Memory, modernity and children's literature in Japan: premodern warriors as national icons in nineteenth and twentieth century literature and curriculum

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Chapter 4

Childlike warriors: Taishō picture magazines and *rekishi dōwa*

Iwaya's *Nippon otogibanashi* and Ōwada's *Nippon rekishitan* were not only reprinted continuously in the late Meiji period, but these series also formed a blueprint for similar books aimed at primary school-aged children, especially in the years following the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). Children were to share in the newfound martial confidence through an early exposure to the heroes of the past. Youth literature had become a more or less established genre, leading to diversification and new 'bifurcation points'.[138] In the first decade of the twentieth century, not only girls became a new target audience of youth magazines, but also pre-literate children started to be addressed with picture magazines and modern picturebooks, with Hakubunkan still dominating the market. Moreover, during the Taishō period, a new literary movement, mainly associated with the magazine *Akai tori* 赤い鳥 ('Red Bird', 1918-1936), appeared that defined its style and purpose in opposition to Meiji period youth literature. It claimed superior sensitivity to the 'child's nature' and aimed for artistic quality. Whether growing out of a commitment to raising happy and confident young citizens, or a critique on existing understandings of the child and children's literature, both literatures paid close attention to the different nature of children, or 'childlikeness'. In contrast to the literature for the 'young citizen' in the 1890s, that as an ideal encompassed all children of Japanese nationality (although in reality mainly educated boys), the child as 'developing reader' became a focal element of middle-class identities.

The most successful picture magazine in the 1910s was Hakubunkan's *Yōnen gahō* 幼年画報 ('Children's Illustrated', 1906-1935), that represented the work of various artists, but whose text and editorial choices were highly influenced by Iwaya Sazanami. This magazine (next to other themes) introduced a visually oriented pantheon of Japanese warriors based on iconographies carried over from *kusazōshi* and other premodern popular print. Such

[138] Nikolajeva, 'Children's Literature as a Cultural Code'. As discussed in chapter three, Nikolajeva borrows Lotman's term 'bifurcation point' to refer to works of children's literature that give new direction to the genre. I identified Iwaya Sazanami's *Koganemaru* or Ogawa Mimei's *Akai fune* 赤い船 (The Red Ship, 1910) as such works in the Japanese context.

iconographic images in picturebooks have hardly been addressed in theories on illustration and adaptation based on Western (children's) literature. I will ask how the iconographies of Yoshitsune, and other warriors changed form based on new notions of the child, and how they (visually) construct concepts of national history, family, and gendered play.

In this same decennium a younger generation of authors and poets like Suzuki Miekichi 鈴木三重吉 (1882-1936), Ogawa Mimei 小川未明 (1882-1961), and Kitahara Hakushū 北原白秋 (1885-1942) appeared on the stage, who defined their literature in opposition to the Meiji period 'moralistic' youth literature and (texts in the vein of) Iwaya's *otogibanashi*. This literature has a high status in the canon of Japanese youth literature and is interpreted as a literary reflection of the 'Taishō democracy'.[139] The 'child's mind' or *dōshin* 童心, associated with innocence, creativity, and honesty, was a central concept in this movement. The progressive children's magazines *Akai tori* is considered its flag-bearer, but there were various other magazines based on similar ideals, such as *Kin no hoshi* 金の星 ('Gold Star', 1919-1929). Stories about the Genpei War appear in both magazines. These narratives are violent and dramatic, which seemingly contradicts the ideal of *dōshin* and progressive children's literature as it is generally described in the secondary literature. However, as I will argue, 'childlikeness' in this context still functions as an ideal, namely as a sublimation of the warrior spirit of the past.

Following an overview of concepts of childhood and middle class identity in the early twentieth century, I will discuss the visual representation of historical generals in the magazines *Yōnen gahō* and occasionally refer to the rival picture magazine *Yōnen no tomo* 幼年之友 ('The Child's Companion', 1909-1933?) published by Jitsugyō no Nihonsha 実業之日本社. I will discuss how iconographies related to Yoshitsune and other warriors are re-interpreted through a combination of image, text and layout, and what notion of the child (and its family) and the historical or cultural nation they reflect. Last, I will analyse the representation of warrior legends and the meaning of 'childlikeness' in so-called *rekishi dōwa* 歴史童話 ('historical children's tales') in *Akai tori* and *Kin no hoshi*.

[139] For example, the second part of the two-volume pocketbook *Nihon jidōbungaku meisakushū* 日本児童文学名作集 ('Anthology of famous works of Japanese youth literature', 1994) consists almost entirely of stories taken from *Akai tori* (and features no adaptations from warrior legends, nor a single female author).

1. Concepts of childhood and the middle class in the early twentieth century

Over the course of the Meiji and Taishō period, the main responsibility for children shifted from the household head (and other household members) to the mother. Her role was defined by her devotion to her children, may it be the cultivation of their physical, moral, and psychological development, their education, or the safeguarding of their innocence. Mark Jones observes that the child's difference from the adult was already acknowledged in the late Meiji period as a scientific fact, before the appearance of 'Romantic' concepts of the child.[140] Maternal enlightenment was measured by the degree of 'parental action' taken to nourish the specific needs of the child. Women were to create a wholesome family, which took an important place in imaginations of the state. The late Meiji government and ideologues invoked the concept of *katei* 家庭 (family) and the *kazoku kokka* 家族国家 or 'family state': not only were national subjects supposed to be raised in the sphere of the nuclear family, its constellation mirrored that of the nation-state.[141] In the late Meiji period, family was often discussed in terms of love and loyalty, as one also had to feel towards the nation. As shown in chapter two (section 5.3), these ideals were also represented in primary school textbooks, such as the 1910 government ethics textbook that ascribes a gentle and modest disposition to girls, thereby aiming to naturalize the idea that 'girls take care of the family at home, where they strive for peace and harmony, which is ultimately the place where the good customs of the country are cultivated'.[142]

It must however be noted that while the above ideals had strong appeal to the middle- and upper class, in other parts of society it took more time to replace children's (domestic) work with a full elementary education. Nor did living circumstances favour the materialization of women who fully devote their time to the socialization and education of their children. Stephen Galan considers the Meiji government's goal of making all children 'schoolchildren' to have been attained only in the 1920s or even 1930s.[143] Kathleen Uno observes that in all probability, for the late Meiji period lower classes 'family survival rather than family improvement was foremost in the minds of the children's parents'.[144] She is here referring more specifically to parents who sent their children to Futaba Yōchien, a privately

[140] Jones, *Children as Treasures*, 156.
[141] Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, 187–89.
[142] Kaigo, *NKT Kindai Hen 3*, 121.
[143] Galan, 'Home vs. School vs. Work', 279–80.
[144] Uno, *Passages to Modernity*, 69.

run Tokyo-based kindergarten and day-care centre for children from the lower class. This welfare initiative reflected the ideals of the middle class, centring on the improvement of the moral and physical well-being of these young children and their families. The children were consequently enrolled in primary school, yet many only stayed for a couple of years. It was also not possible for mothers working in factories or doing piece work at home to adhere to the ideal of the *ryōsai kenbo*.

In the early twentieth century, children were increasingly analysed by scientists and the state, and a public discourse on children enfolded in the print media. Jones argues that the state and the middle class produced several competing notions of the ideal child, which he groups under the terms *shōkokumin* 少国民 ('little citizen'), *yūtōsei* 優等生 ('superior student'), and *kodomorashii kodomo* 子供らしい子供 ('childlike child'). As discussed in the previous chapter, the concept of the child as a young citizen appeared in the 1890s and was characterised by a focus on the moral education of the child in the school *and* in the family.[145] In the early twentieth century, raising a 'little citizen' came to be conceptualized as a patriotic act, by a 'reform-minded' elite that discussed and spread the notion of the modern *katei* through print media. The notion of the 'little citizen' according to Jones stressed social stability rather than upward mobility: moral fibre would protect children against the corruption of a competitive society.[146] The 'little citizen' was a product of the intense nationalism appearing in the 1890s but was in the early twentieth century also sustained as a reaction against the upward mobility of urban families who used the education system to climb the social ladder. The notion of the 'superior student' or *yūtōsei* connected to the concept of *risshin shusse*, which in the early twentieth century was placed in the context of a supportive family managed by a mother who assertively seeks and supports the best education for her children. This Taishō period ideal was part of a transformation in thinking about membership of the middle-class as a possibility, rather than a fixed state.[147] The word *yūtōsei* generally referred to elementary school children revered for their top grades.

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[145] Jones, *Children as Treasures*, 51–52. I have purposely used the term 'young citizen' rather than 'little citizen' in the previous chapter and will continue to do so where not specifically referring to the 'competing ideal' formulated by Jones. As discussed in section 3.2, the term *shōkokumin* originates with the magazine *Shōkokumin*. This was not yet a general term in the 1890s. In Hakubunkan's (rival) publications of the 1890s, the young reader is addressed as *yōnen* or *shōnen*. Moreover, the concept of the child as a 'young citizen' (in all its variants) is ingrained to the modern paradigm of national education and not limited to particularly nationalistic currents or groups.

[146] Jones, 148–49.

[147] Jones, 174.

This *yūtōsei* can in fact be found in late Meiji period representations of Ushiwakamaru legends for children. Most late Meiji texts about Yoshitsune reflect the tendency of earlier works and preached loyalty, brotherly affection, and the nobility of death in battle, or follow in the footsteps of Iwaya's *otogibanashi*.[148] The authors generally stress that Ushiwakamaru was smart and a good student, representing the ideal of *bunbu ryōdō* 文武両道 ('accomplishment in both the literary and military arts'). However, Ushiwakamaru was also used to represent the *yūtōsei* as a competing ideal. *Nippon otogibanashi: Ima Ushiwakamaru* 日本お伽噺今牛若丸 (1911) features a chubby Meiji period boy called 'Ima Ushiwakamaru' who is engrossed in the idea that he is Ushiwakamaru.[149] He meets the big *tengu* in his garden, who tells him Ushiwakamaru's strong points are his light weight, his sword-fighting skills, and his diligence in his studies. First, the *tengu* bestows upon the boy a 'light weight'. The latter rejoices, as this is more attractive than study. However, upon trying to walk the railing of a bridge in the vein of the Gojō bridge episode, he falls in the water. Nonetheless, he proudly introduces himself to the police as 'Meiji's Ushiwakamaru' and later proceeds to re-enact *hassō-tobi* by jumping the roofs of rail cars. After a painful fall and a scolding by the station master, he pleads with the big *tengu* to be taught sword-fighting, upon which the small *tengu* give him a beating. This makes Ima Ushiwakamaru finally realize he should give up his 'mischief' (*itazura* いたづら) and concentrate on his studies. This parable thus seems partial to the *yūtōsei* ideal and contradicts Iwaya's favourable representations of 'spirited' boys as well as the continued trend of hero-worship. Clearly, both Ima Ushiwakamaru's character and physique are unsatisfactory: according to the *yūtōsei* ideal, strengthening both would have a positive influence on academic performance.[150]

A different notion, defined by Jones as *kodomorashii kodomo* or 'childlike child', appeared in the 1910s and 1920s in the context of a middle-class turn towards leisure and aesthetic pursuits.[151] The child was to be provided with toys, family-outings, and child-centred spaces (such as children's libraries and playgrounds). Partaking in this version of

[148] These books, often part of history series, are all written in *genbun itchi*, and the insight that the older series (of the 1890s) in *bungotai* had become too difficult for children in the upper primary school might have been an incentive for some of these rewritings. By 'following in Iwaya's footsteps' I mean a fairy-tale-like focus on imaginative elements like the *tengu*, and Ushiwakamaru as a 'spirited' boy.
[149] Takara Sanjin, *Ima Ushiwakamaru*.
[150] Jones, *Children as Treasures*, 206.
[151] Jones, 248.

child-rearing was confined to more affluent families, for whom the culture of the 'childlike child' was also a sign of 'cultural enlightenment'.[152] Jones connects this new ideal to the trope of *dōshin* in children's literature, and the magazine *Akai tori*. Originating in the European ideal of the Romantic child, this child embodied the creative, emotionally sensitive, innocent, and original antithesis to modern society and the adult world.[153] Authors were moreover called upon to look for their 'inner child'.

