THE ORIGINS OF MODERN JAPANESE CHILDREN'S LITERATURE: MEIJI DOGS AND AMERICAN EARLS

by

LILIAN HIGASHIKATA

B.A., The University of British Columbia, 2017

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES

(Asian Studies)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

(Vancouver)

August 2022

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The following individuals certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies for acceptance, the thesis entitled:

The Origins of Modern Japanese Children's Literature: Meiji Dogs and American Earls

submitted by Lilian Higashikata in partial fulfillment of the requirements for

the degree of Master of Arts

in Asian Studies

Examining Committee:

Dr. Sharalyn Orbaugh, Professor, Asian Studies, UBC
Supervisor

Dr. Christina Laffin, Professor, Asian Studies, UBC
Supervisory Committee Member

Dr. Ayaka Yoshimizu, Assistant Professor of Teaching, Asian Studies, UBC
Supervisory Committee Member

Abstract

This thesis historicizes how Japanese children's literature (*jidō bungaku*) emerged in the early Meiji period (1868–1912), and examines what elements of cultural and literary discourse inform the early *jidō bungaku* landmark texts. I seek to demonstrate that the genre of children's literature emerged from the intersections of the birth of the modern Japanese nation state, the discovery of "the child" (*jidō*), public education, and literature and language.

Chapter 1 focuses on Wakamatsu Shizuko's pathbreaking 1890 translation of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (*Shōkōshi*), an example of "children's literature" that did not necessarily conceive children as the primary audience. In this chapter, I examine how Shizuko employs the medium of translation to experiment with the *genbun-itchi* style, perceived to be a novel and experimental form of literary expression at the time of *Shōkōshi*'s publication. *Shōkōshi* constructs the primordial model of "the child" as we understand in the contemporary cultural imagination, the literary personifications of purity and goodness who exists in relation to detached adult observers.

Chapter 2 explores three core features of Iwaya Sazanami's *Koganemaru* (1891): the *gabuntai* prose (style), adaptations of canon folktales (narrative form and intertextual engagement), and Edo *ninjō* melodrama (pre-Meiji tropes). I investigate how Sazanami revitalizes pre-Meiji legacies to compose what he claims is a *modern* and *domestic* story for Japanese children, which showcases a carefully engineered image of Japan as a linear, organic, and collective national community. This portrait of Japan is made memorable and persuasive by Sazanami's conceptualization of "literature" as a private practice outside of the pedagogical context, one that is meant to generate amusement and pleasure. By attending to children's

personal space and pastimes, Sazanami opens new avenues for effectively instilling child readers with the sense of collective national consciousness.

The close reading of these two foundational texts will reveal the urgency, rigorous effort, and creative attention invested into writing high literature for children. This will in turn demonstrate that children mattered in the Meiji period—intellectuals and writers esteemed children as a new modern demographic, namely the future of the Japanese sovereign nation, that deserved serious and artistic consideration.

Lay Summary

Today, children, literature, and nation are so integral to our daily lives, we assume that they are ahistorical and culturally neutral concepts. This thesis historicizes the inception of Japanese children's literature (*jidō bungaku*) within the space of Meiji (1868–1912) modernization, which also gave shape to concepts like nation, "the child" (*jidō*), education, and literature and language—all of which are intimately intertwined modern creations. The first text, Wakamatsu Shizuko's *Shōkōshi* (1890), is a Japanese translation of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1886). *Shōkōshi* uses *genbun-itchi*, an innovative standard vernacular language, to create "the child" as a literary subject. The second text, Iwaya Sazanami's *Koganemaru* (1891), uses *gabuntai*, a neoclassical style of prose, to pen an entertaining warrior story for children. I show that children were perceived as a new modern social group that deserved as much attention as adults, and that writers were keen to produce literature for this modern readership.

Preface

This thesis is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, Lilian Higashikata.

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Acknowledgements

I will begin by acknowledging that, the University of British Columbia, where this thesis was written and researched, is situated within the traditional, ancestral and unceded territory of the xʷməθkʷəy̓əm (Musqueam) people. As an uninvited guest on these lands, I am a beneficiary of the ongoing displacement of the xʷməθkʷəy̓əm people, and I commit to examining my part in continuing colonial practices.

The completion of my thesis could not have been possible without the support of many brilliant people. First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Sharalyn Orbaugh who has supported me with unfailing guidance, incredible patience, and encouragement throughout my undergraduate and graduate degrees. On the day of my oral defence, I informed her that we met when I was 22—well, I was mistaken. I checked my transcript tonight, and learned that I had in fact met her when I had just turned 21. This is how long you have been mentoring me, Sharalyn. I write these two words as I tear up—*thank you*.

I am also indebted to Dr. Christina Laffin, who never once doubted my ability and talents, even when I did. Dr. Laffin's boundless kindness, empathy, allyship, and appetite for learning (and unlearning) shaped how I think about my own research work, and serve as inspiration for the model of educator I aspire to become. I cherish the memories of your infectious laughter and Zoom meetings that kept me sane.

I also thank Dr. Colleen Laird for her mentorship and unwavering support. Thank you for confirming and validating my love for popular culture and teaching me how to converge scholarly inquiry with nerdy curiosity. I mean this when I write that I am so, so, incredibly fortunate to have been your TA and student, even if it was for a short time. Your multi-talents as women's film scholar, vegetarian baker, gardener, woodworker, hiker, and cat parent continue to

be my personal model of how I want to live my life—that there is and should be life to be enjoyed outside of academia.

I would also like to thank Dr. Ayaka Yoshimizu for introducing me to new ways to think about Asia-Pacific history. There are numerous ways to remember and teach history, but there is something important about bringing lived experience to the fore. It was an unforgettable experience teaching Ritsumeikan students with her, and I am especially thankful to her for accepting a seat on my thesis committee.

I cannot forget to thank Dr. Christina Yi, who has provided me with invaluable feedback, guidance, critique, and encouragement throughout my extensive drafting process, and for whom I am truly grateful. Dr. Yi's Japanese Crime Fiction (ASIA 444) was the first Japanese literature course I took as an undergraduate, and she has since challenged me to broaden my perspective beyond my immediate assumptions. I said this to her many times before, and I will say it again now—you are one of the best lecturers I have ever had. It was truly a privilege to have worked with you.

I extend many thanks to Dr. Melek Ortabasi at Simon Fraser University, who taught me all about digital humanities and life in and outside of academia. My backpack was crammed with your books every bus ride home from SFU, and I am forever grateful for your mentorship and intellectual support. You, Melek, are truly unsinkable.

I would like to thank the many UBC Asian Studies graduate students, past and present, for their warm companionship and support. In particular, I direct gratitude to (in alphabetical order) Akiko Hirao, Alex Wang, Alice Zhou, Alisa Guo, Anika Kuzyk, Bianca Chui, Camille Ji Eun Sung, Cyrus Qiu, Elsa Chanez, Eyobe Melketsadike, Haley Blum, Haoyue Li, Haruki Sekiguchi, Jaylene Laturnas, José Echániz, Katarina Klafka, Kazuhiko Imai, Kurtis Hanlon,

Lavanya Verma, Miaoling Xue, Olga Belokon, Rosaley Gai, Saeko Suzuki, Shōta Iwasaki, Suhyun Choi, Tianyu Li, Yue Wang, and Yuewei Wang.

I express my gratitude to the incredible staff of the UBC Asian Studies office, especially Dmitri Lennikov, Jasmina Miodragovic, Joey Lee, Maggie Kim, Maija Norman, Oliver Mann, Pamela Francis, Shirley Wong, Stephanie Lee, Tina Wong, and William Strausser. In particular, I thank Shirley for stuffing my pockets with snacks whenever I visited the office (almost every other day). I miss you very much.

I am also grateful to the librarians and staff of the UBC Asian Library, especially Naoko Kato and Tomoko Kitayama. This thesis could not have been possible without the support and guidance of all the wonderful professors and instructors at UBC: Abe Masumi-sensei, Dr. Alison Bailey, Dr. Bruce Fulton, Dr. Bruce Rusk, Dr. Catherine Swatek, Dr. Christopher Rea, Dr. Dongchen Hou, Dr. Jee-Yeon Song, Dr. Jessica Main, Dr. Josephine Chiu-Duke, Dr. Joshua Mostow, Dr. Kay Duffy, Kazama Misuzu-sensei, Kim Ihhwa-sensei, Lu Mingzhu-laoshi, Dr. Nick Hall, Pihua Lin-laoshi, Dr. Rebecca Chau, Dr. Ross King, Dr. Stefania Burk, Dr. Sunera Thobani, Suzuki Michiko-sensei, Takahashi Teruyo-sensei, and Dr. Zhaokun Xin. I keep screenshots of supportive emails from all of you and read them when I need to be reminded that I have the best network of compassionate and brilliant people.

Outside of UBC, I am deeply grateful to Sacchan (The University of Tokyo), Dr. Brian White (University of Chicago & Kalamazoo College), and Jin Xuemei (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies) for their camaraderie and emotional and intellectual support over the last few years. I also express thanks to Anne, Mustari, Peter, Priya, Tray, and others for their friendship. Thank you for bearing with my weirdest schedules, and I am grateful that you still think of me despite my frequent disappearances into the whirlwind of academic deadlines.

Thank you to Dr. Hoyt Long (University of Chicago), Dr. Mark Ravina (University of Texas at Austin), and Dr. Paula Curtis (University of California, Los Angeles) for kindly extending me the invitation to participate in the Japanese Text Mining Workshop. Chicago was breathtaking and I cannot wait to work with you again.

Special thanks to Kotani Mari-sensei (Meiji University) and Tatsumi Takayuki-sensei (Keio University) for their kindness and beautiful hairpin. I am also grateful to Toba Kōji-sensei (Waseda University) for agreeing to host my research project at Waseda University. I am also grateful to Dr. Robert Hegwood (University of Pennsylvania & Harvard University) for his helpful feedback and critique throughout the writing process.

I would also like to thank the unwavering support and loyalty of my best friend, Rosaley Gai. Thank you for humouring my spontaneous (midnight) phone calls, and accompanying me on trips to the library, AYCE sushi, hotpot, and Tokyo. Thanks to Rosaley, I can now whip up the best chocolate chip cookies on the fly.

I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge the tireless love, dedication, and *iyashi* of Haruki Sekiguchi. You were my respite from everything bad in the COVID-19 pandemic, and none of this would have been possible without you.

And of course, I am most indebted to my incredible parents—the two people who have been an indispensable source of strength for as long as I can remember. Thank you for your unconditional love and countless sacrifices that have opened many doors for me to grow in new countr(ies) that were not your own. Thank you for instilling me with a strong passion for learning, and for doing everything possible to ensure that I would have the opportunity to pursue what I love. I feel immensely fortunate and proud to be your daughter, and I love you both dearly.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge that this thesis was made possible through generous research funding and administrative assistance from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), Mitacs, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS), Mr. and Mrs. Tsutae Sato Memorial Scholarship, Faculty of Arts Graduate Award, Graduate Covid Program Delay Tuition Award, Special UBC Graduate Scholarship-CEWIL iHub Award, and the Department of Asian Studies, the University of British Columbia.

Dear all, I am truly grateful for all the support, encouragement, and love that I have received from my community. Thank you for believing in me and my research.

Dedication

To my dearest parents.

1. Introduction

> Looking at Kimura Shōshū's History of Children's Literature, I see that lwaya Sazanami's *New Hakkenden* began to appear in serialized form in *Boys' World* in January 1898, when I was thirteen. It was the work that gave me my first real taste of the pleasures of fiction—the creation of an imaginary world, and the joys of entering into it and wandering freely there. Up to then I had read, and even written, some fictional pieces; but I had never encountered anything that unfolded before me a realm as bold, unfettered, and free as Sazanami's romance. I could hardly wait for *Boys' World* to appear each month, and as soon as I got it my eyes flew to the first pages, where the *New Hakkenden* was to be found. I knew that the story of the papier-mâché dog that gives birth to eight living, moving, papier-mâché puppies was an impossibility; but far from finding it unnatural, I even wished it could come true. And when I saw Takeuchi Keishū's illustrations, in which the papier-mâché dogs walked and ran about, I felt so even more strongly. I yearned for that world of the *New Hakkenden* the way an adolescent going through puberty yearns for love.
>
> – Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, *Childhood Years: A Memoir* (*Yōshō jidai*), translated by Paul McCarthy[1]

By the time Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886–1965) was writing this memoir in 1955, Japanese children's literature (*jidō bungaku*) had become an established genre in the arena of Japanese literary production. The children's journal *Shōnen sekai* (Boys' World, founded in 1895) received contributions from many influential and epoch-making writers of the time, such as Morita Shiken (1861–1897), Kōda Rohan (1867–1947), Yamada Bimyō (1868–1910), Tayama Katai (1872–1930), and Izumi Kyōka (1873–1939). The journal's sister publication, *Shōjo sekai* (Girls' World, founded in 1906), also received as much attention, selling close to two hundred thousand units per issue in its peak years.[2] *Shōjo sekai* was eventually outsold by *Shōnen kurabu* (Boys' Club, founded in 1914) and *Shōjo kurabu* (Girls' Club, founded in 1923),[3] which

[1] Jun'ichirō Tanizaki, *Childhood Years: A Memoir*, trans. Paul McCarthy (Tokyo, New York, London: Kōdansha International, 1988), 175.
[2] Kiyoko Nagai, "Tanjō: Shōjo-tachi no kaihōku: Shōjo Sekai to 'shōjo dokushokai,'" in *Onna to otoko no jikū: Nihon joseishi saikō* 9, ed. Tsurumi Kazuko and Okuda Akiko (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten, 2000): 278–311.
[3] Nagai, "Tanjō," 278–311.

published contributions from literary luminaries like Kikuchi Kan (1888–1948), Kawabata Yasunari (1899–1972), Yoshiya Nobuko (1896–1973), Ozaki Midori (1896–1971), and Yosano Akiko (1878–1942). Eventually, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō himself would write "Katakiuchi" (Vengeance) for *Akai tori* (Red Bird) in 1918, the year the children's journal was founded. As the periodical titles indicate, these magazines and journals are intended to be consumed by young readers. Yet, it was merely sixty years prior to Tanizaki's memoir that "children" and "childhood" surfaced in Meiji Japan as modern conceptual ideas. The genre inception, formation, and entrenchment of Japanese children's literature (*jidō bungaku*) had transpired even more recently, and only with the incredible effort of foundational children's writers that elevated children and the act of writing for children as a serious subject of literary exploration.

The genesis of Japanese children's literature is beholden to four intersecting points in the constellation of Japanese modernization. The birth of the modern Japanese nation state during the Meiji period (1868–1912) marks the first point of this constellation,[4] and the discovery of "the child" constitutes the second point. As several scholars have extensively argued, the Japanese fear of Western imperial encroachment marks the foundational experience of the Meiji period, as well as their self-preservative drive that gave shape to collective national modernization. Meiji intellectuals recognized the potential of human capital as an instrumental force in building a modern nation with a strong industrial profile, estimable culture, and collective national consciousness, similar to Western institutional models that they were striving to emulate. Consequently, children gained new importance as future nation builders. The new

[4] See for instance:
Peter F. Kornicki, *The Reform of Fiction in Meiji Japan* (Oxford: Oxford Oriental Monographs, 1982).
Haruo Shirane, "Introduction: Issues in Canon Formation," in *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature*, ed. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000), 1–27.

awareness and interest in children transformed the perception of childhood as a unique and invaluable stage of human development, and a symbol of the collectively shared and ever-progressing temporality of the Japanese nation. As Stefan Tanaka elucidates, "[c]hildren did not exist as future citizens, but as members of their locale" before the Meiji period. The Meiji conception of the "child," however, first embodied progeny, which symbolized "synchrony of nation[.]"[5] The Meiji "child" also signified emotional development, which subsequently served as "the embodied site for the future of the nation…and a hope for improvement—progress—but improvement based on an imagined experience"[6]—a collective hope that Tanaka perceives in early instructive children's stories like *Koganemaru* (*Tale of the Brave Dog Koganemaru*, published in 1891) by Iwaya Sazanami (1870–1933), and that I, myself, see in *Shōkōshi* (*Little Lord Fauntleroy*, published in 1890) by Wakamatsu Shizuko (1864–1896). This leads to the third point—to provide appropriate training for these future nation builders, Japanese leaders renewed their interest in public education. The combination of these three factors that inform writings for children in Meiji Japan—the modern nation state, the discovery of the child, and education—is mediated by the final point in this constellation: literature and language. A new awareness of children and childhood sparked a demand for high literature that was specifically written and stylized for this new readership. Literary production was particularly contentious in the 1890s—writers experimented with new and existing texts, genres, and languages as they struggled to make sense of the rapidly changing world around them. In order to imagine this new readership, and subsequently write for them, writers had to be attentive to these four key issues of Japanese modernization.

[5] Stefan Tanaka, *New Times in Modern Japan* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004), 59.
[6] Tanaka, *New Times in Modern Japan*, 180.

This thesis seeks to answer several questions that are wide-ranging but nevertheless resonate with each other—How did Japanese children's literature emerge in the late Meiji period? What elements of cultural and literary discourse inform the early *jidō bungaku* landmark texts, and how? What problems of language and literary form did these experimental texts encounter? Answering these questions elucidates the urgency, intensive effort, and creative attention that went into producing high literature for children, which in turn demonstrates that intellectuals and writers esteemed children as an emerging readership—a modern demographic that surfaced only in the Meiji period.

In order to respond to these questions, I examine two pioneering contributions by Wakamatsu Shizuko (1864–1896) and Iwaya Sazanami (1870–1933). I analyze these two writers together because their works were published under very similar conditions, and only six months apart from each other. Shizuko and Sazanami were already established writers in the Meiji literary scene, and they shared the same concern as to how to make children matter. At the same time, they were writing in a time during which the four key aspects of the constellation were only beginning to take shape. As I detail later in this chapter, the issues of language and literary form were the subjects of particular scrutiny and contention by writers and critics, begetting numerous literary factions and movements that coincided and collided with one another. Therefore, as Shizuko and Sazanami attempted to stake out in their works the problems of defining the child, as well as how to best cultivate childhood as a period of emotional growth, they approached these matters using entirely different means. Wakamatsu Shizuko's Japanese translation of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (*Shōkōshi*, published in *Jogaku zasshi* in August 1890) by Frances Hodgson Burnett (1849–1924) uses the practice of translation in her creation of new literary expression, contributing significantly to the development of the *genbun-itchi* (standardized vernacular)

movement that was to become inextricable from modern Japanese literature.[7] On the other hand, Iwaya Sazanami's *Koganemaru* (published in *Shōnen bungaku sōsho* [*Boys' Literature Collection*] in January 1891) partakes in another neoclassical preservationist movement that attempted to relocate Japanese identity within contemporaneous modernization and nation building efforts.

The pioneering writers also hold distinctive understanding and interpretations of what children's literature is and what children's literature should look like, thereby bestowing two very dissimilar but vital contributions that shaped the foundation of the *jidō bungaku*. For instance, I contend that Sazanami interprets children's literature as "literature *for* children" (emphasis on readership), which requires language, plot, and worldview that are accessible and enjoyable to child readers. Furthermore, writing *high* literature *for* children, which was the objective of *Koganemaru*, entails a delicate balancing act of literary sophistication and entertainment. Shizuko, on the other, understands children's literature as "literature *about* children" (emphasis on literary subject). This approach imagines what children are like or should ideally be like. To imagine children as abstract and fictive beings is to place and conceive children in opposition to an adult standpoint, showcasing the difference between the child's and adult perceptions.

