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1. Introduction

The wartime years in Japan between 1937 and 1945 marked a watershed moment in its history, after which the country was no longer the rising imperial power on the world stage, its vast empire collapsing after Japan's defeat. The role and history of Japan in World War II certainly offers valuable lessons to be learned historically, representing one of the few ultra-nationalist regimes waging a war on a global scale. While the country's military aggression particularly during the late 1930s and early 1940s are of central concern to this study, Japan has also played an important role in World War II as the only victim of nuclear warfare, and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 have had global and lasting influence on all of civilization as one of the worst collective traumas in modern history.

Despite this, literature from this period – one of the most influential forms of mass culture in Japan's early modernity – has so far been comparatively neglected in scholarship, particularly in comparison with literary texts dealing with war published in the postwar years. This is certainly connected to the perception of wartime literature as low in literary value, particularly due to the strong hold of the state and censorship institutions on media, literature and therefore public discourse. In contrast, postwar literature usually approached the war critically, as the new political order allowed for displays of disagreement with the imperialist politics of wartime Japan and the brutality of war, hidden in its full extent to readers during the war. This, in turn, further discredits wartime literature and particularly texts clearly identifiable as propaganda due to their tacit support of the violence Japan had committed. As Japan's war responsibility is, to this day, a sensitive topic in the public discourse, wartime literature occupies a place of certain discomfort within literary history and scholarship, which only seems to be changing in the last few decades.

I argue that precisely in this lies the value of wartime literature: as historical documents, literary texts show us how topics such as war could be negotiated and represented in public discourse, while also revealing the language used to these ends. The primary subject of this study, Hayashi Fumiko 林芙美子 (1903-1951), offers one of the most important and interesting examples of literary authors aligned with state propaganda during the wartime years through this perspective. Quickly achieving fame as a novelist in the early 1930s, Hayashi's travels to war zones and colonies in China, Manchuria and Southeast Asia (particularly Indonesia) were some of the most publicized among the many writers who have similarly taken part in propaganda initiatives. Especially Hayashi's trip to China in late 1938 brought her great publicity, as she was the first within her group of writers to reach the destination of Hankou right after the city's fall, and this translated into extraordinary book sales. If examining wartime literature can reveal widely accepted attitudes, ideology and language, Hayashi Fumiko's texts related to war constitute perhaps the most comprehensive body of work among all writers from this period due to her extensive travels, quantity of textual output and their reach, enabled by her popularity.

Hayashi's involvement with Japanese state propaganda appears paradoxical at the first glance, given that she had first become famous as a literary figure by embodying the liberal spirit of the new, cosmopolitan Japan of the 1920s before the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937. Interestingly, she had also suffered seemingly no professional or personal consequences for her collaboration after the war; this suggests that her nonconformist persona of an 'eternal vagabond' had an ideological elasticity, an aspect often overlooked in assessments of her work. Hayashi's body of wartime writing therefore presents an intriguing case study for Japanese wartime propaganda, but also one to be approached in a nuanced and complex way.

In order to establish a proper analytical framework for Hayashi Fumiko's wartime texts, then, important contexts have to be established first, and I aim to do this through the first four chapters of this study. In this introductory chapter, I will provide a brief introduction to the author Hayashi Fumiko (1.1. and 1.2.), as well as lay out general methodical and theoretical concepts as a 'lens' to approach the material: the concept of collective memory, as well as Michel Foucault's concepts of discourse and biopower (1.4.), a comprehensive definition of propaganda (1.5.) and the Japanese nationalist ideology dominant during the wartime years (1.6.). Finally, I will introduce the concept of 'wide reading' and how, as well as to what extent, it will be meaningful for this study and its results (1.7.).

Part I focuses on providing a background to the conditions of the production of literature during the wartime years. As literature is closely tied to print media, traditionally appearing in magazines and newspapers before being published in book form, an understanding of Japan's publishing industry of this time is necessary for a proper reading of its literature. These topics are examined in Chapter 1 of Part I, which first focuses on Japan's imperialist ideology (1.1.), utilizing Benedict Anderson's concept of 'imagined community' as a discursive framework for nationalism (1.2.). An approach to wartime literature as an artifact of collective memory is laid out in 1.3., while the next section (1.4.) focuses on explaining the wartime censorship apparatus and legislation in Japan. This is important for a later comparison with literary texts in order to verify the effectivity of censorship. The media discourse on war is the subject of Chapter 1.5., while the following section (1.6.) offers personal accounts by soldiers contrasting with official narratives, highlighting gaps in the contemporary public discourse. In the context of this study as a whole, the first chapter of Part I is particularly important as it introduces *bidan*, the propaganda genre of reportage

popular in Japan before and during the war, as well as its specific aspects which will be helpful for my subsequent text analysis.

In Chapter 2 of Part I, I will propose an analytical framework for approaching wartime texts, building up on the previous chapters. The first two sections focus on more general contexts of 1930s literature: the trends of which wartime literature followed up on are explored in Chapter 2.1.1., while 2.1.2. focuses on government influence on literature. Chapter 2.2. then focuses on the autobiographical genre of *shishōsetsu* as it pertains to Japanese wartime literature, followed up by an overview of concrete aspects of autobiographical writing applicable to Japan's literary narratives of war (see Part I, 1.3.). Utilizing all of these concept in literary analysis is helpful in parsing out distinct elements of the texts such as the authors' self-representation or ideology, especially under consideration of their broader body of work, as I will do in the case of Hayashi Fumiko.

This literary framework will then be applied to a selection of texts examined in Part II, in which I aim to establish a concrete context of wartime literature against which Hayashi Fumiko's writing can be compared. This, I argue, makes for a more convincing analysis than just discussing Hayashi's texts against an abstract theoretical framework. This approach can also demonstrate continuities and discrepancies within Japan's wartime literature in general. Establishing a material basis of, so far, most prominent and discussed texts of wartime literature is necessary in order to properly examine the writing of specific authors in order to embed them in a shared literary discourse instead of examining them as isolated cases. This chapter, should therefore fills the gap of such an assessment, present particularly in scholarship outside of Japan, and forms an important basis for a convincing analysis of Hayashi Fumiko's writing, and can hopefully aid future reserch as well.

Finally, Part III focuses on Hayashi Fumiko's writing before and through the wartime years. Chapter 1.1. provides a brief summary of Hayashi's early life and the path to her literary career in order to illustrate the difference in Hayashi's class background from most of the Japanese literary establishment. Chapter 1.2. examines her breakthrough novel *Hōrōki* (*Diary of a vagabond*, 1930) at length as an important prism for Hayashi's literature in general, while Chapter 1.3. follows the development of Hayashi's fiction leading up to the wartime years. Chapter 2 focuses on Hayashi's pre-war travelogues, which offer a valuable point of comparison for her non-fictional writing and travelogues from the war. In the context of Hayashi's wartime writing, these texts should not be ignored, as they bear not only stylistic similiarities with her wartime texts, but also because she shows a remarkably changed perspective during the war when visiting the same places. A thorough examination of Hayashi Fumiko's pre-war writing can ultimately help ascertain how her writing during the war followed up on her early literary work, how it shaped her particularly important postwar texts, and how she accommodated the state ideology in her texts from the wartime years.

These texts, both non-fictional and fictional, are the subject of the remaining chapters of this study. Chapters 3 and 4 focus on Hayashi's travels to Nanjing and Hankou between late 1937 and late 1938 and on the texts these trips have inspired. Chapter 5 is dedicated to a lengthy 'middle period' of Hayashi's wartime writing between 1940 and 1942, during which she undertook another trip to Manchuria, but stayed mostly in Japan, focusing on domestic issues in her writing rather than on the soldiers abroad, as in her earlier texts from the war. Finally, the subject of Chapter 6 are texts from Hayashi's trip to Southeast Asia between 1942 and 1943, one of her longest stays abroad. This trip had nevertheless produced only a relatively small amount of texts and Hayashi had stayed largely silent after her return from late 1943

until the end of the war.

The results of this study will be discussed in its conclusion (Chapter 7), connecting its numerous threads as illustrated on Hayashi Fumiko's texts through the analytical framework proposed in the study's first half. In the conclusion, I am to provide a compact summary of the analyses carried out in the previous chapters and establish further connections between them to show a holistic picture of Hayashi's wartime writing, as well as discuss how they relate to the greater cultural and literary contexts of the time. Only such a comprehensive look, I believe, can reveal the value of wartime literature as a historical document, and with it its meaning within discourses concerning Japan's history of war.

1.1. Hayashi Fumiko: a general introduction

Japan was a country marked by turbulent change at the dawn of the 20th century. The history of the three imperial periods under emperors Meiji 明治 (1868-1912), Taishō 大正 (1912-1926) and Shōwa 昭和 (1926-1989) tells a story of a country which broke out from feudalism into a modern state seemingly overnight, and which, having become the first Western-style democracy in East Asia, appears to have done so successfully. True, a string of military conflicts in which Japan was victorious seemed to accompany this radical and ambitious transformation during the Meiji period – the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) – but these were confined to a relatively short stretch of time. By the time the Taishō period came around, and especially after the extensive urban reconstruction necessitated by the cataclysmic Great Kantō earthquake (*Kantō daijishin*, September 1, 1923), there was, by all accounts, a new Japan standing on the front stage. The reconstruction was

far from a mere external facelift; the earthquake ushered the country into a new era of liberalism, something inconceivable in anyone's wildest dreams a mere half-century earlier.

With the process of industrialization and modernization now fully underway, the new Japan was also undergoing a significant social and cultural change. New technology had enabled mass print and thus new venues of distribution, and the vastly increased literacy rate translated to an exponentially larger readership for any given newspaper, magazine, or book (Young 1998:58-59). Literature was now a part of the culture industry, a commodity which gave rise to the new dichotomy of *junbungaku* ("pure" literature or literature as art) and *taishū bungaku* ("mass" or genre literature), and the literati had become celebrities in their own right.

Few personalities on the literary scene of the early Shōwa period are more emblematic of these new developments and the radical shakeup of Japanese society than Hayashi Fumiko. Born in Shimonoseki as an illegitimate child, she spent her childhood traveling around Kyūshū with her mother Kiku and her new partner after Fumiko's father had left (Fessler 1998:1). Hayashi discovered literature after settling in Onomichi and attending a girls' school – then the only education available to her – where she also wrote and published her first poems (Fesler 1998:9). After graduating school, Hayashi moved to Tōkyō, expecting to marry her school sweetheart, only to be rejected by his family as an unfit marriage candidate. Remaining in Tōkyō, Hayashi instead set a new goal and started to pursue a literary career in earnest (Fessler 1998:10-11). That Hayashi was even able to work and sustain a living independently – albeit under highly precarious circumstances and in relative poverty – was itself a prospect virtually impossible to achieve before that decade. Hayashi's ambition to become a professional writer – in other words, to penetrate a milieu dominated by

highly educated men from privileged backgrounds – might have been somewhat naïve considering her circumstances, and in any case, a goal requiring an immense amount of determination and ambition.

Ambition, however, was undeniably Hayashi's strong suit. While struggling as an aspiring poet, Hayashi's diaries caught the attention of novelist Mikami Otokichi 三上音吉 (1891-1944), who financed his wife, poet Hasegawa Shigure's 長谷川時雨 (1879-1941) literary magazine *Nyonin Geijutsu* 女人芸術 [*Women's Arts*], which in turn provided a platform for burgeoning female literary talent. Recognizing the immense potential of Hayashi's diaries, *Nyonin Geijutsu* started serializing Hayashi's rewritten entries interspersed with poems (either her own or cited) in the late 1920s. Hayashi published *Hōrōki* 放浪記 (*Diary of a Vagabond*) as a book in 1930, becoming a literary sensation practically overnight. *Hōrōki* was a tangible exhibit of Japan's modernity; everything about it was new. The diary entries, which are out of chronological order and only vaguely labeled, show a life of a resilient, independent woman, constantly on the brink of defeat, but always prevailing in the face of adversity. If the theme of the novel were to be summed up in a single word, it could very well be "hunger": literal, physical hunger, which the protagonist Fumiko often endures as a result of her poverty and precarious circumstances; hunger for love, which she seeks in the hands of unkind and sometimes outright abusive men; and above all, hunger for recognition, which makes her carry on through the misery of it all (Brown 2001: 151; 154; 156). That determination ultimately pays off when she receives money for a literary publication at the end of Part I. The novel's underlying and unrelenting tone of optimism and the happy ending seem almost prophetic – or greatly confident – as *Hōrōki* soon became a blockbuster success. The two parts published in 1930 sold over half a million copies

combined (Ericson 1997:57), in large part due to Hayashi's keen sense of the early Shōwa zeitgeist. In *Hōrōki*, Fumiko adopts a wide variety of guises: a factory worker, market vendor, and most famously, a 'café waitress' (*kafe no jokyū*), perhaps best described as a prototype of the modern-day hostess. By framing *Hōrōki* as a series of brief diary entries, which are frequently accompanied by poems, Hayashi is able to reproduce the fast pace and dazzling nature of modernity while fostering a connection to the Heian period (794-1185) and the diaries of court ladies such as Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部 or Sei Shōnagon 清少納言. At the same time, Hayashi satisfies the public's curiosity about modern women like herself, and in turn allows her contemporaries to identify with her. Finally, Hayashi smartly opened herself up to a wide audience by identifying with the working class of early Shōwa Japan, and writing in a poetic, yet accessible style, which still feels surprisingly fresh almost a century after *Hōrōki* initially came out.

All of this is to illustrate that Hayashi Fumiko was acutely aware of the time and place she was living in, and this was clearly appreciated by the audience she was writing for. *Hōrōki* famously opens with the words "I have no home; I am by nature a vagabond" (Hayashi 1977b:265), and Hayashi would cultivate this vagabond persona over the following years. In 1931, she published Part II (*Zoku Hōrōki* 続放浪記 [*Diary of a Vagabond continued*]), and also started traveling abroad on behalf of various magazines. In early 1930, she had traveled to Taiwan alongside other writers on a speaking tour, and towards the end of the same year went to Manchuria, both on an assignment for *Nyonin Geijitsu*. Most importantly, Hayashi left Japan for Europe in late 1931, traveling by train and staying in Paris for the better part of the following year, where she would write travelogues for magazines back home. After her return to Japan,

she started to move away from writing inspired by her own life and more towards topical, third-person narratives (*kyakkan shōsetsu;* objective fiction) as she pursued a goal to be taken truly seriously as a writer. "Kaki" 牡蠣 ["Oyster", 1935] was perhaps Hayashi's biggest artistic success: a story of a mentally fragile handworker, it invites a number of diverse interpretations[1] and is regarded as a text that solidified Hayashi's position on the literary scene.

1.2. Hayashi Fumiko and the Japanese empire: ideological aspects

Despite Hayashi's painstakingly emphasized identification with the lower classes, she had just as painstakingly emphasized her lack of ideology. While proletarian and anarchist writers were among her first valuable contacts in the literary network[2], she publicly distanced herself from any ideology, in one instance citing the increasingly explicit leftist leaning of the magazine *Nyonin Geijitsu* as the reason for this move (Hayashi 1977a:6). Although her association with the proletarian circles has had consequences for Hayashi, even leading up to a brief and unwarranted time in police custody[3], she has remained active throughout the crackdown on left-wing literature[4] and increasing infringement on press freedom in the early 1930s, unlike many of her politically active acquaintances.

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[1] See Part III, 1.3.2.

[2] The Tsuboi couple (Sakae 坪井栄 and Shigeji 坪井繁治) were Hayashi's neighbors at one point, while at another point she shared a room with Hirabayashi Taiko 平林たい子.

[3] See Part III, 2.3.; Hayashi was arrested and detained for nine days for a subscription to *Akahata*, the newspaper of the Communist Party (Keaveney 2009:113).

[4] The arrest of famous proletarian author Kobayashi Takiji and his subsequent death in police custody in February 1933, alongside an ideological 'capitulation' of other authors, became a turning point for the proletarian literary movement (Fessler 1998:80), which had de facto been silenced thereafter.

In July 1937, Japan progressed from occupying foreign territories in Korea, Taiwan and mainland China – the puppet state of Manchukuo standing for no less than a pilot project of Japan's imperial utopia (Young 2017:282) – to a declaration of war against China. The Second Sino-Japanese War then directly segued into the Pacific War after the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1942, and the intensity of Japan's mobilization increased until its surrender in August 1945. Much like the other parties in the war, Japan's government relied on its broad media landscape to communicate to the public about the 'justness' of the war cause. Compared to the previous wars, which Japan conducted around the turn of the century, or World War I, the technological possibility and accessibility of not only print media, but also radio and film, had greatly expanded. In order to stimulate the public opinion about the war in a positive direction, the Japanese government directly collaborated with major media outlets (such as the *Asahi Shinbun* 朝日新聞 or *Mainichi* 毎日新聞 daily newspapers, or magazines such as *Chūō Kōron* 中央公論) and sponsored travels to the occupied territories or warzones for popular or acclaimed writers, who served as embedded journalists.

While reasons for contributing war propaganda certainly varied greatly across the large number of writers who took part in this initiative, Hayashi was hardly neutral towards the issue. Between 1937 and 1943, after which she had become almost completely silent until after Japan's defeat, Hayashi traveled to the war zones in China, then the newly colonized Manchuria, and finally spent almost a year traveling around Southeast Asia, visiting Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia. In addition, she has published a broad range of fictional texts inspired by these travels, both for children and adults. Beyond doubt, Hayashi Fumiko seems to have been one of the most

prolific literary personalities writing from and about war, and the popularity and large base of readers she enjoyed during her lifetime suggest her writing about war was also widely received.

1.3. Literature review and aims of research

Given not only Hayashi's productivity, but also her popularity – which was arguably at its peak during this period – it is at first surprising to discover that barely any of her wartime writing has been academically examined. There have been extensive studies of Hayashi's body of work in its entirety, published by literary scholars Mori Eiichi 森英一 (1992) and Kawamoto Saburō 川本三郎 (2003). Hayashi's wartime writing is most extensively covered by Takayama Kyōko 高山京子 in *Hayashi Fumiko to sono jidai* 林芙美子とその時代 [*Hayashi Fumiko and her time*, 2010]. Outside of Japan, Joan Ericson had published a monograph analyzing Hayashi Fumiko's position within the Japanese literary scene and specifically her position as a woman in the male-dominated sphere of literary production (1997), while Susanna Fessler focuses on Hayashi's travels and travel writing (Fessler 1998). Both of these publications mention Hayashi's wartime activities and writing, but only in comparison with Hayashi's other texts, leaving broader literary and political contexts outside of the analysis. A vastly important contribution to literary research on Hayashi Fumiko, even if not directly related to the topic at hand, has been presented by literary scholar Imagawa Hideko 今川英子, now the director of Kitakyūshū Literature Museum (Kitakyūshū Shiritsu Bungakukan 北九州市立文学館). Imagawa had edited Hayashi Fumiko's *zenshū* (complete edition), published by Bunsendō in 1977, which had expanded upon the

original *zenshū* published by Shinchōsha after Hayashi's passing in 1951. She had also done extensive research on Hayashi Fumiko's travel and life in Paris, published alongside her diaries as *Pari no koi* 巴里の恋 (*Love in Paris,* 2004)[5].

It seems, however, that interest in Hayashi Fumiko's wartime writing has increased in the past decade. The most extensive empirical research has been conducted by Japanese literary scholar Yamashita Kiyomi 山下聖美, who had published a series of articles from 2012 to 2015 in which she examined Hayashi Fumiko's wartime works and even followed Hayashi's footsteps to Indonesia. Yamashita had also compiled a helpful list of Hayashi's fictional and non-fictional works with publication dates as they pertain to the respective colonies or warzones (Yamashita 2012a) and also published an exhaustive list of Hayashi Fumiko's material related to her trip to Southeast Asia specifically (Yamashita 2012b; 2012c; 2013). Hayashi's publications *Sensen* 戦線 [*Battlefront,* 1938] and *Hokugan butai* 北岸部隊 [*Northern bank troop*, 1939] have been examined in a number of monographs focused on wartime literature: the aforementioned publications by Mori and Kawamoto, as well as Takasaki Ryūji's monograph on female writers on the battlefront (1995a); or in journalist Watanabe Kō's book on literature from the front focused on writer Hino Ashihei (2015). In Europe and the United States, interesting studies have been published: Noriko Horiguchi (2012) analyzes *Hokugan butai* as a thematic inversion of *Hōrōki*; and Stefano Romagnoli (2018) examines *Sensen* with a focus on its gender aspects in comparison with other writers' works from the battlefront. In what is perhaps a telling sign about the state of historical revisionism and recent political

[5] Originally published as *tankōbon* hardcover edition in 2003.

trends, the only book-length treatment of Hayashi's wartime writing so far is Miyata Toshiyuki's 宮田敏行 *Hayashi Fumiko ga mita Daitōa sensō* 林芙美子が観た大東亜戦争 [*The Greater East Asia War Hayashi Fumiko saw*, 2019]: here, the author uses Hayashi Fumiko's essays from Nanjing to prove the infamous Nanjing Massacre hadn't taken place. The fact that misconstruing literary history may be used to ends such as a denial of war crimes adds all the more urgency to a serious examination of literature produced in fascism.

In fact, the research on Japanese wartime literature in general has picked up pace mostly in the last fifteen years. Donald Keene had dedicated a chapter to war literature in his seminal *Dawn to the West* (1984), and most of the writers he mentions tend to reappear frequently in studies afterward: Ishikawa Tatsuzō 石川達三, Hino Ashihei 火野葦平, Ozaki Shirō 尾崎士郎, and Niwa Fumio 丹羽文雄. In 1993, Sakuramoto Tomio 桜本富雄 published a study on the *pen butai* – the government initiative to embed writers through various media outlets; in 1996, Kamiya and Kimura followed with an extensive edited volume examining Japanese writers in Southeast Asia. Publications by Takasaki (1995a), Suzuki (1997) and Okano *et al.* (2004) focus on the role of female writers or their war responsibility. Over the following years, a number of monographs focused on war literature, and specifically literature from the front, started to come out: Kuroko Kazuo's 黒古一夫 overview of war literature aimed at young readers (2005), Arai Tomiyo's 荒井とみよ study of China's portrayal in the front literature (2007), as well as publications by Kagoshima (2012), Matsumoto (2018) and Shinfune (2016), which present a number of novels as diverse case studies of writing during war. While the amount of publications might hint at a broad range of literature

discussed, only a rather slim canon of literature seems to emerge: Hino Ashihei's *Mugi to heitai* 麦と兵隊 (*Wheat and soldiers*, 1938) and its follow-ups *Tsuchi to heitai* 土と兵隊 (*Earth and soldiers*, 1938) and *Hana to heitai* 花と兵隊 (*Flowers and soldiers*, 1939); Ishikawa Tatsuzō's *Ikiteiru heitai* 生きてゐる兵隊 (*Soldiers Alive*, 1938); Hayashi Fumiko's *Hokugan butai* (1939); Ozaki Shirō's *Aru jūgun butai* ある従軍部隊 [*An embedded unit*, 1939]; and Niwa Fumio's *Kaeranu chūtai* 還らぬ中隊 [*Lost company*, 1939] and *Kaisen* 海戦 [*Naval battle*, 1942]. Considering that the works by Hayashi, Ozaki and Niwa (1939) have all been published after the same deployment to China, and at the same time the vast volume of writing published during this time, as well as the amount of resources spent on sponsoring state propaganda, it seems that much work still lies ahead in order to better understand how ideology and war politics shaped the literature of this time, and vice versa. Gomibuchi Noritsugu's 五味淵典嗣 monograph *Puropaganda no bungaku* プロパガンダの文学 [*Literature as propaganda*, 2018] seems to signal a change in attitude towards a critical examination of this vast body of work, in that Gomibuchi approaches the literary material explicitly as propaganda and thus a contribution to a brutal war, which is still a sensitive topic in public discourse today. The available previous research on Japanese wartime literature is therefore valuable in establishing the conditions in which it has been produced and establishing a set of literary texts that could be considered a proverbial 'canon' of this literary genre (as I will do in Part II), while I aim to provide a more methodical approach to the textual material with this study.

By focusing on the work Hayashi Fumiko produced during wartime, both fictional

and nonfictional, and utilizing research already available both on works of other authors during the same time (or even on the same assignments) and on works of Hayashi Fumiko herself (before, during and after the war), this study aims to uncover recurring patterns, motives, themes, as well as formal tendencies present within this literary corpus. Especially interesting in this regard are the representations of the authors themselves and the construction of others (soldiers, Japanese and non-Japanese civilians, other writers), representation and reflection of war, how it is legitimized and how – if at all – it is criticized. Hayashi Fumiko was extraordinarily productive during the wartime, publishing over sixty essays, travelogues and other nonfictional writing in various magazines (and often contributed to newspapers) and over thirty fictional texts (short stories and novels) related to either her travels, or the war at large. By examining as much of this material as possible, a more comprehensive picture of wartime writing, its themes and topics, may emerge. Further, comparing Hayashi's wartime writing to her works both before and after the war will give a new perspective to the existing research, and perhaps a more nuanced understanding of this important literary figure and her work.

1.4. Concepts of collective memory, discourse and biopower

The relevance of studying wartime literature lies, among many other factors, in the fact that works of literature constitute a valuable part of the public discourse. Especially works by popular authors have been widely disseminated among the reading public and the ideas they pushed forward were almost automatically granted a wide audience. As such, literary works are also written records of their time; regardless of how authentically they reproduce their social, economic or political circumstances, they can show us how that reality has been negotiated in a public space.

The concept of collective memory as proposed by cultural studies scholars Chris Weedon and Glenn Jordan provides a useful framework for approaching wartime literature in a relevant manner. Weedon and Jordan argue that collective memory is constructed by groups from materials of remembered experience, as related by members of the (same or other) groups and narratives of history. One subset of these materials are media, such as film and television, but also literary and visual culture (Weedon/Jordan 2012:144). They also differentiate between memory and counter-memory, whereby the latter "is memory that challenges the interests at stake in collective memory" (Weedon/Jordan 2012:150). Most importantly, Weedon and Jordan point out that collective memory is shaped by multiple power relations and factors which affect both memory and counter-memory, like constructions of nation, region, family, class, political affiliation, ethnic group and religion. Furthermore, state-supported cultural institutions and industries play an important role in creating and sustaining collective memory, and serve as "gatekeepers" of remembering and forgetting (Weedon and Jordan 2012:150).

This point is well made by Nishino (2020), who examines a number of travelogues written from former Pacific War battle sites, such as Papua New Guinea or Guadalcanal in Solomon Islands, between 1980 and 2010. Nishino leans on a distinction between three narratives, originally proposed by sociologist Hashimoto Akiko, which present competing moralities in Japan with regard to remembering the war. The conservative or nationalist 'heroic' narrative, which centers on the soldiers' noble sacrifice for the nation, aims to rehabilitate nationalist sentiment and to obfuscate war responsibility; the 'victim' narrative centers on Japan's citizens and soldiers as victims of a futile war and militarism both at home and abroad; finally, the 'perpetrator' narrative focuses on the violence caused by Japan abroad. Among these,

only the ‘perpetrator’ narrative seeks reconciliation across national or ethnic boundaries, as the other two focus exclusively on remembering war from an inside perspective (Nishino 2020:149–150). Perhaps unsurprisingly, Nishino reveals a tendency of “ethnocentric identification with and consumption and iteration of the grief of the soldiers” (Nishino 2020:168), which, in Nishino’s words, echo the scholarly contestation in Japan between the heroic and victim narratives (ibid.). Memories of the local population are mostly excluded (thus, the battle sites become sites of “Japanese” memory), and only in a few exceptions do the authors deviate from the ethnocentric lens. Finally, Nishino concludes that in all the cases, travel seems to only further confirm existing biases of the authors towards the foreign countries they visit, while the travelogues in general mirror debates surrounding history, memory and commemoration. This, as Nishino aruges, is a strong argument for examining the role of travelogues in consuming and reproducing history (Nishino 2020:168–169). The value of looking into wartime travelogues or other writings from battle sites or occupied territories lies not only in uncovering their own paradigms and narratives, but can also prove helpful beyond the scope of this study or research on wartime literature itself in examinations of contemporary discourses on the war or its representations in contemporary media.

In a broader sense, Weedon and Jordan’s understanding of collective memory ties well into Michel Foucault’s concept of discourse and how it relates to mechanisms of power. Foucault recognizes power not in terms of domination, but rather in terms of reflexive and impersonal autonomy; power both produces subjects and is, in turn, reproduced by them. In terms of power, Foucault is interested in subjection, in the processes which construct subjects, and in techniques and flows of power running through particular social bodies (MacHoul/Grace 1998:22). As MacHoul and Grace

point out, Foucault was also the first major thinker to pose the question of power in relation to discourse, which for him consists of determinate discursive practices (both on the side of writing and reading) that both produce texts and constitute the conditions of reading (MacHoul/Grace 1998:22–23). Differently from earlier interpretations of discourse as something related to language, Foucault's understanding of discourse is rooted in discipline[6] and historically specific relations between disciplines and disciplinary practices (MacHoul/Grace 1998:26). In other words, discourse is formed through interaction between specific bodies of knowledge (in this case, literature) and forms of social control and social possibility (ibid.). As I will show below, Foucault's concept of discourse and its relation to power and discipline proves useful while examining Japanese wartime literature and the conditions of its production, particularly practices of the publishing industry and censorship institutions.

Through this Foucauldian lens of discourse, any social object or practice can only be written, spoken and thought about only in certain specific ways in any given historical period; therefore, a discourse includes everything that both constrains and enables writing, speaking and thinking within these limits (MacHoul/Grace 1998:31). Finally, Foucault advocates for discovering sets of criteria or rules of formation, transformation, and correlation, through which he argues discourse is identified. Conditions which make the specific objects and concepts possible in the first place constitute the rules of formation. The rules of transformation determine the capacity for modification, while the rules of correlation correspond to other contexts and interaction with other discourses (MacHoul/Grace 1998:44). In an engagement with

[6] Both in the sense of an academic discipline such as history or literature, and in the institutional sense of subjugation or exertion of power.

past discourses, Foucault appeals not to treat them as a theme for a commentary, but as a monument to their disposition; rather than seeking the laws of their construction, their conditions of existence should be central to this engagement (Foucault 1978:15).

In the specific case of examining Japanese wartime literature and writing about war, this means factoring in the conditions of publishing, censorship laws and practices (which were extraordinarily complex and particular during this time), possibilities of free speech and its limits (and eventually, documented transgressions against the order and resulting repercussions), but also the ways in which specific writers presented themselves to their audience, or to the public at large. No less important is to consider the authors' own agency and motivations for participating in the state propaganda; for example, participation in the *pen butai* (see Chapters 3 and 8) was voluntary, while the 'southern draft' of writers to Southeast Asia (see Part III, 6.1.) was not. This aspect must be emphasized not primarily in order to uncover the writer's ideological motives, but rather to clarify the conditions of a discourse which normalized and enabled a radical, militaristic system – the full extent of which was most likely unknown to ordinary Japanese citizens at the time.

Another useful concept for examining Japanese wartime literature is that of 'biopower'; with it, Foucault further expands on the idea of how power operates within societies. Focusing on the emergence of modern military institutions and military science, Foucault argues that

> by the late eighteenth century, the soldier has become something that can be made: [...] the machine required can be constructed; posture is gradually corrected; a calculated constraint runs slowly through each part of the body, [...] in short, one has 'got rid of the peasant' and given him 'the air of the soldier' (Foucault 1991:135).

As a consequence, this militarization of men functions as a model for disciplining

society in which everyone is subjected to the power structure of schools, barracks, hospitals, workshops etc. (Reid 2008:68). Under modern conditions, Foucault argues, wars are waged on behalf of the existence of everyone, entire populations become mobilized in the name of life necessity, and regimes function as "managers of life and survival" (Foucault 1990:137). Political scientist Michael Dillon points out that in the process of making live and letting die, racial markers are often employed to justify these ends. Race in particular is a factor directly contributing to the triangulation of biopolitics with what Dillon calls "necropolitics" (Dillon 2008:170), or the justification of 'letting die' in order to 'make live'.

Similarly, in *Frames of war* (2009), Judith Butler proposes thinking of war as dividing populations into those who are "grievable" (and whose lives are mourned, and therefore considered valuable) and "ungrievable" (those whose lives cannot be mourned, because they do not count as lives in the first place). This division, Butler suggests, is enabled by the perspective of those who wage war in order to, supposedly, defend lives of certain communities, while defending them against others – ultimately taking those very lives in the process (Butler 2009:38). While Butler comments upon the post-9/11 political climate in the United States when she writes how "we imagine that our existence is bound up with others with whom we can find national affinity, who are recognizable to us, and who conform to certain culturally specific notions about what the culturally recognizable human is" (Butler 2009:42), her words are applicable to the past fascist or ultra-nationalist regimes of Germany, Italy or Japan as well. Conversely, Butler's examples of conservative political commentator Bill O'Reilly and former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, who argued that showing photographs of torture from the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq goes against the obligation of defending the positive image of the United States, or is outright anti-American

(Butler 2009:40), show that nationalist sentiment plays a key role in constructing collective memory even in systems which are purportedly liberal and democratic.

Applying Butler's concept of grievable and ungrievable lives to a propaganda in a system so distant from contemporary United States can therefore also serve to show how consistent principles of nationalist propaganda are on a universal scale. For purposes of research on Japanese wartime literature, the selectiveness in presenting the reality of war, nationalist rhetoric and reverence for militarism should not be considered unique to this form of war propaganda. Rather, the literary corpus should be investigated to discover how specifically this selectiveness and rhetoric manifests itself, how it represents war, and how this representation corresponds to verifiable facts. In this context, Foucault's concept of masculinity as a process of growth "from peasant to soldier" is interesting, as many of the conscripted soldiers in Japan have, in fact, come from farming families (Yoshimi 2015:21) – and over time, this image of an 'everyman soldier' has become dominant in literary war narratives.