Jones in the last part of his book is mainly interested in the competing ideals of the *yūtōsei* and the *kodomorashii kodomo*, and how the good student is still a powerful ideal in contemporary Japan. However, by interpreting toys (and books) mainly as 'the tools of leisure' and grouping them with the *dōshin* trope in youth literature, the nature of toys and books as objects that can represent various ideological agendas fades into the background. For example, in Jones' chapter on *kodomorashii kodomo*, the picture magazine *Yōnen gahō* and *Akai tori* both fit under the umbrella of Taishō period 'cultured life' that focused on the childlike child. In a sense, this is accurate: 'childlikeness' plays a role in both magazines. However, the editors-in-chief of these magazines (respectively Iwaya Sazanami and Suzuki Miekichi) represent very different interpretations of children's literature. That is to say, Miekichi explicitly distanced himself from 'popular' youth literature, such as *Shōnen sekai*. *Yōnen gaho* comes from the same editor and publisher. This latter magazine combined earlier tendencies in the literature for *shōnen* with new insights into the innate spiritedness and playfulness of young children, and a positive, confident representation of national culture that has little to do with the anti-modern or explorations of 'the child within the adult'. As I will show in this chapter, the 'childlikeness' of children was interpreted in different ways.

The close relationship between the middle class and the (appearance of the) genre of youth literature in Europe has been discussed by various scholars. One of the definitions of children's literature given by Perry Nodelman is 'the literature produced for and in order to construct the subjectivity of the children of the middle class'.[154] John Morgenstern moreover argues that children's literature in Europe appeared partly in answer to middle-class parents' perception of their children as 'pre-readers'.[155] In other words, literacy having become universal among the middle class by the eighteenth century, their children were not

[152] Jones, 310.
[153] Jones, 292.
[154] Nodelman, *The Hidden Adult*, 177.
[155] Morgenstern, 'The Rise of Children's Literature Reconsidered', 70–71.

to share reading material (i.e., chapbooks) anymore with 'semi-literate' adults. Morgenstern furthermore argues that this development is related to the trope of the innocent child and its conceptual differentiation from the adult: 'the spread of literacy … led to the construction of the child as innocent, which is to say, as a pre-reader'. It is 'children's literature that gives rise to the "child"'.[156] Nodelman however tempers the belief in the powers of intellectual agendas by arguing that a specific literature for children would not have appeared without an ideological need for the 'child' to exist as a construct also in culture outside children's literature.[157] This need would consist of the need of the capitalist middle class to create 'colonizable others', i.e., children were discovered as a market for 'adult values' and childhood a point of reference for the creation of the adult Self. As I have argued in chapter three, the creation of selfhood was also an important element of the rise of youth literature in Japan. The formation of middle-class identity moreover led to an awareness of the young child as 'pre-reader'.

It was only in the late 1920s that 'pre-workers' were discovered as 'pre-readers' in their own right. Welfare initiatives and new laws in the early twentieth century belatedly identified underage factory workers as 'children', meaning that they should not (yet) work, attend primary school, and live in healthy conditions. In other words, their 'childhood' would be short and have little semblance to the middle-class ideals and reality. Even the meritocracy that made belonging to the middle class and climbing its internal tiers possible, was associated with children of reasonably educated 'self-made women' and their modestly salaried husbands, and not with factory workers and tenant farmers. The absence of the lower classes in youth literature was identified and criticized by Marxist authors who advocated for a 'proletarian youth literature' (*puroretaria jidōbungaku* プロレタリア児童文学). The author Makimoto Kusurō 槇本楠郎 (1898-1856) argued that the bourgeois child and the proletarian child live in entirely different realities, and denounced the idea of the innocent 'child's heart' in such magazines as *Akai tori* (whose contents were far removed from the lives of these children).[158] The stories about individual misfortune and *shusse* through determination appearing in mass-marketed youth literature were equally undesirable. Yet Makimoto also saw a characteristic common to all children, namely their attraction to

[156] Morgenstern, 71.
[157] Nodelman, *The Hidden Adult*, 251.
[158] Bowen-Struyk and Field, *For Dignity, Justice, and Revolution*, 188–89.

fantasy worlds. Proletarian youth literature thus aimed to impart class consciousness, but also provide pleasure.[159] Stories for children and essays appeared in various magazines, but solely devoted to proletarian youth literature was the magazine *Shōnen senki* 少年戦旗 ('Youth's Battle Flag', 1928-1931). The heroes (*ijin* 偉人) of *Shōnen senki* were not Yoshitsune, Hideyoshi and Murasaki Shikibu, but Marx, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The magazine was repeatedly banned by the government and the movement was criticized for politicizing children. Remarkably little research has been done on proletarian youth literature compared to *Akai tori*, that is recognized as representing the Golden Age of youth literature by adult readers and scholars alike.[160]

In the next paragraphs, the particularities of the historical narratives appearing in *Yōnen gahō* and 'progressive' youth magazines *Akai tori* and *Kin no hoshi* will be discussed, yet there are also similarities: they cater to a middle-class audience, adhere to a conservative interpretation of national history as continuity, and apprentice the 'pre-reader' to the war tales.

2. The pantheon of heroes in *Yōnen gahō*

In the first decennium of the twentieth century, new magazines and picturebooks appeared that focused on pictorial rather than textual representation, aimed at kindergartners and beginning readers. The discovery of young children as an audience of magazines took place almost simultaneously with the discovery of girls as a separate audience.[161] Educators and other experts on the family and the child identified young childhood as an important, formative period in life. Authors and publishers gladly contributed to the discourse and brought to this child, and its caregivers, visually oriented re-iterations of (Japanese and foreign) fairytales, history, and legends, but also original illustrated stories, songs, and free verse. Many picture magazines also stimulated children's *jiyūga* 自由画 ('free drawing') and the best rated submissions would appear in the magazine. Whereas in the 1890s, *yōnen* and

[159] As do, for example, Murayama Kazuko's (1903-1946) stories that often feature animal protagonists, some of which have been translated in English. See Bowen-Struyk and Field, 204–9.
[160] For example, Sekiguchi Kiyoshi comments that 'from today's perspective, there are not many works of quality' found in *Shōnen senki*. Sekiguchi, 'Puroretaria Jidōbungaku Kara Seikatsudōwa e', 187. Morgenstern observes that when authors (and apparently also scholars) use shrewd expressions like 'children's literature as we know it', this should be understood as 'a literature designed to appeal to both children and their bourgeois parents'. Morgenstern, 'The Rise of Children's Literature Reconsidered', 69.
[161] In 1902, Kinkōdō began publishing *Shojōkai* 少女界 ('Girl's World') for teenage girls, and Hakubunkan followed in 1906 with *Shōjo Sekai* 少女世界 ('Girl's World'). The *shōjo* (girl) thus started to be differentiated from the *shōnen* (boy), a term that originally referred to 'youth' (neutral, though often by default boys).

shōnen were often used interchangeably, in the early twentieth century, *yōnen* came to refer explicitly to young children. The term *yōjo* 幼女 ('young girl') or *yōnen danshi* 幼年男子 ('young boy') were employed in the title if the picture magazine was specifically aimed at children of one gender.[162] Still, *Yōnen gahō* contains clearly gendered representations of young childhood and has a predilection for boy's perspectives, as I will discuss later.

The appearance and early development of color magazines for adults is closely related to mass communication surrounding the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, during which news from the battlefield was spread through images and photographs.[163] As color printing became economically viable, picture-oriented books and magazines for preschool children started to appear. The pioneering magazine *Otogi etoki*: *Kodomo* お伽絵解こども ('Children – Picture-explanations of Fairytales') was sold through kindergartens.[164] Hakubunkan jumped on the bandwagon in 1906 with *Yōnen gahō* 幼年画報 and appointed Iwaya Sazanami as editor-in-chief. In 1909, the rival publishing house Jitsugyō no Nihonsha took over a previously existing picture magazine and renamed it *Yōnen no tomo* 幼年之友 ('Child's Friend'). The editor-in-chief, Kishibe Fukuo 岸辺福雄 (1873-1958), was a specialist in the field of early childhood education, and like Iwaya, travelled Japan to orally present fairy-tales and other stories to children (*kōen dōwa* 口演童話).[165] Iwasaki Mariko observes that children's picture magazines were closely connected to women's magazines. The best-selling picture magazines for *yōnen* in fact came from the same publishers as the best-selling popular women's magazines in the 1910s. These were Hakubunkan's *ryōsai kenbo*-oriented magazine for female secondary school students and young women, *Jogaku sekai* 女学世界 ('World of Women's Learning', 1901-1925) and Jitsugyō no Nihonsha's *Fujin sekai* 婦人世界 ('Women's World', 1906-1933). Both publishers catered to the whole family with a variety of magazines sorted by age and gender. This section will mainly focus on the pictorial strategies of *Yōnen gahō*, that at its peak dominated the market of picture magazines for young children, with a circulation of over sixty thousand.[166] Additionally, I will make comparisons to *Yōnen no tomo*.

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[162] Iwasaki, 'Taishō Demokurashii to Jiyukyōiku Undō No Naka De', 339.
[163] Meguro, 'Ezasshi to Jōhōka Shakai', 309–10.
[164] Meguro, 312. In practice only a very small number of children attended kindergarten (1 to 2% of five-year-olds in 1904).
[165] Ōsaka kokusai jidōbungakukan, *NJBD*, 2:625. Kobayashi Satoko, "*Yōnen no tomo*".
[166] Meguro, 'Ezasshi to Jōhōka Shakai', 317.. This is an impressive number. The most popular women's magazine, Hakubunkan's *Jogaku sekai*, sold 70.000-80.000 copies in the early 1910s, compared to up to 10.000 for other popular magazines in this same period. *Jogaku sekai* was later overhauled by *Fujin sekai*, that in 1909 exceeded 100.000 per issues. Inoue, 'Things That Speak', 517.

2.1 *Yōnen gahō*

In his Great Principles for Education (*Kyōgaku taishi*, 1879), Motoda Eifu stipulated that the walls of primary schools should be covered with 'portraits of loyal subjects, righteous warriors, filial children, and virtuous women'.[167] However, when Iwaya twenty years later during his stay in Berlin (1900-1902) attended a lecture by the Herbartian pedagogue Wilhelm Rein about 'school and art' (*Schule und Kunst*), he observed the following: 'Had someone shown [professor Rein] our elementary schools, whose walls are bare except for a blackboard and a geographical map, he would have mistaken them for prisons.'[168] He considers it a shame that an art-loving country like Japan fails its children in this respect and ascribes the absence of any art on the school walls to the financial situation of the government. From Iwaya's report can only be gleaned that Rein wanted more and better art on the school walls, that would raise 'aesthetic feelings' in children. The contents were presumably similar to the arguments made in Rein's book *Bildende Kunst und Schule* (1902). Concretely, 'art' refers to reproduced paintings by great masters from the past and visualizations of stories, landscapes, animals, and everyday life in the Heimat. The appreciation of art would lead to a refinement of character, which is of use to the nation.[169] The wall charts often found in schools, used for explaining things, Rein considers too tasteless. In line with Herbartian education, children in the first grade should be familiarized with visualizations of Bible stories, fairy tales and heroic saga, for which he gives the names of concrete works, series, and reproductions. Rein's aesthetic education had the higher goal of resurrecting the appreciation and creation of German art. (As last seen in the sixteenth century, although he prescribes quite some work by late Romantic painters.)

Iwaya also visited the exhibition 'Die Kunst im Leben des Kindes' (March 1901) at the headquarters of the Berlin Secession, that showed wall charts for schools, picturebooks and children's drawings.[170] Here, style rather than theme was at stake. The organizer first mentioned in the exhibition catalogue is the impressionistic painter Max Liebermann (1847-1935), followed by several other painters, authors, and teachers.[171] The essay-writers in the exhibition catalogue are apparently satisfied with the themes (Biblical scenes, heroes, wise

[167] Quoted in Yamanashi, *Egakareta Rekishi*, 95.
[168] Iwaya, *Iwaya Sazanami yōkō miyage*, 289–90.
[169] Rein, *Bildende Kunst Und Schule*.
[170] Iwaya, *Iwaya Sazanami yōkō miyage*, 161–65. Iwaya's essays about his experiences in Berlin originally appeared in *Shōnen sekai*.
[171] Osborn, *Die Kunst im Leben des Kindes*.

men, landscapes, copies of famous paintings, and images from fairy tales and legends), but are critical towards the artistic quality of contemporary works for children in Germany. The following arguments are made: Children are more visually oriented than adults, which can be used to develop their artistic sensibility and interest in art, and by extension that of their family. The ideal technique is color lithography, which is decorative, clear, and not expensive. One should aim for clarity (*Sachlichkeit*), firmness (*Sicherheit*), charm (*Reiz*), and clear lines, in combination with bright colors.[172] French and English wall charts (also shown at the exhibition) are very decorative, but the depicted landscapes and fantasy world (*Phantasiewelt*) should be German. As to picture books, Randolph Caldecotts' illustrations can be taken as an example. (These are colorful, playful and have clear contours.) However, the 'unreachable ideal' can be found in Japanese woodblock prints, that are decorative and at the same time scientifically exact.