Even though Shizuko and Sazanami employed disparate approaches in composing children's literature, the two writers were ultimately linked in their concerns about literature

[7] The proponents of the *genbun-itchi* (literally translated as "unification of the spoken and written languages") movement asserted that the establishment of *hyōjungo* (standardized spoken language) was critical for Japan's progression as a modern nation-state. The *genbun-itchi* movement led to the development of a standardized plain colloquial style eponymously called the *genbun-itchi* style. This *genbun-itchi* style was first used in primary school textbooks in the early 1900s, when a state textbook system was formally established.
Tomi Suzuki, "Introduction: Nation Building, Literary Culture, and Language," in *The Cambridge History of Japanese Literature,* ed. Haruo Shirane, Tomi Suzuki, and David Lurie (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2015), 570.

itself and what literature can do in making children matter. Vigorous language and literary reform between the 1880s and the 1890s attempted to define what modern literature is (and what it is not), what elements constitute modern literature (and what elements do not), and who the subject of modern literature is (and who it is not). The formation of Japanese literary modernity privileged, desired, and idealized an identity centered around the default male, elite, educated subject.[8] By producing literature for and about children, Shizuko and Sazanami decenter the male adult subject. This ultimately allows for the creation for more than one modern identity and readership, and thrusts onto the center stage a new child subject.

This thesis examines the writers' thorough consideration of narrative form and structure, language style, tropes, and worldview that allowed children to find their place in modern Japanese literature. I once again underscore the role literature and language played in mediating the themes of childhood, nation, and education in Meiji cultural production. Through a close reading of these two pioneering *jidō bungaku* texts, I show how and why Japanese children's literature emerged at the time it did, and in tandem with these three mutually dependent themes. Additionally, I attend to the discursive space outside of the texts to provide a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of these issues present in the works. Paying attention to their paratexts and epitexts—prefaces and notes, reviews by and addresses to literary critics, and authorial and editorial discussions—I examine the aspects of cultural and literary discourse that inform these texts, as well as the reception of these texts.

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[8] To give one example, Rebecca Copeland provides an extensive history of how women writers were expelled and dissuaded from participating in Meiji literary production, and offers three examples of women who nevertheless endured in their literary careers despite the gender roles they were assigned.

Rebecca Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000).

1.1 Modern Nation, Education, and Children

Before answering questions such as "what is children's literature, and how did Japanese children's literature emerge?"—I must first concretely stake out the origins of the idea of "the child." Children obviously existed from ancient times, and underwent growth from infancy into adulthood. However, the highly romanticized and aestheticized image of "the child" (*jidō*) that we take for granted today did not exist prior to the Meiji Period. The often-quoted Karatani Kōjin's critique on Japanese modernity (*kindai*) historicizes the moment when the seemingly ahistorical and culturally neutral concepts of children and childhood came to have modern value. Karatani writes that these concepts are in actuality by-products of Japanese modernization, and heavily borrowed from the European conceptualizations of child development and education.[9] One example Karatani contributes is the impact of Lockian postulation of *tabula rasa* (blank slate) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's (1712—1778) *Émile* (1762) on Meiji perceptions of children, education, and society, which I believe offers an important first step for understanding how early children's literature functioned. John Locke (1632—1704) suggested that children attain knowledge empirically, and Rousseau explored the importance of education in resolving the contradiction between innate human goodness and the corrupting influence of society.[10] This is important because Meiji national education played a critical role in the state-wide conceptualization of the "individual" as a national subject, whose "childhood," the stage of emotional and moral growth, is made a public obligation. The Meiji "child" (*jidō*), then served as a metaphorical vessel for human and societal development—an optimistic theme shared between

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[9] Kōjin Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, trans. Brett de Bary (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), 114–35.
[10] Karatani, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, 127–29.

the instructive worlds of *Koganemaru* and *Shōkōshi* that attends to the psychological and moral growth of their characters.

Brian Platt and Rhiannon Paget have shown that children, public education, and the nation-state are three mutually dependent ideas that emerged during the first few decades of the Meiji period.[11] The threat of Western imperialism ignited widespread Japanese interest in the mobilization of human resources, thereby redefining the existing perceptions of schooling and childhood. Whereas the main objective of education during the Edo period was to "exercise moral influence over social collectives and to funnel children into their preordained status groups,"[12] the Meiji model of education was primarily concerned with instilling in children the sense of personal identification with the nation to mobilize young nation builders for service to the Japanese nation. The reconfiguration of schools—from simply a place of moral inculcation to a public program for childhood cultivation—necessitated a new type of content and educational approach. Meiji educators disapproved the old method of memorization and recitation of classical texts, and called for something more in line with the child's emotional development.[13] What these scholars make apparent is that the discourses on modern nation building hinges upon what Benedict Anderson defined as an "imagined community." It is "imagined" in that its members may hail from heterogeneous backgrounds and experiences. Yet, it is nevertheless a "community," because regardless of these dissimilarities and inequalities that may arise as a result of these differences, "the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship."[14]

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[11] Brian Platt, "Japanese Childhood, Modern Childhood: The Nation-State, the School, and 19th-Century Globalization," *Journal of Social History* 38, no. 4 (2005): 965.
Rhiannon Paget, "Raising Subjects: The Representation of Children and Childhood in Meiji Japan," *New Voices*, vol. 4 (2011), 3.
[12] Platt, "Japanese Childhood, Modern Childhood," 3.
[13] Platt, 974.
[14] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1991), 6.

E. Patricia Tsurumi has already offered us a glimpse of what children were reading in school at the time, which constituted translations of the *Marius Wilson Readers* and Meiji rewritings of Confucian ethics.[15] My own archival research also shows that government-issued textbooks became a means to instill in the Japanese people a sense of national commonality as well as a medium to propagate a standardized national language (*kokugo*) after the formal establishment of a screening system (*kentei seido*) in 1886. The Japanese Modern Textbook Digital Archive shows a rich index of familiar folktale selections such as "Momotarō" (Peach Boy) and "Saru to kani no hanashi" (The Battle of the Monkey and the Crab, also known as "Sarukani gassen"), as well as titles that evoke nationalism like "Waga kuni" (My Nation), "Iwae waga kuni o" (Celebrate My Nation) and "Fuji san" (The Fuji Mountain).[16] Although the screening system in the 1887 was less unified than government-designated textbooks (*kokutei kyōkasho*), the textbooks actively played a role in the production of imagined national community and national identification.

The cited works by Platt, Paget, and Tsurumi demonstrate the ways in which the Meiji government harnessed universal schooling as a site of training productive national subjects. However, because they approach the topic from the position of social historians, they do not engage with the "private" realm of Meiji childhood—namely, the private practice of reading and writing literature. Therefore, despite its critical role in Japan's nation-building project, children's literature remains an underexplored topic within the arena of Japanese literary studies, and there is still a need for critical approaches that situate the genre in the context of early Meiji literary production. Because the "public" sphere is a point of intersection between the nation-state and its

[15] E. Patricia Tsurumi, "Meiji Primary School Language and Ethics Textbooks: Old Values for a New Society?" *Modern Asian Studies* 8, no. 2 (1974): 250.
[16] "Japanese Modern Textbook Digital Archive," Library of Education, National Institute for Educational Policy Research, https://www.nier.go.jp/library/textbooks/index.html.

"private" relationships, literature, when conceived as an aestheticized and private practice for public consumption, neatly mediates the division of public and private realms.

Like public education, texts for children underwent a perceptual reconfiguration in the Meiji period. Texts intended for children began to place emphasis on reading pleasure, rather than educational merit, to arouse and cultivate children's emotional development.[17] Judy Wakabayashi credits Japanese translators for this change and identifies the year 1878 as one turning point, when Kawashima Chūnosuke (1853–1938) published a Japanese translation of Jules Verne's *Le tour du monde en quatre vingts jou* (*Shinsetsu: Hachijūnichikan sekai isshū*) for adults.[18] This work was intended to be read by adults, but its appeal to young adult readers indirectly sparked the realization that there was a market for children's reading materials that achieved literary refinement, beyond simple language and presentation.[19]

As I discuss in subsequent chapters, there was a dearth of such modern works for children. Wakamatsu Shizuko attempted to resolve this problem through *Shōkōshi*, her 1890 Japanese translation of *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, intended to be read by a dual audience of children and mothers. This work holds significance in the history of Japanese literature because it pioneered a path to the *genbun-itchi* style, as I detail below. With the effort of her husband Iwamoto Yoshiharu, *Shōkōshi* was distributed to influential writers, critics, and translators then active—Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859–1935), Ishibashi Ningetsu (1865–1926), Morita Shiken (1861–1897), Mori Ōgai (1862–1922), Iwaya Sazanami (1870–1933), Ozaki Kōyō (1868–1903), Saganoya Omuro (1863–1947), and others.[20] The reviews were generally positive, but her

[17] Judy Wakabayashi, "Foreign Bones, Japanese Flesh: Translations and the Emergence of Modern Children's Literature in Japan," *Japanese Language and Literature* 42, no. 1 (2008): 236.
[18] Wakabayashi, "Foreign Bones, Japanese Flesh," 235.
[19] Wakabayashi, 235.
[20] Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 149.

literary achievement is not my sole focus of why *Shōkōshi* holds an important place in the making of children's literature. Although it is unclear whether or not this was Iwamoto's executive decision, the eager and confident solicitation of critical reviews reveals that *Shōkōshi* was intended to be read by those in the high literary circle. The fact that Shizuko—a well-respected female translator and writer—ambitiously chose a text for and about children as a space for her creative endeavor is significant because she perceived writing for Japanese children as something deserving of serious artistic consideration. Indeed, Shizuko's literary achievement earned children, as well as the act of writing for children a place in Japanese high literature, and set the bar high for children's authors and translators writing after her.

Yet, there were concerns that reading materials for children in the 1880s consisted mostly of translated foreign works, and other children's writers attempted to fill this vacuum by producing original Japanese works. Those writing for the newfound demographic grappled with the difficult task of reconciling "modernity" with Japanese "traditions," as there never seemed to be an entirely unified consensus on the definition on these terms. Nevertheless, writers attempted to imagine a certain portrait of Japaneseness—one that is nostalgic, organically collective, and unadulterated by foreign influence. Particularly, Iwaya Sazanami's 1891 *Koganemaru* celebrates important cultural texts that were already well-recognised in the mid-Meiji period, such as foundational tales, origin myths, and state-canonized folklores. Intriguingly, his intertextual engagement of premodern Japanese tales not only canonize these stories in the sense that he is (re)producing the meaning of these works for an audience that already recognize these stories, but he is also writing to be the prototype of Japanese children's literature. Gaining praise from the literary establishment for reclaiming and reviving the "main house" of children's stories

(here, the "Orient" that apparently subsumes Japan) from the West,[21] the critical acclaim of *Koganemaru* confirmed two things—first, the active participation of children's writers in the formation, maintenance, and reinforcement of the so-called national literary canon. And more importantly, *Koganemaru* established a task for subsequent writers—to write children's stories was to envision a literature for the modernizing Japanese nation.

1.2. Literature and Language Reform

Peter Kornicki writes that Japanese encounter with Western imperial powers propelled Japan into what he terms as "the Age of Reform," during which all facets of cultural, social, and economic life in Japan underwent the urgent process of modernization (often, but not always, equated with Westernization) under the neologism of *kairyō* (reform).[22] This thesis argues that the conception of Japanese children's literature was part and parcel of this movement. *Koganemaru* partakes in the conservative backlash to the *kairyō* movement, whereas in many ways *Shōkōshi* seems more related to the reform movement itself. It is crucial to note that out of many pragmatic, political, and artistic matters that were appraised for reform, "the reform of the written language was the oldest of these causes."[23] Kornicki traces the *kairyō* movement back to 1866, when Maejima Hisoka (1835–1919), the official interpreter to the *bakufu* and later the founder of the Japanese postal system, petitioned the shōgun to abolish *kanji* for a simpler writing style closer to vernacular Japanese.[24] Pragmatically speaking, Meiji Japan was in serious need of an efficient medium of communication and dissemination in a rapidly changing nation,

[21] L. Halliday Piel, "Loyal Dogs and Meiji Boys: The Controversy Over Japan's First Children's Story, Koganemaru (1891)," *Children's Literature* 38, (2010): 211–19.
[22] For an in-depth discussion of the specific histories of this word, see Peter F. Kornicki, *The Reform of Fiction in Meiji Japan* (Oxford: Oxford Oriental Monographs, 1982).
[23] Kornicki, *The Reform of Fiction in Meiji Japan*, 5.
[24] Kornicki, 4.

and the issue of literacy was not the problem.[25] Very few of the literate people (the elite class) achieved full reading and writing comprehension in the four major styles in use—*kanbun* (Literary Sinitic; Literary Sinitic prose), *sōrōbun* (the epistolary style of classical Japanese), *wakan konkōbun* (a mixed orthographic style with sinographs and kana),[26] and *wabun* (Japanese vernacular classical prose style).[27] The first three were greatly influenced by Chinese writings, and *wabun*, while Japanese in tone, was divorced from the contemporary spoken language as it borrows heavily from the early *kana* classics.[28] The "standard" spoken Japanese language (*hyōjungo*) developed through the *genbun-itchi* movement was based on how a male and middle-class Japanese subject would speak in Tokyo, the nation's political center. The *genbun-itchi* movement and *hyōjungo* are related but not completely analogous because the former is entirely about written language reform. The discussion of written language reform is central to my chapter on Wakamatsu Shizuko, as I explore how the *genbun-itchi* language came to be associated with the "standard" spoken language. The "standard" speech in literature was of course imaginary—much critical attention has since been devoted to deconstructing the illusion

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[25] In fact, Japan had an unusually high literacy rate—higher than its Asian neighbors and even the European nations. Sharalyn Orbaugh, "The Problem of the Modern Subject," in *Columbia Companion to Modern East Asian Literatures*, ed. Joshua S. Mostow, Kirk A. Denton, Bruce Fulton, and Sharalyn Orbaugh (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 26.

[26] Nanette Twine, "The Genbunitchi Movement. Its Origin, Development, and Conclusion," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 33, no. 3 (Autumn, 1978), 334–37.

For a recent translation of many of these terms, see King and Laffin's translation of Saitō Mareshi's *Kanbunmyaku*—especially under "Index of Chinese and Japanese Terms."

Mareshi Saito, *The Literary Sinitic Context and the Birth of Modern Japanese Language and Literature*, ed. Ross King and Christina Laffin (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, Jan. 2021), 218–24.

[27] As Marilyn Ivy explains, this is a vernacular prose style that is "a revival of classical Japanese style which used the syllabary as much as possible"—a type of writing that emphasized the aural aspect of classical Japanese. Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 74.

[28] Twine, "The Genbunitchi Movement," 334–37.

of neutrality and transparency of the narrative voice in literature.[29] Other forms of gendered, classed, and regioned speech became markers of otherness that did not belong in the fictitious "neutral" space of the "standard" Japanese.

It was primarily among translators and writers of Japanese fiction that this new *genbun-itchi* written language was developed.[30] As I discuss in length in Chapter 1, Wakamatsu Shizuko, the Japanese translator of Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1885–1886), is particularly noteworthy for her contribution in attempting to create an invisible third person omniscient narrator in *genbun-itchi*, when the majority of stories written in the *genbun-itchi* style were narrated in first person during this time.[31] The imagined "neutral" linguistic space of *genbun-itchi* is far more forgiving of first-person narrations that encode markers of region, hierarchy, and gender. Writing before the standardizing medium of public education, print media, and other efforts, reproducing the veil of neutrality and objectivity specific to Western third-person narratives was a much more difficult undertaking, and the "correct" form of linguistic "neutrality" was hotly debated. Shizuko's attempt at third person voice (though strategically of one upper-class female for female magazine readers) juxtaposes nicely with the first-person speech inside the frame of quotation marks, in which Shizuko is free to manipulate the phonocentric peculiarities of *genbun-itchi* to textually construct the imagined voice of a child character. Placed next to the comically childish first-person voice, her construction of the third-

[29] Notably, Tomi Suzuki has closely documented the simultaneous emergence of the *genbun-itchi* movement with the institutionalization of the Japanese "national language" (*kokugo*) amidst the heterogeneous mass of regional and class lexicon. Indeed, as Japan had begun to establish itself as a unified and homogeneous modern nation-state, *kokugo* came to stand for the unification of the nation, as well as cultural, national, and later, ethnic identity.
See Suzuki, "Introduction: Nation Building, Literary Culture, and Language," 533–71.
[30] For instance, scholars credit Tsubouchi Shōyō, Futabatei Shimei, the members of the Ken'yūsha group (Yamada Bimyō, Ozaki Kōyō, and so on), Mori Ōgai, and Wakamatsu Shizuko for pioneering the development of the *genbun-itchi* style.
Orbaugh, "The Problem of the Modern Subject," 27.
[31] *Nihon bungeishi: hyōgen no nagare (vol .5 Kindai I)*, ed. Hata Yūzō and Yamada Yūsaku (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1990), 48.

person “neutrality” reinforces the binary between children and adults—an important difference when writing *about* children for adult readers.

It is also important to note that the *genbun-itchi* movement was “one of the most significant and bitterly contested reforms of the Meiji period.”[32] Language reform was considered essential to the realization of Meiji modernization project. Yet, numerous thinkers conceived the *genbun-itchi* movement as corrosive to existing perceptions of scholarship and literature. Nanette Twine describes this reactionary movement as “a wave of nationalism” that swept Japan at the end of the first twenty years of the Meiji period, as if the collective nation had been “seized with panic at the prospect of the imminent disappearance of its own unique characteristics under the increasing craze for Westernization.”[33] This saturation of, and hence the growing suspicion toward Westernization aroused a reactionary movement by a new generation of conservative thinkers in the 1880s, who asserted that Japanese culture and tradition “should be preserved,” rather than being “cast aside in favor of foreign imports.”[34]

As I describe in Chapter 2, Iwaya Sazanami’s *Koganemaru* was published at the peak of the conservative backlash to the *kairyō* movement, when the Japanese literary scene saw a resurrection of *gazoku setchū* style (a fusion of colloquial dialogue and *wakankonkōbun*) of Ihara Saikaku (1642–1693) and Kyokutei Bakin (1767–1848). Futabatei Shimei, who is remembered for his experimentation with *genbun-itchi* in his 1887 *Ukigumo* (Drifting Clouds), stopped writing altogether. Yamada Bimyō, the founding member of the Ken’yūsha group (to which Sazanami also belonged to), turned from writing prose to poetry. Indeed, Sazanami himself once wrote in the *genbun-itchi* language. However, when faced with the task of writing high literature

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[32] Twine, “The Genbunitchi Movement,” 333.
[33] Twine, 351.
[34] Twine, 351.

for Japanese children, Sazanami looked to influences from the Edo period. Archiving references and allusions from widely popular *akahon* tales in *Koganemaru*, Sazanami utilized the neoclassical *gabuntai* style[35] to elevate and modernize popular tales for Meiji children.

1.3 Women, Children, and Reading Culture

In this thesis, I also establish the discursive history of Edo reading culture to situate my formal analysis within the changing context of how Meiji readers understood, consumed, and received texts. The early 1890s was also the time when Japanese reading culture was experiencing a critical shift. Prior to the Meiji period, literature was both a public and private pursuit. As I document extensively in Chapter 2, literary expression was still attached to the convention of aural modes of reading at the time of *Shōkōshi* and *Koganemaru*'s publication. Reading was often a communal practice that involved a single storyteller and multiple listeners.[36] The context may be an adult (more educated and usually male) family member reading aloud to everyone, or a more communal occasion that amassed numerous attendees eager to experience the virtuoso of a popular raconteur.