1.5. Defining propaganda

Over the 20th century, the term propaganda has become laden with negative connotations particularly due to large-scale, state-sponsored propaganda efforts of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. In contemporary use, it almost universally implies misinformation or a deliberate manipulation of facts to often destructive ends. Such an understanding of propaganda is, in my opinion, too narrow and precludes us from seeing propaganda in its full scope and complexity – and therefore, fully understanding how it operates. In his study of Third Reich propaganda, historian David Welch points out that while the word often brings connotations of persuasion, changing attitudes and ideas, propaganda is more often concerned with reinforcing

existing opinions and attitudes, sharpening and focusing them. Similarly, propaganda can not only consist of lies and instead has to rely on shades of truth – "the outright lie, the half truth, the truth out of context" (Welch 1993:5). Welch importantly points out that propaganda is in itself an ethically neutral enterprise and may be used for 'bad' as well as for 'good', and that it is an important and indispensable part of mass culture. Whenever public opinion is deemed important, it will be influenced; Welch writes that "in any body politic, propaganda is not, as is often supposed, a malignant growth, but is an essential part of the whole political process" (Welch 1993:6). Further in his study, Welch cites Joseph Goebbels' conception of effective propaganda, opining that "the propagandist must not just know the soul of the people in general, but he must understand the secret swings of the popular soul from one side to another [...] how to speak not only to the people in their totality, but also to [...] the worker, the peasant, the middle class" (Welch 1993:27). Finally, although Welch concludes that the Nazi propaganda presented an image of a society which transcended social and class divisions by successfully creating a 'national community' (Welch 1993:61), he clarifies that gaps between this myth and reality of the Third Reich had since been proven in scholarship (Welch 1993:66).

While the case of propaganda in Nazi Germany has its own peculiarities differing from the Japanese propaganda in the wartime years, it nevertheless offers a valuable point of comparison for this study. As Germany and Japan were allies during World War II, both systems present clear ideological parallels that would be manifested through their products of propaganda. Further, the myth which modern propaganda creates is sustained and recorded on film, tape, or in print, and is therefore among the most readily present aspects of the culture of the respective historical that produced this propaganda. In this sense, propaganda and its mythology are granted a privileged

position in sustaining collective memory, and it is worth questioning to what extent the lived reality even informs this collective memory at all. The same approach should be applied to Japanese propaganda and Japanese wartime literature as products of their environment: not necessarily as authentic documents of this specific historical period, but rather as authentic documents of what reality its authors sought to portray.

Edward Bernays' slim volume simply titled *Propaganda* (2005, first published 1929) also offers a helpful perspective on the role and utility of propaganda in public discourse in modern times, with Bernays especially considering the possibilities of (then) new media such as radio and the newspaper. While, again, writing from a different cultural context – as the nephew of Sigmund Freud, Bernays was born in Vienna and later emigrated to the United States – the publication of *Propaganda* coincides with the early Shōwa era and the rise of nationalism in Japanese media and politics as well. It is also worth pointing out that Bernays was an influential figure in shaping the public relations industry and his practically synonymous conception of propaganda and advertisement – and therefore, tacitly, politics and profit – ties well into the spirit of capitalism, which was undeniably an important factor in Japan's colonial expansion.

Bernays argues propaganda is a natural consequence of the way democratic society is organized – its members governed, their minds molded, and tastes formed by a social stratum of "invisible governors", who distinguish themselves by their natural leadership, ability to supply needed ideas, as well as their position in the social structure (Bernays 2005:37). In his earnest advocacy for propaganda, Bernays offers a helpful and refreshingly candid definition:

> Modern propaganda is a consistent, enduring effort to create or shape events to influence the relations of the public to an enterprise, idea or group. Virtually no important undertaking is now

> carried on without it, whether the enterprise be [...] marketing a moving picture (...) or electing a president. (...) it is universal and continuous; and in its sum total it is regimenting the public mind every bit as much as an army regiments the bodies of its soldiers (Miller and Bernays 2005, 52).

The "invisible governors" in Bernays' definition are a broad group of public figures which includes political and intellectual elites, but also cultural figures such as popular authors (Bernays 2005:59–60); the Japanese authors discussed in this study and particularly Hayashi Fumiko therefore well fit the definition of such propaganda agents. He argues that every form of government depends upon acquiescent public opinion for its success – in fact, government is only government by virtue of public acquiescence, and this applies to all industries, public utilities, educational institutions, and so on, making public opinion the "unacknowledged partner in all broad efforts" (Bernays 2005:64). At the same time, Bernays highlights the public's agency within this process, and points out that the public is not an amorphous mass to be molded at will, but rather that business and public have to come into friendly agreement (Bernays 2005:86), which of course does not prohibit attempts to mold that mass regardless. Finally, Bernays concludes that any means of human communication may be utilized as a means of deliberate propaganda, because propaganda is simply "the establishing of reciprocal understanding between an individual and a group" (Bernays 2005:161). In the modern society (of 1929), the primary medium for transmitting opinions – in other words, for propaganda – was of course the newspaper (Bernays 2005:162). In addition, the importance and effectiveness of personality and its power is stressed a number of times throughout the text, particularly in political contexts (Bernays 2005:116–117; 166). Worth noting is also Bernays' closing statement: "Propaganda will never die out. Intelligent men must realize that propaganda is the modern instrument by which they can fight for productive ends and help to bring

order out of chaos" (Bernays 2005:168).

There are many interesting points raised in Bernays' concept of propaganda with regard to the situation in wartime Japan. Publishing was strictly regulated by the Publication Law (*Shuppan Hō,* in power since 1893) and the Press Law (*Shinbunshi Hō,* since 1909), both of which restricted free speech (Obinata 2012:75–76). Initially the responsiblity of the Education Ministry (*Monbushō*), censorship power had been transferred to the Home Ministry in 1875 and gradually moved towards the state police, until the authority had finally been given to the Cabinet Information Bureau (*Naikaku jōhōkyoku*) in 1941 (Obinata 2012:76–77). This resulted in a very organized surveillance of print material, but due to the large volume of material published, also in an unrealistic workload for the censorship personnel (Obinata 2012:80). Considering Bernays' emphasis on the necessity of public acquiescence to any political agenda, and especially the power of personality that can be harnessed with popular public figures, points towards Hayashi Fumiko as an ideal vessel for war propaganda. On the surface, she distanced herself from politics, but her life and work could be seen as an emancipation from the old social order, and so gave more legitimacy to a new order she endorsed, however implicitly. She was a well-liked public figure whose works sold well, and this indicates that her narrative themes and issues she explored found resonance within the reading public. It is therefore also relevant to observe if, and how, Hayashi takes up on themes present in her pre-war work during the wartime, and whether her message towards the readers seems to shift. Because Hayashi published a large number of texts over a broad spectrum of magazines and newspapers – both fictional and nonfictional – it should also be examined how the tone or written style differs according to the respective target audience (such as children or adults), or whether she crafted a consistent, universal literary persona in

her wartime output.

The conditions of publishing during the wartime years will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2 through an extensive analysis of available research literature. As with wartime literature, the research on Japan's wartime media landscape seems to be gaining momentum especially since the last two decades. Nakazono's *Shinbun ken'etsu seido un'yō ron* 新聞検閲制度運用論 [*On how newspaper censorship operated*, 2006] comprehensively lays out the censorship laws as well as the legal conditions of publishing during the wartime. Maesaka (2005) and Yoshida (2010) explore issues of media control and press freedom, while Takasaki (1995b) focuses on the war responsibility of the press. Further, Wakakuwa Midori 若桑みどり published a study on the representation of women in wartime women's magazines (2000), which aided my own research in providing a basis of gender stereotypes against which Hayashi Fumiko's own image can be compared. Outside of Japan, important work has been done by David Earhart in *Certain Victory* (2008), where he uses a large visual archive of magazine photography to demonstrate how the Japanese empire and its various subjects had been portrayed to the public. In their edited volume *Censorship, media, and literary culture in Japan* (2012), Suzuki *et al.* provide a comprehensive overview of various forms of censorship, and a detailed description of the mechanisms of print censorship – as well as its inherent flaws. The issue of censorship has also been taken up by Abel (2012) in the context of suppression of left-wing dissent. All of this previous research provides a valuable background for an examination of wartime literature by the authors discussed in this thesis, and especially the wartime writing of Hayashi Fumiko, by providing detailed insight into the workings and ramifications of Japan's censorship in the time leading up to and during the war. Knowledge of the censorship

system is also of central importance to a close reading of wartime Japanese literature, as it is necessary to recognize how this system set up boundaries within public discourse on the war, as well as how these boundaries manifested themselves in both literary and non-literary texts (as, in the case of Hayashi Fumiko, both are subject of my textual analysis).

1.6. Defining Japanese nationalism and its presence in literature

Finally, in order to distill ideological aspects from literature tied to propaganda, it is necessary to specify how this ideology operates and what its principles are – in other words, to define fascism as it relates to the Japanese empire particularly in the wartime years. Historian Louise Young points out that while Japanese imperialism is often regarded in exceptional terms, it really has much in common with other modern empires, specifically the other two Axis powers, as they all justified their expansionism with their unequal place in the world order (Young 2017:274–275). Young's proposal to look at Japanese fascism through its commonalities with the German and Italian variant ties well with Umberto Eco's understanding of fascism as a thing of "no quintessence [...] a *fuzzy* totalitarianism, a collage of different philosophical and political ideas, a beehive of contradictions" (Eco 1995; emphasis in original). Eco points out that taking out one or more features from a fascist regime still leaves it recognizably fascist, and suggests instead to focus on the commonalities of fascist systems, proposing the term "ur-fascism" (ibid.). Eco offers a list of fourteen points which define a political regime as fascist, among them a cult of tradition, rejection of modernism, celebration of action and suppression of critical thought, understanding of life as permanent struggle, cult of heroism, and others (ibid.).

In the case of Japan, Louise Young proposes to call its wartime political system

"fascist imperialism" (Young 2017:275) and details its four basic tenets, which largely echo Eco's concept of ur-fascism. The ideology of 'Asianism', which envisions Japanese leadership over a regional movement of anti-colonial nationalisms, is meant to challenge and reject the world order dominated by Western powers (ibid.). The tenet of 'hyper-militarism' connects the 'inside' and 'outside' of fascist imperialism, manifesting itself by greenlighting aggressive military expansion and suppressing liberties in the name of total mobilization (ibid.). The anti-communist thinking within the army throughout the 1920s crystallized itself in the concept of a 'red peril' also familiar from other countries, and which expanded into a police state targeting intellectuals, politicians and activists both in and outside of Japan (Young 2017:275-276). Finally, the ideology of 'radical statism' was the common ground of the above three aspects, in that the imperial state was constructed as an agent of salvation. The social and economic unrest in Japan was bolstered by events such as the global economic crisis and rise of anti-colonialism in Asia. This resulted in an adoption of extreme right-wing policies as a solution to this crisis and intensified the expansionism of Japan between 1931 and 1945 (Young 2017:276).

While expanding upon these elements, Young brings up several more important points which may help us better understand how fascism in Japan operated. One of these is the alignment of the imperial project with anti-colonial nationalist movements in the early 1930s, where Japan sought to establish itself as the leader of a 'co-prosperity sphere' under the banner of Asianism in order to distinguish itself from Western empires. The puppet state of Manchukuo, established in 1932, served as the model for an ostensible "imperialism without colonies" (Young 2017:281) with an ideology situated between the liberal imperialism of Great Britain and the internationalism of the Soviet Union (Young 2017: 282). As the military's control over

the state intensified, popular culture had become steeped in a cult of militarism and aestheticization of violence, which continued throughout the 1930s (Young 2017:284). The increasing strictness of legislation such as the Peace Preservation Law (*Chian iji hō*) of 1925 and its overreach to territories outside of Japan eventually culminated in a series of round-ups in 1928-1929 and 1932-1933, which struck a heavy blow to the Communist Party of Japan; purging of left-wing thought became especially intense between 1941 and 1943 (Young 2017:289). Conditions for dissent in the public sphere (and thus literature as well) were therefore likely dire, and public figures in Japan would have been especially affected by this constant surveillance of thought privately as well. The formulation and application of laws affecting press freedom, as well as writers' self-censorship must be therefore taken into account while examining wartime literature in Japan, and special attention must be paid to what is *not* being said, or what is only being suggested. Prior research in history, literature and culture studies can provide information necessary to fill in the blanks in the material.

However, as above definitions of propaganda illustrate, the fascist ideology required public consent and acquiescence in order to be legitimate and succeed. Historian Yoshimi Yoshiaki's 吉見義明 (1946) publication *Kusa no ne no fashizumu* 草の根のファシズム 1987; eng. *Grassroots fascism*, 2015) represents a watershed moment in an engagement with Japan's fascist past, in that Yoshimi utilizes a mosaic of private accounts (diaries, correspondence etc.) to demonstrate how ordinary citizens both in Japan and abroad have been affected by the fascist system. While still adopting an ethnocentric position typical for most approaches to processing Japan's past (explainable in part with the publication's age), Yoshimi's *Grassroots fascism* nevertheless offers a more nuanced portrayal of Japan's fascism and brings to the

forefront the agency of Japanese citizens as active participants in it. In addition to the private accounts, Yoshimi also provides a more general overview of the public opinion during the respective phases of the war, supplying a valuable background to the literature written by Hayashi Fumiko from Japan, China, Manchuria and Southeast Asia between 1937 and 1943.

In *The aesthetics of Japanese fascism* (2009), literary scholar Alan Tansman lays out concepts of 'fascist moments' and 'fascist aesthetics', which can be applied to wartime literature when examining how ideological messages can be transported in what on the surface may appear as apolitical statements; this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. Tansman suggests that all 'fascisms' (meaning authoritarian, far-right ideologies) demand national cohesion in the cause of war, and as such, they are grounded in a philosophy of violence as a remedy to the afflicted modern body and its fractured mind. A nationalist ideology roots the community in a mythic past in order to march the nation into a technologically advanced future. Fascism, as Tansman puts it, puts nature in place of history and beauty in place of politics (Tansman 2009:4). Within the examples in this study, special attention should therefore be paid to moments overtly targeting the readers' emotions or aesthetic sensibilities while potentially obfuscating ideological messaging. This principle also ties Japanese wartime propaganda with that of other nationalist systems such as Nazi Germany, as documentaries by Leni Riefenstahl demonstrate a similar approach, to name but one (very prominent) example. While the Japanese and German propaganda result in, on the surface, different products, a closer look reveals similar principles and values being represented, such as a fixation on strength, discipline and the national community superseding the individual.

Tansman argued that in Japan, fascism meant to "enchant a culture stripped of

its magic by modernity" (Tansman 2009:9) and turn Japan away from the ideology of liberalism and individualism that emerged in the 1920s. Instead, the new ideological project called for a restoration of "Japaneseness" and abandonment of individuality, a Western concept seen as the cause of the (economic and political) crisis, and this new ideological turn was amply supported by intellectuals and artists at the time (Tansman 2009:9). One of the most important points of Tansman's study is that the nationalist ideology during the 1930s became so pervasive that it inevitably became imprinted to literary texts of the period, regardless of the author's intention. This can be easily seen in the preoccupation of capturing an atmosphere or beauty, rather than posing critical questions, in Japan's literature in this period. In turn, if literature is ostensibly apolitical, it can ultimately become a more effective vessel for fascist ideology precisely because ideological aspects are left unquestioned (Tansman 2009:3). Tansman's framing of literature produced under fascism in Japan will be important going forward, as I am less interested in Hayashi Fumiko's personal motives for producing state propaganda, but rather in how this ideology is normalized and reflected in her literature, then transported to the reading public, from which the ideology can seek its validation. The institutional, political and cultural circumstances of wartime literature, its connection to ideology and power, as well as the possibilities, norms and limitations of Japan's war literature under fascism will be the focus of Chapter 2, which will provide a basis for the in-depth case study of Hayashi Fumiko's writing.

1.7. A wide reading of Japanese wartime literature

In conclusion, a compelling case for the study of Japan's wartime literature emerges. One reason is, of course, the lacking research and the many gaps still present in it. As

the existing studies mostly focus on a slim canon of literary texts from wartime Japan, they also lay bare the reluctance in engaging with questions of war responsibility and legitimization strategies of extremist politics. This speaks for the necessity of digging deeper into the literary archives for a more thorough analysis of wartime literature and connecting it to wider contexts like publishing and political institutions. The rise of nationalism and far-right politics around the world over the past decade – in places as distant and disparate as the United States, Germany, the Philippines, or indeed Japan – call for a more thorough examination of how an expression of nationalism in culture. In this context, literature is a particularly edifying sphere of cultural production in analyzing how nationalist sentiment translates in written language, and therefore also how it is communicated to the reader. Further, as the concrete example of Miyata's (2019) book on Hayashi Fumiko's travel to Nanjing shows, wartime literature can be misconstrued and misused for historical revisionism and war crime apologism, unless studied and analyzed in a more informed and nuanced manner. Miyata's denial of the Nanjing Massacre is as severe as denying the Holocaust, and ironically it shows how fascist propaganda can be misused as historical record in order to, indeed, propagandize the reader and give credence to nationalist sentiment. With a clear focus on questions of ideology, propaganda, but also the authors' agency and their discursive position, I seek to examine the wartime literature of Japan in as nuanced a manner as possible with this study. From a contemporary standpoint, the question of constructing collective memory, and how successful propaganda can be in appearing as historical reality, is also especially important.

From a perspective of literary studies, Wolfgang Hallet's concept of wide reading provides an accommodating framework to approach the material. Hallet suggests moving away from the close reading of a single text to a wide reading of a multitude

of texts, which do not necessarily have to be literary in nature, and which can supplement the primary material with additional historical or cultural context (Hallet 2010:294). Hallet appeals to foregrounding cultural context, as any given literary text is a product of its culture, which in itself should be understood as a system of signs to be decoded (Hallet 2010:295–297). Referring to Foucault, he points out that cultural discourses are always to be regarded as interrelated, and that literature in particular has the ability to connect and reintegrate discourses (Hallet 2010:298). Intertextuality is therefore at the center of the wide reading method: it serves to reconstruct and interpret the cultural dimension of texts, and also to demonstrate how text and textual signs refer to the culture outside of it (Hallet 2010:300).

Hallet lays out in a relatively precise manner how the wide reading process is to be carried out: by building a corpus of literary texts [of prominent wartime authors, particularly Hayashi Fumiko]; by selecting representative elements of the cultural discourse as they relate to the corpus [ideology, propaganda and literature]; relating the texts to one another, thereby discovering common structural elements and references across the corpus and the discourse; and finally, providing cultural and historical knowledge (Hallet 2010:302–304). With such an approach, Hayashi Fumiko's wartime writing provides an extraordinarily interesting and relevant case study. First, her writing from and about war is extraordinarily extensive, spanning three main territories (China, Manchuria, Indonesia), each of which presents a distinct face of Japan's empire and colonialism. Hayashi was also an extraordinarily popular writer, and by all accounts did not seem to lose any of her popularity through her association with the nationalist regime; in fact, Hayashi's postwar fiction is arguably her most critically acclaimed work. Borrowing from Tansman, Hayashi's ability to covertly transport an ideological message could, then, theoretically have made her an

extraordinarily effective vessel for propaganda.

Hallet's approach of wide reading is therefore well suited for this study, with the five authors discussed in Chapter 4 and their texts forming a basis for establishing an analytical framework against which Hayashi Fumiko's texts can be compared in a broad manner. Further, examining both non-fictional and fictional texts in tandem can reveal their mutual influence and dominant language in the discourse on war. This necessitates an understanding of Japan's wartime media landscape, which is the subject of Chapter 2, as well as the literary context of 1930s Japan, which will be examined in Chapter 3. A discussion of concrete examples of literary texts, which should reveal prominent tropes of wartime literature and how they reflect the publishing conditions will follow in Chapter 4, completing the wider contextual framework for analysis of Hayashi's texts.

PART I: Discursive context of Japanese war literature between 1937-1945

1. Media production, war discourse and censorship in wartime Japan

In this chapter, I aim to lay out the different foundations of the nationalist and imperialist ideology of wartime Japan as it was mediated by the state and press. My understanding of wartime literature is such that it is a product of its culture and time, and thus, an artifact of collective memory. It is therefore vital to expand the discursive scope of this literary study beyond the relatively narrow confines of just literature, which I aim to do in this chapter. While relatively long and with no direct connection to literary texts as such, I believe it is necessary to outline the broader context as a foundation for the subsequent analysis of wartime propaganda literature of Japan and Hayashi Fumiko's wartime writing as a particular case. The literature produced from trips to battlefields and colonies was created under the watchful eye of the state and under lucrative contracts with major media outlets, and as public figures, writers were both under political pressure to participate in the propaganda effort, but were also incentivized by the opportunity to raise their public profile. In order to reconstruct the ideological (and therefore discursive) context in which the writers contributed to the official war narrative, we must first ask what this official narrative entails and what its foundations are; but also how it was relayed to the public, and what possible fissures in this narrative can be found.

In the first section of this chapter (1.1.), I will briefly touch upon the development of Japanese imperialism from the Meiji era (1868-1912) up until the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) in order to provide vital political context for the propaganda published during the war. I will introduce Benedict Anderson's framing of nationalism within the construct of nation as an 'imagined community' and argue

for the significance of examining wartime literary propaganda as an artifact of collective memory in the following two sections (1.2.; 1.3.). In order to map out the contemporary war discourse – of which wartime literature is one expression – I will introduce the system and practice of censorship in wartime Japan and provide various examples of official censorship guidelines and law in 1.4. This will enable us, in Foucauldian terms[7], to better understand how state power shaped the war discourse, how the media industry positioned itself within it and what the ramifications of dissent were during the war. The role of press in general, particularly news media, and the narrative of war they created – decisively influencing the construction of the collective memory of war due to the sheer scope of the propaganda effort – are the focus of section 1.5. Finally, I will briefly examine private field diaries of soldiers as artifacts of 'counter-memory' challenging the official war narrative in section 1.6. and discuss the findings in the concluding section (1.7.).

1.1. Japanese imperialism of the wartime years

Literary texts, as well as the authors who produce them, are always in some way part of a bigger literary industry – and as such, the wartime economy. In this study, I want to show how works of propaganda can be reflective of the public's attitudes and also function as tools meant to exert ideological influence on the public. At the same time, a paradigm shift in ideology indisputably remains the long-term goal of ideological actors such as the government or the military, who facilitated the production of propagandistic literature. While propaganda, in any form, is undoubtedly crafted with the intention of steering public opinion in a desired direction – essentially, to sell an

[7] See 1.4.

idea – the public in question must also be able and willing (or simply unwitting) enough to engage with the idea that it is being sold. The audience itself must too have an interest in winning a war if they are to support the idea of military expansion. As I will show in the following chapters, the interests of the state and the authors diverged, but ultimately intersected in the expansionist wartime goals of imperial Japan. That the intended nationalist paradigm shift was, at least on the surface (as evidenced by the wartime media, the literary landscape and their audiences), successful, should be testament to the accomplishment of goals the government set in terms of cultural indoctrination.

The literature of the wartime years between 1937-1945 already was firmly embedded in Japan's imperialist ideology. However, the process towards its normalization begins much sooner. The First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), which took place four decades earlier (not yet three decades after the Meiji Restoration of 1868), was an important stepping stone towards that normalization, as it contributed to a rise in national pride among large sectors of the Japanese population and weakening China's own position in the region (Cipris 2003:1). As Yoshimi points out, imperialism was a major guiding principle of policy during the Taishō democracy (1912-1926) following the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905; Yoshimi 2015:41), in which Japan continued its victorious military streak. Despite the prominence of the political left in the 1920s, the radical right took its place in the early 1930s – the nascent years of the long Shōwa era (1926-1989) – aiming its ire at many of the same targets, most importantly political and industrial elites (McClain 2002:413). As in Europe, the radical left rose in tandem with the radical right in the aftershock of the Russian Revolution (Young 2017:289); but in the wake of the Manchurian Incident in September 1931 (which served as a foundation for the establishment of Manchukuo, a de facto

Japanese colony), as well as the collapse of European colonial regimes in Southeast Asia, Japan was able to expand its empire to unforeseen breadth over the course of little more than a decade (Duus 1996:xi).

Historian Peter Duus speaks of a "startling candor" (Duus 1996:xii) with which Japanese politicians, journalists and intellectuals spoke about the need to capitalize on Nazi victories in Europe in 1940. This seems to have been a swift process, as Duus also points out that in 1942, the Japanese empire lorded over a vast area of approximately 340-350 million people – about three quarters of the population of the British Empire (Duus 1996:xiii). The candor Duus mentions is less surprising considering how much the discourse around the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) leaned into the sentiment of 'imperialism externally' (i.e., there was public support for imperialist policies) from its early days. The war was supported across a broad socioeconomic spectrum with wishes to either pursue it in full and stifle further hostilities, or to make it end fast (Yoshimi 2015:44). Through civilian conscription, farming families lost their primary laborers just as they were beginning to recover from a recent agricultural depression. This initially made the conscripts reluctant to go (Yoshimi 2015:48). On the other hand, serving in the military also presented a financial incentive for these soldiers to support the war (Yoshimi 2015:51). This support is also reflected in a 1940 survey by the Ministry of Education (*Monbushō* 文部省), in which young men of the conscription age of twenty were in agreement with continuing the pursuit of the war, and they were prepared for the war to be considerably protracted (Yoshimi 2015:56). While these surveys undoubtedly are informative and reflective of the broader public attitudes, it is also important to stress that official institutions would likely not publish surveys that would show a negative

public opinion on the war effort[8]. Still, the pervasive presence of pro-war tropes within Japanese wartime literature generally reflective of the public opinion, as well as the endurance of the myth of Japanese imperial benevolence long after the war, are testament to their perceived credence.

The appeal of Japan's expansion to Japanese population may partly be explained with some aspects unique to the Japanese variant of imperialism, notably the encouragement of developing industrial areas (such as in Manchuria), which further translated to the idea of the Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere (*Dai Tōa Kyōeiken* 大東亜共栄圏). This concept captured the idealism of the Japanese public and allowed political strategists to establish an ideological underpinning to the apparent Anglo-American threat. Historian James McClain offers a few examples of the public opinion reflecting this, pointing out the widespread perception of abusive and destructive effects of the 'white race' on the American and Asian continents, and earnest belief in Japan's mission as moral and beneficial for the region, an "Asia for the Asian people" (McClain 2002:494).

Yoshimi cites a wartime survey which shows a broad support for a decisive foreign policy and 'politics of strength' vis-à-vis the Western powers, while the public by and large seemed to be against politics they perceived as dictatorial. According to this survey, Japan and the 'New Order' (*Shintaisei* 新体制) it sought to establish were perceived by Japan's population not as dictatorial (as was the case of Italy and Germany), yet paradoxically, its dictatorial qualities received the most priase (Yoshimi 2015:58). I would argue that it is precisely this apparent cognitive dissonance among

[8] As I will show later in this chapter, the press was explicitly forbidden from disseminating negative information related to the war.

the public that clearly indicates the normalization of nationalist ideology – since the public had seemingly by and large adopted the narrative of Japan's benevolence and Asia's liberation, its own system had not been generally perceived as dictatiorial or authoritarian from within. The same could most likely be said about the Italian and German systems, as both present examples of relatively long-lasting governments with resistance groups present within the public, but not representative of the majority public opinion.

Another formative event of the early Shōwa era, which will appear in multiple contexts in the following sections, was the February 26 incident (*Ni-ni-roku jiken* 二二六事件) of 1936; on this day army officers acting under covert command of high military officials blockaded the government district in Tōkyō and proclaimed a "Shōwa Restoration" (*Shōwa ishin* 昭和維新) that would return the rule of Japan directly to the emperor, abolishing party politics (Earhart 2008:83). While this attempted coup failed, 1936 did mark a watershed after which effectively no more violent challenges to state authority in Japan emerged (McClain 2002:440).

The narrative of a benevolent empire, which already had a strong footing by the time Japan expanded its territories into Southeast Asia, already began developing in occupied China after the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). Here, too, Japan had positioned itself as the liberator from the forces of Soviet and Western imperialism, as well as a liberator from Chinese threats – a force for peace, freedom and stability to the region. The Japanese government position could be summarized as regret over the violence necessary to achieve China's apparent liberation, which, however, also justifies this violence as a means in service to a greater good – a free and peaceful China. Importantly, it was only China's leaders who were positioned as antagonists to

the Japanese in Japan's public discourse; the Chinese civilians, on the other hand, were seen as these leaders' victims, and were to be saved by Japan (Cipris 2003:12). Yet at the same time, as Louise Young points out, there was a sense of racial contempt against China in the Japanese popular imagination mounting since the Meiji era which helped to get the masses accustomed to the brutality of the military conflict in China (Young 1998:101). This was also reflected in wartime reportages and literary accounts when writers freely reported about slogans scribbled on walls decrying Japanese imperialism: this charge was apparently absurd enough to them to simply dismiss it (Cipris 2003:10). As Cipris notes, even during times when the freedom of expression still allowed for a literary opposition to war, there was virtually none (Cipris 2003:2).

1.2. Nation as imagined community

In his seminal 1983 book *Imagined communities*, political scientist Benedict Anderson argues against the classification of nationalism as an ideology, instead positioning it closer to terms such as 'kinship' or 'religion'; in this sense, nationalism can function as a mechanism of group building. Anderson proposes a definition of nation as an imagined political community: nations are imagined because even in the smallest of them, people are mostly strangers to each other, but have an awareness of a communion fostered between them. Nations are imagined as communities – as deep, horizontal comradeship. Finally, they are also limited, because even the biggest ones imagine boundaries beyond which other nations lie; no nation considers itself synonymous with mankind (Anderson 2006:5–7). Anderson differentiates nationalism from racism in that the former thinks of historical destinies, rather than historical contaminations as the latter (Anderson 2006:149); but in the modern age, with its awareness of secular time, nationalism "engenders the need for a narrative of

'identity'" (Anderson 2006:205). The lack of possibility to reconstruct a nation's origin turns this nebulous origin into a typical feature of nationalist ideologies, and the narrative of its reconstruction must be fashioned 'up time', towards a mythical goal. At the same time, this fashioning makes necessity of the ultimate sacrifice – death – which paradoxically starts in the 'originary present' (ibid.). Dying for one's country, Anderson argues, assumes a moral grandeur which cannot be evoked by any lesser institution than the nation itself; it is felt to be fundamentally pure and grand (Anderson 2006:144).

According to Kawamura (2014), the ideological concept of *kokutai* 国体 (National Polity) was the central tool employed in the creation of modern Japanese identity as an imagined community (26). McClain points towards the conservative philosophy of *nihon shugi* 日本主義 (Japanism) that emerged in the Meiji era with the goal to preserve traditional values as an alternative to Japan's rapid Westernization. *Kokutai* was the culmination of this thought and revolved around a divine, ancient line of emperors and family-like ties which unite the sovereign with all of his subjects (McClain 2002:428). Yet despite the prevalence of the *kokutai* discourse, its actual meaning was ambiguous: a regime centered around the emperor was its commonly understood core, but there was no common understanding about the rest of it throughout the war. Intellectuals, politicians or military officials all advocated for it, but each of them with a different perspective (Kawamura 2014:26).

Kawamura proposes to look at the *kokutai* discourse through a Foucauldian lens and through the prism of the formation of subjects by power. Importantly, power is exercised over ostensibly free subjects, who are then prompted to take particular actions. Power does not impose a particular choice, but rather urges each individual

to choose a particular possibility where other options are theoretically available as well. The wartime Japanese government, Kawamura argues, led its subjects towards loyalty to the nation-state, adopting a society-oriented discourse from the Taishō democracy and integrating it into the glorification of *kokutai* (Kawamura 2014:27–28). In his extensive study of wartime print media *Certain Victory* (2008), David C. Earhart calls *kokutai* an 'essentialist philosophy' which, tying into Anderson's words, claimed that Japan, a nation created by gods and ruled by their offspring, was unique within the world and predestined to rule Asia. According to Earhart, the ultimate goal of implementing the *kokutai* philosophy was to make Japan a theocracy in which the emperor was both the head of state religion (*Shintō* 神道) and the government; in this line of argumentation, Western culture had a toxic effect on the 'Japanese spirit' (Earhart 2008:44).

The philosophy of *kokutai* was most succinctly formulated by the Kokutai Meichō Undō 国体明徴運動 (Movement to Clarify the National Essence) in *Kokutai no hongi* 国体の本義 (*The essence of national polity*), published on March 30, 1937. While the initial edition was comprised of 300.000 copies, its circulation was in the millions by 1945. It was distributed to teachers from elementary school to university levels, and educators were urged to promote the book (Tansman 2009:150). Alan Tansman describes *Kokutai no hongi* as a religious tract designed to shore up the idea of the unity of religion and government – a point well taken both in light of Anderson's positioning of nationalism being closer to religion than ideology, as well as Earhart's interpretation of *kokutai* as a theocratic philosophy. Tansman further likens *Kokutai no hongi* to Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (1925) or Nazi philosopher Alfred Rosenberg's *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts* (*Myth of the twentieth century*, 1930) as "a founding

ideological document written and diffused to gather emotional support for political aggression" (Tansman 2009:151). At the same time, *Kokutai no hongi* distinguishes itself by its anonymous, bureaucratic nature. While the original draft had been written by a (presumably anonymous) classical literature scholar before 1937, it was twice rewritten by a committee which included the head of the Thought Control Bureau (*Shisōkyoku* 思想局[9]; part of the Ministry of Education) and other scholars of classical literature (ibid.). With this document, then, the ideology of wartime Japan came to be codified in a manner which connects it strongly with Japanese literary tradition – a fact surely significant in an examination of how contemporary literature functioned to legitimize this ideology.

Tansman summarizes the content of *Kokutai no hongi* in simple terms: "[W]e Japanese are in grave danger, and we need to restore ourselves to our original condition and revive the true meaning of the national essence by wiping away the philosophies that have made us into atomized, Europanized, individuals" (Tansman 2009:153). Much like the Nazi writings mentioned above, *Kokutai no hongi* establishes a myth of Japanese identity, both on the state and individual level, which demanded from the masses to recognize a world that originally belonged to them, but was gradually taken away by foreign thought. The anonymity of *Kokutai no hongi*'s authorship effectively enhances these mythical qualities – the lack of an author makes it easier to imagine the document as a product of the people, if not the gods themselves (Tansman 2009:152). This aspect, too, calls to mind Benedict Anderson's description of nationalist identity narratives as running from a mythical, nebulous past towards a

[9] The translation of *Shisōkyoku* as 'Thought Control Bureau' is taken from Japan Center for Asian Historical Records (*Ajia Rekishi Shiryō Sentā* アジア歴史資料センター; also JACAR), part of National Archives of Japan, and appears to be a translation officially used in Japan today (see JACAR n.d.).

shining future [10], which I will discuss later in relation to wartime literature. Furthermore, passages of *Kokutai no hongi* which mention 'giving of life to men' as opposed to killing as the objective of the Japanese martial spirit, and which maintain the war is intended to bring harmony and peace (Cipris 2003:14) call to mind Foucault's concept of biopower whereby populations are mobilized in the name of life necessity and regimes become managers of life and survival[11]. I want to repeat at this point Michael Dillon's term "necropolitics" (Dillon 2008:170), with which he describes these justifications of war and points especially towards race and racial markers as key factors in the triangulation processes of making live and letting die (ibid.). Soldiers, through their service to the country and quite literally embodying Japan's imperialist expansion, can therefore serve as the ideal citizens as envisioned by the *kokutai* philosophy. A positive image of a soldier under a militaristic government, then, seems to be central in upholding a positive image of the war itself. It is also reflective of a general militarization of men within such a society, where it can function as a disciplinary model in contexts of schools, hospitals or other institutions, as Reid points out discussing Foucault's concept of biopower and how it relates to waging war (Reid 2008:68). As I will show in later parts of this study, the positive image of a soldier and a (negatively) racialized 'other' are among the most enduring motifs of Japanese wartime literature, and especially the reverence towards Japanese soldiers forms a connective tissue between various works and authors. However, as Japanese wartime propaganda is rarely outright hostile towards the 'enemy', the justifications for 'making live and letting die' must be approached with careful attention.

