231] Sakata Hirō, *Waga Kobayashi Ichizō: Kiyoku, tadashiku, utsukushiku (I Am Kobayashi Ichizō: Purely, Correctly, Beautifully)* (Tokyo: Kawade Bunko, 1991), 247.

[232] For more details on *Shinkyoku Urashima*, see, for example, Daniel John Gallimore, *Tsubouchi Shōyō's* Shinkyoku Urashima *and the Wagnerian Moment in Meiji Japan (With a Translation of* Shinkyoku Urashima*)* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2016).

the late 1920s and well into the 1930s, with the revue's selections expanding from his children's plays to also include his translations of Shakespeare. These latter productions were often directed by Tsubouchi's nephew and adopted son, Tsubouchi Shikō,[233] who had not only grown up studying Tsubouchi's theories on theatre and performance, but had also, after a successful turn as Hamlet at the Imperial Theatre, been hired by Kobayashi himself, first as a drama instructor, and later as the revue's artistic director.[234]

Of course, the direction of influence was, by no means, unidirectional: public performances of the *kateiyō jidōgeki* plays, along with Tsubouchi's overarching views of children's theatre, were also shaped by the revue. The second volume of the *Kateiyō jidōgeki*, for example, includes an insert of sheet music for the song *Doragon taiji (Slaying the Dragon)*, which had been composed and performed for the play *Orochi taiji (Slaying the Great Serpent)*. Tsubouchi notes that, in order to make the play more interesting, he had not only re-written the play to be more like an opera (*kageki-fū*; the term *kageki*, or opera, then being included in the revue's very name), including songs and choreography, but had also done so with the help of the Takarazuka's own musical composer.[235] Other "enhancements" to these public performances included the much debated use of make-up: photographs from the first national tours show that the actors' make-up, along with their costumes, were near identical to those employed in the revue's earlier performances.[236] In

[233] See, for example, the listings of Takarazuka plays based on Tsubouchi's translations in Takashi Sasayama, J.R. Mulryne, Margaret Shewring, eds., *Shakespeare and the Japanese Stage* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[234] Claude-Michel Lesne, "Questioning Women's Prevalence in Takarazuka Theatre: The Interplay of Light and Shadow," trans. Karen Grimwade, *Cipango: French Journal of Japanese Studies*, 5 (2016).

[235] Tsubouchi Shōyō, *Kateiyō jidōgeki (Children's Plays for the Home)*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppan-bu, 1912), 117.

[236] Compare, for example, the make-up and costuming used during the national tours, with those that the Takarazuka Revue used for their first performances at Tokyo's Imperial Theatre in 1918. For reference, see

light of the revue's influence on Tsubouchi's own staging, it perhaps comes as little surprise when, in concluding his collected essays on theatre and children's education, he even cites a slightly modified form of the Takarazuka motto. Tsubouchi closes the anthology by re-iterating the importance of providing children with the necessary knowledge for life (*jinsei no hitsuyō na chishiki*), and of allowing them to encounter truth (*shinsō*) – two tasks that must be carried out in a wholesome way (*kenzen na hōhō de*), by using scripts that deal with love (*ren'ai wo toriatsukatta kyakuhon*) purely, correctly, and nobly (*kiyoku, tadashiku, kōshō ni*).[237]

Along with the sudden mention of love (the term that Tsubouchi uses – which does not appear in the same context elsewhere in the book – is more suggestive of romantic or emotional love, as well as a favourite topic in the vast majority of Takarazuka plays), Tsubouchi's recommendation plays with the revue's motto, an injunction to its students and performers, specifically that they act purely, correctly, and beautifully (*kiyoku, tadashiku, utsukushiku*). Tsubouchi's citation of the revue's motto therefore makes a slight alteration to the actual words, at the same time that it addresses an entirely different group. Whereas the original motto instructed the girls to act purely, correctly, and beautifully, in Tsubouchi's instruction, the onus falls instead on the instructors, parents, and playwrights who would guide children. Put differently, the crucial task does not fall to the girls, who must grow through contact and sustained engagement with the arts, but

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Tsubouchi, *Kateiyō jidōgeki*, vol.2, and Takarazuka Shōjō Kagekidan (Takarazuka Girls' Opera Company), ed., *Takarazuka Shōjō Kageki: Tōkyō Teikoku Gekijō jōen kyakuhonshū (Takarazuka Girls' Opera: Scripts from the Tokyo Imperial Theatre Performances)* (Osaka: Hanshin Kyūkō Dentetsu, 1918).

[237] Tsubouchi, *Jidō kyōiku to engeki*, 232.

rather, to the adults, who “allow” (*furesasete iku*) those encounters, and determine their terms by providing the necessary knowledge and scripts.

While the Takarazuka Revue would continue to perform Tsubouchi’s plays and translations into the next decade, Tsubouchi himself, as with his own experiments of staging *kateiyō jidōgeki* publicly, eventually grew disenchanted with the revue. In 1924, the same year that he stepped back from directing the national tours of *kateiyō jidōgeki*, Tsubouchi criticized the revue for catering to adult tastes, and employing an excessively erotic style of staging and performance.[238] As critics have pointed out, however, Tsubouchi’s own criticisms, rooted in his tenets for what children’s theatre should be, are somewhat undercut by the fact that he was willing to practice what he himself had prescribed against. Though he might not identify the public demonstrations as an act of “catering to adult tastes,” Tsubouchi’s decision to hold these demonstrations nevertheless put children on a trajectory ending in what, under his binary conceptualization of space, constituted the adult space of the public stage, well before the necessary development processes in the home had been completed. In the attempt to spread *kateiyō jidōgeki* across the country, Tsubouchi simultaneously took children out from the private space of the home, a space he had identified as essential for children’s experimentation and subsequent development, and situated them instead in a public space where the priority was the same adult sensibilities he had decried in Takarazuka performances. After all, as Tsubouchi himself explained, the primary purpose of the demonstrations was to show *adult* educators and parents how to stage *kateiyō jidōgeki*, with the artistic and individual

[238] Tsubouchi Shōyō, “Nanigoto mo omotoshite yōnenki kara (Everything Begins at Childhood),” *Geki to sono ta (Theatre and Other Matters)*, Inaugural issue (1924), 5.

development of the children, both onstage and in the audience, taking second priority. Even if these demonstrations were intended to ultimately benefit children themselves, thus putting them theoretically as the first priority, they were nevertheless packaged by Asahi not as pedagogical theories in practice, but rather, as commercial entertainment. By his own admission, Tsubouchi's decision to "enhance" these demonstrations – through the same means that the Takarazuka Revue used, no less – did not serve a specific pedagogical goal. Instead, having been included for the sake of the adult audiences, these enhancements indicated the prioritization of the adult audience and their tastes, as well as, through their association with the profession of acting, the demonstrations' commercial entertainment aspect.

In this way, the public demonstrations of *kateiyō jidōgeki* fall roughly in line with the Takarazuka Revue's performances, or even with the performances staged by various girls' schools, in that they all run contrary to the fundamental tenets Tsubouchi had identified for children's home drama. Namely, all of them move children's theatre out from the private space of the home and onto the public space of the stage; exhibit a willingness to indulge, if not outright prioritize, adult audiences and their entertainment; and have been, at various points, oriented towards commercial entertainment, over strictly pedagogical goals. Thus, the only remaining fundamental tenet distinguishing the *kateiyō jidōgeki* performances from those of the Takarazuka Revue seems to be the means by which the plays' core morals are delivered, and the movements that inform that delivery.

In particular, the central lessons – what might be considered the necessary knowledge for life – in Tsubouchi's plays were almost always delivered by the mother figure, one that is firmly ensconced in or strongly tied to the space of the home. Her

trajectory, along with the girl who acted out her role, was always oriented inwards, towards her primary (and often only) task of helping her child embark on his own trajectory out towards broader society. Essentially, she catalyzes children's individual and social development, but is not herself changed or moved in the process.

In direct contrast, nearly everything about the Takarazuka performances was oriented outwards, even if only temporarily. For one, the primary function and novelty of the revue brought girls out of the home and featured them on a highly public stage, a move that simultaneously brought about much media and fan attention even when the girls were offstage. By extension, the development of the revue's massive fan base, one that consisted predominantly of young girls, meant that other girls were also moving out from the space of the home, and into the public space of the theatre, driven by something other than their relationships with their (future) children. Moreover, within the diegetic worlds of the plays themselves, the characters were not confined to the inside spaces of the home, but rather, tended to rove across exotic, foreign settings,[239] taking further steps outside the familiar domesticity of the home. In such settings, the actresses were not limited to the role of maternal catalyst, but might instead be the spirited heroine, a villain/villainess, or even, the dashing male hero, each of which entailed a different set of social relationships not defined by the figure of the child. By the same token, each of these roles presented the revue's young, female fans with a different point of identification,[240] a glimpse of different possibilities unbound to the space of the home or (the work of guiding) the developmental trajectory of one's child. While the official goal of the revue was internally oriented (i.e., to

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[239] Robertson, 154.

[240] Ibid, 203-4.

direct girls back into the home as good wives and wise mothers), during the girls' time as active members of the revue, the roles they carried out – as characters, entertainers, and celebrities – were all decidedly oriented outwards, towards a public space and the audiences sharing it with them.

In turn, the revue's movement outwards from the city of Takarazuka, propelled by its ever-growing popularity, meant that functionally, it could serve the same purpose that Tsubouchi had attached to the project of *kateiyō jidōgeki*. That is, in its movement across the country, towards its fans and audiences, Takarazuka could similarly offer wide-ranging access to the arts, and in so doing, contribute to the process of children's or girls' socialization, which, under Tsubouchi's conceptualization, entailed some understanding of interpersonal relationships, as well as of what trajectories into broader society might be open to the children or girls themselves. Indeed, Tsubouchi's initial response to the revue went along these lines, a positive recognition of how Takarazuka might serve to encourage children's interests in the arts,[241] but only eight years later, he would denounce what he saw as the revue's overly adult style of performance and staging.[242] As previously discussed, in organizing public demonstrations of *kateiyō jidōgeki*, Tsubouchi had already justified and/or made concessions to what he had, at other times, associated with the world of adults – namely, the public space of the stage, as well as the "enhancements" that indicated the business and profession of acting or commercial entertainment. As these were elements shared between the revue's performances and Tsubouchi's public demonstrations – at times, even introduced into the latter through the former's influence –

[241] Tsubouchi, "Airashiki shōjo kageki," 455.

[242] Tsubouchi, "Nanigoto mo omotoshite yōnenki kara," 5.

Tsubouchi's criticism seems to stem from the remaining point of distinction (in terms of what Tsubouchi considered fundamental elements to children's theatre) between the two.

That point was none other than the mother figure, one that was entirely committed to the space of the home and the development of her child. The revue's decision to strongly downplay, if not outright omit, this figure – which occupies such a pivotal role in Tsubouchi's conceptualization of theatre as a form of children's education – meant that while their plays shared formal similarities with Tsubouchi's demonstrations, they were conceptually, antithetical to Tsubouchi's approach. In light of the revue's popularity and influence – not just in schools across the country, but also, even on literary figures like Tsubouchi himself – its presentation of markedly different orientations for both its actresses and roles no doubt sat ill at ease with Tsubouchi's prescriptions for girls. Accordingly, when presented with the revue's wide-ranging method of encouraging children's engagement with and development through the arts, Tsubouchi's answer was to re-direct both children and the very project of *kateiyō jidōgeki* itself back into the home. Universal access to the arts, along with the individual and social development it promised, thus had to turn back from its excursion out on the public space of the stage, and return to the private space of the home, as defined by the necessary condition of the mother's guiding, yet crucially, fixed presence therein.

CHAPTER 3

Animated Films and the Temporalities of Imperial Education

Animated Film and Education

While Tsubouchi, Kitahara and his associates each had their own degree of reservations about education in state-run schools, their respective movements were never fully separate from the curricula and priorities of these schools. For one, if materials and approaches recommended by advocates were not directly incorporated into official Ministry of Education materials, then changes inspired by or modelled after the movements' works were implemented into those of state-run schools.[243] What is more, like the advocates for children's arts education, the Ministry of Education itself was actively invested in implementing new tools or methods for learning and instruction. While such implementation might not have been driven by the foremost goal of an arts-driven education for all children, the Ministry nevertheless aligned with advocates in common pursuit of new methods and technologies that could engage children in their own education as much and as efficiently as possible. One particularly interesting method adopted by the Ministry was the use of film, particularly animated film, in its classrooms.

The Ministry of Education's official involvement with animated film dates back to 1921, directly coinciding with the first steps of public advocacy taken by both Tsubouchi and Kitahara's respective groups. In particular, a third of the Ministry's 1921 Film

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[243] Ueno Hiromichi, "Gakkō wo toinaoshita geijutsuka-tachi (The Artists who Re-Thought School)," *Taishō jiyū kyōiku no kōbō (The Light of Taishō Free Education)*, Tomita Hiroyuki, Sekiguchi Yasushi, and Nakano Hikaru, eds., (Tokyo: Kyōzansha, 1993), 117-22. See also Nakano Akira, "Taishō jiyū kyōiku to *Geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* (Taishō Free Education and *Free Arts Education*)," *Taishō jiyū kyōiku no kōbō (The Light of Taishō Free Education)*, Tomita Hiroyuki, Sekiguchi Yasushi, and Nakano Hikaru, eds., (Tokyo: Kyōzansha, 1993), 7-25.

Recommendation System consisted of animated films, and by 1925, the Ministry was actively involved in the production of animated educational films for elementary and junior high schools. The subsidies and incentives offered for animated educational films would, in fact, sustain the greater part of animated film production in Japan in the early 20th Century, with the number of animated educational films far outstripping the number of animated narrative films.[244] This is not to suggest, however, that the Ministry of Education was the only party invested in animated educational films, nor that its investment aligned with the goals of animation filmmakers with any measure of consistency.

As Hikari Hori has indicated, groups involved in sponsoring and/or producing animated films in early 20th Century Japan included retail companies and Marxist art organizations, politicians and amateur film clubs.[245] Filmmakers like Seo Mitsuyo, credited with directing Japan's first feature-length animated film, had their first encounters with and experience of making animated film through activist or amateur film groups, but given the fluctuations in opportunities for work or public exhibition,[246] later took up steadier work commissioned by government organizations, companies, and political parties.[247] The disconnect between what these filmmakers envisioned for the medium, and what working conditions actually enabled them to do was underscored in a 1936 roundtable discussion between filmmakers, teachers, and the Tokyo municipal board of education. After more

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[244] Jonathan Clements and Barry Ip, "The Shadow Staff: Japanese Animators in the Tōhō Aviation Education Materials Production Office 1939-1945," *Animation: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, vol. 7, no. 2, 2012, pp. 189-204; Daisuke Miyao, "Before anime: animation and the Pure Film Movement in pre-war Japan," *Japan Forum*, vol. 14, no. 2, 2002, pp. 191-209; Yamaguchi Katsunori and Watanabe Yasushi, *Nihon animēshon eiga shi (The History of Japanese Animation)* (Ōsaka: Yūbunsha, 1977).

[245] Hikari Hori, *Promiscuous Media: Film and Visual Culture in Imperial Japan, 1926—1945* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017), 160-4.

[246] Clements and Ip, 192.

[247] Hori, 160-7.

than a decade of Ministry of Education support for and involvement in the production of animated educational films, the animation industry, according to Seo, was neither profitable nor conducive to producing animated films of quality.[248]

In other words, the Ministry of Education had invested in a yet developing medium, one that was costly, labour-intensive,[249] and, depending on the group involved, linked to different socio-political priorities and ideologies. Such investment, however, was essentially consistent with the Ministry's decision to adopt some forms or aspects of, among others, the *jidōgeki* (children's theatre) and *geijutsu jiyū kyōiku* (free arts education) movements, which were, like animated film, tied to artists or art groups with distinctly different goals and organizing principles. Moreover, the Ministry's interest in animated film can also be better understood in context of another government body's involvement with the medium – namely, the Navy Ministry.

The Navy Ministry was not only actively involved in the production and promotion of popular songs for children, education, and wartime morale, but also, sponsored animators to work on military training films,[250] including the animated feature films directed by Seo during the Second World War. Jonathan Clements and Barry Ip's findings suggest that the Navy Ministry's interests stemmed from its awareness specifically of the work produced by Walt Disney Studios – particularly animated work produced for the war effort – and by extension, the studio's findings that animated film helped trainees learn

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[248] Inada Tatsuo et al., "Manga eiga zadankai (zoku) (Roundtable on *Manga eiga* (Continued))," *Eiga kyōiku (Film Education)*, December 1936, p. 21.

[249] Hori, 164.

[250] Ibid, 167; Clements and Ip, 192-5.

faster and retain information better.[251] While he did not explicitly reference such studies, military press officer Yoneyama Tadao's argument for the increased production and use of animated film similarly focused on the effectiveness and efficiency of animated film in an educational setting – in this case, with the end goals of mobilizing people for the war effort and promoting the idea of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.[252] With such endorsement from the Navy Ministry, it is perhaps unsurprising that the adoption of animated films in classroom settings, together with the underlying perception of animated films' efficacy and efficiency in facilitating learning, extended to the Ministry of Education's pedagogical approaches. Tellingly, in promotional posters for *Momotarō no umiwashi (Momotarō's Sea Eagles)*, the 1943 animated propaganda film that Seo directed under the Navy Ministry's sponsorship, the film was advertised as bearing the recommendation of the Ministry of Education, as "a living textbook for children."[253]

Like the children's magazines and the home space at the centre of contemporaneous movements for children's education, animated film likewise constituted an emerging medium that was seen as offering a more engaging, and thus more effective means of education – one that (at least in theory) could be reproduced or reused multiple times,

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[251] Clements and Ip, 195. While the studio's findings might seem like a looping affirmation of the studios itself, existing records and current scholarship point more towards Disney's large but regulated operations, along with its established public image, as the more immediate factors behind its being contracted for the war effort. See: Jon Lewis, "Disney after Disney: Family business and the business of family," *Disney Discourse*, Eric Smoodin, ed., (New York: Routledge, 1994); Nicholas Sammond, *Babes in Tomorrowland: Walt Disney and the Making of the American Child, 1930-1960* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

[252] Yoneyama Tadao, "Kaigun kankei seisaku no manga eiga ni tsuite (On *manga eiga* produced in partnership with the Navy)," *Eiga junpō (Film Report)*, 1 December 1942, pp. 84-5. See also: Yukimura Mayumi, "Sensō to animēshon: Shokugyō toshite no animētā no tanjō purosesu ni tsuite no kōsatsu kara (War and Animation: The Birth of the Animator as a Professional)," *Soshioroji (Sociology)*, vol. 52, no. 1, 2007, pp. 87-102.

[253] "*Momotaro's Sea Eagle*'s ad collection," *The Roots of Japanese Anime until the End of WWII*, Zakka Films, 2008.

allowing for a greater degree of efficiency and utility. With Tsubouchi and Kitahara's group, the ease and efficiency of their respective visions of arts education was directly tied to ideas of "nature" or the "natural," both in terms of environment, as well as of children themselves. With animated film, however, there was a concurrent and more pronounced emphasis on the advanced animation technologies that would drive the ease and efficiency of learning. What is more, the use and exhibition of these technologies were frequently entrenched in nationalist and geopolitical discourses,[254] the degree and tone of which were more pronounced and oppositional than those in Tsubouchi and Kitahara's calls for national equivalents of children's literary, cultural, or pedagogical movements from other countries across the world. As Hori has noted, with the Navy Ministry's support for and expansion of animated film production in the 1940s, "the medium [of animation] was given a political position, with the mission of embodying the nation of Japan."[255]

At the same time, precisely because such support swelled under a period of escalating tensions with the United States, animation as the embodiment of Japan simultaneously entailed its own positioning against the United States, at once an enemy country and a major force behind international trends in animation. Tellingly, *Momotarō no umiwashi* – an animated account of the attack on Pearl Harbor – not only featured Bluto (the antagonist of Fleischer Studios' *Popeye the Sailor* series) as a serviceman at the American naval base, but was also advertised under a call for the "Obliteration of Yankee cartoons!" complete with an illustration of Roosevelt drowning in the ocean with "the

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[254] Miyao, 197-204; Ōtsuka Eiji, "An Unholy Alliance of Eisenstein and Disney: The Fascist Origins of Otaku Culture," trans. Thomas Lamarre, *Mechademia*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2013, pp. 251-277.

[255] Hori, 155.

American gangster Popeye," Bluto, and Betty Boop. Indeed, the natures of both Japanese animated film and the characters that appeared in them were repeatedly pit against their American counterparts, characterized as being "as different as night and day."[256]

The timing of state investment in this new medium – coinciding with other key developments like the implementation of the 1939 Film Law, which sought to regulate Japanese film production so that it aligned closely with state ideology – thus directly informed the ideological and geopolitical positioning of animated film. However, time, its entanglements with ideas of national development and international order, also functioned in animated films in other complex and sometimes contradictory ways. For one, the equation of animation and the nation-state meant that "advancement" of the former amounted to the same for the latter, with one indicator of such "advancement" being the length of animated films. That is, the "advancement" of animation and its country of origin entailed their arrangement on a shared axis of time, on which a country and its animation industry could only be either ahead or behind others, and which was determined, at least in part, by each country/animation industry's ability to produce feature-length films, or films with a longer run time.[257]

Additionally, the temporal benefits of animation – namely, its reported ability to reduce the time needed to learn new information, while also ensuring a longer period of

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[256] "*Momotaro's Sea Eagle*'s ad collection."

[257] In Japan's case, definitions varied in terms of what the exact run time for a feature-length film should be. At the time of its release, Seo's first animated feature for the Navy Ministry, *Momotarō no umiwashi*, was widely advertised as Japan's first feature-length animated film, even though it had a run-time of only 37 minutes. Presently, the film's sequel, *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei (Momotarō's Divine Sea Warriors)* is more commonly acknowledged as holding that title with its run time of 74 minutes. For more on government bodies, artists, and animation industries' preoccupations with producing feature-length animated film, see: Clements and Ip, 197-8; Aaron Gerow, "*Momotaro's Sea Eagle*," *The Roots of Japanese Anime: Until the End of WW II* (Tokyo: Zakka Films, 2008), 10-11; Hori, 181-2, 202-3.

information retention – brought animated film into classrooms, with the express goal of paving the way for children (and by extension, the nation-state) to embark on a similarly structured, if not overlapping, axis of progress or development. In turn, animation's ties to international politics and pedagogy, particularly in terms of time, simultaneously fed into the visions that both animators and the Japanese imperial administration had for animated film: the export of animated film to Japanese colonies in Southeast Asia. In a 1942 roundtable discussion among government officials and film industry members, the general consensus was that animated film (together with newsreels) should be among the first materials introduced to people in Southeast Asia. The hope was that animated film could reproduce the educational effects that it had had on young people domestically in Japan, while also educating people in Southeast Asia about their role and benefits under the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. The discussants' support was motivated by the results that animated film had produced in Japanese classrooms thus far, as well as their view that the medium of animation, especially with musical accompaniment, would appeal specifically to the people of Southeast Asia.[258] Indeed, Seo – who was then in production for *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei (Momotarō's Divine Sea Warriors*), sponsored by the Navy Ministry as a response to Disney's *Fantasia* (1940) and its animated musical sequences[259] – confirmed that his project was intended first, for young citizens (*shō kokumin*) in Japan, and immediately after, for audiences in the Southeast Asia region.[260]

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[258] Imamura Taihei et al., "Tanpen eiga no kentō 2: Manga, kage-e, hōmu gurafu, sumō eiga wo kataru (Review of Short Film 2: On manga, shadow pictures, home pictures, and sumo films)," *Eiga junpō (Film Report)*, 21 July 1942, pp. 18-22.

[259] Clements and Ip, 190-1.

[260] Masaoka Kenzō et al., "Manga eiga no tame no hatten-teki shomondai (Various developmental problems in *manga eiga*)," *Eiga hyōron (Film Criticism)*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1944, p. 39.