The mass production of printed materials changed this reading convention. The increased accessibility allowed for a private reading experience as collective literacy rate grew exponentially. Most children still did not have their own private rooms in the Meiji period, but the proliferation and accessibility of printed material enabled tailored reading material for readership of all ages and genders—something that I believe ignited and greatly contributed to

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[35] King and Laffin offer a very clear and helpful explanation as to what *gabuntai* entails. It is a type of "'elegant writing,' a neoclassical style of writing mixing sinographs with kana to create an elevated tone." Saito, *The Literary Sinitic Context and the Birth of Modern Japanese Language and Literature*, ed. King and Laffin, 219.

[36] See Ai Maeda, "From Communal Performance to Solitary Reading: The Rise of the Modern Japanese Reader (Ondoku kara mokudoku e: Kindai dokusha no seiritsu)," in *Text and the City: Essays on Japanese Modernity*, trans. James A. Fujii (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), and Daniel Poch, *Licentious Fictions: Ninjō and the Nineteenth-Century Japanese Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020).

the genre construction of Japanese children's literature. As I explore in Chapter 1, this shift in the reading culture allowed for a separation of women (as mothers and wives) and children as two different readership groups. Nevertheless, they were still closely associated in how they were expected to consume some texts—for instance, mothers reading children's stories aloud to their beloved children.

The changing reading culture of course influenced literary expression, even as reading practice gradually shifted away from the public. As I comment in Chapter 2, by the time Sazanami was writing in 1891, some writers such as Mori Ōgai and Tsubouchi Shōyō remarked that prose is something that should be read privately and silently.[37] At the same time, plenty of others still latched on to the pleasure of recitation and expected a lyrical flow and rhythm even in writing. This presented a challenge for writers, as they attempted to respond to the question of how prose was to be written and read in the Meiji period. Meiji writing was expected to achieve a certain degree of "modernness" (still very much undefined and amorphous), all the while maintaining the aural charm of the Edo texts without coming off as outmoded. By attending to the discussion of reading culture, I am able to include children as an actual readership and incorporate their reading habits to this study. Because this is a thesis that otherwise focuses very much on the authorial and production side of matters, I want to emphasize that children were a very real demographic with their own changing reading habits, and offer a more nuanced explanation and context as to why children's writers like Shizuko and Sazanami made the creative choices they made.

[37] Maeda, "From Communal Performance to Solitary Reading," 236–39.

1.4 Overview

Chapter 1 considers the image of "the child" presented in Wakamatsu Shizuko's pathbreaking 1890 translation of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (*Shōkōshi*), an example of "children's literature" that did not necessarily conceive children as the primary audience. In this chapter, I examine how Shizuko employs the medium of translation to experiment with the *genbun-itchi* style, perceived to be a novel and experimental form of literary expression at the time. By exploiting formalistic possibilities of *genbun-itchi*, Shizuko constructs the primordial model of the "child" as we understand in the contemporary cultural imagination, the literary personifications of purity and goodness who exists in relation to detached adult observers.

Chapter 2 explores three core features of Iwaya Sazanami's *Koganemaru* (1891): the neoclassical *gabuntai* prose (style), adaptations of canon folktales (narrative form and intertextual engagement), and Edo *ninjō* melodrama (pre-Meiji tropes). In doing so, I investigate how Sazanami revitalizes pre-Meiji legacies to compose what he claims is a *modern* and *domestic* story for Japanese children, which showcases to the readers a carefully engineered image of Japan as a linear, organic, and collective national community.

Finally, the Epilogue gives a brief glimpse into the Taishō period (1912–1926) and the proliferation of children's journals, magazines, and other pieces of writing for and about children. The massive popularity of children's reading materials, as well as *dōshin* (literary "child's heart") as a rising topic of debate and literary exploration, signals the stabilization and entrenchment of children and childhood as modern concepts in the Taishō period.

Until now, children's literature has been largely neglected in the history of modern Japan's literature despite important literary contributions to the genre from many influential writers and translators of the time. This thesis shows how *jidō bungaku* connects the threads of

important issues of Japanese modernization taking shape during the years of 1890 and 1891—modern nation state, public education, children and childhood—conveyed and thought through the medium of language and literature, which holds its own specific and contentious history in the Meiji period. In the following pages, I analyze the different narrative, stylistic, and thematic approaches Wakamatsu Shizuko and Iwaya Sazanami employed in envisioning a literature appropriate for children. As we analyze these two very different works, one thing becomes clear—children mattered, as did the task of writing for children. How and why the two pioneering works made children matter is the primary inquiry of my thesis.

2. American Earls: Language, Translation, and *Genbun-itchi* in Wakamatsu Shizuko's *Shōkōshi*

> When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things. For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known.
> – Corinthians 13:11-12, King James Version.

2.1 Introduction

In 1890, *Jogaku zasshi* (Women's Education Journal; founded in 1885) began a serial publication of Wakamatsu Shizuko (1864–1896)'s *Shōkōshi* (literal translation: *Little Lord*). *Shōkōshi* was the Japanese translation of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1886), authored by the British-American children's author Frances Hodgson Burnett. *Little Lord Fauntleroy* is a Cinderella story about Cedric Errol, a poor New York boy who inherits his British grandfather's great estate and earldom. The seven-year-old Cedric Errol is the literary personification of uncommon purity and goodness, who rekindles compassion and kindness in the hardened hearts of Englishmen and New Yorkers.

In the introduction chapter of this thesis, I commented that most of the works of literature available for children in this period were translations of Western literature. Kawashima Chūnosuke (1853–1938), Takahashi Gorō (1856–1935), as well as the leading proponent of *kokugo* (national language), Ueda Kazutoshi (1867–1937), were all active as eminent translators of Verne, Anderson, and Grimm, respectably. Thus, Wakamatsu Shizuko's translation was pioneering not because it was the first translation of foreign children's literature into Japanese. However, her contemporaries credit her with having elevated the translation of children's literature to a level of aesthetic respectability for the first time in Meiji Japan.

I draw another crucial distinction between Shizuko's *Shōkōshi* and other works of children's literature, including the focus of discussion in the following chapter, Iwaya Sazanami's *Koganemaru* (1891). Wakamatsu Shizuko does not conceive of children as the primary audience. Whereas other writers like Sazanami imagined a male child reader by default, Shizuko was writing to edify the female readers of *Jogaku zasshi*. Here, I return to the Corinthians epigraph to underscore the issue of the difference between writing *for* children and writing *about* children for adult readers. Authors writing for children try to (re)imagine their way into a child's mind to produce text—such as language, plot, and worldview—that children can immediately understand and identify with. Authors showing children to adults focus instead on the *gap* between the child's point of view and the adult point of view shared by the writer and readers. Adult readers of *Shôkôshi* may have "put aside childish things," but they are still capable of being captivated and edified by a literary character who still speaks, understands, and thinks as a child.

Shōkōshi and *Koganemaru* exemplify this crucial difference between writing *for* children and writing *about* children through their different styles of language and stylistic sophistication. *Koganemaru* is written in the *gabuntai* style that harks back to classical *bungo* forms to elevate popular Edo tales to a Meiji child audience. Conversely, Shizuko composes *Shōkōshi* in the new and experimental *genbun-itchi* style (literally "the unification of spoken and written language") to imagine and phonetically construct a wide variety of tone and diction that was gendered, classed, and aged—an unconventional and ambitious feat at the peak of (neo)classical popularity

in Japan. Critically, the lack of consensus on what Japanese writers thought *genbun-itchi* should look like, as well as the perception of translation work as a reproduction of foreign (hence new and unfamiliar) letters, would render the text of *Shōkōshi* stylistically novel and experimental. Nevertheless, it is this very sense of newness that Shizuko harnesses to augment the perceptual gap between adult and child characters. The phonetic system of the *genbun-itchi* style enables Shizuko to represent Cedric's narration of his worldview with precision, from his precocious diction to speech mannerisms.

In this chapter, I argue that Wakamatsu Shizuko represents Cedric Errol as an "exotic textual other"[38] that functions in counterpart to the story's adult characters (and, by extension, the adult *Jogaku zasshi* readers), who must learn the peculiar language and worldview of the child. Writing in the context of translation, Indra Levy defines the "exotic textual other" as not an object to be mastered or assimilated but rather "the highest form of textuality itself. It is the object of the kind of exoticism perfectly expressed in Antoine Berman's statement that 'the translating drive always posits an *other* language as ontologically *superior* to its own.'"[39] In this context, the translator transforms their own language through a newly encountered language, which they see to be ontologically superior to their own. Pointing to the inextricable role of the "exoticist practice" of translation in the creation of new literary expression, Levy concludes that "modern Japanese literature itself [was] a mode of relating to the exotic text."[40]

In *Shōkōshi*, the "translating drive" identified by Berman and Levy manifests in the form of an adult gaze directed at Cedric Errol, which exoticizes the child. Technically, there is no prestige language or Other language that can be translated in *Shōkōshi* because every character

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[38] Indra Levy, *Sirens of the Western Shore: The Westernesque Femme Fatale, Translation, and Vernacular Style in Modern Japanese Literature* (New York: Columbia University, 2006), 14–15.
[39] Levy, *Sirens of the Western Shore*, 14–15.
[40] Levy, 20.

speaks the same English language (that Wakamatsu Shizuko masterfully translates into Japanese). However, even though Cedric Errol and adults are evidently communicating in the same language, the adults often fail to fully grasp what Cedric is saying because a child's thought processes far exceed beyond the bounds of adult and societal expectations. This is what Others Cedric as a character. The "translating drive" is present in the first sense in that the adults look at Cedric as a textual target for translation, even when the translating attempts most often humorously fail. At the same time, the adult characters perceive Cedric's innocent worldview as something desirable that is out of their reach, but eventually find themselves charmed into sheepish reassessment of their social and political value systems through their encounters with Cedric. This is the ironic gap between the child's point of view and the adult's point of view that Shizuko underscores in *Shōkōshi* through her *genbun-itchi* style. The characters speak the same language, aside from occasional emphatic particles and representations of social and gender markers. Their speech is quite similar to the narrative voice outside the quotation marks, a reproduction of the English invisible third person omniscient narrator that is expected to be objective and neutral. Cedric's utterances are coherent and intelligible, but are conspicuously different from adult speech due to Shizuko's generous use of punctuation and strategic grammatical constructions that interrupt the reading flow. As my close reading of *Shōkōshi* will show, Shizuko strategically utilizes the phonocentric property of the *genbun-itchi* style to represent Cedric's textual exoticism, which manifests as distinctive speech mannerism and vocabulary choice.

Shizuko establishes a voyeuristic adult gaze (what I call the "translating drive" in *Shōkōshi*) through modification of Burnett's narrative voice. Shizuko's Japanese translation above all plays up Cedric's character as a curious object of adult fascination and study by

purposely obscuring the difference between first- and third-person point of view, so that the reader moves seamlessly between being outside of Cedric's head and being inside it. Shizuko's careful selection of diction and manipulation of Japanese and English grammatical and syntactic possibilities allows the reader to more directly experience Cedric's point of view. However, this is ultimately used in the service of creating a vision of innocent childhood that is shared by the adult author and adult readers, and not by Cedric himself, or by any children who might happen to read Shizuko's version. This is a point that I underscore in my analysis because it demonstrates how Shizuko approaches the issue of writing *about* children for adult readers. The focus on the often-ironic gap between a child's point of view and adult point of view enables the intensification of Cedric's characterization as an ingenuous childish Other.

This chapter employs the methodology of "thick translation" as coined by Indra Levy after Clifford Geertz's "thick description," an ethnographic approach that goes beyond surface observation to include the context and webs of social relationships.[41] In this chapter, I use this translation approach to clarify for the reader not only the semantic interpretation of the source text, but also the ways in which syntactic and grammatical form is derived in the Japanese work. In other words, my approach is "thick" in that my translation is not merely a transfer of meaning, but it is meant to analyze and compare the linguistic structure of each Japanese sentence against the original English sentence, carefully examining where, why, and how specific words are pieced together to form the meaning Shizuko intended to present to the readers. This model of translation will sacrifice some semantic accuracy and natural flow, but allow for a translation that presents how the impression of "natural speech" is composed in Japanese literature. To compensate for the potential loss semantic of nuance of the source language, I will provide a

[41] Levy, 21–22.

romanization of the original passage to be compared with my translation. This will not only serve as a reference to the original text, but will also account for the phonetic feature of the Japanese text that will be central to understanding how diverse voices are imagined, crafted, and naturalized in *genbun-itchi* styled works. This approach to Wakamatsu Shizuko's *Shōkōshi* will show that the so-called unification of spoken and written language the contemporary readers take for granted hinges upon the craftsmanship and formal experimentation of grammatical, syntactic, and phonetic possibilities by Meiji writers, who through the medium of translation produced an original written language that takes from the linguistic possibilities of Japanese and non-Japanese languages.

Shizuko's *Shōkōshi* was followed by a vigorous implementation of a standardized spoken language (*hyōjungo*) in public areas, exemplified by its use by school textbooks in the early 1900s,[42] as well as further efforts to refine and naturalize the *genbun-itchi* writing style.[43] The end-result of *genbun-itchi* style, which is the written language used in contemporary Japan, reads very similarly to the language Shizuko employed in *Shōkōshi*. Retroactively speaking, this fact further reinforces the impression that Shizuko represented colloquial Japanese in a very authentic register with flowing naturalness. However, the objective of my work here is to bring attention, analyze, and deconstruct the manufactured nature of the *genbun-itchi* style. Shizuko's *genbun-itchi* style tries to evoke how a little boy may sound may in real life, but this is of course a challenging feat, considering the ocean of spoken languages and idioms flourishing in 1891.[44] Shizuko was writing years before the effort to standardize a single "unmarked" dialect would really take off, emblematized by Ueda Kazutoshi's influential 1894 public lecture entitled

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[42] Suzuki, "Introduction: Nation Building," 570.
[43] For a comprehensive study on *genbun-itchi* standardization, see Yamamoto Masahide's *Kindai buntai hassei no shiteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965) and *Genbun-itchi no rekishi ronkō: zokuhen* (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1976).
[44] Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 46–47.

“Kokugo to kokka to” (The National Language and the Nation-State). She was writing at a time when no one of Japan’s multiple regional or class-based dialects had been elevated to the rank of “standard,” so it was through her great labour and immaculate attention to word choice that she was able impart an impression of natural flow and transparency.

2.2 Write About a Child: Wakamatsu Shizuko and the *Genbun-itchi* Language

The impression of authentic and natural speech Shizuko crafts in *Shōkōshi* was in fact a highly experimental form of textual exoticism, resulting in a translation that can be called a “third kind of text.”[45] Drawing upon Goethe, Indra Levy describes this “third kind of text” as one that reproduces (instead of erasing or assimilating) linguistic difference in the target language, resulting in a “text that replaces the source of its own genesis, rendering the foreign text obsolete by offering it up for *use* (not merely ‘knowledge’ or aesthetic appreciation) in a new linguistic environment.”[46] Similarly, *Shōkōshi* was an unconventional and ambitious translation that manipulated the phonocentric peculiarities of *genbun-itchi*, thereby providing a new kind of reading experience at the time of its publication—even as the translation’s success has since rendered its language “natural” for readers today.[47]

Writers of genbun-itchi experimented with various linguistic possibilities to form a seeming neutral narrative voice in the Japanese language, marked by declarative terminations like *de arimasu* and *de aru*.[48] Shizuko attempted to solve this problem with her own *deshita* / *gozaimashita* terminations, and by at times melding third person with first person point of view.

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[45] Levy, 20.
[46] Levy, 20.
[47] As Melek Ortabasi cautions, although Shizuko’s language feels natural by contemporary standards, Shizuko absolutely privileged formalistic elements (stylistic accomplishment) of her works over readability (accessibility). See Ortabasi, “Brave Dogs and Little Lords: Some Thoughts on Translation, Gender, and the Debate on Childhood in Mid Meiji,” *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 20, (2008): 196.
[48] Massimiliano Tomasi, “Quest for a New Written Language: Western Rhetoric and the *Genbun Itchi* Movement,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 54, no. 3 (1999): 152–53.

To illustrate, let us examine the following sentences from Burnett's opening passage, followed by Shizuko's Japanese translation for comparison. Juxtaposed, the two examples clarify the ways in which fused perspectives operate in Shizuko's Japanese translation:

> *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (Frances Hodgson Burnett):
> Cedric himself knew nothing whatever about it. It had never been even mentioned to him. He knew that his papa had been an Englishman, because his mamma had told him so; but then his papa had died when he was so little a boy that he could not remember very much about him, except that he was big, and had blue eyes and a long moustache, and that it was a splendid thing to be carried around the room on his shoulder.[49]
>
> *Shōkōshi* (Wakamatsu Shizuko), followed by my own English translation:
> *Sedorikku ni wa tare mo iute kikaseru hito ga arimasenkatta kara, nani mo shiranaide ita no deshita. Otossan wa, Igirisujin datta to iu koto dake wa, okkasan ni kiite, shitte imashita ga, otossan no botsu shita no wa, goku chiisai uchi deshita kara, yoku kioku shite imasende, tada ōkina hito de, me ga asagiiro de, hoohige ga nagakutte, tokidoki kata e nosete zashikijū o tsuremawarareta koto no omoshirokatta koto dake shika, hakkiri towa oboete masendeshita.*
>
> There was no one that mentioned it to Cedric, so [*Cedric*] had known nothing about it. [*Cedric*] knew that Papa had been an Englishman after Mamma had told [*Cedric*]; but then Papa had died when [*Cedric*] was so very little, [*Cedric*] could not remember very much about him. The only things that [*Cedric*] remembered clearly were the fact that he was a big person, and the fact that he had teal eyes, and the fact that he had a long mustache, and the fact that it was an exciting thing to be carried around the room on his shoulder.[50]

When the opening passage from *Shōkōshi* is translated back into English, Shizuko's distinct grammatical patterns become more apparent. Notice the absence of subject pronouns in the second sentence of my English translation. Here, I added and italicized Cedric's name in parentheses where pronouns (Cedric/he/him) would customarily be placed in English. Whereas this sentence remains coherent even when pronouns are absent or unassigned in the Japanese language, this sentence would not be grammatically sound without subject and object pronouns in English. Although the story opens in a third-person narration ("Cedric had known nothing

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[49] Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1886), 1.
[50] Shizuko Wakamatsu, *Shōkōshi* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1897), 1.

about it”), the excision of pronouns in the long second sentence obscures the line between a first-person and third-person perspective. For example, the verbal lacuna in the sentence (“[***Subject pronoun, which could equally plausibly and grammatically be either he or I***] knew that Papa had been an Englishman after Mamma had told [***objective pronoun, which could equally plausibly and grammatically be either him or me***]…”) produces a mock first-person narration. The insertion of children’s diminutives like “Papa” (*otossan*) and “Mamma” (*okkasan*) further encourages the reader to hear the lines as narrated from Cedric’s (first-person) perspective.