Various Japanese prints are on display, yet the 'compliment' and the presence of these works does not please Iwaya, especially because later in the catalogue, Japan is said to have no concept of youth literature. He remarks in his report for his readers back in Japan that they were 'just showing some works they got their hands on' and that they clearly know nothing about recent artists like Takeuchi Keishū 武内桂舟 (1861-1942), Mizuno Toshikata 水野年方 (1866-1908), Tomioka Eisen 富岡永洗 (1864-1905) and Suzuki Kason 鈴木華邨 (1960-1919).[173] Moreover, if he had known, he would have donated some illustrated *otogibanashi* (*ehon otogibanashirui* 絵本お伽噺類). Whether he refers to *kusazōshi* or recent work is unclear. (His own work at that point was illustrated in monochrome.) Still, he next greatly enjoys the exhibited drawings by children, and argues that such exhibitions, as well as the 'aesthetic education' of children should also take place in Japan. Indeed, back home he focused not only on picture-oriented publications for children, but also became a regular participant in child-related polemics, groups, and events, such as the 'Children's Goods Research Group' and the state-of-the-art children's exhibitions (*Jidō hakurankai* 児童博覧会) of the department store Mitsukoshi. Thus, the wishes unfulfilled by the government could be fulfilled by way of commercial enterprises and youth literature.

[172] Osborn, 23.

[173] Iwaya, *Iwaya Sazanami yōkō miyage*, 163. According to Iwaya, including Hiroshige, Chikanobu, and Gekkō, but the catalogue fails to mention these names.

The illustrations for *Yōnen gahō* were commissioned from artists trained in *nihonga* 日本画 (Japanese painting) or ukiyo-e, including the above-mentioned Mizuno Toshikata and Takeuchi Keishū, as well as Kaburaki Kiyokata 鏑木清方 (1878-1972) and Yasuda Yukihiko 安田靫彦 (1884-1978).[174] Keishū had been a member of Ken'yūsha and illustrated some of Iwaya's early works. Iwaya's friend Tani Senba 谷洗馬 (1885-1928), a specialist in warrior prints and battle scenes, also frequently contributed. According to Iwaya's letters to the assistant editor Nanbu Shinichi 南部新一 (1894-?), he made sketches for *Yōnen gahō* himself, had them delivered (by Nanbu) to the artist indicated, and then delivered back. After evaluating and approving the images, he would add the text.[175] Endō Jun compares this practice to the logic of *etoki* 絵解き (picture-explanations), a performance in which pictures are shown to an audience and provided with oral explanations.[176] Most images in *Yōnen gahō* have bright colours, clear contours, and have the 'decorative' charm considered ideal in the above-discussed catalogue. In the 1920s, a newer generation of Taishō period illustrators trained in *yōga* 洋画 (Western painting) started to think of illustrations for children as an independent art form. In 1924, the illustrator Takei Takeo 武井武雄 (1894-1983) coined the term *dōga* 童画 ('children's pictures'). Takei had recently founded the picture magazine *Kodomo no kuni* コドモノクニ (1922-1944). In 1927 he furthermore established the *Nihon dōgaka kyōkai* 日本童画家協会 (Japan Association of Illustrators for Children), that among its founders also counted Okamoto Kiichi 岡本帰一 (1888-1930), illustrator for *Kin no hoshi*, *Kodomo no kuni* and many children's books, and Shimizu Yoshio 清水良雄 (1891-1954), illustrator for *Akai tori*.

Like the authors advocating the ideal of *dōshin*, *dōga* artists tended to idealize young children as cute and innocent.[177] This trend went together with an increasing tendency to interpret *shōjo* 少女 (girls) as 'cute' in girl's magazines. 'Kawaii culture' is generally considered to be a post-war development, yet Watanabe Shūko shows that the magazine *Shōjo no tomo* 少女の友 in the 1910s repeatedly applies the adjective 'cute' (*kawairashii* 可愛らしい) in reference to the young female reader, their writing and the magazine itself.[178] Cute

[174] Ōsaka kokusai jidōbungakukan, *NJBD*, 2:624. In many cases, the images are however not signed, which was even more common in other (early) picture magazines.
[175] Endō, 'Arai Kojō (Nanbu Shinichi) Ate Iwaya Sazanami Shokan Ni Tsuite', 24.
[176] Regrettably, the sketches have not been found in Nanbu's archive, so it is unclear to what length Iwaya went in instructing the illustrators. Suzuki Miekichi also gave detailed instructions to the illustrators of *Akai tori*.
[177] Ōsaka kokusai jidōbungakukan, *NJBD*, 2:438.
[178] Watanabe, 'Kawaii No Seisei'. The idea is not limited to *Shōjo no tomo* (Jitsugyō no Nihonsha). In *Shōjo sekai* too, girls were considered to be innately 'cute'.

girls were to become *yasashii* 優しい (kind, tender) and *uruwashii* 麗しい (lovely, beautiful) women.[179] A visual language of cuteness (round faces, rosy cheeks, large eyes, ribbons, sweetly patterned yukata) started to develop and peaked in the early Shōwa period. In *Yōnen gahō* (and other picture magazines), the 'cuteness' of young children became also more pronounced from the late 1910s, including work by Sasaki Rinpū 佐々木林風 (1884-1933), Takehisa Yumeji 竹久夢二 (1884-1934), *dōga* specialist Honda Shōtarō 本田庄太郎 (1893-1939), and several other illustrators whose names are not indicated. Although gender can often be determined by the clothes or activities of the depicted children, the features of young boys and girls became increasingly similar, conflating femininity with young childhood.

Major themes depicted in *Yōnen gahō* are yearly festivities (*gosekku* 五節句), play and sports, the military, history, folktales, Shinto myth, animals, illustrated stories by Iwaya's hand, photographs of children, and pictures of families engaged in daily activities. Similar to warrior legends, traditional festivities like the Boy's Festival (*tango no sekku* 端午の節句) and the Doll's Festival (*hina matsuri* 雛祭り), were re-assessed to fit in the modern age, by making the child the center of these celebrations. While mainly focusing on national culture, the magazine also features Romantic images of Western children (for example, reproductions of paintings), and Christmas is celebrated every year. Children are also familiarized with the primary school and are challenged to read words and texts that are written only in *katakana*, the first syllabary learned in school. The editors thus implicitly urged parents to teach this syllabary to give their child a head start in primary school, or to give them extra practice. Although I will focus on picture-oriented pages, *Yōnen gahō* also contained more verbal stories aimed at beginning readers or to be read aloud by a parent. The rival magazine *Yōnen no tomo* hardly features any folktales, presumably to differentiate itself from Iwaya's/Hakubunkan's program. Instead, there are more stories/images that take place in an exotic setting, such as Egypt or ancient Greece. Japanese historical generals are also represented, yet somewhat less regularly than in *Yōnen gahō*.

[179] Watanabe, 47.

2.2 Iconographies of Yoshitsune

Ushiwakamaru/Yoshitsune appears as the quintessential children's hero in *Yōnen gahō*. The representations can be traced back to known iconographies: Tokiwa gozen with her sons in the snow, the sword-fighting practice with the *tengu*, Gojō bridge (multiple times), the descent from Hiyodorigoe, and *hassō-tobi* or 'jumping eight ships'. Yoshitsune is supported by many iconic figures that together form a pantheon of national heroes. Between 1906 and 1926, the representations of Yoshitsune (15 images), are in frequency followed by the Soga brothers (8), Benkei, Katō Kiyomasa and Takeda Shingen (7).[180] Toyotomi Hideyoshi (6) is only slightly less popular. In *Yōnen no tomo*, Yoshitsune also tops the list, closely followed by Hideyoshi.

The infant Ushiwakamaru appears as a central figure in a colorful double page illustration based on the iconography of Tokiwa gozen and her children in the snow (fig. 4.1)

Fig. 4.1 Artist unknown, "Haha no futokoro." *Yōnen gahō* 11:16 (1916). IICLO

[180] Due to its large circulation and dedication of the acquisition staff, *Yōnen gahō* is the best available picture magazine at the International Institute for Children's Literature in Osaka, where I did the majority of my fieldwork for this chapter. Some issues are also available (digitally) at the National Diet Library. I took the last year of Taishō/first year of Shōwa (1926) as a cap. I have not been able to confirm the contents of about twenty issues over the period 1906-1926, so the numbers are an indication. As to *Yōnen no tomo*, from the first four years (1909-1912) only a small number of issues is available, but volume five to twelve (1913 to 1920) are almost complete. After 1920, *Yōnen no tomo* became a very different magazine, with a larger focus on text and aimed at somewhat older children.

(*Yōnen gahō*, 1916, 11:16). While the baby is safely tucked in and seems unaware of the cold, the second child needs the encouragement of his mother and older brother. The snow falls thickly, and the fluttering clothing of the figures betrays strong wind. The text on the right page gives the title *haha no futokoro* ('at [his] mother's bosom') and then reads 'It snowed and snowed. The wind howled.' The text confirms what is already visible, but additionally mimics the sound of the wind with the onomatopoeia *hyū hyū*. To the left is a comment on the central figures of Tokiwa and the baby. 'Mother held the innocent [infant] carefully in her arms.' The text on the bottom left gives the spoken words of the middle child, that is not shielded nor yet as tough as his older brother, and cries 'So cold! So cold!' This is followed by an important piece of information about the infant, who 'would become the famous Minamoto no Yoshitsune'. Such remarks also appeared in representations of Gojō bridge in textbooks and prepares the audience for related stories or history. No information is given about why they are walking in the snow and where they are heading.

Fig. 4.2 Utagawa Kuniyoshi, *Kenjo reppu den: Tokiwa gozen*, 1841/2. MFA Boston

In late Edo period *nishiki-e*, the main figure in this iconography is the *retsujo* Tokiwa gozen, praised for her filiality and beauty. In fig. 4.2, a print by Kuniyoshi that might be primarily aimed at an adult audience, the children are barely visible: one can only see the feet of the older boys, and the tip of Ushiwakamaru's head. The text block relates that Tokiwa headed for the capital to save her mother from torture.[181] Because of her beauty and Kiyomori's desires, the children were also saved (but they came second). On the other hand, in *kusazōshi* aimed at young people, the children are depicted much more clearly. In early Meiji *mamebon* 豆本 for children ('bean books', the smallest size of *kusazōshi*) the middle

[181] The dramatic snow scene actually happened during her flight, when Tokiwa was heading for the house of her uncle.

child (Otowakamaru) is generally the one who seems to have most difficulties and the eyes of both his mother and older brother are upon him. In one of these, *Yoshitsune ichidaiki* (1888) (fig. 4.3), he voices the same complaint in childlike language 'Mum, I am cold' (*kaka-sama, chibetai* かゝさまちべたい). Even further back, it appeared in the *kurohon/aobon Yoshitsune ichidaiki* (see chapter 1, section 6.2). The text of the 1888 *ichidaiki* relates that they were captured by the Heike, which is somewhat unnerving contextual knowledge not given in *Yōnen gahō*. The same composition is also used in another *Yoshitsune ichidaiki* from 1884, that relates how Tokiwa became Kiyomori's 'favourite concubine' (*aishō* 愛妾).[182] In *Yōnen gahō*, the children are also made clearly visible, and both the mother and oldest boy look at Otowakamaru, who is closest in age to the intended child viewer. (The older boy, Imawakamaru, is eight according to *Gikeiki*.) *Yōnen gahō* considered it safer to identify Tokiwa only as 'mother'. The visual/verbal narrative in *Yōnen gahō* thus refocused towards protective motherhood as well as the innocence and temporary safety of infancy, symbolized by the *futokoro* 懐.[183] The child viewer might however most closely identify with the middle child that visibly and verbally expresses his distress.

Fig. 4.3 *Yoshitsune ichidaiki*, 1888. NDL

Representations of Gojō bridge in *Yōnen gahō* and other sources (such as textbooks) are numerous and therefore artists had to distinguish themselves. A most striking combination of innovation and pictorial tradition appears in an image titled 'Ushiwakamaru and Benkei' by Chiji Yoshirō 千地芳朗 (?-?) in 1925 (20:1). The image (fig. 4.4) zooms in on the protagonists' faces. The page is divided diagonally by Benkei's naginata, whose blade together with Ushiwakamaru's transparent robe sticks out of the frame. The characters almost jump from the page, invoking a festive ritual rather than a real fight. Benkei carries his *nanatsu-dōgu* 七つ道具 or 'seven tools' and Ushiwakamaru wields his iconic war fan. The moon sickle signals 'night' even though the picture is bright. Ushiwakamaru's features are

[182] *Yoshitsune ichidaiki: zen* 義経一代記 全, 1884. National Diet Library. 特 44-134

[183] This character for *futokoro* is also used in the adjective 'nostalgic' (*natsukashii* 懐かしい).