While Seo's project never made it to Southeast Asia during the war,[261] the trajectory laid out for it and other animated films points to both acknowledgement and ambition to make use of animation's ties to time. Not only was animation intended to save time and resources in colonial re-education efforts – crucial especially in the final years of the war – but, through its content and image as an indicator of technological progress, animation was also meant to impress upon audiences the same axes of time and development that animators and government officials had used to order national animation industries.

Seo's two *Momotarō* films, each of which carried the title of "Japan's longest feature-length cartoon" at different points in time, were particularly well positioned to serve such goals, not only because they deployed advanced animation technologies like the multiplane camera, but also because they met the goal of producing a feature-length film domestically in Japan. For government officials and film industry members, such accomplishments put the Japanese animation industry (and by extension, the country itself) on par with, if not above, what they saw as its American competitor.

In this chapter, I examine the longer, second *Momotarō* film and the ways in which its advancements – spotlighted in the film's diegetic and material construction – simultaneously promote and frustrate organizations of time, development, and geopolitical

[261] Viewing numbers for the two films differed considerably: while the first film, *Momotarō no umiwashi*, enjoyed great popularity among both child and adult audiences in Japan, its sequel, *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei*, had very few showings, owing largely to the fact that the latter had been completed and released in the final months of World War II, when many urban areas were grappling with the constant threat and damage from air raids, and had already evacuated their children, the primary intended audiences for the film, while adolescents were likely to be conscripted for factory work. See: Jonathan Clements, "Momotaro, Sacred Soldiers," *Glasgow Film*, 14 October 2016, https://glasgowfilm.org/latest/programmeNotes/momotaro-sacred-sailors; Ogura Kentarō, "Manga eiga no kakuchō: *Momotatarō no umiwashi* kara *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* e (The Expansion of Manga Film: from *Momotaro's Sea Eagles* to *Momotaro: Sacred Sailors*)," *Eizōgaku (Cinema Stuies)*, no. 101, 2019, pp. 5-26; Tezuka Osamu, *Tezuka Osamu daisen 1 (Tezuka Osamu Complete Works 1)* (Tokyo: Magajin hausu, 1992).

relations. As a propaganda film aimed at audiences in Southeast Asia, *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* attempts to establish a thread of commonality, cultural and temporal, which subsequently becomes the basis for arranging what might be understood as the film's stand-ins for Japan, Southeast Asia, and the Anglo-American powers[262] in order of advancement and future potential. The film establishes this framework by employing representational tropes, narrative parallels and contrasts, and extended displays of advanced animation technologies. However, it is also through these same techniques that the thread of commonality, along with the geopolitical order it supports, begins to fray, suggesting instead, multiple experiences of time that cannot be reconciled or minimized under the Co-Prosperity Sphere's – and, by extension, its promotional film's – attendant visions of shared orientations and futures.

In reading *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* thus, I do not mean to suggest any idealistic interpretation of the film as essentially anti-war or inherently pacifist, a trend that Hori has identified in post-war responses to the film.[263] At the same time, I maintain the importance of critical attention to the multiplicity of factors – material, cultural, and experiential, among others – entangled with the film's use and exploration of new media technology, complicating the ministries' visions of effective and efficient transmission of imperial

[262] Thomas Lamarre cautions against reading the visual designs of animated characters, especially when these designs straddle the human and the animal, as directly equivalent to a definite set of ethnic or racial terms. Because the design of an animated animal character may refer equally to "a race, a nation, an ethnicity, all of these, or none of these," an animated work involving such a character might gesture at a sense of difference or racial distinction, but not specify the exact terms of such distinction. Thomas Lamarre, "Speciesism, Part I: Translating Races into Animals in Wartime Animation," *Mechademia: Second Arc*, Vol. 3: Limits of the Human, 2008, p. 86.

[263] Hori, 156-8. See also: Seo Mitsuyo, Tezuka Osamu, Mori Takuya, Okada Emiko, Sugimoto Gorō, and Nagahara Tatsuya, "Zadankai · Maboroshi no nihon hatsu no chōhen animēshon *Momotarō no umi no shinpei* wo kataru (Roundtable: Discussing the storied *Momotarō's Divine Sea Warriors*, Japan's first feature-length animation)," *FILM 1/24*, no. 32, July 1984, pp. 74-85.

ideology. Attention to these factors offers a more multivalent understanding not only of the film's mechanics, but also, of how those mechanics, at turns, serve and frustrate the film's intended purpose as propaganda and educational material for children.

Momotarō over Time

Momotarō's appearance as the titular lead in both of Seo's animated feature films was no accident. Robert Tierney identifies Momotarō as "*the* quintessential Japanese folktale,"[264] one whose legend has a myriad of versions, transformed across mediums like print, the stage, and, in this case, animated film. Records of Momotarō as an oral folktale date back to the late Muromachi period (1333-1568), while the earliest written versions of his tale appear in the Genroku period (1688-1704).[265] By the late 1800s, Momotarō was a fixture in Ministry of Education textbooks – as well as one of the most frequently published folktales for children in general – serving to promote national culture and national language until 1945.[266] Given this history and function of encouraging nationalist sentiment, it perhaps comes as little surprise that Momotarō – identified as a native tale, as opposed to a foreign import like other children's or adventure stories – was among the folktales mobilized to inspire support, particularly among children, for Japanese imperial expansion at the turn of the 20th Century.[267] Moreover, because of their simple, compact

[264] Robert Tierney, *Tropics of Savagery: The Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010), 117.

[265] Namekawa Michio, *Momotarōzō no hen'yō (Transformations of Momotarō's Image)* (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 1981), 2-9.

[266] Antoni Klaus, "Momotarō and the Spirit of Japan: Concerning the Function of a Fairy Tale in Japanese Nationalism in the Early Shōwa Age," *Asian Folklore Studies*, vol. 50, 1991, pp. 155-8; Torigoe Shin, *Momotarō no unmei (The Fate of Momotarō)* (Tokyo: Minerva Shobō, 2004), 4.

[267] Tierney, 115.

structure, folktales like Momotarō were seen as ideal for nation-wide dissemination, spreading from the elementary school system outwards into the general public.[268]

Certainly, the story of Momotarō, in its most basic iteration, consists of a relatively simple string of events, one that nevertheless exhibits touches of fantasy – qualities that likely contributed to its multiple re-interpretations and revisions over the centuries. Named after the peach from which he sprang, Momotarō (or Peach Boy) eventually leaves the elderly couple who had raised him and ventures to Ogre Island, accompanied by a dog, a monkey, and a pheasant, who join him along the way. The impetus for his quest has been variously explained – most commonly, to save the villagers and the elderly couple from the ogres, and/or claim the treasure on the island – but in nearly all versions of the tale, Momotarō returns triumphantly to his village, having bested the ogres and claimed the treasure from the island. As scholars have catalogued, however, the story of Momotarō, what he, his quest, and the other characters stood for have changed drastically and repeatedly over the years.[269] If, for example, Momotarō and the ogres respectively represented the imperial state and its enemies during the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars at the turn of the 20th Century, Taishō period (1912-1926) children's literature in the following decades tended to re-imagine him as a symbol of peace and childhood innocence, with one version of his tale even omitting his arrival on and conquest of Ogre Island, focusing instead on his interactions with his animal friends. Momotarō has also featured in proletarian literature as a revolutionary leader fighting to liberate others

[268] Ibid.

[269] See, for example: Namekawa, *Momotarōzō no hen'yō*; Tierney, *Tropics of Savagery*; Torigoe, *Momotarō no unmei*.

from the ogres' exploitation, just as he has appeared in other versions as a scheming capitalist or a violent imperialist, one who subjects the ogres (and occasionally, even his animal companions) to deceit and cruelty.[270]

Momotarō and his entanglements with Japanese imperial expansion were particularly pronounced in what Tierney has identified as South Seas fever.[271] In 1915, in the wake of World War I, Japan acquired formerly German-controlled territories in Micronesia, which not only presented Japanese businesses with a foothold from which they could expand operations in Southeast Asia,[272] but also ignited public fascination with the idea of *nan'yō* or the South Seas. What exactly constituted *nan'yō* changed over the years, shifting with both the borders and ambitions of the Japanese empire, but the concept took solid root in both the literary imaginary and political discourse of early 20th Century Japan.[273] In particular, *nan'yō* came to be invested with competing temporalities: an exotic space marked by the simplicity of (and nostalgia for) bygone days, it was nevertheless crucial for Japan's future, since control of its resources promised both stability and leverage in Japan's international dealings.

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[270] Torigoe, 33-134.

[271] Tierney, 110-4.

[272] Ibid, 110.

[273] See, for example: *Dai Nan'yō Tenrankai zuroku (Great South Seas Exhibition Catalogue)* (Tokyo: Nan'yō Dantai Rengōkai, 1942); Hayase Shinzō, ed., Nan'yō Kyōkai hakkō zasshi *kaisetsu · sōmokuroku · sakuin:* Kaihō · Nan'yō Kyōkai kaihō · Nan'yō Kyōkai zasshi *1915-1944-nen shippitsusha · jinmei · chimei · jikō (Readings, General Contexts, and Indices of* Magazines Published by the South Seas Association: *Writers, People, Places, and Items in* Bulletin, South Seas Association Bulletin, South Seas Association Magazine, 1915-1944*)* (Tokyo: Ryūkei Shosha, 2018); Iimoto Nobuyuki and Satō Hiroshi, eds., *Nan'yō chiri taikei (Geographic Surveys of the South Seas)* (Tokyo: Daiyamondosha, 1942); Naoto Sudo, *Nanyo-Orientalism: Japanese Representations of the Pacific* (Amherst, N.Y.: Cambria Press, 2010); Tsuchiya Shinobu, *Nan'yō bungaku no seisei: Otozureru koto to omou koto (The Formation of South Seas Literature: To Arrive and To Imagine)* (Tokyo: Shintensha, 2013).

Tierney points to the influence of Takekoshi Yosaburō, a historian, politician, and one of the most vocal advocates for Japanese expansion into the South Seas, whose writings explicitly linked *nan'yō*, time and international relations, and the role of literature therein. Takekoshi argued that Japan's present and future depended on control of resources in the "underdeveloped" South Seas region, wherein the marker of development was, at least in part, the establishment of national literature. In a move that would be echoed by other writers and officials, Takekoshi called for the development of a Japanese colonial literature aimed primarily at young readers, akin to that produced in other colonizing nations, so that it could inspire such readers at their most impressionable age, and subsequently set them on the path of furthering Japan's imperial expansion.[274] Under South Seas fever, literature was conceived, at once, as the distinguishing factor between developed and underdeveloped nations, and as the catalyst for raising a generation in the former to colonize those in the latter. In the subsequent search for literature that could fulfil these conditions, the tale of Momotarō, with its long history and familiar structure, came to be the model and symbol of South Seas expansion.

After all, at the turn of the 20th Century, the tale of Momotarō not only dated back hundreds of years – even as it was more recently reinvented for and reacquainted with young readers via Ministry of Education textbooks and children's readers – but his tale was also held up as of decidedly domestic origin.[275] As such, Momotarō served as a rare and prized exception to what Takekoshi and others saw as the shortage, if not outright lack, of

[274] Tierney, 111-5.

[275] Yanagita Kunio, "Momotarō no tanjō (The Birth of Momotarō)," *Yanagita Kunio zenshū (Complete Works of Yanagita Kunio)*, vol. 10 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1990), pp. 7-422.

Japanese colonial literature – a situation that, according to them, needed remedying if Japan was to rival other imperial nations, both in terms of literary culture and colonial expansion.[276] What is more, the relative simplicity of Momotarō's narrative, along with the history of re-interpretations that such simplicity had engendered, meant that Momotarō readily accommodated this most recent re-working of his tale: one where he journeys to an Ogre Island somewhere in the South Seas, and handily triumphs over ogres who suggest, to varying degrees, their being modelled after the American, British, or European colonial powers. For Takekoshi, the tale of Momotarō, as re-interpreted under South Seas fever, marked the distinction between Japan and its (present and potential) colonies, aligning the former with other colonizing nations that likewise had their own colonial literatures and enterprises.

However, as that alignment ultimately pointed to rivalry – borne out in the re-imaginings of Momotarō displacing other colonial powers in the South Seas – yet another distinction, this time between Japan and other colonizing nations, became equally necessary and important. This latest distinction, in turn, was shaped by the growing influence of Pan-Asianism and the popularity of various theories tying the Japanese race to different regions or peoples across Asia.[277] In other words, the necessity of distinction from other colonial powers entailed some adjustment to the distinction between Japan and its colonies / "underdeveloped" neighbours. In particular, this latter relationship came to be defined as difference in terms of advancement (cultural, technological, or imperial,

[276] Takekoshi Yosaburō, "Shokumin bungaku wo furiokoseyō (Let Colonial Literature Flourish)," *Shokumin sekai (Colonial World)*, no. 1, 1908, p. 7.

[277] See, for example: Oguma Eiji, *Tan'itsu minzoku shin'wa no kigen (The Origins of the Myth of the Homogeneous Nation* (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 1995).

among others), but nevertheless rooted in ties of kinship, or at the very least, shared histories and cultures, reaching into the distant past. Crucially, these shared ties and histories set both Japan and its colonies apart from other colonizing nations, and in the same breath, was used as justification for Japan's role as leader in visions of Pan-Asianism.

Effectively, the South Seas, specifically in its relationship with Japan, came to be primarily identified with the past – one that was shared with Japan at some point, but inevitably left behind through the latter's advancement. At the same time, maintenance of and further momentum for Japan's advancement depended on its relations with, or more accurately, control of, the South Seas, so the region was simultaneously tied up with Japan's future, with generations of Japanese children to be oriented towards someday "reclaiming" and administering the South Seas. Unsurprisingly, what Takekoshi and others identified as Japanese colonial literature, as the tools to correctly orient those generations, similarly drew complex lines of distinction and kinship between Japan and the South Seas. The re-worked Momotarō, this time as the flag-bearing representative of such literature, was no exception.

Notably, in Nitobe Inazō's 1907 essay, "Momotarō no mukashibanashi (The Legend of Momotarō)," Momotarō features paradoxically as a Japanese folk hero of foreign origins, one whose lineage traces back to Malay explorers who had travelled to Japan in ancient times.[278] Momotarō's identity as the descendant of these explorers allowed Nitobe to recast the project of South Seas expansion in the most favourable light possible, while also allowing him to shuttle between kinship and distinction in describing Japan's relationships

[278] Nitobe Inazō, "Momotarō no mukashibanashi (The Legend of Momotarō)," *Nitobe Inazō zenshū*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 1970), 186-96.

with the South Seas region and other imperial nations. In particular, Nitobe highlighted Momotarō's foreign origins as a way of identifying him (and by extension, the Japanese race) with a group of people who were ambitious and resourceful enough not only to venture to an entirely different environment, but also, to adapt and assimilate other races upon arrival.[279] At the same time, as the descendant of such people, Momotarō's foray into the South Seas constituted less of an imperial conquest, and more of a homecoming – justified as the benevolent extension of the civilizing project to distant kin, who had missed an earlier opportunity by not joining Momotarō's more enterprising ancestors.

Momotarō thus served as the convergence point of paradoxical characteristics and sets of relations: while re-cast as distant kin to the peoples of the South Seas, both his ancestors' initial departure from and his project (to secure and administer resources) in the region were nevertheless used to align him with imperial nations in Europe and America. Indeed, the very existence of his tale (as an example of colonial literature), its long history and status specifically as a Japanese folktale, was raised as evidence of Momotarō and Japan's fundamental difference from their South Seas neighbours – a difference frequently expressed as Japan's cultural and social advancement, which, in turn, warranted Japan's role as administrator and leader instead of othered imperial powers. Nevertheless, in re-writing Momotarō's ancestral history and simultaneously gesturing at the future he promised, Nitobe also re-structured geopolitical relations – specifically around the locus of Japan – and history, such that Japan's relations with the South Seas, the ties of kinship stretched as far back as, if not even farther than the history of the tale itself.

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[279] Nitobe Inazō, "Bunmei no nanshin (The Southern Expansion of Civilization," *Jitsugyō no Nihon (Industrial Japan)*, 1915, pp. 7-12

This re-working of the relationships and history between Momotarō, Japan, and the South Seas mapped cleanly onto the temporal relations that had been drawn between Japan and the South Seas at the height of South Seas fever. Nitobe's version of Momotarō not only posited a shared history and kinship between Japan and the South Seas, but also firmly positioned the South Seas *in* and *as* that past history: more than just a site of nostalgia for simpler times, the South Seas, as the origin and departure point of Momotarō's ancestors, became what those ancestors – and by extension, Japan – *had left behind*, *had been* before taking on the venture of founding an entirely new nation. Moreover, as a place that had remained unchanged, that had to wait for the "return" of those ancestors, via their descendant, to even have the civilizing project extended to it, the South Seas came to be invested with fixed, even stagnant qualities, a sharp contrast to the adaptive and mobile characteristics attributed to those enterprising ancestors, Momotarō, and Japan itself.

This capacity for change and mobility, in turn, was used to identify both Momotarō and Japan with the present, as well as with visions of an ascendant future. The Momotarō of South Seas fever, after all, was the present-day heir and incarnation of those earlier ancestors, whose own movements and impetus for change promised a more secure, prosperous future – not only because Momotarō's "return" was equated with the acquisition of the resources necessary for that future, but also because his very tale was seen as the means of inspiring Japan's younger generations to follow in his wake, to recreate his movements and push the changes he had wrought even further. By the same token, Momotarō's "return," as simultaneously the distant kin of South Seas people, was also presented as a benevolent invitation to share in that future, an extension of his (his ancestors and descendants') momentum to finally nudge the South Seas out from its rut in

the past, and onto the initial stages of the civilizing project – even if in increments and at a much later point in time than Japan. In this way, Nitobe's reimagined Momotarō served to bring Japan and the South Seas together under a shared history, kinship, and future trajectory, even as it simultaneously identified each region with different temporalities, locating each region at different points in their shared timeline, such that some distinction or gap was consistently maintained between them.

As Japan's "first professor of colonial policy studies"[280] and chair of that department at Tokyo Imperial University, Nitobe was instrumental not only in setting the terms and direction of such studies, but also in conveying them to specialists and government officials studying at the university, who were, in turn, slated to take up key positions in the Japanese imperial administration upon the conclusion of their studies. Nitobe's position at the vanguard of such studies was, in fact, secured through his connections with key figures in the Japanese colonial administration – in particular, Gotō Shinpei, who was then serving as director of the South Manchuria Railway Company, but had previously served as the civilian governor of Taiwan under Japanese rule.[281] The involvement of such figures in Nitobe's professional placement can be understood as indicative of their endorsement of his ideas and approaches. In turn, while there was some divergence between Nitobe and his students' respective views on the specifics of colonial policy,[282] they nevertheless

[280] Tierney, 126.

[281] As one of the most powerful and influential members of the political elite at the time, Gotō's support for Pan-Asianism was instrumental in its proliferation and impact on Japanese colonial policy. See, for example: Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, eds., *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History, Volume 2: 1920—Present* (Plymouth, UK: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2011).

[282] Tierney discusses the example of Tōgō Minoru, a student of Nitobe, who similarly re-staged the Momotarō folktale in the South Seas and identified Momotarō with Japanese colonization, but who nevertheless saw Momotarō as primarily a conquering figure, not a settler or ruler, and therefore, unsuited to the long-term structure and realities of administering a colony. Tierney, 133-4.

aligned in their treatment of Momotarō as an emblem of the Japanese empire, particularly as it extended to the South Seas.

Indeed, much of the appeal of Nitobe's re-imagined Momotarō can be attributed to how neatly its promoted worldviews aligned with the expansionist project under South Seas fever. As aforementioned, by locating Momotarō and Japan in a long line of explorer-conquerors – one that stretched far into the past and promised to extend well into the future – Nitobe's Momotarō pushed an argument for Japan in the role of leader among its neighbours and (newly identified) kin. Notably, Momotarō and Japan's distinction was premised on the establishment of similarity, specifically kinship as shared history or racial origin. That is, it was *because* Momotarō and Japan were descended from South Seas people, *because* they shared the same theoretical starting point, that present-day difference, or distances traversed, could be identified and measured, held up as evidence of Momotarō and Japan's advancement, and by extension, their suitability as leaders and administrators. At the same time, the common grounds of kinship served to soften and obscure the project of imperial conquest as ancestral homecoming, and in the same breath, unify Japan and the South Seas against other colonizing nations.

If re-writing the story of Momotarō equated to re-writing the history of Japan, then Nitobe's re-write of Momotarō as a descendant of the South Seas not only tied Japan and the South Seas together, indicating a history that stretched further back than might have been anticipated, but also served as the grounds for comparisons that consistently pointed to Japan's advantage. In this way, the use of kinship paralleled the use of animation as common grounds for linking and comparison, both entailing common axes of time and development, on which one could only ever be behind or ahead of others. Certainly,

comparison through animation was primarily concerned with Japan and the U.S., drawing notably sharper, more competitive conclusions without the attendant claims of shared ancestry, or the promise of a shared future through benevolence and mutual co-operation. However, in its key function of establishing common grounds for subsequent claims of advancement/backwardness, the use of animation clearly overlapped with the use of kinship as embodied by Momotarō. Given this commonality in function, together with increased investment in both Momotarō *and* animation as two means of educating younger generations, it is perhaps unsurprising that a newly re-imagined Momotarō, one intimately tied to the expansionist project in the South Seas, became the star of the biggest animation project in Japan at the time.

Momotarō no umiwashi (1942) and *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* (1945)

Seo's two Momotarō films, which carried the distinction of being Japan's first feature-length animated film at different points in time, share the most basic elements of the Momotarō tale, but nevertheless exhibit a markedly different approach, with the influence of South Seas fever and the Momotarō it produced more pronounced in the second, longer film. By the same token, both films exhibit a preoccupation with putting current animation techniques and technologies on show (and thus, making a case for the Japanese animation industry as competitively on par with, if not superior to the American animation industry), but the idea of kinship and the very geography of the South Seas does not appear until the second film.

As a number of critics have noted, the first film, *Momotarō no umiwashi*, is a distinctly more contained, yet playful film.[283] Hori points out that the film functioned as Japanese audiences' first exposure to extended and detailed audiovisual "footage" of the attack on Pearl Harbor, since prior to the film's release in January 1942, a month after the attack, domestic coverage in Japan had been limited to newspaper reports, radio broadcast, and an extremely short (approximately thirty-second) newsreel that was, unfortunately, unclear about its actual subject matter and shot with an unsteady hand. In light of the newsreel's shortcomings, the Navy's commission of *Momotarō no umiwashi* shortly thereafter can be understood as a renewed attempt to commemorate the attack on film, this time with sufficiently clear and impressive moving images.[284] At a significantly longer run-time of thirty-seven minutes, which was then widely promoted as Japan's first feature-length animated film,[285] *Momotarō no umiwashi* provided audiences with that clearer, closer, and more leisurely look at the attack on Pearl Harbor. The film takes the time to show different stages of the operation, opening with preparations from onboard an aircraft carrier, before showing the actual attack on Pearl Harbor, and then closing with the safe return of all Navy personnel.

While the film was intended as celebratory reportage of a military victory, it was also essentially another re-telling of the Momotarō tale. Accordingly, the folktale hero appears in the film as the commander of the troops, which largely consist of the same animals – dogs, monkeys, and pheasants – that accompanied Momotarō in the story. In

[283] See, for example: Gerow, 10; Hori, 183-4; Ogura, 13-7.

[284] Hori, 173.

[285] Gerow, 10; Hori, 168.

turn, the demons appear not only as American servicemen at Pearl Harbor, but also, as familiar characters from American animated films[286] – namely, Bluto from Fleischer Studios' *Popeye the Sailor* series. The Bluto in *Momotarō no umiwashi*, however, is modified with a horn to indicate his demonic nature, as well as with, ironically, a cowering personality at odds with both this newly identified nature and his aggression in the original series. Even so, his design leaves little room for misrecognition, with even his voice lifted directly from one of the *Popeye* prints.[287] In this way, the film re-tells the story of Momotarō not only as a fight against demonic Americans at Pearl Harbor, but also as a fight against the American animation industry itself. This anti-American positioning of the film and the Momotarō story was also maintained in advertisements for the former, which not only explicitly identified Pearl Harbor as the new "Demon Island (Hawaii), the main base of the evil demons of America,"[288] but also consistently framed the film in combative competition with American animation, wherein Japanese animation was not only superior to, but was also certain to defeat or even "obliterate" its American counterpart.