Fusing a first-person point of view with a third-person narration produces experimental sentence structures that retain a degree of naturalness in the Japanese language and addresses several different, though intertwined problems for *genbun-itchi* writers, together with the issue of which dialect to choose as the “standard” language, as aforementioned above. First, the fused perspective leans into the ability of the Japanese language to omit subject pronouns, which can be used to obscure the difference between first- and third-person narration—something that cannot be done in English. This in turn addresses the ability of English but not Japanese to make declarative statements about another person’s internal thoughts and feelings. Finally, welding first- and third-person narration partially absolves the writers of the problems of presenting a Japanese copula or sentence ending form that is unmarked in terms of class or gender, to replicate the neutrality and objectivity of unmarked narration possible in the English language. Therefore, while Shizuko’s fused narration does not achieve an objective third-person stance, her translation enables a seamless reader transition into and out of Cedric’s mind. Eventually, the copulas *da* and *de aru* dominated over others in modern writings in a struggle over the exact linguistic form of neutrality, including Shizuko’s more polite *deshita* / *gozaimashita* form.[51] This

[51] Tomasi, 98.

is not necessarily a failure on Shizuko's part, because Shizuko's creation of this transparent and omniscient third person narrative voice is intended to be appropriate to the narrative of *Shōkōshi*.

On the *genbun-itchi* language of *Shōkōshi*, Rebecca Copeland writes that the *desu* / *gozaimasu* form Shizuko employs in her *Jogaku zasshi* stories is that "of one educated woman speaking to another, most likely younger woman (or women), about an incident in her past. In other words: with a careful manipulation of narrative setting, Shizuko was able to create a voice not unlike her own."[52] Therefore, Shizuko's *deshita* / *gozaimashita* form of address is one that envisions potential *Jogaku zasshi* readers. *Jogaku zasshi* was the first journal intended for the edification of women. Committed to raising the level of a woman's education, the journal published for its female readership a number of essays and articles concerning female literacy, education, and social roles.[53] Indeed, the demographic of *Jogaku zasshi* readers would very likely be educated young women and mothers, who would not only be reading *Shōkōshi* for themselves, but would be reading the story aloud for their children's entertainment. The *deshita* / *gozaimashita* form of address is deferential, feminine, intimate, and does not sound too authoritative or intimidating. This upper-class female narrative voice Shizuko chose for *Shōkōshi* was the appropriate voice and tone for writing a story about children intended to be consumed by women. Accordingly, Shizuko's translation does not achieve the completely transparent and unmarked quality of later *genbun-itchi*, which supposedly has no class or gender markers. This is

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[52] Copeland, *Lost Leaves*, 125.

[53] It is worth noting that *Jogaku zasshi* was divided into "White Cover" and "Red Cover" issues by June 1892. "White Covers" resembled a general-interest magazine (*sōgō zasshi*) and published social reform pieces, literary criticism, poems, and stories for enlightened young men and women. On the other hand, "Red Covers" were concerned with women seeking adult education, members of women's associations, and housewives, and accordingly published articles on household management and rearing children. The writers for "White Covers" eventually founded their own journal, *Bungakukai*.
Copeland, 46–47.

by no means a surprise, because it was another twenty years or so before that unmarked voice was stably established.

The subsequent section examines characters' voices that are contained within the marked frame of speech, and the ways in which these voices are constructed.

2.3 Speak Like a Child: Translating the Childish Other

In Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, themes of motherhood and family life are intertwined with political commentary on British-American (class-)relations. Perhaps the most striking charm of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* is Cedric's childish innocence, which attracts and bridges friendships with people of diverse nationalities and socio-economic backgrounds. In spite of the adult themes in the source text, Cedric's worldview is in an inchoate stage, which is still uninformed and uncontaminated by adult concerns like national politics and class conflict. In Shizuko's Japanese translation, her employment of the *genbun-itchi* style plays a central role in capturing this innocent voice of a child living in genteel poverty.

In this story, Cedric Errol is the object of the voyeuristic gaze, and inhabits the role of "exotic textual other," who recurringly evokes curiosity, bewilderment, and fascination whenever he interacts with an adult character. This interactive relationship between adults (the subject/spectator) and the child (the object/spectacle) is humorously carried out in a way that is comparable to a joke-structure. Critically, the intended audience of the novel's comedy is solely grown-ups. Despite the fact that Cedric is also a participant in the joke, the child character is absolutely excluded from the pleasure of understanding the humour. The adult spectators laugh at or with Cedric, but he fails to apprehend the meaning of the joke because he is not yet socially fluent—his premature conception of the world demonstrates that Cedric does not share the

grownups' notions of social class, stripping him of the capacity to understand the adults' response to his curious behaviour.

Take for instance Mr. Havisham's attempt to explain to Cedric the concept of earldom in Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy*:

> "An earl is -- is a very important person," he began.
> "So is a president!" put in Ceddie. "The torch-light processions are five miles long, and they shoot up rockets, and the band plays! Mr. Hobbs took me to see them."
> "An earl," Mr. Havisham went on, feeling rather uncertain of his ground, "is frequently of very ancient lineage -- --"
> "What's that?" asked Ceddie.
> "Of very old family -- extremely old."
> "Ah!" said Cedric, thrusting his hands deeper into his pockets. "I suppose that is the way with the apple-woman near the park. I dare say she is of ancient linlenage [sic]. She is so old it would surprise you how she can stand up. She's a hundred, I should think..."
> Mr. Havisham felt rather at a loss as he looked at his companion's innocent, serious little face.[54]

Telling a joke is a cooperative effort that requires the teller of the joke and the audience to mutually understand the specific and well-defined narrative context in which the comedic tension builds. Here, Mr. Havisham and the reader collectively share the social context of earldom and the social prestige that accompanies the title. The punchline of the joke is that only Cedric, a wide-eyed boy, does not share this collective understanding and invents absurd (re)interpretations of what it means to be "a very important person," thereby destabilizing any confidence or certainty the reader and the lawyer may have had regarding their understanding of prestige or social importance. Ultimately, Cedric's disarming innocence neither threatens nor provokes an existential dread in the adults, but merely functions as an unexpected but gentle and humorous social commentary that rejuvenates adult characters affected by grown-up concerns.

[54] Hodgson Burnett, *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, 30–31.

In her Japanese translation, Shizuko exploits the phonocentric property of the *genbun-itchi* style to produce a range of affectations and speech mannerisms to signal gender, class, and social hierarchies. The focus is less on *what* is said than *how* words are spoken, and how such utterances construct the image of certain identities within the Japanese text. The textual human voice (here, speech) is the offspring of social and individual habits that are culturally constructed and performed. In *Shōkōshi*, Shizuko assigns a distinct style of articulation to each character through meticulous lexical selection, presentation of speech dysfluency (non-lexical utterances like speech fillers and stuttering), as well as speed and rhythm of speech. As a result, this careful calibration of speech generates and sustains the illusion of authentic and organic speech, as if Shizuko is executing a transcription of live speech.

The following passage is Shizuko's iteration of the exchange between Cedric and Mr. Havisham. As we can see, Shizuko's manipulation of textual rhythm and diction further foregrounds Cedric's wide-eyed innocence, in stark contrast to the grown-up stiffness of the British lawyer:

> *Ha-shi wa…mazu tokiidashite kō iimashita.*
> > *Daiichi, kōshaku to iu mono wa taishita jinbutsu desu.*
>
> *To kiite, Sedii wa hanashi no hokosaki o tsukkonde,*
> > *Daitōryō mo sō nan desu yo, taimatsu no gyōretsu wa ni-ri mo tsuzukun desu, sōshite hanabi o agetari, gattai ga nattari surun desu, Hobbusu-ojisan ga tsuretette misete kuretan desu.*
>
> *Ha-shi wa setsumei no koshi o orarete, sukoshi temochibusata ni kanjitsutsu,*
> > *Kōshaku to ieba, daitai wa goku furui monbatsu nan desu.*
>
> *To ato o tsuzukemashita.*
> > *Ee, sore wa nan no koto desu?*
>
> *To Sedii ga toimashita.*
> > *Taisō furui iegara no koto desu, hanahada furui no desu.*
>
> *To kiite, Sedii wa ryōte o pokketto no naka ni tsukkomi nagara,*
> > *Aa, sō, sonnara ano kōen no gawa no ringoya no obāsan to onaji koto desu na, ano hito wa kitto sono furui mon… monbatsu deshō.*
> > *Datte, dōmo toshi o totte totte dōshite arukeru ka to omou yō desu, kitto mō hyaku gurai deshō.*

Kokoni oyonde Ha-shi wa taiza shite iru aite no adokenai, majimegao o nagamete mo, mata temochibusata de, shibaraku kotoba o tsuzukemasenkatta.[55]

Mr. Havisham…began the following explanation.
"First, an earl is a very important person."
Hearing this, Ceddie interjected.
"So is a president, the torch-light processions go for two *li*, they shoot up fireworks, and the marching band plays, Uncle Hobbs took me to see them."
Mr. Havisham, feeling a bit at a loss at the interjection, [added the following.]
"An earl is generally of very ancient lineage."
"Oh, what is that about?" Asked Ceddie.
"It means very old family, extremely old."
Hearing this, Ceddie thrust his hands deeper into his pockets.
"Ah, I see, then that is the way with the apple-woman near the park, I dare say she is of that ancient lin…lineage. I mean, it's a wonder how she can walk at her age, she must be a hundred or so..."
By this time, Mr. Havisham felt again at a loss as he stared at his companion's wide-eyed, serious face, and did not speak for a while.

Here, Shizuko uses punctuation to distinguish between an adult voice (Mr. Havisham) and child's voice (Cedric). In this passage, punctuation is used to set and modify the pacing and tone of the text, a rhetorical device that would have been considered stylistically fresh and innovative at the time of *Shōkōshi*'s publication.[56] Commas and periods can quicken or slow down the rhythm of the passage, and can also convey various emotional registers. For instance, a deliberate omission of punctuation marks can express unrest, excitement, and haste, and full stops suggest a sense of gravity, composure, and order. Mr. Havisham's attempted impartation of knowledge follows the latter pattern—the lawyer's speech is punctuated with periods to compose short, declarative sentences, which comically communicates to the reader the lawyer's very

[55] Wakamatsu, *Shōkōshi*, 50–52.
[56] Levy, 103, 284.
As Indra Levy comments, "there were no universally accepted rules for punctuation in the classical Japanese writing system; most often, writers used no punctuation at all." She provides the example of Yamada Bimyō's usage of commas and periods in his 1889 *Ninin bikuni iro zange* (Amorous Confessions of Two Nuns), published two years prior to the publication of *Shōkōshi.*

serious and grownup tone of voice as he attempts to explain the very important concept of British earldom and aristocratic lineage to a rosy-cheeked seven-year-old Cedric.

On the other hand, unnatural or inappropriate insertion of commas in mid-sentence or mid-word may also interrupt and slow down the rhythm of a text, often used to express stammering speech, unease, stress, and discomposure. In this passage, however, Cedric's speech is composed of long sentences punctuated by commas, where one would normally pause to take a breath. This punctuation choice accelerates the pacing of the text but does not mentally or visually overwhelm the reader—Cedric's speech progression remains coherent and undisrupted. In other words, Shizuko's organization of punctuation mimics the talkative voice of a gregarious seven-year-old boy recollecting his favourite memories with his best friends, whose words seem to just stream out with effervescence. This translation choice emphasizes Cedric's innocence and comical inquisitive character, which leaves adult characters feeling sheepish with themselves.

In a way, Shizuko's writing feels almost as if it is a direct transcription of character voices. Take for instance the following remarks by Cedric:

"***Ee****, sore wa nan no koto desu?*"
(Oh, what is that about?)

"***Aa, sō, sonnara*** *ano kouen no gawa no ringoyano obaasan to onaji koto desu* ***na****…*"
(Ah, I see, then that is the way with the apple-woman near the park…)

In this exchange, Shizuko encourages the reader to imagine the speech pattern and mannerism of a child through interpolations of interjections like "*ee*" to indicate interest or curiousness, and "*aa*" to suggest acceptance and (erroneous) registration of Mr. Havisham's explanation. Although these speech dysfluencies can effectively express a range of emotions, Shizuko only inserts them in Cedric's speech to distinguish the child from adult characters. Cedric is known to mimic grown-up turns of phrase (often endearingly unsuccessfully), and Shizuko reproduces his attempt at gentleman-like speech by intermixing honorifics (*keigo*) with conversational language.

“*Onaji koto desu**na***” (literally “[it is] the same thing”) is one successful attempt by Cedric, but the addition of the “*na*” suffix to the polite “*desu*” form colours the sentence with colloquial realism. In a formal context, an adult character may say “*sō* ***desu ka***” (I see) instead of the more relaxed “*sō*,” and would choose to say “*so**re** nara*” instead of the more conversational “*so**n**nara*.” In contrast, in Mr. Havisham’s attempted explanation of British aristocracy, the lawyer opens with “*kōshaku* ***to iu mono*** *wa*” (literally “**someone referred to as** an earl is…”). Whereas Cedric might say “***to iu no***,” (or even “***tte no wa***”) Mr. Havisham neither truncates words nor uses colloquial sentence ending particles, rendering the lawyer’s speech more decorous, formal, and grown-up. Through careful manipulation of textual rhythm, diction, and grammatical organization, Shizuko encodes age, class, and gender into the utterances of each character. In this way, Shizuko artificially generates and convincingly delivers a credible exchange between her fictional individuals, arguably more than a mere phonetic transcription of speech.

Yet, as Rebecca Copeland cautions, it must be remembered that the *genbun-itchi* style was not yet normalized in Japanese writing practices in 1891—nor was the Japanese spoken language, which makes it difficult for readers today to ascertain what constitutes “realism” or “naturalism” in such an environment. Japan’s linguistic landscape is shaped by diverse forms of speech spoken not only in different regions, but in different cities, and sometimes even in different sections of the same city. At the time of *Shōkōshi*’s publication, there was a dearth of standardizing mediums and institutions in Japan, such as television, radio broadcasts, state-issued textbooks (*kokutei kyōkasho* were first issued in 1906), and the Ministry of Education, thereby allowing the Japanese colloquial speech to flourish in far more diverse variations than present. Thus, the *genbun-itchi* style departs from its literal description “the unification of spoken and

written language." Ultimately, the crux of the matter for Shizuko was not only learning "how to write in a natural 'speechlike' way, but what speech to write."[57]

Remarkably, Shizuko exploits the medium of translation to address both problems attached to writing in the *genbun-itchi* style. Experimentation and manipulation of formal possibilities are the core aspect of literary translation practice, sometimes importing existing modes of speaking and writing from other languages into Japanese writing practices. Copeland identifies the use of the negative and past-tense predicate "-*masenkatta*" as the most distinctive feature of Shizuko's translation. Although "-*masen deshita*" is considered more standard in today's linguistic and literary landscape, various forms of "-*masen deshita*" were in usage between the transitional period between the Tokugawa and the Meiji eras. Notable is the popularity of "-*masenkatta*" in the Yokohama area, where Shizuko spent her foundational years and early adulthood with Christian missionaries. The predicate "-*masenkatta"* was used among the non-Japanese folks, who attempted to lend their informal utterances a tone of formality.[58] Therefore, Shizuko's conscious selection of "-*masenkatta*" out of a diverse body of its linguistic variations elucidates her attempt to craft within the process of translation a diverse range of voices specific to not only the characters' personalities, but representative of the social, gender, and cultural roles they inhabit.

In the case of Cedric Errol, foregrounding his childlike vocabulary and speech accentuates the humorous tone of the novel. The idiosyncrasies in his speech are deliberately made perceptible to cast him in the role of the endearing, curious, and remarkable entity that is alien to adult onlookers. Cedric's voice represents the uncontaminated human goodness that all

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[57] Copeland, 147.
[58] Copeland, 147–49.

children are supposed to possess, and exists to remind the adults of Christian ideals of humanity and equality.

2.4 See Like a Child: Adult Gaze and Spectatorship

Here, I make a return to the descriptions outside the marked frame. In *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, the utterances of each character are framed within quotation marks. In *Shōkōshi*, the utterances are directly not marked off by special symbols, but are indicated by indentation. Aside from this, character speech is demarcated by a third-person narrative voice, which describes Cedric's actions, or how the adult characters reacted to him. In the translation, Shizuko modifies Burnett's narrative style to recreate the experience of voyeurism for the reader. Wakamatsu Shizuko's third-person narration in *Shōkōshi* is one that blends first and third-person perspectives to allow a glimpse into Cedric's perception of events. This simulates an intimate and parental gaze that all adult characters develop when they observe and interact with the child. Such a narrative voice enables the reader to ease into Cedric's point of view seamlessly, which then helps the reader experience a glimpse of innocent childhood that is shared by the adult characters. Such a vision is not communicated by Cedric himself, or by any child readers who might be reading *Shōkōshi*.

In the earlier example, when the reader is told that Cedric thrust his hands into his pockets as he started his child-appropriate speech and thought processes about the apple-seller, the description is intended to please the adult readers, who are invited to picture his cute, childish gestures. Such elements of characterization would be handled differently if *Shōkōshi* was really intended for child readers. The emphasis on the perplexity of Cedric's adult interlocutors shows that the translation had adult readers in mind, because there would be less focus on the presentation of adult's bemusement as an exclusive in-joke if this novel were for children.

The description outside the frame is especially important in *Shōkōshi* because of the added effect that comes with the modified narration. The fusion of first person and third person narration intensifies the voyeuristic adult gaze already present in the original text, as Shizuko essentially passes the story of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* through a child's filter and prompts readers of *Shōkōshi* to experience the narrative events as though they are a wide-eyed seven-year-old child. The alteration applies the finishing touch to her representation of Cedric as the foreign "textual other."

The sporadic insertion of Cedric's voice and consciousness is not necessarily a testimony to the creation of a childish subjectivity. This narrative voice establishes Cedric Errol as the focal figure of the novel's universe but does not let him take reins of the narrative—trapped within his limited perspective, Cedric is permitted to share his account of the world only when he must become the vehicle for relaying the novel's messages. The incorporation of Cedric's idiom into the novel's narrative voice invites the reader to observe the child character from a more intimate and private vantage point without foregrounding the presence of supporting adult characters. As a result, the adult reader is urged to learn the child's language and comprehend the world as a child. This observation exercise prepares the reader to leave the role of disembodied spectator and instead participate in the narrative progression of the novel with other adult characters, who attempt to (often unsuccessfully) apprehend the curious outlook of the extraordinary textual other.

Shizuko's immaculate attention to detail in word choice is equally important in its contribution to this effect of the intensified adult gaze. When she translates the English narrative voice into Japanese, Shizuko strategically localizes important properties of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* and modifies the grammatical structure of the source text, so as to further focalize the

story through a child's worldview. As an illustration, here is an excerpt from Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy*. Mr. Havisham's recollects his morning excursion with Cedric, during which the lawyer meets the homeless bootblack Dick Tipton and the unnamed female apple vendor for the first time at the park:

> The lawyer long after remembered the morning they went down-town together to pay a visit to **Dick**, and the afternoon they so amazed **the apple-woman of ancient lineage** by stopping before her stall and telling her she was to have a tent, and a stove, and a shawl, and a sum of money which seemed to her quite wonderful (emphasis mine).[59]

The following is Wakamatsu Shizuko's iteration of the event in *Shōkōshi*, once again followed by my own English translation. I invite you to be attentive to the description of Dick Tipton and the apple vendor in Shizuko's Japanese translation:

> *…Ha-shi wa Sedorikku o dōhan shite kano Dikku o hōmon ni shitamachi e dekaketa koto, mata dōjitsu no gogo ni wa ano monbatsukanaru ringouribaba no misesaki e tatte tenmaku to, hibachi to, katakake to baba ni wa bakudai ni omowareta kinen too [what is this? Is it to (w)o?] yaru to iute ki mo o tsubusaseta koto, kore mina Ha-shi ga kii no amari ni hisashiku oboete otta koto domo deshita.*[60]

> …that he accompanied Cedric to town for a visit to **that Dick**, and that they so bewildered **that elderly apple-vendor of ancient lineage** at her stall by telling her she was to have a tent, and a stove, and a shawl, and a large sum of money—these were the events that Mr. Havisham long remembered out of amazement (emphasis mine).