Fig. 4.4 Chiji Yoshirō, "Ushiwakamaru to Benkei", *Yōnen gahō* 20:1 (1925). IICLO

very childlike: he has a round face, little protruding teeth, and large eyes, that express no aggression and are focused somewhere above the place where he is hitting. Large eyes seen in present-day manga are generally associated with Disney and the manga artist Tezuka Osamu 手塚治虫 (1928-1989) but clearly also have precedence in the drawing styles of pre-war illustrators seeking to represent 'childlikeness'. The artist has tried to not only represent the outside of the 'little child' Ushiwakamaru, but also his innocent 'interior' as mirrored in his eyes. The text in the border also stresses that Ushiwakamaru is a 'little child' (*chiisai kodomo*): 'At Gojō bridge in Kyoto, the big, strong Benkei lost from the little child Ushiwakamaru and became his retainer'. In *Gikeiki*, Yoshitsune met Benkei several years after his *genpuku*, although in Edo period print, he often still has his forelocks, befitting the ideal of a beautiful young man. Ushiwakamaru thus became significantly younger (and desexualized) in children's literature over the course of the Meiji and Taishō period.

In representations of warriors on their steeds, stylistic vigour and boldness of character come together. Takeuchi Keishū revisited the iconography of the descent from Hiyodorigoe (1913, 8:15) with a focus on Yoshitsune's black horse (fig. 4.5). He was

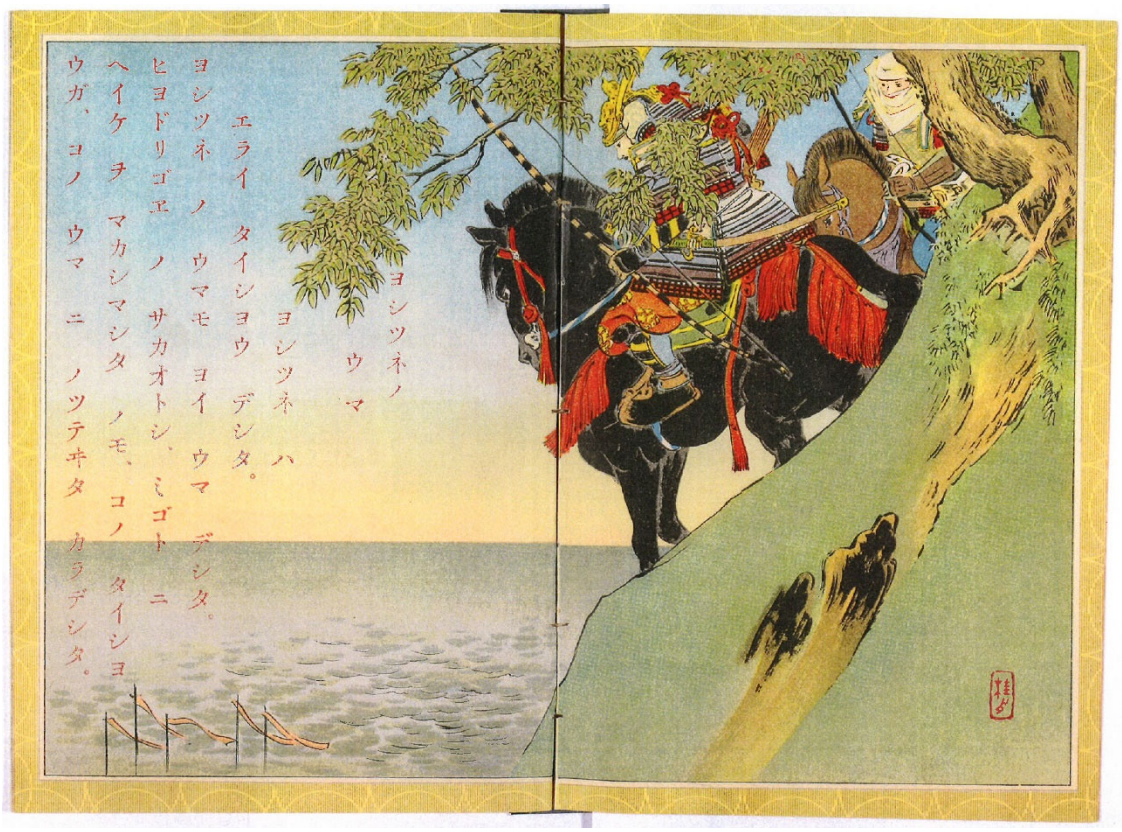

Fig. 4.5 Takeuchi Keishū, "Yoshitsune no uma", *Yōnen gahō* 8:15 (1913). IICLO

influenced by equestrian portraits from the West, that aimed to conflate the vigor of the horse with that of its rider. The text, completely in *katakana*, reads: 'Yoshitsune was a great general. Yoshitsune's horse was also a good horse. This general rode down Hiyodorigoe and splendidly beat the Heike, all because of this horse.' The point of view emphasizes the strength of the horse and the steepness of the cliff, contrasting with the flags of the Heike stronghold fluttering in the wind, and a calm sea. The hero and his horse seem singularly responsible for the coming siege, with only one supporting warrior (Benkei) visible in the background. A warrior can however also be *more* vigorous than his horse. Tani Senba's interpretation of Hiyodorigoe (1917, 11:2) consists of a frontal view of the cliff on a tilted double page, showing Yoshitsune (bottom) and Hatakeyama Shigetada 畠山重忠 (1164-1205) (fig. 4.6). Hatakeyama carries his horse instead of the other way around. The episode originates in *Genpei jōsuiki* (book 37), and also appears in Utagawa Kuniyoshi's warrior prints. The text on the right is explanatory: 'The descent from Hiyodorigoe cliff: Hatakayama carrying his horse, coming down at a dangerous place.' The text at the left is a remark by Hatakeyama directed at the horse: 'Because you always carry me very well, today I will carry you.' This is a modern translation of a corresponding spoken sentence in *Genpei*

jōsuiki.[184] The picture magazine was an ideal venue for keeping this unrealistic, yet humorous episode alive in the collective memory. Both images are representative of the way in which *Yōnen gahō* focuses on the heroic action of individuals, in contrast to the more passive ideal of citizenship that the government endorsed.

Fig. 4.5 Tani Senba, "Hiyodorigoe", *Yōnen gahō* 11:2 (1917). IICLO

The idea of iconographic precedence for pictures or illustrations is hardly addressed in Anglo-American theories on picturebooks. One reason is that illustration is considered to have become part of European children's literature *as we know it* only in the nineteenth century. Maria Nikolajeva and Carole Scott observe for example that Anderson's fairy tale *Thumbelina* (1835) was initially not illustrated since this was too expensive for mass-production, which places the earliest possible start for inquiry in the mid-nineteenth century.[185] Originality moreover takes precedence over sameness. They shortly address different representations of femininity in *Thumbelina*, but not how this is related to cultural or social contexts. The furthest that Nikolajeva and Scott go towards an idea of pictorial intertextuality is allusion: they give an example of an illustration that alludes to a famous Swedish work of art, and (maybe) to an illustration in a different Swedish picturebook.[186] Perry Nodelman in his study of picturebooks does discuss the

[184] *Genpei jōsuiki* however uses the verb 'care for' rather than 'carry': *Higoro wa nanji ni kakariki kyō wa nanji wo hagokuman* 日頃は汝にかかりき今日は汝を育まん. Ōhashi, *Genpei seisuiki*, 289.
[185] Nikolajeva, *How Picturebooks Work*, 42.
[186] Nikolajeva, 230–32.

presence of symbols like a cross or a bat flying against the full moon in picturebooks, but not iconographical illustrations.[187]

It is appealing to ascribe unique features to the woodblock-based print culture in Japan, but also seventeenth- and eighteenth-century chapbooks in Europe were illustrated with woodblock cuts, that were frequently recycled. It is thus not so much printing technique as the focus on 'quality' picturebooks that seems to lead to the invisibility of iconographical representation and sameness. Sandro Jung in his study of chapbook adaptations of *Pamela* (1740) observes that studies of historical illustrated books 'focus on aesthetics and semiotic complexity'. Jung finds that 'while repetition or recycling is rejected in an economy of artistic originality, the reuse of the same motifs and images in chapbooks and other illustrated media of cheap print reflected readers' investment in a symbolic grammar of images that helped them to read a text in specific, familiar ways'.[188] This cheap print was aimed at what Morgenstern defined as the 'semi-literate' audience that middle class parents tried to differentiate their children from. Zohar Shavit moreover observes that the first British entrepreneur who build a solid publishing business for children, John Newbery (1713-1767), tried to compete with chapbooks by borrowing illustrations from them.[189] Images and iconographies were thus shifted around, in Japan similarly from a literature for the 'semi-literate' (*kusazōshi*) to the 'pre-literate' children of the middle class.

Linda Hutcheon hints at the possibility that illustrations can be adaptations, but in adaptation theory, there is always an identifiable 'original' written text or image. She moreover treats the phenomenon of 'knowing the adaptation first' as different from the norm, as she is mainly interested in how adaptation amuses 'knowing' audiences. She defines adaptation as a) 'an acknowledged transposition of a recognizable other work or works', b) 'a creative and interpretative act of appropriation/salvaging', and c) 'an extended intertextual engagement with the adapted work'.[190] Illustration pops up in her discussion of *what* gets adapted: an 'extended' idea of adaptation would include the heterocosm or multiple aspects of a story, such as settings, characters, events, and situations. This sounds familiar: 'heterocosms' in early modern popular text production were formalized in *sekai*, which still played a role in the Meiji period. Adaptation according to the extended idea

[187] Nodelman, *Words about Pictures*, 107.
[188] Jung, 'The Other Pamela', 528.
[189] Shavit, 'The Historical Model of the Development of Children's Literature', 33–34.
[190] Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 8.

might include 'Aubrey Beardsley's famous illustrations for Oscar Wilde's play *Salomé* … or *even* [my stress] Picasso's cubist recodings of some of the canonical paintings of Velásquez.'[191] However, Hutcheon does not elaborate, and when discussing adaptation from one visual medium to another visual medium, she focuses on theatre and film, that are more safely tucked inside the field of literary studies. Hutcheon considers 'short intertextual allusions' not to be adaptations[192], so Nikolajeva and Scott's pictorial allusions would not count. Kate Newell observes that illustration theory and adaptation theory don't go well together because the first is considered to *explain* while the latter is considered to *transform*.[193] The main problem is however that originals and originality remain central to these studies, even though Hutcheon positions her research as dissenting against the idea of an adaptation as inferior to the 'original' from which it is adapted.

2.3 Picture-explanation: the *katei* as 'dual audience'

Whereas early issues of *Yōnen gahō* featured images of a 'grandmother' telling stories to a group of children (much how Iwaya experienced them), later the modern *katei* is explicitly recruited to retell the stories. This modern family is regularly represented visually, although the father's heroic job as an army officer sometimes complicates this idea. *Yōnen gahō* constructs the *katei* as the ideal context within which the heritage of legends and fairytales should be imparted. However, the focus is not singularly on the mother. While in some pictures, father is conspicuously absent (a portrait might indicate that he is in the army), in other cases he takes part in the 'cultural education' of his children. Various pictorial examples appear in the third volume (1908), such as an image of a father and mother telling stories to a young son and daughter by candlelight, and a father (on leave, in his army uniform) who introduces his young son and daughter to Kusunoki Masashige's heroic deeds while looking at the famous equestrian statue near the Tokyo Imperial Palace. Whereas the *yūtōsei* thus might be the responsibility of the 'wise mother', *Yōnen gahō*, with its focus on character and colourful, cultured middle-class life with a secure sense of national identity and pride in its military (history), also gives the father a role.

[191] Hutcheon, 15.
[192] Hutcheon, 170.
[193] Newell, 'Adaptation and Illustration', 3.

Fig. 4.7 Artist unknown, *Yōnen gahō* 12:1 (1917). IICLO

Some texts literally call the nuclear family to action, to retell the story that belongs to a certain iconography. Fig. 4.7 (1917, 12:1), for example, shows Hiyoshimaru on Yahagi bridge (top left) in combination with other famous icons. The other three images show Amaterasu in the Shinto myth Ama-no-iwato (top right), Hachiman Tarō (Minamoto Yoshiie), and the Confucian scholar Arai Hakuseki as a boy. The vertical text next to the images instructs the audience to ask a family member to tell the story, consisting of father (Ama-no-iwato), mother (Hachiman Tarō), older brother (Hiyoshimaru) and older sister (Arai Hakuseki). This format was repeated in a number of issues with different icons, and there is never an explanation on a different page. The makers are thus sure that older sister, for example, will explain that young Arai Hakuseki is pouring cold water over himself in order to stay awake for his studies, and not merely to wash himself. As mentioned in chapter one (1.3), this heroic episode originates in Hakuseki's own autobiographical writings. Older brother would presumably recognize the iconography of 'Yahagi bridge' and be able to tell that Hiyoshimaru was a poor yet determined boy who became a great general. However, such pictorial representations also give considerable freedom. If experienced as a repetitive

didactic lesson, even irreverent or parodic versions might be told. Yet whatever older family members did with these images, they are asked to reiterate these episodes and the virtues they represent. This can only be done if the iconography is clearly recognizable, and the narrative part of the shared memory. (If not, one is encouraged to do some extra work to become a full member of the *Yōnen gahō* audience.)