At the same time, while scholars have identified multiple different sources that fed into *Momotarō no umiwashi*'s visuals, one of its most striking qualities is its consistent and unambiguous citation of American animation style. For example, Peter B. High has demonstrated how the aerial attack in the film references a similar (and highly influential)

[286] By the early 1930s, characters like Mickey Mouse and Betty Boop – that is, characters by Disney Studios and Fleischer Studios – were ubiquitous in Japan, appearing not only in animated films and toy films, but also, in everything from shop names to colouring books and New Year's cards. They were likewise the favourite subjects for a range of pirated materials. See: Hori, 161-4, Ōtsuka, 255-7.

[287] Seo Mitsuyo, "Momotarō's Sea Eagle," *The Japan/America Film Wars: World War II Propaganda and Its Cultural Contexts*, eds. Abé Mark Nornes and Fukushima Yukio (Langhorne, PA: Harwood Academic, 1994), 194.

[288] "*Momotaro's Sea Eagle*'s ad collection."

scene from Yamamoto Kajirō's 1942 live-action and special effects film, *Hawai · Marē oki kaisen (The War at Sea from Hawaii to Malaya)*,[289] while Ogura Kentarō has traced how scenes in the film were directly recreated from photographs and illustrations that had appeared in (and been made familiar to the public via) Japanese newspapers, magazines, and children's reading materials.[290] However, the world and sequences of events shaped by such imagery also function as the stage for characters whose design, movements, and behaviours recreate those in American animated films and series, especially those produced by Fleischer Studios. Accordingly:

> …human or animal forms freely expand, shrink, and flatten; they do not die; machines and objects are personified while living creatures are shown as mechanical forms; and various emotions (surprise, excitement, despair, and happiness), gags, walking movements, and gestures are stylized to the degree that a system of codes has been established… it presents the characters' undying bodies and anarchic physicality.[291]

As a case in point, during the attack on Pearl Harbor, one of the monkeys chases after a torpedo gone off course by windmilling its arms such that it is propelled forward in the water and even upward into the air, after which the monkey quickly re-directs the torpedo by beating it as if the monkey were astride a racehorse and not a missile. The resulting blast then sends the monkey into a neat trajectory back into the plane. Similarly, other characters bounce freely between aircraft already in flight, stretch body parts or twist appendages at impossible angles, while even the demonic Americans manage to weather the intense bombing with the worst outcome being dumped into the ocean (see Figure 1).

[289] Peter B. High, *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War, 1931-1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 367.

[290] Ogura, 10-3.

[291] Hori, 170. See also: Lamarre, 79-82.

In this way, *Momotarō no umiwashi* was intended and indeed functions as a celebratory record of the attack on Pearl Harbor, but it was simultaneously a citation of and challenge to American animation, whereby the film and its characters, fashioned after those in American productions, trounce their American counterparts, triumphing over the demons at their own game, on their own turfs.

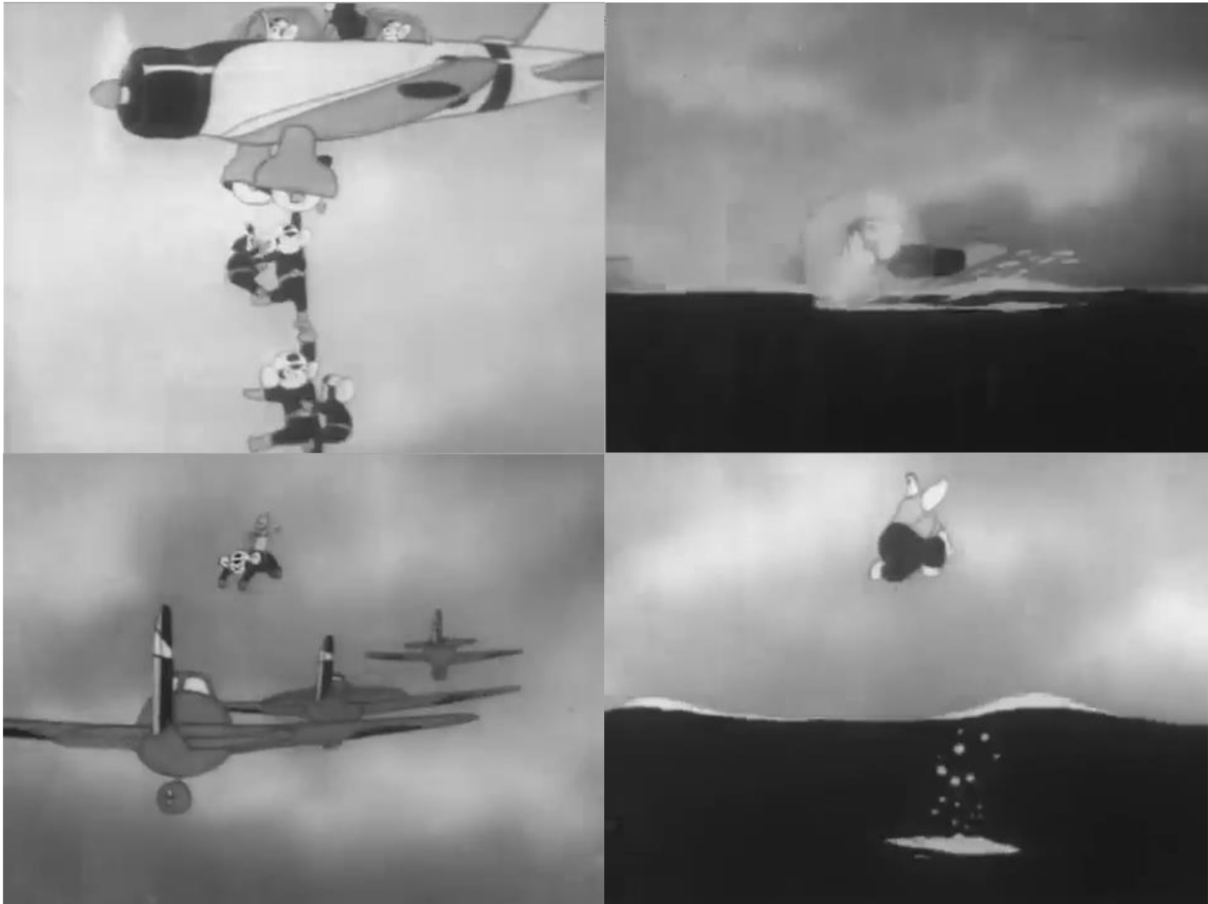

Figure 1: Plasmatic motion as Momotarō's animal soldiers disembark from moving aircraft, propel themselves through sea and air, while Bluto climbs the air before facing his fate of falling in the ocean.

In turn, *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* is similarly informed by and positioned against American animation, but takes different approaches with its story, visual style, and overall construction. If, for example, *Momotarō no umiwashi* functions as re-imagined reportage on the attack on Pearl Harbor, thus identifying a clear location and enemy, *Momotarō: Umi*

no shinpei is more ambiguous in locating its story and characters. While there has been some speculation that the sequel film is set in Singapore, with British soldiers in the role of the demons,[292] this connection was never made as explicitly nor as repeatedly as Pearl Harbor was in *Momotarō no umiwashi*. Rather, the film simply reproduces images and tropes – "small islands ringed by palm trees and scattered in the sea like stars in the sky," exotic, tropical fruits and animals, jungle landscapes and climate, a generously welcoming, if naïve disposition among the native inhabitants – that at the height of South Seas fever, had been closely associated with, and at times, even stood in for the region.[293] The one instance of the location being concretely identified occurs in a story within the story, which specifically names Goa, present-day Makassar in Sulawesi, and frames its circumstances as comparable to those of the main storyline's unspecified setting. The implication then is that the Demon Island of the main story is, like Goa, one of the many small islands in the "southern seas (*minami no umi*)," suffering from oppression under the demons or pirates of those other colonizing nations, but awaiting their best hope of liberation in Japan.

[292] See, for example: "Momotaro Umi no shinpei," *BFI*, n.d., https://www2.bfi.org.uk/films-tv-people/4ce2b7ad9d2a6; Jasper Sharp, *Historical Dictionary of Japanese Cinema* (Plymouth, UK: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2011), 18; Tierney, 119.

Scholars like Hori and Ōtsuka, however, have linked the film's Demon Island to Dutch territory in Indonesia, with Hori specifically indicating Menado, Celebes (alternatively, Manado, Sulawesi) as the setting, though she also notes that the negotiations between Momotarō and the demon leaders serve as a reference to the meeting between General Yamashita and Lieutenant-General Percival at the surrender of Singapore. See: Hori, 182-3; Ōtsuka, 268.

Yet others propose the film's Demon Island as less the representation of a single location, but rather, the composite of many, with the South Seas being extended to also include signifiers of Australia. See Richard M. Davis, "Imaginary Conquests: Folktales, Film, and the Japanese Empire in Asia," *Ex-position*, no. 42, December 2019, p. 19.

[293] See, for example: Hori, 192-3; Kawamura Minato, "Popular Orientalism and Japanese Views of Asia," trans. Kota Inoue and Helen J. S. Lee, *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique*, eds. Michele M. Mason and Helen J. S. Lee (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), 271-98; Tierney, 295.

In this unspecified location somewhere in the South Seas, *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei*'s re-telling of the Momotarō story likewise diverges from its predecessor's approach. Unlike the contained, overlapping re-telling of the Momotarō story and the attack on Pearl Harbor in the first film, *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* not only lacks a single, easily identifiable referent for its climactic battle with the demons, but also includes a number of additional scenes and stories in its version of the Momotarō story – which notably, is not driven so much by Momotarō himself as it is by his animal soldiers. At a total of seventy-four minutes, the second film can be divided roughly into five parts: pastoral scenes as on-leave members of the Imperial Japanese Navy visit their families in the countryside; scenes of labour, education, and preparations for the upcoming operation based out of Navy headquarters in the South Seas; the story of Goa within the larger story, made distinct with its silhouette animation; the attack on Demon Island, which concludes with a meeting led by a triumphant, forceful Momotarō against the defeated demon leaders; a return to the countryside, where the children re-enact the soldiers' manoeuvres, except this time, over a map of North America. This ending not only indicates visions of the Japanese empire's future expansion, along with the roles that both younger generations and control of the South Seas had in it, but also reiterates and visualizes the idea of the Momotarō story as a means of properly orienting the youth towards that future.

In this way, *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* might be understood as an extended re-telling of the Momotarō story. If *Momotarō no umiwashi* maintains the story's basic structure of preparation, confrontation, and triumph, *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* builds onto that structure by also including leisurely, recurring scenes of the characters' origins and speculated futures. While it does not cover the fantastical origins of Momotarō himself, the

opening sequence grants viewers a glimpse into the animal soldiers' backgrounds, their homes and their families, who, in their awe and warm welcome, express steadfast support for the soldiers' efforts, at the same time that they – as later scenes of correspondence and recollection emphasize – are positioned as motivation for military service. The opening sequence thus also indicates the interwovenness of the home and the military: not only do entire households invest in and motivate the war effort, but the soldiers themselves also find re-applications for military manoeuvres in daily life in the countryside, and recall their aestheticized experiences as precipitated by the idyllic landscape itself (see Figure 2). As a sequence that builds on the basic components of the Momotarō story, the opening provides additional information about those who might be understood as the secondary characters in the original tale, while also using that information to promote unity between the home and the military, a promotion that is itself another addition to the basic narrative structure of the Momotarō tale and the first film.

Figure 2: A soldier recalls his experiences while watching dandelion fluff float by. The sounds of a commander's orders and signal buzzers reinforce the visual similarities (re-visited later in the film) between dandelion fluff and the paratrooper unit in action.

Similarly, *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei*'s closing sequence, which features a return to the countryside, serves to expand this basic narrative, but in this case, by pointing to a promised future. If the tale of Momotarō and *Momotarō no umiwashi* ended with the triumphant return of Momotarō's company, thus marking the close of a fairly self-contained story, *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* ends with the promise of continuation, specifically as repetition, whereby the victory celebrated in the film will be re-created somewhere else in the world, and by characters who are themselves in the process of mimicking the actors in the initial victory. The fact that this closing scene is essentially a return to the opening scene underscores the repetitive, cyclical patterns that serve as the premise for future re-iterations of the story – of Momotarō, of Japanese military victory and imperial expansion, of young generations following in the footsteps of the first to ensure the second. Likewise, the story of Goa – which, at first glance, might seem like an incidental or even unrelated addition to the film – serves to reinforce this sense of cyclical repetition extending into the future. Goa is positioned as a mirror of the film's Demon Island: both are presented as areas in the South Seas suffering from the deceit and incompetence of foreign colonizers, who are carefully and consistently marked as other, whether by their human yet demonic figures among a cast almost entirely made up of anthropomorphic animals, or by the narration's identification of them as the "white man." Accordingly, when the Goa interlude ends with the prophecy of its future liberation by Japan,[294] it also foretells the liberation of Demon Island that occurs within the film, as well as the repetition of that

[294] Hori, 182-3.

operation sometime in the future, beyond the scope of the film – at least once in Goa, and once more, though with greater emphasis on expansion than liberation, in North America.

The additional scenes and stories that *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* works into the basic narrative of Momotarō and its predecessor film thus extend the narrative's temporal scope, not only yielding a work with a longer overall runtime, but also, establishing the lead-up or (particularly in the Goa interlude) the past, indicating the future extension and re-iterations of the narrative, as well as mapping out the patterns of cyclical repetition that bind them all together. In turn, this establishment of a broader timeline – wherein the involvement of Momotarō, his company, or Japan not only ties the past, present, and future together, but in the same breath, promises the arrival of that mutually beneficial future – echoes the way Nitobe's re-imagined Momotarō served to tie the geographic regions and associated temporalities of the South Seas and Japan. The resonance between Nitobe's Momotarō and Seo's second Momotarō film, specifically in terms of both works' use and positioning of Momotarō to structure time and geopolitics, indicates the more pronounced influence of South Seas fever on *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei*.

From another perspective, the film's additions to the basic narrative might be seen as pulling at the more self-contained, streamlined structure of both its predecessor and the Momotarō story. For example, whereas *Momotarō no umiwashi* neatly progresses from preparation, to confrontation, and finally, to triumph – wherein more time is devoted to scenes of confrontation, so as to more frequently and directly demonstrate the Imperial Japanese Navy's prowess over the Americans – *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* not only appends sections for background and future speculation, taking care to set up the cyclical relations between them, but also spends an inordinate amount of time on scenes of preparation.

Accordingly, the bulk of the film consists of scenes of characters preparing everything from rations and parachutes to the very buildings on the military base itself, while the sequence of armed confrontation, from take-off to surrender, accounts only for an approximate fifteen minutes out of the total runtime of seventy-four. In light of Seo's Momotarō films being commissioned to, at least in part, exhibit the Navy's strength and capability, the fraction of time that *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* actually dedicates to presenting the Navy in combat can prompt questions about how much of a priority, as well as how effective, such presentation ultimately was. Indeed, the film's marked focus on the more sedate scenes of characters working together – especially when juxtaposed with the predecessor film's contrasting approach of emphasizing combat in structuring and time allotment – likely contributed to *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei*'s reception as, at heart, anti-war.[295] However, for both Momotarō films, the strategy of positioning Momotarō and Japan against other colonizing powers unfolded not exclusively on the level of narrative, but also, on that of animation style and practices.

That is, if *Momotarō no umiwashi* cited the style and characters of Fleischer Studios, with the express purpose of visualizing the overwhelming defeat of those same characters, *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* can be understood as a citation of and response to the animation style and practices of Disney Studios, particularly as deployed in *Fantasia*.[296] In particular, *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* repeatedly exhibits animated musical sequences and use of the

[295] Hori, 157-8; Seo et al., "Zadankai," 74-85.

[296] Clements and Ip, 193; Hori, 194-5; Seo et al., "Zadankai," 80-1. While *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* shares a bit of the physical logic that defined character designs and movements in its predecessor – notably, it seems like the sequence of a character propelling itself forward by windmilling its arms was re-used in the second film – this appears as a fleeting scene, fractional particularly in comparison to the frequency and number of musical sequences that, among other elements, tie the film and *Fantasia* together.

multiplane camera, which was developed and widely promoted by Disney Studios as cutting-edge technology, specifically for creating a sense of depth in animated films.[297] Given the concurrent trend of framing animation as a national(ist) industry and a measure for international competition, the frequency with which these advanced animation technologies appeared in the film can be understood as spotlighting the Japanese animation industry's competitive edge on the international stage. Not only was the film (and by metonymic extension, the entire national industry) able to make use of the same technologies as its international competitors, but it also did so in achieving the goal of a feature-length animated film. However, because the majority of that film was dedicated to sequences for set-up, labour, and preparation, as opposed to scenes of direct confrontation, the film necessarily takes a different approach to framing the victory of Momotarō, Japan, and the Japanese animation industry over their opponents. In particular, *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* competitively matches styles and technologies in American animation in order to establish key relations and the set-up for victory. These styles and technologies serve to highlight the solidarity between Japan and the South Seas – solidarity that is subsequently posited as the basis of victory against those other colonizing nations, against those positioned outside the bounds of kinship.

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[297] Famously, Disney first used the multiplane camera for a feature-length animated film in *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), which was a critical and commercial success, but the studios had also tested the technology a month earlier in *The Old Mill*, one of the short, animated features in the *Silly Symphony* series, which like *Snow White*, was released to public accolades.

For more on Disney's promotion of such technology in these films, see, for example: "Audio Commentary by Walt Disney and John Canemaker," *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs: Platinum Edition*, dir. David Hand (1937; Burbank, Calif.: Buena Vista Home Entertainment, 2001), DVD; "Cinema: Mouse & Man," *TIME*, 27 December 1937, http://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,758747-1,00.html. For more on the uses and influence of multiplane camera technology in the Japanese animation industry, see, for example: Thomas Lamarre, "Part I: Multiplanar Image," *The Anime Machine: A Media Theory of Animation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 3-100.

Envisioning Imperial Harmony

In what is perhaps one of the most frequently discussed scenes in *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei*, one of the animal soldiers attempts to teach the other animals of the unidentified tropical island the basics of the Japanese language. (The island animals actually sing in Japanese for the musical sequences, but elsewhere communicate with animal sounds. The suggestion seems to be that music functions as its own language, intelligible to all – an idea I will discuss further in this section.) The lesson begins well enough, with the students readily repeating after the teacher and mimicking his gestures, but it shortly devolves into chaos after the teacher instructs the students to recite the words on their own. Not only do the students revert to their own "language," a series of various animal sounds, but they also divert their attentions to everything but the lesson, playing pranks on each other and breaking off in private conversations. Fortunately for the teacher, other soldiers step in with a performance of the *AIUEO no uta (Song of AIUEO)*, a children's song widely used for teaching the basics of the Japanese syllabary.[298] Hearing this, the students' interest is immediately re-focused, and as a whole, they join in on the performance. Their musical lesson on the basics of the Japanese language is extended to viewers – a crucial feature, given the film's intended audiences in Southeast Asia – who are likewise invited to join in, with the aid of multiple repetitions, simple musical and lyrical structure, as well as the

[298] Scholars and remaining materials from the time indicate that there were multiple versions of the song – both as different recordings made with different performers, and as songs with different melodies and lyrics. The version in the film coincides with audio and print material circulated in Southeast Asian colonies, though this version has also been attributed to different lyricists/composers. Maeda Hitoshi, "Nihongo kyōiku-yō "AIUEO no uta" sūshu (Variations of *Song of AIUEO* for Japanese-Language Education)," *Gaikokugo kyōiku: Riron to jissen (Foreign Language Education: Theory and Practice)*, vol. 30, 2004, pp. 131-48.

written song lyrics that flash onscreen in tandem with the performance. This musical sequence closes with a demonstration of how thoroughly the song and familiarity with the basics of the Japanese language have spread among the animals of the island: beyond the makeshift classroom, other animals are able to sing the song even without the words on a blackboard or the presence of the teacher as a conductor figure. Moreover, they can coordinate their work, their movements with and around others, to the rhythms of the song.

According to Seo, this musical sequence was designed for the film after he had seen a newsreel on the use of *AIUEO no uta* for Japanese language instruction in China and Southeast Asia.[299] His referencing of such material thus aligned with his goal – as identified specifically for *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* – of creating an animated film that blended the empirical quality (*jisshōsei*) of culture films (*bunka eiga*; elsewhere translated as "documentary films" or "documentary-style propaganda films"), with the entertainment elements and artistry (*geijutsusei*) he saw as fundamental to animated film.[300] In addition, by the time Seo was in production for his second Momotarō film, the use of music had become a key priority for members of the Japanese film industry, particularly those involved with animation. After all, music was seen as an ideal export for and mode of communication with people in Japanese colonies because, on one hand, it was widely perceived as a sort of universal language, and, on the other hand, the stereotype of people in the colonies, particularly in the South Seas, frequently portrayed them as inherently

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[299] Seo Mitsuyo, "Yonjūnen-me no saikai (Fortieth-Year Reunion)," *Yume wo tsumugu: Taishū jidō bunka no paionia (Spinning Dreams: Pioneers of Children's Mass Culture)* (Tokyo: Mitsumura Tosho, 1986), 228.

[300] Masaoka et al., 39.

drawn to music.[301] Tellingly, the film critic and theorist Imamura Taihei, who wrote extensively on both animated and documentary films, advocated not only for newsreels and animated films as the first priority among audiovisual materials sent to audiences in the South Seas, but also, for music to be worked into such materials precisely because Southern people had an affinity for it.[302] Imamura's proposed strategy for prioritizing cinematic media with elements that could appeal specifically to audiences in the South Seas was echoed by others in the industry, including director and animator Ōfuji Noburō, who saw silhouette animation as particularly well suited for audiences in the South Seas, since he thought the style would resonate with the long tradition of shadow plays in the region.[303]

The animation industry's prevailing concern with appealing to South Seas sensibilities – or more accurately, what were perceived or stereotyped as such – clearly extended to Seo during the production of his second Momotarō film. Not only did silhouette animation and music – including the very song that Seo had seen circulating and serving as teaching material in Japanese colonies – feature prominently in the film, but the idea of connection or communicability between Japan and the South Seas was foregrounded as a recurring motif in *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei*. On the most basic level, this connection is indicated visually through the character design: with the exception of Momotarō, the only one who appears to be human in the film, both the members of the Japanese Navy and the locals of the island are designed as anthropomorphic animals. This

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[301] Michael Baskett, *The Attractive Empire: Transnational Film Culture in Imperial Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 52; Imamura et al., 20-2.

[302] Imamura et al., 22.

[303] Ibid.

link is even underscored by the island's animals themselves, who upon seeing Momotarō and his troop disembark, note that "just a little, they look like us." Notably, the ones who do *not* share that visual connection are the demons occupying Demon Island, whose demonic natures are, like Bluto in *Momotaro no umiwashi*, marked out with the addition of horns on their otherwise human-like design. In this way, the connection between Japan and the South Seas is further reinforced through visual indication of those who are "other."