Whereas the source text allows readers to apprehend Dick and the apple woman as individual subjects, separate and detached from the narrator (speaker), Shizuko's translation binds Dick Tipton and the apple woman to Cedric in the lawyer's recollection through the employment of "*kano*"[61]—a Japanese demonstrative that is prefixed to the nominals. "*Kano*" is best described as a demonstrative word, not unlike "that" or "those" in English, and is used to refer to an entity—a person, object, or idea—that is removed from the speaker and the listener, but can be indicated,

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[59] Hodgson Burnett, 40.
[60] Wakamatsu, 70– 71.
[61] "彼の" in *Shōkōshi*. Not to be confused with the possessive adjective "his" (*kareno*).

mentioned, or understood from the context. In Shizuko's translation, "*kano*" modifies "Dick" into "[**that**] Dick" (*kano Dikku*) and "the apple-woman" into "[**that**] apple-woman of ancient lineage" (*kano monbatsuka naru ringouribaba*). This grammatical reorganization suggests that the two characters are familiar and known subjects to Mr. Havisham (through Cedric), and thus directs the reader's attention back to Cedric, whom the characters are bound to. Thus, Cedric does not need to be present to be the center of his own universe in *Shōkōshi*—Mr. Havisham perceives the city and people of New York through their function and relationship to Cedric, and Dick Tipton and the apple woman remain attached to Cedric even when Cedric (speaker) is not directly speaking to the two characters (interlocutors). Even when Mr. Havisham is the focal figure of this passage, Cedric's words like "apple-vendor of ancient lineage" (*ano monbatsuka naru ringouribaba*) and "she was to have…a large sum of money" (*bakudai ni omowareta kinen to o yaru to iute*), inserted without the demarcation of quotation brackets, further confirms the child's omnipresence. The welded perspectives of the adult and the child creates a mode of exchange between the onlooker and the observed, rendering Cedric's childlike ingenuousness all the more bewildering and Othering—and at the same time, all the more charming.

It is also critical that Burnett's source text is simply a detailed account of all the happenings from the excursion, whereas the Japanese translation takes an inward turn. The Japanese recapitulation colours the passage with affective reactions aroused in the lawyer—namely, his lingering awe and marvelling at Cedric's unexpected altruism (*kii no amari ni hisashiku oboete otta kotodomo*). This modification is not a mere embellishment to the original passage, but instead opens a window into the internal processes of Mr. Havisham. By transferring the narrative voice to Mr. Havisham, a satellite character that essentially exists around his interactions with Cedric Errol, Shizuko produces an iteration of Burnett's passage that

pivots only around Cedric Errol. Yet, the narrative voice remains voyeuristic and detached from Cedric's. There is not a trace of Cedric's direct voice and consciousness within this passage, rendering the child character an object of the gaze who exists to bewilder the detached adult observers and the reader with his extraordinary goodness.

2.5. The Stakes of Creating "The Child"

Today, publishers such as Iwanami Shoten and Shinchōsha list *Shōkōshi* under the category of *jidō bungaku* (children's literature), as they do with Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy*. In North America, *Little Lord Fauntleroy* was first introduced as a children's story in *St. Nicholas*. Children themselves were not intended as the primary audience, but it was the female parents who devoured the material and subsequently disseminated the tale to their children. The European popularity of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* is marked by the craze for the Fauntleroy suit for middle-class children, which replicates Reginald Birch's detailed pen-and-ink drawings of tight ringlet curls, and black velvet suits with white lace collars.[62] However, there was no such clear categorical distinction in Japan when Shizuko first began serializing her Japanese translation in *Jogaku zasshi*. Although *Saint Nicholas* was a magazine explicitly for children (though, as I have noted, mothers also read it) whereas *Jogaku zasshi* was explicitly for adult women. *Shōkōshi* was subsumed under the more general "Fiction" (*shōsetsu*) column, which was intended to be read by the educated readers of all ages and genders.[63]

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[62] Anna Wilson, "Little Lord Fauntleroy: The Darling of Mothers and the Abomination of a Generation," *American Literary History* 8, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 232–35.
[63] Copeland, 137. Once again, I remark that *Jogaku zasshi* was read by not only women but educated readers of all ages and genders. Eventually, the magazine began to serialize "White Cover" and "Red Cover" issues in June 1892, separated by its gender demographic.
Copeland, 46–47.

Nevertheless, Wakamatsu Shizuko's *Shōkōshi* was pivotal to defining the image of new Meiji womanhood/motherhood and childhood. As Ortabasi rightly suggests, *Shōkōshi* played an instrumental role in which women and children came to be regarded not only as closely linked units in Japanese literature, but as a joint readership as well.[64] The *akahon*, *kibyōshi*, and *otogizōshi* popular in the Edo period grouped women and children as a single readership, and were intentionally produced in accessible and entertaining written styles to be instructive to the readers.[65] Shizuko's *Shōkōshi* moved away from this conflation of women and children as a single blanket readership, and began to treat women and children as a symbiotic relationship that involves interactions between two separate but connected units of readership in a close, intimate household environment.

It is worth noting that the inaugurator of *Jogaku zasshi* (and incidentally, Wakamatsu Shizuko's husband) Iwamoto Yoshiharu (1863–1942) was a proponent of the *katei* (the home), but as a competing notion of the family and household (the *ie* model) that was also current at that time.[66] Taking inspiration from the Christian ideology of monogamy and romantic love, Japanese Evangelists propagated *katei* as a modern and progressive idea.[67] The husband was supposed to be active and dominant in the public realm and the wife was supposed to be active and dominant

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[64] Ortabasi, "Brave Dogs and Little Lords," 181.

[65] Araki, James T, "Otogi-Zōshi and Nara-Ehon: A Field of Study in Flux," *Monumenta Nipponica* 36, no. 1 (1981): 1–20.
Haruo Shirane, "Chapter 2: Kana Booklets and the Emergence of a Print Culture," in *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600–1900*, ed. Haruo Shirane (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 21–22.

[66] The "traditional" *ie* (household) system is a social framework based on the continuity of the male line, and women functioned primarily in this system as items of exchange between families or "borrowed wombs" (*karibara*) for reproduction. Although Meiji proponents of *ie seido* presented the idea as Japan's traditional family system, it was a modern construct that was conceived primarily as the organizational building block of the nation.
Chizuko Ueno, "Modern Patriarchy and the Formation of the Japanese Nation State," in *Multicultural Japan: Palaeolithic to Postmodern*, edited by Donald Denoon, Mark Hudson, Gavan McCormack, and Tessa Morris-Suzuki (Contemporary Japanese Society, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 213–23.
Takie Sugiyama Lebra, *Above the Clouds: Status Culture of the Modern Japanese Nobility* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 224–225

[67] Ken K Ito, "The Family and the Nation in Tokutomi Roka's Hototogisu," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 60, no. 2 (2000): 496–506.

in the private realm—and *therefore,* symbolically they come to represent those two realms. The wife ideally assumed the role of the Victorian "angel in the house," fostering love and warmth within the domestic space. The Meiji Emperor himself participated in this modern idea of marriage as a romantic union, making public appearance with the empress in Western attire.[68] Indeed, despite the progressive undertone, the *katei* model was used to modernize the image of the Meiji imperial line. In this Evangelical Meiji sense, to have children's texts that expect future mothers to read the story (to their children) implies that women and child readerships are modern constructs that are entangled and interrelated with respect to nation building. The questions "what do children read?" and "what do women (mothers) read (to their children)" have become part of the same query.

The impact of *Shōkōshi* is alluded to in a small but critical change made to *Jogaku zasshi*'s placement of the work about halfway through its serialization. By the fifth installment, the *Jogaku zasshi* magazine moved Wakamatsu Shizuko's *Shōkōshi* from the more general "Fiction" (*shōsetsu*) column to the "Children's Column" (*jiran*).[69] The objective of the column was to offer women readers information about raising children, as well as to publish stories that women could read to their children.[70] The serialization of *Shōkōshi* in *Jogaku zasshi* achieved the journal and Shizuko's objective of building the image of motherhood as anchored in domestic scenes, in which women's literary consumption synchronously functioned as the channel through which children attained and cultivated their knowledge and foundation for becoming enlightened and modern national citizens. Consequently, *Shōkōshi* was also critical in shifting the perception of childhood and child readership. The conceptions of childhood and child readership now

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[68] Julia Meech-Pekarik, The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions of a New Civilization (New York: Weatherhill, 1986), 114.
[69] Copeland, 137.
[70] Copeland, 137.

existed next to the Meiji figure "good wife, wise mother" (*ryōsai kenbo*), a kind and loving matron who tenderly read and told edifying stories to enrich the souls of her much-cherished children. These images of motherhood, childhood, and reading practices were specific to Meiji Christian elites like Shizuko and Iwamoto Yoshiharu at this time, and were circulated through Anglophone Evangelical periodicals.[71]

Ultimately, it was the popularity and eminence of *Shōkōshi* that firmly anchored the image of childhood as a temporal stage of instruction, enlightenment, and acquisition of linguistic, social, and cultural knowledge. Although Shizuko's Japanese translation was not at first oriented toward children specifically, her contribution paved the way for subsequent writers to adopt a voice that captured the sensibilities of child characters. Wakamatsu Shizuko's heart gave out before the great *jidō bungaku* boom of the Taishō period, but her contribution to Japanese children's literature endures. Three decades after the serialization of *Shōkōshi*, Kikuchi Kan would translate another novel by Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Little Princess* (tr. 1927 / *Shōkōjo*) as well as other children's stories like *A Dog of Flanders* (tr. 1929 / *Furandāsu no inu*) by Marie Louise de la Ramée and "Ivan the Fool" (tr. 1928 / Iwan no baka) by Leo Tolstoy. The *genbun-itchi* language Kikuchi Kan employs in his translations closely resembles that of Shizuko's in *Shōkōshi,* from the modification of Captain Crewe to "*tōsama*" ([Sara's] Father) to the employment of gendered suffixes to represent gendered speech. Periodicals for young readers would soon surface, along with the proliferation of stories written specifically for children.

[71] Ortabasi, 181.

3. Meiji Dogs: Iwaya Sazanami's *Koganemaru* and the Advent of Japanese Children's Literature

> It is not an imitation of other books. Rather, it undoubtedly has first-class intentions. Even many European children's stories have been transmitted to Europe through Persian Parrot Books, and their origin is said to lie in India's classical literature. In truth, the Orient founded the lineage of this charming poetic tradition. I pray that the *noren* he has just dyed will fulfill the great literary hope of reviving the main house, and become prosperous throughout the generations.[72]
> – Mori Ōgai, Preface to *Koganemaru* (1891), translated by L. Halliday Piel.

> The title of the journal, *Shōnen bungaku* (Boys' Literature), means "*shōnen-yō bungaku*" (literature *for* boys) and borrows from the German word, *Jugendschrift* (juvenile literature). However, I use it tentatively for lack of an appropriate native word. I think that Brother Ōgai chose the so-called designation "*osana monogatari*" (tales for the young) in the same vein…Perhaps at the risk of sounding self-complacent, this type of *monogatari* is first and foremost something extraordinary, and if I may be so bold as to boast, it is a new phenomenon in the contemporary Japanese literary scene.[73]
> – Iwaya Sazanami, Introduction to *Koganemaru* (1891)

In 1891, Iwaya Sazanami (1870–1933) published *Koganemaru* (*Tale of the Brave Dog Koganemaru*) in the inaugural issue of *Shōnen bungaku sōsho* (*Boys' Literature Collection*), a novella-length story for children that is often described as the starting point of modern Japanese children's literature (*jidō bungaku*). As Mori Ōgai (1862–1922) intimates, the so-called "tradition" of children's stories was dominated by Europe at the time of *Koganemaru*'s publication. Numerous translations of European children's literature circulated around this time, such as Jules Verne's science fiction novels, the Brothers Grimm's collected fairy tales, and Hans Christian Andersen's short stories. Yet, there was a dearth of original modern works for children by Japanese authors that showcased the "poetic tradition" of the Japanese "main house."[74] If, as Ōgai suggests in this slightly overextended statement, the origin of children's

[72] Sazanami Iwaya, *Koganemaru*, (Tokyo: Tosho Geppan, 1963), i–ii.
Translations by L. Halliday Piel, "Loyal Dogs and Meiji Boys: The Controversy Over Japan's First Children's Story, *Koganemaru* (1891)," *Children's Literature* 38, (2010): 210.
[73] Iwaya, *Koganemaru*, iii–v. Translations my own.
[74] Iwaya, ii.

stories is indeed based in the "Orient," then it is only natural that Japan should reclaim the genre as its own literary "tradition." Therefore, Sazanami's *Koganemaru*, which pays various homages to popular Japanese folktales and is retold in a familiar cadence of Edo (1603–1867) *gesaku* master Kyokutei Bakin (1767–1848),[75] won praise from Meiji critics for establishing itself as the first modern children's story in Japanese literary history.

This is not to say that there was no narrative fiction for Japanese children before the publication of *Koganemaru*. Instead, the crux of the matter lay in the absence of new (modern) Japanese texts that could capture and express the spirit of a modernizing nation. In essence, Sazanami was writing to fill the vacuum of *modern* Japanese works for a newfound demographic, for whom private reading amusement consisted mostly of translated European works. Modern Japanese children's literature was being invented in a context in which children's literature from elsewhere provided examples, but writers like Sazanami wanted to produce a domestic version.

Mori Ōgai's preface also reveals that the genre of *jidō bungaku* was not yet established in the 1890s. In his critique of Sazanami's story, Ōgai is unable to assign a precise genre to *Koganemaru*, due to its novel and unusual hybridity of "*kigoku shōsetsu*" (strange fiction), "*wosana monogatari*" (tales for the young), and folkloresque narrative. In his own introductory remarks, Sazanami responds to the journal's tentative classification of *Koganemaru* by rewriting "*shōnen bungaku*" as "*shōnen-yō bungaku*" (literature for boys), adding dotted typographic marking (*kenten*) to elicit attention to his own neologism. As Sazanami explained, the journal merely adopted its title from the German word *jugendschrift* (juvenile literature), and there was no equivalent concept in Japan. Accordingly, Sazanami claimed instead to have produced a new

[75] Also known as Takizawa Bakin. This alternate name stitches "Takizawa" and "Bakin," which are respectively his surname at birth and his pen name.

form of modern writing, modelled after a museum of pre-modern influences.[76] This disagreement between Ōgai, Sazanami, and the editors of the journal suggests that the genre of Japanese children's literature was absent from the Meiji literary landscape at the time of *Koganemaru*'s publication, and that the contemporary perception of *jidō bungaku* was conceived, tempered, and gradually entrenched through deliberate creative efforts and discursive exchanges by Meiji writers and critics.

First, the idea of "*bungaku"* (literature) itself did not consolidate until at least the mid-1900s. Although the state-recorded number of "*shōsetsu*" (fiction) publications proliferated at an incredible speed, "*bungaku"* (literature) as a category did not exist in government offices even in 1900.[77] Accordingly, as the exchange between Ōgai and Sazanami reveals, the idea of "*bungaku"* (literature) was even interchangeable with "*shōsetsu*" (fiction) around the time of *Koganemaru*'s publication. Furthermore, "children" (*jidō*) and "childhood" are modern concepts that were absent in the literary and cultural imagination in 1891. Indeed, it was only after the Taishō period (1912–1926) that writers began to explore "the child's mind" (*dōshin*) as a neo-romantic subject of literary and creative activities, and attach the putative innocence and purity of childhood to literature intended for young readers.[78] Therefore, *jidō bungaku* began to take root a full two decades after Sazanami's foray with *Koganemaru*.

Here, I return to Ōgai's analogy of *noren* to discuss the significance of writing for children, as well as the question of how to write high literature for children in 1891. As we can observe from Ōgai's comment, there was considerable public interest around Japanese children's

[76] Iwaya, ii.
[77] Wolfgang Schamoni, "The Rise of 'Literature' in Early Meiji: Lucky Genres and Unlucky Ones," in *Canon and Identity—Japanese Modernization Reconsidered: Trans-Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Irmela Hijiya-Kirschnereit (Tokyo: Deutsches Institut für Japanstudien, Miscellanea 14, S., 2000): 51–52.
[78] For a reconsideration of "children" and "*jidō bungaku*" as ideological and historical constructs, see Kōjin Karatani, *Nihon kindai bungaku no kigen* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1980), particularly chapter 5 (*Jidō no hakken*).

literature by the 1880s. Children were part and parcel of Japan's modernization project because Japanese leaders believed that the source of Western imperial power lay in the state's capacity for mobilizing human resources. More importantly, children came to serve as an analogy for Meiji modernity. Children were a symbol of the collectively shared and ever-progressing time of the nation, which Japan was seeking to transpose itself to.[79] Public perception of supposed excessive Westernization in the 1870s beget a conservative intellectual movement. In the 1880s, writers struggled to dye their literary *noren* through revivals and adaptations of "traditional" Japanese arts in attempts to establish an artificial continuity of Japanese cultural traditions, but in the "modern" context—this of course includes literary practice and canon, but is also inclusive of fine arts and theatre and stage performance.[80] As the artificiality of both concepts suggests, although definitions of "modern" and "national" (Japanese) were certainly not established or unified, the two ideas nevertheless served as an important benchmark for Meiji literary production.

Further, writers for adult literature, led by the members of the Ken'yūsha group (The Society of Friends of the Inkstone), had already begun to experiment with the hybridization of *kanbun*, *waka* poetry, neoclassical (reinvention of) Heian prose, and various hybrid narrative styles to represent cultural continuity. However, equivalent works for children were largely absent. Therefore, the publication of *Koganemaru* was culturally important because it was the

[79] Stefan Tanaka, *New Times in Modern Japan*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004), 133–37. See his fourth chapter, especially the subsection "From Ghosts to Children: The Idea of Childhood" for a detailed discussion of "childhood" and "temporality" as a modern concept.

[80] Much critical attention has been invested in deconstructing the myth of a stable and teleologically conceived Japanese canon, as well as documenting the discursive modernization of Japanese literary genres. See *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature*, ed. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000) and Schamoni, "The Rise of 'Literature' in Early Meiji."

first major work that was specifically oriented towards children as high art, penned by an eminent Japanese writer from the prestigious Ken'yūsha group.[81]

Koganemaru also ignited contentious and critical debates on the question of *how* to write for children. Sazanami's contemporaries strove to establish a clear difference between the outmoded forms of Edo literary conventions and their modern representations of "Japanese" art. Sazanami revisited numerous literary devices from the Edo period, including his stylistic homage to Kyokutei Bakin and implementation of neoclassical *gabuntai* language—inviting immense scrutiny from literary critics and his fellow writers. A close examination of Sazanami's formalistic choices and the ensuing criticisms clarifies the very complex and interactive nature of literary genre formation, and disrupts the assumption that modern *jidō bungaku* was conceived in a linear and teleological process.