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[10] *Kokutai no hongi* itself features recurrent motives of 'shining' (Tansman 2009:163).

[11] See 1.4.

As this study most closely focuses on Hayashi Fumiko's wartime writing, it is also important to ascertain how women were positioned within this imagined community. It cannot be overlooked that war offered women options of participation in public life, mostly through patriotic women's clubs (*aikoku fujinkai* 愛国婦人会), the most prominent of which was the Kokubō Fujinkai 国防婦人会 (National Defense Women's Club). Founded in 1932, Kokubō Fujinkai amassed around 1.5 million members over the course of its existence as it promoted the emperor's rule under the guidance of Home Ministry (*Naimushō* 内務省). To this end, Kokubō Fujinkai engaged in social work such as providing aid to the poor (*hinmin kyōsai* 貧民救済) or providing employment (*jusan jigyō* 授産事業). However, as is apparent from its founding slogan "save a *han-eri*[12], aid soldiers" (*han-eri ikkake o setsuyaku shite gunjin kyūgo ni* [半襟一かけを節約して軍人救護に]; Kanai 2004:11), this initiative was aimed at women who could afford to donate expensive garments (ibid.). Another of Kokubō Fujinkai's slogans, "Defending the nation from the kitchen" (*kokubō wa daidokoro kara* [国防は台所から]; Kanai 2004:12), makes it painfully clear that women's public participation, by and large, did not mean liberation from the confines of the domestic space either (ibid.).

Even feminist trailbrazer Hiratsuka Raichō 平塚らいてう (1886-1971), once known for founding Japan's first all-female literary magazine *Seitō* 青鞜 (*Bluestocking*)

[12] Protective neckpiece attached to a kimono's undergarment.

and rejecting the traditional role of *ryōsai kenbo* 良妻賢母 ("good wife, wise mother"), assumed decidedly conservative ground in an essay published in *Bungei Shunjū* in November 1938. An advocate for patriotic women's activism (*kokufu katsudō* 国婦活動), Hiratsuka emphasizes the bonds between household and society – and by extension, the nation – and speaks against 'household egotism' (*katei rikoshugi* 家庭利己主義). Such activities, as Kanai points out, were largely the only option for women to participate in the public sphere, and were also presented to the public as a feminist endeavor (Kanai 2004:15). Unfortunately, the only way to do so for most women was also, in their own way, to participate in war. Ōgoshi Aiko points out the danger of this wartime 'feminism' in support of the three policy pillars of that time (the modern nation-state, colonialism and imperialism), as it is reflective of imperial politics rather than feminism, mirroring public policy in the domestic sphere. Ōgoshi refers to this wartime phenomenon as "imperial feminism" (*teikoku no feminizumu* 帝国のフェミニズム; Ōgoshi 2004:52). She asserts that while there have been feminists during this time who were aware of such danger, most have been swept by this particular brand of imperialism. Ōgoshi also highlights the relationship of this imperial feminism to the broader emperor-centric system (*tennōsei* 天皇制; ibid.), again calling to mind the pervasiveness and ubiquity of the *kokutai* philosophy during the wartime years.

1.3. Wartime literature as an artifact of collective memory

Literary scholar David C. Stahl points out that "[l]ived experiences of traumatic historical events must be constituted in language and image before they can be

assimilated, integrated, examined, interpreted, understood, communicated or learned from" (Stahl 2016:169). "Ideally," Stahl writes, "such articulated experiences would form the core of personal and collective memory and responsible history" (ibid.). Stahl's quote ties well into the concept of collective memory as proposed by Weedon and Jordan (2012), whereby they argue that "collective memory is constructed by groups from materials of remembered experience, related by members of the (same or other) groups and narratives of history" (144). Collective memory – as well as counternarratives that challenge it (counter-memory) – is shaped by power relations and constructs the present of a society at a certain point in time (ibid.). Herein lies the value of examining Japanese wartime literature as a historical artifact: it is based on their authors' lived experience gathered in the warzones or occupied territories, and this experience is always going to be at the work's core no matter how strongly the literary expression was controlled by the state and other institutions. Further, borrowing Stahl's words, literary authors by definition constitute events (historical or otherwise) in language, which is then meant to be interpreted by the reader. Paying close attention to patterns emerging in literary propaganda – tropes involving places or characters, rhetoric pertaining to Japan's war effort, or even modes of storytelling and other literary devices – can prove helpful in gaining insight into how Japan's history was meant to be narrated and recorded.

Stahl discerns four major narratives concerning the war, Japan's defeat and its aftermath. The first, that of an 'Asian liberation' (meaning liberation from Western colonialization), is basically a continuation of the wartime ideology which still holds strong in Japan's conservative politics. The narrative of a 'national victimization', which emerged after the Tokyo War Crimes Trials, maintains that the emperor and his subjects were deceived and misused by the military, effectively absolving the emperor

from responsibility. The postwar American occupation and the developing relationship between former enemies informed the narrative of 'domestic rescue and conversion', overshadowing Japan's relations to other Asian countries. Finally, the narrative of modernization sees the end of war as a clean break with Japan's past, from which it liberated itself as a democratic nation (Stahl 2016:170–171). One thing these narratives clearly have in common is an avoidance of culpability and responsibility; in his essay "Bungakusha to sensō sekinin ni tsuite" 文学者と戦争責任について ("About authors and war responsiblity"), published in the 1956 volume *Bungakusha no sensō sekinin* 文学者の戦争責任 [*Authors' war responsibility*], poet and public intellectual Yoshimoto Takaaki 吉本隆明 (1924-2012) proposes the very opposite towards the dominant discourse in postwar Japan: that war means destruction of civilization and collective murder, meaning all those partaking in war bear this responsibility (Yoshimoto 2011:4). As wars emerge from conflicts of interest within the capitalist system and its exploitative practices, warring nations also bear a responsibility towards other nations, and Japan specifically is culpable of enabling of such a system under the emperor and military in union with fascist Italy and Nazi Germany (ibid.); as a citizen of Japan working under its system, Yoshimoto includes himself among those responsible. I propose to focus on aspects of the limited wartime discourse, largely set and regulated by the censorship system connecting the government to the media industry (thus directly affecting literary production), as well as the agency writers acknowledged and showed through their participation in pro-war propaganda, and how these aspects shape the resulting texts. In this way, wartime literature can be perceived as a site of both war responsibility (by virtue of its proximity to the government and the amplification of state narrative of war) and

collective memory, providing valuable insight into how (and if at all) war was negotiated in the public sphere as it was happening.

An alibistic attitude towards the war was already apparent within the literary circles shortly after its end, with many authors embarrassed over their enthusiastic support and adoption of nationalist rhetoric. To that end, wartime works often ended up being excised from collections of supposedly complete works (*zenshū* 全集; Keene 1984:907). This was one step in the canonization process of wartime literature, which started in the 1950s. Critical and scholarly attention to wartime works manifested itself especially in extensive collections of war literature in the 1970s. There was another resurgence of interest in wartime literature in the 1990s, when issues of collective memory in Japan, East Asia and the West provided further impulse for examining the wartime past – though sometimes resulting in historical revisionism (Mayo 2001:13). Marlene Mayo aruges that the indifference towards artists' moral responsibility in war is evidenced by an erasure of their nationalist expression from public consciousness (such as deliberate *zenshū* omissions), and that the complexities of historical forgetting and remembering in postwar media culminated in a "partial if not complete amnesia in the 1990s" (Mayo 2001:4). Peter Duus points out that the durability of the idea of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere can be traced back to the postwar effort to recover national self-esteem, and that it still appeals especially to those old enough to remember the idealism concerning the war prevalent in Japan's society at this time. Importantly, the affirmative view of war has been tacitly, sometimes even overtly, endorsed by the leading Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), whose prime leaders never explicitly acknowledged Japan's war responsibility (Duus 1996:xliv-xlv). Louise Young also sees Japan's economic growth and market expansion in the latter half of the twentieth century, as well as the competitive nature of neoliberal economy, as

factors contributing to a present resurgence of nationalist ideology (Young 2017:277). And even though Kagoshima mentions efforts such as NHK's war documentaries and television specials airing around the anniversary of Japan's defeat in maintaining Japan's collective memory (Kagoshima 2012:21), the current rise in nationalist politics and rhetoric in Japan (and across the world) makes the case for examining wartime literature and propaganda more urgent.

1.4. Censorship and media control

As the Japanese wartime cultural and media landscapes was diligently shaped by a complex, bureaucratic system of censorship, a brief overview of its history and development, important laws and regulations, as well as censorship practice, is vital for a proper contextualization and examination of wartime literature as part of the state propaganda which permeated all areas of Japanese society. Literary scholar Jonathan Abel provides a useful definition of censorship for the purposes of this study:

> "[C]ensorship removes or seeks to remove things from circulation either because those things are deemed to threaten the truth (as defined by the censors) or because they are said to contain the truth (as defined by the censored). Censorship is the process through which ideas have been treated as things with a direct relation to the truth, through which ideas have been manifest, solidified, and commodified as books, films, records, or any other kind of cultural material. [...] censorship [...] is a materialization, instantiation, and institutionalization of positivism." (Abel 2012:42)

Abel further points out the continuity of the censorship process, where censors are fully aware of the fact that mere removal of material from circulation will not stop ideas from circulating. More important is a chilling, intangible effect which develops in writers in the wake of books being censored (Abel 2012:42–43). Systems of

censorship in Japan developed together with publishing and print technology (beginning in the seventeenth century), and have always worked hand in hand with indoctrination and propaganda to enforce certain moral or social values (Suzuki 2012:7). The Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923 was a pivotal moment for censorship in the early 20th century due to the massive destruction of the infrastructure in Tōkyō and the need to reconstruct it, as progress in printing and binding technologies allowed for cheaper and faster book production. The outreach potential of mass culture and rapid transfer of information, as well as rise in leftist activity in the wake of the Russian Revolution in 1917, produced a conservative backlash articulated through legislation such as the Peace Preservation Law[13] (*Chian Iji Hō* 治安維持法) of 1925, which served to protect national polity against anarchists and communists (Abel 2012:1).

The laws which formed the basis for speech regulation in Japan until 1949 – the Publication Law (*Shuppan Hō* 出版法) and Press Law (*Shinbunshi Hō* 新聞紙法) – were already passed in the Meiji era (Kōno 2012:64). The Publication Law defined publications as any writing or picture that was printed and sold or distributed. Two copies had to be submitted to the Home Ministry (*Naimushō* 内務省), and if a work was judged to be 'disturbing to public peace and order' or 'injurious to public morals', it would be prohibited from distribution and sale and plates and printings would be confiscated. Periodicals were defined under the Press Law as anything published serially under a set title on a set date, or on an unspecified date within six months, as well as special issues under said title. Two copies were sent to the Home Ministry, one

[13] I will refer to these laws with their respective English, rather than Japanese, name below.

to the local auhorities[14], one to the Public Prosecutor's Office (*Kenjikyoku* 検事局) of the district court and one to the sub-district court (Obinata 2012:76). Aside from confiscating the incriminating material, texts could undergo deletion of relevant pages if they contained few questionable passages and if they otherwise posed a perceived threat to society. If there were few problem passages but a potentially large amount of copies to be confiscated, the book could be reprinted (with a stamp on the front cover) with the offensive passages removed (Obinata 2012:79). The phrase 'disruption of public peace and order' (*an'nei chitsujo binran* 安寧秩序紊乱), as it appears in legal texts, refers to anti-government activism and thought, including socialism. Another frequently used phrase, 'injury to public morals' (*fūzoku kairan* 風俗壊乱), has a much less clear definition – a fact that contemporary censors used to their advantage. It could be applied, for example, to expressions of sexuality or expressions threatening the institutions of marriage and family. Writers and editors learned best what subject matter to avoid from previously known instances of censorship, which further led to an increased self-censorship on the part of authors and publishers (Kōno 2012:66). By the 1930s, general standards for violations of 'public peace' included rhetoric against the imperial house or the monarchy system, advocating 'radical' ideologies such as colonial independence, or incitement of terrorism (Obinata 2012:78–79). In short, any ideas or rhetoric not in line with the official state policy were deemed threatening to the public peace and could be prosecuted. This authoritarian approach is also reflected through the many

[14] Like, for example, the Metropolitan Police Department (*Keishichō* 警視庁) in Tōkyō, or local police elsewhere.

censorship guidelines and standards for the press, examples of which will be shown below.

Abel highlights the early, pre-war Shōwa period (between 1927 and 1936) as the peak of censorship in Japan, where more books were banned and more passages were redacted than before or after. Although the wartime censorship system was extensive and complex, Abel points out that censorship and redaction happened less frequently from the early Shōwa years onwards, both due to the effective discouragement of (even potential) dissent, as well as a downturn in publishing due to paper shortages (Abel 2012:2). Again, financial losses resulting from banning of problematic publications provided ample incentive for editors and publishers to enforce self-censorship, employing blank spaces or deletion marks (*fuseji* 伏字) in an attempt to pass censorship while protecting the author's freedom of expression as much as possible. In this way, censorship was also internalized by authors, allowing for external and internal censorship to operate hand in hand during the rapid expansion of mass media in the 1920s (Suzuki 2012:11). This further led to the development of personal relationships between publishers and censors, allowing editors to receive guidance at manuscript stage and avoid trouble later in the publishing process. This so-called 'internal' censorship (*naiken'etsu*/*nai'etsu* 内検閲／内閲) might be seen as an act of submission, but the editors conducting it would argue, to the contrary, that this internal censorship made the publishing of great literary works possible in the first place (Kōno 2012:68). Indeed, journalist Maesaka Toshiyuki 前坂俊之 describes the intensifying grip of state censorship as going from 50 percent after the Manchurian Incident, through 80 percent at the outset of the Sino-Japanese War, to a practically full loss of information freedom during the Pacific War, with the media fully folded

into the national propaganda machine. Maesaka also provides a laundry list of legislation passed in the aftermath of the February 26 incident, such as laws against dissemination of inflammatory pamphlets, publishing prohibition of articles on military and marine affairs or paper distribution regulations (Maesaka 2005:23), showing how deeply censorship was anchored in all areas of public life during the wartime years.

As Maesaka points out further, speech, information, culture, mass media and even public opinion (*kokunai yoron* 国内世論) itself were fully under state control by December 1940, when the Cabinet Information Bureau (*Jōhōkyoku* 情報局, further only CIB) was established. The CIB was formed by merging the information divisions (*jōhōbu* 情報部) of ministries such as Foreign Affairs, Army, Navy etc. with the goal of maintaining total war and a unity of public opinion. Being responsible for information and propaganda in wartime Japan, it kept newspapers and publishers in general under threat of banning (*hakkin* 発禁) or shutdown (*haishi* 廃止) by way of the National Mobilization Law (*Kokka Sōdōinhō* 国家総動員法, passed in February 1938) and provided guidelines for other cultural sectors as well, such as film, music or theatre (Maesaka 2005:24; 29). The National Mobilization Law stated that in wartime, human and material resources should be regulated and utilized towards the accomplishment of national defense, and thus specified labor regulations (such as conscription), material regulations (such as production of goods, regulations of import/export) or business and finance regulations, among others. This legislation gave the military an unprecedented amount of power and decision-making ability while forgoing parliamentary deliberation (Maesaka 2005:25). Prior to their centralization within the

CIB, the respective ministries were in charge of designing and enforcing censorship guidelines for publications related to their respective fields, and these continued to form the basis of censorship for the duration of the war; I will show examples of these guidelines later in this section. As mentioned above, the February 26 incident (see Part I, 1.1.) marks the moment after which free speech in media was effectively muzzled. By the time of the Nanjing Massacre in December 1937, truthful reporting on the event was rendered impossible by domestic laws, and imported publications were subject to censorship, so that there was practically no awareness of the event in Japan (Nakazono 2006:204).

Maesaka quotes only one notable exception to the unanimous media coverage of the February 26 incident, Kawai Eijirō's[15] article "Ni-ni-roku jiken no hihan" ("Criticism of the February 26 incident" 二・二六事件の批判), published in *Teikoku Daigaku Shinbun* 帝国大学新聞 on March 9, 1936, where he condemns the event as an act of terrorism (Maesaka 2005:108). More typical is the response of Itō Masanori 伊藤正徳 (1889-1962), one of Japan's leading military commentators, who published an article called "Daijihen to genron jiyū" ("The Great Incident[16] and freedom of speech" 大事変と言論自由) in the August 1937 issue of *Kaizō*. Itō basically assumes the following position: firstly, anti-war rhetoric is inconceivable in Japan, which precludes criticism of the wartime order or the war itself; and secondly, people should trust their government, because it is itself opposed to extreme measures (Kagoshima 2012:141). This shows us that such simplistic, unquestioning pro-war speech was

[15] Economist and philosopher (1891-1944).

[16] The Second Sino-Japanese War.

thoroughly normalized by the time the war against China was in full swing. It may be impossible to determine to what extent the reading public identified with it, but it does clearly reflect the extent to which the war fever was pushed by the military and the media since the Manchurian Incident in 1931. The pattern of the press and military walking in lockstep, established then, had begun to repeat itself after the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937 (Maesaka 2005:122).

Maesaka's and Nakazono's (2006) publications provide valuable insight into the wartime press legislation in Japan by reproducing the publication prohibition guidelines published by the Navy (*Kaigun* 海軍) and Army (*Rikugun* 陸軍), which will be helpful in outlining the war discourse during the wartime years, and by extension in literature dealing with the war. There are too many examples to cite, as each agency was responsible for its own guidelines (which they published in abundance), but the examples I will provide below should sufficiently show the extent and profundity of wartime censorship in Japan. Its stringency is already apparent in Article 27 of the Press Law, which prohibits following content from publication:

1. Anti-war and anti-military rhetoric, rhetoric aiming to sow discord between the people and military
2. Display of citizens as belligerent, ideology challenging foreign policy
3. Publishing and republishing articles presenting foreign [e.g. Chinese] points of view and/or critical of Japanese policy; matters which would make ordinary citizens (*ippan kokumin* 一般国民) question 'reality' (*jijitsu* 事実)
4. Matter disturbing public order or concerning the authorities (*jikyoku* 時局)

(Maesaka 2005:115; translation mine)

While already this article effectively prevents anything but nationalist propaganda to be published as news, the Ministries of Navy (*Kaigunshō* 海軍省) and Army (*Rikugunshō* 陸軍省) issued further documents, specifying in great detail matters that

are subject to censorship. These lists are rather long and monotonous, but I would nonetheless like to list the original Navy guidelines in full, as they can provide us with an idea of censorship guidelines and thus the military wartime censorship in general. *Shinbun keisai kinshi jikō no hyōjun* [*Standards for publication prohibition of newspaper publications* 新聞掲載禁止事項の標準] were enacted by the Navy Ministry in July 1937 and revised in January 1941, and listed 21 items which made newspaper articles subject to censorship. Among the information deemed unsuitable for publication were Navy strategies and policy planning, as well as information on movement, manufacture, operation or accidents related to vessels and aircraft, any details on their manufacture, location or formation, as well as any subject matter that makes a direct conjencture to such information[17] (Maesaka 2005:115–117).

On December 8, 1941 (the day of the Pearl Harbor attack), a provision was added stipulating that articles related to military operations in general must be approved by the Military Headquarter (*Daihon'ei* 大本営; Maesaka 2005:117), further showing the centralization of power and homogenization of public discourse. Concurrently with the "Standards", the Navy Ministry made *Shinbun (zasshi) keisai jikō hyōhi hantei yōryō* 新聞（雑誌）掲載事項許否判定要領 [*Guidelines for approval of newspaper and magazine publications*] public in July 1937, with a revision also forthcoming in January 1941. This document listed 19 items which must be fulfilled for a newspaper or magazine publication[18].

These are similar to the previous guidelines, but more precise; for instance,

[17] Maesaka (2005:115-17) provides a full list of these items.

[18] The full list is provided by Maesaka (2005:117–121).

announcements by the Navy Ministry or those made by its bases, ports, headquarters and communications could be published, but had to be printed verbatim. Articles related to the operation of vessels or marine troops, including photographs, had to undergo inspection by authorities and be further forwarded to a censorship organ of the Navy Ministry (Maesaka 2005:117–118). Some of the most important points on this list are the requirements to replace names of fleets and troops uniformly with two circles as *fuseji* (Maesaka 2005:118). In order to prevent the actual troop names becoming public, men in ground units above the rank of a Batallion Commander (*daitaichō* 大隊長) or Major (*shōsa* 少佐) were to be uniformly named Commanding Officer (*butaichō* 部隊長) in print, while marine officers were to be titled by their position instead of rank such as 'artillery chief' (*hōjutsuchō* 砲術長) or 'captain' (*kanchō* 艦長), and air force troops were to be uniformly titled as 'commanding officer' (*shikikan* 指揮官, *butaichō* 部隊長 or *taichō* 隊長; Maesaka 2005:119-120). Writing about the deaths of soldiers above the rank of General (*shōkan* 将官) were forbidden until their passing was first announced by the Navy Ministry, while reporting on casualties among those ranked as Colonel (*taisa* 大佐) and below was allowed after being reported in local newspapers and relayed to their families (Maesaka 2005:120). Articles and photographs presenting the military unfavorably were to be withheld from publishing, as well as photographs displaying cruelty (Maesaka 2005:121) The list is followed by a note stating these guidelines may be amended in the future (ibid.).

Again, it is clear from these guidelines that any avenues for publishing anything deviating from the state line were inaccessible. The reading public was not able to follow news of the war in any objective manner – not even to the extent of knowing

where precisely the forces are, or how strong the force is. In the end, all the public had to rely on was official rhetoric. The last two points about the unfavorable presentation of military and display of cruelty are especially important, as they not only prevent anything but a benevolent (and thus fictional) image of war from emerging within the public consciousness, but in a sense also give the military the freedom to commit war crimes without any threat of repercussion, as the case of Nanjing illustrates with great clarity.

Since the overwhelming majority of wartime literary works have been published in literary magazines, they too were subject to the same rules; aside from publishing in magazines, writers such as Hayashi Fumiko also actively contributed to newspapers. Knowing the official guidelines is therefore helpful in understanding the rhetorical matrix within which the writers had to operate, and will allow us to see more clearly how strictly these rules were followed by the writers and enforced by the authorities. Even more importantly, comparing wartime publications with the official guidelines can reveal if, and to what extent, expression was possible beyond these strictly demarcated boundaries. It is also worth mentioning that the publishing industry at large – publishing companies Kaizōsha, Chūō Kōronsha, Kaizōsha, Bungei Shunjūsha, Shinchōsha, Jitsugyō no Nippon-sha, Hakubunkan, Fujokaisha, Nippon Hyōron-sha and Shufu no Tomo-sha[19] – cooperated with the Home Ministry on their own mobilization guidelines ("Kokumin seishin sōdōin keikaku yōkō" 国民精神総動員計画要綱 ["Outline for the project of mobilizing the people's spirit"]), made public in September 1937 (Yoshida 2010:183).

Shortly after the Navy Ministry published its "Standards" and "Guidelines", the

[19] In total representing some 90 magazines, including all major periodicals.

Army Ministry followed suit on July 31, 1937 and proclaimed the Army Ministerial Ordinance number 24 (Rikugunshō Rei Dai 24 gō 陸軍省令第二四号), according to which it was taking up the duty of pre-publication approval of articles related to the Army (Nakazono 2006:194). Similarly to the Navy's "Standards", the Ordinance stated that articles are to be submitted to the Army Ministry if they relate to the following: mobilization/organization, strategy/tactics, transportation/communications, territorial defense, (counter-)intelligence and investigations, and matters from which any of the above may be conjenctured. The Army Ministry, like the Navy, also established its "Standards" and "Guidelines", the latter of which was intended for cases where a censorship judgement was hard to make. Both of these documents were revised along with the escalating state of the war, the contents becoming even more stringent and tying the media to the authorities ever closer (Nakazono 2006:195). Throughout the many revisions of the Army's "Guidelines", the only points that remain unchanged are the last three: on proactive publishing of *bidan* 美談 ('tales of heroism', or propagandistic war reportage celebrating the soldiers' deeds on the front), prohibition of articles which portray the military negatively, and materials which display cruelty against the Chinese (Nakazono 2006:196), again underscoring how important and effective the lack of domestic public awareness was in the Japanese war effort.

The last example of censorship guidelines I will mention is "Hokushi jihen ni kan suru ippan annei kinshi hyōjun" 北支事変に関する一般安寧禁止標準 ("Standards for publication prohibition and [maintaining] public peace related to the Northern China Incident"), which was distributed to local censorship authorities throughout the country in August 1937. This document listed a number of points under which articles

will be censored, among which was opposition to the national policy towards China and featuring oppositional views to those of the Cabinet; criticism of the political process in China, which 'intentionally lies' or 'distorts truth' (*jijitsu* 事実) and hinders the unification of national discourse (*kokuron tōitsu* 国論統一); and finally depictions of Japan's territorial aspirations as belligerent, which would supposedly slander the Empire's benevolence (Nakazono 2006:199). Nakazono argues that these points put into relief one of the prime objectives of wartime censorship, which was to cover up the lack of order in the political institutions, and the second point (on 'truth') is therefore the most central. The latter two points, according to Nakazono, reveal that smoothing over any contradictions and disorder within the foreign policy against China was a major concern for censorship as well (Nakazono 2006:200). The foundation of the CIB in 1940 in order to streamline the censorship processes and management also lends support to this argument. Finally, Nakazono also presents examples of numbers of articles and photographs submitted to the Army and Navy Ministries, offering us a glimpse at the approval and rejection ratio: Out of 1360 articles and photographs submitted to the Army Ministry, 1086 were approved and 274 were not; out of 296 submissions to the Navy Ministry, 206 were approved and 90 were not[20]. Considering the scope of the restrictions imposed upon the press and publishers by the military (the above-mentioned examples only being a few of many) these numbers once again suggest a developing sense of self-censorship among reporters and photographers writing about and documenting the war in the years preceding the outbreak of war, despite relatively high (approximately 20 to 30 percent) rejection rates.

[20] See Tables (*hyō* 表) 1 and 2 in Nakazono 2006:196; 198.

It only makes sense that the guardrails of censorship would be internalized by those under its grip, because the complexity of the system, as shown on the above examples, made an enormous government apparatus necessary. According to an article published in *Yomiuri Shinbun* in April 1928, an average publication section (*shuppanbu* 出版部) was responsible for over 200 cases per day. Under the Press Law, over 8500 newspapers and magazines were subject to censorship monthly (with one employee responsible for around 200 a day), while around 2000 books and 3000 journals had to be censored under the Publication Law (with one employee responsible for around 280 a day); these numbers exclude advertising flyers, pictures, photographs and calendars, as well as an endless stream of telegrams. Moreover, the overall number of publications rose with each passing year (Obinata 2012:80). The rise in publications prompted continuous search for personnel (the number of censorship cases in 1931 was triple that of 1928), but the staff would actually shrink. Still, the Publication Section commanded a staff of 70 by the end of 1933, over 100 by the end of 1935, and in 1936 had to be divided into subdivisions for newspapers, other print publications, phonograph records, and foreign publications (Obinata 2012:82). This allows for two observations: first, that the legislation on press and speech freedom, originating in the Meiji period and therefore before Japan's expansion, could not be effectively scaled to accommodate the tight grip the state required on the public opinion on an institutional level; and second, that it was precisely the strictness and complexity of the censorship measures which would prevent it from being carried out to its full potential. Nevertheless, as the examples of the February 26 incident and the Nanjing Massacre demonstrate, these shortcomings were all but invisible in the press coverage of war, as I will show in the following section.

1.5. Press as an agent of ideology

In *Imagined communities*, Benedict Anderson ascribes two European products of the late eighteenth century an influential role in shaping the public imagination in modern times – the novel and the newspaper. Both of them, Anderson states, provided the technical means for representing nation as an imagined community (Anderson 2006:25). Newspapers present world events as multilayered, yet on a linear timeline, marked by the date on top (Anderson 2006:33). Anderson describes newspapers as one-day bestsellers, ubiquitous and disposable at the same time. The 'mass ceremony' of simultaneous news consumption is at the same time an imagining of newspaper contents 'as fiction'; the regular and frequent nature of this ceremony being principal in fostering the feeling of nation as community (Anderson 2006:35). While the sycophantic role of the press and media in service of state propaganda can be in large part explained by the Peace Preservation Law, Louise Young argues that the news media themselves took a proactive stance in supporting the war in the name of commercial expansion and profit that imperial warfare offered to producers of mass culture – a phenomenon by far not unique to Japan (Young 1998:56).

The effectivity of the press propaganda was certainly aided by the fact that the Japanese public was highly literate as a result of a universal compulsory educational system, in place since the 1870s, and literacy rates were high even among the lower classes. To this point, Young cites an example of a Tōkyō slum in 1922, where 92 percent of the single residents and 89 percent of heads and household could read and write (Young 1998:59). Those who were unable to subscribe to a newspaper still had access to them in bars, restaurands, barbershops or meeting houses. Still, subscriber rates were high: in Tsukishima (Tōkyō), a working-class neighborhood in 1919, 80 percent of households subscribed to newspapers, 18 percent of which subscribed to

more than one. 88 percent of surveyed working women in Tōkyō subscribed to a paper, and the subscription rate among mine workers in Kyūshū was about 50 percent, 87 in farm villages around Tōkyō (ibid.). For more context, the circulation of *Asahi Shinbun* in 1941 was around 3.5 million copies, with *Mainichi Shinbun* printing around the same number, followed by *Yomiuri Shinbun* with almost 1.6 million copies (Yoshida 2010:98). The wartime was also a development opportunity for new media, as NHK pioneered new techniques such as live radio coverage from the scene of the event (Young 1998:67) and film technology allowed for this to be the first war waged by Japan to be recorded in moving images. Wide-reaching newspaper mergers and eventual paper rationing (Moore 2013:136; Nakazono 2006:322–323; Yoshida 2010:163) were further tools of the government to eliminate undesirable local media and consolidate and shape the press on a national level, and in the government's image.

If newspapers, to paraphrase Anderson, essentially act as chapters within the ongoing serial novel of history, then the media industry must assume the role of its narrator – especially if the narrative aims to relay a message of national unity. Earhart defines the function of media in modern wartime society as "to produce images and texts orienting citizens within the national cause as participants in a glorious history-in-progress, one whose goals are lofty [...] and above all else, one that leads ineluctably to victory" (Earhart 2008:xi), necessitating an epic narrative to mobilize its citizens and thus extensive coordination between the media, the government and the military (ibid.). In doing so, the wartime media drew upon political, historical, societal and cultural traditions, and the CIB was very selective in framing social and aesthetic values representing these traditions. Self-sacrifice, propriety and adherence to group were presented as the antidotes to individualism, selfishness and decadence as toxic Western values, while Earhart further defines the 'look' of the war as presented in

media as minimalist, austere and emphasizing the raw, unadorned, native and powerful (Earhart 2008:9). In its selectivity, CIB followed suit of the aforementioned guidelines for publication and censorship, as published by the Army and Navy ministries in conjunction with the Home Ministry.

The roots of media campaigns in service of war effort can be once again traced to the invasion of Manchuria. In the early 1930s, the Japanese army sponsored a large-scale campaign to support its message of national defense, which included speech tours, rallies, newsreel screenings or radio broadcasts. This led to a war saturation in media and entertainment and 1.7 million people attending nearly two thousand events nationwide. The war fever instigated during the Manchurian Incident helped spread the ideas of crisis in the empire, heroism of battle and glory of sacrifice, which in turn translated into support of military leadership at home (Young 1998:286). All of this was only amplified after the war in China broke out in what was essentially a press campaign for the military. Major newspapers published songbooks with titles such as *Senshō no uta* 戦捷(せんしょう)の詩 [*Songs of victory*] or *Shōkokumin aikokka* 小国民愛国歌 [*Patriotic songs for children*]. A record with the songs *Shingun no uta* 進軍の歌 [*March song*] and *Roei no ua* 露営の歌 [*Camping song*] became a huge hit, selling in excess of million copies; *Jūgo no hana* 銃後の花 [*Homefront flower*], *Tekizen jōriku* 敵前上陸 [*Deployment before the enemy*] or *Ai no senninbari* 愛の千人針 [Senninbari[21] *of love*] were some of the other popular song titles from this era (Maesaka 2005:126).

The wartime news media was also feverish in its deployment of journalists.

[21] A belt/strip of cloth decorated with a thousand stitches, each by a different woman, given as a parting gift and a good luck charm to soldiers.

According to Maesaka, the major newspaper companies have sent in excess of a thousand deployees to the Chinese front (Maesaka 2005:127). The war stories were eagerly consumed by the public, leading to a glorious reappearance of the *jūgun kisha* 従軍記者 (embedded reporter) figure which had emerged in the press in the days of the Russo-Japanese War (Maesaka 2005:124). Again, the press drew upon patterns familiar from the Manchurian Incident, during which time the so-called *bidan* 美談 (tales of heroism) surfaced – stories celebrating good deeds of the Japanese soldiers and relating to the Manchurian Incident from a personal perspective. Those written from a male perspective usually emphasized heroism on the battlefield – with death providing a dramatic center for these stories, embodying martyrdom – while sacrifices on the home front were at the core of texts written from a female perspective (Young 1998:106). Both of them were unified by the notion of sacrifice and its virtuousness, like when a soldier dies on the battlefield or when a mother donates a week's wage to the soldiers on front, with the consequence of their actions remaining unresolved – and thus bringing the sacrificial gesture itself to the forefront (Young 1998:111). *Bidan* from the battlefield typically related to aspects of life in the military: leaving for service, life in the unit, fighting on the front, heroic deaths and the return of servicemen's remains. These accounts also provided material for dialogue between soldiers, from which the public could make itself familiar with language and behavior on the battlefield, and their popularity even translated to adventurous *kamishibai* 紙芝居[22] performed for children (Moore 2013:136). As we will see later, *bidan* were an important foundation for the literature about war and its rhetoric, and to a certain

[22] Literally 'paper play' – a form of street theatre told by a narrator with paper props.

extent, most works of Japanese literary propaganda could be described as *bidan* in long form.