Similarly, a process of identification and contradistinction operates through the film's use of sound, particularly as showcased by the musical sequence that begins in the classroom. The near collapse of the lesson at the beginning of this sequence is crucial for setting up both the differences between the animals and the accomplishment that is communication through a shared language, which the specific choice of *AIUEO no uta* neatly conflates as the Japanese language and Japanese music (namely, *dōyō* or children's songs). By spotlighting the upset caused by the breakdown of communication – a cacophony of the instructor's demands met with a range of various animal noises – the sequence's opening scene relays the incommunicability, or even incompatibility, between the Japanese Navy members and the island animals' respective languages. In contrast, the success of *AIEUO no uta* in repairing that breakdown indicates the success, and by extension, the merits, of using music as a mode of communication and education in the South Seas. It necessarily reiterates and self-reflexively affirms the animation industry's presumption of South Seas people as an inherently music-loving people, as well as that of music – specifically, Japanese children's music – as a universal language well-suited for use in the colonies. Moreover, by highlighting music's use and success throughout the extended sequence, it presents a self-congratulatory picture of the Japanese Navy's initiative and attentiveness in extending a

mode of communication that resonated with the supposed preferences or natures of people in the South Seas. Above all, as that which enables communication and cooperation, music and its central role in this sequence serve the same linking function as Nitobe's Momotarō.

Much like the domestic-yet-foreign hero of Nitobe's re-working of the tale, *AIUEO no uta* is positioned in the film, as well as in the practices and media that inspired the classroom sequence, as domestic and familiar (especially in light of such materials' circulation through the Japanese public school systems), but at the same time, as fundamentally intelligible to or able to (re)connect intimately with people in the South Seas. Whereas Nitobe's Momotarō manifested this link as actual, if distant kinship, the song presents itself as an intrinsic mode of communication that enables its users to bypass linguistic or temporal barriers to understanding between Japan and the South Seas. Tellingly, the students, who are purportedly hearing the song for the first time, resonate with the song and Japanese language immediately, with no additional time required for translation or memorization. Like Nitobe's Momotarō, both the song and its use in the film represent and advance a distant, but deep-rooted connection between Japan and the South Seas, which in the case of *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei*, simultaneously serves to reinforce the visual connection made through character design.

The subsequent spread of *AIUEO no uta* outside the classroom, into everyday application, likewise underscores this connection between Japan and the South Seas, and what is more, points towards the future promised precisely by that connection. In the latter half of the *AIUEO no uta* musical sequence, animals across the island are shown working in tandem to the rhythms of the song, cooking, doing the laundry, and loading provisions, while Japanese soldiers clean and prepare their weapons. Crucially, the island

animals sing (and work) without any supervision or cues from the Japanese soldiers, as they previously did in the classroom, as well as in an earlier musical sequence that depicted the construction of a building on the base.

The island animals' facility with *AIUEO no uta*, together with the song's thorough permeation into everyday life, reinforces the idea of Japanese music and language as deeply resonant with people of the South Seas, but it also illustrates the connection, as envisioned by the imperial administration, between language-learning and alignment with imperial goals and priorities. Hori points out that, both in *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* and actual practices in the colonies, Japanese language-learning, particularly through songs that could introduce students more broadly to Japanese culture and values, was intended to "[shape] a disciplined imperial subjecthood."[304] The film manifests this connection between language-learning (through music) and imperial subjecthood not only by showing how smoothly the song and language extend beyond the colonial classroom, but also by depicting the song as directly organizing and coordinating colonial subjects' labour for the Japanese empire. The rhythms of *AIUEO no uta*, the very basics of the Japanese language, orchestrate the timing and patterns of work among the animals on the island.

In turn, the depiction of the island animals' ready, cheerful participation is crucial for envisioning the "disciplined imperial subject" produced by Japanese language education in the colonies. By presenting the island animals as participating in labour as eagerly as they did in language study, the *AIUEO no uta* sequence characterizes the animals' activities

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[304] Hori, 192. See also: Miyawaki Hiroyuki, "Maraya, Shingapōru no kōminka kyōiku to Nihongo kyōiku (Civics Education and Japanese Language Education in Malaya and Singapore)," *Iwanami kōza kindai Nihon to shokuminchi (Iwanami Lectures on Modern Japan and Colonies)*, vol. 7, *Bunka no naka no shokuminchi (The Colonies in Culture)*, eds. Kawamura Minato et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993), 198.

as entirely driven by their own enthusiasm. The sequence roots their enthusiasm in what an earlier musical sequence explicitly identifies as a collective wish to "work with the power of Japan in [their] hearts," for their efforts to yield a future "victory for the wonderful kingdom of the East." While this earlier sequence and the classroom scenes involve the presence of a Japanese supervisor or instructor, the depth and consistency of the island animals' enthusiasm across the sequences, over the course of their various tasks, ultimately renders these authority figures' presence as mere tokens. Rather, these figures' eventual disappearance from such scenes only serve to highlight, on one hand, a sense of sincerity behind the island animals' enthusiasm for language practice and labour (such that they engage in both even without the presence of an authority figure), and, on the other hand, the effectiveness of Japanese music and language in driving and structuring such activities even and especially without direct oversight. Taken together with other scenes of the island animals happily engaging in labour specifically for the Japanese empire, the *AIUEO no uta* sequence emphatically presents the "disciplined, imperial subject" as entering into such discipline "naturally," on one's own initiative and out of one's own (but shared) interests, as opposed to being coerced into it. It is not only that music serves as an immediate, inherent connection between Japan and the South Seas, but it is also precisely *because* music is premised as such that commitment to language-learning and labour, specifically for the Japanese empire, also comes to be framed as immediate and inherent to the people of the South Seas.

Unsurprisingly, this deep-seated, encompassing connection between Japan and the South Seas is juxtaposed against both regions' relations with other colonizing powers, which are uniformly marked by deceit, misunderstanding, and refusal to engage or even

outright interference in attempts at connection. The Goa interlude, for example, presents open conflict as born out of deceit on the colonizers' part, but also, out of a persistent disconnect between the king of Goa and the colonizers' respective understanding of the situation. Accordingly, the colonizer's initial request for a bit of land "even the span of a one-cent coin" is not, as the Goan king and his advisors understand it, figurative language asking for a scrap of space, but rather, an actual demand for the whole, as the colonizer envisions a coin covering the entirety of Goa on a map (see Figure 3). Likewise, when the king confronts the colonizer about the discrepancy between the latter's promise and actions, the colonizer blithely attributes the very perception of discrepancy to the king's unfamiliarity with what "business practices (*shōhō*)" actually constitute in the colonizer's home country. For the colonizer, such practices have been carried out as usual, so there has been no disconnect between what was promised and what was carried out. Manipulation and dishonesty undoubtedly colour these interactions between Goa and the colonizers, but the interlude also foregrounds an indelible incompatibility between them, whereby each side's perception of the world, along with the very referents of their language never align. As such, the interlude rules out the possibility of connection and communication, even as the sequence's narration casts both sides as speaking the same language, or at the very least, as not needing instruction in the other's language.

Figure 3: "The span of a one-cent coin," as seen by the Goans and the pirate-colonizers.

Closing on scenes of war and destruction in Goa, the interlude underscores the utter failure to establish a solid, positive connection between Goa and its colonizers – an outcome made all the more egregious in light of the common language and the overtures of brotherhood (*kyōdai no yō ni*) already in place from the first meeting. This inexorable slide from brotherhood to open warfare, in spite of the common grounds of language, throws the Goa interlude in stark contrast against the idyllic scenes of deep connection between the South Seas animals and the members of the Japanese Navy. Though this latter pair do not initially share a common language, they not only overcome the threat of a breakdown in communication, but they also do so in a way that reveals another foundational, innately resonant basis of communication in music, which reaffirms their sense of togetherness – in song, labour, and orientation – and structures their efforts for a bright, shared future. This perfect, all-encompassing harmony that binds Japan and the South Seas, that patches over the differences that have torn others apart, is framed as the driving force that will ensure their future victory – not just on Demon Island, but also, as the interlude's final lines prophesize, on Goa and any others that enter into this imperial harmony.

Out of Time

In her critical analysis of cinema and the fantastic, Bliss Cua Lim details what she calls an anticolonial critique of homogeneous time. Such a critique indicates how homogeneous time – which consists of ""project[ing] time into space," inaccurately representing time as a simultaneous juxtaposition of distinct instants"[305] – serves as the basis for the modern notion of progress, for the identification of non-contemporaneousness or anachronism, and by extension, for the colonial project.[306] Citing Henri Bergson, Lim elucidates how scientific or mathematical accounts of time – which posit time as "a tally of identical elements,"[307] and measures movement not as motion, but as the immobile space spanned by movement – are unable to grasp or properly account for duration or motion, which necessarily involve a multiplicity of heterogenous experiences.[308] The time of perceiving the colour red (a fraction of a second), for example, does not map cleanly onto the temporal rhythm (400 billion successive vibrations per second) that define red light's wavelength as it travels to a human eye. Nor does the mathematical or scientific estimate for the time needed to dissolve sugar in water equate with the duration, the experience of waiting or living through that time. In this way, there is never any guarantee of coincidence between the temporal rhythms of perception and of that which is perceived – only "an overabundance of heterogeneous temporal rhythms… [in a] universe itself as an open, relational whole."[309] Given this Bergsonian conceptualization of any moment as a

[305] Bliss Cua Lim, *Translating Time: Cinema, the Fantastic, and Temporal Critique* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 46.

[306] Ibid, 83.

[307] Ibid, 48.

[308] Ibid, 48-52.

[309] Ibid, 66-7.

proliferation of different temporal rhythms, and necessarily, of duration as heterogeneous succession, the future can only be "radically indeterminate, unanticipated, unforeseen."[310]

Clearly, the recognition of such temporal heterogeneity cannot be further removed from the priorities of *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei*. What differences the film spotlights are not those across multiple temporal rhythms, nor those across a relational whole where the point of focus might shift easily and with equal probability between a multitude of points. Rather, the film is entirely invested in the differences, specifically the anachronisms, made identifiable on the premise of a singular, homogeneous time.

Accordingly, while the Japanese and South Seas animals are bound together by shared future orientations, by shared resonance with a common musical language, the classroom sequence also functions to paint only the island animals as needing to adjust, to "catch up" or "get up to speed," even at increments, with the mastery that the Japanese animals already have on the basics of the film's predominant language. In the same sequence, there is a moment where the Japanese instructor is bewildered by his students' response through animal sounds. His reaction and isolation from the students' conversations offer a fleeting suggestion that other linguistic systems, in their own context, are as complete and functional as the one being taught and arbitrarily raised as the standard. However, with the arrival of the other two Japanese soldiers, the focus shifts quickly back to the prioritization and study of the Japanese language, brushing aside the earlier suggestion, and offering no further exploration of how the island animals' language

[310] Ibid, 70.

might also involve its own temporal rhythms of communication, might, as Japanese music and language do in the film, structure the experience or patterns of work and study.

The island animals' unfamiliarity the basics of the Japanese language, which here functions as a measuring standard, parallels their unfamiliarity with yet another standard used to define "others" and anachronisms – specifically, technologies of motion and warfare, which, much like the figure of Momotarō under South Seas fever, advance an idea of modernity as new, mobile, and changing, but are essentially concerned with the measuring or circumscribing of immobile space.[311] Tellingly, when Momotarō arrives on the island with the paratrooper unit, the island animals are not only surprised and curious, but also have no grasp or vocabulary for the airplanes and military equipment that the film carefully re-creates from documentary images/footage. In such source materials and their re-creation in the film, the focus and frequency of features on these kinds of equipment frame them as indicators of Japan's military might and modern advancement, but the island animals nevertheless confuse them for simpler, more benign objects like food or clothing. Their misidentification and, as the driving force behind it, their complete remove from such signs of modern progress subsequently locate them somewhere further back, somewhere anachronistic, in relation to their Japanese counterparts on the axis of development. Though the island animals are "correctly" oriented in sharing the same future goals, they do not directly engage or control these signs of modern progress either, not even in the struggle for their own liberation, but must, much like the Goans in the prophecy, wait for modernity to be extended to them from somewhere else.

[311] Ibid, 84.

This idea that modernity developed in Japan, before being extended to its anachronistic neighbours, echoes the ""first in Europe, then elsewhere" structure of global historical time,"[312] but with Japan identified as the new, more attractive locus of modernity – a shift repeatedly indicated by, among others, strategies for distinction in the film, the structures of kinship in the re-worked Momotarō story, and the discourses surrounding national animation industries. This conceptualization of modernity not only insists on time as "an index of cultural difference,"[313] but also entails the re-organization of regions across the world into centre and periphery, thus translating the temporality of modernity into distinctly spatial terms. Such processes undergirded narrative and thematic elements in the film, as well as the Japanese animation industry's preoccupation with superseding its American counterpart, particularly in terms of the latter's practices, technologies, and fittingly enough, accomplishment of a feature-length animated film. By equating modern advancement or distinction with the act of superseding the American animation industry, discourses in the Japanese animation industry necessarily advanced an understanding of such practices, technologies, and accomplishments – together with the temporal rhythms of animation and spectatorship, and the conditions that inform them in each country – as reducible to the same axis of time, and subsequently indicative of a rearrangement of international geopolitics. Likewise, it is this same conceptualization of time as the measure for cultural/developmental difference that fed into Takekoshi's elevation of Momotarō and

[312] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 7.

[313] Lim, 84.

other folktales as evidence of Japan's modern progress, as well as Nitobe's positioning of Momotarō and his ancestors as having advanced past their distant kin in the South Seas.

Given that *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* coincided with and was directly informed by such developments, it is perhaps unsurprising that they shared similar strategies of using a specific understanding of time, particularly as the premise for claims of superiority or progress, and, in the same breath, accusations of backwardness. Lim, however, points out that the conceptualization and use of time as such is essentially a deliberate mistranslation, in that it posits a single, homogeneous time for the world, at the same time that it pushes "the allochronic gesture – the appraisal of the other as an anachronism – [serving] as a potent temporal justification for the colonial project."[314] Interestingly, *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* reveals its own instances of mistranslation: notably, in what was no doubt intended to depict the victory of the new modern, of those at the forefront of progress, the logic of homogenous time betrays itself as unsustainable, if not entirely impossible.

In the film's penultimate scene, Momotarō meets with the demon leaders of the island's occupying forces to discuss terms of surrender. As the triumphant commander, Momotarō is portrayed as forceful and efficient, systematically reviewing the options with attention to conditions on the island, and speaking without hesitation or timidity in making his demands. In contrast, the demon leaders, much like the colonizers in the Goa interlude, are portrayed as operating through deceit and an unwillingness to contribute to some form of connection between the negotiating parties. They speak in slow, stuttering English, citing the same excuses and repeatedly attempting to delay a final decision – they rifle

[314] Ibid, 83.

through their dictionaries, collectively agree to bluff as long as possible, insist on waiting for or consulting with the absent governor, and request more time for deliberation.

Here, as with the contrast between the classroom sequence and the Goa interlude, the Japanese side's willingness to pursue and actualize a connection between itself and slower, anachronistic others (even if less amicable or aligned in the negotiations scene) is positioned as a major factor that will help ensure Japan's future victory. The promise of success, coupled with the receptivity to connections that guarantee it, is framed as the justification for Japan's "natural" position as leader, as the ally far preferable to those other colonial powers, whose ineptitude lay, in no small part, in their preference to stall or outright refuse the establishment of comparable connections. However, the negotiations scene ultimately spells out the suggestion running through the extended *AIUO no uta* sequence that such connections are nevertheless one-sided, in heavy favour of Japan, such that the very rhythms and orientations of everyday life can and should be structured by Japanese language and music, with their local, more familiar counterparts left behind as anachronisms. Accordingly, where the classroom scene involves fleeting recognition of the Japanese language as only one of many possible and equally viable linguistic systems – and by extension, of the arbitrariness of the Japanese language as the regional/international standard – the negotiations scene inevitably highlights the multiple temporal rhythms that the film elsewhere insists as reducible to one.

In this scene, Momotarō's decisiveness and capability as a leader is tied up with speed, the immediacy with which he grasps the situation, chooses a plan of action, and presents it before the other side. But such speed and immediacy of comprehension belong to him alone, both within and beyond the diegetic world of the film. The tasks of

translators and clerks on both sides, for example, entail additional processes and temporal rhythms to their participation in the negotiations, while the demon leaders' private conferencing on delaying the final decision similarly indicate a different experience of and relationship to duration. Above all, viewers' perception of the scene must be shaped by, at once, the quick clip of Momotarō's speech and actions, the halting, looping counterarguments of the demon leaders, and, depending on the individual viewer, the act of reading the wispy, inconsistent subtitles for the demons (see Figure 4). Given the film's intended audiences in Southeast Asia, and the number of British and American colonies in the region, it is entirely possible that, had the film circulated as planned, it might have generated the point of connection, or even basic familiarity in terms of language and comprehension, not "correctly" with Momotarō, but rather with the demons – especially if, as the film itself imagines, the peoples of the South Seas had yet to be taught the basics of the Japanese language. Nor are bilingual viewers' experiences of the scene guaranteed to align perfectly with the temporal rhythms of Momotarō's conduct: the task of parsing meaning from both his rapid directives and the demons' rambling responses, the option of reading along with the subtitles, the possibility of catching the instances where no subtitles are provided for the demons' speech – these elements, among others, indicate the duration experienced by such viewers as unlikely to consistently conform with the ideal presented through Momotarō.

Figure 4: Japanese subtitles are provided for the demon leaders' English speech, on the right-hand side of the frame, but with their formatting and frequent superimposition onto lighter images, they flicker in and out of legibility. At other times, they are completely absent for whole conversations between characters.

In this way, at the culmination of insistences upon a single axis of homogeneous time, in precisely the scene intended to show the triumph of the one positioned at the forefront of that axis, the film cannot but draw attention to the inverse of its central argument. Not only are there multiple, radically heterogeneous temporal rhythms co-existing both within and beyond the diegetic world of the film, but also, the temporal rhythms attributed to Momotarō are both arbitrarily and impossibly positioned as the ideal for others to match. Speed and immediacy of comprehension define Momotarō and his suitability as leader (especially if one interprets his urgency as rooted in his connections with the animals on the South Seas island), but they simultaneously present him as one completely removed from any need for translation. This locates him in direct opposition to everyone else, including those who share his cause, who must be involved in at least some process of translation – across, among others, different languages, sounds, and texts. Moreover, this isolating of Momotarō, and by extension, of Japan, is further exacerbated by yet another reversal on one of the film's key points – namely, the connection between Japan and the South Seas.

As previously discussed, the classroom sequence emphasizes the connection, both innate and fostered, between these two regions on multiple levels, promoting not only a deep-seated connection through music, language, and shared orientations for the future, but also, Japan's commitment to such a connection, with instructors in the film and creators of the film turning to methods and materials – music and silhouette animation, for example – that they thought would help facilitate communication. Such commitment, however, is completely absent in the negotiations scene, which – despite the film's own anticipation that audiences in Southeast Asia might need auxiliary modes of communication to connect with its message – provides no such means or form of translation for viewers who speak neither Japanese nor English. Effectively, the film promotes communication and connection for the great majority of its runtime, but abandons both as priorities at the precise moment it visualizes its own foretold victory. Those whose collective effort will ensure such victory (at least as the film framed it) are necessarily kept at a remove, from fully grasping the promised outcome of their contributions.

In turn, the extended outcome – what is visualized beyond the negotiations – similarly turns one of the film's key premises on its head. The film's final scene involves a series of repetitions or citations: it returns to the idyllic countryside from the opening, showing the village children mimicking the military manoeuvres executed by the paratrooper unit just before the negotiations scene. Notably, the children play-act these manoeuvres over a map of North America, predicting a future repetition of the victory on Demon Island – a gesture that is itself a repetition of a similar prediction made at the end of the Goa interlude. In concluding thus, the film inscribes a series of loops, returning to its own starting point, as well as foretelling the future recurrence of the events it just depicted.

Such a structure, however, is fundamentally at odds with the logic of a single axis of homogeneous time. Much like Nitobe identified the South Seas with fixedness or stagnancy, specifically by contrasting it against the change, movement (but essentially, the measurement of immobile space), and modern progress he had identified with Momotarō and his ancestors, so too, by its own logic, does the film's promise of multiple repetitions describe not forward movement, but stasis.

In this way, the film's final scenes undermine what it had spent considerable time promoting – namely, the deep-seated connection binding Japan and the South Seas, culturally and temporally, and the trajectory of an ascendant future promised to the South Seas on condition of its recognition and contributions in the name of that connection. Both this connection and its promised future were premised on the assertion of a single axis of homogeneous time, on which Japan and the South Seas – along with othered regions defined by their exclusion from such kinship – were arranged, identified as modern and evolving or stagnant and backward. The film's insistence upon this temporal axis is shared by key elements that fed into the film, namely Momotarō under South Seas fever, and discourses prevalent in the Japanese animation industry at the time. Yet despite such alignment between the film and two of the prevalent developments that shaped it, the film nevertheless concludes with reversal: not innate, universal connection that transcends all boundaries, but the constant need for translation; not a single axis of homogeneous time, but a plethora of radically heterogeneous temporal rhythms and experiences of duration; not the arrival or forward momentum of a shared future, but a looping return to where everything began – one which might not even be accessible to those it was promised.

Such reversals in *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei*, however, should not necessarily be read as indicative of a fundamentally anti-war or pacifist stance. Indeed, by the film's own logic of time as cumulative, as a tally of homogeneous units, the final scenes constitute a smaller fraction in comparison to the greater majority that visualizes collectivity and deep-seated connection as, among other idealizations, ready, cheerful support of war and imperial expansion. Moreover, as I will discuss in the following chapter, the different components of the film, particularly a song like *AIUEO no uta*, have multiple forms and entail multiple modes of engagement, such that, had the film circulated as intended, encountering the song through it might have helped reinforce associations with the purported universality of music and language. At the same time, if the film's component parts can thus alter the impact or experience of the film, then the multiple possibilities attached to each part, much like the film as a whole, cannot but divulge the multiplicity of temporal rhythms and experiences of duration, and beyond that, the untenability of the film's project to insist otherwise.

CHAPTER 4

Dōyō and Dreams of a Universal Language

Introduction

Much like the feature-length animated films discussed in Chapter 3, the circulation of these films' components promoted a sense of commonality or shared kinship. In particular, *dōyō* (children's songs) like *AIUEO no uta (Song of AIUEO)* served to promote a sense of shared language or common experience in the process of learning it – effectively, a living version of what the classroom scene envisioned in *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei (Momotarō's Divine Sea Warriors)*. By the time the imperial administration had begun regularly re-purposing or commissioning what Kitahara had advocated for as a form of "natural" arts education, *dōyō* had not only changed in terms of its mediatic forms, qualities, and usual performers, but had also, and precisely because of such changes, gained an even greater range of motion.

In this chapter, I examine the use of *dōyō* and its entailed materials specifically in the context of Japanese-language education efforts in occupied Philippines. As one of the last countries to come under Japanese occupation during the Second World War, the Philippines was a site where the re-application of existing materials and modes of language education, particularly those already established in other parts of the Japanese empire, presented a valuable and compelling strategy, not only as a means of saving time and resources in the final years of the war, but also, as a means of re-affirming the speed, efficiency, and efficacy attributed to education through such materials. In addition, given that the Philippines had been designated a country of commonwealth status under the

United States, the success of language re-education and assimilation efforts therein was of particular significance to the Japanese imperial administration, which saw such success as triumphing over another imperial power and, moreover, key competitor in producing media, like animated films, similarly used for pedagogical purposes. Above all, the Philippines' own history with forms of language education, the promises they posed and the movements they propelled, offers a particularly productive site for examining the workings of imperial language re-education efforts as they ran up against local elements and relations between, among others, individuals/groups of actors, existing languages and practices.

In addressing these issues, the first part of this chapter traces the transformations and proliferation of *dōyō*, together with its entailed materials, across different media forms, practices, and groups of people. Collectively, these materials promoted the idea of a transcendental or "spiritual" connection tying Japanese-language speakers together, and in the same breath, envisioned the re-drawn contours of a larger, imperial body. The second part of the chapter identifies the roles that girls and young women had in providing momentum for, at once, Japanese-language learning efforts and the projection of that imperial collective. Japanese as a shared language posed attractive promises, particularly with regard to communicability and mobility within the space of the collective, but these were ultimately betrayed, revealing irreconcilable conditions demanded of the same girls and young women who featured in Japanese-language learning efforts, as well as contradictions engendered by inflexible definitions of the foreign and familiar.