This chapter will conduct a close reading of *Koganemaru* to demonstrate the ways in which the seemingly ahistorical and culturally neutral genre of Japanese children's literature was discursively shaped and mediated through the discourse of literary canonization, nation-building, and language. In my discussion of *Koganemaru*, I afford particular attention to the text's language, narrative form, and intertextual engagement—the essential three literary elements that received much critical consideration and contention from numerous Meiji critics. Situating my formal analysis within the changing context of Japanese reading culture and practices, I will

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[81] This is not to say that texts read by Japanese children did not exist prior to the Meiji period—popular short stories known as *otogizōshi* were available to a wide readership as early as the Muromachi period (1336–1573), and *kanazōshi* (printed booklets written in *kana* form) made reading accessible to an even wider readership during the Edo period. For an overview of *otogizōshi*, see James T. Araki, "Otogi-Zōshi and Nara-Ehon: A Field of Study in Flux," *Monumenta Nipponica* 36, no. 1 (1981): 1–20.
For a survey of *kanazōshi*, see Haruo Shirane, "Chapter 2: Kana Booklets and the Emergence of a Print Culture," in *Early Modern Japanese Literature: An Anthology, 1600–1900*, ed. Haruo Shirane (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 21–22. For commentary on *kanazōshi*'s impact on popular literature, see Laura Moretti, "*Kanazōshi* Revisited: The Beginnings of Japanese Popular Literature in Print," *Monumenta Nipponica* 65, no. 2 (2010): 297–356.

show how Sazanami navigated the uncharted territory of children's literature to conceive and present a story that is both modern and Japanese.

3.1. Iwaya Sazanami and *Koganemaru*

Iwaya Sazanami began his literary career in 1887 as a member of the Ken'yūsha group, the first major literary coterie in the history of modern Japanese letters. Founded in 1885 by precocious young elites Ozaki Kōyō (1868–1903), Yamada Bimyō (1868–1910), Ishibashi Shian (1867–1927), and Maruyama Kyūka (1865–1927), the Ken'yūsha group earned a reputation for frivolous writing that entertained.[82] However, as Donald Keene emphasizes, despite the writers' efforts to disclaim any serious literary aspirations other than "the fun of writing." Ken'yūsha writers were highly educated and could have practiced any of the more elevated varieties of writing in favour at the time, such as political novels, translations of European literature, or learned essays.[83] Instead, Ken'yūsha writers took considerable influence from traditional Confucianism and dabbled with *gesaku* classicism of the early nineteenth century. For instance, the playful and light-hearted writing that characterized the works of the Ken'yūsha is in fact an homage to the playful (*tawamure*) compositions of Kyokutei Bakin.[84] Sharing with conservative intellectuals a distaste for what was perceived to be a manic Westernization,[85] Ken'yūsha writers looked to the legacies of pre-Meiji compositions to experiment with various stylistic, narrative,

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[82] Here, it is important to note the significance of Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859-–935)'s *Shōsetsu shinzui* (*The Essence of the Novel*), which was published seven months after the formation of the Ken'yūsha. Shōyō's rejection of didacticism in political novels and Edo *yomihon* (reading books—the emphasis was on text rather than illustrations like other printed reading materials) complemented the "frivolous" tenets of Ken'yūsha writers, who interpreted his criticism to mean that novels need not be serious. Donald Keene, *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era – Fiction* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1984), 128.
[83] Keene, *Dawn to the West*, 120.
[84] Keene, 119–20.
[85] Keene, 120–21.

and structural modes of writing to develop sophisticated prose literature that was grounded in domestic literary traditions.

Iwaya Sazanami followed in the footsteps of founder Yamada Bimyō, and experimented with stories written in the *genbun-itchi* (standardized vernacular) style. Sazanami won praise for his contributions to *Garakuta bunko* (*Rubbishheap Library*), the first modern Japanese literary magazine the Ken'yūsha group published. Notably, Sazanami enjoyed success with "Satsuki-goi" (The May Carp, 1888), a story that described the melancholy of youthful first love. This story was the first hint of his later trajectory in writing for and about adolescents, emblematized by his signature rewriting of Japanese folktales and legends (*otogibanashi*).

In 1891, the Ken'yūsha writers founded the *Shōnen bungaku sōsho* (*Juvenile Literature Collection*), a serial publication of literary works intended for school-aged boys that eventually filled a whopping thirty-two volumes. Iwaya Sazanami's 1891 *Koganemaru* graced the inaugural publication of the collection, establishing his name as the first Japanese modern children's writer. Sazanami states in his preface that *Koganemaru* is not another cultural borrowing from the West, but instead is the first domestic foray into writing a modern literary work for Japanese children.[86] As with other literary works for adults, the initial catalyst for the formation of Japanese children's literature as a genre was the translation of foreign (predominantly European) children's literature.[87] Therefore, Sazanami's foray with *Koganemaru*, the first major and original high literature intended for a child audience, was unprecedented and received much critical attention.

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[86] Iwaya, 4.
[87] For a detailed survey of early translated Meiji children's literature, see Judy Wakabayashi, "Foreign Bones, Japanese Flesh: Translations and the Emergence of Modern Children's Literature in Japan," *Japanese Language and Literature* 42, no. 1 (2008): 227–55.

3.2 Narrativizing Japan and the Folk

Koganemaru is a revenge narrative that recounts the great suffering of the dog Koganemaru, whose watchdog father was brutally slain by the ferocious tiger, Great King Kinbō (*Kinbō daiō*). Howling bloody murder, Koganemaru sets out with his comrades Washirō (former hunting dog) and Bunkaku (bull) to exact revenge on Kinbō and his accomplices Kokue (monkey) and Chōsui (fox). A wise rabbit named Akame no Okina saves Koganemaru from near-fatal injuries inflicted by the fox, and Okoma (a female mouse) sacrifices herself to aid Koganemaru's efforts. When Koganemaru finally takes his revenge in a hard battle with the help of his friends, he returns home a hero and is promoted to a guard dog with a golden collar.

Various characters, tropes, and plotlines reflect culturally important and well-known tales deeply engrained in Meiji culture. The stories archived in *Koganemaru* are culturally important narratives that play a fundamental role in consolidating the nationalism of Meiji Japan, such as foundational tales, origin myths, and canonized folktales, all of which may function to authenticate the idea of a shared cultural identity. As Haruo Shirane explains, one salient characteristic of European cultural nationalism in the nineteenth century was "the sense of nation bound by blood and kinship ties" and "ethnic nationalism based on the idea of the folk."[88] That is to say, a nation may locate its national identity and consciousness, as well as political legitimacy, within supposedly organic and authentic common culture, attested by inherited cultural capital like common language, history, and arts. The idea that common culture resulted from a linear, organic consequence could then subsequently be wielded to unify members of the nation. While this is very much a retrospective mode of thinking, this notion nevertheless guided a critical process in tracing out the contours of a modern Japanese identity. Sazanami illustrates this

[88] Shirane, "Introduction: Issues in Canon Formation," 16.

process in the literary realm as he deploys without reserve copious intertextual references to engender the narrative of linear and collective culture in *Koganemaru*.

Sazanami's application of intertextual allusion is compelling in two ways: its capacity to generate reading pleasure, but also its epistemological function to reproduce, redefine, and reshape cultural knowledge to consolidate a sense of collective consciousness. For instance, he makes direct allusions to the stories "Momotarō" (Peach Boy) and "Sarukani gassen" (The Battle of the Monkey and the Crab), both of which are canonized folktales from "Nihon godai mukashibanashi" (five great Japanese folktales).[89] According to Robert Thomas Tierney, the term "Nihon godai mukashibanashi" was first used to describe popular folktales published in *kusazōshi* (illustrated storybooks) and other printed materials during the Edo period, but gained a more canonical association in the Meiji period.[90] The canonization of the five quintessential national folktales is a product of the Meiji education system—Meiji officials selected these five tales for use in primary school readers, beginning with "Sarukani gassen" in the 1877 edition of the primary school reader (*jinjō shōgaku yomihon*).[91]

Although there were numerous regional variations of these folktales during the Edo period, a standardized version authorized by the Ministry of Education replaced the local versions through the textbooks.[92] In the case of "Momotarō," there were more than eighty regionally variant versions of the story. However, a canonized version of "Momotarō" eclipsed these local versions when a standard model of the story made its first appearance in state-issued

[89] "Nihon godai mukashibanashi" subsumes "Momotarō" (Peach Boy), "Hanasaka jīsan" (The Old Man Who Made Flowers Bloom), "Sarugani gassen" (The Battle of the Monkey and the Crab), "Shitakiri suzume" (Tongue-Cut Sparrow) and "Kachikachi-yama (Kachi Kachi Mountain)." "Nihon godai mukashibanashi," *Nihon kokugo Daijiten*, JapanKnowledge, https://japanknowledge.com/.
[90] Robert Thomas Tierney, *Tropics of Savagery: The Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame,* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2010), 228.
[91] Tierney, *Tropics of Savagery*, 117.
[92] Tierney, 118.

textbooks in 1887.[93] In the standard schoolbook version, an elderly couple living in the countryside discovers Momotarō inside a peach floating down a river and decides to raise him. When he grows up, Momotarō sets off to conquer the island of the fearsome ogres (*oni*) and recruits three courageous animal retainers—a dog, a monkey, and a pheasant. Momotarō's crew overpowers the ogres, and they return to his village as heroes with plundered treasures. As Tierney notes, this folktale became "closely associated with emperor-centered ideology" and came to be seen as the perfect vehicle to instill in the young a sense of imperial awareness.[94]

Only after "Momotarō" was standardized and disseminated through modern mass media could the story then retrospectively be seen as folk knowledge. By the time *Koganemaru* was published in 1891, the story of "Momotarō" was so widely circulated among the masses that the tale had become virtually ingrained into the Japanese consciousness. Therefore, readers were able to identify the story merely from the mentioned characters even without being offered the entirety of the plot—a dog, a monkey, ogres (*oni*), and a man with a "peach" (*momo*) in his title. The narrative progression depends on the story's characters' as well as the readers' fluency in cultural knowledge that allows them to identify the folktale. In *Koganemaru*, each character tells their portion of the story, building upon what has already been revealed to the reader. By the end of the novel, the reader will understand the entirety of the story.

In the latter half of the story, Koganemaru and his friends corner Kokue, the wicked monkey complicit in the fox Chōsui's plans to assassinate Koganemaru. Cornered, Kokue wildly invents his ancestral ties with the loyal monkey in Momotarō in one last evasive tactic:

> Sirs, what heartless dogs you are! Surely you must have heard of the name Iwa no Emika-zaru, my ancestor. He served Momo no Ōirakko with your ancestor, Ayashi no

[93] For an overview on the standardization of "Momotarō" in the Meiji period, see Nahoko Kahara, "Mukashibanashi no shujinkō kara kokka no shōchō e: Momotarō paradigm no keiseki," *Tokyo geijutsu daigaku ongaku gakubu kiyō* 36 (2010).
[94] Tierney, 117–18.

> Ōshiro-gimi in their expedition to Onigashima. His contribution was not a small one. They have since been quarrelling and baring fangs—truly a regrettable situation! Thus, I have had the utmost respect for dogs, praying that I could one day form a close friendship with you. I have not a vengeful heart even in the slightest. And yet, for what crime do you subject me to your fangs? Do you not fear Sannō Gongen's divine retribution?[95]

Kokue's confidence in shared cultural knowledge simultaneously instills tension and disquiet in readers because the readers have already learned the monkey's true familial background several chapters earlier, in which Chōsui the wicked fox plots out schemes to assassinate Koganemaru:

> There *is* a good strategy. The new face Great King Kinbō has been keeping in service, his hard work has earned him the King's great favour—Kokue is the choice. I hear that he is skilled in the art of archery. I recall when he and his uncle participated in the Battle against the *sawa* crabs years ago, his contribution was not a small one. His uncle was slain by an *usu* millstone in the Battle and the rest of the monkeys fled and drifted over to this mountain as fugitives to serve King Kinbō. In any case, it will be an easy task for him to kill Koganemaru even if he is armed with only a bow and a few arrows, considering his past credentials.[96]

Like "Momotarō," the mere citation of a battle and characters—monkeys (defeated), crabs (victorious), and a mortar (pro-crabs; auxiliary)—is enough to immediately signal to readers the folktale "Sarukani gassen" (The Battle of the Monkey and the Crab), another story of the five canon folktales.[97] In this tale, a shrewd monkey manipulates a mother crab into trading a persimmon seed for her rice balls and later ransacks her persimmon tree for ripe fruits. The monkey throws down a hard, unripe persimmon fruit at the crab and the blow kills the pregnant mother crab. The crab's offspring burst forth from her corpse and they recruit a bee, a chestnut, an *usu* millstone, and cattle manure to aid in their vendetta. The group of friends successfully

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[95] Iwaya, 124–25.
[96] Iwaya, 80–81.
[97] "Sarukani gassen" made its first appearance in the 1877 issue of the primary school reader (*Jinjō shōgaku yomihon*), and notably in the 1910 issue of the Japanese national language (*kokugo*) textbook (*Dainiki kokutei kokugo kyōkasho*). The latter edition resounded the saturating nationalism following Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). "Japanese Modern Textbook Digital Archive," Library of Education, National Institute for Educational Policy Research, https://www.nier.go.jp/library/textbooks/index.html.

execute a well-crafted revenge plan, and the story concludes with the monkey's death after the millstone dives for the monkey and crushes him to a pulp.

As readers, we are privy to this very important item of information. The readers were able to gather from the allotted information that Kokue's true ancestral ties are not with the legendary monkey that partook in Momotarō's heroic expedition, but instead are shared with the murderous villain in "Sarukani gassen." However, the dogs in *Koganemaru* are not afforded the same information, rendering them vulnerable to the monkey's artful mendacity. The dogs ultimately circumvent Kokue's deception only after Chōsui the fox professes Kokue's deceptive nature in an act of redemption. This intentional lacuna of "knowing" stimulates reading amusement for the reader, inducing much suspense as to its outcome. This creates an ironic gap between different layers of the reading experience. In this case, the narrator and some informed readers (children who have been exposed to the five canonical folktales, for example) share important knowledge to which some of the characters (the dogs) do not have access.[98]

I reiterate the potency of intertextuality in not only generating reading pleasure but also in consolidating for the audience a sense of national consciousness through an epistemological reproduction of knowledge. Linda Hutcheon suggests intertextuality is an ongoing, dialogical, and "palimpsestuous" process, which stipulates audience familiarity "bred through repetition and memory" to generate textual meaning.[99] Intertextuality is not a mindless recapitulation of existing texts but is rather an intentional assignment of meaning to a text by another text. Meaning is not a direct extrapolation of a text from writer to reader, but instead is mediated

[98] This kind of epistemological irony is a very common tool used in the structure of modern Anglo-European literatures, and is a large part of what gives the reader pleasure. As Sazanami comments that he intended to produce a children's story for the Japanese audience, it is not a surprise that Sazanami offers such a narrative structure for the Meiji reader.
For a critical overview of the concept of irony in English literature, see D.C. Muecke, *Irony and the Ironic* (London: Routledge, 1970).
[99] Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), 21.

through codes imparted to the reader by other texts, and this ability to understand the interaction between texts opens the text's possible meanings to "intertextual echoing."[100] If, as Hutcheon states, the past can only be interpreted through "textualized traces," then through writings and metafiction on history, culture becomes a plane of intertextual reference points that operates within its "unavoidably discursive context."[101] *Koganemaru* capitalizes upon the cultural power and collective memories of culturally significant (and canonized) folktales, myths, and other pre-modern texts for purposes of national identification. Intertextuality as a literary device invites the reader to be attentive to texts that are (re)circulated in the story, which enables epistemological negotiation of culture and identity within the text. As Hutcheon argues, one effect of this intertextual writing is the continuation of "unfinished cultural business" or the "historical relevance (economic, cultural, psychological) of a particular narrative."[102]

The lavish allusions in *Koganemaru* appropriate and repurpose culturally significant texts. They are Sazanami's self-conscious attempt to locate the contours of a domestic, national identity within a common Japanese culture. As a textual repository of Japanese cultural capital, *Koganemaru* stimulates the reader's intellectual pleasure and curiosity to transform their previously possessed knowledge of the referent texts into tessellated pieces, to be gathered and pieced together along its narrative progression. Sazanami's application of the "palimpsetuous" potential of cultural memory not only reaffirms the readers' prior relationships with the texts but also serves as a textual space for cultural and political maintenance. When all the pieces are collected and assembled, the narrative forms a complete picture. The conservation, continuation, and categorizing of cultural knowledge as something inherently national is crucial for a

[100] Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 117.
[101] Linda Hutcheon, *The Politics of Postmodernism* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 78.
[102] Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, 116.

modernizing state to represent its national history as a forward progression and a shared recollection of time.

3.3 Stylizing *Koganemaru*

What makes *Koganemaru* remarkable is that the alluded tales in *Koganemaru* were certainly not considered a matter of high culture. The Edo period saw the rise of woodblock-printed *akahon* (literally "red books"), which retold folktales such as "Momotarō," "Sarugani gassen," "Shitakiri suzume," and "Hanasaka jīsan." Many of these tales made appearances in Sazanami's *Koganemaru* centuries later. The *akahon* authors wrote in a simple style, close to the Japanese colloquial language of the eighteenth century. However, the primary focus of these books was the illustrations, therefore rendering the books close to how one understands picture books today.[103] These tales, written in the accessible *kana* style, were one of the most widely read and recognizable literatures of the late Edo period, having been thoroughly circulated through *kusazōshi*.

Despite *akahon*'s popularity, critics often dismissed these tales as cheap pulp fiction, considered as a means to propagate moral values and as means of entertainment to women, children, and the poorly educated lower-class readers. By choosing these tales as the subject of *Koganemaru*, Sazanami presented himself with the difficult task of elevating the stories' register to one befitting for the prototype of modern children's literature. To mark *Koganemaru* apart from *kusazōshi* tales, Sazanami penned the stories into a neat, uniform, and singular narrative

[103] Unlike *otogizōshi* and *kanazōshi*, *akahon* books were specifically produced for children, but they were not *jidō bungaku*. To argue so would be to conflate the books with the contemporary perception of modern children's literature, and the historical processes that formed the genre in the late Meiji period. Although Japanese children had been consuming various texts for centuries, it was only in the late 1880s that a child-oriented text—those that were specifically designed and written for children in terms of content, style, and presentation—were beginning to be seriously considered as valuable and essential in the Meiji literary scenes.

through the difficult and abstruse register of the neoclassical *gabuntai* language. Sazanami styled *Koganemaru* after *gesaku* literature to arouse pleasures of oral recitation, a nod to the essential quality of Japanese popular performing arts that helped shape literary genres in the Edo period.[104]

Even in the early Meiji period, reading was still very much a communal activity, practiced by a single storyteller and numerous listeners.[105] However, this was also the time in which critical reconfigurations of physical manifestations of reading materials, and thus reading practices and habits were taking place. During the late Edo era, *gesaku* literature disseminated widely beyond the literate class through book rental units and vendors, sparking interest in and demand for more reading material. This emerging readership, however, preferred the established convention of listening over the new pleasure of private reading because many still lacked adequate reading skills to practice independent reading. The communal practice of reading was the product of certain social and cultural conditions, such as a poor literacy rate, family settings, and the popularity of *gesaku* literature among the general public. As Maeda suggests, there is a connection between the practice of reading aloud and low literacy rate, which particularly affected gendered, aged, and classed demographics—namely, women, children, and lower-class readers.[106] Naturally, recitation was only practiced by those who possessed the necessary skills.