More often, the invitation is implicit, by giving only an iconographic image with minimum information. In *Yōnen no tomo* appears a double page that introduces Yoshitsune's biography in five pictures (fig. 4.8) (1915, 7:8). The central and apparently most important picture shows Ushiwakamaru and Benkei on Gojō bridge. Clockwise, the selected episodes show the sword-fighting practice with the *tengu*, *hassō-tobi*, the descent from Hiyodorigoe, and Kanjinchō. The latter is represented as a scene from the Kabuki play. The text explains that Yoshitsune and Benkei dressed up as *yamabushi* 山伏 (mountain ascetics) and went to Ōshū. The other texts also merely identify what Yoshitsune does or where he is. *Yōnen no tomo* thus also expects adults to recall the stories that go with these iconographies and introduce them in a linear way.

Fig. 4.8 Artist unknown, "Minamoto Yoshitsune", in *Yōnen no tomo* 7:8 (1915). IICLO

For a 'knowing' audience, the appeal of revisiting warrior legends in this way could lie in what Hutcheon calls a 'mixture of repetition and difference, of familiarity and novelty'.[194] Nikolajeva and Scott observe something similar: pictorial allusion is aimed at a 'knowing', or adult audience, for whom such allusions can be both delightful discoveries but also create a sense of continuity.[195] This continuity is in fact limited to an audience with an interest in art, and a familiarity with classic Swedish picturebooks. The iconographies of warriors on the other hand not only created a *sense* of continuity, but they also safeguarded continuity. The fact that the narrative is not spelled out leads to a degree of interpretative freedom, but the effect might be more powerful, as adults have to recall from memory and orally convey the stories, which makes for a much more personal connection between past and present. Moreover, the premodern 'dual audience' of children and semi-literate adults that relied on shared understandings of images, shifted to image-sharing among/with 'pre-readers'.

2.4 The larger picture: imagining national history

Initially, *Yōnen gahō* contained texts that in simple language explained the historical circumstances of the depicted scene, and attempts were also made at representing the concept of 'national history' in simple pictures. In 1908 (3:2) appears a highly symbolic equation (fig. 4.9): the top two images represent the 'past' (*mukashi* 昔), while the lower two images represent 'now' (*ima* 今). A 'samurai' is equated with a soldier, and a premodern wooden ship is equated with a modern battleship (presumably the famous cruiser Takachiho 高千穂). Ironically, the crest behind the samurai refers to the Tokugawa, even though they had to make place for the Meiji government. Mark Ravina in his study of representations of Saigō Takamori, who rebelled *against* the Meiji government, observes that the revolutionary potential of Saigō's history/legend was in the late Meiji period (onwards) downplayed in

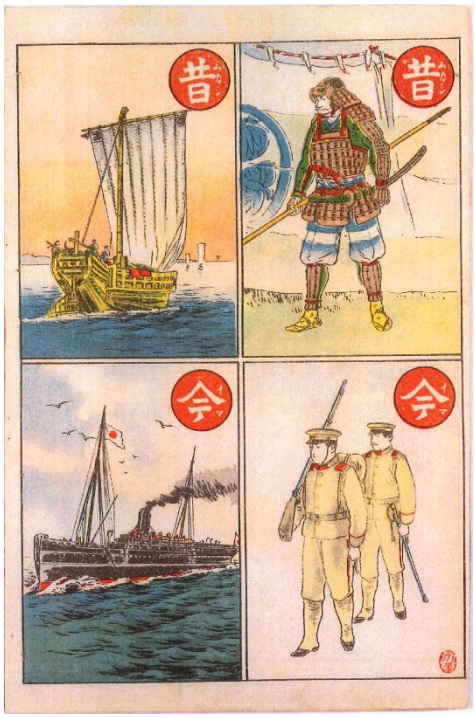

Fig. 4.9 Artist unknown, *Yōnen gahō* 3:2 (1908). IICLO

[194] Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 114.
[195] Nikolajeva, *How Picturebooks Work*, 230–32.

favour of the narrative of his ritual suicide as a reflection of a timeless warrior ethic, that fitted in a conservative Japanese national narrative that runs from samurai rule to the present.[196] The 'now'/'past' image in *Yōnen gahō* also represents this continuity with the 'samurai past' and the idea that Japan was always a martial country, with power over the seas.

Gojō bridge, as a well-known iconography even among young children, was applied in various contexts that bind together present and past, as well as myth, fairy tale, legend, and history. In the second panel from the right in fig. 4.10 (1917, 12:9), Benkei and Ushiwakamaru are represented in a conventional way, stressing the size/age difference. More interesting is the composition. The four vertical images mimic the shape of *menko*, a popular card game that could also be played by preliterate children.[197] Such cards came in round as well as a rectangular shapes and had famous icons on both sides, such as samurai and soldiers. The double page from right to left shows the god Susano-o attacking the monster Yamata-no-orochi, followed by Ushiwakamaru and Benkei, the kamikaze, and the soldier Harada Jūkichi 原田重吉 (1868-1938), a hero from the First Sino-Japanese War.

Fig. 4.10 Artist unknown, *Yōnen gahō* 12:9 (1917). IICLO

[196] Ravina, 'The Apocryphal Suicide of Saigō Takamori', 716.
[197] Young children could play this game, as the cards merely have to be thrown, with the aim of flipping over the card of your adversary. Obviously, collecting cards (and thereby the heroes) is also part of the fun.

(According to countless evocations in (children's) media, he opened the Genbu gate in Pyongyang from the inside after scaling the wall.) The text in the image titled 'kamikaze' invokes the idea that Japan was protected by heavenly winds against the Mongol invasions and therefore is 'the land of the gods' (*kami no kuni*). The visualisation is conventional (see also the insert in fig. 3.5). The four images thus connect national myth, fairy tale, legend, and history, as has also been observed for early Shōwa period textbooks.[198] In an earlier issue (1910, 5:2), Gojō bridge also appears in a 'card game' that focuses on *otogibanashi* rather than 'history': as stated earlier, Gojō bridge in itself also represents a vague area between fairy tale, legend, and history.

Whereas the text in earlier issues often explains the historical circumstances of the depicted scene or icon, later issues are much less concerned with linear time and historical context. Keishū for example does an attempt at expressing Hideyoshi's *shusse* in the very first issue of *Yōnen gahō* (fig. 4.11). The warrior on his galloping horse contrasts with the desolate hut in the upper right, that symbolizes his humble beginnings. The sweeping tail of the horse at the same time visually connects past and present. The text explains that Hideyoshi is the most famous person in Japan (*Nippon ichi no erai hito*), born about three hundred years ago on New Year's Day.[199] He was the son of a farmer but later brought entire Japan under his control on his own, and even went to conquer Korea. The last part relates that Hideyoshi is heading to Kyoto and going after Akechi Mitsuhide 明智光秀 (1528-1582), the murderer of his lord Oda Nobunaga. Could the adult Hideyoshi not

Fig. 4.11 Takeuchi Keishū, "Shōgatsu ganjitsu ni umareta erai hito" ('Famous person born on New Year's day'), *Yōnen gahō* 1:1 (1906). IICLO

[198] Antoni, 'Momotaro (the Peach Boy) and the Spirit of Japan', 161.

[199] This birthdate is legendary. As happens also in his *Hiyoshimaru* and *Ushiwakamaru*, Iwaya (who wrote most texts in *Yōnen gahō*) is more interested in memorable numbers and dates than exactness and historical truth.

be represented in a less complicated way? Tani Senba has a simple solution: forget the *shusse* and just focus on the horse. He represents Hideyoshi several times as a martial figure on an impressive, realistically drawn battle horse. The equestrian portrait could thus be used as a new symbol of martial power that could impress without a sense of history and contextual knowledge (that will come later).

2.5 Play and gendered spheres

Yōnen gahō contains many hints on how to spend one's playtime, which for boys is often pretending to be a warrior or soldier. In 1916, *Yōnen gahō* featured various images of famous warriors with on the opposing page children re-enacting the scene. For example, Katō Kiyōmasa was traditionally represented hunting a tiger with his spear (fig. 4.12). The left page mirrors the composition, where we see a boy wearing Kiyomasa's typical helmet with crest, and a cat who finds the role of tiger forced upon her. The text represents the boy's boastful speech: 'I have a wonderful spear too. When next door's stupid cat showed up, she ran away as soon as she saw my spear'. The place can be identified as a very safe urban garden on account of the potted plants. In the right image, the text identifies the place as 'Korea', but the background consists of a solid red that stresses the martial vigour of Kiyomasa and the tiger.

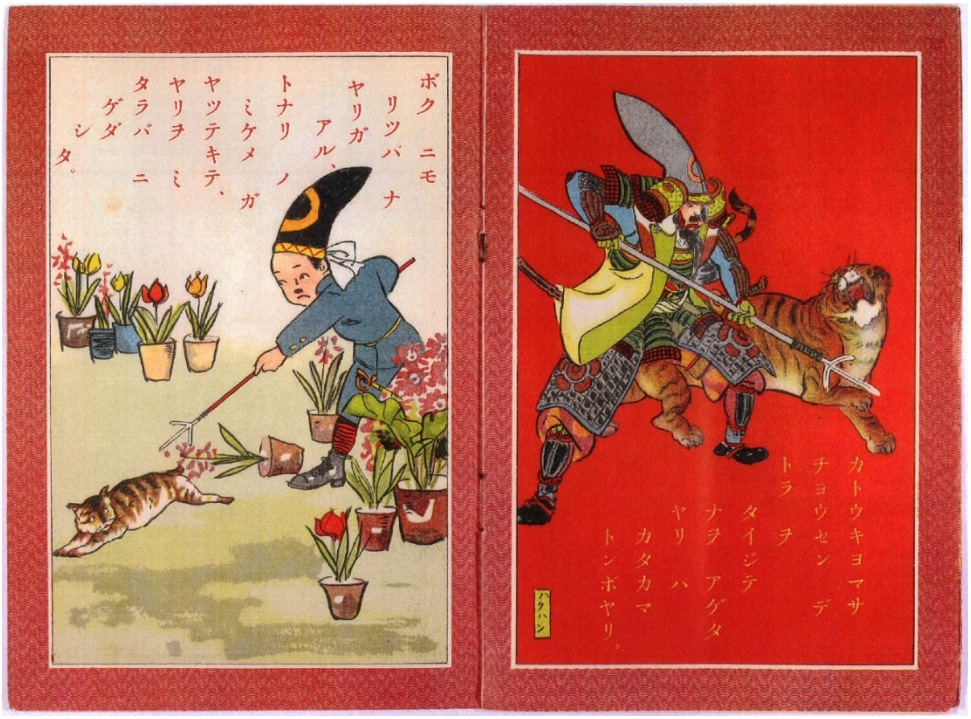

Fig. 4.12 Artist unknown, *Yōnen gahō* 10:7 (1916). IICLO

Kiyomasa or Yoshitsune dolls were displayed during the Boy's Festival (*tango no sekku* 端午の節句) on May five, and this event is every year celebrated in *Yōnen gahō*. In 1919 (14:6), for example, with a colourful picture of a warrior's parade (*musha gyōretsu* 武者行列). All the warriors are played by boys, either walking or riding a hobbyhorse (fig. 4.13). The first boy in the row yells that the samurai are coming, better move aside, and a dog is pulling the hobby horse of the first warrior. This is Yoshitsune, followed by a modern general, presumably Nogi Maresuke. His biography, with conventional themes of overcoming weakness and attaining a martial disposition, was often dramatized for children. The next child in the 'warrior's parade' might be a retainer of Yoshitsune, as the boy behind him is saying 'I am Benkei'. The third child behind Benkei rides a tiger and is clearly enacting Kiyomasa. At the end of the line, Kintarō is riding a bear. The text on the upper right reads: 'Today I am happy, as it is the Boy's Festival. I displayed my warrior doll, and I ate mochi sweets, and now my belly is so full.' The text on the bottom refers directly to the depicted scene: 'Let's all become warriors and ride horses or go on foot, and carry a spear or a bow, and make a warrior's parade.' In the upper left corner, it says: 'Come, let's go around the

Fig. 4:13 Artist unknown, "Musha gyōretsu", *Yōnen gahō*, 14:6 (1919). IICLO

house and search for bad ogres (*oni*). If we find any, let's conquer them'. The text thus represents a plan of action aimed at the young male audience. There is however no parade without an audience. The women and girls (and maybe a small brother) are grouped on both sides, eating mochi and happily observing the boys. The girl on the left waves and remarks in a feminine register: 'Oh, how courageous!' (*Maa, isamashii koto!*) The cat also assumes the role of admiring girl. This does not mean that girls are always passive or don't play in *Yōnen gahō*'s pictures. Yet they are often separated and are given different things to do. Girls are depicted playing with a *temari* (ball) or go out cherry-blossom viewing, in colourful yukata and adorned with cute ribbons.