Dōyō, Media, and Language-Learning in the Colonies

The spread of *dōyō* in the colonies, specifically as materials for Japanese language-learning, was facilitated by the advancement of recording technologies and circulation networks, as well as by the alignment between these material conditions and the imperial state's ideological visions for a unified Japanese empire. As Shūtō Yoshiaki has pointed out, the recording quality and quantity of children's music grew dramatically in the 1920s and 1930s, bolstered by the incorporation of records and other listening materials into official Ministry of Education curricula and Sunday school programs in the countryside, as well as by a shift towards generating greater output in recording companies' sales strategies.[315] Additionally, from the late 1930s onwards, the Japanese government increasingly invested material, financial, administrative, and diplomatic resources in a bid to exert greater, if not total, control over telecommunications in the Southeast Asia region.[316] Under these circumstances, *dōyō* constituted a seemingly ready-made resource for language-learning in that there were increasing channels through which they might be transmitted through the colonies, and that there was already an abundance of existing materials – not only the accumulation of songs composed and recorded, but also, their (re-)interpretations across media like film, print, and live performances.

Dōyō made for attractive pedagogical materials also because they were formally simple, and promised the acquisition of Japanese-language skills with greater ease and effectiveness. For example, *AIUEO no uta* appeared frequently in both materials for and

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[315] Shūtō Yoshiaki, *Dōyō no kindai: Media no hen'yō to kodomo bunka (The Modernity of* Dōyō*: Media Transformations and Children's Culture)* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2015), 171-89.

[316] Daqing Yang, *Technology of Empire: Telecommunications and Japanese Expansion in Asia, 1883-1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010), 284-305.

discussions of Japanese language-learning pedagogy, circulated in teachers' guides or observations, and as sheet music, records, broadcasts, and famously, as the animated sequence of the colonial, Japanese language-learning classroom in the film *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei*.[317] The song's popularity as teaching material can be attributed to this ready availability of materials, as well as to the fact that the song introduced the most basic, syllabic components of the Japanese language with a relatively simple, easily recognizable melody line. Indeed, much of the administrative and pedagogical commentary on *AIUEO no uta* revolved around how easy the song was for students to understand and memorize, as well as how such a learning process subsequently facilitated both the song's spread and the use of Japanese language throughout colonial communities.

For example, Jinbo Kōtarō, a poet and literary scholar who served as the headmaster of the celebrated Shōnan Nihon Gakuen (Shōnan Japanese School) in Japan-occupied Singapore,[318] observed that along with ongoing performances of popular and patriotic Japanese songs at the school, "radio transmission of songs like *AIUEO no uta* among the local people [had] been one of the factors behind the success of this endeavour [Japanese-language education]."[319] Similarly, the writer Ibuse Masuji, who had taken a teaching position at the same institution, noted that it was upon the introduction and subsequent

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[317] The scene of a colonial classroom, where children learned basic Japanese syllabary and script, was a frequently recurring feature in photographs and photo essays. See, for example: "Benkyō suru Ajia no hitobito (The People of Asia Studying Japanese)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, n.d., pp. 8-9; "Pagtuturo sa kaigorotehan / Education in Igorotland (sic)," *Shin Seiki · Bagong Araw · New Era*, vol. 11, no. 4, January 1944, pp. 25-8; Isiguro Yosimi, "We Speak Nippongo / Nippongo o hanashimashō," *Nippon-Philippines (Japan-Philippines)*, no. 2, 1942, n.p.

[318] Faye Yuan Kleeman notes that among the many Japanese-language schools established across the Japanese empire, Shōnan Nihon Gakuen, founded in early 1942, was the most successful. Faye Yuan Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 43.

[319] Jinbo Kōtarō, *Shōnan Nihon Gakuen (Shōnan Japanese School)* (Ainokoto Gyōsha, 1943), 34-5.

popularity of the "'A-I-U-E-O, Ka-Ki-Ku-Ke-Ko' song" among local children that other songs – popular songs, military songs, and national ballads[320] – were able to gain similar traction. Above all, songs like *AIUEO no uta* facilitated the acquisition of basic Japanese language skills: within two or three hours, Ibuse noted, all of the students had the songs completely memorized – "a point of pride for Headmaster Jinbo Kōtarō."[321] In turn, reprints of the song's score frequently appeared in periodicals, with the most popular version of the score[322] noted as based on a phonograph record of the Young Girls' Opera's performance of *AIUEO no uta*, broadcast from Syōnan City (Japan-occupied Singapore) to Japan.[323]

With the song's mobility – spreading out from the classroom to the broader community, across Japan and its colonies – coupled with the song's simple, easy-to-remember lyrics and melody, it perhaps comes as little surprise that, as novelist and critic Kobayashi Nobuhiko notes, the song had long afterlives in former Japanese colonies like

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[320] Ibuse's examples included: the national anthem, *Kimigayo*; *Aikoku kōshinkyoku (Patriotic March)*; *Umi yukaba (If I Go Away to the Sea)*; *Akatsuki ni inoru (Pray at Dawn)*; *Ikotsu wo daite (Holding the Remains)*; *Sakura, sakura, yayoi no sora ni (Cherry Blossoms, Cherry Blossoms, In the Spring Sky)*, and *Yashi no mi (Coconut)*. As with *AIUEO no uta*, some of the songs were listed under parts of the song lyrics that Ibuse himself seems to have chosen (as opposed to their official titles), and collectively, they proposed that the best teaching materials were a mixture of *gunka* (military songs), *ryūkōka* (popular songs) that had become affiliated with the military, as well as purportedly "traditional" folk songs that were, in fact, relatively recent compositions.

[321] Ibuse Masuji, *Chōyōchū no koto (Notes under Enlistment)* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1996), 359-60.

[322] Maeda Hitoshi notes that a handful of different versions of the song exist, and even the most popular version, the one used in *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei*, has been attributed to different composers/lyricists across different databases, record notes, and historical accounts. Maeda Hitoshi, "Nihongo kyōiku-yō "AIUEO no uta" sūshu (Variations of *Song of AIUEO* for Japanese-Language Education)," *Gaikokugo kyōiku: Riron to jissen (Foreign Language Education: Theory and Practice)*, vol. 30, 2004, pp. 134-41.

Indeed, while the most popular version was the most frequently recurring feature in Philippine periodicals, a different version of the song also appeared in the Philippine magazine, *Nippon-Philippines*, which had, two years prior, printed the former version. This later version, which had a distinctly different melody line and more overtly propagandistic lyrics, was attributed to lyricist Sunakawa Moriichi and composer Horiuchi Keizō. "The Song of AIUEO," *Nippon-Philippines (Japan-Philippines)*, 1944, pp. 19-22.

[323] "The Song of "アイウエオ" (The Song of "AIUEO")," *Nippon-Philippines (Japan-Philippines)*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1942, p. 20.

Indonesia and the Philippines, where people remembered it decades after the war.[324] *AIUEO no uta*, however, constituted only one of the numerous *dōyō* mobilized for different but interconnected types of expansion: in facilitating Japanese-language learning both within and beyond the classroom, among both children and adults, *dōyō* simultaneously served as a means of encouraging broader public interest in Japanese songs and other forms of culture,[325] as well as investment in and efforts towards a Japanese empire united under one language.

In the case of the Philippines, *dōyō* and other genres of Japanese music constituted elementary school textbooks, such as the *Seiki no hibiki: Music Book Series (Sound of the Century: Music Book Series)* and the *Uta no hon: Japanese Song Series (Song Book: Japanese Song Series)*, with reports pointing to their use as the primary Japanese-language material for teaching the lower four of six grades.[326] Along with *dōyō* like *AIUEO no uta* and *Yūyake koyake (Sunset Glow)*, songbooks also included popular songs, especially those that had come to be associated with the military or the Navy, such as *Umi yukaba (If I Go Away to the Sea)* and *Aikoku kōshinkyoku (Patriotic March)*. This combination of songs frequently overlapped with the same songs and musical genres that Ibuse had identified as popular in

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[324] Kobayashi Nobuhiko, *Asahi Shinbun*, 26 June 1984.

[325] Re-prints of musical scores in school textbooks, newspapers, and magazines were frequently accompanied not only by pronunciation guides and lyric translations, but also, by explanations of the song's cultural context and significance. In the preface to the first *Uta no hon: Japanese Song Series (Song Book: Japanese Song Series)* book, which served as the textbooks for Japanese language-learning in Philippine elementary schools, Claro M. Recto, then serving as Commissioner of Education, Health, and Public Welfare, notes that the songs had been selected "[with] a view to better understanding Japan and the character of her people" – a sentiment frequently echoed in other explanations for reprints of Japanese musical scores. See Claro M. Recto, "Preface," *Uta no hon: Japanese Song Series (Song Book: Japanese Song Series)*, Book One (n.p.: Department of Education, Health, and Public Welfare, n.d.), i.

[326] "Ang Suwi ay sa Ibang Dako Hinuhutok (Misalignment Corrected in Other Places)," *Liwayway (The Dawn)*, 31 October 1942, p. 23.

Singapore through the prior introduction of *dōyō*[327] – an overlap that indicates not only the spread of Japanese music through the colonies, but also the re-application of Japanese-language pedagogy via music in those same territories.

The recurrence and use of *dōyō* was by no means limited to elementary school textbooks, with songs regularly printed and featured in outlets ranging from the Japanese-language weekly *Nippongo (Japanese)*, to the glossy, photo-heavy pages of the English-language magazine *Nippon-Philippines (Japan-Philippines)*, to the long-running, literary and entertainment Tagalog magazine *Liwayway (The Dawn)*. Efforts to circulate *dōyō* and other Japanese songs through print seem to have been driven, at least in part, by the imperial administration's vision of using many different types of media to teach Japanese. For example, when the *dōyō Yūyake koyake* was printed in *Nippongo*, it was accompanied by both an explanation (in Japanese and English, though the latter was notably longer and went into greater detail) of the song's imagery and significance for Japanese children, as well as an announcement that, for three days, the Department of Information's Music Division would broadcast lessons on the radio to teach listeners how to sing the song.[328]

This method of teaching songs through a combination of radio and print paralleled the imperial administration's approach to teaching Japanese grammar and reading, which, outside of the classroom, similarly prompted both child and adult learners to tune in to lessons on the Manila-based radio station KZRH (also identified as PIAM under Japanese

[327] Ibuse, 359-60.

[328] "Rajio de oshiemasu: Kawaii uta, utsukushii uta (Teaching by Radio: Charming Songs, Beautiful Songs)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, 7 June 1943, p. 5.

occupation[329]), while following along with Japanese readers, newspapers, or magazines (see Figure 5). The resources directed towards this multi-media approach were such that, less than a year after Japanese forces occupied Manila, the frequency of radio lessons (with print materials) was increased from alternating days to every day.[330] Of course, efforts to encourage the study and wider use of Japanese were not limited to listening and reading along to lessons in the private spaces of the home, but also extended to public and frequently physical activities. In addition to the sustained promotion of *rajio taisō* (radio callisthenics) – which was similarly encouraged through a combination of print, radio, and public activities[331] – Occupation authorities organized public and highly publicized events like children's live performances of Japanese *dōyō* and popular songs, Japanese-language speech and composition contests for learners of all ages, as well as radio or telephone sessions where Philippine children spoke, read, or sang to Japanese children in Japanese[332] (see Figure 6).

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[329] Florinda B. De Fiesta, "Underground Mass Media During the Japanese Occupation of the Philippines: A Historical Study and Content Analysis of Selected Guerrilla Newspapers" (Ph.D. diss., University of the Philippines, 1990), 41.

[330] "Nippongo (Japanese)," *Shin Seiki · Bagong Araw · New Era*, no. 12, September 1943, p. 10.

[331] Musical scores, illustrated routines with written instructions, photo features of celebrities or large-scale *rajio taisō* events, with up to 20,000 children participating, in central locations like Luneta were featured in daily newspapers and magazines. The Army's Department of Information also worked with Manila Hōsōkyoku (Manila Broadcasting Company) to circulate *rajio taisō* textbooks, complete with scores and instructions, in schools. See, for example, *Radio Taiso Textbook For Instructors & Music Note For Radio Taiso* (n.p., Gun-Hōdōbu & Manila Hōsōkyoku, n.d.). Moreover, radio schedules show that, by early 1944, a significant amount of airtime (nearly every hour in the morning, with one other hour in the afternoon) was dedicated to *rajio taisō*. "Radio Features," *The Tribune*, 1 February 1944, p. 7.

[332] See, for example, "Firipin no kodomo ga Nippongo hōsō: Uta to rōdoku wo jōzu ni (Philippine Children Broadcast in Japanese: Singing and Reciting Skilfully)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, 7 June 1943, p. 3; "Kodomo no denwa: Manira to Tōkyō (Children on the Phone: Manila and Tokyo), *Nippongo (Japanese*), 7 August 1944, p. 3.

Figure 5. Manila-based radio station KZRH was instrumental in delivering "Radio Nippon-go courses" to students and families at home.

Figure 6. [*Clockwise from top left*] The first- and second-place winners of a speech contest (respectively, Javier Babalan and Virginia Mariano), which was held in Manila and broadcast over the radio. Children perform songs and dances for wounded soldiers at an imperial Japanese army hospital. Schoolchildren perform *dōyō* and read stories aloud (one of which is listed as Momotarō) over the airwaves.

In this way, different media channels worked in concert to facilitate encounters with/in Japanese as frequently and as ubiquitously as possible. Mirroring the developments in Singapore, this highly mediatized approach to Japanese-language learning

quickly expanded outwards from among schoolchildren to the general public, and simultaneously, from child-oriented media like *dōyō* to other forms of Japanese music and culture. In turn, the initial focus on children and children's media not only promised a future generation that would be fluent in Japanese, but also used the facility that children had acquired with Japanese to assure the broader public that learning the language would be easy and effective. This latter assurance was directly in line with the administration's frequently repeated assertion that Japanese was easier to learn than English,[333] and it just as frequently used public events of children speaking or performing in Japanese as evidence. For example, Franco Valhermoso, an eleven-year-old boy who the press dubbed the "Nihongo shōnen (Japanese-language boy)," received much media coverage not only for his proficiency with the different aspects of the Japanese language (i.e., the different writing systems, composition, and oratory), but also, for the speed in which he had gained such skills.[334] Valhermoso, who had won one of the Manila Sinbun-sya's (Manila Newspaper Company's) contests by coining what would become the ubiquitous slogan of "Ajia no kotoba Nippongo / Nippongo, the Language of Asia," was one of the many children – those who similarly participated in public shows, broadcasts, and contests – who served as the representatives of the ease and appeal of learning Japanese.

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[333] See, for example, Tanaka Masao, "Madali sa mga Pilipino ang Nippongo (Japanese is Easy for Filipinos)," *Liwayway (The Dawn)*, 28 August 1943, pp. 5, 10; "Nippongo (Japanese)," *Shin Seiki · Bagong Araw · New Era*, no. 12, September 1943, pp. 9-13.

[334] For more on Franco Valhermoso, see: "Nihongo no hyōgo ga kimaru: Ittō wa Berherumoso · Furanko-kun (Japanese Slogan Decided: Franco Valhermoso in First)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, n.d., p.3; "Nippongo on Parade (Japanese on Parade)," *Independence Number*, special issue of *Nippon-Philippines (Japan-Philippines)*, nos. 13-14, 1943, pp. 60-1; "Nihongo shōnen Furanko-kun (Japanese-Language Boy Franco)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, n.d., p.3; "Rajio kontesuto wo hajime: Gakugeikai nado no moyōshi (Kicking Off the Radio Contest: Highlights of the School Arts Festival and Others)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, 30 August 1943, p. 3.

At the same time, the mediatized approach to Japanese-language learning worked to tie the Philippines closer to the Japanese empire: from a technical standpoint, the materials and approaches used in the Philippines were largely consistent with those deployed in other colonies. Furthermore, the media used for Japanese-language learning were the very same channels by which success stories were exhibited back to/in Japan. While radio broadcasts and telephone conversations between Philippine and Japanese children were one of the more frequent and frequently covered instances of such exhibitions, Occupation authorities also created and made use of other opportunities to spotlight the results of Japanese-language instruction in the colonies. For example, in promoting its composition contest on the subject of "Philippine Independence and Our Resolution," the Manila Sinbun-sya announced that it would not only award cash prizes and other rewards, but also, circulate the winning entries in "Burma and other parts of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."[335] The contest's topic and the areas of circulation thus presented the Philippines as having both shared membership in the sphere, as well as shared investment in independence from Western colonizing powers. In turn, the language and logic used to explain the contest underscored how these commonalities were brought together and furthered through co-operation with Japan, the most basic sign of which was the study and application of the Japanese language. Subsequently, the youths (in the original announcement, *wakaimono* or *kabataan*) who participated in the contest served as affirmation that such study was indeed progressing and, more importantly, yielding results,

[335] "Dokuritsu wo yorokobu sakubun: Mina-san kaite kudasai – Ajia no tomodachi ni okurimasu (Compositions Celebrating Independence: Everyone, Please Write – [Essays] Will Be Sent to Friends in Asia)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, n.d., p. 3.

which, by extension, served to affirm both ties of membership and desire for the promise of independence.

While the materials and media channels used for Japanese-language learning thus took on many different forms, children and child-oriented media remained an important constant throughout the endeavour to proliferate Japanese language across the colonies. In particular, children and child-oriented media served not only as the introductory points and early encouragement for learning Japanese, but also, as ultimate proof of those efforts' successes. Both *dōyō* and the children who sang them, for example, functioned as models to be emulated or reproduced, while simultaneously delivering or actualizing success stories in the campaign for Japanese-language learning. Franco Valhermoso's case is particularly noteworthy in that he was celebrated not only as an exemplar of this simultaneous means and ends of Japanese-language learning, but also as the originator of what would become the ubiquitous slogan of such studies, encapsulating the imperial administration's vision of linguistic-cum-geopolitical unity in "Nippongo, the Language of Asia."

Moreover, the participation of children and youths like Valhermoso in these campaigns served to reaffirm the imperial administration's framing of Japanese language studies as widely pursued out of individual interest and enthusiasm. The weekly *Nippongo*, for example, ran a regular feature where students shared their experiences and motivation in learning Japanese. The following exchange between Teresita Ante and Herminia Bakisal, two girls who came to public attention through Legazpi's Japanese language contest, is emblematic of the tone and talking points usually taken up in the feature's many entries:

> **Herminia**: Itsu goro kara, Nippongo wo onarai ni narimashita ka?
> **Teresita**: Kotoshi no sangatsu kara desu.
> **Herminia**: Doko de onarai ni narimashita ka?

Teresita: Santa Agunesu no gakkō de naraimashita. Watakushi wa Nippongo ga daisuki desu.
Herminia: Anata wa Nippongo wa muzukashii to omoimasu ka?
Teresita: Hajime wa muzukashii to omoimashita. Keredomo, ima wa sonna ni muzukashii to wa omoimasen. Motto benkyō shite, umaku Nippongo ga hanaseru yō ni naritai to omoimasu.
Herminia: Watakushi mo, motto benkyō wo shite, nandemo Nippongo de hanaseru yō ni naritai to omotte imasu.
Teresita: Mina-san mo, kore kara Nippongo wo benkyō shite kudasai. Soshite, mainichi Nippongo de ohanashi wo suru yō ni itashimashō.

Herminia: When did you begin learning Japanese?
Teresita: March of this year.
Herminia: Where did you learn?
Teresita: I learned at Santa Agnes School. I love Japanese.
Herminia: Do you think Japanese is difficult?
Teresita: At first, I thought it was difficult. However, I do not think it is that difficult now. I want to study more, and be able to speak Japanese well.
Herminia: I also want to study more, and be able to speak about everything in Japanese.
Teresita: Everyone, please study Japanese from now on. Let's try to speak in Japanese every day.[336]

While brief, the girls' conversation effectively foregrounds their shared enthusiasm for learning Japanese, such that they anticipate the language extending not only to "everything" in their own lives, but also, to everyone else around them, at all times. The feasibility of that vision is underscored through the girls' presentation of Japanese language acquisition as within easy reach: not only are the girls themselves success stories who excelled at a Japanese language contest even at a young age, but they are also students who overcame the initial difficulties of learning a new language *and* arrived at that point of winning contests in less than a year. From such spokespersons, the call to study and use Japanese everyday carries new significance and persuasive power: it becomes less of an imposition from a colonizing power, and more like encouragement from enthusiasts simply

[336] Teresita Ante and Herminia Bakisal, "Taiwa: Ajia no kotoba Nippongo (In Conversation: Nippongo, the Language of Asia," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, n.d., p. 8.

sharing a readily accessible interest. By extension, the administration's active proliferation of Japanese language learning materials across different spaces and media becomes less of an injunction, and more of an accommodating answer to, as one article put it, "Nippon-go appetites [among the] young and old."[337]

The strategy of featuring children in various campaigns for Japanese language learning thus not only served multiple purposes in a self-affirming cycle – namely, in that children functioned as both the means and ends of such studies – but it also had the added benefit of retooling the top-down command behind such studies,[338] specifically as individually driven pursuits popular among the public. By extension, children's individual interest and participation in these campaigns were repeatedly re-framed as individual interest in and support for the ideologies underwriting the campaigns. As in the case of Valhermoso winning the slogan contest, individual children's enthusiasm for Japanese language studies was taken as an indicator of their support for, among other things, the goal of Japanese as the unifying language of Asia, the entailed rejection of the language(s) and influence of Western colonizers, and, ultimately, Japanese imperial rule as the necessary catalyst for these outcomes. In this way, children did not just function as the

[337] Y. Nakada, "Nippongo In The Altar," *Tagapagturo (Teachings)*, 23 December 1942, p. 27. Public enthusiasm for Japanese language learning was featured across different articles, photo essays, and even dramatic scripts for students (of all ages) to re-enact both in the home and in public. See, for example, Nakashima Nippongo Gakkō (Nakashima Japanese School), "Nippongo no kazoku (A Japanese-Language Family)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, n.d., p. 3.

[338] Through the Department of Education, Health and Public Welfare, the Japanese military administration set both the legislative principles of education, as well as the school curricula and materials that were suitable under such principles. Department of Education, Health and Public Welfare, *Bureau of Public Instruction Circular*, no. 8, 1943, p. 5.

The six Principles of Education, in turn, demanded the turning away from "Western Nations" like the United States and Great Britain, and instead, towards "proper" alignment with Japan and the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere – in terms of culture, morals, and crucially, language and education. Bureau of Education, "Principles of Education," *Bureau of Education Circular*, no. 1, 1942, pp. 6-7.

means and ends in their own education, reproducing material given to them and, through such reproduction, serving as indicators of successful pedagogical policy and practice – a string of developments that Patricia Crain has identified as a key trait of language acquisition in a colonial classroom.[339] Rather, children also functioned as a medium for the broader world outside the classroom, serving as access points, as well as the encouragement and models for Japanese language learning among the general public, all while serving as the voices of individually driven support for the ideological underpinnings of such education. In so doing, much like the media materials they learned, reproduced, and featured in, children served to re-configure the boundaries of the imperial body.

Children, Media, and the Re-Configuration of the Imperial Body

In his study of *dōyō*'s history and transformations, Shūtō Yoshiaki details how recording technologies and distribution patterns changed not only the style, but also the singers most immediately associated with *dōyō*. Whereas *dōyō* in the early 1920s was directly tied to the unique, physical abilities of *reijō* (highly accomplished daughters of well-to-do families, who could meet the technical and expressive demands of *dōyō* written specifically for them),[340] *dōyō* in the 1930s was distinctly removed from such specific physical abilities, tied neither to a specific singer nor set of singing/performing abilities

[339] Patricia Crain, "Children of Media, Children as Media: Optical Telegraphs, Indian Pupils, and Joseph Lancaster's System for Cultural Replication," *New Media, 1740-1915*, eds. Lisa Gitelman and Geoffrey B. Pingree (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004): 61-89.