The introduction of movable type print greatly advanced public literacy rates in Japan as mass production of economical printed materials became more prevalent and convenient. This

[104] See Ai Maeda, "From Communal Performance to Solitary Reading: The Rise of the Modern Japanese Reader (Ondoku kara mokudoku e: Kindai dokusha no seiritsu)," in *Text and the City: Essays on Japanese Modernity*, trans. James A. Fujii (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), and Daniel Poch, *Licentious Fictions: Ninjō and the Nineteenth-Century Japanese Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020).
[105] Maeda, "From Communal Performance to Solitary Reading," 229.
[106] Maeda Ai devotes a chapter in In *Text and the City: Essays on Japanese Modernity* to discuss the epochal shift of reading practices that took place during the Meiji period.
See Maeda, 223–54.

spurt in literacy sparked an explosion of new readerships, and printed materials increasingly gained acceptance into private Meiji households. The shift in printing culture intersected with the emerging, evolving, and fluctuating literary and language movements in the late 1880s, transforming the way readers understand, consume, and receive texts. The reconfiguration in reader reception elicited a debate on how prose was to be written and read—thus, Sazanami was presented with the challenge as to how to style *Koganemaru*.

When Sazanami was writing *Koganemaru* in 1891, literary expression was still linked to aural reader reception. Although some writers and critics like Tsubouchi Shōyō and Mori Ōgai concluded that prose was to be read privately and silently (or at least understood that the Meiji literary scene was experiencing a critical shift in reader reception), others, like Ozaki Kōyō, Yamada Bimyō, and Iwaya Sazanami himself, were still attached to the convention of reading out loud. When Ozaki Kōyō—Sazanami's senior and founding member of the Ken'yūsha group—published *Ninin bikuni irozange* (The Amorous Confessions of Two Nuns) in 1889, a reviewer under the pseudonym Kyō Wakako asserted that the language of *shōsetsu* must "please the reader when it is recited."[107] The critic found Kōyō's classically elegant, but his experimental *gazoku-setchū* (hybrid of classical and vernacular form) awkward and unmelodious to read aloud.

This incident reveals how writers grappled with the problem of producing literature that captures and communicates rhythmic and aural (performable) qualities that were formerly, and was still, popular and engrained in literary circles. Writers also faced the task of writing prose

[107] Kyō Wakako, "Ninin bikuni irozange hihyō," in *Shuppan geppyō* (Tokyo: Ryūkeishosha, 1889), 157–58. Incidentally, the *kanji* characters used for the name "Wakako" are "童子," which can also be read as "child" or "children" (*dōji*).
Maeda Ai presents the discursive history of early Meiji reading culture through the instance of Ozaki Kōyō's *Ninin bikuni irozange*. Maeda distinguishes between reading as a social activity and reading as a private practice practiced by the silent, solitary reader, which had gradually come to dominate by the end of the Meiji period. Maeda, 236–39.

literature distinct from poetic and *gesaku* conventions from the Edo period. In other words, the rhythms of literary prose must be disparate from the rhythms of poetry, all the while accomplishing the (undefined) excellence of Meiji modernity.

Met with these challenges, Sazanami chose the elevated, yet familiar language of *gabuntai* for his composition of *Koganemaru*, even though he enjoyed praise for his earlier works penned in *genbun-itchi*. Contemporary readers may be disposed to think that Sazanami's stylistic choice was obsolete and anachronistic for the time, particularly if one perceives Sazanami's lavish intertextual engagement with the Japanese classical canon as excessive or too reliant on pre-Meiji cultural capital. Yet, Sazanami's stylization choice was not necessarily a manifestation of his preoccupation with the Japanese premodern past, but rather surprisingly, an indication of Western influences that inspired the language used in *Koganemaru*. The *genbun-itchi* style was still in flux during Sazanami's time. The years between the 1880s and 1890s saw a resurgence of Japanese classical writing styles of Ihara Saikaku (1642–1693) and Bakin, whom Sazanami and Ken'yūsha writers emulated.[108] Indeed, the *gabuntai* style, which fuses classical and colloquial forms of literary prose, was also an important area of quest for modern expression.

> Take for instance the opening passage of *Koganemaru*:
> *Mukashi aru miyama no okuni, ippiki no tora sumi**keri**. Ikutoshitsuki **oya etariken**, karada yono tsune no koushi yorimo ōkiku, manako wa hyakuren no kagami o azamuki, hige wa hitotsuka no harini nite, hitotabi ho**yureba** koe sankoku o todorokashite, kozue no torimo ochi**nan**bakari.*[109]
>
> (Once upon a time, deep in the mountains, there lived a tiger. A long life endowed him a body larger than a cow, eyes that glinted like a well-polished mirror, and whiskers that bore resemblance to a bundle of needles. One roar, and the tiger's cry thundered across canyons, and birds fell from their perches.)

[108] Piel, "Loyal Dogs and Meiji Boys," 352.
[109] Iwaya, 1.

Sazanami employs several elements of *bungo* usage in this passage: the *keri* and *tari* terminations, the *hoyureba* conjugation, the attributive particles *oya* and *nan*, and the auxiliary verb *ken*. These, in turn, lend Sazanami's prose the much-needed qualities of linguistic refinement and elegance to firmly entrench his style within the classical heritage of pre-Meiji Japanese literature. A debate between Iwaya Sazanami and his contemporary Hori Shisan (1863–1940) reveals Sazanami's distrust in the capacity of the vernacular (*genbun-itchi*) style to capture a degree of literary elegance, despite its accessibility to a broad audience.[110] Sazanami's assertion satisfies Massimiliano Tomasi's claim that writers conceptualized classical works as "the true repository of centuries of literary tradition."[111] The classical language was perceived as permanent and changeless—something that was regulated and thus could be described by a system of rules.[112] The vernacular style, "originally based on the spoken language," as Sazanami describes, was held to be mutable, ever-changing, and bore the risk of "[descending] into vulgarity."[113]

Yet, Sazanami's *gabuntai* language incorporates some vernacular components. Sazanami did not incline towards the *genbun-itchi* (standardized vernacular) style but pursued a cultural hybrid of domestic and foreign. Sazanami specifically looked to modern European literature to establish a Japanese equivalent. In *Koganemaru*, Sazanami emulates the syncopation of European vernacular literature and performative arts by borrowing the narrative form of Japanese performative arts and *gesaku* literature. For instance, the narrative rhythm and structure of

[110] Melek Ortabasi provides a detailed description of exchanges between Iwaya Sazanami and Hori Shisan, which is a helpful start in understanding how writers grappled between ambitious literary ideals and their practical application when writing for child readers. See Melek Ortabasi, "Brave Dogs and Little Lords: Some Thoughts on Translation, Gender, and the Debate on Childhood in Mid Meiji," *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 20 (2008): 193.
[111] Tomasi, "Quest for a New Written Language," 337.
[112] Tomasi, 338.
[113] Piel, 217.

Koganemaru is a nod to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's poetic adaptation of the fable "Reineke Fuchs" (Reynard the Fox, 1794), retold in the rhythm of epic hexameter. Much lauded for his neoclassical revitalization of German vernacular literature (often uncritically treated as synonymous with oral literature), Goethe was a natural choice for Sazanami as a model for his own experimentation with Japanese classical meters.[114]

Like Goethe's verse epic, Sazanami's *Koganemaru* is "folkloresque"—assuming the form and themes of a folktale.[115] Yet, the most compelling aspect of *Koganemaru* is Sazanami's representation of oral storytelling. Sazanami executes an interpretation of the "live voice," or the performative function of oral storytelling, rather than a written representation of spoken language. In other words, the vernacular aspect of *Koganemaru* is concerned not with the question of how oral recitation would look like in text, but how a text may represent the *performative experience* of oral recitation. Because Sazanami's chief objective was to simultaneously domesticate and modernize literary works for children, his literary representation of such a voice revitalizes pre-Meiji Japanese works and writers in a modern context. Whereas Goethe produces lyrical cadence through manipulations of meters and rhymes, Sazanami looked to the vernacular rhythms of Edo *gesaku* literature as a stylistic model for *Koganemaru*. Notably, the melodious 5-7 syllabic rhythm in *Koganemaru* harkens back to Kyokutei Bakin's *Hakkenden* (*The Eight Dog Chronicles*), cited for its elegant fusion of Japanese and Chinese classical styles. Yet, Sazanami presented his own meters to the reader based on undulating syllabic patterns. For example, the opening lines of *Koganemaru* read:

5: *Mukashi aru*
7: *miyama no okuni*

[114] Iwaya, iv.
[115] See Jeffrey A. Tolbert and Michael Dylan Foster, *The Folkloresque: Reframing Folklore in a Popular Culture World* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2015) for a further discussion on new approaches for rethinking folklore, traditional works, and older interpretive paradigms in a modern context.

5: *ippiki no*
6: *tora sumikeri*.
7-(8): *Ikutoshitsuki o(ya etariken),*
7: *karada yono tsune*
7: *no koushi yorimo*
8: *ōkiku, manako wa*
8: *hyakuren no kagami*
5: *o azamuki,*
8: *hige wa hitotsuka no*
5: *harini nite,*
8: *hitotabi hoyureba*
7: *koe sankoku o*
6: *todorokashite,*
7: *kozue no torimo*
7: *ochinanbakari.*

Koganemaru does not transcribe a spoken language. Yet, Sazanami's manipulation of rhythm is far more representative of storytelling as a performative action. On top of the traditional 7–5–7–5 and 5–7–5–7 meters, Sazanami experimented with novel forms like 6-7-8, 8-7-6, and 5-8-5. This rhythmic flow breaks from the hackneyed 7–5 syllabic pattern, but still lends itself to a pleasant enunciability. Considering that *Koganemaru* was read aloud to children, the tale's memorable and pleasurable rhythm is particularly valuable for communal or domestic contexts that involve a storyteller and an audience. The integration of familiar *gesaku* components performs for the reader the impression of the vivid and authentic encapsulation of the moment (liveness) unique to popular performative arts, and revives a nostalgic and collective readership (listenership) community. At the same time, the classical components in *Koganemaru* elevate the register, and endow language sophistication and refinement found in the heritage of Edo period literature.

Sazanami's stylization choice also attempted to newly conceptualize a modern expression that bridged the artificial margins of Edo (early modern) and Meiji (modern) periods. On top of a finely tuned knowledge of early modern and modern Japanese literature, Sazanami also brought

to this task various influences from European-originated literature, such as that of the Brothers Grimm, Andersen, and Goethe. Through his fluency and familiarity with forms and narrative structure of European folk and children's literature, Sazanami rendered visible new literary and stylistic possibilities that are distinctively specific to and rooted in Japanese artistic realms.

3.4 Novelizing *Koganemaru*

Sazanami took a risk adopting Bakin's prose and narrative form from *Hakkenden* as the primary inspiration of *Koganemaru*. By 1891, Bakin was increasingly considered a relic of the Edo period by some writers—particularly after Tsubouchi Shōyō published *Shōsetsu shinzui* (1885). *Shōsetsu shinzui* attempted to subvert an enduring Japanese prejudice against fiction as a genre, which many readers as viewed as trivial entertainment appropriate for women, children, and the lower classes. In his effort to reframe fiction as a valuable vehicle for expressing the modern subject, Shōyō divided novels into two categories—the didactic and the realistic.[116] Shōyō criticized the trope of *kanzen chōaku* (reward virtue and punish vice) which Kyokutei Bakin's *Hakkenden* used as a thematic core to institute a division between politics and literature. In his later years, Shōyō regretfully confessed that he chose *Hakkenden* as a practical example because of the text's extensive popularity, and revealed himself as an avid Bakin reader during his boyhood.[117] Shōyō's comment reveals that while Sazanami did not pursue the ultra-modern language style Shizuko was attempting with *Shōkōshi*, Bakin's *Hakkenden* genuinely resonated with children in the Meiji period, and Sazanami created something meaningful for them with *Koganemaru*. In any case, the impact of Shōyō's essay drove political and didactic novels to the periphery of Japanese literary history.

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[116] Keene, 128.
[117] See Shōyō's recollection of Bakin (*Bakin ni kansuru watashi no tsuioku*) in "Batsu," in *Jūrokuninshū*, ed. Noburu Katagami and Gyofū Sōma (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1920).

Sazanami reframed low-brow *kusazōshi* tales as subject matter worthy of attention of the higher literary minds, by reintroducing these tales in the elevated *gabuntai* form. In this, he echoed Shōyō's claim that writers should actively pursue the great potential of fictional stories as an art form, even if the sole intention was to amuse the readers. However, the more striking element of *Koganemaru* was Sazanami's reinvention of the *kanzen chōaku* narrative taken from *Hakkenden*—a much more difficult task, as Bakin was becoming increasingly obsolete for some writers.[118] Rather than submit himself to the historical perception of *kanzen chōaku* as an edifying trope, Sazanami instead reframed *kanzen chōaku* from a modern standpoint, performing a calculated reconfiguration of human emotions (*ninjō*) as a new private domain.

Despite Tsubouchi Shōyō's aversion to Edo *yomihon* genres in *Shōsetsu shinzui*, Sazanami's reconceptualization of *ninjō* cleverly incorporates some of Shōyō's suggestions about psychological representation in literature. Informed by new notions of interiority and psychology derived from Western texts, Shōyō insisted on the "realist depiction" of *ninjō*. He defined the nature of modern literature as a form of psychological realism that pivoted around the literary representation of the private self. A simple retracing of major Japanese discourses shows the Edo–Meiji divide in the perception of *ninjō*. Writers regarded *ninjō* as a powerful moral agent that could buttress social unity and order, yet simultaneously represented the concept as dangerously excessive and licentious to the point of breaking social norms. Consequently, the depiction of *ninjō* across narrative genres long destabilized the social legitimacy of narrative fiction in Japan.[119]

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[118] As a result, he was criticized some Meiji critics for structuring his story around a revenge narrative when he intended the work to be a modern children's story. For example, two separate reviews of *Koganemaru* in the January issues of *Kokumin no tomo* (The Nations Friend) comment that *Koganemaru* was a lazy capitulation to *kanzen chōaku* tropes in *kibyoshi* (a genre of *kusazōshi* for adults), rather than a production of modern story like his European inspirations like Brothers Grimm, Andersen, and Goethe, whom Sazanami supposedly used as inspiration.

[119] For an in-depth discussion of the role *ninjō* played in defining the literary modernity of nineteenth-century Japan, see Daniel Poch, *Licentious Fictions: Ninjō and the Nineteenth-Century Japanese Novel* (New York: Columbia

Rather than titillating with excessive emotionalism, Sazanami's reinvention of melodrama negotiated the problematic power of (often amorous or erotic) desires against moral, social, and cultural codes. As a children's story, the chief concern of *Koganemaru* is a reconciliation of (literally) beastly emotions with normative conceptions of social order, and not the governance of erotic desires.

The tales Sazanami adapted in *Koganemaru* such as "Kachikachi-yama" and "Momotaro" deliver a familiar narrative—unchecked hedonism and dissolution are the source of moral evil, but good ultimately prevails. At first glance, Sazanami's *Koganemaru* also takes the form of such a narrative. Yet, the critical difference between *Koganemaru* and the moral fables Sazanami alludes to is the representation of an enlightened masculinity that is predicated on the governance of unbridled passions, which responds to the emerging idea of a private subject and their public responsibilities. *Koganemaru* does not favour gratuitous carnography frequently featured in Japanese vendetta folktales like "Kachikachi-yama" and "Sarukani gassen." Instead, the revenge narrative unfolds into a *bildungsroman*-esque tale that chronicles the protagonist's psychological and moral maturation into a gentleman warrior. Koganemaru's confrontation with Chōsui provides a particularly memorable example of such character development. Koganemaru's vendetta ultimately transforms into more honourable objectives when Koganemaru develops unexpected respect for the apprehended Chōsui, who maintains unwavering composure even moments before Koganemaru's teeth sinks into his vulpine throat. Upon learning that Chōsui was hoodwinked by his supposed comrade Kokue, Koganemaru sublimates his vindictive bloodthirst into a crusade against evil. Sazanami's exploration of Koganemaru's psychological maturation neither rejects Edo didacticism nor *ninjō* as a central

University Press, 2020), particularly the chapter "Historicizing Literary Reform: *Shōsetsu shinzui*, Translation, and the Civilizational Politics of Ninjō."

narrative component. It marries the representation of *ninjō* with new enlightenment concerns materializing amid both Meiji literary and social discourses—namely, the emergence and representation of the modern private subject as an active and articulate agent in the public (national) sphere. In Sazanami's story, the private subject (Koganemaru) locates modernity (presented as personal clarity) by trudging through his emotionalized private terrain, all the while responding to and maturing into his social position as a public subject. This, in turn, would bring child readers of *Koganemaru* to personal introspection and invite them to channel and sublimate their own passions like the canine protagonist.

3.5 The Origins of Modern Japanese Children's Literature

Koganemaru enjoyed massive success and popularity in the 1890s. L. Halliday Piel contends that, published with a beautiful colour cover and traditionally-bound Japanese books (*wahon*), *Koganemaru* ignited a sensation among Japanese boys and literary critics in the 1890s as "something of a cult classic."[120] Indeed, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō devotes a long passage in his 1968 *Yōshō jidai* (Memoir of Early Childhood) to discuss his encounter with *Koganemaru* as a voracious young reader, as does Terada Torahiko in his 1932 *Dokusho no konjaku* (Reading Now Past). Although some critics remained cautious about reconciling premodern elements in *Koganemaru* with their undefined ideas of modernity, the story's impact on Meiji children and its critical role in the formation of the genre of Japanese children's literature is palpable and undeniable.

Sazanami's labour with *Koganemaru* illustrates that Sazanami and the Japanese *bundan* regarded writing for children a subject very much worthy of serious consideration. Although canonical authors are rarely discussed together in line with children's literature, their works for

[120] For an overview of *Koganemaru*'s critical reception, see Piel, "Loyal Dogs and Meiji Boys," 215.

children received as much attention as stories written for adult readers. In particular, critical scrutiny and division over the language, style, and themes chosen for *Koganemaru* demonstrate that the genre of Japanese children's literature—or "*shōnen-yō bungaku*" (literature *for* boys), to follow Sazanami's classification—was deliberately conceived with extraordinary attention to literary form and details.

Although Sazanami's creative efforts gave form to the primordial Japanese children's story, they did not address the question of "the child" as a subject of literary representation. Accordingly, a number of contemporary scholars are hesitant to endorse *Koganemaru* as the starting point of modern Japanese children's literature. Historians of children's literature such as Namekawa Michio, Kan Tadamichi, and Kawahara Kazue formed the consensus that *jidō bungaku* originated in the Taishō period, specifically with Ogawa Mimei's 1911 "Akai fune" (The Red Ship).[121] This is because the figure of "the child" (*jidō*) was not established in the literary and cultural imagination until the Taishō period, which enabled writers to explore "the child's mind" as a subject of literary and creative exploration. The limited emphasis on fictive imagination (characteristic of *shōsetsu*), as well as the now-outmoded narrative structure of *Koganemaru*, renders the work dissimilar from how we perceive Japanese children's literature from a contemporary standpoint. Ultimately, it is only natural that contemporary scholars neglect *Koganemaru's* role in launching the advent of modern Japanese children's literature. The genre of children's literature could only be established after the conceptual stabilization and saturation of "modern literature" (*bungaku*) and "children" (*jidō*) within the Japanese cultural milieu.