'Older sister' and 'older brother' often serve as gender-specific role models. In fig. 4.14 (1907, 2:14) this sister and brother are depicted on opposing pages, representing a future as 'wife' and 'soldier'. On the right, the 'older sister' is being dressed in a *furisode* 振袖 (a long-sleeved kimono for unmarried young women) by her mother. The little brother Jirō observes that his sister 'wears such a pretty kimono, almost like a bride'. The sister retorts she will hit him but her mother orders her to stand still. On the opposite page, 'older brother' approaches his parental home in the countryside. The little girl Ohana expresses her happiness that her brother is coming home, while the boy Tarō comments: 'Oh! Brother's uniform is so nice, I want to be a soldier too when I grow up.' Whereas the 'older sister' on the right thwarts the remark that relates to her 'growing up', the boy confidently voices his ambition. In both images, the young boy (Jirō/Tarō) is the main interpreter of the situation: even though the magazine is marketed at both boys and girls and the latter are not underrepresented, the

Fig. 4.14 Artist unknown, "Onee-san/Onii-san", *Yōnen gahō* 2:14 (1907). IICLO

'active' voice and perspective in *Yōnen gahō* comes mostly from boys. When girls appear, attempts are made at 'not estranging boys', often through the verbal text.

Female historical or legendary exemplars appear only sporadically in *Yōnen gahō*: these are Kasuga no Tsubone, Tokiwa gozen (in the earlier discussed image), Ben no Naishi, and Tomoe Gozen, next to sixty-nine different male characters who appear a total of 159 times. This tendency is not unique to *Yōnen gahō*: In *Yōnen no tomo* the only female historical figures represented are Shizuka gozen, the frugal nun Matsushita Zenni 松下禅尼 (13th c.), and the loyal Tsunajo 綱女 (1755-1769).[200] However, in media where men are explicitly *not* the main target audience, a separate 'female canon' can also be discerned. Apart from Tsunajo, all the mentioned women appear in the 1913 board game *Nihon meifu sugoroku* 日本名婦双六 ('Famous Women of Japan *sugoroku*') that was an extra to the women's magazine *Fujin sekai*, and thus came from the same publisher as *Yōnen no tomo* (fig. 4.15). *Sugoroku* games, that existed already in the Edo period, represent a procession through famous places, famous figures, occupations etc. and can be studied as condensed representations of contemporary perceptions of space, hierarchies, and social expectations. Taishō period magazines distributed such games as New Year's presents.

In *Nihon meifu sugoroku*, the prizewinning lifegoal is to be Nogi *fujin* 乃木夫人, general Nogi's wife. Nogi Shizuko 乃木静子 (1959-1912) committed ritual suicide in September 1912, following in death Emperor Meiji *and* her husband. All other women were apparently subordinate to this symbol of loyalty and sacrifice. The starting point in the lower right corner shows Amaterasu, the sun goddess, in the iconic setting of Ama-no-iwato. Throwing the dice, a player might shift to Hangaku 坂額, a Heike woman who according to the historical chronicle *Azuma kagami* joined various battles. (One other martial figure is depicted, namely Tomoe gozen 巴御前.) One might also move up to Tokiwa gozen, whose image in a very minimal way refers to the trial in the snow. From here the player might move on to Shizuka gozen, in the moment of her dance for Yoritomo during which she declared her loyalty to Yoshitsune (see also fig. 3.7), or the chaste Kesa gozen who is preparing to cut off her hair to take her husband's place in the dark and have herself beheaded instead. Another possibility is the Heian poet Ben no Naishi, who disappears

[200] Matsushita zenni was the mother of Hōjō Tokiyori 北条時頼 (1246-1256). According to legend, she taught him the virtue of frugality by showing how to repair the paper of a sliding door. The iconography is represented on the right side in fig. 4.15. Tsunajo protected a baby entrusted to her from an attack by a mad dog and paid for it with her life.

Fig. 4.15 Sasaki Rinpū, "Nihon meifu sugoroku", *Fujin sekai* (January supplement) 1913. Private collection

behind the blinds and in the layers of her robe. Female literati are well-represented and furthermore include Murasaki Shikibu, Sei Shōnagon, Shūshikijo 秋色女 (1669-1725) and Kaga no Chiyo 加賀千代 (1703-1775). Of these, Murasaki Shikibu takes the highest position, reflecting her status in textbooks. Yet closest to the final goal is Kusunoki Masatsura's mother, who is running to take the knife from her son's hands, we might infer. Her virtues and Masatsura's *junshi* attempt are apparently closest to Nogi *fujin*: there is a sixty-six

percent chance that one next reaches the final goal. A number of images is based on iconographies circulating in cultural memory, similar to the way in which many male heroes are remembered.

Yōnen gahō thus made extensive use of premodern iconographies, that appeared in *nishiki-e* and *kusazōshi*, and adapted them for a young audience. By making use of a didactically sound *katakana* and changing the orientation of the visual/verbal narrative, the intended audience shifted from the 'semi-reader' to the 'pre-reader', changing the meaning of 'dual audience' from 'children and unsophisticated adults' to 'children and their middle-class parents'. The young audience was perceived of as in need of clarity, color, simple texts and protection from negative events and sexuality. The adult audience is invited to explain the pictures, guided by selected iconic figures and iconographies. New elements were stressed, such as the 'innocence' of the infant Ushiwakamaru, and the boy Ushiwakamaru is made to look younger and more childlike. National history is represented by a simple equation between samurai and soldiers, or as a procession from mythical figures and events, to warrior legend and Meiji history, or not as history at all: the heroic figures form a pantheon, with Yoshitsune at its center. These pictures would be one of the first encounters a child would have with the characters, whom they are invited to emulate in their play. Warriors are represented as exemplars and subjects for the play of boys, connecting to their future role as soldiers. The most honored exemplars for girls were paragons of loyalty and sacrifice, which might, next to continued authority of the canon of 'great men', be a reason why they don't appear in *Yōnen gahō*, that represents the past as a festive, uncomplicated place, shared (on other pages) with the symbols of modern progress and national culture, such as trains and bridges, and outings such as cherry blossom viewing.

3. 'Childlikeness' in *rekishi dōwa*

As shortly discussed above, the Taishō era saw a new literary movement focusing on 'childlikeness' or *dōshin* 童心 (the child's heart). New terms, such as *dōwa* 童話 (children's story or fairy tale), and *dōyō* 童謡 (children's song) were adopted to represent an artistic and child-centred literature different from the Meiji period values, mass-marketed literature and Iwaya's *otogibanashi*. The magazine *Akai tori*, published and edited by Suzuki Miekichi, is

seen as the main representative of this new type of youth literature. Arguing that popular magazines have a detrimental effect on children's character, taste, and writing, Miekichi wanted nothing less than the best of the best for his readers.[201] Contributing authors were found among the *bundan* 文壇 (highbrow literary circles) and he commissioned illustrations and decorations from young artists trained in Western painting. According to *Akai tori*'s mission statement, that appears in every issue, the purpose of the magazine and *Akai tori* 'movement' (*undō* 運動) was to 'preserve and develop the innocence of the child' (*kodomo no junsei o hozen kaihatsu suru* 子供の純正を保全開発する).[202]

Similar magazines followed, such as *Kin no hoshi* 金の星 ('Gold Star', 1919-1929). This magazine presented itself as even more artistic and devoted to the child's senses and ways of expression than *Akai tori*.[203] *Kin no hoshi* was initially published under the name *Kin no fune* 金の船 ('Gold Boat') by its founder, Yokoyama Toshiatsu 横山寿篤 (1887-1975). In 1922, editor-in-chief Saitō Sajirō 斎藤佐次郎 (1893-1983) took over as publisher and renamed the magazine *Kin no hoshi*. Characteristic of *Kin no hoshi* was its focus on translated or adapted 'masterpieces', such as *Alice in Wonderland*, *A Dog of Flanders, Arabian Nights*, *Sans Famille*, the theatrical play *L'Oiseau bleu*, but also Shintō myths and sections from the war tales. The magazine *Dōwa* 童話 ('Fairy tale'), appearing in 1920, was the third competitor in the field of Taishō period 'artistic' youth magazines. *Akai tori*'s profitable circulation of thirty-thousand issues dropped. More magazines might be counted in the margins, such as Yokoyama's restart of *Kin no fune* (confirmed to have existed till 1928). It was thus possible for idealistic persons with some capital to compete with large publishing houses like Hakubunkan and Jitsugyō no Nihonsha, find an audience, and share their own ideas about the child and future society with segments of the middle class.[204]

The term *dōshin shugi* 童心主義 ('child's heart -ism') has been applied to this literary movement in retrospect, initially as a derogative term employed by proponents of proletarian youth literature. After the Pacific War, the 'ism' gained a positive connotation through children's literature scholar Kan Tadamichi's appraisal as a movement that freed the child of 'feudal' concepts and outdated educational practices, yet more recently,

[201] Ōsaka kokusai jidōbungakukan, *NJBD*, 2:515.
[202] Suzuki, 'Akai Tori No Motto'. (4, ii).
[203] Ōsaka kokusai jidōbungakukan, *NJBD*, 2:533. Ōfuji Mikio, "*Kin no fune*".
[204] Iwasaki Yuriko counts fifty different picture-magazines for young children that were published during the fifteen years that the Taishō period spanned. Some of these went out of print quickly, or only one or no issue is extant. Iwasaki, 'Taishō Demokurashii to Jiyukyōiku Undō No Naka De', 339.

children's literature scholars have also pointed out the one-sidedness and idealization inherent to this movement.[205] The term *dōshin* is moreover vague, as it does not distinguish between the concept of the child and children as an actual audience of literary fiction. This latter problem will also become obvious in the texts discussed in this paragraph. The term *dōshin* was not literally used by Miekichi, but by *Akai tori*'s contributing poet and editor Kitahara Hakushū, who not only idealized the innocence of the child's heart but also encouraged artists to find their 'inner child'.[206] Various authors forwarded slightly different ideas about the child's heart, yet at the centre was always its 'purity' and 'innocence' (e.g., *junsei* 純性, *shinjun* 真純, *mujaki* 無邪気).[207] What Elizabeth Keith dubs the 'Hakushū-Miekichi definition of *dōshin*' consists of a) selflessness; complete disregard for one's needs or desires, b) purity of heart; lack of ulterior motives, c) acceptance without doubt, judgment, or question, and d) pure innocence; naivete in the ways of the world or the way things work.[208] To recapitulate Karatani's arguments, this child was in fact an ideal resulting from adult's introspection and imbued with romantic and nostalgic sentiments.[209] Mark Jones characterizes the contents of *Akai tori* as a 'literature of stillness', that 'froze the child in the child's world in order to appreciate a place different from and superior to the modern adult world of the day'.[210] The 'innocent and pure' child was conceptualized as the anti-thesis to modern (Meiji) society of success-seeking and the cultivation of knowledge.

After having analysed themes in every single story in *Akai tori* between 1918 and 1923, Keith however concludes that the number of texts that actually adhere to these ideals is limited, and the most common elements found in the stories and poems is realism, followed by 'pastoral images of the countryside' and 'teaching a lesson'. Realism here more concretely refers to a 'simple, unadorned language and authentic expressions', also understood as 'childlike'. (Miekichi also praised such qualities in his writing advice to the young audience.) Keith connects this tendency to Miekichi's interest in Naturalism and the writing style

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[205] Ōsaka kokusai jidōbungakukan, *NJBD*, 2:441. Iwasaki Yuriko, "*dōshin-shugi*". 'One-sidedness' here means that innocence was understood as an all-compassing characteristic of childhood, rather than an aspect.
[206] Keith, 'Dôshinshugi and Realism', 28.
[207] Another important author associated with the *dōshin* literature is Ogawa Mimei. Different from Miekichi/Hakushū, he stressed the sense of justice (*seigikan* 正義感) innate to the 'child's heart', and in one of his famous essay *Kodomo wa gyakutai ni mokujūsu* 子供は虐待に黙従す ('Children comply to the abuse', 1924) criticized the abuse of the weak in society, referring mainly children, but also women and people from the proletariat. Yokosuka, 'Dōshinshugi to Jidōbungaku 童心主義と児童文学', 122–29.
[208] Keith, 'Dôshinshugi and Realism', 78.
[209] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, 114–15.
[210] Jones, *Children as Treasures*, 296.

known as *shasei* 写生 (sketches from life), first advocated by the poet Masaoka Shiki 正岡子規 (1867-1902). Most authors who wrote for *Akai tori* (and *Kin no hoshi*) were writers of adult literature, influenced by Naturalism and the I-novel or confessional literature (*watakushi shōsetsu* 私小説). The main difference is that the protagonists are children.[211] In line with Karatani's observations, Keith states that 'many poems, stories, and compositions were not about the purity and innocence of the child's heart but were about the adult's heart which yearned for them.'[212]

In *Akai tori* as well as *Kin no hoshi* appear a number of *rekishi dōwa* 歴史童話 (historical children's tales) that are violent and dramatic.[213] Keith observes that clearly, 'death and destruction, glorification of war, and violence did not fulfil Miekichi's mission to "preserve and develop the innocence of the child"'.[214] She finds an explanation in the fact that the stories have didactic elements and might have nostalgic connotations for adult readers. An even simpler explanation is given by Nishida Yoshiko, namely financial problems: already in 1921, the authors from the *bundan* started to desert *Akai tori*, to which were added the losses during the Kantō Earthquake in 1923 (a full issue disappeared in the flames).[215] Miekichi thus had to compromise. Still, *rekishi dōwa* are not incongruent with the *dōshin* ideal as an anti-modern sentiment and things that the 'adults' heart' yearned for. The rejection of politics in the 'child's heart' moreover facilitated an uncritical reading of martial ideology.