[340] Shūtō, 137-42. Shūtō focuses, in particular, on the daughters of *dōyō* composer Motoori Nagayo, who performed for audiences including the royal family, and were celebrated for their exceptional musical and artistic abilities. Their skill, honed through specialized training and the performance opportunities that their father arranged for them, was only made more evident by the fact that Motoori's *dōyō* were notoriously difficult for children and even adult performers, as they included, among other elements, "key changes, frequent use of accidental notation, extensive registers, interval jumps, tempo and time changes, and nimble accompaniment." Shūtō, 139.

linked to the bodies of individual singers. Even the notion of *dōshin* (child's heart or mind), central to movements and trends for children's artistic education, came to be understood as something not entailing a child's body (*shintai no genzen shinai*).[341] Perhaps unsurprisingly, it was the latter type of *dōyō* that travelled through the colonies not only as learning materials for Japanese-language instruction, but also, and crucially, as materials for both child and adult students. At the same time, however, it was precisely this more general form of *dōyō*, untethered to individual physical abilities, that allowed for the projection of the imperial body.

As aforementioned, the teaching of *dōyō* like *AIUEO no uta* – a constant component of Japanese-language learning materials, given its ability to introduce the language's basic syllabary – involved multiple sites, singers, audiences, and movements between different points across the Japanese empire. When the song's sheet music was printed in the Philippines, the explanatory notes indicated its concurrent spread throughout the Southeast Asia region – not as unidirectional movement from Japan to its colonies, but rather, as a series of back and forth between multiple locations – together with the different groups and media technologies involved in bringing the song to the public:

> The "Song of アイウエオ" or "アイウエオ ノ ウタ" is currently being sung in Syōnan City and other locations in the Southern Regions… This music was arranged by the Imperial Nipponese Navy Band to enable the singing of "アイウエオ." "アイウエオ" was sung by the Young Girls' Opera in Syōnan City, and broadcasted to Nippon, where it was recorded into phonograph record. The notes to this music shown here were reproduced from such record.[342]

[341] Ibid, 202-3.

[342] "The Song of "アイウエオ"," 20.

As songs to be reproduced across different mediums and, crucially, by different groups and individuals, *dōyō* like *AIUEO no uta* had to be unattached to the specific physical abilities and individual bodies of the *reijō*, who had played a key role in defining *dōyō* in its formative years. Similarly, this shift away from specific physical abilities was mirrored in the reproduction and feature of *dōyō* as sung by children learning Japanese in the colonies.

In the second book of the *Uta no hon* series, which counted among the primary materials for Japanese-language learning in Philippine elementary schools, an explanatory note indicates that the collected songs were selected from those already being sung in Japanese schools and those beloved among Japanese youths. The note then concludes with the hope that "young boys and girls in the Philippines, who have a deep love for music can make a nice spiritual communication with the young generation of Nippon through learning and singing these favourite songs."[343] This vision of transcendent, "spiritual" connection between Japanese and Philippine youths repeatedly framed news coverage of children's *dōyō* performances, especially when they were broadcast over the radio. While children in the Philippines often performed *dōyō* (along with Japanese plays, dances, readings, and other exhibitions of Japanese-language skill) for the general public, similar activities for broadcast, especially when they included some form of conversation, frequently involved Japanese children as audiences/interlocutors. These exchanges foregrounded the ideal of "spiritual communication" between children, creating opportunities for them to interact without physical proximity, centred around the same songs or educational material – which had likewise been disassociated from any specific

[343] "Note," *Uta no hon: Japanese Song Series (Song Book: Japanese Song Series)*, Book Two (n.p.: Department of Education, Health, and Public Welfare, n.d.), 51.

physical abilities or individual bodies – all in the same language. Indeed, these on-air exchanges uniformly generated a feedback loop of sameness, whereby both sides purportedly shared the same "deep love for music," alternately sang the same songs to one another (songs that they had learned the same way through combinations of school and public media), and overall, demonstrated their ability to communicate in the same language, or on the basis of shared experiences. Accordingly, in a radio exchange commemorating a year of Philippine independence from American control, the Japanese and Philippine child participants were described not only as "shaking hands over the radio," but also as "giving the sense that they truly were siblings bound by blood (*hontō ni chi no kayotta kyōdai no kanji ga shimasu*)."[344]

Characterizing children's on-air exchanges thus highlights how it was not the actual existence of physical relation or gesture that was important, so much as their evocation or impression, not so much between specifically identified bodies, but over the airwaves. If *dōyō*'s detachment from the physical bodies and talents of *reijō* allowed for *dōyō*'s expanded circulation, then children's subsequent involvement in that circulation was likewise framed in ways that de-emphasized the physical abilities of specific individuals, prioritizing instead an ever-expanding set of relations predicated on basic sameness and kinship. As with the multi-directional movement of *dōyō* like *AIEUO no uta* across multiple locations, these expanded relations ran between multiple points across different regions and groups of people, drawing the ideal of physically transcendent, "spiritual communication" over a simultaneously widening area of projected sameness and kinship.

[344] "Nichi · Hi no kodomo ga rajio de akushu (Japan · Philippines' Children Shake Hands over the Radio)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, 1944, p. 7.

Put differently, the detachment of *dōyō* from the specific physical abilities of individual bodies paralleled the projection of a collective, imperial body, with the expansion or re-drawing of boundaries around groups and areas bound by newly identified sameness. In effect, *dōyō*, along with the pedagogy that made heavy use of it as the formative steps in Japanese-language study, were simultaneously positioned as the necessary first steps towards manifesting the Asia invoked in Franco Valhermoso's slogan – an Asia bound together under Japanese as a common language, accessed through shared culture and language education identified as Japanese. "Nippongo" was not simply declared the "language of Asia;" rather, shaped and taught through the material effects of broadcast and recording technologies, and simultaneously through the socio-cultural positioning of *dōyō*, the language also came to hold the primary power of re-defining both affiliative relations and the imagination of collective space – regardless of the imperial administration's attachment to a policy of (linguistic, administrative, technological) "co-existence" in Southeast Asia.[345]

This relationship of sameness and kinship, yet always defined through and prioritizing Japan, structured not only the near-constant bid to learn the Japanese language, but also, the contours and geopolitics of the imperial body. Japanese as the lingua franca of Greater East Asia served most immediately as the common bond across the empire, but it

[345] Yang, 314. This view of Japan/Japanese language at the vanguard, while also co-existing with local cultures and languages – an hierarchy that nevertheless advocates equality – is aptly summed up in a feature on Japanese-language learning in the Co-Prosperity Sphere, where the author asserts: "Nippongo is the logical choice because, besides being the language of the leader nation in this sphere, it bears a close resemblance to the southern languages. It must be borne in mind, however, that the making of Nippongo as the common language of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere does not mean the strangling of the indigenous languages, for Japan is anxious to further develop these languages to enhance their respective national cultures." See "Nippongo sa Daitoa · Nippongo in Daitoa," *Shin Seiki · Bagong Araw · New Era*, vol. 1, no. 12, September 1943, p. 15.

also posed the promise of being able to go anywhere and communicate with anyone within that same space. Much like the circulation of *AIUEO no uta*, which was reportedly studied and performed across the "Southern Regions," the use and usability of the Japanese language were consistently presented as having thoroughly permeated every corner of the Co-Prosperity Sphere. As one reader confidently claimed, "Now, no matter where you go in Asia, [people are] speaking in Japanese."[346]

In keeping with the structuring relationship of equal under Japan's exceptionality, the act of speaking Japanese was consistently framed as filling two different purposes at once: "Through the Japanese language, we can convey our thoughts to the people of the Co-Prosperity Sphere. Moreover, the more we understand Japanese, the better we will be able to understand the pure, righteous, and bright spirit of Japan (*kiyoku tadashiku, akarui Nihon seishin*)."[347] This two-part appeal of learning Japanese was premised on connections between the countries of the Co-Prosperity Sphere, while simultaneously underscoring the priority of Japan above all else: mutual, expansive communication was the goal, but it always had to be in Japanese terms, with the attendant goal of understanding Japan on a deeper level. Moreover, the appeal reiterated and reinforced two key points from the administration's promotion of *dōyō* as one of the key tools for Japanese-language education. On one hand, if Japanese language study afforded crucial insight into the Japanese spirit, then *dōyō*, as that which introduced and paved the way to such study, promised the same benefits. As encapsulated by then Commissioner of Education, Health,

[346] Enriques Droherji, "Daitōa no kireina kotoba (The Beautiful Language of Greater East Asia)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, 30 August 1943, p. 2.

[347] "Ajia no kotoba Nihongo (The Language of Asia, Japanese)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, n.d., p. 3.

and Public Welfare Claro M. Recto's celebration of *dōyō* as that which led "to better understanding Japan and the character of her people,"[348] *dōyō* was positioned as the means to grasping some undefined Japanese essence, if not already as a key component of that essence. At the same time, the promotion of *dōyō* as a cultural and pedagogical medium, crucial to understanding the "spirit of Japan," posited and furthered the characterization of *dōyō* as conducive to some form of physically transcendent, "spiritual communication" between Japan and its colonies.

While thus linked with amorphous concepts of spirit and essence, *dōyō*'s movement across the empire – together with the language education and the equal-with-exception relations it heralded – was frequently mapped out onto the geographical space of the Co-Prosperity Sphere, tracing the expanding boundaries of the imperial body. This kind of mapping was most readily observed in the many print features and photo essays that depicted Japanese-language classrooms across different countries in Asia.[349] Such features depicted the consistency and popularity of Japanese-language education – in that classrooms and classroom exercises could share similarities even across a diverse range of locations across Asia – while also visibly positioning Japan at the forefront of such learning.

The spread of Japanese-language education and its geopolitical ramifications are explicitly expressed in an illustrated map of the imperial body, circulated in the Philippines to promote the promise of joining a greater collective upon learning and accepting Japanese language and leadership. Printed in the weekly *Nippongo*, under the title

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[348] Recto, i.

[349] See, for example, "Benkyō suru Ajia no hitobito," 8-9; "Maliligayang mga bata sa Djawa | Happy Children of Djawa," *Shin Seiki · Bagong Araw · New Era*, vol. 1, no. 10, July 1943, p. 32; "Sekai de hanasu Nihon no kotoba (The Language of Japan, Spoken throughout the World)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, n.d., p. 2

Nippongo no tonarigumi (The Neighbourhood Association of the Japanese Language), the map presents the people of various Asian countries speaking Japanese, learning from the same Japanese books and Japanese military instructors (see Figure 7).[350] While the different nations are hinted at through the depiction of different national dress and the occasional building, none of them are individually identified, with the exception of Manchuria (which was frequently featured in Philippine print media as a model state in the Co-Prosperity Sphere), India (whose representative in the map expresses eagerness to join the Co-Prosperity Sphere), and Japan, which, while unnamed in the way the previous two were, is nevertheless easily identifiable by the multitude of flags, textbooks, and military instructors depicted as spreading throughout Asia. In this way, the map visualizes the ideology of sameness and kinship throughout Asia, tied together under the language and leadership of Japan, whose representatives, unlike those of the other nations in the Co-Prosperity Sphere, are not strictly bound to the space of their country.

[350] "Nippongo no tonarigumi (The Neighbourhood Association of the Japanese Language)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, 19 July 1943, p. 4.

Figure 7. The illustrated map of the Neighbourhood Association of the Japanese Language.

In turn, the map's title explicitly recalls and partakes in the imperial administration's practice of using *tonarigumi*, neighbourhood associations that the wartime Japanese government used to mobilize the public on the local scale, to define and structure kinship (i.e., neighbourly relations) under Japanese leadership.[351] The crucial role that the Japanese language had in forging such kinship is here made evident not only in

[351] See, for example, "Nihongo de tsukuru Tōa no tonarigumi (The Neighbourhood Association of East Asia to Be Built through Japanese)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, n.d., p. 11; "Tonarigumi no hanashi: Kodomo mo atsumari (Neighbourhood Association Talks: Children Come Together, Too)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, n.d., p. 3.

the artist's portrayal of Japanese textbooks crossing over national boundaries, but also, in his decision to title the map *Nippongo no tonarigumi* – a move that frames and identifies this expanded vision of *tonarigumi* as built squarely on the Japanese language. In turn, the re-imagination of Co-Prosperity Sphere relations as *tonarigumi* also recalls *dōyō* and its role in Japanese-language education. In particular, the *dōyō Tonari-Gumi (Neighbourhood Association)* counted among the songs that circulated in Philippine media under Japanese occupation, most notably in the second book in the *Uta no hon* series. The figure of a Japanese soldier, standing before a broadcast microphone as he repeats Valhermoso's slogan and bids people to learn Japanese as soon as possible, underscores how broadcasting/recording technologies, in tandem with *dōyō* like *Tonari-Gumi* and their entailed activities, contributed to the spread of Japanese-language learning and by extension, the vision of Asia as *tonarigumi*. While there is no musical notation, the map is also accompanied by a poem, *Chikara wo awasete (Join Forces)*, whose structuring and repeating lines mirror the general style of *dōyō* and *dōyō* lyrics. Notably, the poem's second verse reads: "Everyone, / let our hearts be one (*kokoro wo ichi ni shite*) / and let's live / with energy / and fun."[352] Here, the poem's call for unity, namely emotional or spiritual unity, directly echoes the ideal of physically transcendent, "spiritual communication" that had driven the material and ideological use of *dōyō* as language-learning material.

In this way, the characteristics of *dōyō*, specifically as shaped by recording and broadcasting technologies, were also mirrored in inter-regional relations and cartographies – perhaps unsurprising given that these relations and cartographies were, to

[352] "Nippongo no tonarigumi," 4.

begin with, predicated on language acquisition introduced through *dōyō*. By being detached from the specific physical abilities of individual singers, *dōyō* was able to travel further and be re-purposed as Japanese-language learning material, laying the foundations for the ideal of a likewise physically transcendent, "spiritual communication" between Japan and the nations that received its education. This communication consistently highlighted – and indeed, was taken as the very proof of – a wide-ranging sameness, a projected sense of unity that glossed over the different colonies as uniformly aligned in terms of language and pedagogy, participation in which was routinely framed as strong support for Japan and its leadership. Much like the form of *dōyō* used for Japanese language learning, relations between Japan and its colonies were presented in ways that de-emphasized the latter group's individual specificities, prioritizing instead general reproducibility or applicability, such that diverse regions were identified primarily by their common alignment with Japan, its language, and geopolitical project. At the same time, the move from individual, physical specifics to a more generalized, "spiritual" set of relations ultimately entailed very real changes in each colony's material conditions – not only in terms of classroom practices and learning materials, at the very least, but also, as the map indicates, in the ways geographic boundaries, the collective body bound by such relations, were re-defined and re-drawn. Put differently, the development and incorporation of *dōyō* into colonial language pedagogy saw a shift towards de-emphasizing the physical abilities specific to individual bodies, at the same time that *dōyō* and colonial language pedagogy served as the springboard for envisioning and projecting a collective imperial body, bound together by a generalized, "spiritual" or even figurative sameness or kinship.

Dōyō's involvement in colonial re-education efforts, and by extension, in the promotion of imperial narratives and cartographies, seems to lend credence to the criticism of *dōyō* and contemporaneous children's arts movements / materials as fundamentally "a means to disseminate government-approved news and ideologies."[353] Suspicion, or even rejection, of children's literature and media as unidirectional, top-down channels for indoctrination is neither new nor unique to the case of Japan, with one of the most well-known and abiding challenges issued by Jacqueline Rose's assertion of the impossibility of children's literature, the writing of which involves no actual child, but rather, according to Rose, the desires and preoccupations of adults.[354] *Dōyō*'s deployment in the colonies – specifically to teach children to speak a new language, and ultimately, to affirm kinship through ideological affiliation with Japan and its imperial project – certainly indicates strategies to position children in alignment with adult / administrative priorities. However, the deployment of *dōyō* – with the entailed movement of *dōyō* and other language-learning materials across different mediums and sites – involved multiple elements and relations that cannot be contained entirely within the structure of unidirectional, top-down indoctrination. In particular, *dōyō*'s expansion into the Philippines necessarily had to contend with an existing mix of languages, language pedagogies, local practices and international linkages – the cumulative effects of which

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[353] Nona L. Carter, "A Study of Japanese Children's Magazines, 1888-1949" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2009), 4. See also: Mark A. Jones, *Children as Treasures: Childhood and the Middle Class in Early Twentieth Century Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Benjamin Uchiyama, "Soldiers, Machines, and Wild Eagles: Youth Culture in Wartime Japan" (M.A. diss., Harvard University, 2005).

[354] Jacqueline Rose, *The Case of Peter Pan: or, The Impossibility of Children's Fiction* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994). See also, for example: Karin Lesnik-Oberstein, *Children's Literature: Criticism and the Fictional Child* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Perry Nodelman, "The Case of Children's Fiction: or The Impossibility of Jacqueline Rose," *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, vol. 10, no. 3, Fall 1985, pp. 98-100.

complicate any reading of *dōyō* and language-learning as functioning purely and unproblematically as tools for disseminating government ideology.

While I do not ignore or downplay the re-purposing of *dōyō* in efforts to further imperial goals and ideology, I also maintain that such re-purposing warrants closer attention to elements and relations specific to the local context, together with their subsequent impact on local engagement with *dōyō* and language-learning. As Robin Bernstein has demonstrated, critical attention on what is done *with* a script or a set of prompts for behaviours, as opposed to a narrow focus on what is prescribed *by* the script, provides a more comprehensive understanding of history and material culture, as well as the more complex, if less visible, workings of literary and media culture.[355] In this particular case of *dōyō* and language-learning in Japan-occupied Philippines, attention to such factors can contribute to a fuller understanding of local context and history, particularly as impacted by the introduction of yet another language and language-learning system, while also presenting an opportunity to re-evaluate the prevailing preoccupation, particularly in children's literature and media studies, with who speaks and in what language.

Performing the Imperial Body

In August 1943, the Department of Information, in co-operation with the Manila Sinbun-sya and the 12 *tonarigumi* of Manila, announced "*Nippongo shūkan* (Japanese Language Week)" or "Nippongo Week" to be held at the end of the month. With the goal of

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[355] Robin Bernstein, *Racial Innocence: Performing American Childhood from Slavery to Civil Rights* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 11-12.

spotlighting and further disseminating both the Japanese language and the results of Japanese-language education in the Philippines, Nippongo Week featured Japanese-language contests – both written and spoken, with final rounds for the latter broadcast over the radio – musical and theatrical performances, as well as the military administration's granting of teacher's licences to new Japanese-language instructors from the Philippines.[356] Coverage of the week's events included multiple photographs and photo essays, in which one figure in particular made a recurring appearance – namely, that of a Philippine girl or young woman in a Japanese *furisode* (a type of formal kimono with long, hanging sleeves, usually worn by young women). Performing songs, dances, or short plays, these girls and young women not only demonstrated their abilities in Japanese, but also dressed accordingly (see Figure 8).

[356] See, for example: Nakashima Nippongo Gakkō, 3; "Nippongo kontesuto taikai (Japanese Speech Contest) | Nippon-Go Week To Be Held in P. I. Beginning August 15," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, 23 February 1943, p. 3; "Rajio kontesuto wo hajime: Gakugeikai nado no moyōshi," 3.

Figure 8. Girls and young women performing Japanese songs, dances, and short plays in Japanese dress.

One photograph is of particular interest: in it, a handful of young women appear on stage, the majority dancing in *furisode*, with one in *terno* (literally "matching" or "set," the term generally refers to a style of Philippine dress with large, bell-like sleeves). One of the

young women stands before a microphone, singing what the caption identifies as the *AIUEO ondo (AIUEO Chorus)*, and indeed, all of the women display long, draping bands of either fabric or paper at their front, each marked with a line from the basic Japanese syllabary that served as the lyrics of *AIUEO no uta* and its variants (see Figure 9). The accompanying explanation takes care to note that the performers are young Philippine women (*Hitō-musume*), who win accolades from the entire audience for their performance, which was, in turn, part of the Nippongo Week events held in the northern city of Baguio.

Figure 9. Young women perform the *AIUEO no uta* while wearing the lyrics of the song on their front.

The photograph and its explanation notably foreground a series of key associations in Japanese-language education efforts in the Philippines. First, it both cites and furthers the trend of featuring girls and young women in Japanese-language learning materials and their promotional content. While students and contest winners like Valhermoso attracted media attention as specific individuals, for their individual accomplishments, the actual materials for language-learning, their advertisements and promotional events, frequently

involved anonymous girls and young women. That is, the materials intended to encourage Japanese-language study – to help beginners eventually become like Valhermoso – shared the later qualities of *dōyō*, which not only counted among such materials, but also featured similarly unnamed, undifferentiated child singers. Accordingly, printed materials for Japanese-language study – including dictionaries, sheet music, and even guides for *rajio taisō* – were often accompanied by photographs or illustrations of unidentified girls or young women. The single, but re-printed visual pronunciation guide to the sounds of the basic Japanese syllabary, for example, was modelled by a young, unnamed Philippine girl. Similarly, photo essays of Japanese-language radio courses repeatedly included KZRH's female announcer-teachers, unnamed, but sitting self-reflexively by yet another, widely circulated image of a female Japanese-language teacher, with Valhermoso's ubiquitous slogan emblazoned above it. Above all, as with the young women photographed in Baguio, public performances of Japanese songs, dances, short plays, and *rajio taisō* – events meant to draw attention to and encourage audiences towards Japanese-language study – often featured girls and young women (see Figure 10).

Figure 10. [*Clockwise from top left*] One of KZRH's teacher-announcers reads for a Japanese-language radio course, in front of a poster featuring another female Japanese-language teacher. Young girls performing *rajio taisō*. Two photographs from the visual guide to pronouncing the basic Japanese syllabary.

The performance in Baguio was thus one out of many such promotions for Japanese-language study, but it was also itself a citation of other language-study materials: among the items circulated during Baguio's Nippongo Week was a small pamphlet with the sheet music for *AIUEO no uta*, complete with the lyrics and an illustration of two young women in *terno*, reading a book marked simply as "Nippongo" (see Figure 11). Valhermoso's slogan, prominently displayed above the young women, reminds readers that their efforts to learn "Nippongo" equate to efforts to learn the language of Asia, and by extension, to connect with, if not fully participate in, the greater collective of Asia. Readers can and indeed are encouraged to share in the young women's efforts and motivation, even if only by learning

the music and basic syllabary conveniently provided on the facing page. The onstage performance, then, serves as reinforcement of that encouragement, as well as a living manifestation and guide for the pamphlet's contents: while only one of the young women onstage is visibly dressed like those on the pamphlet, the group as a whole, singing, dancing, and wearing the very lyrics of the song on their persons, set both the pamphlet's contents and its larger project of proliferating Japanese-language learning in motion. In this way, the performance and its records mark at least one point on a self-reflexive loop at the Baguio events, tying together Japanese-language learning and young women, *dōyō* and anonymous, non-specialist performers.

Figure 11. A pamphlet circulated during Nippongo Week, with the sheet music for *AIUEO no uta*.

By the same token, the performance and its records also underscore the connections between *dōyō*, anonymous, non-specialist performers, and the projection of a collective, imperial body. That is, if *dōyō*'s mobilization – as pedagogical material and thus, the basis of shared experience and language in a larger, imperial body – coincided with *dōyō*'s shift

away from the physical abilities specific to individual bodies, then the performance in Baguio visualizes and consolidates these developments in a single event, all the while gesturing at the heights of their idealized effects.

The young women onstage, after all, are anonymous and non-specialists, whose performance serves as testament to the spread of *dōyō* and Japanese-language pedagogy, which have proliferated not only in the latest of Japan's colonies, but also in areas beyond its capital region of Manila. Moreover, the widespread, admiring praise that their performance elicited is used to indicate the effectiveness of, at once, practices for Japanese-language instruction, as well as of public events to garner broader interest in Japanese-language study. That is, the audience's positive response is here framed, on one hand, as acknowledgement and approval for the results yielded by Japanese-language learning efforts (especially given the brevity with which such efforts had been running in the country), and, on the other hand, as a sign and measure of the wider appeal of Japanese-language study, its cultural materials and promotional events. Much like the young women's involvement in the performance, the public's interest in and approval cast participation in Japanese-language study – both leading up to and as a result of the performance – as driven by individual interest and enthusiasm, a strategy very much in keeping with the ways that similar Japanese-language efforts and events were promoted elsewhere in the country.