Moore describes the aim of war reportage in Japan as to capture the true experience of war from a worm's-eye view and inspiring its readers to participate in mobilization. While war reportage first emerged with the intention to increase the circulation of newspapers, but with no particular concern for the common soldier (Moore 2013:21), this changed with the arrival of mass politics at the turn of the twentieth century. Moore points to the roots of reportage as a genre concerned with exposing the plight of the working class, constructing a unified subject and gradually exposing the systemic nature of its oppression; reportage, Moore highlights, began as a form of agitation propaganda (ibid.). Substituting the workers for troops (who, it is worth repeating, were themselves mostly members of the working class) and externalizing the common struggle thus allowed the media to hijack narrative patterns familiar to its readership and weaponize them towards the goal of 'national unity'. In one of Maesaka's examples on early reporting about the China war, the writer imagines a future in which Japan would become united with China: "Japan and China are not eternal enemies" (Maesaka 2005:124). This sentiment is important to keep in mind going forward, as the Japanese writers never imagine the civilians as enemies and often imagine the war as being waged on their behalf as well. The urgency of the message of national unity became even more pressing as the tides of war turned against Japan's favor, leading the media to publish false casualty numbers or outright fabricate victories in the wake of the disastrous Battle of Guadalcanal in November 1942 (Maesaka 2005:138–139).

The figure of the soldier as it emerges in Japanese wartime media is the embodiment of Japanese wartime values, the model citizen, and is the single

important type among the characters which recur on the pages of Japanese wartime literature. It is therefore vital to briefly outline the characteristics of this type, as it will accompany us throughout this study. Once again, the media drew on the soldier's image from the early 1930s, but refining it into one of a noble warrior "engaged in a holy war against forces threatening Japan's national greatness and the destiny of the Yamato race" (Earhart 2008:69). Similarly to the written *bidan*, magazines such as *Shashin Shūhō* 寫眞週報 (*Photographic Weekly Report*, launched by the Cabinet Information Section [below abbreviated to CIB] in February 1938), depicted soldiers' training, life and actions in photographic essays, giving rise to the image of the soldier both as human and superhuman at the same time. As other magazines were dependent on the state authorities and later CIB for their survival, they too quickly began taking cues in designing the look of the soldier and war (Earhart 2008:99). Since the mass media had championed pacifism and international cooperation in the previous decade, the sharp turn towards militarism in the early 1930s may have initially been a shock to the public (Young 1998:78), but it had become thoroughly normalized before the decade came to a close, in no small part due to the omnipresence of soldiers in media and urban spaces after 1937 (Earhart 2008:84). By 1940, military service was more than a rite of passage and became almost a prescribed way of life for able-bodied men; the soldier embodying the highest ideals of the nation (Earhart 2008:103).

At the same time, the strict government censorship prevented the public from seeing the atrocities committed by the military. As for the soldiers on the front, the widely held perception of other Asian nations as backward for failing to modernize at the same pace as Japan – and therefore inferior – had often enabled them to commit crimes against the Chinese civilians (McClain 2002:449). Earhart points toward the

stark contrasts between the monolithic quality of the Yamato myth and the malleability of attitudes towards other races, and since the entire war was framed in terms of fulfillment of destiny for the Yamato race, racism was an inevitable aspect of the Japanese wartime press[23] (Earhart 2008:335). The enemy is not presented in purely antagonistic terms; instead, the 'other' can become a projection surface for a broad spectrum of sentiments related to the war: amity, distrust, sympathy, condescension, and many others (Earhart 2008:333). This means that a portrayal of the 'enemy' undesirable to the state was largely precluded by the tight censorship restrictions, the desired portrayal itself was bolstered and normalized by decades of public discourse establishing Japan as a country superior to its Asian neighbors. As such, the attitudes toward Japan's antagonists (particularly China) were therefore a result of long-term discursive developments solidified by the censorship, rather than just the draconian censorship itself. In this way, then, the system of censorship not only influenced the media discourse, but also partly reflected it.

Finally, in order to understand the severity of the wartime censorship, we must also briefly look at examples of censorship aimed at various media outlets. Having been involved in Marxist debates in the 1920s and 1930s, the magazine *Chūō Kōron* was under close scrutiny of the censorship, until finally five of its editors were arrested and detained without trial in January 1944, which led to further persecution of some sixty writers and three staff members being beaten to death in detainment (Earhart 2008:323). *Chūō Kōron* was forced to dissolve in July of that same year after the Army attributed a fabricated plot to revive the Communist Party to the editors; it resumed publication in 1946 and is still one of Japan's leading magazines today. In light of these

[23] For a detailed discussion on the Japanese discourse on race in the early modern times, see Kawai 2015.

severe repercussions, it is then somewhat surprising to learn that *Chūō Kōron* was ideologically hardly out of step with the state line and articles discussing different aspects of the war and its various implications did not reflect negatively on the war effort. Earhart concludes that the case of *Chūō Kōron* clearly shows how any deviation from, even mere discussion of the message of 'certain victory' put forward by the military and government, was enough to put press outlets in severe peril (ibid.). The reduction of the number of magazines on the literary market during the wartime years also meant dwindling opportunities for the writers, who either had to find other work to support themselves or turn to propaganda as the only literature recognized as valuable by the authorities (Keene 2010:52).

Another magazine with an even more storied relationship to censorship is *Kaizō,* which notably pushed the limits of free press and was first banned in August 1919, mere four months after its first appearance. Between then and 1944, when it disappeared for the next two years, *Kaizō* suffered at least nineteen bans and deletions, while also being punished with numerous fines and imprisonment of its editors and publishers (Abel 2012:158). As one of the primary organs of Japanese leftist discourse, *Kaizō* was able to survive other similar magazines and publish authors who were otherwise active in more radical publications – such as Nakano Shigeharu 中野重治 (1902-1979) or Kobayashi Takiji 小林多喜二 (1903-1933) – alongside authors writing for the government such as Hino Ashihei 火野葦平 (1907-1960) or Ozaki Shirō 尾崎士郎 (1898-1964). Abel credits *Kaizō*'s ability for survival to its extensive use of *fuseji* (deletion marks), which "helped [it] to navigate the treacherous waters of early Shōwa discourse" (Abel 2012:159). The use of *fuseji* became so frequent (especially in *Kaizō*'s case) that Abel speaks of an "aesthetics of redaction" (Abel 2012:156) and about its

effect in obfuscating which instances of *fuseji* were mandated by censorship and which had been editorial; at other times, applying them smartly could help readers fill in the blanks with their own imagination (Abel 2012:4).

1.6. Field diaries and counter-memory

While the wartime news media present a consistent, monolithic image of war, there are other parts of the war discourse which help us gain deeper insight into how the war was experienced – and with it, how the collective memory of war was formed in the private sphere of Japan's citizens. In *Writing War* (2013), Aaron W. Moore presents numerous examples of soldiers' field diaries (*jinchū nikki/nisshi* 陣中日記／日誌), authentic accounts from the war zones not intended for public consumption – however, these diaries were themselves subject to official inspection. In fact, the practice of diary writing had a recognized disciplinary function, and the importance of ideological indoctrination is also exemplified by the emergence of mass-printed 'war diaries' (*jūgun techō* 従軍手帖), which were ubiquitous by 1941 (Moore 2013:157).

This effect of an ideological 'Gleichschaltung' through disciplined writing can also be observed at the level of language, where servicemen would substitute personal pronouns such as *watakushi* 私 (I) for a less personal *jibun* 自分 (myself) in order to express membership within a larger group (Moore 2013:189). Moore describes the field diaries of Japanese soldiers in China as "an invention of a Foucauldian nature: through the threat of potential review, it effectively extended the gaze of central authority into the everyday decision-making processes of officers, regardless of whether that authority was actually looking or not" (Moore 2013:20), therefore serving the purpose of surveillance over the Japanese servicemen. The practice of keeping

field diaries is linked to nineteenth-century discourses in which the disciplined record of facts as they were experienced is of great importance for the preservation of 'truth'; this kind of writing has made its way into East Asia through various channels previously. The positivistic ideology behind it was eventually imparted on soldiers through domestic military training (ibid.).

As a form of self-discipline, by learning to restrict their entries and by the everyday repetition of the act of writing, servicemen could learn to think of their war experience as a disciplined activity, one which they could (supposedly) capture in their diaries (Moore 2013:62). In drawing upon similar understanding of power, a Foucauldian frame of reference regarding discipline and surveillance might then indeed be meaningful when approaching not only field diaries, but also war reportage and works of literature, since the latter have also frequently taken on a diary form or incorporated its aspects, as I will show in Chapter 4, as well as on examples Hayashi Fumiko's wartime texts in particular.

The interplay of war reportage and field diary as writing forms started developing in the early 20th century. For Moore, this was an inevitable process due to the military hierarchy: junior officers would emulate diary-writing practices from their seniors to define themselves as military men; at the same time, the seniors would adopt the compelling language of heroic war reportage. Importantly, servicemen understood that the facts recorded in their field diaries are an authentic expression of the truth of war, as they experienced it on the front lines (Moore 2013:21–22). This brings to mind the 'worm's-eye view' prevalent in the war reportage of this time (see Part I, 1.5.) and suggests that war reportage, and *bidan,* as published in newspapers and magazines, on the one hand provided soldiers (and war veterans) with a means of identification. By their exposure to former written accounts of war, however, future conscripts could

also have been 'primed' for their own diary-writing practice. Moore points towards field diaries and war reportage – in and outside of Japan – as the foundation of self-expression among soldiers in the twentieth century, a "flexible genre of self-narrative [...] [and] foundation for how men used language to comprehend self and war" (Moore 2013:20). Therefore, while it is important to acknowledge the censorship and discursive limits present at all times in writing about war in any avenue – diary, reportage or a literary work – it is no less important in pursuing collective memory in all of its complexity to shed light upon how the war was *meant* to be recorded and remembered. Understanding the systems of censorship and the limits it placed upon public (and, by way of gradual indoctrination, also private) discourse can help us read war writing with an active awareness of its limits, and therefore discover fissures in the monolith of Japanese wartime propaganda more easily.

The interconnected nature of field diary, war reportage and war literature is exemplified by an early classic of war literature, *Nikudan* 肉弾 (*Human bullets*, 1906) by Sakurai Tadayoshi 櫻井忠温 (1879-1965). *Nikudan* was a personal account written by a war veteran, published after the Russo-Japanese War, repeating themes from earlier *bidan* already established in the First Sino-Japanese War such as suffering, nobility and superiority of the Japanese troops (Moore 2013:28–29). But the practice of diary-writing itself may have been even more influenced by Tamon Jirō's 多門二郎 diary *Yo ga sanka shitaru Nichiro-sen-eki* 余ガ参加シタル日露戦役 (*My participation in the Russo-Japanese War*), published in 1912. As Tamon, a senior commanding officer, insisted the diary presented his own personal view of the war, it could become a valuable teaching tool on military conduct, life and writing a diary (ibid.). It is therefore not very surprising to discover similar scenes and patterns emerge across

wartime diaries of Japanese soldiers in general: for example, diaries from 1937 usually begin with the conscripts recording their draft notices (*akagami* 赤紙) and mobilization orders (*dōin karei* 動員下令) in a manner similar to previously published war accounts (Moore 2013:74). Perhaps due to the surveillance involved in writing field diaries, even when the soldiers complained about inhuman conditions of the ships that transported them, they ultimately looked ahead at the transformation they expected after disembarking on the beach. The diaries also show feelings of guilt of the soldiers, particularly those from poor farming families, towards those they left behind, revealing that conscription was also a matter of great inconvenience to many (Moore 2013:79–80), as mentioned in the previous subchapter.

One of the most important fractures in the monolith of the wartime discourse that Moore's book presents emerge through field accounts of the Nanjing Massacre, which provide a valuable counter-narrative to the coordinated silence in news media. These diaries themselves are an important artifact within a discourse in which revisionist views on this topic are still being accommodated. A sense of urgency to record the brutality in Nanjing permeates these accounts, which display a wide range of emotional responses: one officer stands on a hill proudly overlooking "a pile of Chinese soldiers' corpses as high as a mountain" (Moore 2013:118), others merely lamenting it as "an error over which the Imperial Army has lost face" (Moore 2013:123). Still others, however, were palpably shaken by what they witnessed, writing sympathetically about the victims of the massacre and struggling to find appropriate language in recording their story – tellingly, as Moore points out, the language also becomes much less heroic here than in their earlier entries. Ultimately, however, self-discipline and with it ideology prevail, as the diaries show: even those who

sympathized with those on the receiving end of a war crime could find, and express in writing, ways to justify the military conduct (Moore 2013:119–120). The self-disciplining act of writing a diary – and of searching for a consistent, 'truthful' narrative – was without a doubt a valuable tool in achieving this goal for the state.

'Truth' is a word which emerges not only in Moore's discussion of field diaries, but also in many other contexts like that of war reportage and war literature, all of which are closely tied together in interwoven discursive relationships. It may therefore be futile to search for a single 'truth' about war as it can be gleaned from all possible venues of collective memory; rather, the discourse shows us that truths about war are manifold and perspectives on it are many. Wartime propaganda, as shaped by government and media institutions, presents the guardrails of discourse, but as Moore points out, the earnest writing by the soldiers sometimes allowed them to pass by the limits of permissible discourse (Moore 2013:154). Preoccupied as the soldiers were with writing their diaries, they first and foremost provide valuable documents of their individual experiences of war, even as they have been standardized in form and subject to institutional control. Importantly, Moore points towards textual blank spots, inconclusive narrativization or omission of entire sections of the past not as effects of censorship, but as effects of traumatic experience (Moore 2013:295). This point will be important going forward, because it forces us to examine issues of censorship as they relate to works of wartime literature in a more nuanced manner – omission of events could be a result of censorship, of memory loss, an authorial decision or even all of them. Importantly, even as the writers were all working for the same institutions and collaborated in a general propaganda effort, much like the soldiers themselves, they also possessed individual voices and articulated their war experiences in different ways.

1.7. Chapter résumé: a framework for approaching wartime literature

By examining the aspects of Japanese nationalism and imperialism relevant to wartime media and literary discourse, its system and practice of censorship, as well as the relationship between state and press, we can establish a discursive frame that aids a careful reading of wartime literature as part of Japanese state propaganda. It is also vital for understanding the role of writers and their own positioning within this framework, and allows us to better grasp the contribution of literature within the larger history and memory of war. Firstly, it is important to point out that social, political and economic circumstances in Japan since the Meiji era have shaped the country's ideological developments and understanding of its global role. The outbreak of war was fostered by an environment already primed for mobilization by a half-century of Japanese military successes and colonial expansion that reached its peak during the wartime years. The downfall of the Japanese empire was comparatively quick and sudden, as was its growth at this time: the imperial expansion proceeded at an unprecedented speed and scope.

Secondly, while the wartime censorship was strict, precise and conducted by a large, layered apparatus, it was also a result of gradual changes in Japan's legal system that began in the Meiji era. This means that while the war discourse and freedom of expression during the wartime years were indeed very limited, it was a consequence of a gradual discursive narrowing over several decades. This is an important factor when considering the literary frame of reference for authors writing from and about war, such as Hayashi Fumiko. Since the wartime press in Japan did present a monolithic, uncomplicated picture of war throughout its many print and news outlets, the censorship strategy was demonstrably successful, even if it was lacking efficacy in practice. This, in turn, suggests that the long-time influence of censorship over prior

decades, which discouraged dissent with nationalist ideology, as well as its gradual intensification, worked out in favor of the state, while also turning out profit for the media industry and, by extension, authors of literature. In the next chapter, I will try to show how the media industry's invention of heroic tales, or *bidan*, formed an important building block for wartime literature.

When considering the intended audience of Japanese wartime propaganda, we must also acknowledge that Japan's belief in victory was bolstered by a long period of success and even development of its colonies. I believe this is one of the key factors in understanding the durability of the wartime myth of imperial benevolence. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that the perceived positive effects[24] of other empires on their colonies (British, Dutch or French) also never fully disappeared from historical discourses. In this way, the discourse on Japanese imperialism is arguably rather similar to that on other empires and should not be viewed as an exception. Benedict Anderson's rooting of nationalism in the shared understanding of nation as an imagined community, as well as his cognizance of mass culture and media as imperative factors in the nationalist indoctrination, is especially useful in the case of Japanese wartime literary propaganda, as it emerged on the intersection of state, media and cultural discourses. At the same time, Anderson's framework of an imagined community provides a universal concept allowing us to see Japanese wartime nationalist ideology through the prism of nationalism as global phenomenon of modernity, rather than a historical anomaly.

In the next chapter, I will examine how the aspects of Japanese wartime culture have imprinted themselves on the literature of this time. The present chapter provides

[24] Examples often referred to are raising literacy rates or developing infrastructure, downplaying or justifying the eventual human cost.

several observations which will be important for the subsequent literary analysis: Firstly, nationalism as it can be picked up in wartime literature was not a new phenomenon in the 1930s, even as the rising liberalism of the 1920s may suggest otherwise. Important foundations for the shape and style of wartime literary propaganda that emerged in the Second Sino-Japanese War were laid with war literature of previous, and victorious, wars Japan conducted. Early war literature in Japan from the turn of the century had informed the style of war reportage published by press outlets, and these heroic tales (*bidan*) in turn influenced the way field officers recorded their war experience in private diaries. All of these aspects converge in Hino Ashihei's *Mugi to heitai*, the progenitor of what may be called the 'China War literature': written as a diary based on Hino's own field notes, it is at the same time a highly composed work of literature intended for mass consumption.

2. Literature as a vessel for propaganda

In the following chapter, I want to lay out the fundamental ways in which state and literature intersected in wartime years, and pay particular attention to certain aspects of wartime literature which appear relevant in comparison to Hayashi Fumiko's own wartime writing. In section 2.1., I will introduce and look into important literary developments and tendencies in 1930s Japan, focusing on dominant tropes of wartime literature as they emerge already before the war (2.1.1.), and on concrete ways in which state and literature were connected through institutions such as literary associations or, most importanly, the so-called *pen butai* ペン部隊 (writers' corps, 2.1.2.). In the following sections, I will focus on autobiographical writing as a prism through which we can approach Japan's wartime literature and the authors' accounts of war. In Chapter 2.2., I will use Irmela Hijiya-Kirschnereit's (1996) analysis of the

autobiographical genre of *shishōsetsu* 私小説 ('I-novel') to discuss those of its elements which also emerge in wartime texts and show how they can be regarded suitable vessels for propaganda. Finally, in Chapter 2.3., I will examine elements of autobiographical writing in a broader sense, or outside of the *shishōsetsu* framework, which are to be found in Japan's wartime literature which may allow for a more nuanced reading of these texts.

If mass, popular culture and mass media – themselves important developments of the modern age – help normalize and solidify nationalist discourse, then wartime Japanese literature and its role within the state propaganda deserves a closer examination for several reasons. As shown in the previous chapter, newspapers and magazines reached a broad readership thanks both to their wide circulation and high literacy rates. Since works of literature in Japan are also primarily published in periodicals before being made available in book form, the connection between the literary and mass media markets has been especially strong in the country. The circumstances of mass media production therefore also directly affect the conditions of literary production. The mass media discourse on war, as presented through journalistic writing, often shared the space of the same periodical (newspaper or magazine) with literary texts dealing with war, making both discourses especially close not only in an ideological, but also quite literally, in a physical sense.

Louise Young (1998), for example, points out how songwriters and dramatists turned to newspapers in composing their work, blending fact and fiction expressed through "imperial jingoism" (74) and masqueraded as 'infotainment' (ibid.). On the other hand, Kimberly Kono (2005) points to examples of films produced in the so-called *gaichi* 外地 ['outer territories', i.e. Japanese colonies] which emphasize and

ethnicize modernity as Japanese, whose protagonists either develop the continent as employees of the South Manchuria Railway (Minamimanshū Tetsudō 南満州鉄道 or Mantetsu 満鉄) or help a Chinese woman overcome her hostility towards Japan by introducing her to its culture (Kono 2005:40). In this way, as Kono argues, modern development was associated with Japanese colonial efforts in these territories – epitomized in industrialization, the introduction of new technologies, urbanization, and a centralized government – but also with adoption of 'modern' (i.e. 'Japanese') behavior on the part of the colonized (ibid.). As mentioned in the previous chapter, this trope of colonial expansion as a condition for modern development in popular culture helps to uphold the myth of Japan's 'imperial benevolence' to this day. The consolidation of militaristic state ideology and journalism becomes even more tangible through documents such as *Jūgun kisha no shiori* [*Guidebook for embedded journalists* 従軍記者ノ栞], published by the Information Burau of Expeditionary Forces in China (Chūshi Hakengun Hōdōbu 中支派遣軍報道部) in 1938, which explicitly equates journalists with soldiers on the front as an embodiment of Japan's national policy and agents of international influence (Gomibuchi 2018:95).

The influence of state ideology was wide-reaching in wartime Japan. At the same time, 'war literature' can be considered to be multifaceted, encompassing not only works from and dealing with the situation on the battlefront, but also works telling the stories of encounters between the colonizers and the colonized, as well as those taking place in wartime Japan itself. It is also important to acknowledge Japanese wartime literature, especially in its connection to propaganda, not as an isolated literary 'genre' which did not exist before or after the war. This is only partly true, since, as already demonstrated above, the literary propaganda after 1937 and the writing from the front

itself took up patterns and rhetoric already familiar from texts about the Japanese colonies published in the previous years of the decade. But we must also recognize works of wartime propaganda as a part of Japanese literature in the 1930s in general, or perhaps more appropriately the early Shōwa era, and partly also as a continuation of literary trends and markers of aesthetic value (in other words, discourses on 'good' or 'valuable' literature) present since before the Second Sino-Japanese War. Finally, it is also necessary to examine the interest of authors in taking part in state propaganda in light of the menace of *tenkō* 転向 (forced ideological conversion [of leftists]), which had effectively stifled dissent against the state ideology in the early 1930s. I will discuss this context in more detail in the next part, where I will also introduce the theoretical framework to examine works of wartime literary propaganda, in order to connect the wider literary discourse of the 1930s with the aesthetics of heroism constituting the *bidan* reportage and how these are applied within the framework of an ostensibly apolitical *shishōsetsu* mode of autobiographical writing. In this way, then, it is also helpful to approach wartime literature through the lens of autobiographical writing in a broader sense, how the autobiographical subject (the 'autobiographical I') is constructed and how aesthetics of *bidan* propaganda and the *shishōsetsu* novel converge.

2.1. Pursuing authenticity: the literary context of 1930s Japan

Japan's wartime literature is of course predominantly steeped in the literary context of the 1930s. However, the connection of literature and the mass media cannot be overstated: literary critic Itagaki Naoko 板垣直子 (1896-1977) explicitly points out the relationship of ostensibly fictional war novels (*sensō shōsetsu* 戦争小説) to

reportages of embedded writers (*jūgun sakka no ruporutāju* 従軍作家のルポルタージュ) in her 1941 volume *Senjika no bungaku* 戦時下の文学 [*Wartime literature*]. Itagaki also opines here that there are no excellent works of war literature unless written by soldiers themselves, such as Hino Ashihei's 火野葦平 (1907-1960) *Mugi to heitai* 麦と兵隊 (*Wheat and soldiers,* 1938), designating only such works as "true war literature" (*ma no sensō bungaku* 真の戦争文学; Matsumoto 2018:112).

While it may appear counterintuitive at first sight, the roots of wartime literature and particularly its subset of 'frontline literature' are partly to be found in the proletarian literary movement, which rose to prominence in the 1920s and was effectively defeated by 1933 as a result of the state's prosecution of left-wing thought. The proclivity of proletarian authors to write from 'the scene' (*genba* 現場) in order to raise awareness about inequality in Japanese society eventually seeped into the ostensibly apolitical and artistic realm of 'pure' literature, or *junbungaku* 純文学, as evidenced by Ishikawa Tatsuzō's 石川達三 story of Japanese immigrants to Brazil, *Sōbō* 蒼氓 (*The common people*, 1935), which was awarded with the inaugural Akutagawa Prize (Gomibuchi 2018:26). Ishikawa's following major work, *Ikiteiru heitai* 生きてゐる兵隊 (*Living soldiers,* 1938) would become the subject of a censorship scandal pertaining to the Nanjing Massacre only a few years later. Both of these texts represent the tendency to 'write from the scene', in the case of *Sōbō* from Brazil and in the case of *Ikiteiru heitai* from China; in this way, Ishikawa's early literary output itself provides a valuable example of the continuities existing within the Japanese literature of the 1930s and wartime literature as propaganda.

Kagoshima identifies an increasing turn towards social issues (*bungaku no shakaika* 文学の社会化) in Japanese literature around 1935, which also explains the increased interest of literary authors in writing from the war after its outbreak – an interest which was comparatively lacking in the early 1930s around the time of the Manchurian Incident. Supported by the media saturation, war itself had become an important social issue to be explored in literature. Again, the social relevance of war as a literary topic had proven itself especially with the runaway success of *Mugi to heitai*, which thereafter served as the starting point, or a model work, of war literature in the 1930s (ibid.). By traditional definition, works of *junbungaku* transcended social concerns and as a form of art were more concerned with aesthetic accomplishment. Social issues were the more pronounced focus of the so-called *tsūzoku* 通俗文学 or *taishū bungaku* 大衆文学 ('popular' or 'mass' literature), or proletarian literature (Kagoshima 2012:148). But as war had penetrated society as not only a salient public issue, but also as a linchpin of national identity, the lines between aesthetic value and social relevance would become increasingly fluid. In this way, the social and aesthetic value of literary works about the war converged; at the same time, the war was seen as culturally valuable enterprise, and by extension, one of national importance.

Another tendency which gained traction in literature in this decade was the so-called 'return to Japan' (*Nihon kaiki* 日本回帰), as a result of an admiration for Japan's traditional values, prominently represented by the coterie journal *Nihon Roman-ha* 日本浪漫派 (*Japan Romantic School;* Morton 2016:125). The influence of the authors published in this journal had gradually extended towards the literary mainstream which is, for example, reflected in the work of authors such as Yoshikawa Eiji 吉川英

治 (1892-1962), who had published his historical epic *Miyamoto Musashi* 宮本武蔵 between 1935 and 1937. While Yoshikawa's work does not glorify martial values overtly, Morton does point out that its protagonist resolves conflict by "way of the sword" (Morton 2016:128). Interestingly, the writers themselves emerge as warriors in wartime media. One example is a February 1932 article in *Yomiuri Shinbun*, in which writers such as Kume Masao 久米正雄 (1891-1952) or Naoki Sanjūgo 直樹三十五 (1891-1934) are singled out as "generals of the right-wing forces in the literary world" (Torrance 2009:61; Morton 2016:128) and as advocating for "the realization and strenghtening of Fascist literature" (ibid.). This turn towards native tradition and rejection of foreign ideology was compounded by the dissolution of the proletarian literary movement of the previous decade, represented by writers such as Tokunaga Sunao 徳永直 (1899-1958), Miyamoto Yuriko 宮本百合子 (1899-1951) or Sata Ineko 佐多稲子 (1904-1998). It is tangibly evidenced by the 1930s wave of *tenkō* literature, written by former leftists to publicly renounce their political beliefs. With writers' disengagement from political life and in some cases even an alignment with the ultranationalist policy (Cipris 2003:18), dissenting perspectives in literature were effectively erased. As Gomibuchi points out, Japan's wartime literature was also influenced by prominent works of Western literature from World War I, such as Remarque's *Im Westen nichts Neues* (*All quiet on the Western front*, 1928[25]) or Hans Carossa's *Rumänisches Tagebuch* (*A Roumanian diary*, 1924[26]). At the same time, Gomibuchi also calls attention to the commercial incentive that participation in war

[25] Published in Japanese translation in 1929 (Gomibuchi 2018:98).

[26] Published in Japanese translation in 1936 (Gomibuchi 2018:98).

discourse presented, and the writers' expectations for increase of their own sales by doing so (Gomibuchi 2018:98).

What these trends and developments in Japanese literature in the 1930s show us is the degree to which the rhetoric of literature, especially literature of high artistic merit (*junbungaku*), and the rhetoric of war could coalesce. This is well illustrated by the fact that both Ishikawa Tatsuzō and Hino Ashihei were both recent laureates of the Akutagawa Prize when they were given the task of writing their respective novels about the war. In doing so, they could both capitalize on their newfound literary reputation as well as the public interest in the topic of the war. Combined with the financial incentive writing about the war presented, it is easy to understand how participation in propaganda was both a lucrative and a culturally sanctioned undertaking.

Texts straying from state politics in their language come up seldomly in research on wartime literature. Since works deemed inappropriate for public consumption were banned (i.e., not published), they can serve merely as examples of the respective author's intent to challenge dominant narratives (or, as in case of Ishikawa's *Ikiteiru heitai,* as test cases for the permissible boundaries of honesty in writing about war), rather than as dissenting perspectives with any actual influence in the war discourse. One such example is Ishikawa Jun's 石川淳 (1899-1987) short story "Marusu no uta" マルスの歌 ("The song of Mars", 1938), which was banned for "fomenting antimilitary and antiwar thought" (Cipris 1994:29). The protagonist of the story is an intellecutal resisting the war frenzy erupting around him; this frenzy is symbolically represented by the titular song. As much as the popular war march stimulates the patriotic sentiment of other Japanese, it irritates the protagonist, who finds himself unable to

escape the song and with it the unbearable reality of war (Cipris 1994:30). Leith Morton offers another example with the *tanka* poet Maekawa Samio 前川佐三雄 (1903-1990), whose modernist and neoclassical verse have drawn fierce criticism in comparison with his two volumes of pro-military poetry; the public bashing ultimately caused Maekawa to withdraw almost completely from the literary scene (Morton 2016:135). While Morton points out, through Maekawa's example, that authors easily succumbed to the rhetorical pressure of military jingoism (Morton 2016:137), it bears repeating that the backlash authors such as Hino Ashihei experienced after the war barely seemed to take into account the limits of expression they were faced with. Their literary output should therefore, as Morton himself advocates, be approached with more nuance (ibid.) and not as fully representative of their own political opinions; rather, they can serve as valuable examples of the dominance and normalization of radical, nationalist ideology. At the same time, Hayashi Fumiko represents an intriguing example of avoiding such a backlash in the first place, likely in large part also thanks to the swift change in her own tone, with Hayashi's postwar works lamenting the misery of life in defeated Japan and an apparent rejection of the war. Indeed, Hayashi's late literary output counts among her most acclaimed and fondly remembered work, perhaps also due to her firsthand experience of war, which she could later criticize from a position of authority.

2.1.1. Characteristics and tendencies of wartime literature in Japan

In writing about the war(s) between 1937 and 1945, writers employed a variety of genres, but favored especially 'traditional' forms like those of the diary, travelogue, or essay. As officially sanctioned expressions of nationalist rhetoric, these works enjoyed wide distribution, and with paper rationing in effect after 1940, short narratives were

prioritized (Cipris 2003:20). Cipris characterizes pro-war narratives as accessible, open-ended and "capable of mobilizing and enlisting readers as homefront or battlefront protagonists in the momentuous unfolding events" (ibid.). While this led to a saturation of the literary market with narratives of the war, Donald Keene comments on the quality of literature being produced between 1937 and 1945 as on the whole unimpressive (Keene 1984:909). This sentiment of wartime literature as qualitatively deficient is largely shared within the more recent scientific discourse on the topic as well (Matsumoto 2018:vii).

As Gomibuchi points out, nationalist vocabulary such as 'fatherland' (*sokoku* 祖国), 'folk' (*minzoku* 民族) or 'Japanese' (*nihonjin* 日本人) are regularly to be found in narrations of war hardship (Gomibuchi 2018:170). With little space allowed for artfulness in literature, writers had increasingly lost the freedom of their expression under ideological pressure, leading to a phenomenon of "blindness" (Kagoshima 2012:116) among writers in the face of war. This tendency is well represented by *Mugi to heitai*, in that Hino connects themes of personal growth in the novel with the growth of the nation, thus stirring up the nationalist spirit among the public (Ishida 2010:68). In connecting the nation's expansion with the idea of personal growth, Japanese soldiers emerge as 'new people' (*atarashii ningen*) from the war in Hino's text, the participation in which is portrayed as an internal struggle ultimately completing them as human beings (Gomibuchi 2018:220). Perhaps most importantly, literary scholar and critic Komatsu Noburoku 小松伸六 (1914-2006) called *Mugi to heitai* an "ur-text" (Kagoshima 2012:118) of wartime literature in 1952, meaning that it largely established literary conventions other texts then attempted to follow. Firstly, the text is narrated from a first-person perspective in the style of a reportage, and secondly, in that the

personal experience of the battlefield (*senjō*) and questions of the war (*sensō*) in a more general sense are clearly separated within the narrative as the reader is strictly put in the perspective of a soldier thrown into an unknown world of the battlefront (ibid.), precluding any discussion of the war in an ideological sense. Again, Kagoshima connects this limited, internal perspective of wartime works and the candid descriptions of the protagonists' inner feelings and thoughts to the contemporary discourse on *shishōsetsu* (ibid.). These works are thus presented to their readers in a familiar mode; and at the same time, the framing as *shishōsetsu* allows the readers to take a glance at the war on the author's terms. And of course, writing from the battlefront is yet another variation on 'writing from the scene' so popular during the 1930s, allowing for an extensive influence of reportage writing on wartime literature – especially as writers such as Hayashi Fusao 林房雄 (1903-1975) or Ozaki Shirō 尾崎士郎 (1898-1964) would publish their own war reportages shortly after the outbreak of the war, becoming directly related (*tōjisha* 当事者) to the events they are describing (Gomibuchi 2018:27).