The historical narratives about the Genpei War in *Akai tori* and *Kin no hoshi* make use of similar material as the Meiji predecessors but consist of literary adaptations of parts of the war tales rather than biographies of 'great men'. These children's texts appeared simultaneously with (annotated and/or illustrated) republications of war tales for adults that made the works more accessible for the general public.[216] Seta Teiji remarks that the author Kusuyama Masao 楠山正雄 (1884-1950) turned away from the '*kusazōshi* customs' in his adaptations of war tales for children.[217] This can be interpreted as a reorientation towards narrative, realistic descriptions and literary expression rather than famous scenes and characters. Kusuyama and other authors of *rekishi dōwa* pay more attention to setting and the

[211] Keith, 'Dôshinshugi and Realism', 174.
[212] Keith, 86.
[213] Sometimes variant terms such as *shitan* 史譚 ('historical tale') are also used.
[214] Keith, 'Dôshinshugi and Realism', 90.
[215] Ōsaka kokusai jidōbungakukan, *NJBD*, 2:512. Nishida Yoshiko, "*Akai tori*".
[216] Bialock, 'Nation and Epic', 162.
[217] Seta, *Ochibo hiroi : gekan*, 300.

protagonists' thoughts. In the preface of his successful two-volume *Nihon dōwa hōgyoku shū* 日本宝童話宝玉集 (1921/22) that consisted of literary adaptations of a variety of premodern Japanese texts, such as *Nihon shoki*, *Kojiki*, various wartales, *mukashibanashi*, and *otogizōshi*, Kusuyama moreover stresses that although he adapted well-known texts, he experimented with 'free and novel expressions' (*jiyū na atarashii hyōgen* 自由な新しい表現) and took as an inspiration both classical texts and adaptations by modern authors.[218]

The meaning of Kusuyama's remark becomes clearer when comparing the Sōjōgatani episode in his *Ushiwaka to Benkei* 牛若と弁慶 (a prequel to the much longer story *Genji to Heike*) to the texts discussed in chapter three. For example, Takahashi Taika in his *Kurō hangan Yōshitsune* (1891) adapted the following sentence from *Gikeiki*: '[Ushiwakamaru] would pretend that the surrounding bushes and trees were various members of the Heike clan. Two towering trees he dubbed Kiyomori and Shigemori. Taking his sword, he slashed away at them with all his might (*tachi wo nuite, sanzan ni kiritsuke* 太刀を抜いて、さん/＼に斬りつけ).[219] Kusuyama on the other hand writes: '[Ushiwaka] likened the many cedars to the Heike clan, named the biggest tree Kiyomori, and hit it with his little wooden sword (*chiisa na kidachi de ponpon uchimashita* 小さな木太刀でぽんぽん打ちました). In contrast to Takahashi's *sanzan ni kiritsuke* (cutting ferociously, with a real sword), Kusuyama goes for a playful *ponpon uchimashita* (hitting 'bang-bang', with a little wooden sword). In Iwaya's version, Ushiwakamaru also has a wooden sword, but he is simply 'hitting the trees and rocks' without imagining they are the Heike enemies as written in *Gikeiki*.

Kusuyama then however continues in the vein of Iwaya's *Ushiwakamaru* (and/or those who copied him). Iwaya's version (see also chapter 3, 6.1) read:

> A certain night, when Ushiwaka as usual went to Sōjō valley and wielded his wooden sword, he suddenly heard a sound as if trees were snapping in a storm, upon which right in front of him there appeared the three-metre high, big-eyed, and large-nosed terrible Ō'nyūdō. Ushiwaka was strong of heart (*ki no tsuyoi*) and not one to give an inch (*biku to mo shinai*), whoever shows up. Immediately preparing his wooden sword, he asked: 'What are you?' Ō'nyūdō laughed loudly. 'I am the great *tengu* who's been living in this valley for ages.'

[218] Kusuyama, *Nihon Dōwa Takara Hōgyoku Shū, Jōkan*, 1.
[219] *Shōkokumin* 3:2 (1891), *furoku* p. 8. See also chapter 3 section 3.3.

すると、或晩の事で、牛若は例の通り、此の僧正が谷へ来まして、頻りに木刀を振り舞はして居りますと、俄かに嵐が起つて来て、木が割けるやうな音がすると思ふと、身の丈一丈余もあらうといふ、目の大きな鼻の高い恐ろしい大入道が、自分の前へ現はれました。元より気の強い牛若ですから、どんな者が出てもびくともしません。直ぐに木刀を取り直しまして、『貴様は何者だ？』と云ひますと、大入道はカラ／＼と笑つて、『乃公は此の僧正が谷に、年久しく住む大天狗だ。...』[220]

Kusuyama's version reads:

A certain night, when Ushiwaka went to Sōjō valley as usual and practiced sword fighting, suddenly a towering man with a ridiculously large nose appeared from somewhere, carrying a feather fan in his hand. He silently watched Ushiwaka going about his business. Finding this weird, Ushiwaka said 'who are you?', upon which the man laughed and said 'I am the *tengu* living in this Sōjō valley. Your sword fighting practice is so awful that I can hardly look. From tonight, let me teach you.'
'Thanks. Well, then teach me please', Ushiwaka said while attacking with his wooden sword.
するとある晩のことでした。牛若がいつものやうに僧正ヶ谷へ出かけて剣術のおけいこをしてゐますと、どこからか鼻のばかに高い、目上げるやうな大男が、手に羽うちはをもつて、ぬつと出て来ました。そしてだまつて牛若のすることを見てゐました。牛若は不思議に思つて、「お前はだれだ。」といひますと、その男は笑つて、「おれはこの僧正ヶ谷に住む天狗だ。お前の剣術はまづくつてみてゐられない。今夜からおれが教へてやらう。」といひました。「それはありがたう。ぢやあ、おしへて下さい。」と、牛若は木太刀を振るつて打つてかかりました。[221]

Kusuyama's *genbun itchi* has a much more natural form (only the orthography has some elements that are now outdated) and he does not give extra explanations about Ushiwaka's character. He uses casual expressions like 'ridiculously large' (*baka ni takai*) and 'awful' (*mazukutte*). Kusuyama used *nutto* to represent the silent appearance of the man, but left out the onomatopoeia *karakara*, which represents a dry, scary laugh. Kusuyama's *tengu* is not

[220] Iwaya, *Ushiwakamaru*, 9–11.
[221] Kusuyama, *Nihon Dōwa Takara Hōgyoku Shū, Jōkan*, 236–37.

identified as the scary Ō'nyūdō, but as a giant who appears on the stage without making a supernatural racket. In contrast to Iwaya's version, Ushiwakamaru innocently assumes that this man is not dangerous and reacts in a rather casual way.

Nihon dōwa hōgyoku shū was published as an illustrated and decorated luxury edition. The illustration going with *Ushiwaka to Benkei* shows Ushiwakamaru flying in the air, with Benkei and Gojō bridge as a silhouette in the background (fig. 4.16). The artist, Hayakawa Keitarō 早川桂太郎 (?-?), was clearly influenced by Art Nouveau and silhouette illustration seen in fairy-tale books from the West.[222] The adaptations of iconographies thus reflect international artistic trends, and similar to the verbal text, try to bring the material on a higher cultural plane. The careful attention to the physical and visual quality of the book was yet another way to distinguish them from mass-marketed youth literature and make them available for a more demanding middle-class audience.


牛若と辨慶

一

牛若と辨慶

むかし源氏と平家が戦争をして、お互ひに勝つたり負けたりしてゐた時のことでした。源氏の大将義朝には、悪源太義平や頼朝のほかに今若、乙若、牛若といふ三人の子供がありました。ちやうど一ばん小さい牛若が生れたばかりのとき、源氏の旗色が悪くなりました。義朝は負けて、方方にげかくれてゐる中に、家来の長田忠致といふものに殺されました。平家の大将清盛は、源氏にかたきを取られることをこはがつて、義朝の子供を見つけしだい殺さうとかかりました。

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Fig. 4.16 Page from *Nihon dōwa hōgyoku shū*, 1920/21. NDL

Yet *rekishi dōwa* were not more innocent than the Meiji tales from history. Adaptations of sections from the war tales in *Akai tori* and *Kin no hoshi* by Kusuyama and others bespeak admiration for the spiritual values of the past and an aesthetic appreciation of death in battle (*uchiji* 討死). Kusuyama's story 'Koromogawa no Yoshitsune' 衣川の義経 ('Yoshitsune at Koromo river') in *Akai tori* (1926, 9:9-10), for example, dramatizes Yoshitsune's betrayal at the hand of Hidehira's son Yasuhira. The third son, the only one who is faithful to his promise to protect Yoshitsune, is brutally murdered. Benkei is the hero of the second part: holding the fort while Yoshitsune prepares his ritual suicide, he is finally hit in his throat by

[222] The catalogue of the International Institute for Children's Literature gives Okamoto Kiichi and Hayakawa Keitarō as illustrators. Based on the stylistic characteristics, I am more inclined to ascribe this illustration to the latter.

an arrow and dies while standing (*tachi-ōjō* 立往生). Kusuyama lavishly praises the loyalty of Benkei and other retainers and places the narrative in a context of tragic/lyrical literary appreciation by citing Matsuo Bashō's poem *Natsukusa ya / tsuwamonodomo ga / yume no ato* 夏草やつはものどもが夢のあと (Summer grasses – all that remains of warriors' dreams).[223] Kusuyama advises the reader to visit Hiraizumi (like Bashō). Overlooking the old battlefield and pondering Yoshitsune and Benkei's fate, 'tears will surely well up in your eyes', he concludes.[224]

The dramatic tendencies in *rekishi dōwa* in both *Akai tori* and *Kin no hoshi* can be placed on a continuum with the interpretation of the *Heike* as a 'timeless aesthetic expression of tragic loss', as theorized by the literature scholar Fujioka Sakutarō 藤岡作太郎 (1870-1910).[225] David Bialock argues that after the Russo-Japanese War, the 'interpretation of the *Heike* as a lyrical work, with its emphasis on sacrifice, suffering and tragic pathos would grow into an orthodoxy that was reinforced by prewar imperial ideology'.[226] The more pretentious early twentieth century literary adaptations for children ally with this trope. A second interpretation was that of the warrior protagonists as 'heroic individuals', as discussed earlier. From the perspective of the discourse among literature scholars, Bialock considers this a minor view of the *Heike*, but the sentiment itself is common in loosely connected publications, such as the representations of warriors in *Yōnen gahō*. Tragic heroes can moreover embody both.

In various *rekishi dōwa*, children and young adults most impressively embody the spiritual values of the past. In Kikuchi Kan's 菊池寛 (1888-1948) 'Jūsan no Yoritomo' 十三の頼朝 ('The thirteen-year-old Yoritomo') (*Akai tori* 1922, 5:6-7), the protagonist is left to his own devices in dangerous circumstances, and two youthful side-characters moreover calmly accept death to protect their honour. In this story, the thirteen-year-old Yoritomo together with his older brothers and a small band of retainers follows his father Yoshitomo through the snow, after they have been beaten by the Heike. Yoritomo cannot keep up with the adult men and is repeatedly left behind. (This lonely young horse-rider in the snow is also represented in an illustration by Tani Senba in *Yōnen gahō* (1915, 10:16).) He faces various

[223] Bashō introduces this *hokku* in his account of his visit to Hiraizumi in *Oku no hosomichi* (1702).
[224] Such timeslips with a tragic atmosphere at the end are a Meiji period invention: in Iwaya's *Byakkotai* 白虎隊 (1898) and the picturebook *Otogi gaho: Soga kyodai* お伽画帖曽我兄弟 (1908) for example, the reader is invited to visit the graves of the protagonists.
[225] Bialock, 'Nation and Epic', 159.
[226] Bialock, 162..

trials alone, such as an attack by Heike supporters, who try to lift him from his horse but are neatly cut in half by the boy, who despite his small stature wields the famous sword Higekiri 髭切 ('beard-cutter'). In the meantime, Yoshitomo has someone visit his fourteen-year-old daughter in Kyoto. Upon hearing of the defeat, she calmly accepts her beheading as the right alternative to falling in the hands of the Heike. A similar fate befalls Yoshitomo's son Tomonaga, who 'cowardly' comes back from a certain mission upon which he proposes that his father beheads him, which happens accordingly. The fourteen-year-old girl and young adult thus accept their death with admirable sincerity.