In this way, the Baguio performance is presented as part of a self-sustaining, ever-expanding feedback loop, in which affirmation of the students' progress substantiates their efforts, while also inviting yet others to tread the same path. Given that such efforts are directed fundamentally towards learning "the language of Asia," that they purportedly

constitute common grounds with others in Asia, particularly in terms of motivation and learning materials/methods, the performance also gestures towards a much larger area encompassed by that loop, re-positioning Baguio in the transcontinental *tonarigumi* of shared language, as well as experiences of and appetites for learning it. What is more, the performance's spotlighting of young, anonymous, and non-specialist women performing *dōyō* – a foundational one, no less, in terms of both its content and its circulation across Asia – identifies them as key figures in language-learning and proliferation efforts across this expansive area. Identified only by the lines of song and basic syllabary inscribed on their very bodies, these young women set in motion both the materials for language-learning, as well as the broader public yet to participate in such studies, with the express goal of more closely aligning the public with their fellows in Asia. Thus, in the Baguio performance, the inscription and mobilization of *dōyō* on the anonymous bodies of young women allow for the projection of the collective, imperial body.

In turn, the decision to clothe the young women in a mixture of *furisode* and *terno* constitutes another recurring trend and set of associations in Japanese-language education efforts in the Philippines. In particular, print magazines abounded with images of young women in these styles of dress, which served as a simplified, visual shorthand not only for Japan and the Philippines, but also, and crucially, as a sign of friendship, cooperation, and even kinship between the two nations (see Figure 12). The long-running *Liwayway*, for example, one of the few print outlets to remain in publication under the Japanese Occupation, ran a cover in December 1942 – roughly a year after the arrival of Japanese forces in the Philippines and the occupation of Manila – where two young women, dressed in *terno* and *furisode*, cheerfully work together to make decorations for Christmas. In turn,

Catholic nunneries and schools for girls, which welcomed delegations of Japanese Catholic nuns and women, repeatedly released photographs of their students with the delegates, both parties dressed accordingly, and, through the explanatory captions, consistently identified as friends bound through common faith and, crucially, Japanese language and culture. As one article put it, the Japanese delegation's mission was "to teach the Japanese language; to promote friendship between the two peoples, with the teaching of Nippon-go as medium; to show in tangible form the virtues of Japanese womanhood."[357]

Girls and young women, however, were not strictly limited to a single type of dress. As with the performance in Baguio, and the frequent features of girls and young women in Japanese-language learning materials/promotions, displays of students' proficiency with the Japanese-language, of their familiarity with Japanese culture were repeatedly visualized with Philippine girls and young women in Japanese dress. So, too, did visiting Japanese women, like the Catholic delegates, occasionally dress and pose for photographs in *terno* (see Figure 13). If dress was used as an over-simplified sign to signal one's equally uncomplicated nationality, then the donning of another nation's dress was consistently framed as an embrace of that other nation, as affirmation of friendship and close ties binding the two together. Tellingly, in a public address marking the arrival of the Japanese Catholic delegates in the Philippines, Miss S. Ogosi, the President of the Catholic Women's League of Osaka, discussed the many points of similarity between Japan and the Philippines not only in terms of culture, such as diet and dance (particularly those as performed by girls), but also in terms of looks, especially as highlighted by dress. Recalling a Philippine

[357] "Pagkikipagkaibigan | Link of Friendship," *Shin Seiki · Bagong Araw · New Era*, no. 5, February 1943, p. 31.

woman and one of the delegates at their reception, Ogosi cites a fellow guest who remarked: "If they exchange kimono of one with Mestiza of the other, you wouldn't be able to tell who is who."[358]

Figure 12. [*Clockwise from top left*] *Liwayway*'s cover from December 1942. Singers performing and helping one another dress. Photographs of the delegation of Japanese Catholic nuns and women together with their students, all (with the exception of the nuns) in *kimono* or *terno*.

[358] Miss S. Ogosi, "Exchange of Good-Will Between The Japanese Philippine Catholic Women's League," *Tagapagturo (Teachings)*, 23 December 1942, p. 16.

Figure 13. One of the Japanese Catholic teachers from the delegation, wearing Philippine dress in what the captions emphasize as a sign of friendship.

Ogosi's citation of and tacit agreement with the guest's remark belie misunderstanding on both their parts, specifically in their misidentifying the symbol of Philippine nationality as "Mestiza" – likely an abbreviation of and confusion with *traje de mestiza* (dress of a mestiza, a woman of mixed race, particularly of Spanish descent), the precursor to the *terno*, worn by women of the upper classes, a number of whom had Spanish ancestry. Equating Philippine women's dress, and in the same breath, Philippine nationality with "Mestiza" thus not only mistakes a group of people for the clothes they might wear, but also, inevitably highlights the untenability of the equation itself. Whether interpreted as a group of people sharing similar ancestry, or inaccurately as a style of dress, "Mestiza" as the sign of Philippine nationality necessarily identifies a small subset of the entire population as its representative, and in so doing, gestures at the different racial

backgrounds, social classes, and cultural practices that cannot be contained by such a sign. Moreover, given the "Mestiza's" ties to the Spanish gentry – and the *traje de mestiza*'s transformations under the American colonial era and the influence of Hollywood[359] – its use as a sign for the Philippines, as something that can be smoothly traded with Japan in a show of the two countries' closeness, instead underscores the Philippines' historical and cultural ties with Spain and the United States. In Ogosi's anecdote, the case for closer ties between the Philippines and Japan – particularly as those that take precedence over, if not outright supplant, the Philippines' ties to Spain, the United States, and their purported legacies of decadence[360] – nevertheless employs a sign inextricably bound to those it is meant to reject. In visualizing its relations with the Philippines through such a sign, Japan itself is, by extension, tied to Spain and the United States, to those ideologically framed as its moral and geopolitical opposites.

The neat equivalence that Ogosi and the guest propose between those who wear "kimono" and those who wear "Mestiza," between Japan and the Philippines, therefore

[359] "Traje de Mestiza (Dress of a Mestiza)," *Philippine Folklife Museum Foundation*, https://philippinefolklifemuseum.org/portfolio-items/traje-de-mestiza/. See also: Salvador Bernal, Georgina R. Encanto, Francis L. Escaler, *Patterns for the Filipino Dress: From the* Traje de Mestiza *to the* Terno*, 1890s-1960s* (Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1992); Gino Gonzales and Mark Lewis Higgins, *Fashionable Filipinas: An Evolution of the Philippine National Dress in Photographs, 1860-1960* (Makati City, Philippines: Slim's Legacy Project Inc., 2015).

[360] In celebrating the points of similarities between Japan and the Philippines, Ogosi presented a bright future for all dependent on the Philippines' (along with other Asian countries') correct re-alignment with Japan's project. If Japan had waged war to ensure the happiness of "the people of the East," then such peoples, specifically those of the Philippines, should contribute by "working hard to make up as the Philippines of Asia in name and fact." Ogosi, 16.

The identification of the Philippines as such – "the Philippines *of Asia*," or elsewhere, "The Philippines of the Filipinos" – served as shorthand for the Philippines' re-alignment as simultaneously being a movement away from, or a rejection of, American, British, and other European attachments or influences, which, in turn, was a sentiment regularly echoed by other writers. See, for example: "Filipinos, Return to Asia!" *Nippon-Philippines (Japan-Philippines)*, nos. 13-14, 1943, pp. 27, 48; Sister Justitia Misono, "Our Mission as Women," *Tagapagturo (Teachings)*, 23 December 1942, pp. 13, 30; "Nippongo," 10; Tanaka, 5.

relies on the dismissal of, among other elements, practices, relations, and histories spanning the local and international. At the same time, it is precisely this stripping of context, the reduction of nation and nationality to a single, supposedly uncomplicated sign, that allows Ogosi and the guest to advance some of the biggest promises of Japanese-language re-education. In particular, if Japanese and Philippine women are so alike, culturally and physically, that it would be impossible to tell them apart without dress signalling their respective nationalities, then the acquisition of Japanese-language skills – the very same project that Ogosi's Catholic Women's League had travelled to the Philippines to facilitate – evades identification as imperial imposition, and instead becomes the natural extension of such closeness or kinship between Japan and the Philippines. What is more, the assertion of such closeness, whereby one might feasibly stand in for the other, carves out another facet to the link between girls, young women, and Japanese-language learning: young Philippine women in kimono and speaking in Japanese, as with those in the Baguio performance, were no longer just anonymous, motivational models or living means to proliferate Japanese-language learning, but also became subjects that approximated Japanese women, especially if dress functioned as the oversimplified, but singularly sufficient sign of nationality. Accordingly, young Philippine women who, in their language, dress, support for Japanese-language learning and its greater geopolitical project, were aligned closely with Japan not only lent momentum to such language study and the subsequent projection of a larger, imperial body, but, supposedly near indistinguishable from Japanese women, and speaking "the language of Asia," were themselves promised greater communicability and mobility within the boundaries of the collective that they had helped expand.

Such promises in the Japanese language, specifically as the lingua franca of Asia, rests on a series of relations and reasoning that run parallel to those in what Vicente L. Rafael has called the promise of the foreign. Examining different trends and strategies in the diverse, changing movements of nineteenth century Filipino nationalism, Rafael underscores the central role that language and translation played in the conceptualization of nation, its relations with the Spain and its empire, as well as ways that subjects tried to navigate such spaces. In particular, he traces the complex and shifting relations between the *ilustrados* (enlightened), the first generation of Filipino nationalists, and the Castilian language, the spread of which the *ilustrados* initially saw as promising "to make Filipinos equal to Spaniards as citizens of a common *patria*."[361] For the *ilustrados*, Castilian constituted a means of speaking directly to, of being heard and recognized by colonial authorities, and thus, a means of bridging colonial divisions.[362] The *ilustrado* who could successfully present his cause to Spanish audiences, could generate connection on the grounds of shared language and patriotic alignment with Spain as empire, underwent a transformation, shifting from foreign native to familiar compatriot in the Spanish empire's greater collective.[363] Castilian as lingua franca essentially extended "the dream of assimilation… the fantasy of arriving at a common language that has the power to take one beyond hierarchy,"[364] particularly as it was posited between native and other.

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[361] Vicente L. Rafael, *The Promise of the Foreign: Nationalism and the Technics of Translation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 13.

[362] Ibid, 9-25.

[363] Ibid, 28-30.

[364] Ibid, 30.

This transformative power and the possibilities that the *ilustrados* saw in Castilian constituted the promise of the foreign. As Rafael demonstrates, however, the exact nature of these possibilities, the actual workings and effects of Castilian's transformative power, were themselves subject to various changes and re-orientations over the course of the nineteenth century. For example, in the wake of the *ilustrados*' failure to win recognition as full citizens of Spain, they re-framed Castilian as a means of uniting and elevating the people of the Philippines, *not* as a member of the Spanish empire, but as a distinctly independent nation, positioned against the original speakers of Castilian.[365] In tracing the different ways that Castilian had been conceptualized and deployed, Rafael spotlights not only the different possibilities that had been attributed to it, but also the ways in which these possibilities, the very promise of the foreign, were, at times, betrayed.

While Rafael's case studies significantly predate the arrival of *dōyō* and entailed Japanese-language learning efforts in the Philippines, the project of "Nippongo, the language of Asia" similarly invested unifying, transformative powers in the language of the metropole. Like Castilian, Japanese was framed as the means of re-drawing the linguistic and geopolitical landscape, wherein the subject who shared in the lingua franca was promised access to new avenues of communication, connection, and mobility, both physical and social. Of course, the identification and promotion of these possibilities involved markedly different processes, timeframes, and sets of actors, not least of which was the imperial administration itself – as opposed to a nascent nationalist movement – which extended these possibilities on the premise of pre-existing sameness or kinship, one

[365] Ibid, 13-14.

supposedly deeper and more meaningful than the Philippines' ties with other imperial powers. Moreover, whereas the push for Castilian's proliferation was driven and represented by prominent, male intellectuals, who had access to their own outlets for publication, the project to spread the Japanese language in the Philippines was advanced by an imperial administration that appealed to the public by working, in no small part, with and through anonymous, ordinary children, particularly girls, and young women. Given these very different processes, actors, and relations between them, it is a testament to the compelling power of a lingua franca, particularly as positioned between the metropole and colony, that the possibilities it posed could consistently serve, or at least be held up, as a unifying, mobilizing force even across the span of decades and socio-political changes.

But if the possibilities and appeal of a common language could hold constant over such different circumstances, then so, too, could its capacity for obstruction. Rafael points to how, far from guaranteeing mutual understanding, Castilian as the common language between colonizer and colonized actually led to instances of mutual misrecognition, whereby one suspected the other, or attributed suspect motives to them, for not confirming to expected and exclusive designations of foreign or familiar.[366] Indeed, it was this use of a common language in an attempt to downplay, dismiss, or paper over elements and relations that differentiated colonizer and colonized – what Rafael has called "the ineradicable contingency of their differences and the contradictions of colonial society"[367] – that the early Filipino nationalists came to realize how the ideal of a common language could renege on the possibilities it promised.

[366] Ibid, 27.

[367] Ibid, xviii.

In the case of Japanese-language learning in the Philippines, the promise of a lingua franca was similarly undermined by its inability to reconcile such differences and contradictions, much less the connections that bound them together. This inability extended beyond the promises of Japanese as a lingua franca to *dōyō*, its supplementary/promotional materials, and its applications in teaching, all of which served a dual role as the introductory stages of Japanese-language learning, and thus, the grounds of commonality or shared experience across the area purportedly re-defined by the lingua franca. Especially with its attendant appeals to the universal language or "spiritual" connection enabled by music, *dōyō* and its entailed materials/practices – much like the lingua franca they were intended to pave the way for – posed the promise of nullifying differences and contradictions with a shared language. And as with the larger project of Japanese as a lingua franca, their inability to fulfill that promise was most keenly felt among the more frequent and visible performers of *dōyō*, as well as in the nationalistic framing of *dōyō* and Japanese-language learning, which was nevertheless invested in yet other promises of the foreign. On one hand, the girls and young women, who played key roles in furthering Japanese-language learning efforts, were ultimately directed *away from* the very promise that they helped pose. On the other, staging and discussion of Japanese-language learning were consistently marked by a refusal to acknowledge or address the contradictions inherent in the brand of nationalism / regionalism they celebrated.

Spectacles of Sameness

In her account of the New Order Filipina – that is, the ideal of a Philippine woman under Japanese occupation – Denise Cruz points to the alignment between elite women and

the Japanese imperial administration, both of which insisted on the woman's place as being in the home, such that "the Filipina housewife [became] both the representative of the Philippines as a whole and a principal player in its restructuring."[368] The positioning of the Philippine woman thus served two key, interdependent objectives: first, in being primarily identified with the space of the home, with its attendant labours and care for others, the New Order Filipina marked a distinct break from what was framed as the overly frivolous, self-centred woman as shaped by the influence of countries like the United States and Great Britain, crucially, before the arrival of Japanese forces in the Philippines.[369] Second, from within the space of the home, where her chief responsibility was the education of her children, and thus, the nation's citizens, the New Order Filipina could correctly align this new generation towards the "ultimate destiny of the Filipino people as an Oriental nation."[370] Making efforts to fulfill these objectives meant that the New Order Filipina would realize her true potential, and by extension, that of the Philippines. In turn, these contributions for the good of the nation – even if it involved sacrifice or hardship – would put her on equal footing with Philippine men, and they would stand together united and equal, in the expression of their patriotism and resistance against the Allied powers.[371]

Cruz' account of the New Order Filipina is significantly based on the writings of elite women, but the views they espoused were by no means limited to them alone. Catholic organizations, for example, published multiple pieces – by both clergy and parishioners,

[368] Denise Cruz, *Transpacific Femininities: The Making of the Modern Filipina* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2012), 158.

[369] Ibid, 158-60.

[370] Ibid, 158.

[371] Ibid.

from both Japan and the Philippines – championing the place of the woman in the home, where her greatest duty and greatest exercise of her power was to mould her children into good citizens.[372] One writer, in particular, cited the historian Godefroid Kurth to declare, "“Women conquered the world by converting their husbands and by instructing their children.” By so doing she becomes the collaborator of Providence in the education of her children."[373] Notably, this framing of women's duty and power ties them to an even higher power, such that the Philippine woman who raises good citizens – crucially, as envisioned by and in alignment with the Japanese imperial administration – is a "collaborator" not with an occupying force, but rather with some transcendent power beyond reproach. Moreover, while women's domestic duties and power are similarly tied to their husbands, here, as elsewhere, the connection receives markedly less emphasis than its counterpart with children, suggesting a lower priority for the former. Whatever "conversion" of their husbands might entail, it is neither linked to "Providence," nor discussed at anywhere near the same length as the woman's role in children's education.

This difference in treatment might, in part, be attributed to what Cruz has identified as Philippine writers' hesitation over indiscriminately adopting models of Japanese femininity, particularly those that stipulated what they perceived as "Japanese women's immediate deference to men."[374] Indeed, the role of women as wives, especially that in the

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[372] See, for example: "Dokuritsu wo matsu fujin no kakugo (The Resolution of Women Awaiting Independence)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, 23 February 1943, p. 6; "Mabubuting bata, malalakas na bata, Nananaganang Asya | Yoi ko tsuyoi ko sakaeru Ajia (Good Children, Strong Children, Flourishing Asia)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, 13 February 1943, p. 1; Misono, 13, 30; Pagkikipagkaibigan | Link of Friendship," 31; Pacita Santos, "The Government And The Filipino Womanhood," *Tagapagturo (Teachings)*, no. 4, 1943, pp. 18-19; "Tatakau fujin no uta (The Song of Fighting Women)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, 13 February 1943, p. 3.

[373] Santos, 18.

[374] Cruz, 161.

image of Japanese women, was granted more attention and affirmation in articles written by Japanese authors,[375] but even this slightly increased attention pales in comparison to that given women's roles as educators in the home. In this light, the difference in emphasis might be attributed, in addition to writers' concerns about models of Japanese femininity, to the recurring ideological alignment of the home and the nation-state. This alignment is most readily observed in the ways in which women's involvement with children's education in the home was consistently framed as their patriotic contributions for the country, for the project of building a better Philippine society as facilitated by Japanese models and guidance.

Much like the author who linked children's education with Providence, writers across multiple publications regularly portrayed this involvement as tied to a higher purpose or calling: women were not simply meeting their duties with regards to their own children, but also, and crucially, shaping the soldiers and leaders who would ensure a brighter future for all.[376] In this way, the rewards of women's involvement in children's education were unfailingly positioned sometime in the future, requiring the immediate investment and effort in the present – effort that usually took the form of, in the same breath, correct orientation with Japan/Asia, and the fostering of patriotic sentiment in one's children. Such effort, in turn, was characterized as expanding outwards, carrying the

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[375] To take the Catholic journal *Tagapagturo* as an example, one Philippine contributor, Pacita Santos, discussed "Filipino Womanhood" largely in terms of motherhood, while another, Japanese contributor, Sister Justitia Misono, identified women's mission as tied to their duties as both mothers and wives. Misono, 13, 30; Santos, 18-19.

Moreover, it is Misono who linked this ideal of womanhood specifically to the model presented by Japanese women: "We shall consider ourselves very fortunate if we can inspire Filipino… womanhood with the same ideals and the same spirit of our exemplary and courageous women in Japan." Misono, 13, 30.

[376] Misono, 13.

mother's influence from the space of the home to national society at large. Accordingly, in an article reflecting on the issue of Philippine independence and what it would mean for the Philippine people, one writer identifies both developments, together with their representatives and primary beneficiaries, as something yet to come, something that women were waiting for, but must also exert effort to manifest. In particular, she insisted that Philippine women immediately throw away "the customs of the terrible West," follow the example of their Japanese counterparts, and put all of their energies in raising the "upstanding second generation of citizens (*rippa na dai-ni no kokumin*)."[377] In making such demands, the author also proposes an attributive timeline for the Philippines and other countries/regions to which it was linked: if the West constituted the Philippines' past, with its "terrible" influence lingering the present day, then Japan served as, at once, the model of what the Philippines could look like in the future, if only mothers turned towards its models of motherhood/womanhood in the present. In turn, that future, presumably purged of all terrible Western influences, was consistently linked to the generation to come, suggesting a simultaneous process of growth between the Philippines of the future and the generation to inherit it, but at the same time, a hint of a remove between that future and those firmly in the present, needing to turn away from their "terrible" pasts.

Assurance that efforts to do so would yield the promised future usually came by reference to Japan's circumstances, not only with its guiding models of womanhood/motherhood, but also, and precisely because Japan's growth and success as a nation was frequently attributed to these models. As one clergyman declared, "the whole

[377] "Dokuritsu wo matsu fujin no kakugo," 6.

virtues of Japan's womanhood constitute the very Mother-bidy (sic) which has forever been nourishing the strong and powerful nation that is Japan."[378] The argument, then, was that women following the example of Japanese women would likewise be able to ensure similar growth and success for their respective countries, specifically by raising their children correctly. As a way of reinforcing the argument, writers also drew parallel connections between mothers and the successes of the Philippines, its government, or historical figures, but these were notably identified in the more distant past – a sign that while precedents existed (and thus indicated the likelihood of repetition), the Philippines at the time still needed correction and re-alignment with Japan/Asia in order to arrive at the promised future.

For example, in a series of articles reflecting on the role of women in the "New Philippines," the author re-iterates the need for Philippine women to become "Oriental mothers (*Tōyō no haha*)," who instilled patriotism (*aikoku*) in their children. In so doing, they would be following in the footsteps of Japanese mothers, past and present, while simultaneously becoming the contemporary counterparts of José Rizal's mother, whose strength and power lay in the eminent shadow (*idai naru kage*) of her son.[379] The invocation of Rizal, one of the most prominent members of the *ilustrados* and widely considered a national hero, was no accident: not only did it align with other references and appeals to Rizal that cropped up in print material from Occupation-era Philippines,[380] but it

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[378] Rev. Fr. Benito Ikeda, "A Mirror Of Women's Morality," *Tagapagturo (Teachings)*, no. 4, 1943, p. 11.

[379] Virginia Mariano, "Shin-Hitō to josei no kakugo (Ichi): Tōyō no haha to nari aikoku no ko wo (The New Philippines and Women's Resolve (One): Become Oriental Mothers and [Raise] Patriotic Children)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, n.d., p. 3.

[380] Images of Rizal, for example, were popular inserts in journals and newspapers, especially around the time of Rizal Day – one of the few legal holidays retained or left unchanged after the occupation, whereas other

also identified mothers' influence as a force of enormous consequence, as the defining and driving power behind celebrated figures and key developments Philippine national history. As one author argued, the "great men" of history became so, precisely under their mothers' influence in the home: "Self-made men, people may say; but HOME-MADE men, in truth, are they. We may safely conclude, in fact, that success or failure of men in the government is unquestionably traceable to the woman in the home."[381]

In this way, the mother, her guidance, and the space of the home were inextricably tied to the nation-state: not only did mothers' involvement in their children's education constitute their patriotic contributions from within the confines of the home, but it was also identified – at least in the case of Japan and pre-American colonial era Philippines – as a defining force for the nation, its history, and successes therein. In directly linking mothers' roles to the grander expanses of nation and national history, the prescribed model of motherhood posited a reading of women's patriotic contributions as equal to, if not conceptually greater than, those of men or fathers. If, after all, the individual agents of historical change were regularly and emphatically identified as male – the "great men," or "strong hearted sons… to carry [the Philippines] to the supreme goal of her national ambition"[382] – then the simultaneous identification of mothers' influence behind these agents served as a kind of vicarious extension of the latter's actions or accomplishments to

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legal holidays had been abolished because they had marked key dates in American history. A. V. H. Hartendorp, *The Japanese Occupation of the Philippines*, vol. I (Manila: Bookmark, 1967), 199.