[121] See Michio Namekawa and Tadamichi Kan, *Kindai nihon no jidō bunka*, ed. Michio Namekawa and Tadamichi Kan (Tokyo: Shin Hyōron, 1972) and Kazue Kawahara, *Kodomokan no kindai: "Akai tori" to "Dōshin" no risō* (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōronsha, 1998).

Indeed, once *Koganemaru* established Sazanami as the maestro of boys' literature (*bundan no shōnenya*), Sazanami eventually found his own designation for these stories: "*otogibanashi*."[122] Fukuda Kiyoto writes that Sazanami gradually moved away from describing works for children as "*shōnen bungaku*" and began to favour "*otogibanashi*."[123] The appellation is a play on *otogizōshi*, one of the representative literary genres of the Edo period that retold Japanese folktales and legends. The suffix -*banashi* implies the folkloresque nature of the genre, which borrowed from the narrative structure and tropes of these popular tales. Today, *otogibanashi* simply means children's folktales or fairy tales. Contemporary perceptions of the word show an unequivocal difference between how we have come to understand the genre of *jidō bungaku* and Sazanami's *Koganemaru*.

[122] The word "*otogibanashi*" can also be found in *Inaka Genji* in terms of stories to pass the time, and the coinage as a genre of children's tales appears in Tsubouchi Shōyō's *Shōsetsu shinzui*. I extend my gratitude to Dr. Christina Laffin for bringing this fact to my attention.

[123] The word "*otogibanashi*" first appeared as a column title of *Yōnen zasshi* in 1894, and Sazanami formally used the word in his 1896 publication *Nihon otogibanashi*.
Kiyoto Fukuda, "Iwaya Sazanami to jidō bungaku," in *Meiji bungaku zenshū: Kawakami Bizan Iwaya Sazanamishū* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1968), 388.

4. Conclusion

The act of writing for children inevitably leads us to the following question—"what do children read?" The consideration of what the new generation believes is worth reading is perennially relevant, particularly because the constantly changing matrix of social experiences and values means that writers will arrive at different conclusions at different points in time. In responding to this question, Meiji children's writers had to confront urgent concerns emerging during this period. In the introduction of this thesis, I wrote that Japanese children's literature cannot be separated from the four intersecting points in the constellation of Japanese modernization—the birth of the modern Japanese nation state, the conceptual discovery of "the child" and childhood, renewed interest in education, and literature and language—all of which were emerging, fluctuating, and contested notions that propelled much of cultural discourse at this time. Literature and language, the fourth and final point in this constellation, is the thread that ties these ideas together and the medium through which the writers present these ideas. To answer the question "what do children read?" writers must first give thought to content appropriate for modern children, but their introspection into aesthetic presentation of these matters—namely, the medium, style, and other formalistic elements that carry these ideas—was just as indispensable.

As we have seen, writing for children, the future generation of nation builders, is already an investment, but all the more so during the Meiji period when the Japanese nation was collectively attempting to define and establish itself as a modern nation state. As Haruo Shirane emphasizes, Japanese investment in "non-political spheres" such as "aesthetics, literature, and

ethics" was instrumental to nation-building efforts.[124] Driven by anxiety toward Western encroachment, Japanese intellectuals urgently attended to the cultural plane to envision a new kind of culture that was simultaneously unique and accommodated ideas of what modern literature should be, predictably leading to various literary and linguistic negotiations explored in the introductory chapter. Thus, numerous aspirations went into reading materials for children, the obvious objective being the instructive desire to inculcate a national identity in children during the most critical period of emotional development (also a modern idea that emerged during the Meiji period). At the same time, writing for children offered adult readers and writers a means to fill the epistemological aperture of what it means to write in (and to an extent, about) the world that was rapidly modernizing, as well as how to understand and present the changing society through literature. Writers like Wakamatsu Shizuko and Iwaya Sazanami had different understanding as to how to conceive and achieve modernity in a Japanese(-language) text, experimenting with disparate mediums and language styles that can serve as a frame of reference for children.

Despite my emphasis on what was taking place inside Japan as a nation in the Meiji period, the critical discourse around children's texts looked to inspirations across national borders, culture, and time. As I demonstrated, the two foundational texts I examine in my thesis heavily relied upon other (Western) texts—and in turn, the Japanese texts ultimately shaped and characterized much of the genre in the Meiji period. My thesis has analyzed and historicized the emergence of Japanese children's literature through a close reading of Wakamatsu Shizuko's *Shōkōshi* and Iwaya Sazanami's *Koganemaru*. Much of the previous scholarship reminds us that

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[124] Haruo Shirane, "Introduction: Issues in Canon Formation," in *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature*, ed. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000), 12.

concepts like children and childhood, and thus Japanese children's literature, are historical creations. These attempts to historicize the formative context of these concepts are a useful start in understanding how the emergence of Japanese children's literature was not a coherent nor a chronological development in history, but a product of deliberate introspection within the larger domain of the Japanese nation-building and modernization effort. However, the analysis is often less about the actual process of writing literature for children so much as it is a contextualization of the historical conditions in which the genre emerged. Ultimately, my goal with this thesis was to fill this lacuna in the current *jidō bungaku* scholarship by investigating the very practice of writing for children and different aesthetic experimentations invested in this process. Through a close examination of two influential children's texts, I staked out how aspects of literary production, as well as various social and political implications of the Meiji period, are intimately entangled in this artistic space.

In the two texts I chose, the threads of modern(izing) nation, childhood, and education, are held together by a literary and linguistic concern as to how to make these issues matter for children. I chose to look at the specific act of writing literature because it necessarily leads to the issues of literary and language reform during the Meiji period. Although I believe that these conversations were vital to shaping the foundation of children's literature, this is an aspect of *jidō bungaku* studies that is yet to be explored by other scholars.

For instance, previous scholars often cite Wakamatsu Shizuko's *Shōkōshi* (1890–1892) to elucidate the key role that translations played in the introduction of foreign (mostly European) children's literature to Meiji Japan, and the ways in which translators domesticated these unfamiliar imports to shift the understanding and reception of children's reading materials. Indeed, the genre of children's literature could not have existed had it not been for the effort

made by translators. My thesis shows the ways in which translation as a medium opened a path for the development of *Japanese* children's literature—even though Shizuko was translating an *English*-language text, the result was read by *Japanese* audiences. My close reading of *Shōkōshi* is linguistically focused to think about how translation as a medium can create new forms of literary expression. To achieve this, I carefully considered various problems of language and literary form Shizuko grappled with and traced the meticulous and tactical effort that went into the construction of the *genbun-itchi* language in *Shōkōshi*. My close reading of Wakamatsu Shizuko's language is of course a showcase of her important contribution to the *genbun-itchi* movement, which was influential not just in the scope of Japanese children's literature, but to the all-encompassing arena of Meiji Japanese literature. The emphasis I place on the latter detail, Shizuko's large-scale importance to Meiji literature, is important because I wanted to show that Shizuko's literary achievement elevates the act of writing for the dual audience of women and children, thereby bringing much-needed attention to formerly neglected literary subjects and readerships, and pioneering them a place in modern Japanese literature. Achieving excellence and recognition amongst the already established writers and critics enabled the reception of children and children's literature as a subject and genre of serious literary consideration.

Iwaya Sazanami's *Koganemaru* (1891), as discussed in Chapter 2, holds the designation of the first piece of modern Japanese literature to be specifically written for children. Many scholars have already explored the critical and commercial reception of *Koganemaru* situated within the political, educational, and to a lesser extent, literary aspects of Meiji modernization. The objective of the Chapter was to further think about the practice of writing modern literature for children in an environment in which every writer and critic seemed to have strong opinions on what new writings should be, and how to write in the Meiji period. Such discussions also took

place in the plane of children's literature. My close reading of *Koganemaru* identified and considered the different narrative, stylistic, and thematic issues present within the work to show that the making of children's literature was not at all a teleological process. The examination of paratextual exchanges between Iwaya Sazanami and other writers suggested that Sazanami saw child readers as deserving of and capable of appreciating literature with various intellectual, stylistic, and intertextual complexities. My analysis is particularly attentive to Sazanami's resurrection of stylistic and thematic elements from Edo literature to investigate why he would have wanted to make these authorial choices—occasionally criticized as too erudite and archaic—in a text written for children. The question of what constitutes modern (children's) literature—whether it be language, subject matter, or the form the story takes—was bitterly contested. Even when Sazanami enjoyed critical acclamation with *Koganemaru*, his work shows only one aspect of the discursive history.

In my introductory chapter, I proposed three questions—how Japanese children's literature emerged in the Meiji period, how literary discursive trends inform the foundational children's texts, and how the issues of language and literary form shaped these texts. In my examination of Shizuko and Sazanami's quest for stylistic finesse, as well as critical interest from high-profile individuals in the high literary circle, I strived to show that the making of Japanese children's literature was very much informed by what was happening within the domain of modern Japanese literature. The literary scene, as I have now emphasized perhaps too profusely, was also the product of the time when the development of the modern Japanese nation state was of utmost importance. Shizuko and Sazanami were both intensely aware of the *genbun-itchi* movement, which was one focus of my thesis. The movement, deemed essential to Japanese realization of modernity, simultaneously prompted the discussion around textual style and

language. As I have extensively explored, Shizuko's attempt at *genbun-itchi* narration and Sazanami's conservative return to Edo literature present us with very different, if not opposing responses to this movement. Their creative decisions again demonstrate the common thread that undeniably runs through Meiji literature, modernization, and nation building—yet, what is unique to these works by Shizuko and Sazanami is that they introduced children into this web when the default identity and readership were centered around the adult male and educated subject. To represent a formerly unnoticed demographic at the same level of creative dedication and commitment as writing about adult male subjects was an endeavour to create afresh an entirely modern subject in literature—building a necessary foundation for a genre explicitly about child subjects and ultimately tailored for child readers.

The emergence of Japanese children's literature is certainly far more nuanced and deserves further consideration. However, my survey of the two foundational texts in this thesis serves to historicize the "how" and "why" of the genre conception—first offering a brief account of the necessary conditions that enabled the birth of Japanese children's literature (the "why"), and clarifying the writers' labour to trace out the initial contours of *jidō bungaku* as a serious literary undertaking (the "how"). The common thread linking these children's texts was the writers' preoccupation with thematic and aesthetic presentation of new Japanese modernity for Meiji child readers. The writers located the latter through different approaches borrowed across culture and time—sometimes they looked to Edo literature for so-called national cultural continuity, and other times took inspiration from Western literary conventions. This once again illuminates the deliberate and concerted efforts writers invested in the making of Japanese children's literature, which points to the collective awareness of children as an emerging demographic of readers that deserved equal respect and creative consideration with adult

audience. Although the social and cultural context of the Meiji period has given way to many decades of subsequent change, the connection between modern nation, children, and Japanese literature is now deeply engrained in contemporary Japan, and confirms the continuing relevance of cultural production for children to this day.

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This thesis was planned before the Covid-19 pandemic, a rupture that indefinitely suspended the funding secured for conducting archival work in Japan, which might have taken my thesis in a different direction. The limitations and restrictions of (inter)library loan systems shaped the parameters of this thesis and the ideas and analyses it contains. By necessity, much of my thesis was dedicated to close readings of *Shōkōshi* and *Koganemaru* to achieve the stated goals of the thesis. Should I have access to the National Diet Library and other archives in the future, I intend to carry out further research on the reception and children's reading experiences of these texts.

In addition, a comparative reading between Wakamatsu Shizuko's *Shōkōshi* and Futabatei Shimei's *Ukigumo* (1887) was excised due to page constraints. *Shōkōshi* and *Ukigumo* share many commonalities, including the fact that Wakamatsu Shizuko and Futabatei Shimei were both well-respected translators who pioneered the *genbun-itchi* writing style. The two texts were published only three years apart, but the language is vastly different. Similarly, I would like to dedicate more thought to a comparison between Kyokutei Bakin's *Hakkenden* and Iwaya Sazanami's *Koganemaru* in the future. Sazanami's nod to *Hakkenden* is especially intriguing because *Hakkenden* is also a period piece, which was composed in the Edo period while the story was set in the Muromachi period. Finally, further research on the *Akai tori* (Red Bird) journal, including comparisons with the stylistic, structural, and thematic aspects of *Shōkōshi* and

Koganemaru, would reveal the generic conventions established by these two pioneering works that lived on into the *jidō bungaku* of the Taishō and later periods.

Akai Tori was founded by Suzuki Miekichi (1882—1936) and makes an apt segue to my concluding thoughts. Miekichi and I share the same birthplace, though we hail from very different backgrounds. Those close to me will know that I identify as a Third Culture Individual (TCI). As a child of first-generation immigrants, I was raised in a culture that is not my parents' country of nationality, and subsequently spent a significant part of my foundational years in a third cultural setting that is completely different from the one in which my parents and I were raised. People are consistently intrigued by my background and inquire about my identity formation, which I am still clueless about. I often wonder how many people besides myself hesitate at the "cultural identity" question in diversity tick-boxes, and worse, at the ever-dreaded question, "where are you from?" Here is what I do know, however. I recently came to the conclusion that my personal experience with identity formation has everything to do with texts I consumed as a child.

I mentioned in the introduction chapter that Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's favourite magazine was *Boys' World* (Shōnen Sekai). The magazine was no longer in circulation in the 1990s when I started kindergarten in Japan. Instead, we subscribed to the monthly *Hikari no kuni* magazine, which publishes non-fictional write-ups on science and arts, biographies, fables, and fiction by contemporary children's authors. By elementary school, when my parents were in a good mood, they would sometimes buy me *gakushū zasshi* (education magazines) published by *Shōgakukan*—the uninspiring description does not do justice to the immeasurable pleasure I gleaned from the magazine each month. When we moved to Canada, our family could not take these books with us (with the exception of Miyazawa Kenji's anthologies, thanks to my firm

insistence). And so, I put away my memories of Japanese stories as my parents began to school me in E.B. White and Roald Dahl.

Come university, I chanced upon a survey course on Japanese literature, where I had the most incredible experience. Several times, reading forewords to stories filled me with an odd, inexplicable sense of familiarity as I delved into author biographies and descriptions of their selected works. This feeling quickly transformed into a powerful pang of nostalgia, as I began to recognize their works as the stories I read and so loved in my childhood—"Kumo no ito" (The Spider's Thread) by Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, "Hashire Melos!" (Run, Melos!) by Dazai Osamu, and stories taken straight out of Japanese classics and legends like *Konjaku monogatarishū* (Collection of Tales Now Past) and *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters). Even though my body now inhabits a completely different continent, even though I left my books on the other side of the Pacific Ocean, and even though I could only faintly remember what I read through a gossamer web of memories, these books unquestionably shaped my childhood—who I am as a person and how I understand the world is informed by what I read. And of the copious number of texts I have consumed, many were penned by Japan's epoch-making authors, firmly established within the canon of Japanese literature. That experience cannot be defined by national borders.

My anecdote is intended to show the common denominator between my own experience with identity formation as a young TCI adult and the inception of children's literature during the Meiji period. I want to emphasize that even the very process of writing for children was inseparable from the political and social turbulence of this era, fueled, informed, and shaped by the presence of the cultural discourses both inside and outside of the Japanese national border. Another common theme that becomes apparent through my examination of the inception of children's literature is the set of ontological issues that lurk in the space between art and nation.

The four formative conditions (modern nation, children, education, and literature) that enabled the birth of children's literature in Meiji were themselves the product of Japan's self-conscious modernizing efforts. Literary production during the Meiji period also involved a (sometimes retroactive) negotiation of positionality. For example, the conviction that Japan must modernize prompted gave rise to numerous translations of Western literature, from which Meiji writers took inspiration as they looked for language, style, and content appropriate for modern writings. Meanwhile, the reconfiguration of the Japanese canon (which includes national literature) and the construction of a national language (*kokugo*) imagined a cultural continuity uncontaminated by foreign influence. Writing for children during this era was then a challenging task, when there was little to no consensus on what the notion of "modernity" meant or materially entailed in the artistic realm. Yet, the very fact that the nation was still in the modernizing stage enabled writers to think about how to locate and understand themselves in the changing society, and, more pertinently, think about the aesthetic and thematic presentation of their positionality.

This period of modernization and nation building made the question "what do children read?" possible, and simultaneously thrust Meiji children's writers into uncharted waters. This question was the driving force of children's writers' creative efforts—signalled by writers' numerous experimentations with form, content, and language styles across various points in time and cultures, the artistic space of *jidō bungaku* served as a frame of reference for children to explore what it means to be a modern Japanese reader. Simultaneously, writing for children also precipitated a means for the adults themselves to think through what it means to produce appropriate literature for a modernizing nation, when the concept of a modern subject was very much a new, Western concept. My examination of Wakamatsu Shizuko and Iwaya Sazanami shows that they responded to this task with entirely dissimilar approaches. Ultimately, their

works, palimpsests of discourses and texts across temporal and geographical borders, helped lay the foundation for the nascent post-Meiji landscape of *jidō bungaku* production.

The final objective of my personal narrative was to illustrate how children's literature is fundamental in creating a sense of self in the reader, whether that is a national self or a TCI self. In other words, I am once again in my final paragraphs demonstrating why children's literature matters, and therefore why the study of *jidō bungaku* is worthwhile. In penning stories for children, Wakamatsu Shizuko and Iwaya Sazanami made possible and brought into view particular kinds of modern child identities idealized during the time of their publication—from a faithful and compassionate Christian child to an equally progressive Meiji mother, to a modern champion of justice, valour, and masculine stoicism that harks back to the heroic tales of the Edo period. The fact that these fictional characters in Shizuko and Sazanami's works show assets desired in a child that are somehow simultaneously diametrically divergent attests that there was not a single or universe portrait of a modern Meiji child. Nor should there be, because no social identity is ever monolithic—the cultivation of a modern nation requires the cultivation of a multitude of modern child identities. Literature is a critical vehicle in this process, giving shape and colour to these identities through literary finesse and reading pleasure. I am of course not the same as the self-possibilities that Shizuko and Sazanami brought into being, but my experience makes clear the profound influence literature on the crafting of one's sense of self as a child. My point is that reading and writing literature for children is an intimate and foundational activity of meaning-making that hinges upon a wealth of complex social and cultural contexts. What children read is therefore deliberately produced and curated, because literature is what allows us to make sense of the world in which we live and understand our relationships to one another—but it is also a means to define and cultivate one's understanding of themselves. For children

reading in the Meiji period, a tumultuous era of rapid change and modernization, having access to any meaning-making activity must have been impactful. I conclude my final paragraph with a quote from Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, whose writing I also quoted when opening my thesis. His eminence as a canonical writer aside, this is a very real and intimate testimony that offers a vignette of the reading experience a once-former Meiji child. Although I can but infer children's reading experience in the Meiji period, one thing is certain: *Shōnen sekai* was an unforgettable and pivotal influence in shaping Tanizaki's childhood.

> Certainly the *New Hakkenden* was a particularly ingenious, elaborate, and painstaking work, among all lwaya Sazanami's numerous stories of wonder and romance. I do not know whether my extraordinary affection for it was due to a desire to create the same kind of fictional world myself one day, or simply to a more casual attraction to the kind of realm Sazanami depicted so well… Even so, it was around that time that I began to feel the stirrings of the creative urge within me, to know the joys of letting the mind wander at will in an imaginary world, and to acquire the habit of yielding to those joys.[125]

[125] Tanizaki, *Childhood Years*, 176.

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