Gomibuchi identifies four distinct sub-genres of war literature which had formed during the Second Sino-Japanese War. Three of these – records written by military personnel, reportages by media professionals or writers, and testimonies of Japanese immigrants to China – are of documentary nature, while the fourth category consists of fictional texts (*shōsetsu tekusuto* 小説テクスト) about the war. The first category does not refer to literary texts in a stricter sense, but rather to reports or memoirs of those who have participated in the war. The second category appears in several variations, and largely as a result of major publishers and newspapers competing for market share through publishing accounts by both reporters and writers embedded

to the troops on the ground. Here, Gomibuchi singles out Hayashi Fumiko's *Sensen* 戦線 [*Battlefront,* 1938] as an example of this category, and also points towards the mutual consumption of Japanese and Chinese media in both respective countries (i.e., Chinese media in Japan and vice versa) through means such as translation, highlighting the role of media and their products in the information warfare (*hōdō sensō* 報道戦争) of this time (Gomibuchi 2018:28–29). The third category contains the smallest amount of texts among the four, and is comprised of accounts of Japanese nationals who have moved to the Chinese mainland (excluding Manchuria) prior to the war. Finally, the last category includes fictional works by authors such as Ozaki Shirō (*Bungaku butai* 文学部隊 [*Literary troop*, 1939]) or Niwa Fumio 丹羽文雄 (1904-2005; *Kaeranu chūtai* 還らぬ中隊 [*Lost company*, 1939]), which take place on and describe the battlefield (Gomibuchi 2018:30).

2.1.2. Government initiatives in literature: Nippon Bungaku Hōkokukai and *pen butai*

Japanese writers were enmeshed with the government, and by extension the military, through groups such as the Nippon Bungaku Hōkokukai 日本文学報国会 [Patriotic Literature Association], which existed betweed December 1941 and May 1942 and whose stated mission was to promote imperial culture (*kōdō bunka* 皇道文化) and the traditions and ideals of the empire through the combined efforts of Japan's premier literary authors (Yoshino 2011:17). Education was understood to be vital in promoting the ideals of a holy war (*seisen* 聖戦), and since mass media such as newspapers and

radio were all regarded as parts of public education, writers (who published their works through these media outlets) were convenient vessels of propaganda (Yoshino 2011:15). Members of the Nihon Bungaku Hōkokukai were numerous and included prominent writers such as Tanizaki Jun'ichirō 谷崎潤一郎 (1886-1965), Miyamoto Yuriko, Hirano Ken 平野謙 (1907-1978), Odagiri Hideo 小田切英雄 (1916-2000) or Ōoka Shōhei 大可正平 (1909-1988; Yoshino 2011:14). Similar associations existed during the wartime outside of the literary circles, such as the Dai Nihon Genron Hōkokukai 大日本言論報国会 [Great Japanese Patriotic Speech Association], which was concerned with matters of journalism and academia (Yoshino 2011:17). Such groups were designed to regulate the ideological views of the Japanese population, with literature seen as appealing to the population's sentiments (*jō* 情) and journalism and academia to its intellect (*chi* 知; (Yoshino 2011:18).

The most prominent of the literary groups associated with wartime propaganda was undoubtedly the so-called *pen butai* ペン部隊 (Writers' Corps), which originally consisted of 22 writers (only two of which were female) and was founded during a meeting between the Cabinet Intelligence Office and the following writers: Kikuchi Kan 菊池寛 (1888-1948), Kume Masao, Yoshikawa Eiji, Yokomitsu Riichi 横光利一 (1898-1947), Satō Haruo 佐藤春夫 (1892-1964), Yoshiya Nobuko 吉屋信子 (1896-1973) and Niwa Fumio (Takasaki 1995b:74). Morton points out that this group consisted mostly of authors of popular fiction, who as such often told stories of soldiers' heroic deeds at that time (Morton 2016:128). This point, of course, opens up an important connection to the *bidan* stories glorifying the soldiers' bravery and sacrifice in war as

the dominant style of war reportage (see Part I, 1.5.), and is further evidence for the mutual influence of *bidan* reportage and literature from the war. As the members of the *pen butai* were also typically called *jūgun sakka* 従軍作家 (embedded authors), the connection to a *jūgun kisha* 従軍記者 (embedded reporter) was made clear to the public from the outset. The writers of *pen butai* could be deployed much like reporters, as the authors would relay the same information as the journalists to their readers. As their texts were added the gloss of high literary quality, the propaganda within could be rendered even more invisible than in traditional forms of reporting. Indeed, Morton cites Kamiya Tadataka 神谷忠孝, who claims that the founding of the *pen butai* marks the point from which literary authors were controlled by the military (Morton 2016:128). Before the *pen butai* was officially formed, over twenty writers were deployed to China in late 1937. However, they generally arrived on the ground after the battles had taken place and thus concentrated on the pacified territories in their writing (Morton 2016:129). Yet, as Tsuzuki Hisayoshi notes, these early writings reflected the true state of affairs quite accurately, so much so that this authenticity eventually led to the infamous ban of Ishikawa Tatsuzō's *Ikiteiru heitai*, originally published in March 1938 (Morton 2016:129). For instance, Ozaki Shirō's account from his visit of China in 1937, "Hifū senri" 非風千里 ("Thousand *ri* of no wind") is remarkable in the sympathetic view of the defeated Chinese Ozaki presents (Morton 2016:129). Accounts of war written by actual soldiers, rather than professional authors, generally outsold the latter; Morton thus suggests that the need for accurate first-hand information superseded that for literary quality (Morton 2016:129). This craving for a perceived 'authenticity' of war accounts on the part of literary audiences is likely one more reason for the runaway success of Hino Ashihei's *Mugi to heitai* and why other

authors tried to replicate its model one after another: as both a soldier and a renowned writer, Hino could provide such 'authentic' perspective as well as literary value to his readers.

While the writers of the *pen butai* were ostensibly not explicitly told what to write, the events around the censorship of *Ikiteiru heitai* were still vivid and certainly taken into account by Ishikawa Tatsuzō's successors on the battlefields of China (Gomibuchi 2018:102). The writers were working for major newspapers or magazines: ten were assigned to the Army (陸軍 *Rikugun*) and wrote for *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun*[27] and *Ōsaka Mainichi Shinbun*, while seven other writers were assigned to the Navy (海軍 *Kaigun*), as reported on 16 September 1938 in the respective newspapers[28]. Four days earlier, on September 12, *Yomiuri Shinbun* announced the 'conscription' of further six writers: Kawaguchi Matsutarō 川口松太郎 (1899-1985), Niwa Fumio, Ozaki Shirō, Kataoka Teppei 片岡鉄平 (1894-1944), Satō Haruo and Shirai Kyōji 白井喬二 (1889-1980). The proximity of writers to soldiers is highlighted in the headline of this article, which describes the group as *bundan butai* 文壇部隊, or "literary troop" (Gomibuchi 2018:103). Such comparisons were also made by the military itself; General Mabuchi Itsuo 馬淵五男 (1896-1973) literally states in *Bungei Shunjū* in October 1938 that soldiers and embedded journalists are "comrades in war" (*sen'yū*) (Gomibuchi

[27] Today's *Tōkyō Mainichi Shinbun*.

[28] Assigned to the Army were Kume Masao, Kataoka Teppei, Kawaguchi Matsutarō, Ozaki Shirō, Niwa Fumio, Asano Akira, Kishida Kunio, Satō Sōnosuke, Takii Kōsaku, Nakatani Takao, Fukada Kyūya, Tomizawa Uio, Shirai Kyōji and Hayashi Fumiko. Assigned to the Navy were Sugiyama Heisuke, Kikuchi Kan, Satō Haruo, Yoshikawa Eiji, Kojima Masajirō, Kitamura Komatsu, Hamamoto Hiroshi and Yoshiya Nobuko (Satō 2014:248).

2018:104), in a sense proclaiming them equals on the battlefield. As such, one purpose of the *pen butai* was to diminish the physical distance between the battlefront and home. As surrogates for their audience, writers of the *pen butai* made the distant and foreign front more tangible, and importantly, made their readers familiar with the reality of war (ibid.). By bridging the distance between the war theatre and home, the writers also helped normalize Japan's imperial expansion, and by relaying their immediate experience on the battlefield to their readership they also primed future male conscripts for their deployments.

In another document published by the Information Committee (情報委員会 Jōhō Iinkai) already on August 15, 1937, titled *Jikyoku senden shiryō kokubō to shisōsen* [時局宣伝資料国防と思想線 *Resources for publicity on current affairs – national defense and ideological war*], the destruction of national bonds (*kokka no ketsugō* 国歌の結合) and of the enemy country (China) by ideological means – in other words, a destruction from within (*naibu yori hōkai* 内部より崩壊) – are explicitly stated as the goals of the ideological war (*shisōsen* 思想戦). This 'destruction from within' was to be achieved through reaching out to Chinese citizens, fueling their anxiety about the current situation and thus ultimately causing rifts in their relationship to their own country. In turn, this also influenced the intensity of censorship in Japan during wartime (Gomibuchi 2018:105). One of the more severe concerns of the Japanese state in relation to the publication of Ishikawa Tatsuzō's *Ikiteiru heitai* which led to its eventual and swift banning was the fact that the work had been smuggled out to China, where it could be read as anti-Japanese propaganda in translation, as I will show in the following chapter. By controlling the literary discourse on the war through institutions

of censorship, the Japanese state and military could prevent a similar situation going forward by presenting a benign image of the Japanese army both to the domestic as well as a potential international readership.

With the formation of the *pen butai,* Japan's government and military sought to replicate the success of *Mugi to heitai,* while simultaneously employing the lessons learned after the publication of Ishikawa Tatsuzō's *Ikiteiru heitai* (Gomibuchi 2018:112) – and by doing so, effectively set the tone for what would become the dominant war discourse in wartime literature. Hino Ashihei himself was sent to Guangdong in order to write one more book with the title *Umi to heitai* 海と兵隊 [*Sea and soldiers*], clearly an effort to capitalize on his earlier success; he was, however, not a part of the *pen butai,* and was also deployed to a different region than the writers of the group (ibid.). This points towards another important aspect of the *pen butai:* even more important than the events described was the personality behind the written account (Gomibuchi 2018:113). The activities of the *pen butai* received a glorifying coverage in the press, unsurprisingly so not only due to the media being under the control of government and military, but also because positive coverage of the *pen butai* and its significance could help boost sales of the books published by the very same companies as newspapers and magazines. Some examples of this mechanism can be gleaned from an article in *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun* from August 25, 1938, in which the significance of the *pen butai* is described as a group of Japan's foremost writers "expressing the exalted spirit of the nation" (Gomibuchi 2018:117), or a *Shinchō* article from October 1938 which describes the *pen butai* writers as being vanguards of the "emotional lives of [our] citizens" (ibid.) and as embodying the "national spirit of the time" (ibid.). The press coverage of the *pen butai* and its activities as bearing national importance further demonstrate how the discussion around literature – particularly *junbungaku* –

as being detached from matters of society shifted more and more towards a perception of literates as representing Japan's citizens, their emotions and character during wartime (Gomibuchi 2018:119).

While, as Gomibuchi concludes, the *pen butai* has not produced a success on the level of *Mugi to heitai*, he nevertheless acknowledges that its mission within the ideological war was accomplished – producing as it did a large number of literary works about the Japanese war effort (and success). Among the moments during the existence of the *pen butai* which had nestled in the wartime cultural consciousness are Hayashi Fumiko's account of her arrival in Hankou with the soldiers and witnessing the fall of the city (*Kankō ichiban nori* 漢口一番乗り), Hino Ashihei's concurrent publication of *Hana to heitai* 花と兵愛 [*Flowers and soldiers*] and *Umi to heitai*, or the texts published by Niwa Fumio, Ishikawa Tatsuzō and Tateno Nobuyuki 立野信之 (1903-1971) in *Kaizō* and *Chūō Kōron* (Gomibuchi 2018:124). It should be clear from the above examples that literature played an important part in the media saturation with war as described in the previous chapter. Similarly to Gomibuchi's statement, I would argue that the importance of wartime literature lies less in the actual quality or lasting appeal of the works produced, and more in its sheer quantity and the fact that it was indeed promoted as 'quality literature', as well as in its role in normalizing nationalist rhetoric and ideology. The literature produced as propaganda in Japan was, to a certain extent, conflated with *junbungaku* and therefore put on the same level as other canonized modern classics.

2.2. *Shishōsetsu* as a framework for propaganda

As mentioned in the previous section, familiar modes of writing may suggest familiar

modes of reception to readers. Here, the (semi-)autobiographical genre of the so-called *watakushi shōsetsu* or *shishōsetsu* 私小説 (usually translated as 'I-novel') is especially interesting in the context of wartime literature, as its most prominent texts actually do incorporate elements of *shishōsetsu,* as I will illustrate on a number of examples in the following sub-chapters. This is partly due to the fact that Hino Ashihei utilized these elements in *Mugi to heitai,* which led to a number of writers emulating his style to varying degrees; at the same time, it is important to stress that adopting the perspective of a *shishōsetsu* suggests that Hino's followers may have considered it an important aspect of what makes *Mugi to heitai* work as literature and an account of war concurrently. Originally published in 1981 as *Selbstentblößungsrituale,* Irmela Hijiya-Kirschnereit's *Rituals of self-revelation* (1996) is a pioneering and to this day one of the most erudite examinations of this endemically Japanese genre of autobiographical writing. By adopting Hijiya-Kirschnereit's structural model of a *shishōsetsu* and her analysis of the communicative function of this genre, we can compare how these elements are employed in a 'classical' *shishōsetsu* and in wartime literature, whether and to what extent the reader's attention is being manipulated in similar ways, and what implications this has for wartime literary works as propaganda. The case of Hayashi Fumiko is doubly interesting in this regard, as her breakthrough novel *Hōrōki* is featured prominently in Hijiya-Kirschnereit's monograph as an unorthodox example of a *shishōsetsu* eschewing its traditional formal aspects, but retaining the core perspective and worldview. Hayashi's wartime works, particularly *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai,* bear stylistic similarities to *Hōrōki,* but provide interesting counterpoints to the earlier novel by Hayashi's radically different self-stylization as a literary figure on the front.

2.2.1. Definition and fundamental aspects of *shishōsetsu*

Hijiya-Kirschnereit defines the subject matter of a *shishōsetsu* not as self-observation, reflection or search for meaning, but rather "an emotional conception of the relationship between subject and empirical reality" (Hijiya-Kirschnereit 1996:186). Traditionally, a *shishōsetsu* is centered around an act of personal revelation, which runs according to strict rules, and in which the author and reader play an equally important role. Therefore, as Hijiya-Kirschnereit points out, extraliterary factors such as cultural code and social organization are also vitally important in reading these texts. While the autobiographical subject of a *shishōsetsu* is traditionally in some way an outsider in society (often a writer or another kind of artist), he or she is just as much determined by it (Hijiya-Kirschnereit 1996:7). Hijiya-Kirschnereit characterizes the *shishōsetsu* by two prominent elements: factuality and a focus figure. Where the former refers to the supposed relationship between literary work and reality, the latter characterizes the way the text is organized. An impression of immediacy and 'genuineness', both decisive aesthetic qualities of a *shishōsetsu,* are attained by the protagonist's emotional experience free of cognitive reflection. In this regard, the *shishōsetsu* draws upon the classical aesthetic concepts of *mujō* 無常 (transience) and *mono no aware* もののあはれ ('pathos of things'); by extension, it can be seen as a continuation of cultural tradition in modern literature (Hijiya-Kirschnereit 1996:191). *Shishōsetsu* are often described through a reference to subjectivity, but Hijiya-Kirschnereit points to a paradox between an aspiration for an "objectification of the self" (*jiko no kyakkanka* 自己の客観化; Hijiya-Kirschnereit 1996:163) and the essence of *shishōsetsu* as a variant of autobiographical literature (*denki bungaku* 伝記文学). The genre is also characterized by a lyrical quality, which according to Hijiya-Kirschnereit

is a result of its classification as *junbungaku* (ibid.). Proximity to *shishōsetsu* could therefore help works of wartime literature achieve an air of cultural legitimacy and aesthetic accomplishment.

It is not hard to see how the aspects of *shishōsetsu* outlined above could be adapted for purposes of wartime propaganda. Many of the most prominent works (such as Hino's *Mugi to heitai* or Hayashi's *Sensen*) indeed adopt the format of a diary, which is of course also in line with the tradition of keeping a diary soldiers practiced on the front. In this way, these texts can be read as a record of the author's own lived experience and their narratives convey an impression of immediacy. However, if a *shishōsetsu* attains its authenticity through the focus on emotional experience, it leaves more room for the epiphanic moments as described by Tansman (see 1.6.); the undercurrent of transience characteristic of *shishōsetsu* can also be applied to the observations of wartime writers when confronted with fallen soldiers. The freedom from cognitive conception the author of a *shishōsetsu* aspires to, of course, also precludes any overtly political reflections. In this way, the genre of *shishōsetsu* could provide an ideal way for writers to produce works perceived as authentic accounts of war and particularly the visceral experience of the front, while by design protecting them from ideological transgressions through the apparent absence of politically charged aspects. The most influential wartime literary text employing aspects of *shishōsetsu* is Hino Ashihei's *Mugi to heitai* (1938), which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 of Part II of this study.

Shishōsetsu's claim to factuality is founded upon its focus figure, which on the narrative level is an amalgamation of a (mostly first-person) narrator, protagonist and author (Hijiya-Kirschnereit 1996:179). The narrative is confined to relatively short episodes from the author's life, taking place in the recent past or close to the

publication date (Hijiya-Kirschnereit 1996:182). Only the subjective experience of the first-person narrator is presented, and aspects of objective reality such as information of general interest from the time period concerned should be left out of the text (Hijiya-Kirschnereit 1996:185). This, of course, bodes well for propaganda as any outside factors to the immediate situation on the battlefield are to be excised. Wartime literature written as, or borrowing from, *shishōsetsu* would therefore suggest to readers to rely on current discourse on the war, largely produced by the same publishing houses walking as the media producing this discourse. By excluding any aspects of reality not pertaining to their immediate experience as they recorded it in literary texts, authors of wartime literature could produce this effect of identification more easily by removing any overt traces of ideology and instead focusing on the soldier, a common man every reader could picture and identify with. The reader's judgement could similarly be precluded by the common soldier's lack of political responsibility for the reality of war they are facing, steering the reader's sympathies in the desired direction.

2.2.2. The institutionalized outsider as an agent of communication

Adressing the communicative function of a *shishōsetsu*, Hijiya-Kirschnereit discerns two levels on which a *shishōsetsu* communicates: on the level of the narrator/author and on the level of the reader. In a *shishōsetsu*, the author performs a certain revelation of self as a moral act; however, the moral value lies in the act of confession itself, rather than the behavior the narrator/author acts out towards other people (Hijiya-Kirschnereit 1996:274). Typically, the focus figure of a *shishōsetsu* is, in Hijiya-Kirschnereit's words, an "institutionalized outsider" (Hijiya-Kirschnereit 1996:277), an apolitical being standing outside of society. Hijiya-Kirschnereit defines this

institutionalized outsider as someone who is mistakenly identified with a battle against society, enjoying and being aware of the privilege of being a 'fool'. Importantly, the ostensibly apolitical behavior of a *shishōsetsu*'s protagonist can nevertheless be linked to ideological causes. Hijiya-Kirschnereit also posits that the protagonist's newfound freedom is usually not at odds with the dominant cultural or ideological values (ibid.). This also links *shishōsetsu* to *tenkō* literature, in which the recantation of left-wing ideology is also bound to a sense of liberation from political oppression. In the case of wartime literature, the *shishōsetsu* model could therefore represent an opportunity for authors to express notions similar to *tenkō* (for example, by aligning themselves with nationalist ideology by employing language supportive of war) without explicitly producing a *tenkō* text and therefore undergoing a public recantation of their ideology.

The figure of an institutionalized outsider is not to be found in Japanese wartime literature in the way Hijiya-Kirschnereit describes it. Even though the authors appear in their wartime texts as entities separate from the military, they are still embedded to it and do not position themselves in an antagonistic relationship to it, as this would clearly elicit unwanted ideological conflict of interest. Yet the case of *pen butai* and writers writing on assignments from media outlets as *jūgun kisha* (embedded writers) provides an interesting variation on this institutionalized outsider, particularly in the case of Hayashi Fumiko. In *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai*, Hayashi borrows stylistically both from *Mugi to heitai* and her own *Hōrōki* and writes from a perspective of difference both as an embedded writer and a woman, while simultaneously traversing the front directly alongside the soldiers. This proximity (Hayashi left the *pen butai*, while the rest of the group was kept at a safe distance from the site of the battle) allows Hayashi to provide an account promising a great deal of authenticity (as perceived by

the contemporary reading public) while occupying a position of a reporter – and therefore, observing rather than participating in acts of war.

2.3. Elements of autobiographical writing in *shishōsetsu* and wartime literature

Regardless of the degree of fictionality or censorship at play in writers' accounts of war, they are obviously based on their authors' real, lived experience, and by utilizing elements of *shishōsetsu*, they sometimes explicitly announce themselves as autobiographical texts. Smith and Watson (2010) point out that while autobiographical narratives are often read (in the West) as historical documents, they are not factual history – rather, they incorporate usable fact into a useful truth (Smith/Watson 2010:13). Yet by chronicling an event, time period or a community, these narratives do in a sense constitute histories. Smith and Watson call attention to rhetorical acts performed in such texts, like justifying the writers' own perceptions and disputing others or conveying cultural information (ibid.). By approaching literary accounts of war as autobiographical texts and simultaneously propaganda – the latter necessitated by the censorship and discursive concerns surrounding their production – works of wartime literature can ideally be examined as historically relevant documents.

2.3.1. Autobiographical subjects as discursive agents of remembering

Smith and Watson propose structural models of autobiographical subjects and autobiographical acts, breaking them down into smaller, compartmentalized blocks which can prove helpful in decoding the narrative perspective of autobiographical writing in general – including *shishōsetsu* and war reportage. Autobiographical subjects are constituted by memory, experience, identity, embodiment and agency (Smith/Watson 2010:21–22). The narrator depends on access to memory in order to

narrate the past; memory thus becomes "the source, authenticator, and destabilizer of autobiographical acts" (Smith/Watson 2010:22). Yet memory is historically specific and thus influences the ways history is remembered and how memory itself is shaped – as a result, historical moments are remembered in different ways (Smith/Watson 2010:23). The memory invoked in autobiographical writing is therefore embedded in the context of its time and is inherently political, with these politics further shaped by who is allowed to remember, and what is allowed to be remembered in the first place (Smith/Watson 2010:24–25). Finally, autobiographical writing becomes part of collective memory, not only acknowledging its sites and historical documents, but also engaging motives for remembering (Smith/Watson 2010:25). In the context of wartime literature, this means acknowledging biases inherent to these works, shaped and called for by the larger discourses they are embedded in; literary accounts of war are as much historical documents as they are products of their time and society. Conversely, examining wartime texts under careful consideration of these discourses can potentially shed more light on them and the ways in which nationalist ideology maintained itself in wartime Japan.

The experience presented in autobiographical writing is similarly complex and influenced by extrapersonal factors. As it is mediated through memory and language, Smith and Watson point out that autobiographical writing in itself is an interpretation of the past and of the narrator's place in the "culturally and historically specific present" (Smith/Watson 2010:31). In becoming essentially readers of their own experiential histories, narrators also draw upon discursive patterns available to them, yet also claim an authority of experience which serves rhetorical purposes such as compelling the reader's belief in the veracity and authenticity of the narrative (Smith/Watson 2010:33). This appeal to authority is also of prime importance to the

readers, as they also have their own expectations about who has the cultural cachet to tell a particular story, or what should be asserted by stories based on personal experience (Smith/Watson 2010:36). The factors Smith and Watson describe here are perhaps the most immediate connection one can make between Western forms of autobiographical writing and *shishōsetsu*, calling to mind Hijiya-Kirschnereit's factor of factuality as a structural pillar of this narrative form, and they certainly apply to Japanese works of wartime literature as well, as examples provided in this and the following chapter should sufficiently illustrate.

In Smith and Watson's words, autobiographical narrators as subjects posess identities which "materialize within collectivities and out of the culturally marked differences that permeate symbolic interactions within and between collectivites" (Smith/Watson 2010:38). Identity as difference also implies identity as likeness (ibid.); at the same time, identities are mutable and provisional as their cultural and personal meanings shift over time (ibid.). In this way, identities should be seen as constructs and, as such, parts of overarching discourses (Smith/Watson 2010:39). The literature of 1930s Japan in general provides numerous examples of this, either in the case of *tenkō* texts – which, not coincidentally, often took up the form of a *shishōsetsu* – or through the complicated and complex alliances of writers and the state. But specifically in the case of wartime literature and literature from the front, identity both as difference and likeness can become a matter of life and death and almost invariably determines the narrator's relationship to the respectively 'same' and 'different' characters in their narrative. By extension, the ideological charge of identity in autobiographical wartime works relates to ethnic or cultural hierarchies, connecting them to the larger nationalist discourses in imperial Japan, as well as recalling Foucault's concept of biopower (see Part I, 1.4.).

Smith and Watson also closely tie the aspect of space to the narrator's identity, as it informs its subject by providing the narrator with national, ethnic, gendered or social coordinates which embed him or her in their own experience (Smith/Watson 2010:42). Further, in narratives taking place in an unfamiliar or foreign space, differences of rank, nation or ethnicity are negotiated, constructed and redefined through encounters across such boundaries (Smith/Watson 2010:44), and unfamiliar spaces often become catalysts for the narrator's self-examination (Smith/Watson 2010:47). The aspect of space as proposed by Smith and Watson also ties well into Japanese narratives of war, as the writer (in person) and the narrator (in text) are frequently embedded with a troop in a hostile zone where these differences often form the dividing line between life and death; but it is also interesting to examine how the narrator interacts with the colonized or the defeated. Finally, the narrators' growth or change as a result of their experience with war is a noteworthy point to look into, especially if it can be interpreted as furthering the ideological goals of state propaganda; at the same time, such growth also constitutes a break with the conventions of *shishōsetsu*.

2.3.2. Autobiographical acts and their formative factors

Like autobiographical subjects, autobiographical acts are also culturally and historically specific (Smith/Watson 2010:63). They are produced and influenced by what Smith and Watson name "coaxers, coachse and coercers" (Smith/Watson 2010:66), which include everything from cultural and state institutions, through friendships, to virtual reality (ibid.). In Smith and Watson's terms, censorship is a final example of coercion (Smith/Watson 2010:68); a coaxer can also influence the narrator's modes and choice of storytelling and has therefore great relevance in shaping the narrative

(e.g. editor; ibid.). Wartime Japan, of course, was filled with such coercers and coaxers, who were present in the production of wartime literature every step of the way; therefore, we cannot disregard the effect these persons and institutions had on the writers and the final form of their work. Ishikawa Tatsuzō's *Ikiteiru heitai* is a particularly extreme example of the coaxing or coercing effect: the text itself went through radical cuts and changes before its publishing, and the ideologically problematic elements resulted in criminal prosecution and the text's banning, exerting such effects on authors who would write about the war after Ishikawa as well. On the other hand, Hino Ashihei's *Mugi to heitai* provided other authors with a blueprint of ideologically unproblematic and yet both critically and commercially viable literature, arguably coaxing them into adopting his style or its aspects in their own writing.

Finally, while looking into autobiographical elements of wartime literature, Smith and Watson's proposal of fragmenting the autobiographical 'I'[29] into four distinct parts can allow for a more nuanced reading of autobiographical acts. The respective parts are the real or historical I, narrating I, narrated I, and ideological I (Smith/Watson 2010:72). The real or historical I of the author is in fact unknown to the readers; it is instead the narrating I who calls forth only the limited part of their experiential history linked to the narrative, usually in the first person (ibid.). The narrated I is the protagonist of the narrative, "the version of the self that the narrating 'I' chooses to constitute through recollection for the reader" (Smith/Watson 2010:73). And lastly, the ideological I draws upon the theories of agency cited above, particularly Althusser's concept of subjects as subordinate to ideology (Smith/Watson 2010:76). In

[29] This is also relevant in the context of *shishōsetsu*, the *shi* 私 of which can also mean 'I'.

autobiographical narratives, ideologies of identity are often so internalized that they appear as natural or universal characteristics of persons. The ideological I, as noted above, can be multiple and potentially conflictual, as narrators have access to heterogeneous identities (Smith/Watson 2010:77). The aspect of the ideological I once again points to the complexity of ideology and political engagement or collaboration in wartime Japan. While examining literary accounts of war written from the author's own experience, Smith and Watson's fragmentation of the autobiographical 'I' is also a useful reminder for separating between the author, narrator and protagonist of a text as strictly as possible, especially considering the conflation of these narrative instances typical for *shishōsetsu*.

2.4. Chapter résumé: Japanese wartime literature as an attempt to blend propaganda and authentic expression

One of the most important points of this and the preceding chapter was to clearly delineate the extent of influence of state ideology in wartime Japan that reached so far it was practically inescapable. The evolving war propaganda should be seen as a continuation of media trends of the years prior, and the large number of writers collaborating with the state is partly to be seen as a result of a crackdown on left-wing thought and the enforcement of tight institutional control. At the same time, the writers' personal or political agency should not be disregarded in this context, a point well illustrated by the multifaceted motivations of female writers for participation in propaganda. Writing about the war from personal experience also challenged writers to reconcile literary developments in the 1930s, such as the strengthening interest in social issues and the 'authenticity' of narrative, with nationalist ideology and to produce texts of high literary value (*junbungaku*) while staying within the strict lines

of censorship.

After the fiasco of Ishikawa Tatsuzō's *Ikiteiru heitai* and its banning, which was preceded by extensive pre-publication censorship by *Chūō Kōron* (which already removed many of its scenes of physical and sexual violence), Hino Ashihei's *Mugi to heitai* seemingly provided publishers with a formula for success, giving rise to the foundation of the *pen butai* mere months after its publication. The *pen butai* writers fulfilled roles both as reporters and recorders of war, but also as surrogates for their readers, many of whom had their own family members on the front or in Japan's colonies. Amply sponsored by the state and military, *pen butai* also allowed publishers to maximize profits by supplying accounts of war not only through their newspapers and magazines, but also literature – attributing cultural and aesthetic significance to the war in the process.

Adopting Foucault's theory of power, Kagoshima argues that as media professionals and literary authors mostly served to uphold the wartime order, they too bear war responsibility (Kagoshima 2012:117). In order to perceive works of wartime literature as not ideologically neutral, Gomibuchi argues for treating these not as literary 'works' (*sakuhin*), but rather as 'texts' (*tekusuto*), as the term *sakuhin* highlights the importance of its author (*sakusha*) over the reader; Conversely, approaching literature as text implies more agency on the reader's part (Gomibuchi 2018:32). Stahl's argument for approaching critical texts of postwar literature not merely as fiction, but as texts "fundamentally constitutive of responsible histories of personal and collective violence" (Stahl 2016:181) can also be applied to texts of wartime literature under careful consideration of the ideological and cultural context of its production.

Hijiya-Kirschnereit's model and analysis of *shishōsetsu* also ties well into an analysis of texts of wartime literature, as it often did borrow stylistically from this

genre of aesthetically focused literature or *junbungaku*. This can be partly explained by the success of *Mugi to heitai*, which exhibits structural similarities with *shishōsetsu* texts and whose success the *pen butai* sought to replicate. Yet, as I have shown earlier in this chapter, the *shishōsetsu* genre (or mode of writing) enabled writers to produce texts aspiring for high aesthetic values (as *junbungaku*), while relaying authentic accounts of their own experience with war. At the same time, the *shishōsetsu* mode allowed the wartime authors to avoid the complex trappings of censorship. Importantly, the elements of spontaneity and authenticity of emotion so highly regarded in accomplished works of *shishōsetsu* seem well suited to accommodate Tansman's 'fascist moments' of wonder and epiphany (see 1.6.), and in this way, the adoption of a *shishōsetsu* mode emerges potentially as an effective vessel for propaganda disguised as literature with high cultural significance.

Finally, Smith and Watson's (2010) detailed structural model for an analysis of autobiographical writing yields interesting perspectives in the contexts of Japanese wartime literature and *shishōsetsu*. My suggestion to consider it in examining accounts of war has less to do with a general proposed reading of these texts as strictly autobiographical writing, and more with an understanding on these works (fiction, as well as essays, travelogues etc.) as being based on the respective author's experience and therefore having an inherently autobiographical quality, which is balanced with fictional elements to varying degrees depending on the work. In particular, this structural model is helpful in showing ways in which autobiographical writing or its elements can be examined as historical documents, constituents of collective memory, or elements of larger discourses on war. Importantly, Smith and Watson also call attention to factors outside of the narrator's self such as ideological or cultural concerns, or the ways in which autobiographical narratives are shaped and formed by

interventions of editors or censors. Acknowledging elements of autobiographical writing in accounts of war may allow us to approach them with more nuance – not in order to ascertain their degree of truthfulness, but rather to discover the ways in which collective memory can be constructed and how narratives of war coincide with narratives of self.

In the next chapter, I will demonstrate these points on prominent examples of wartime literature: Ishikawa Tatsuzō's *Ikiteiru heitai* (1938), Hino Ashihei's *Mugi to heitai* (1938), Ozaki Shirō's "Aru jūgun butai" ["An embedded unit", 1939], Niwa Fumio's *Kaeranu chūtai* (1939) and Yoshiya Nobuko's *Senka no hokushi Shanhai o yuku* (1937). Through their mutual comparison, I aim to reveal patterns, motives and tendencies as they emerge across these prominent narratives of war in order to provide a framework for a further comparison with a more detailed analysis of Hayashi Fumiko's wartime writing. As Hayashi herself strongly and often incorporated elements of autobiographical writing in her work (in the *shishōsetsu* mode or otherwise), both Hijiya-Kirschnereit and Smith and Watson's structural models should prove enlightening in discerning the different layers of Hayashi's wartime output.

PART II: Examples of Japanese wartime fiction between *bidan* and *shishōsetsu*

1. Wartime literature between autobiography and propaganda

Building on the framework of wartime literature and media representation of war as outlined in the previous two chapters, I will now introduce literary works by five authors based on their personal experience of war and battlefield in order to demonstrate how they engaged with the paradigms of *bidan* and *shishōsetsu*. With this examination, I aim to uncover general patterns across texts which have been most frequently analyzed in previous scholarship and could therefore be considered to form a 'canon' of Japanese wartime literature. These patterns will serve as a point of comparison to Hayashi Fumiko's wartime writing, thus allowing us to see to what degree she had conformed to, as well as if (and how) she had strayed from established motifs of writing about war in her own texts. Following Smith and Watson, I will be paying special attention to the construction of the autobiographical I in texts conceived as personal accounts, asking how we can interpret this kind of autobiographical I (or, respectively, the author's narrative voice) in fictional texts, as well as how this narrative choice affects their reading. My aim in this chapter is to identify how the patterns emerging in wartime literature constitute it as a genre, and, by doing so, to establish a concrete framework for analyzing Hayashi Fumiko's wartime writing.