In turn, large public events, such as *rajio taisō* and public addresses, were frequently photographed in front of the Rizal Monument in Luneta Park. Writers also invoked Rizal's name as a means of legitimizing their views on issues like motherhood and alignment with Asia. See, for example: "Dokuritsu wo matsu fujin no kakugo," 6; "Rizal as an Orientalist," *Philippine Review*, November 1943, pp. 38-40.

[381] Santos, 18.

[382] Misono, 13.

the former. This extended attribution was particularly important given the condition of re-creating the ideal of Japanese motherhood in the Philippines – that is, the rejection of American or Western influence, characterized as women's protracted absence from or negligence of the home, and thus, a return to (if not exclusive identification with) that domestic space. However, the promised future stemming from that return – particularly when taken together with the promises of Japanese-language learning, which was, along with patriotism, to be practiced and reinforced in the home – entail temporal and spatial implications that indicate the tenuousness of those promises, that suggest they were never designed to actually be kept.

On one hand, the promised Philippines of the future, that which resulted from the return and efforts of mothers in the present, was temporally tied more closely, if not in complete synchrony, with the generation to come. Since mothers' connection with political and historical developments was consistently indirect, effected vicariously through their children, the experience of such changes, of the promised outcomes of mothers' efforts, could likewise only ever be at a remove. This distance between mothers and the results of their influence is underscored by the fact that the latter was positioned at some indeterminate point in the future, and as such, the realization of women's true potential – tied, if not outright equated, as it was to the realization of the Philippines' true potential[383] – was forever held in abeyance.

In turn, the requisite return to the home all but nullified the promise of Japanese language-learning for girls and young women, especially those who played key roles in

[383] Cruz, 158.

mobilizing those efforts. In particular, though acquiring Japanese language ability promised greater communicability and mobility within a transcontinental collective of near-kin – those who shared not only the same language, but also similar experiences of learning it – women's return to the home space necessarily curtailed exercise of those promised possibilities. Though Philippine women were supposedly indistinguishable from Japanese women in looks and speech, extending those similarities, specifically by also adopting models of Japanese motherhood, entailed not the outward expansion of possible movement and address, as might still have been extended to their *male* children, but rather, the turning inwards to a near exclusive identification with the space of the home and the focusing of all energies on raising patriotic children from therein. In this way, just as the promised, future "New Philippines" constituted a point in time beyond the mothers who had to work to ensure it, so, too, did the *tonarigumi* of Japanese as a lingua franca demarcate a space that women could not directly, physically access or move through, even though they were instrumental in providing the necessary momentum for efforts to proliferate and establish that purportedly universal language.

The discrepancy between the promised possibilities and actual outcomes of these prescribed improvements, which were fundamentally re-orientations towards Japan/Asia, was particularly pronounced in the pedagogical circumstances that differed markedly between men and women. Whereas the prescribed course of girls and young women's Japanese-language studies ultimately led back to the home, where they could subsequently encourage and reinforce children's own studies, boys and young men's studies involved additional arrangements, avenues by which the promise of Japanese as a lingua franca became more concrete. Most notably, promising young men – those who excelled

academically and physically, and who were identified as future leaders of their communities – could, upon clearing the selection process and requisite tests, be sent to Japan as *Nanpō tokubetsu ryūgakusei* (special exchange student from the South; abbreviated as *Nantoku*).[384] The program, which was implemented roughly within a year of Japan's occupation of the Philippines, placed these young men in schools (Japanese-language schools, preparatory schools, vocational/technical schools, or universities) across Japan for anywhere from three to four years, the first of which was entirely dedicated to learning advanced Japanese language skills at the Kokusai Gakuyūkai (Association of International Students; one of the organizations that make up the present-day Japan Student Services Organization or JASSO[385]) in Tokyo (see Figure 14). Upon completion of this core requirement, they went on to study subjects such as engineering, medical science, agriculture, and police administration. Notably, given the regional designation of the *Nantoku* status, the young men in the program hailed from various countries in the Southeast Asia region, including Indonesia, Malaysia, and Myanmar.[386]

[384] The program was one of many intended specifically for young men learning the Japanese language and/or skills for work, especially within the civil administration. Many of these young men were from affluent or influential families, and attended the programs in neighbouring cities just outside Manila. The select few who were admitted into the *Nantoku* program, however, were the only ones sent to Japan. See Ricardo T. Jose and Lydia Yu-Jose, *The Japanese Occupation of the Philippines: A Pictorial History* (Makati City: Ayala Foundation, Inc., 1997), 126.

[385] "Kokusai Gakuyūkai no enkaku (History of the Association of International Students)," *Nihon gakusei shien kikō | Japan Student Services Organization*, https://www.jasso.go.jp/about/organization/history/gakuyu.html.

[386] See, for example: Egami Yoshirō, *Nanpō gunsei kankei shiryō (Historical Records of the Military Administration of the South)*, vol. 24 (Tokyo: Ryūkei Shosha, 1997); Fujiwara Satoshi, Shinohara Keiichi, Nishide Takeshi, *Ajia senji ryūgakusei:* Tōjō *ga maneita wakamono-tachi no han-seiki (Exchange Students of Wartime Asia: The Half-Century of Youths Invited by* Tōjō*)*, (Tokyo: Kyōdō Tsūshin-sha, 1996).

Figure 14. [*Clockwise from top left*] *Pensionados* practicing their Japanese-language skills by reading newspapers and writing in *kanji* (Chinese characters). Media coverage of the *pensionados*' lives in Japan also took care to portray them outside of the classroom, showing them playing games or exercising. Media coverage also repeatedly featured some of the more famous students in the program: the bottom left photograph shows President Laurel meeting his son Mariano in Japan; the caption takes care to note that Prime Minister Vargas' son Ramon is standing just behind Mariano.

However much on a rudimentary level, especially in light of the relatively short duration that it was active, the program thus actualized the promises of Japanese as a lingua franca, granting the students physical mobility, as well as the means and opportunity to communicate with others, with near-kin from across the greater collective of Asia, *in* the "language of Asia." Indeed, the program might be understood as manifesting in miniature the vision of a diverse, Asian *tonarigumi* bound together by the Japanese language and the shared experiences of learning it. At the same time, the highly selective admission process meant that the students for whom such promises were realized was likewise significantly limited, most immediately by gender. After all, the provision of these learning

opportunities and environments meant that young men could access a level and style of Japanese-language education unavailable to young women, who must instead be directed towards the home. By the same token, whereas the promises of Japanese as a lingua franca – primarily, greater mobility and communicability – had an actual chance to be realized for male students, that outcome that was completely foreclosed for their female counterparts.

In thus excluding girls and young women – who had been so closely tied to Japanese-language learning efforts, and whose involvement therein helped project the larger, imperial collective similarly prioritized by the design of *Nantoku* – the program cannot but indicate how the promise of Japanese as a universal language did not, in fact, extend to all universally. Moreover, given its structure, selective admission process, and admitted students (a number of which were the sons of prominent political figures[387]), the program was clearly designed to shape its promising, young men into the "great men" of their respective nations and national history. But, as such, the program inevitably identifies a means of raising "great men" that was distinctly removed from the space of the home and the influence of the mother. As a result, the program diminishes, at once, the distinction of mothers' influence as the defining force behind "great men" and their subsequent shaping of national history, as well as the argument that the wielding of such influence constituted the sole, singularly sufficient means of realizing both women and the Philippines' true potential.

In this way, the promises of Japanese as a lingua franca, of re-orienting women towards models of Japanese motherhood and into the home, ultimately compromised, if not

[387] Among the first cohort of students sent to Japan were the sons of, at the time, President José P. Laurel, KALIBAPI Acting Director General Camilo Osías, and Prime Minister Jorge B. Vargas, who were repeatedly featured in photographs and photo essays of the students in Japan.

outright betrayed, the possibilities they had extended to and promoted precisely through girls and young women. At the same time, the contradictions between promise and outcome, between the conditions of each promise and what they actually led to, extended to the very nature of the promise itself, to the attribution of transformative power and possibilities to Japanese as *the* language of Asia, anti-thesis of English and other Western languages. This irreducible incompatibility identified between Japanese and English/Western languages, however, meant that the promise of the former could only be made by ignoring, or even hiding, its incorporation or dependence on the latter, on what, by its own rigidly oppositional classification, was foreign as being suspect and terrible.

For example, discussions and promotion of the *Nantoku* program make it evident how the program itself was grafted onto what it was ostensibly designed to counter. In the glowing media coverage of the program, students were identified not by their status as *Nantoku* or, even more generally, *ryūgakusei* (exchange students) – the appropriate terms in the purportedly universal language the students represented – but rather, by the more locally familiar *pensionados* / *pensiyonados* (pensioners).[388] Though the use of the term indicates an attempt to communicate with the Philippine public through familiar language and concepts, it also inevitably recalled the American system that established it in the first place. Instituted in 1903, as part of efforts to pacify Philippine insurgency in the wake of the Philippine-American War, the Pensionado Act sent Philippine students on scholarship to study at American universities. Selected on the basis of academic and physical qualifications, as well as social status, the students, called *pensionados*, were to constitute

[388] See, for example: "Mga Pensiyonado sa Hapon | *Pensionados* to Japan," *Shin Seiki · Bagong Araw · New Era*, vol. 2, no. 3, December 1943, pp. 1-8; "Pagpapalaganap ng Kultura | Culture Dissemination," *Shin Seiki · Bagong Araw · New Era*, vol. 1, no. 11, August 1943, pp. 9-12.

"a pool of highly trained, U.S.-educated Filipinos who embodied American ideals"[389] and could, upon their return to the Philippines, serve in fields like education (particularly secular, post-secondary education) and government. Such service was, in fact, a condition of the scholarship program, and thus, simultaneously, an indicator of how the program was designed to ensure the continued influence of "American ideals" on Philippine higher education and civil administration.[390] By the same token, Philippine students' presence at American universities was framed as a means of "putting forward the best and brightest Filipino youths before American eyes as symbols of successful assimilation."[391]

In terms of structure, purpose, and even naming (at least within the Philippines), the *Nantoku* program clearly mirrored the *pensionado* program. Indeed, in identifying itself and its students as *pensionados*, the *Nantoku* program not only appealed to the Philippine public as something already known and familiar, but also, effectively extended what had been recognized (for roughly forty years) as an American program under the Japanese Occupation. In so doing, the *Nantoku* program impeded, if not outright violated, the second Principle of Education set out by the Japanese imperial administration, which declared that the Philippine people needed "[to] eradicate the old idea of reliance upon the Western Nations especially upon the United States and Great Britain and to foster a New Filipino culture based on self-consciousness as Orientals."[392] This continued engagement with the

[389] Zeus Leonardo and Cheryl E. Matias, "Betwixt and Between Colonial and Postcolonial Modernity: The Critical Education of Filipino Americans," *The 'Other' Students: Filipino Americans, Education, and Power*, eds. Dina C. Maramba and Rick Bonus (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2013), 10.

[390] Gary Y. Okihiro, *American History Unbound: Asians and Pacific Islanders* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2015), 177-8.

[391] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 205.

[392] Bureau of Education, 7. All six of the principles actually stipulate, either directly or indirectly, a move away from the United States, Great Britain, and other "Western Nations," and, in the same breath, a re-

customs and influence of the suspect, “terrible” foreign, with what had been framed as the anti-thesis of Japan and Japanese-language learning, informed not only the models of education – including one of the most publicized and prestigious programs, no less – but also, the very languages used therein.

Most conspicuously, despite the ubiquitous push to use and practice the Japanese language, specifically in place of English – the very stipulation of the fourth Principle of Education, which called for “the diffusion of the Japanese language and [the termination of] the use of English”[393] – print media and language-learning materials, including those published by the Department of Information, regularly included English, notably as a means of translation or providing additional information. Even the weekly *Nippongo*, for example, the majority of which was printed in Japanese and thus intended as regular reading materials for the public, included vocabulary guides that provided translations of the articles' key words/phrases in both English and Tagalog. Elsewhere, *Nippongo* provided background information, interpretative notes, and even extensive translator's notes entirely in English, with no corresponding sections in Japanese or Tagalog. For example, the weekly's re-print of the sheet music for *Yūyake koyake* – one of the *dōyō* used in elementary school songbooks – was accompanied by a translation of the lyrics and a lengthy translator's note, both in English, with the latter providing significantly more detail on the song's themes, imagery, and cultural significance, the vast majority of which were patently missing from the much shorter note in Japanese. Annotation at the end indicates

orientation towards Japan, but it is the second principle that states these relations most explicitly. The public, in turn, was expected to have these principles memorized: writers repeatedly mentioned them by number, without any further explanation, while even short quizzes about the principles appeared in weekly magazines.

[393] Ibid.

that these English explanatory notes had, in fact, been translated from a Japanese text by two members of the Department of Information, one a Japanese man, and the other a Philippine man.[394] The conditions of translation, together with the English explanations it provided, indicate a specific set of relations between the languages that appear on the page, one that undermines the ideal of both *dōyō* and Japanese as lingua franca.

On one hand, the fact that the two translators produced these notes entirely in English strongly suggests that the working language between them, between the very members of the Department of Information, was not Japanese – that which was purportedly closer to Tagalog and easier than English for Philippine people to learn[395] – but rather, what was framed as its direct opposite, English. Even the Department of Information, one of the main driving forces behind Japanese-language learning efforts in the Philippines, could not abide by the Bureau of Education's principles, and instead relied on English not only to communicate with the broader public, but also, to run its own operations in-house. In this context, English, in practice, functioned as the lingua franca.

Moreover, the English explanations themselves entailed implications that ran directly counter to the imperial administration's stance on universal language and language-learning. For one, the explanations served as an example of how *dōyō* – the key "to better understanding Japan and the character of her people,"[396] which carried or itself constituted some intrinsic Japanese essence – could, in fact, be better understood through English, as opposed to Japanese. *Dōyō*'s alignment thus is particularly striking, in light of

[394] Masami Hattori and Salvador P. Lopez, trans., "Yūyake koyake | Yuuyake Koyake (Sun Set)," *Nippongo (Japanese)*, 7 June 1943, p. 5.

[395] Tanaka, 5.

[396] Recto, i.

the fact that *dōyō* and the Japanese language were consistently identified as conceptually overlapping – that is, as universal languages that provide insight into Japan/Japanese people. What is more, the explanation and its lengthy nature point to how, contrary to its framing as a medium of physically transcendent, "spiritual communication," *dōyō*, or even music more generally, did not, by itself, constitute an immediately intelligible, universal language.

In this way, recurring discrepancies plagued the relationship between, on one hand, the discursive positioning of *dōyō* and the broader system of Japanese-language education, and, on the other, the actual practices involved in managing their presentation, proliferation, and overall operations. One persistent issue was the rigidity with which the foreign and familiar were defined and positioned against each other, crucially without attention not only to what they might mean in the local context, but also, to how, under those same rigid definitions, they were already mingled – were, as Bernstein points out, never quite neatly distinguished[397] – in the very pedagogical systems, languages, and practices employed by the imperial administration. Such definitions, coupled with the legislations built and insistent on their inflexibility, set the ground for infringement of those same legislations or principles, even from within the departments that sought to encourage their public observation. Moreover, even as this public encouragement hinged on promises posed by *dōyō* and Japanese as a common language, these promises themselves were regularly broken, particularly for girls and young women. The betrayal of these promises was thrown into sharp relief by the fact that girls and young women had played a key role

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[397] Robin Bernstein, "Children, Literature, Things: On Going-to-Bed Books," International Research Society for Children's Literature 2017 Conference, 2017 August 1, York University, Toronto, ON.

in providing the necessary momentum for Japanese-language learning efforts in the Philippines, as well as, in the same breath, visualizing and projecting the collective, imperial body.

These persistent contradictions in Japanese-language pedagogy, however, do not necessarily indicate that their reconciliation would have, by any means, ensured the unimpeded success of imperial language re-education efforts. Rather, they point to how *dōyō* and language pedagogy – even when deployed as scripts, and crucially, even when both had already been tested and adjusted in other Japanese colonial contexts – inevitably depend on a range of elements and relations between, among others, individuals/groups of actors, languages, and existing practices. Indeed, in its very use of *dōyō* and music – what had been assumed as more communicable to people of the South Seas[398] – in addition to familiar forms of education and performance, the imperative of adopting the Japanese language reveals how it simultaneously functioned as an appeal,[399] as something directly and already shaped by the demands of the actors and environments it addressed. Thus, even in attempts to establish a universal language, the irreducible presence of multiple languages, appeals and demands, voiced and otherwise, continued to make itself known.

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[398] Michael Baskett, *The Attractive Empire: Transnational Film Culture in Imperial Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 52; Imamura Taihei et al., "Tanpen eiga no kentō 2: Manga, kage-e, hōmu gurafu, sumō eiga wo kataru (Review of Short Film 2: On manga, shadow pictures, home pictures, and sumo films)," *Eiga junpō (Film Report)*, 21 July 1942, pp. 20-2.

[399] Bernstein, "Children, Literature, Things: On Going-to-Bed Books."

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The early 20th Century boom in Japanese children's arts education movements constitute a wide array of advocacies, projects, and experiments, kaleidoscopic not only in terms of their focus and approach, but also, in the ways they were positioned in relation to fellow movements or projects, government bodies and initiatives, as well as specific groupings of children both in Japan and without. The case studies presented here highlight only a small selection from this array, yet, even within these specific advocacies or projects, there are clear points of divergence or transformation in the advocates' framing of their chosen art form, particularly with regard to it a concurrent form of pedagogy, as well as in the advocates' own positions. While these movements thus exhibit a high degree of variation across their respective terms and relations, they nevertheless overlap in their foregrounding of the child as a distinct identity, and, in the same breath, in being subjected to demands for adjustments, for re-writing social and material relations, by virtue of that same, shared priority. I do not argue that the shifts brought about by such demands nullify the hierarchies – among others, of class, gender, or empire – that have structured the goals of these movements, as well as their functional utilitarianism in deploying children, the arts, and media technologies in service of such goals. Rather, in line with contemporary scholarship on negotiations of power in children's literature and media,[400] I attempt to demonstrate the ways in which even the imperative – in education, the arts, or mediatic

[400] See, for example: Robin Bernstein, "Children, Literature, Things: On Going-to-Bed Books," International Research Society for Children's Literature 2017 Conference, 2017 August 1, York University, Toronto, ON; Marah Gubar, "Toothless Pedagogy? Problematizing Paternalism in Children's Literature and Childhood Studies," *Children's Literature*, vol. 48, no. 1, 2020, pp. 153-97.

engagement – is never so simple or absolute in its execution, much less its fulfilment. Attentiveness to these complexities in the workings of early 20th Century arts education movements have important implications for our understanding not only of the movements themselves, but also, of the broader literary and artistic developments that fed into them, as well as the material conditions and practices entailed by the media technologies through which they proliferated.

On a rudimentary level, major literary figures' involvement in and works for children or children's education tend to be presented as footnotes, if indeed, they are mentioned at all, in English-language scholarship, but such an approach ultimately overlooks not only the long afterlives of such work (especially as they disseminate across different mediums and art forms), but also, their impact on the subsequent reception or public image of these figures. For example, the strength of Kitahara's association with children's poetry and children's arts education movements – wherein a dreamy view of children as "pure" purportedly characterized the movements' advocates and activities, as well as, beyond them, the entire Taishō era itself[401] – has undoubtedly contributed to the glossing over, as well as the general shock upon revelation,[402] of Kitahara's involvement with and celebration of the Hitler Youth. By the same token, if, as Karatani has argued, the concept of the child as a distinct identity – with its own subjectivity and process of maturation leading to the adult – serves as one of the key signs or defining elements of

[401] International Library of Children's Literature, "Part 2 The Dowa Era: From the Launching of Akai Tori to the Pre-War," *Japanese Children's Literature: A History from the International Library of Children's Literature Collections*, 2017, https://www.kodomo.go.jp/jcl/e/section2/index.html.

[402] Tsujita Masanori, "'Banzai Nachisu' to honki de sakushi? Meisakushi · sakkyokuka-tachi no shirazaru itsuwa ("Banzai Nazis" and Sincere Lyric Composition? Unknown Anecdotes about Famous Lyricists and Composers)," *Gendai bijinesu (Contemporary Business)*, 24 May 2017, https://gendai.media/articles/-/51751?imp=0.

modern Japanese literature,[403] then it becomes all the more pertinent to address how these modern literary figures approached or positioned themselves in relation to this distinct, influential identity, as well as what changes or adjustments it might have necessitated in their work and thinking.

By the same token, attention to the conditions imposed in foregrounding the child can also facilitate a fuller, critical assessment of models for instruction, media engagement, and crucially, cases where they overlap. As a case in point, the materials produced for education in Japanese colonies – constituting a vast array of, among other mediums, films, music, and print – were explicitly designed to promote imperial ideologies and adherence to them, but functionally, they instead disclosed the multivalent nature of reception, of context-specific elements and relations, that complicate any notion of instruction as unidirectional or frictionless, much less certain in its outcome. Similarly, Tsubouchi's withdrawal from the ongoing exhibitions of *kateiyō jidōgeki* can be understood less as a sign of a failed pet project, abandoned only after a few years, and more as indicative of a theatrical form, together with the elements and relations it entailed, outgrowing the confines of Tsubouchi's exacting, yet contradictory directives. Thus, even in cases where the instructional goals were clearly and consistently underscored, where the scripts to such goals were readily provided, there was still no infallible safeguard against setbacks to or even outright frustration of those goals, against the possibility of requiring concessions or capitulations on the pedagogue's part.

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[403] Karatani Kōjin, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, trans. Brett de Bary (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), 115-26.

The recurrence of such conditions across the mediums and movements analyzed in these case studies indicate the importance of sustained attentiveness to the complexities of functions, relations, and their respective re-arrangements – not only in the multiple versions and interpretations of these movements and materials over the course of their long afterlives, but also, in the subsequent works and advocacies that referenced or re-worked them. The decades following the end of the Second World War saw significant transformations in Japan's media environment, the views of arts education, and the connections drawn between them. So, too, were concepts of the child, and by extension, of suitable education, directly shaped by the Allied Occupation's identification of new pedagogical priorities and establishment of systems intended to ensure their fulfilment.

Yet, even among this multitude of changes, some familiar patterns and resonances emerge: for example, artist, animator, and "Godfather of Manga" Tezuka Osamu cited both Seo and the experience of seeing *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei* as major influences in his own career.[404] Accordingly, key scenes in Tezuka's series *Janguru taitei (The Jungle Emperor)* recall the *dōyō* sequence in *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei*[405] – a reference that, coupled with Tezuka's prominence and praise of Seo's work, undoubtedly advanced the post-war interpretation of the latter as fundamentally anti-war.[406] Similarly, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) Douglas MacArthur's likening of post-war Japan to a "twelve-year-old boy," one that had yet to catch up to its Euro-American counterparts, recalls not

[404] Tezuka Osamu, *Tezuka Osamu daisen 1 (Tezuka Osamu Complete Works 1)* (Tokyo: Magajin hausu, 1992); Zakka Films, "Director Focus: Mitsuyo Seo," *Zakka Films*, 2022, https://www.zakkafilms.com/directors/mitsuyo-seo/.

[405] Thomas Lamarre, "Speciesism, Part II: Tezuka Osamu and the Multispecies Ideal," *Mechademia: Second Arc*, Vol. 5: Fanthropologies, 2010, pp. 59-60.

[406] Hikari Hori, *Promiscuous Media: Film and Visual Culture in Imperial Japan, 1926—1945* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017), 157.

only the axes of time and development that had informed the making of *Momotarō: Umi no shinpei*, but also, the supposed discrepancies between Japan and the West that had been invoked in the turn-of-the-century push for educational reform. In this way, contextualizing Japan's early 20th Century arts education movements in the wider expanse of literary, media, and pedagogical history necessitates the recognition that, much like the media practices that shape them, the materials, designs, and discourses of children's education entail no linear, orderly progression, but rather, multiple and heterogenous movements, looping forward and back, in a decidedly unschooled manner.

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