The most striking (or shocking) examples of children's sacrifices appear in Kubota Utsubo's 窪田空穂 (1877-1967) texts for *Kin no hoshi* about the Genpei War.[227] Kubota was an author of the Naturalist school, and he describes the bloody skirmishes in detail. His dramatization of the battle of Ichi-no-tani focuses on the heroic acts of young men who come to a violent end, culminating in the death of Atsumori. He goes a step further in the story 'Genji no yonin no wakagimi' 源氏の四人の若君 ('The four young Genji') (1921, 3:9), that takes place just after the Hōgen rebellion (1156). The winning side (Yoshitomo under orders of emperor Go-Shirakawa) is head-hunting male relatives of the losing side (Yoshitomo's father Tameyoshi (1096-1156) under orders of ex-emperor Sutoku). Among the victims are the four youngest sons of Tameyoshi, who has just been beheaded on Yoshitomo's orders. The four boys are taken into the mountains, on the pretext that they will meet their father whom they think is still alive. Their mother went to pray for fortune at a temple and is unaware of the kidnapping. Arriving in the mountains, the real purpose of the trip is revealed to the boys. While the third son asks if there is no other solution, his older brother berates him and explains that the sons of Tameyoshi cannot live as cowards. The adults present are moved, but as the children so bravely face their fate, they do not cry. In the illustration (fig. 4.17), the soft lines and round features of the boys stress their childlike innocence. The expressions of the children contrast with the executor's bared sword,

[227] Kubota's most 'innocent' story introduces Ushiwakamaru. In his serialized adaptation of the first part of *Gikeiki* in *Kin no hoshi* (1922, 4:4-11), Ushiwakamaru initially represents the characteristics of *kodomorashii kodomo* as defined by Mark Jones. The boy is well-cared for by his 'wise mother' Tokiwa and the priest Tōkōbō, and the soft-lined illustrations show a cute bare-footed boy. The text hints at play-fighting and Ushiwakamaru is provided with middle-class 'tools of leisure': he brings *omocha no tama* おもちゃの玉 or 'toy balls' for his sword-fighting practice at Sōjōgatani. Yet a change occurs. At age fifteen he sets out towards Ōshū to make true his wish to take revenge on the Heike. On his way, he cuts up the thief Yuri no Tarō and sets fire to the house of the 'coward' Misasaki no Hyōe, who weaselled out of his earlier promise to support the Genji. The story closes with Yoshitsune's meeting with Yoritomo, during which he declares that he will offer his soul (*inochi* 命) to his father, and his body (*karada* 体) to his brother. Thus, this story too is partial towards martial themes of courage, retribution (for cowardice), brotherhood, dedication, loyalty (of Yoshitsune to his own clan) and sacrifice.

Fig. 4.17 Okamoto Kiichi, illustration in *Kin no fune* 3:9 (1921). NDL

clenched fist, and troubled expression, that represents a conflict between *giri* 義理 (duty) and *ninjō* 人情 (feelings). The oldest boy watches as his brothers are killed and wiping the blood off their faces, puts their heads in the prepared boxes. He also cuts off some hair, as well as his own, and has it labelled for their mother. Finally, he undergoes the same fate as his brothers. In the second part (1921, 3:10), titled 'Hahagimi no saigo' 母君の最後 ('Mother's End'), the elderly retainers/mentors of the four boys follow their young masters in death. The mother comes back to an empty home. In an unguarded moment, she fills her sleeves with stones and jumps in the river, followed by her female servants. This apocalyptic erasure of the entire family/household is much grimmer than the aesthetic appreciation of the *aware* (tragic) fate of the hero in Meiji period youth literature. Yet this representation of violence and tragedy cannot convincingly be read as a critique on militarism. The moral virtue of the oldest boy and the *junshi* of the retainers is explicitly framed as admirable by the author.

Despite the grim context and realistic descriptions of violence, Kubota's 'young Genji' neatly represent the earlier mentioned characteristics of *dōshin* in the sense of 'selflessness, purity of heart, lack of ulterior motives, acceptance, innocence; naivete'. In the context of this story, 'childlikeness' can be understood as a mindset that is a sublimation of the martial ethos. Michele Mason observes that Nitobe Inazō 新渡戸稲造 (1862-1933) was, like many other theorists on *bushidō*, acutely aware of the Western stereotype of Japan as 'feminine' and 'childlike', and therefore tried to prove Japan's masculinity in his *Bushido: the soul of Japan* (1899). However, in his later essays he also used metaphors of femininity and childhood to describe the (male) paragons of *bushidō*. His various inflections of manhood 'permeated with tensions arising from the need to constantly construct and reconstruct Japan's identity as it attempted to join the tail end of the age of imperialism'.[228] In Nitobe's *Thoughts and Essays* (1909, a collection based on his articles for the newspaper *Osaka Mainichi*) can be found a short essay titled 'Children' in which Nitobe, who was influenced by Christian thought, writes 'the power of children is born in their genuine goodness, their innate purity of heart, their unalloyed sincerity' and he sees in them the 'messengers of heaven'.[229] In the essay 'The Ascent of Bushido' (1906), he applies this ideal to a hierarchy of *bushidō* as expressed in different types of men.[230] Whereas he compares the lowest type to a wild boar, the highest type is 'unsoldierlike and almost feminine in appearance and behavior' and '… their childlikeness makes a sinful conscience envious of purity.'

The values represented in the above-discussed *rekishi dōwa* should not be understood merely on an aesthetic level. Keith observes that some of Miekichi's own stories support military codes and reflect the widely shared pride in Japan's army.[231] Various *rekishi dōwa* are innovative in that they address the inner feelings of a child, yet they teach a very conventional lesson about the duties of male citizens. The narrative 'Yasha gozen' 夜叉御前 (*Kin no hoshi*, 1924, 6:9) by Suzuki Zentarō 鈴木善太郎 (1883-1950), for example, teaches the home front how to deal with absent fathers and brothers. The main protagonist is the eight-year-old Yasha gozen, the daughter of Yoshitomo, who is mentioned by name in late versions of *Heiji monogatari* 平治物語. Observing how her friend lives in a happy home with all family members present, she misses her own father and brother (Yoritomo) who went off

[228] Mason, 'Empowering the Would-Be Warrior', 77.
[229] Nitobe, *Thoughts and Essays*, 105–7.
[230] Nitobe, 156–59.
[231] Keith, 'Dôshinshugi and Realism', 223–27.

to battle. Her mother's soothing words reflect government education: 'As we are born as humans, we must contribute to the world. Your father and brother went to war in order to make the people of Japan happier'. Yasha's sadness and loneliness make place for hope that she will meet them again someday. However, her father is reported to have met a 'violent end' (*higyō na saigo* 非業な最後). Young Yoritomo eventually arrives at Yasha's home, who is intensely happy but later has to say goodbye again. This time, Yoritomo himself tells her to not be sad and rejoice in the fact that he is going to do great deeds for Japan. Thus, different from Meiji period explorations of martial heroes and *Yōnen gahō*, the text focuses on the inner feelings of a child, yet the reader is eventually taught to accept conscription as a duty of male citizens and take pride in the army. Despite their reputation of an enlightened literature, *Akai tori* and *Kin no hoshi* must thus not be associated with pacifism.

According to Oleg Benesch, *bushidō* theory was embraced in intellectual circles during and after the Russo-Japanese War till about 1914, and the popular dissemination of 'imperial *bushidō*' (that focused on loyalty to the emperor and patriotism) could be ascribed to publishers such as Hakubunkan. Nogi's *junshi* would be both the epitome and closing act of this Meiji *bushidō* boom. His suicide was interpreted as a sublimation of the *bushidō* spirit, yet 'the anachronistic sense of detachment from the modern age alarmed many progressives'.[232] Whereas during the Taishō period, imperial *bushidō* remained institutionalized in education, the army, and sports, authors moved on to other themes or even openly criticized the Meiji period ethics.[233] The violence and inflexibility of the warrior code in the *rekishi dōwa* discussed above might convey an implicit doubt, or for any sane person would lead to doubts: obviously these ethics come with too much collateral damage. Yet, warrior ethics and its most controversial element (*junshi*) are explicitly presented as admirable. Stories of loyalty and sacrifice, references to classical literature, and the models of citizenship in the form of Yasha gozen and young Yoritomo, have an educational function. *Rekishi dōwa* are thus a variation on Meiji period adaptations of wartales for children, and not their antithesis. But above all, this past world is celebrated for its authenticity and superiority to the modern adult world, that provided models (for adults) in the form of the selfless, pure, and sincere child.

[232] Benesch, *Inventing the Way of the Samurai*, 156.
[233] Benesch, 129.

Conclusion

During the Taishō period, the audience of, and themes seen in, youth literature diversified and included girls and young children. In other words, the number of voices within the arena of youth literature increased, signalling its naturalization as an independent genre. The participants in the discourse however shared the idea that children are innately different from adults, and have a need for imaginative stories, as well as pictures. *Yōnen gahō*, *Akai tori* and *Kin no hoshi* used the 'innocent child' as a point of orientation and legitimization for the expressed ideologies. Both text and image in youth literature was closely connected to adult's appreciation of literature and art, to which the child was apprenticed as a 'pre-reader'. The wartales were newly adapted to fit into the ideal of quality youth literature. Re-assessed by artists trained in various modern artistic schools who experimented with individual styles, early modern iconographies continued to be adapted to a new context where they would be appreciated by middle-class families.

Yōnen gahō represented a shift in thinking about children as in need of 'childlike' objects, images, and spaces. The late Meiji period efforts of textbook-makers and popular publishers, and specifically Hakubunkan and Iwaya's, at creating a national identity through the representation of national heroes culminated in a pictorially represented pantheon for young children. Historical warriors as a popular theme can be compared to cowboys or knights in the West, selected for children's play with the intention to impart cultural identity, commendable (masculine) dispositions or to stimulate the imagination. The young child as subject and audience validated a bright, playful, bold representation of exemplary warriors. Warriors repeatedly appear as suitable subjects of the play of young boys, which connects to their future role as soldiers. Adult co-readers are addressed with ideals of motherhood and the modern family (*katei*), or by invoking nostalgia, but their most important task is to connect personal and collective memory by *telling* stories about the selected heroes and legends. Contrary to the ideal of the 'educating mother', fathers (and siblings) also play a role in the cultural education of young children. By combining different canonical images, *Yōnen gahō* naturalized the idea of Japan's mythical origins and vague overlap between myth, history, legend, and fairy-tales. Yet the full array of icons might be categorized by popularity rather than linear time. The 'child warrior' Ushiwakamaru can be placed in the centre of this pantheon, and in order to connect to the intended audience, also

became younger. Girls are enlisted to cheer on the represented ideal of martiality. Female historical exemplars hardly appear in *Yōnen gahō* yet the female literati, good mothers and loyal wives that appeared in earlier chapters were represented in the discussed *sugoroku* game. *Yōnen gahō* aimed to form a basis for a confident Japanese cultural identity, that is both traditional and modern. Through children, the early modern heritage of warriors was 'rejuvenated'.

The authors of *rekishi dōwa* in *Akai tori* and *Kin no hoshi* highlighted deeper emotional layers of loyalty and sacrifice, *giri* and *ninjō*, and discovered in the 'innocence' and 'sincerity' of children the purest representation of the warrior ethic. The discussed *rekishi dōwa* thus did not put a spotlight on violence to criticise it but found values of a higher order than exercised in the present modern society. Although efforts to protect the innocence of young readers did involve the elimination of sexuality, the representation of violence was apparently not considered problematic by the editors. Especially the Genpei War was sufficiently remote to be used as a national fantasy landscape and not be overcome by fear that war will invade one's middle-class life. Different from the spirited (little) warriors with bright futures in *Yōnen gahō*, in *rekishi dōwa* childhood was a space that can be visited to experience deeper emotions and a nobler spiritual landscape and some authors took drastic measures to keep it intact.