In order to identify the dominant themes of these texts, I will analyze them under consideration of previous research, but also through paradigms which have heretofore invited little attention in scholarship on Japan's wartime literature. These are, on the one hand, aspects of *bidan* and representation of war in mass media, introduced in Chapter 1.5. of Part I. On the other hand, I consider the examples in the

textual corpus to also represent autobiographical writing, and I will examine them in comparison with the framework of *shishōsetsu*. As I will attempt to show throughout this chapter, the lens of autobiographical writing and particularly *shishōsetsu* can provide a unifying thread between the rather disparate literary texts discussed here, as well as important insights into their ideological messaging. This messaging can further be compared with that found in other media, particularly the *bidan* reportage. By situating Japanese wartime literary texts as both products of mass media and literature, in particular as autobiographical writing, I aim to provide a new perspective on these texts through focus on aspects not extensively analyzed previously.

The authors in this chapter are discussed in chronological order, by the release date of their literary text. The first sub-chapter focusing on texts of female authors throughout the war is an exception to the chronology, but is necessary in order to show the diversity in writing about war and to allow for comparison of Hayashi Fumiko's own texts to other female writers. Presenting the remaining wartime literary texts in chronological order will allow us to see, for example, that while Hino Ashihei's *Mugi to heitai* is rightly considered a paradigmatic and the most influential example of wartime literature, some of its elements (particularly those of *bidan*) are already present in Yoshiya Nobuko's earlier writing. Yoshiya (Chapter 2) also provides a valuable example as a female writer especially due to her extensive focus on women and femininity, as well as her conscious distancing from Hayashi Fumiko, which I will show below. Ishikawa Tatsuzō's *Ikiteiru heitai* (Chapter 3) can be considered perhaps the most salient example in regard to the wartime censorship; particularly because of its unique aspects not replicated by subsequent authors of wartime literature, it represents a valuable example of the limits of permitted war discourse. *Mugi to*

heitai by Hino Ashihei will be explored in the closest detail (in Chapter 4) as its narrative structure and literary style provided a blueprint for the *pen butai* authors to emulate; it is also the text which allows us most precisely to analyze the intricate construction of the author's autobiographical I and its interplay with the propagandistic elements of *bidan*. Both Niwa Fumio (Chapter 5) and Ozaki Shirō (Chapter 6) engage with Hino's paradigm in rather unorthodox ways and with differing success, and I will use their texts as examples to show the relative flexibility of the *bidan*/*shishōsetsu* paradigm which had become a standard for wartime literature by 1939.

While Hayashi Fumiko was only one of two female writers in the *pen butai*[30], this disproportionately small number does not reflect the lacking interest of female authors in taking part in government literary initiatives; indeed, more female writers were deployed on trips to Southeast Asia in later years of the war. While there is even less research conducted on female writers during wartime than on wartime literature in general, Ogata (1988), Frederick (2013) or Hasegawa (2016) provide diverse and interesting examples of female writing related to the war, which can provide a useful comparison with Hayashi Fumiko's own perspective she presents in her wartime writing.

Analyzing war travelogues by Yoshiya Nobuko, Hayashi Fumiko and Sata Ineko, Romagnoli (2018) argues their gendered perspective critically informs these texts. By drawing upon their established personas and personal agendas familiar from their pre-war texts, these female writers either validate or reassess their identity as women through their experience of war (257). Importantly, Romagnoli also contends that

[30] The other female *pen butai* author was Yoshiya Nobuko, introduced at length in Chapter 2 of Part II.

national and gender identity are to be seen as superimposed on each other rather than competing, resulting in a contextual synthesis where "the sense of national belonging sets the tone and the gendered gaze provides interpretation" (ibid.). Prior to the war, the Meiji-era ideal of *ryōsai kenbo* 良妻賢母 or 'good wife and wise mother' was challenged by the emergence of working women (*shokugyō fujin* 職業婦人) or 'modern girls' (*modan gāru* モダンガール or *moga* モガ) who radically departed from the earlier conceptions of femininity in their choices of lifestyle or appearance. In literature, conventional models of femininity were challenged by proletarian authors such as Miyamoto Yuriko or Sata Ineko, while leftist working women were also represented by the magazine *Hataraku Fujin* which featured discussions of women's issues from a Marxist perspective (Romagnoli 2018:258–259).

All of this changed rapidly after the outbreak of the war in 1937 and even more so after the passage of the National Mobilization Law (*Kokka Sōdōin Hō* 国家総動員法), both of which subjected women's associations to state control and women themselves to strict regulation of their appearance. As Romagnoli writes, cosmetics and fancy hairstyles were discouraged and women wearing expensive clothing would be accosted on the streets by other, more 'patriotic' women; this impulse towards frugality was further bolstered by shortages of textiles and consumer goods following the attack on Pearl Harbor (Romagnoli 2018:259–260). Moreover, all women over the age of nineteen were required to enroll in the Dai Nippon Fujinkai 大日本婦人会 (Women's Association of Great Japan), effectively subjecting more or less half of the population of wartime Japan to a state-sponsored model of femininity as "mothers of the nation" (Romagnoli 2018:260). In the case of female authors and their literary

approaches to the war, we must therefore consider that, differently from their male counterparts, they were under tight scrutiny of overarching power structures not only as writers, but also as women. This can perhaps also explain the sometimes exaggarated highlighting of the narrator's position as a woman. Two interesting examples of this would be Hayashi Fumiko's stark focus on her physical difference and her conforming to the role of caretaker in *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai* 北岸部隊 [*Northern bank troop*, 1939], or Yoshiya Nobuko's *Senka no hokushi Shanhai o yuku* 戦火の北支　上海を行く [*Flames of war in northern China: Going to Shanghai,* 1937], in which she intertwines strong nationalist rhetoric with a motherly self-perception (this will be discussed in Chapter 2). That these examples are quite radically at odds with the pre-war public persona of both of these authors points to the complex interplay of ideology and agenda in wartime Japan, which I will address in more detail in the following section.

1.1. *Kagayaku* and a reconciliation of ideologies

Perhaps the most prominent outlet of women's political writing during the 1930s is *Kagayaku* 輝ク [*Shining*], a bulletin ran by Hasegawa Shigure 長谷川時雨 (1879-1941), a renowned playwright and novelist who previously published the magazine *Nyonin geijutsu* 女人藝術 [*Women's arts*], a prominent platform for left-leaning female authors published between 1928 and 1932. Hayashi Fumiko herself has an intimate and important connection with *Nyonin geijutsu,* as it was here that her breakthrough work *Hōrōki* 放浪記 (*Diary of a Vagabond,* 1930) started to be published before Hayashi eventually moved the serial publication to the more prestigious *Kaizō*. What

was unique about *Nyonin geijutsu* was not only its concept of a platform for exclusively female authors and artists, as well as the broad spectrum of writing featured on its pages, but also an international perspective stemming from its firmly leftist orientation (Ogata 1988:2); Sarah Frederick also singles out this international perspective as an important legacy of *Nyonin geijutsu* carried on by *Kagayaku* (Frederick 2013:405). *Nyonin geijutsu* was discontinued in June 1932 due to Hasegawa's illness and complicated financial situation, and was renewed or 'rebooted' as *Kagayaku*, a four-page bulletin (*rīfuretto* リーフレット) in April 1933 (Ogata 1988:3). Importantly in the wartime context, Frederick argues that the "focus on international travel, international affairs and cultural interaction" beyond "expected colonialist activities" (Frederick 2013:396) is perhaps surprising given the postwar image of wartime culture. Yet, after the outbreak of the war, *Kagayaku* created a spinoff called *Kagayaku Butai* 輝ク部隊 [*Shining troop*], a special issue with writing dedicated to the soldiers' hardship. It was also marketed as a 'comfort issue' (*imon tokushū* 慰問特集; Ogata 1988:2), calling to mind the care packages (*imonbukuro* 慰問袋) the women of Kokubō Fujinkai (see Part I, 1.2.) would prepare as a send-off to soldiers (Romagnoli 2018:259), aligning *Kagayaku* with a traditional gender perspective.

As Ogata points out, women's magazines in general such as *Fujin Kōron*, *Shinjoen*, *Shufu no Tomo* or *Fujin Kurabu* underwent a transformation in – quite expectedly as a sign of the times – saturating themselves with war content. In the September 1937 issue of *Kagayaku*, Sata Ineko[31] and Hayashi Fumiko both contributed short verse

[31] Here as Kubokawa Ineko; during her marriage to Kubokawa Tsurujirō, Sata published under her married name. However, as she produced the majority of her literary texts after divorcing Kubokawa

dedicated to the soldiers, and the following number was designated to be a 'comfort number for the soldiers' (*heitai-san no imongō* 兵隊さんの慰問号; Ogata 1988:7). Ogata explains the ideological transformation occuring within *Kagayaku* during the 1930s partly by Hasegawa's vision of the outlet as one exploring new horizons for women and as a space for progressive women of all classes to express themselves, as she describes it in her end-of-the-year greeting in the December 1934 issue. Here, Hasegawa proclaims "*Kagayaku* is the only monthly publication run by women that is continuously opening up (*kaitaku* 開拓) in all directions new territory (*shinkyōchi* 新境地) in women's culture" (Ogata 1988:7; Frederick 2013:397), clearly adopting the language of colonialism. To this point, Frederick also highlights "conflicted and unexpected affiliations" (Frederick 2013:397) and complexity of cultural, ethnic, colonial and national identities within the empire that emerged on the pages of *Kagayaku*. As this sometimes unorthodox representation strayed from the tropes that dominated wartime literature, *Kagayaku* can also be seen as a rare example of a literary platform going against the grain of the traditional, ethnically homogeneous representation of Japan (ibid.). Finally, while examining the rhetoric of the aforementioned greeting by Hasegawa in the December 1934 issue, Frederick argues that this language of colonial settlement (*kaitaku*) while focusing on including all progressive women (*zen shinpotekina josei*) reveals the intertwining of liberation and imperialism in Hasegawa's rhetoric (Frederick 2013:397), fully consistent with the state ideology and official narrative of the war.

Kagayaku's pro-war leanings have, however, also been highlighted by other

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and under her maiden name, I will use the name Sata throughout this thesis in the interest of consistency.

women – notably Miyamoto Yuriko, who criticized the special issue *Kagayaku Butai* from November 1937, describing the number's goal of 'comforting' (*imon*) as something 'like from a girls' novel' (*shōjo shōsetsuteki*). Miyamoto further singled out Okamoto Kanoko's contribution and the heroism presented therein as 'self-absorbed' and the story as 'making idiots out of us women' (Ogata 2004:183); a similar criticism was voiced by Kubokawa [Sata] Ineko 窪川稲子 (ibid.). Yet these two critical voices are interesting not only for what appears to be a dissenting perspective on an ideologically dominant rhetoric in literature, but also because Miyamoto (as noted above) later became a member of the Nippon Bungaku Hōkokukai, while Sata (as I will show below) later would prolifically write from Japanese colonies in Southeast Asia, even as it must be pointed out that her participation in propaganda was mandated and not voluntary. Again, I would argue this suggests less a true idelogical shift on the part of these authors, and more a complex interplay of opportunities and motivations within a tightly controlled system where discourse is, to a large extent, homogenized. Ogata also points out that the left-leaning *Nyonin Geijutsu* appeared at a politically more liberal time that could ideologically accommodate it. The editorial line of *Kagayaku* therefore reflects the political shift in wartime Japan, as Hasegawa aimed to provide a platform representing women on the 'homefront' (Ogata 2004:180). Frederick again raises a similar point in saying that much like *Nyonin Geijutsu* – which began as a magazine for all women writers and over time crystallized itself into a left-wing activist publication – the earlier *Kagayaku* began its publication as a newsletter for female cultural figures and only eventually turned into a nationalist, pro-war publication. This, as Frederick suggests, points towards the complexity of wartime thought, feminism and literature seldom acknowledged within this context (Frederick 2013:396). This argument is important in the context of Hayashi Fumiko's wartime

writing as well. I would argue that it is possibly more productive to examine the ideological complexities or contradictions within her writing (before, during and after the war) as a mirror of the discourses producing it, rather than trying to assess Hayashi Fumiko's own ideology as reflected by her writing.

1.2. Yosano Akiko's appeal to patriotic sacrifice

The all-encompassing nature of the ideological shift which occurred in Japanese society in the 1930s is well demonstrated by the example of Yosano Akiko 与謝野晶子 (1878-1942), who had caused controversy during the Russo-Japanese War with her anti-war poem "Kimi shinitamō koto nakare" 君死にたもうことなかれ ("Beloved, you must not die", 1905) addressed to her younger brother. Regarding the anti-war reputation of the poem, it is important to note that Yosano herself maintained her motivation for writing it was personal rather than political (Rimer *et al.* 2011:143). Yet as Watanabe Sumiko (2004) points out, Yosano's poem "Bakudan san'yūshi no uta" 爆弾三勇士の歌 ["Poem of the three human bombs"], published in 1932 in *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun,* makes a rather radical appeal to the nationalist sentiment, with Yosano praising the loyalty of the pilots[32] who sacrificed their lives in a suicide attack and were subsequently lionized as the 'three human bombs' (爆弾三勇士 *bakudan san'yūshi*) or 'three human bullets' (肉弾三勇士 *nikudan san'yūshi*) by the warmongering media. The three men in question blew a path through Chinese fortifications in February 1932 by shouldering a warhead and running into barbed

[32] Named Eshita Takeji 江下武二, Kitagawa Susumu 北川丞 and Sakue Inosuke 作江伊之助.

wire fences, killing further thirty-six of their fellow soldiers in the process. These pilots became embodiments of the 'Japanese spirit' in the media and also influenced Japan's popular culture of the 1930s[33] (Earhart 2008:76–77). In this sense, Yosano Akiko's poem is merely one example of this kind of state propaganda's influence. Already published in 1932, her poem also makes Yosano one of the earlier female writers to adopt such full-throated nationalist rhetoric; Watanabe even calls the spirit of sacrifice in the poem a precedent for the later general glorification of the *Tokkōtai* 特攻隊 (special attack unit), more commonly known as the *kamikaze* 神風 pilots (S. Watanabe 2004:126).

While Yosano Akiko is not a prominent name in the research on Japanese wartime literature, this small example nevertheless shows us how quickly authors' public identites reconfigured as the ideological tides within Japan shifted in the early 1930s. In the context of female authors and war discourse, Yosano's example is particularly valuable in showing us that Hayashi Fumiko's own turn towards nationalist rhetoric in the late 1930s was not a particularly singular occurence among female authors, even as the attention given to it in scholarly literature might suggest otherwise.

1.3. Tamura Toshiko's imperial gaze

Another small but relevant example in the examination of accounts of war written by women is the texts of Tamura Toshiko 田村敏子 (1884-1945), who traveled to Nanjing

[33] At least seven films were made in 1932 alone, for example *Nikudan san'yūshi* 肉弾三勇士 [*Three human bullets*], *Shōwa no gunshin: Bakudan san'yūshi* 昭和の軍神 爆弾三勇士 [*Shōwa warrior gods: Three human bombs*] or *Chūretsu nikudan san'yūshi* 忠烈肉弾三勇士 *[Three unswervingly loyal human bullets*]. Yosano Akiko's poem itself was turned into a song, the eponymously titled "Bakudan san'yūshi no uta" 爆弾三勇士の歌 ["Song of three human bombs"].

in March 1938 from Shanghai[34] on assignment with publishing house Chūō Kōronsha. And again in 1940, despite mere two years passing between Tamura's two trips to Nanjing, she makes important distinctions between the destruction she witnessed in 1938 – even comparing the city to a corpse after its fall – and the reconstruction underway in 1940 (Hasegawa 2016:242). In so doing, Tamura – wittingly or not – endorses the expansionist effort of the Japanese empire by highlighting the regenerative and constructive role it has played in building a new Nanjing, while failing to acknowledge the empire itself necessitated that reconstruction. In an article published in *Fujin Kōron* in March 1939, Tamura describes the positive feelings towards Chinese women while reiterating the Japanese expansion ('cultural expansion', *bunka kōsaku* 文化工作) as one that will bring 'culture' to the region (Hasegawa 2016:243). In the April 1939 issue of *Fujin Kōron*, Tamura touches upon the status of women as second-class citizens and advocates for solidarity between Japanese and Chinese women, but it is of course the Japanese women who must lead the movement towards liberation (ibid.).

As both Yoshiya Nobuko and Hayashi Fumiko published their own accounts from their visits of Shanghai and Nanjing after its fall, it is worth paying attention to the ways in which these texts may coincide or differ from Tamura's observations. Particularly the role of Japan in the destruction of Nanjing, the future of China and the ways in which Yoshiya and Hayashi acknowledge or obfuscate them, as well as their conceptions of Chinese women filtered through their own identites as Japanese women could suggest broader trends or discursive tendencies within wartime literature written by Japanese female authors.

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[34] Similarly to Hayashi Fumiko, who had visited the region shortly before.

1.4. Sata Ineko on the intersection of nationalism and feminism

Sata Ineko, one of the most prominent proletarian writers, had also been rather active as a war correspondent. Sata had scored a bestseller in 1940 with her not previously serialized (*kakioroshi*) novel *Suashi no musume* 素足の娘 [*Barefoot girl*], and her newfound status of a popular writer (*ryūkō sakka* 流行作家) allowed her to travel to Korea in June of the same year. One year later, in June 1941, Sata visited Manchukuo on an assignment with *Manshū Nichinichi Shinbun*, and again visited Korea on her way back to Japan. Between September and October 1941, Sata again went to Manchuria alongside Hayashi Fumiko and other writers on a military 'comfort tour' (*senchi imon* 戦地慰問). She later went on a similar tour through Taiwan and the battlefields of China (Shanghai, Nanjing, Xuzhou, Hangzhou, Hankou, Yichang) between March and April 1942. Most importantly, again together with Hayashi Fumiko among others, Sata went to Southeast Asia on an assignment for Mainichi Shinbunsha between October 1942 and May 1943, marking her longest time spent abroad. On this trip, Sata spent time in Singapore, Malaysia, Sumatra and other places in the so-called Southern Regions (*Nanpō* 南方).

As is rather clear from her resume, Sata had traveled most of the Japanese colonies and as a result published a large number of novels, essays and reportage related to war (Hasegawa 2016:246). Importantly, Sata Ineko's wartime writing is largely omitted in her *zenshū* 全集 (collected works)[35], suggesting a choice to distance herself from this period on the part of both Sata and the publisher of these collected works. While

[35] However, all of the examples of Sata's war writing Romagnoli (2018) examines below are included in her *zenshū*.

wartime works of Hayashi Fumiko are present in her own *zenshū*[36], they are still vastly underrepresented when considering the sheer quantity of her literary output during this time. While the decision to not include many or all of these authors' works may certainly be explained by the pervasive perception of their lack in artistic quality – therefore not serving the respective author's legacy in a desired way – it also underplays the extent to which literary authors and cultural figures were connected to the state (willingly or not). This also undermines a broader and fulsome war discourse, as relevant texts are made largely unaccessible in this process outside of their wartime editions. Yet, only an attentive analysis of wartime literature also allows for its understanding. By examining works of wartime literature more closely, we can discover in more tangible ways what constitutes this perceived lack of quality, or to what extent wartime texts correlate with each other or with the respective author's wider body of work.

While in September 1940, Sata writes sympathetically about the linguistic assimilation of the colonized in Korea for *Shinchō*. However, she is less sympathetic to the plight of girls working in low-wage jobs in the factories of Manchukuo in December 1941 (in a text for the magazine *Tairiku*). Here, as Hasegawa notes, she takes a perspective more akin to a businessperson (Hasegawa 2016:247), somewhat suprisingly coming from a writer who rose to fame in the proletarian circles with her own autobiogaphical account of exploitative child labor, "Kyarameru kōjō kara" キャラメル工場から ["From a caramel factory", 1928]. In another article for *Fujin Kōron* published in October 1943, Sata describes women workers in an airplane components

[36] I am referring to the *zenshū* published by Bunsendō in 1977, which includes more works than the original 1951 *zenshū* published by Shinchōsha.

factory, emphasizing their feeling of responsibility when they learn of a malfunction or accident involving one of their components, while Sata praises their work as being equally important to the work of men (Romagnoli 2018:276–277).

Among Sata's numerous war reports, Romagnoli highlights "Saizensen no hitobito" 最前線の人々 ["People on the front lines"] and "Sakusen chiku no sora" 作戦地区の空 ["The sky in the war zone"], published in the July 1942 issue of *Hinode* as two pieces where "the contradiction between her proletarian past and later subservience to a fascist ideology" (Romagnoli 2018:275) becomes most apparent. Borrowing from the stereotypical imagery of wartime propaganda, Sata refers to the soldiers affectionately as *heitai-san*, praising their demeanor and father-like qualities, while for her part, the author focuses on her motherly qualities and emotionality, often manifested through tears (Romagnoli 2018:275–276). While describing the tragedy of orphaned children of Nanjing in 1942, she however completely (if unsurprisingly) omits the Japanese massacre at its root, and describes Japan as a rescue for Malaysians from the British rule in September 1943 (Hasegawa 2016:247). Providing the latter two examples, Hasegawa argues that Sata utilized the opportunity to collaborate with the state not purely for financial reasons, but also in order to further raise her profile as a writer following her recent commercial breakthrough (Hasegawa 2016:249). On the other hand, she concludes that Sata Ineko embodied a double standard: while acknowledging – if not wholehartedly endorsing – the official narrative of the war and adopting a standard of femininity compliant with the ideal of good wife and wise mother, she nevertheless insists in her writing that women can contribute as much to the war effort as men. With the similarity of assignments and travel destinations between Sata Ineko and Hayashi Fumiko, these points are also relevant to an

examination of Hayashi's war writing and her own negotiation of the intersections of gender and ideology.

1.5. Ōishi Chiyoko and ethnic assimilation as empowerment

Finally, Sarah Frederick provides a rather unorthodox example of writing about Japanese colonies with Ōishi Chiyoko's 大石千代子 (1907-1979) short story "Tsukiyo no Durian" 月夜のデゥリアン ("Durian on a moonlit night", 1941; hereafter "Durian"), published in the second special 'comfort' issue of *Kagayaku Butai*, titled *Umi no yūshi imon bunshū* 海の勇士慰問文集 [*Literary selection for the comfort of heroes at sea*, 1941]. Frederick describes the issue as one containing "short stories, essays and poetry collected in support of the troops, compositions and editing by the *Kagayaku* members, and funding from the Navy" (Frederick 2013:402). "Durian" is a story of a young Japanese man living in the Philippines, married to a Moro woman – the daughter of a tribal leader in a Muslim group. Ōishi constrasts the protagonist Ryōzō's diligence as a businessman and father with another Japanese character, Tokuyama, who loses work and takes up drinking. The intermarriage in "Durian" is presented positively, even as Japan and moving back there remains the ideal. Ryōzō even tells his wife she is not a Moro anymore, but rather a Japanese wife and mother, inspiring deep trust within her (Frederick 2013:403–404). To this point, Frederick speaks of a paradox of the text's themes of liberation (supposedly a hallmark of *Kagayaku*) and subjugation and concludes "[the story] is jarringly uncritical about motherhood and the role of a wife for a publication put out by some of 1920s Japan's most radical feminists" (Frederick 2013:404).

The examples of Ōishi and other female authors in wartime Japan show us very

different and perhaps unorthodox ways in which they reconciled their own values with a repressive ideology which allowed little space for diversity of thought. Hasegawa Shigure's publication of *Kagayaku,* which was a successor of a leftist literary journal and smoohtly slid into right-wing rhetoric over the course of the 1930s, culminating in special issues dedicated to the soldiers in the 1940s, is a particularly interesting case. This development of *Kagayaku* provides an example of ideological continuum within Japanese literature of the 1930s instead of focusing on the sometimes radically different ideological poles many writers had found themselves on over the course of the decade. Therefore, the periodical offers an interesting perspective on the ideological shift in the 1930s and allows us to see the swing from liberalism to nationalism in less abrupt terms than often presented.

Writers with an anti-war image such as Yosano Akiko or Sata Ineko adopted at times drastically different rhetoric in their wartime writing. Yet, as Sata's numerous examples also show, themes such as female empowerment or liberation often coexist with or are even linked to a language of oppression and violence in her writing from Japanese colonies. Ethnic difference is negotiated particularly often, but not always in derogatory terms, as seen on the example of Ōishi's "Durian". It must still be pointed out, however, that the sympathetic portrayal of the ethnically 'other' wife is closely tied to this character's willingness to culturally assimilate herself within the empire. The examples of Tamura, Sata and Ōishi all provide us different perspectives on how female authors negotiated difference across national and ethnic boundaries. In the case of Hayashi Fumiko, who carefully constructed an outsider, working-class image for herself in the early 1930s, questions of difference and identity – both in comparison with her fellow Japanese and the colonized or conquered people who occupied lower rungs of the empire's societal ladder – are to be carefully considered,

as is her national identity as it emerges in confrontation with foreign spaces and faces.

2. Yoshiya Nobuko (1896-1973): a pioneer of literary war reportage

Much like Hayashi Fumiko, Yoshiya Nobuko was one of the first authors in general to write from the Chinese war zones, and published numerous texts related to war particularly in its early stages. As a literary figure, Yoshiya is best remembered for *Hana monogatari* 花物語 [*Tales of flowers*], published between 1916 and 1924 in *Shōjo Gahō* 少女画報 and *Shōjo Kurabu* 少女倶楽部, magazines for young girls. Yoshiya was also a prominent contributor to another major magazine for young girls, *Shōjo no Tomo* 少女之友. She published in the magazine throughout the war, making her an especially influential literary figure (1926-1989; ibid.).

In her texts about the war, Yoshiya Nobuko constructs a noticeably more demure literary persona than Hayashi Fumiko, with whom she was put into a somewhat competitive position by the media during their participation in the *pen butai* as the only female writers. For her part, Yoshiya also fed into this narrative by distinguishing herself from Hayashi: in her collection of essays *Jidenteki joryū bundanshi* 自伝的女流文壇史 [*Autobiographical history of women's literature,* originally published in 1977], she dedicates one chapter to Hayashi Fumiko and her wartime travels and mentions Hayashi must have been amused at Yoshiya's 'cowardly disposition' (*yowamushi kanshō* 弱虫感傷) while traveling together in China (Yoshiya 2016:64). Such distinction is also reflected in modern scholarship. Arai Tomiyo (2007), for example, compares Yoshiya's *Senka no hokushi Shanhai o yuku* 戦火の北支　上海を行く (*Ravages of war in northern China: Going to Shanghai,* 1937) unfavorably to Hayashi Fumiko's later *jūgunki* 従軍記

[campaign accounts]: she contrasts Hayashi's bravery with Yoshiya's cowardice, arguing that Yoshiya leaves an impression of a schoolgirl on a field trip (*shūgaku ryokō no shōjo* 修学旅行の少女; Arai 2007:115), making a rather explicit connection between Yoshiya's pre-war texts for young girls and her war reportage. The competition between Yoshiya and Hayashi was most importantly bolstered by the media companies themselves – for example, *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun* 東京日日新聞/*Ōsaka Mainichi Shinbun* 大阪毎日新聞 published Yoshiya's serial novel *Onna no kyōshitsu* 女の教室 [*Classroom of women*] concurrently with the publication of Hayashi's novel *Hatō* 波濤 [*Rough sea*] in *Asahi Shinbun* 朝日新聞 from early 1939 (Takeda 2015:25).

Romagnoli sums up Yoshiya's position on the war as expressed in her reportage in general as "unwavering belief that the Japanese military presence in China had the sole purpose of liberating the Chinese people from the supposed tyranny of Chiang Kai-Shek" (Romagnoli 2018:262), acknowledging the war as a tragic necessity in an ultimate pursuit of peace (ibid.). Watanabe Sumiko similarly describes Yoshiya's rhetoric in her war reportage as one that leaves no doubt concerning her conviction about the 'holy war' (*seisen* 聖戦) and one cognizant of her leading position among the large number of female readers looking up to her (S. Watanabe 2000b:145); in an article for the women's magazine *Shufu no Tomo* 主婦之友 from January 1941, Yoshiya expressly mentions she is taking up her pen and traveling to fulfill the duties conferred upon her by the official authorities as a writer (ibid.). While such rhetoric (Yoshiya's 'taking up the pen' being the equivalent of taking up a sword as a writer) may seem naïve or indeed stereotypical, Kitada Sachie importantly points out (referring to Yoshiya's later writings from Indonesia) that the clarity with which the

government's colonalist line is on display in her texts in turn helps us see this rhetoric itself, as well as its ideological underpinnings, more clearly (Kitada 2004:146–147).

Yet while Yoshiya's writing during the war mostly conformed to the state rhetoric, much like Hayashi Fumiko, Yoshiya herself resisted submitting to normative femininity in her private life and literary texts. As Romagnoli points out, a visible sign for this was Yoshiya's trademark bob hairstyle which can be interpreted as a "statement against state-sanctioned womanhood" (Romagnoli 2018:261). Yoshiya lived with her same-sex partner, Monma Chiyo, since 1926, and her novels such as *Yaneura no nishojo* 屋根裏の二処女 [*Two virgins in an attic*, 1920] often concerned women living together and/or their passionate friendship. Similarly to Hayashi Fumiko, Yoshiya reached a peak in poularity in the early 1930s with serial novels such as *Onna no yūjō* 女の友情 [*Women's friendship*, 1933-1934] and especially *Otto no teisō* 良人の貞操 [*A husband's chastity*] published between 1936 and 1937 in the *Ōsaka Mainichi Shinbun* (Kitada 2004:140). Romagnoli identifies *Otto no teisō* as the point where Yoshiya's previous main themes, such as the passionate friendship between two women, intersects with the issue of motherhood as personal and national virtue and, at the same time, a fundamental part of female identity, which becomes central in her fictional and nonfictional writing in the wartime (Romagnoli 2018:261).

The success of *Otto no teisō* also factored into Yoshiya's selection for the *pen butai* (Xu 2009:170); as a female writer, she was expected to mediate the reality of the front to women at home in a way male writers or reporters were perceived as unable to (Kitada 2004:140). Yoshiya herself has made similar statements in her war reportage, writing that her role is to visit hospitals, bring comfort to the Imperial Army and to write articles from a female perspective about the life and work of Japanese women

in China (Yoshiya 2002:16; Romagnoli 2018:263). When examining wartime works written by women, it is also important to consider how they reflect contemporary public and media discourses on the role of women in wartime Japan. Wakakuwa (2000) points out a broad tendency to associate men with the roles of fighters (*sentōin* 戦闘員) and women with civilians (*hisentōin* 非戦闘員), which extended to other oppositional constructions such as taking life/giving life, soldier/mother, war/peace, civilization/nature or nation/family (Wakakuwa 2000:50–51). Ultimately, women who did not fulfill this image – such as unwed women, 'manly' women or sex workers – were portrayed negatively by the media. These paradigms could enable Yoshiya to create an ideological I compatible with the official media narrative and *bidan* 美談 war reportage, while adopting a uniquely 'female' perspective obscuring her queer identity, unfit for the standards of wartime representation of women.

2.1. *Senka no hokushi: Shanhai o yuku* (1937) and Yoshiya's construction of femininity in war reportage

Yoshiya traveled to China twice in 1937 on an assignment for *Shufu no Tomo,* in quick succession. First, she visited Tianjin, Beijing and Tongzhou (presently Nantong) between August 25 and September 1, then stayed in Shanghai between September 21 and October 3, later writing about her travels in three reports published in the magazine (Romagnoli 2018:262). As might already be clear from the above, Yoshiya was most closely tied to *Shufu no Tomo* with her wartime writings, and it is in this magazine where she published her most important texts on the war. At least sixteen texts written by Yoshiya appeared in *Shufu no Tomo* between October 1937 and February 1942 (S. Watanabe 2000b:145; Takeda 2015:29). Kitada divides these writings

into four periods: China after April 1937, Manchurian border (August 1938) and China with the *pen butai*, Southeast Asia (Indonesia and Singapore in 1940, Vietnam and Thailand in 1941), and finally reportage on the Pacific War after December 1941 (Kitada 2004:141). Xu points out that *Shufu no Tomo* played an important role after the outbreak of the war in mobilizing mass consent for it in Japan (Xu 2009:173). Of note is also the special treatment of Yoshiya's long-form reportage from China, as it was published in a two-art special between October and November 1937[37], with modern, eye-catching design, featuring photographs and illustrations. By treating Yoshiya's contribution with special importance and design, readers could be more easily lured to read her account and recognize its importance, while acknowledging the war as a hallmark of a modern nation. It is worth pointing out that while Hayashi Fumiko's trip to China in early 1938 brought her considerable attention as the first female public figure to enter Nanjing after its fall, Yoshiya Nobuko's reportage from northern China and Shanghai in fact precedes Hayashi's[38], and her texts were among the first war reportages published by literary authors in general.

Yoshiya's reportage from northern China was subsequently published in a single volume under the title *Senka no hokushi: Shanhai o yuku* 戦禍の北支　上海を行く (*Ravages of war in northern China: Going to Shanghai,* 1937; further only *Senka no hokushi*). The book is divided into three parts: "Senka no hokushi: Genchi o yuku" 戦

[37] The October installment was titled "Senka no hokushi genchi o yuku" 戦禍の北支　現地を行く ["Ravages of war in northern China: Passing the field"], while the November one appeared under the title "Senka no hokushi Shanhai kesshikō" 戦禍の北支　上海決死行 ["Ravages of war in northern China: Prepared for death in Shanghai"] (Xu 2009:169).

[38] This is noted by Yoshiya herself in *Senka no hokushi* as she is told to be the first woman to enter Shanghai on a special permission from the police (Yoshiya 2002:120; Xu 2009:179).

禍の北支　現地を行く [“Flames of war in northern China: Passing the field”], “Sentojō kaigyō” 戦都上海行 [“On the sea through cities at war”] and “Hokushi Shanhai genchi hōkoku (kōen hikki)” 北支上海現地報告（公演筆記） [“Field reportage from northern China and Shanghai (lecture transcriptions)”]; the third part contains Yoshiya’s speeches given on October 20 and 22, 1937. *Senka no hokushi* is her most prominent example of war reportage – it appears to be the only collection, with her later texts only appearing in magazines individually – and thanks in no small part to a reprinted edition supervised by literary scholar Hasegawa Kei (Yoshiya 2002) is also the most readily available. As a collection of texts written by a female writer, *Senka no hokushi* obviously provides a valuable comparison to Hayashi Fumiko’s writings from the Chinese battlefields. But it is also remarkable as a stepping stone in the formation of the *jūgunki* as a literary genre and wartime literature in general, preceding more famous texts such as Hino Ashihei’s *Mugi to heitai* by a few months.

The primary impression of China Yoshiya communicates within *Senka no hokushi*, and one that is shared by subsequent texts of wartime literature, is that of dirt, fundamental during this time to the image of China in Japan (Xu 2009:176–177). Xu points out that hygiene problems were all common side effects of development in cities such as London and Paris as well. Yoshiya, however, especially accentuates this image, as her gaze at the city is particularly informed by her consciousness of Shanghai’s dirtiness. In *Senka no Hokushi* Shanghai emerges as a deplorable place full of disease and undrinkable water (Xu 2009:178). For example, while crossing the Yangtze river, Yoshiya points out how its name means ‘yellow river’, and how the water in China is as yellow as the earth (Yoshiya 2002:107; Xu 2009:178). Elsewhere, Yoshiya describes stationed Japanese troops taking measures against disease spreading in

Shanghai (Yoshiya 2002:108; Xu 2009:178) or how disinfectant is being given out in the city (Yoshiya 2002:148; Xu 2009:178). The association of Shanghai (and by extension, its citizens as well as China writ large) with dirt and disease, and even more importantly the depiction of Japanese troops as the purveyors of health and hygiene is an early example of Foucauldian biopower (see 1.4.) at play, and it will be on clear display across later works of Japanese wartime literature as well. In this case, Yoshiya legitimizes Japan's aggression by showing Japanese forces as the saviors of China, its presence as a more modern, civilized country necessary for China's development.

While Shanghai's unsanitary living conditions were a rather typical image in Japanese literature of the 1930s, Yoshiya's image of Shanghai also contrasts with the stereotype of the city as a place of entertainment, or a city of women (*Shanhai wa onna no machi* シャンハイは女の街; Xu 2009:179). On the one hand, Yoshiya is told to be the first woman to enter Shanghai, as noted above. But she also subverts the associations of Shanghai with entertainment more consciously when she describes a deserted dance hall in which she begins to imagine tuxedo-clad men and women (Yoshiya 2002:142–143; Xu 2009:179). This is an interesting point in relation to Yoshiya's own understanding of gender and her narrated I: the decidedly queer image – or at least one not conforming to wartime gender standards – of men and women dancing in the same attire, and especially women wearing menswear, is invoked to indicate Yoshiya's interest in such performances of gender, and simultaneously acknowledge these patrons have no place in the war, or in the Japanese empire altogether.

When confronted with anti-Japanese sentiment, such as when she witnesses the words "Down with the Japanese devils" (Yoshiya 2002:181; Romagnoli 2018:263) painted on a rickshaw, Yoshiya's ideological I becomes stronger and more resolute. In this scene, she professes to return to Shanghai "after peace had been restored" (ibid.)

and make the rickshaw driver change the writing to “Cherish the Eastern goddess” (ibid.). In doing so, as Romagnoli points out, Yoshiya casts herself as an empowered woman, but also as one ethnically superior to the Chinese driver (Romagnoli 2018:263). What is notable on this example is the stark and immediate juxtaposition of anti-Japanese and nationalist rhetoric, with the latter serving as a firm rebuttal to the former. On the first sight, this may appear as Yoshiya’s endorsement of war; however, as shown in Chapter 2, anti-Japanese rhetoric was strictly forbidden in wartime accounts (see Part I, 1.4.). Therefore, addressing disagreement with it on the side of the colonized was quite possibly the only choice to show these expressions of resistance to readers at home at all. Examples of nationalist rhetoric in *Senka no hokushi* are numerous and include expressions such as “Thousands of cheers for the Japanese air force” (*Nippon kūgun banbanzai* 日本空軍万々歳 [Yoshiya 2002:28; Kume 2013:267]), “Spirit of our country[39]” (*mikuni no shiki* み国の士気 [Yoshiya 2002:40; Kume 2013:267]) or “Oh, the honorable land forces in Shanghai” (*aa, homare wa takaki Shanhai rikusentai* あゝ誉れは高き上海陸戦隊; [Yoshiya 2002:123; Kume 2013:267]). While Yoshiya ultimately admits her irritations are caused by lack of understanding, such as in the rickshaw scene above, she still points out the discomfort she feels (Yoshiya 2002:178–181; Xu 2009:180–181), her views on the foreign culture remaining firmly in place.

Kume, however, also highlights Yoshiya’s description of the aftermath of the Tungchow mutiny[40] (*Tsūshū jiken* 通州事件) as an example of rhetoric that does not

[39] Yoshiya uses the archaic word *mikuni* み国, thus expressing a honorific attitude towards Japan.

[40] Attack of the Chinese East Hopei Army in retaliation for the Japanese bombing of their barracks, in which numerous military personnel and hundreds of civilians were killed. The Tungchow (or

neatly fit into a frame of drumming up war support (*sen'i kōyō* 戦意高揚). While exploring an abandoned house, Yoshiya describes a bloodstained sheet on a children's bedding (*futon* 蒲団), discovers a young girl's geography textbook and strewn children's rubber boots, all of which elicits a strong emotional response within her. Ultimately, however, she blames the Chinese men and the women they were born to for this massacre of women and children, and concludes her observation by saying all women should strive toward the same ideal of 'peace', so that scenes such as this may only become 'distant dreams' a hundred years in the future (Yoshiya 2002:77; Kume 2013:268–269). While a friction briefly arises within Yoshiya's narrated I, shocked by the consequences of war and traces of its victims, the ideological I – the voice of propaganda – prevails and Yoshiya retreats to the feminine ideal of peace. In this way, she suggests Chinese women will not become true women unless they follow the lead of their Japanese sisters.

In keeping with the nationalist 'us/them' paradigm, Yoshiya's approach to gender and womanhood in *Senka no hokushi* is consistent with the lens of the pre-modern paradigm of *ryōsai kenbo* 良妻賢母, 'good wife and wise mother'. Motherhood, according to Yoshiya, is a woman's most important role and shall also serve to build peace between the nations (Romagnoli 2018:264). This ideal is most succinctly embodied by Japanese field nurses, respected and loved by their husbands as motherly, life-giving figures (Yoshiya 2002:41–42; Romagnoli 2018:264; Tsuchiya Dollase 2008:332); Yoshiya refers to them as "Japanese Nightingales" (Yoshiya 2002:39; Romagnoli 2018:264). Her focus on nurses as an ideal of the wartime woman is

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Tongzhou) mutiny marks the official beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War, as it took place on July 29, 1937, shortly after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident (*Rokōkyō Jiken* 盧溝橋事件) on July 7.

interesting: they are quintessentially coded as feminine and motherly with their work saving lives, they represented the highest kind of duty Japanese women could perform in the service of the country, and the work also brought them to closest proximity with soldiers. Field nurses were also rather rare, as only around 25 thousand were deployed throughout the war (Wakakuwa 2000:104–105). Yoshiya's admiration for the field nurses can therefore be directed both to their embodiment of Japan's ideals of femininity and motherhood, but also their bravery and willingness to break from the 'traditional role' (actually established only in the Meiji era) in the domestic sphere while still serving their country. Although she makes her deep respect for the Japanese nurses clear, Yoshiya also remains an outside observer, never seeing herself as a part of the military community.

Chinese women, on the other hand, are mothers to murderers, and as such are equally complicit in the violence (such as the massacre in Tongzhou) for their inability to stop it (Romagnoli 2018:265). The obvious irony of Yoshiya's failure to apply the same standards to Japan aside, the author's adherence to the Japanese ideal of the *ryōsai kenbo* makes it unattainable to Chinese women by design – and by associating them explicitly with taking instead of giving life, Chinese women can also be linked to more 'masculine' qualities as assigned in the wartime gender discourse. Of course, Yoshiya, who was a pioneer of lesbian romance and herself lived in a same-sex relationship, did not embody this ideal either. She therefore adopts "a posture of clumsiness and naïveté" (Romagnoli 2018:263), consistent with the *shōjo* patterns familiar from her earlier works; in this way, Yoshiya skillfully disappears into her trademark literary style to deflect attention from herself as a private person. At the same time, her conscious adoption of a subservient role in her interactions with military officers endorses the patriarchal system on a symbolic level (Romagnoli

2018:264). In regards to the aspects of her autobiographical I, Yoshiya engages in an interplay of her narrating I (as the author of the text), narrated I (as she appears in the text) and the ideological I – as she herself stands outside of the *ryōsai kenbo* paradigm, she leaves herself out of the picture while observing other women, and enforces ethnic hierarchies consistent with the nationalist ideology. While interacting with male, military officers, she assumes a voice familiar from her fictional work, and this allows her to retreat into the protective shell of 'traditional' femininity despite the incongruity of her historical I. What seems to count in service of propaganda is the narrated I Yoshiya assumes in her texts.

By constructing the Chinese women as 'lesser' as compared to their Japanese counterparts, whom she purports to represent, Yoshiya's approach again calls to mind Foucault's concept of biopower, as she sees a possibility of disciplining Chinese women into becoming more 'Japanese' and therefore worthy as citizens of the empire. She further reiterates this paradigm with her shock at the realization that the *shōjo* model is inapplicable to Chinese girls, prompting Yoshiya to appeal to Japanese women to "fix such 'aberrations'" (Yoshiya 2002:184–185; Romagnoli 2018:266). While Tsuchiya Dollase (2008) provides a more positive reading of *Senka no hokushi*, contrasting Yoshiya's pronounced focus on women and women's culture with Hayashi Fumiko's focus on the heroism of (male) soldiers in *Hokugan butai* 北岸部隊 [*Northern bank troop*, 1939] and even describing Yoshiya's war reportage as feminist, at the same time she admits that Yoshiya's concept of a universal sisterhood conveniently overlaps with the idea of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity sphere (Tsuchiya Dollase 2008:332). In the same way, the compassion Yoshiya describes while reading a letter from a Chinese mother who wants her son to come home from war (Tsuchiya Dollase 2008:332) can be explained by the mother's desire to cease her son's fighting against

Japan, and would likely not be extended to the Chinese mothers supportive of their sons' fight. Once again, then, Yoshiya's empathetic, narrating I becomes superseded by the ideological I. Compassion extended to Chinese civilians seems directly correlated to their obedience as imperial subjects, and to their willingness to follow the guiding hand of Japan. By replicating these ethnic hierarchies, Yoshiya puts greater weight on her identity as a Japanese citizen than as a woman, and thus lets the imperial project take precedence over female solidarity. The construction of her female identity in relation to both Japan and China can also provide a salient point of comparison for Hayashi Fumiko's treatment of gender in her own accounts of war, and thus invite broader insights into the role of gender in wartime literature.

A year after the publication of her reportage from northern China and Shanghai and on the occasion of her participation in the *pen butai*, Yoshiya published "Manso kokkyō" 満ソ国境 ["Manchurian-Soviet border"] in October 1938 and "Kaigun jūgun nikki" 海軍従軍日記 ["Diary from Navy travel"] the following month in *Shufu no Tomo* (Kume 2013:273). In "Kaigun jūgun nikki", she depicts women in Nanjing as 'pitiful' (*ki no doku* 気の毒 [Kume 2013:276]) and 'miserable' (*mijime* 惨め [ibid.]). Imagining a scenario in which Japanese and Chinese women's places are traded and Japanese women would have to endure the misery Yoshiya witnesses in China makes her, in her own words, shudder (*zotto suru* ぞっとする [ibid.]). Of course, limitations of censorship would not allow Yoshiya to detail the reasons behind their misery and keep her impressions vague, but she does comfort her readers by asserting that the Imperial Army and its soldiers' compassion (*Kōgun no bushitachi no nasake* 皇軍の武士達の情) will be the road to the redemption of Chinese women (Kume 2013:276). At

the same time, she makes seemingly contradictory statements, such as that the reliance of Chinese women on the West (*Beiō* 米欧) is natural and inevitable (*shizen de shikata ga nai* 自然で仕方がない). To this point, Kume argues that such discrepancies within the text, as well as her expression of desire for a Japanese-Chinese unity, but at the same time also the misery of Chinese defeat serve to depict a complicated and even contradictory reality of war (ibid.). Kume's helpful observations on Yoshiya's war reportage published after *Senka no hokushi* suggest that Yoshiya's construction of her autobiographical I, as well as that of other (particularly ethnically 'other') subjects has not strayed from the patterns established in her early wartime texts. To draw upon the language of war reportage, Yoshiya was willing to include Chinese women in her unified picture of a Japanese womanhood on the condition they were prepared to accept it as their own, superior to their own culture. In an ideological turn reminiscent of Foucault's concept of biopower, then, Yoshiya allowed women to be women under the condition they would also become Japanese, and thus worth keeping alive.

2.2. *Tsuki kara kita otoko* and Yoshiya's texts from Southeast Asia

Like Hayashi and other writers, Yoshiya also traveled to Southeast Asia in the early 1940s, visiting today's Vietnam and Cambodia, and subsequently published her travelogues in the 1941 collection *Saikin watashi no mitekita Ran'in* 最近私が見て来た蘭印 [*The Dutch East Indies I just saw*]. Upon her return to Japan, she wrote of her impressions, such as being moved at the sight of Japanese flags waving in these foreign places, and expressed her enthusiasm for the liberation of fellow Asian countries supposedly facilitated by the southward expansion of the Japanese empire. In her writings from Indonesia, Yoshiya appeals to fellow Japanese women to support

their country “with the resolve of a soldier” (S. Watanabe 2000a:119), a comparison rather typical of the wartime, as Watanabe Sumiko points out (ibid.). Interestingly, however, Yoshiya’s unified subject of a ‘Japanese woman’, already suggested in *Senka no hokushi*, becomes rhetorically tied to the unified subject of the *heitai-san* (soldier), omnipresent in the cultural discourse at the time, highlighting the urgency of war and duty. Yoshiya describes Indonesia as a country rich in resources, such as oil, sugar, rubber, coal, steel, or diamonds; on the other hand, she voices her discontent at the apparent support for Chiang Kai-Shek she encounters (Kitada 2004:146). The author laments the locals’ unwillingness to liberate themselves from the shackles of the West in unity with their fellow Asians (ibid.) – a union from which China under Chiang Kai-Shek is irrevocably excluded, as Yoshiya’s comment suggests. Yet upon hearing the gamelan while visiting Bali, she realizes that culture shall act as a bridge between these different nations (ibid.). She makes a similar assertion in the final installment of her serial novel *Eien no otto* 永遠の良人 [*Eternal husband*, 1945], stating that the Japanese are now not only the people (*minzoku* 民族) of Japan, but instead of all (Southeast) Asia, highlighting the importance of literature (and therefore authors like herself) in the endeavor of bridging the territories (S. Watanabe 2000a:115).

Yoshiya’s most discussed text based on her travels in Southeast Asia is the novel *Tsuki kara kita otoko* 月から来た男 [*The man from the Moon*], published in *Shufu no Tomo* between May 1942 and July 1943, and later as a single volume in February 1944 together with a theatre play, *Jūnigatsu yōka no Saigon* 十二月八日の西貢 [Saigon on December 8], and the reportage “Inran, Taikoku no jūnigatsu yōka zengo” 印蘭・泰国の十二月八日前後 [“French Indochina and Thailand around December 8”; Yoshikawa

2002:1]. The protagonist of *Tsuki kara kita otoko* is Takeshi, an engineer who marries Yūko, a doctor's daughter. Shortly after their marriage, Yūko falls severely ill and eventually passes away, which motivates the despondent Takeshi to relocate to Saigon – a trading and manufacturing hub of the expanding Japanese empire. Here, he meets a local nurse named Chinoan, with whom he eventually has a son, Kazuo. As the state of war becomes more grave, Takeshi refuses his company's order to return to Japan, instead opening a general store (*zakkaten*) in Saigon while taking care of Kazuo, and eventually passes away himself in the novel's conclusion (Yoshikawa 2002:2). Here, Yoshiya suggests that it is 'men from the moon' such as Takeshi who will rescue Asia, which she also presents as a frontier of new possibilities for improving their own livelihood (S. Watanabe 2000a:117).

Several elements of the text show continuity with Yoshiya's rhetoric and ideology familiar from *Senka no hokushi*: the second *kanji* in Chinoan's name 鄭鶯（チンオアン） is *uguisu*, or Japanese nightingale, connecting the Vietnamese nurse to her Japanese counterparts. Watanabe interprets their son Kazuo's name 一雄 as "Asia is one" (*Ajia wa ichi nari* 亜細亜は一なり; S. Watanabe 2000a:116). It is also telling that Kazuo, as a physical manifestation of Asia's unity, is a son of an engineer building a new Asia and a foreign embodiment of Yoshiya's ideal of a Japanese woman – a Vietnamese nurse.

Yoshiya presents the possibility of a 'pan-Asian sisterhood' in *Tsuki kara kita otoko* through the character of this Vietnamese nurse, who at once embodies a foreign and ethnically other woman, as well as the Japanese ideal of femininity. While Chinoan passes away, her mixed-race son Kazuo (notably bearing a Japanese name) remains in her place as an embodiment of the new Asia under the guidance of Japan, and the protagonist Takeshi chooses to remain in Vietnam – away from Japan but still on

Japanese territory. Through Takeshi's resolve to remain in Vietnam and participate in the community more directly (by running a store), Yoshiya might even be making the case for young Japanese to expand and emigrate to the southern territories of the still-growing empire – and if needed, even to sacrifice their lives in service for their country.

2.3. Résumé: nationalism as a new image for women in Yoshiya Nobuko's texts

A sharp ideological turn – or rather, a shift in public persona or the narrating I as it is perceived by the reader – is immediately apparent between Yoshiya Nobuko's pre-war and wartime texts. This turn, however, is just as easily explained by the examples of her fellow female writers introduced in Chapter 1 of Part II, whose political views expressed in their wartime texts differed to an, at times, even jarring extent from the views they espoused before the war. As Yoshiya was a decidedly apolitical public figure, she could accommodate such turn in her writing more easily. Yet the suddenly political tone in her voice also comes across as a rather forced attempt at conforming to the nationalist rhetoric endorsed by the state. The intensity of Yoshiya's expressions of her ideological conviction, as well as her steadfast adherence to the *ryōsai kenbo* paradigm and wartime ideals of Japanese femininity, suggest that her ideological I as it emerges in her wartime texts is highly artificial – if only because much of it verifiably does not correspond to Yoshiya Nobuko's 'historical I'. At the same time, her full-throated endorsement of the 'traditional' values of femininity and family allowed her to obscure aspects of her own identity incompatible with precisely these ideals. As such, then, Yoshiya's wartime texts (especially *Senka no hokushi*) offer us an interesting example of essentially pure products of propaganda, in which the author crafts a separate voice (or ideological I), as well as the flexibility of authors' public

personas during the war.

The biggest contribution of Yoshiya's wartime texts to the Japanese literary discourse is in her portrayal of gender. Much like the format of the *bidan* war reportage she adopts for her text, her depictions of both Japanese and Chinese women correspond to their representation in wartime Japanese media. Through the *ryōsai kenbo* prism, Chinese women are by nature 'unwomanly', yet have a chance of becoming women by becoming culturally Japanese and joining the imperial sisterhood Yoshiya envisions in her texts.

3. Ishikawa Tatsuzō (1905-1985): the cautionary tale of *Ikiteiru heitai*

The first major work of fiction dealing with the war in China was written by Ishikawa Tatsuzō 石川達三, the laureate of the first Akutagawa Prize, which he was awarded in 1935 for his novel *Sōbō* 蒼氓 (*The common people*) about impoverished Japanese immigrants in Brazil. The account was based on Ishikawa's two-month trip to the country he made at the age of twenty-five (Cook 2001:149; Cipris 2003:31). Stylistically, *Sōbō* was heavily inspired by the French naturalist social novel, such as those by Émile Zola (1840-1902) or Anatole France (1844-1924; Kagoshima 2012:175; Cipris 2003:31). Ishikawa was also active as a journalist (Kagoshima 2012:158), which also seeps into his documentary literary style already present in *Sōbō* (Kawahara 2015:127).

3.1. *Ikiteiru heitai*: an introduction

Ishikawa's documentary, realist approach is also clearly seen in *Ikiteiru heitai* 生きてゐる兵隊 (*Soldiers alive*, 1938), a novel commissioned to him by *Chūō Kōron* 中央公論 in 1937. Cipris describes Ishikawa's literary style as detached, dispassionate and as

making no attempt to create suspense, at times resembling a military bulletin; he also draws parallels between *Ikiteiru heitai* and the German literary school of *Neue Sachlichkeit*, or New Objectivity, which focused on a depiction of concrete realities as opposed to abstract conceptions, taking hold in Japanese literature of the 1930s (Cipris 2003:32). Ishikawa's starkly realist approach is also in line with the aforementioned trend of writing from the actual scene of an event. At the same time, Cook points out that Ishikawa avoids the trappings of Orientalism as conceptualized by Edward Said[41] in that he does not rely on the civilized/uncivilized binary in relation to China (unlike, for example, Hino Ashihei), and is even critical of the general Japanese contempt towards China (Cook 2001:170).

While Ishikawa did not publicly disapprove of the war and even hoped for his novel to make readers realize its necessity, his naturalist ambitions proved to be beyond the pale for the official authorities and resulted in the suppression of the March 1938 issue of *Chūō Kōron* and Ishikawa's trial and prison sentence. While *Ikiteiru heitai* is based on interviews that Ishikawa conducted with occupying Japanese soldiers in Nanjing (mostly members of the infantry) between his arrival on January 8 and departure on January 15 (Kawahara 2015:23; Cipris 2003:32), it is still a work of fiction and is not based on Ishikawa's personal experience. Therefore, the aspects that can be examined in all the other examples in this chapter only apply to a limited extent in the case of *Ikiteiru heitai* (particularly the autobiographical I). Nevertheless, as

[41] In Said's words, "Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'" (Said 1979:10). According to the author, this distinction emphasizes the supremacy of the Occident in relation to the inferior Orient. Orientalism can also be understood as "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Said 1979:11). While both Japan and China were Eastern nations, these power dynamics were largely replicated in Japan's colonial period, highlighting the important role of imperialism in their emergence and development.

Ishikawa was also a professional reporter and utililized journalistic methods in preparation for writing his novel, it is worth examining *Ikiteiru heitai* in a broader context of Japanese wartime literature in an effort to identify its problematic aspects in the context of state censorship, as well as evaluate the effects its censorship incident had on subsequent wartime literary texts.

3.2. War and soldiers in *Ikiteiru heitai*

At the center of *Ikiteiru heitai* is a group of five soldiers from the same unit, all of whom come from different backgrounds and who deal with the brutal realities of war in different ways. What they have in common, as Kagoshima points out, is that they have all been ripped away from their previous lives in Japan and thrown into a completely unknown environment in Nanjing (Kagoshima 2012:200). Interestingly, while this is a device typical of *shishōsetsu*, Ishikawa chooses to forgo this model completely, unlike Hino Ashihei and the authors who followed him. The ideal soldier is embodied in the character of Kasahara, a peasant youth for whom the life of a soldier might be comparable, if not outright preferable, to the hardships of farming life. He is used to killing and lacks the psychological complexity of his more educated, urban counterparts (Cipris 2003:33) who undergo the most profound internal change within the novel (Kagoshima 2012:202). Katayama, a Buddhist priest, also does not hesitate to kill and is depicted in scenes beating captured soldiers to death with a shovel. The 'intellectuals' among the characters are schoolteacher Kurata, former medical student Kondō and newspaper proofreader Hirao (Cook 2001:151). Kurata is able to deal with the situation on the battlefield the best out of these three and is ultimately able to 'become a soldier' (Gomibuchi 2014:295), i.e., he is successfully able to dehumanize the Chinese and kill without remorse. Kondō gradually loses the respect for life he had

coming into the war, while Hirao finds himself unable to process the reality of war and suffers severe psychological damage (Cook 2001:151). But even the bravery and ideals embodied by Kasahara are made relative when he is shown to commit acts of violence without a previous order; Kagoshima identifies this behavior as a post-traumatic stress response, complicating the function Kasahara might otherwise fulfill as an ideal, or inspirational, figure (Kagoshima 2012:203). Kagoshima's thoroughly contemporary reading of Kasahara's condition is made possible by the extreme degree of realism (and in turn, authenticity) Ishikawa strives for in *Ikiteiru heitai*, displaying Kasahara's acts of violence but not disclosing the true reason behind them, the narrator's perspective detached from the protagonists (and thus running counter to the traditional *shishōsetsu* framework). Considering the strictness of Japanese wartime censorship, it seems plausible that the ambivalent nature of the text and the space Ishikawa thus allows for readers to fill in the blanks were bigger issues to the authorities than the depictions of violent acts in the text itself.

This violence most often appears in the form of murder, rape and pillage throughout the novel, and is introduced right in the opening pages, as Kasahara catches and beheads a young Chinese man; it is unclear whether this is a spy or a civilian (Cook 2001:150). Elsewhere in the novel, Ishikawa presents graphic descriptions of enemy corpses lying on the streets, eaten away at by cats and dogs (Cook 2001:152), and Japanese soldiers are killing captured Chinese and set fire to their houses (Cook 2001:153). At the same time, the characters of *Ikiteiru heitai* are not shown to engage in the Nanjing Massacre, leading Cipris to describe the novel's narrative as a "violent culmination that does not entirely take place" (Cipris 2003:35). The text concludes with no resolution, the war continuing with no end in sight as the regiment departs Nanjing for its next destination (Cook 2001:153). With the conclusion

of the novel being as open to interpretation as many other aspects of the text-, Ishikawa seems to suggest a perpetuity of the war and a lack of reward for the sacrifice brought by the soldiers, pointing towards a lack of hope or a truly positive outcome, another potentially undesirable point for the official authorities.

By contrast, the military spirit in all its positive connotations is embodied in the regiment's commander, Colonel Nishizawa. Worshipped by his soldiers, Nishizawa understands killing as a sacrifice made in the name of peace, not to be questioned on an individual level (Cipris 2003:36). Nishizawa acts within the text as a surrogate for the emperor – fully feeling the sorrow of war and continuing with it nonetheless, Nishizawa's demeanor mirrors the emperor's tacit approval of the war and the brutal acts committed in its name (ibid.). Yet as Cipris points out, this admiration for Nishizawa on the part of the soldiers seems to reflect Ishikawa's own position, and the lack of any condemnation of the brutal actions depicted within the novel suggests a lack of condemnation of the war itself (Cipris 2003:37). On the other hand, while Nishizawa is clearly a surrogate for the ideology Ishikawa ostensibly seeks to endorse with *Ikiteiru heitai*, the lack of a focus figure and its ideological I make his authority dimmer in the face of the gruesome acts, which definitely constitute the more memorable parts of the text.

As Cipris points out, the titular soldiers are 'alive' not only in the sense of not being killed, but also as creatures of flesh and blood. They are shown in search for sex – bought or forced – which notably sets *Ikiteiru heitai* apart from other works of wartime literature (Cipris 2003:32). This echoes the influence of French naturalism, which is also how the novel's frank depictions of violence are usually interpreted, rather than as an anti-war statement (Cook 2001:160–161; Onishi 2014:100–101). Indeed, as Cipris points out, Ishikawa presents the troops' cruel conduct as unavoidable, despite flashes

of sympathy towards the Chinese (Cipris 2003:35). In doing so, the author does not question the validity of war, instead only showing the high price of defeat in order to deglamorize, rather than denounce it (Cipris 2003:37). And yet, Ishikawa's dogged focus on documentary realism, following the legacy of French naturalist literature, also obscures a clear pro-war message. In this sense, *Ikiteiru heitai* succeeds more as a literary than as a propaganda text, and despite its fictional conceits serves as a powerful document of the human cost of war on both sides.

3.3. Censorship and the aftermath of publication

The sensitivity of Ishikawa's material was obvious to *Chūō Kōron*, alongside *Kaizō* the leading magazine among the intellectual class, and the editorial staff was aware that they are taking a gamble by publishing *Ikiteiru heitai* (Amemiya 1988:468–469; Kawahara 2015:31). According to Hatanaka Shigeo 畑中繁雄, one of *Chūō Kōron*'s editors at the time, the magazine provided opportunities for authors previously persecuted under the Peace Preservation Law of 1925, upholding a liberal editorial line even after the outbreak of the war (Cook 2001:154). Indeed, *Kaizō* and *Chūō Kōron* have enjoyed reputation as "excellent test[s] to permissiveness" (ibid.) in media. At the same time, the war ushered in a kind of golden era for Japanese magazines, producing new literary stars as the narrators of the war story (ibid.). Ishikawa's background as the first Akutagawa Prize laureate and his literary style blending journalism and literature, then, might have seemed like a perfect match for the first such star to emerge. Ishikawa himself writes about war reportage as an opportunity to explore new areas of humanity (*atarashii ningensei*) and war itself as subject of literature in an article for *Yomiuri Shinbun* on September 18, 1937 (K. Watanabe 2015:67). Importantly, the sensitivity of the material was also clear to Ishikawa himself: he supplied a brief

postscript to the novel, in which he stresses that the text is a free creation and not a faithful record of the actual battles, with all names of units and soldiers being fictitious (Cook 2001:156).

In her study "The many lives of *Living soldiers*: Ishikawa Tatsuzō and Japan's war in Asia" (2001), Haruko Taya Cook examines the editorial acts of censorship by comparing the original publication in *Chūō Kōron* and the first published book edition which only appeared after the war, in 1945. In the *Chūō Kōron* version, all references to divisions and regiments have been changed to 'units' (*butai*), while terms for commanders at each level and rank were changed to 'unit commander' (*butaichō*).[42] Names of places, including Nanjing, are kept intact except for Dalian, which is replaced with *fuseji*.[43] Words or phrases pertaining to soldier's sexual desires, as well as phrases indicative of contempt of life ("life is something like garbage on the battlefield", [Cook 2001:157]), or a particular attachment to it ("it is great to be alive" [ibid.]), were removed from the text. Severe cuts have also been made to violent scenes of murder of civilians, pillaging, rape and torching of houses (ibid.). However, as Cook points out, while the violent acts themselves are excised from the text, their implications remain and the reader is able to tell they took place; for instance, the Chinese captives dragged by Japanese soldiers have clearly been killed, as the soldiers wouldn't have the strength to drag them alive while marching (Cook 2001:158). Since acts of violence perpetrated by Japanese soldiers are occassionally present in later, widely read wartime texts, it seems like it was rather the open nature of the text and Ishikawa's cautious omissions, which did not help him to protect the text against

[42] In his translation of the novel (Ishikawa 2003), Cipris restores the proper ranks and unit names.

[43] The *fuseji* for Dalian are removed in Ishikawa's collected works (Ishikawa 1972).

backlash from the state censorship. The largest deletion by *Chūō Kōron* are the final two chapters of the text, in which Hirao, Kondō and Kasahara go out to buy *geisha* in Nanjing. The drunk Kondō experiences a flashback and is reminded of how he stabbed a Chinese woman, whereupon he shoots and wounds the Japanese *geisha*. Kondō is investigated by the military police but eventually gets released and in the end departs Nanjing with his original unit. Cook argues that the reason for the omission of this episode is not necessarily the violent act itself (eventually it turns out to be non-fatal), but rather the fact that the wounded *geisha* is Japanese (Cook 2001:159).

The extensive censorship of *Ikiteiru heitai* is made clear at first sight by the many instances of *fuseji* 伏字 and other editorial interventions visible on the surface of the text. Below are two examples of passages from the original manuscript removed in the original *Chūō Kōron* edition[44]:

> "The friendly force headed for Changzhou chasing the stragglers, while the ~~**Nishizawa Regiment**~~ [replaced by **unit**] took rest in Wuxi for three days. It was in such a situation that the surviving men most ~~**desired women**~~. They walked around with large strides inside the town and ~~**searched for women like dogs chasing a rabbit**~~. This ~~**aberrant behavior**~~ was ~~**strictly controlled**~~ at the battle front in northern China. However, it was difficult ~~**to restrain their behavior**~~ here." (Cook 2001: 151)

> "They came to feel proud and willful, as if every one of them was ~~**an emperor**~~ or a tyrant. When they ~~**failed to achieve their objectives in town**~~, they went out ~~**to civilian houses**~~ far outside the wall. They could run into perils from stragglers who were hiding themselves and from armed natives in the area. But the soldiers had no sense of either hesitation or scruples. They felt as if none would be stronger than they themselves in the world. ~~**Needless to say, morality, law, introspection and humanity completely**~~ lost their **power** in the midst of such feelings." (Cook 2001: 152)

[44] Text highlighted as in Cook 2001; the struck passages indicate words and phrases removed from Ishikawa's manuscript by *Chūō Kōron* (Cook 2001:151).

The struck passages above clearly show how aspects of Ishikawa's writing touching upon Japanese imperialism, military aggression and failures in war were deemed problematic, especially when expressed in strong language. At the same time, then, they also show the extreme restraint under which the writers were forced to produce their texts. However, it is also important to point out that Ishikawa himself undertook acts of self-censorship even before further editorial and official choices pertaining to the text were made. Ishikawa was attached to the Noda Regiment in the Thirtieth Brigade of the Sixteenth Division from Kyōto, whose brigade commander Sasaki Tōichi 佐々木東一 (1886-1955) had left behind a sizable amount of writings on the war. In one of these, published after the war under the title *Senjō kiroku: Chūshi sakusenhen* 戦場記録　中支作戦篇 (*Battle records: Operations in central China*; Cook 2001:160), he describes the battle of Nanjing from his own perspective and even openly addresses the massacre in entries from December 13 and 14 (ibid.). As the unit in *Ikiteiru heitai* enters Nanjing on December 13, the narrator describes 'mopping-up operations' within the city and the Japanese forces opening fire on Chinese stragglers. While these operations continue until the 17th, Ishikawa says nothing more in his novel. However, a special telegram from the Shanghai office of *Asahi Shinbun* from December 15 reports a number of over 60 000 Chinese captured and killed; a later telegram from the Shanghai *Yomiuri* from December 29 reports 84 000 Chinese and 4 800 Japanese casualties (Cook 2001:156–157).

Considering the information embargo on the Nanjing Massacre, omitting it from the novel constituted the first, and at that time necessary, act of self-censorship on Ishikawa's part to get the text past censorship. However, as Cook points out, the other instances of cruel conduct against Chinese civilians in *Ikiteiru heitai* rather highlight

how this was an ongoing activity, instead of one that only began with the fall of Nanjing (Cook 2001:160). While *Ikiteiru heitai* is a purportedly fictional text, Ishikawa (as a journalist) also constructs his soldiers as a collective subject by forming his protagonists on the basis of interviews he conducted with members of the military in Nanjing. Each of the protagonists therefore carries aspects of multiple soldiers Ishikawa had interviewed, a device also utilized in traditional war reportage. As each of the protagonists is a composite of many individual soldiers, their actions – particularly violent ones – also suggest a multitude of perpetrators, or a normalcy to violent acts which would be clearly undesirable to the authorities.

The March 1938 issue of *Chūō Kōron* was quickly suppressed by the official authorities at the end of February, and Ishikawa was taken to the Metropolitan Police Office (*Keishichō*) for investigation, which lasted only one day and after which he was released (Cook 2001:159). During this investigation, Ishikawa maintained that he believes the cruel behavior depicted in his novel takes place for justified reasons, such as when a Chinese cook is stabbed for stealing sugar (Cook 2001:161). During the later trial, when asked if he intended to hurt the trust in the Japanese army, Ishikawa answered he instead meant to question the idea of soldiers as gods and instead make people see them as human beings (K. Watanabe 2015:100; Cipris 2003:37–38). In his words, Ishikawa thought that knowing the truth about the war is essential to acknowledge the emergency of the present situation and war's urgency (Cook 2001:159). Ishikawa, *Chūō Kōron*'s editor-in-chief Amemiya Yōzō 雨宮庸蔵 (1903-1999) and the department head Makino Takeo 牧野武夫 (1896-1965) were indicted for

violation of the Press Law[45] (*Shinbunshi Hō*) on 4 August, with the trial beginning on 31 August (ibid.).

On 5 September, the second day of the trial, Ishikawa was sentenced to four months of imprisonment and three years probation for "depicting the slaughter and pillage of noncombatants by, and relaxed military discipline among, the soldiers of the Imperial Armed Forces, and for writings that disturb peace and order" (Cook 2001:162). The charge of disturbing peace and order was made due to the war still being in progress – meaning that the author's depiction of the soldiers' behavior itself was a (thought) crime. Amemiya received the same sentence while Makino was fined with 100 yen (Cook 2001:162; Gomibuchi 2014:296). The judge supported the verdict by citing a number of scenes from the novel: a scene of a crying Chinese girl being shot while holding her dead mother; the aforementioned scene of a cook being shot after stealing sugar; scenes of soldiers' violent behavior and sexually charged dialogue (about 'procuring fresh meat'); and a scene in which Kasahara describes a young girl being shot (Kawahara 2015:109). Cipris argues that the widely publicized trial served as a clear warning to other writers that accounts of war as frank as *Ikiteiru heitai* will not be tolerated going forward (Cipris 2003:38). Despite the trial and sentence, Ishikawa remained active as a writer through the war, and was also a member of the Nippon Bungaku Hōkokukai (see Part I, 2.1.2.). He subsequently visited China again alongside (but not as a part of) the *pen butai* and traveled to Saigon with the Navy, and he continued to publish until the end of the war even as his texts were often cut or left unpublished. *Chūō Kōron*, on the other hand, was shut down in July 1944 after repeated censorship infractions, and some of its staff were imprisoned during the war (Cook

[45] Cook uses the term Newspaper Regulations; I will use the term Press Law consistently with Chapter 2.

2001:163).

3.4. Ishikawa after *Ikiteiru heitai* and the novel's significance

The effects of the trial were immediately visible in Ishikawa's writing. His most significant war-related text after *Ikiteiru heitai* is *Bukan sakusen* 武漢作戦 (*The Wuhan operation*, 1939), written after he spent about two months with the army in China; he departed on September 12, a mere week after his sentencing. Cook points out that while Ishikawa required a special permission from the army in order to travel, it was not only issued promptly but also came with a letter of introduction for the head of the reporting division in Shanghai. This suggests quite clearly that the controversy and backlash against *Ikiteiru heitai* did not seriously affect Ishikawa's standing with the authorities (Cook 2001:162–163). Unlike *Ikiteiru heitai*, *Bukan sakusen* is a non-fictional text and Ishikawa's self-censorship is clearly in full effect following the reprisal he had just experienced. In the postscript, he notes:

> "The objective was to let the home front know the breadth, depth, and complexity of the war. In other words, as the author, I tried to construct a faithful history of the battles [...] My attemps to study individuals resulted in a legal problem caused by something written. This time, I have sought to avoid individuals and to observe the movement as a whole." (Yasunaga 1966:70; cited in Cook 2001:163)

Ishikawa frames his text by chronology of military operations and focuses on activities of transport units or field hospitals without any central characters, and completely omits any graphic scenes of violence (Cook 2001:163). In fact, relations with local people are cordial and the Chinese are depicted as beginning to live happier lives as a new China emerges under the benevolent Japanese empire (Cipris 2003:41). Cipris describes *Bukan sakusen* as "a piece of sanitized reportage adorned with

sporadic literary touches" (Cipris 2003:40) and "a work resembl[ing] a lengthy press release penned by an eloquent officer" (ibid.) with little dialogue, chapter titles such as "The important task of transport" (ibid.), and unequivocally in the support of the 'holy war' (ibid.). The extent to which Ishikawa desired to distance himself from the fallout of *Ikiteiru heitai* is obvious on all levels of *Bukan sakusen* as a text: discarding the novel format in favor of war reportage, but at the same time not constructing any compelling group of characters as a focal point (such as a troop), seem to have contributed to the predominantly negative reception *Bukan sakusen* has received in literary scholarship; needless to say, the text has not garnered significant attention in the wartime years either.

3.5. Résumé: *Ikiteiru heitai* as a warning

In the larger context of Japanese wartime literature, *Ikiteiru heitai* provides a singular example of as an unorthodox text on the intersection of war reportage and fiction. Perhaps due in part to Ishikawa's own journalistic experience and approach to writing this text, *Ikiteiru heitai*'s unrelenting realism might have led it to appear as an authentic account thinly veiled as a novel, frankly depicting the conduct of Japanese troops in China. While this also attests to Ishikawa's precision and journalistic skill in crafting his protagonists and their experiences, the portrayal of Japanese soldiers in *Ikiteiru heitai* is not only quite negative, but also in stark contrast to the *heitai-san* familiar from the wartime media.

Ishikawa's focus on his characters' psychology, their personal complexities, as well as omissions in the text which leave its most transgressive parts to the power of readers' imagination all ran counter to the simple war narrative as fueled by the media, which in *Ikiteiru heitai* is only insufficiently present through the embodiment of

military ideals in Colonel Nishizawa. Since Ishikawa employs a third-person perspective, an authorial narrative voice and an ensemble of characters instead of a single protagonist – all of which reflect his journalistic approach – *Ikiteiru heitai* never reads as an account of personal experience, differently from most other wartime literary texts. In addition, Ishikawa is not interested in utilizing the conceits of *bidan* (such as heroism, which is clearly absent in his characters) and instead opts for a more naturalist approach. While elements of *bidan* can be found in the morally superior character of Colonel Nishizawa, the extent to which Ishikawa dwells on violence committed especially against civilians (despite extensive self-censorship and pre-publication censorship), as well as his literary approach, seem to be at the root of the legal problems he eventually faced. This also explains why Hino Ashihei, and many authors who followed him (including Hayashi Fumiko), retreated into the safer territories of propagandistic *bidan* and ultra-personal *shishōsetsu*.

The chilling effect of the backlash faced by Ishikawa and *Chūō Kōron*'s editors is immediately noticeable in his writing that followed *Ikiteiru heitai*. Similarly to Yoshiya Nobuko's *Senka no hokushi*, Ishikawa's *Bukan sakusen* is valuable as a piece of propaganda mostly due to its complete acquiescence to the official state rhetoric and the overwhelming dominance of the ideological I within its autobiographical perspective. At the same time, it is telling that wartime texts which most closely followed the line of official propaganda were not the most popular among contemporary readers, nor did they prove to have any lasting appeal as works of literature. The next example, Hino Ashihei's *Mugi to heitai* 麦と兵隊, managed to become both a commercial, critical and ideological success, and even rise to the status of a gold standard of Japanese wartime literature only a few months after the scandal of *Ikiteiru heitai*.

4. Hino Ashihei (1907-1960): a literary role model

Tamai Katsunori 玉井勝則 (Hino Ashihei's 火野葦平 birth name) displayed an early interest for literature, writing three novel manuscripts before entering the English literature department at Waseda University at the age of twenty. However, becoming attracted to leftist politics during his university years, he dropped out of Waseda and joined his father back on the docks of Kitakyūshū, unsuccessfully organizing workers into a labor union. He later traveled to Shanghai to support a Chinese workers' strike in early 1932, and upon his return was investigated by the Wakamatsu Police (*Wakamatsu-shi Keisatsusho*) for his connection to the Kitakyūshū Proletarian Arts Union (Kitakyūshū Puroretaria Geijutsu Renmei 北九州プロレタリア芸術連盟), which in Hino's own words caused him to recant his politics and undergo *tenkō* (Rosenfeld 2002:6; K. Watanabe 2015:41).

In subsequent years, Hino Ashihei focused on his literary career, and like Ishikawa Tatsuzō won the Akutagawa Prize in 1938 for his novel *Fun'nyōdan* 糞尿譚 (*A tale of excrement,* 1937). Rosenfeld links this text to the *Shinkankaku-ha* 新感覚派 (New Sensationalism) movement in Japanese literature of the 1920s (Rosenfeld 2002:6); he also highlights elements of fantasy and grotesque as some of the more memorable elements of *Fun'nyōdan,* conspicuously missing from the starkly realist *Mugi to heitai* (Rosenfeld 2002:7). This basic difference between the text that established Hino as a writer and the text he wrote on an official assignment already suggests how deftly he adjusted his writing to the circumstances of its production.

4.1. *Mugi to heitai*: an introduction

Mugi to heitai was a commercial juggernaut: the novel moved 1.2 million copies at a

time when books usually sold around a few thousand (Rosenfeld 2002:124), and was immediately recognized as a representative work of war literature in literary circles – critics often praised the authenticity of Hino's text stemming from his perspective as a soldier (Rosenfeld 2002:52). *Mugi to heitai* was eventually translated into English, Chinese, German, Spanish, Italian, French, Burmese, Czech, Manchurian and Korean (K. Watanabe 2015:120). Hino quickly followed his success up with the epistolary *Tsuchi to heitai* 土と兵隊 (*Earth and soldiers*, 1938) and the more traditional novel *Hana to heitai* 花と兵隊 (*Flowers and soldiers*, 1939); together, these three texts form the so-called *Soldier trilogy* (*Heitai sanbusaku* 兵隊三部作; Rosenfeld 2002:8). After the publication of *Mugi to heitai*, Hino Ashihei was hailed not only as the most popular writer in Japan, but a national hero as well (Rosenfeld 2002:52; Keene 1984:921).

After the publication of *Mugi to heitai*, Hino went on a nationwide lecture tour and his books were subsequently adapted into radio dramas, stage plays and the particularly successful film *Tsuchi to heitai* [*Earth and soldiers*[46], 1939]. The theme song from the film became a hit in Japan (Rosenfeld 2002:52), with Hino's *heitai* penetrating practically all spheres of culture. The phrase '__ *to heitai*' became popular in marketing and was used to name everything from green tea to canned foods or alcohol (Gomi 2017:123; K. Watanabe 2015:120). This commercial boom made Hino's *heitai* all the more present within the lives of the Japanese citizens, and the author undeniably played an important role in the popularization of nationalist ideology. Despite this, Gomi asserts Hino should not be viewed as a direct purveyor of nationalism; the

[46] The official English translation for the film differs from that for the original novel, *Mud and Soldiers*, translated by Lewis Bush and published in Japan by Kenkyūsha in 1939. *Kinema Junpō* ranked the film as the third best of the year, and it also won a number of awards (K. Watanabe 2015:124).

popularity of *Mugi to heitai* should rather call to attention the role of the state and its cultural politics (Gomi 2017:124). Literary critics have advocated for such an approach to Hino's wartime texts as early as 1946: Hirano Ken, for example, argued for a consideration of state coercion as a factor in the production of literary texts, and notably compared Hino to Kobayashi Takiji as a fellow victim of an authoritarian regime (Rosenfeld 2002:8). I would advocate for a similar approach – by taking the authors' experience as the basis for their varyingly autobiographical texts and discerning between the multiple aspects of the autobiographical I, we can dissociate the narrators from the nationalist rhetoric (as typically represented by the ideological I), and thus uncover both the authors' narrative agency as well as the desired rhetoric of nationalism more clearly.

Hino was drafted as a soldier in September 1937, and his unit took part in the attack on Hangzhou in October, where it remained stationed. It was here that Hino was visited by literary critic Kobayashi Hideo in March 1938 and presented his Akutagawa Prize (Rosenfeld 2002:23). Hino was subsequently transferred to the Army Information Corps (*gunhōdōbu* 軍報道部) and covered the battle of Xuzhou as an embedded writer[47] (*jūgun sakka* 従軍作家) in May 1938, which became the basis of the *Soldier Trilogy*. After accompanying several campaigns in Shanghai, Guangdong, or at Hainan Islands, Hino was relieved of his army duties in November 1939, but continued to write from China, Burma and the Philippines until the end of the war (Rosenfeld 2002:24). Hino may have therefore been not only widely perceived as the most authoritative literary voice on the history in the making in wartime Japan, but

[47] Rosenfeld uses the term "accompanying writer" (Rosenfeld 2002:24); in this thesis, I will be using the term 'embedded writer' to maintain the connection to embedded journalists (*jūgun kisha*) and the role of writers as agents of press.

also the most prolific – and his literary work from this period should therefore be acknowledged as a sizable contribution to the making of Japan's collective memory regarding the war. By constructing a consistent *heitai* persona of his own and conflating the narrating and narrated I in his texts (in the tradition of *shishōsetsu*), Hino enjoyed both the status of a celebrated author and a representative figure of the Japanese soldier. It is, however, important to keep in mind that despite Hino's convincing construction of the self (his narrated I) as one of the *heitai*, he was in fact a member of the Information Corps during this assignment and not, strictly speaking, a soldier. This is perhaps the most important distinction to make between the narrating and narrated I in *Mugi to heitai*.

4.2. Hino Ashihei between the narrating and narrated I in *Mugi to heitai*

The literary persona Hino crafts on the pages of *Mugi to heitai*, and which carries over to his subsequent texts, is arguably the biggest reason for his success. The author consciously presents himself as a common soldier, referring to himself as "I, a soldier" (*heitai de aru watashi*; Rosenfeld 2002:25) and sharing with his fellow soldiers their tastes, attitudes, opinions, as well as a lack of authority. In other words, Hino constructs his narrated I as a part of the collective of soldiers he portrays. However, he himself – his historical I – had a very different background from the average soldier: he formerly studied English literature at Waseda University, had at least a passing interest in Marxism[48] and was an established writer. Rosenfeld argues that

[48] Watanabe notes that while Hino was not affiliated with the proletarian literary movement, he was demoted from the rank of sergeant (*gunsō* 軍曹) to corporal (*gochō* 伍長) after two of Lenin's publications have been found in his posession by his company commander (*chūtaichō* 中隊長; K. Watanabe 2015:35).

Hino's affection for the soldiers comes across as genuine, and his literary persona is not intended to be deceitful; instead, it becomes the vehicle through which Hino can convey the appealing morality of the virtuous soldiers to his readers (ibid.). Still, considering the relatively large gap between Hino's historical I (as an elite writer) and narrated I (as a common soldier), the success of *Mugi to heitai* as an authentic document of war experience largely hinged on a successful performance of the *heitai* literary persona by the narrating I while obscuring the more elite aspects of his personal background. The honesty of Hino as a narrator comes clearly through in his steadfast solidarity with the soldiers, which persisted until after the war; the common *heitai* always stood for the most admirable elements of Japanese society in Hino's eyes (Rosenfeld 2002:2). At the same time, the sympathy Hino would consistently extend to his fellow soldiers as the war's victims also allowed him to avoid fully engaging in a debate about Japan's war responsibility (Rosenfeld 2002:5), much like his focus on 'small matters' (*chiisana jōkyō* 小さな状況) allowed him to avoid discussion of the 'big matters' (*ōkina jōkyō* 大きな状況) such as geopolitics in his wartime works (Narita 2010:167). This separation between small and big matters is also reminiscent of the separation of battlefield (*senjō* 戦場) and war (*sensō* 戦争) as a defining characteristic of *Mugi to heitai* and the subsequent texts it influenced: by focusing on the visceral experience of the front in minute detail and, at the same time, excluding any discussion of the war as a whole, authors could produce authentic accounts of their experience while representing the state ideology only to a necessary degree. The *shishōsetsu*-like narrative perspective of *Mugi to heitai*, strictly confined to Hino and his individual, personal experience of the war also precludes him from writing about Japan's policy or ideology, and his readers from interpreting the text beyond what is

on the page. This approach made *Mugi to heitai* much 'safer' for public consumption than *Ikiteiru heitai,* a text much more open to interpretation.

Yet Hino's prominence and ideological consistency also caused him to become a target of criticism after Japan's defeat, even being labeled a "cultural war criminal" (Rosenfeld 2002:8). This shows us how much the ideological I of Hino's autobiographical texts informed the public's view of Hino as a private person, or the historical I, which is invisible to us as readers. Notably, however, Hino never recanted his stance on the war or the ideology his texts came to represent. He remainied confident in the motives behind Japan's military actions and the end of European colonialism in Asia as the war's ultimate goal, and has expressed dismay at the Japanese subservience to occupying Americans in his postwar writing (Keene 1984:925). In his 1945 essay "Kanashiki heitai" 悲しき兵隊 ("Unhappy soldier"), Hino defends the Japanese soldiers and insists that the *heitai* spirit will be key to Japan's reconstruction, while criticizing politically opportunist Japanese who shifted their allegiance to the occupying forces (Rosenfeld 2002:62–63).

During a brief period of about five years after Japan's defeat, Hino also wrote and published a number of fictional works which seem to diverge ideologically from his wartime project: the short story "Yama no yado" 山の宿 ("Mountain inn", 1946) deals with the rejection of official ideology and wartime culture on the home front, while the novel *Seishun to deinei* 青春と泥濘 (*Youth and mud,* 1950) details the human cost of war and even includes explicit criticism of the military command. However, as Rosenfeld points out, Hino seemed to return to his position as an advocate for the ordinary *heitai* (Rosenfeld 2002:64–65). In his final novel *Kakumei zengo* 革命前後 (*Before and after the revolution,* 1960), he even appears critical of his own wartime role

when he describes cynical soldiers criticizing an author reminiscent of him. They accuse this character of selling out and enjoying his comfort and wealth while the other soldiers were "as expendable as a stack of fifteen-*rin* postcards [...] We were wondering when you'd get around to writing *Money and soldiers*" (Hino 1980:212; cited in Rosenfeld 2002:10). Hino's complicated feelings of disillusionment and perhaps even guilt may have been the reasons for a 'vague uneasiness' he, reminiscent of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke 芥川龍之介 (1892-1927), spoke about in the note he left behind after he committed suicide on 24 January, 1960 (Rosenfeld 2002:146). His complicated feelings towards the way his work was received after the war suggest that, on the one hand, Hino felt left behind by Japan after the war as a part of the *heitai* community, and at the same time he felt guilt for selling out to the very system that failed them.

4.3. The representation of war and soldiers in *Mugi to heitai* between *bidan* and *shishōsetsu*

In helping construct a collective memory of war and as a historical document, *Mugi to heitai* is notable in being largely devoid of lengthy descriptions of battles. One significant exception is the "centerpiece" (Rosenfeld 2002:31) of the text, an extended scene of the siege in Sunping, where Chinese troops ambushed the Japanese army. Hino became separated from his group and was trapped in the crossfire for a day; this incident was widely publicized at the time and initially led his family to believe he was killed (ibid.). In numerous passages, Hino dwells on the dangers of the battlefield and his fear of dying: "I felt I don't want to die. I don't want to die. I don't want to die here now" (Hino 1958a:252; K. Watanabe 2015:115). His protagonist writes the characters for 'mother' and 'father', as well as the names of his wife and children, into the dirt and prays to them for his rescue (ibid.). Further, Hino writes "I don't want to die, but

if I did, nothing can be done [...] But I want to live. I just want to live" (Hino 1958a:253; Narita 2010:135). Particularly the latter exclamation is interesting, as it unequivocally presents a strong attachment to life, something that factored in negatively during Ishikawa Tatsuzō's trial after *Ikiteiru heitai*, in which case this quality was seen as detrimental to the civic morale.

However, an important distinction must be made between the narrative perspectives of *Ikiteiru heitai* and *Mugi to heitai*. While Ishikawa's text purported to be a work of fiction, his protagonists were based on real soldiers and their acts. Ishikawa's stated purpose was to show the consequences of war on the human psyche, in a (perhaps misguided) attempt to humanize the men fighting on the front lines. This external, authorial perspective and the open nature of Ishikawa's text (as discussed above) also invite a reading about the human cost of the war – both on the side of Japanese soldiers and Chinese citizens – which is what seems to be at the root of Ishikawa and *Chūō Kōron*'s legal troubles post-publication. In other words, Ishikawa consciously chose to connect the battlefield (*senjō*) with war (*sensō*) in his text, even suggesting the battlefield as a physical manifestation of war as madness – regardless of the author's own political views. In creating a model for subsequent war accounts with *Mugi to heitai,* Hino on the other hand skillfully separates battlefield from war, employing a strictly internalized perspective by conflating the narrating and narrated I, familiar from *shishōsetsu*. Narrating his experience as a part of his collective subject, Hino is able to invoke the authenticity desired by literary critics and readers alike, while maintaining a proximity to *junbungaku* through the employment of elements of a *shishōsetsu*. In this way, aspects deemed problematic in Ishikawa's text – such as the soldiers' attachment to life – no longer seem an issue in *Mugi to heitai* so long as they are presented as the author's personal, immediate experience rather than a larger

truth. It could also be argued that the confessional nature of *shishōsetsu* could be used to accommodate potential transgressions against censorship.

Mugi to heitai is the closest among the texts of the *Soldier trilogy* to the "self-conscious narrative mode of *shisōsetsu*" (Rosenfeld 2002:33), even as Rosenfeld argues against applying this label to Hino's text. However, he also points out that Hino's focus on the experience and perception of the narrator and his duties as part of the Information Corps mirrors the typical *shishōsetsu*, whose protagonist earns a living through writing[49] (ibid.). Hino's claim to an experience otherwise only known to soldiers validates *Mugi to heitai* in much the same way a *shishōsetsu*'s author's experience validates their texts (Rosenfeld 2002:38). Lastly, the *shishōsetsu*'s immediacy is replicated in Hino's writing, which seems to proceed 'in real time', as Narita points out (Narita 2010:130). Perhaps not coincidentally, then, Hino also strays away from *shishōsetsu* and opts for less immediate literary forms as the trilogy progressed, utilizing an epistolary format in *Tsuchi to heitai*, and a conventional format of a fictional novel[50] (following Gomibuchi, a 'prose text' or *shōsetsu tekusuto* 小説テクスト; Gomibuchi 2018:28) in *Hana to heitai*.

A number of aspects present in *Mugi to heitai*, such as the limited, internal perspective of the protagonist who represents the author himself, proximity of publication to the events related in the text, and claim to 'factuality', invite reading the text as a *shishōsetsu*, or at least one influenced by this genre. While the conflation of

[49] The adoption of this narrative mode will be especially interesting in the case of Hayashi Fumiko, whose *Hōrōki* is examined by Hijiya-Kirschnereit (1996) as an unorthodox example of *shishōsetsu* and in which Hayashi extensively thematizes her struggle to establish herself as a writer.

[50] As opposed to the two previous installments, which exhibit a strong autobiographical quality through the employment of the diary and letter formats, respectively.

narrating and narrated I is presupposed by the format of a field diary Hino empoys in *Mugi to heitai*, this very format ultimately functions as a vehicle for validation of the narrator's authenticity. Furthermore, the diary format allows Hino to bring further elements of *shishōsetsu* into play, like the strictly internalized narrative perspective or exclusion of aspects of an objective, shared reality, such as general knowledge. Perhaps most importantly, the deeply personal narrative perspective and the autobiographical pact between author and readers it engenders also serves to validate Hino's ideological I, which appears in brief moments of epiphany and disappears just as quickly, manifesting itself as a genuine and natural emotion of Hino's narrating I.

4.4. *Mugi to heitai* as propaganda and Hino's ideological I

The function of *Mugi to heitai* as propaganda is obvious from the way it was marketed: with the subtitle *Joshū kaisen jūgunki* 徐州会戦従軍記 [*Campaign account from the battle of Xuzhou*; K. Watanabe 2015:107], Hino distances his text from a fictional *shōsetsu*. The single-volume edition appeared only a month after the text was originally published in *Kaizō* in August 1938 with mass market clearly in mind, as it includes pronunciation guides (*rubi* ルビ) for the *kanji*, maps, illustrations and photographs (Gomi 2017:122). Rosenfeld argues that this accompanying material in the original edition serves to present the text empathically not as a work of literature, but rather as official document. For instance, the photographer mentions in an attached testimonial how he did not realize the Information Corps corporal traveling with the unit was, in fact, Hino Ashihei (Rosenfeld 2002:13). The photographs themselves reinforce the sympathetic portrayal of the *heitai*, who are usually pictured marching with packs and laughing despite their palpable exhaustion. Other visual elements,

such as propaganda cartoons or reproductions of Chinese characters, emphasize the text's claim to authenticity and immediacy (ibid.). Such supplementary material supports the veracity of Hino's memories as he narrates them (in effect, the photographer's pictures corroborate Hino's verbal account), and by extension, this reinforces the authenticity of Hino's identity as part of the unified subject – as one of the *heitai*, even as he technically was not.

Rosenfeld points to the importance of such paratextual material to the reception and reading of Hino's text, but it is a helpful consideration when reading other works of wartime literature as well: Hayashi Fumiko's war reportage, for example, is adorned with similar visual and textual elements as *Mugi to heitai*. Following Gérard Genette (1930-2018), Rosenfeld describes the paratext as "textual elements published together with a text that are not part of it, such as forewords, afterwords, or commentaries (*kaisetsu* 解説)" (Rosenfeld 2002:12), and also points out Hino's particular fondness of the foreword and afterword, which he wrote for almost every new edition. This means some of his texts were eventually supplied with up to eight fore- or afterwords, allowing us to see Hino's (changing) agency and participation in the war discourse more clearly (ibid.). Considering the paratext as proposed by Genette and as discussed by Rosenfeld to the context of Japanese wartime literature, it is important to reflect upon how it affects the authenticity of a text, particularly when the text in question (*Mugi to heitai* being a prime example) is deliberately conceived as a constituent of collective, historical memory.

During the war, Hino tended to use his forewords and afterwords to differentiate between his texts which he presented as historical documents and other literary accounts (*shōsetsu* 小説; Rosenfeld 2002:36). After the war, however, Hino sought to

define *Mugi to heitai* as a *shōsetsu* in an apparent attempt to shift the ideological connotations the label *jūgunki* engendered (Rosenfeld 2002:14). Several passages depicting violent acts of Japanese soldiers, which were not part of the original publication, were added to the postwar editions, with Hino suggesting that these portions were cut from the original manuscripts (Rosenfeld 2002:15). However, the author later also admitted that he had lost these original manuscripts of *Mugi to heitai* and other wartime works and reconstructed the censored passages from memory (Rosenfeld 2002:17). A significant example is, again, the novel's conclusion, which features a description of a Chinese POW being executed by Japanese soldiers, and the protagonist looking away from the horrific sight. This scene simply could not be published in full during the wartime, even as the generally patriotic tone of the text seemingly caused some of its other elements to pass censorship (Rosenfeld 2002:16). Rosenfeld therefore argues that the insertion of such previously omitted scenes does not necessarily make for a more accurate text, but rather is a reflection of a different political climate (Rosenfeld 2002:15). This conclusion, again, speaks to the value of propaganda as a resource in identifying or examining political and ideological discourses, with wartime literature being an especially interesting intersection of political propaganda and cultural artifact.

4.5. The *heitai* as a collective subject

Separating the battlefield from the war, Hino mostly focuses on the soldiers' everyday life. Repetition is the only element of order amidst the chaos of war: "exhaustion, hunger, thirst, heat; the surprising good taste of food or drink after long deprivation; the constant of enemy fire; the awe-inspiring vastness of the wheat fields that cover the Chinese landscape" (Rosenfeld 2002:39) being the most typically recurring motifs

and defining conditions of war as Hino describes it. At the time of its publishing, this focus on everyday activities, thoughts and relationships of the soldiers was praised as a hitherto unseen and new approach to the genre of war novel (*sensō shōsetsu* 戦争小説; K. Watanabe 2015:109). The focus on quotidian affairs is, of course, what *Mugi to heitai* and subsequent texts of wartime literature share with *shishōsetsu* as well, and so it was perhaps this blend between *junbungaku* and *bidan* which seemed especially refreshing to contemporary critics. The community of soldiers, among whom are farmers, fishers, as well as schoolteachers, was also described in the press as a microcosm of the ordinary people of Japan (*shomin no shukuzu* 庶民の縮図; ibid.). Further, the focus on everyday life of the soldiers makes *Mugi to heitai* reminiscent of war reportage, and thus could be employed by Hino in order to bolster the authenticity of his own account (Narita 2010:124; 152).

Most importantly, however, Hino's *heitai* are a prime example of Japan's soldiers, as constructed by the mass media, in literary form. Rosenfeld identifies Hino's construction of the *heitai* and their portrayal, which is "broad, sentimental and completely accepting of the official message on the war" (Rosenfeld 2002:25) as the most salient feature of *Mugi to heitai*. Hino's *heitai* are "simple, dedicated, fundamentally decent men who fight on the front lines, slogging through mud, seeking shelter in trenches and foxholes, rarely let in on the big picture of war strategy, but nonetheless dedicated to their country and each other" (Rosenfeld 2002:24–25). This dedication to the fatherland (*sokoku*) is a part of the soldiers' spirit (Narita 2010:142), and Hino comments how he would die out of the love for his country (ibid.). Such exclamations are reminiscent of Alan Tansman's concept of fascist moments (see 1.6.); punctuated by language of nationalism only seldomly present in the text

otherwise to such a degree, Hino's overt displays of nationalism indeed suspend the flow of the text and call special attention to themselves. In such moments, Hino's otherwise more strongly represented narrated I (experience of the battlefield) gives way to the ideological I (recognition of the war's importance), only to quickly revert back to his more immediate, personal, and thus universally relatable, concerns. It is notably only in such brief instants that the battlefield (*senjō*) and war (*sensō*) converge, and these moments inevitably serve to legitimize the war by evoking experiences of wonder and a corresponding emotional response in the reader. Importantly, by constructing his narrated I as a part of a collective, Hino (as the narrating and ideological I) also assumes the position of the *heitai* as a larger community and a representation of the ordinary Japanese, and imposes the nationalist ideology upon them as well.

In *Mugi to heitai* and his wartime texts in general, Hino also pays extensive attention to the soldiers' bodies. Rosenfeld argues the minute details of the soldiers' physical conditions serve to convincingly convey the real experience of soldiers at war, but also carry metaphorical and ideologically charged meanings (Rosenfeld 2002:41). The soldiers are constantly sweating and covered in mud, and dirt itself becomes synonymous with China (ibid.); a trope already utilized in a civilian context by Yoshiya Nobuko. Correspondigly, one of the soldiers' greatest pleasure on the front is their habitual retreat into baths, where they can wash off the dirt of China from their bodies and truly physically separate themselves from it. The construction of Japanese baths in Hangzhou itself, as Rosenfeld points out, also physically signifies the Japanese expansion and a "successful pacification of the town" (ibid.), reconstructing the Chinese landscape and 'cleaning it up' or 'civilizing' it with Japanese cultural markers. By doing so, they can assert their identity as (clean) Japanese on a (dirty) foreign soil.

Another physical aspect Hino pays significant attention to is the soldiers' digestion and detailed observations on his own bowel movements, which function within the text as a reassurance that he is still alive, with his body still dependable among the unhealthy, dangerous conditions (Hino 1958a:218; Rosenfeld 2002:42). Hino's insistent construction of the Japanese soldier's bodies as clean and healthy, in contrast to the perpetually dirty Chinese peasants, also suggests a biological superiority – a manifestation of the Foucauldian biopower – and therefore the privilege over deciding between life and death.

4.6. Hino's ideological I and the 'other' in *Mugi to heitai*

Contrary to the Japanese soldiers, Chinese peasants and refugees are invariably dirty and seemingly unable to wash the dirt off, with Hino describing them as "the earth itself" (Hino 1958a:211; Rosenfeld 2002:45). By portraying Chinese peasants as lacking in hygiene, childish, and grateful to the Japanese soldiers, Hino can demonstrate to his readers the necessity of Japan's guidance amongst the chaos in China. The Japanese soldiers respond to the conditions in China with general dismay, but also what Rosenfeld describes as "patronizing affection" (Rosenfeld 2002:45), with Hino constantly stressing the kindness of the army towards Chinese civilians. On their way to Hangzhou, Hino's unit takes in Chinese servants and renames them after Japanese pickles. Hino mentions, "two donkeys and three Chinese have been added to our family" (Hino 1938:277; cited in Rosenfeld 2002:46), on the one hand equating them with animals and the unit stripping them of their Chinese identity, on the other hand referring to them as family. However, when the troop arrives at Hangzhou and the servants want to return home, the troop refuses this request:

> "We might have let them go as they wished [...] but an affection had already formed among us, and

> we could not allow them to go. (…) The soldiers did not regret any of the slaughter of the Chinese soldiers they had faced, but their feelings for the civilians was a completely different matter." (Hino 1938:277; cited in Rosenfeld 2002:46)

In the above passage, Hino's narrated I (*heitai*) blends with the ideological I (nationalist rhetoric), replicating ethnic hierarchies and justifying 'protection', which is merely thinly veiled exploitation. While Hino's unquestioning stance appears on the one hand to be an endorsement of such hierarchies, it is worth noting that employing them allows him to show the exploitation of Chinese servants in the first place, pointing to his keen awareness of the strict limitations of censorship (K. Watanabe 2015:117). Hino describes a 'boundless affection' (*kagirinaki shitashimi* 限りなき親しみ) towards Chinese farmers while handing out propaganda flyers to them as he is reminded of peasants in Japan (Hino 1958a:211; K. Watanabe 2015:117); yet of course, his empathy is presupposed by the Chinese obedience and willingness to accept Japan's leading position. Despite noting their commonalities, however, Hino is always able to neatly separate the categories of Chinese and Japanese (Narita 2010:136) and is ultimately more puzzled by the racial similarities between the warring nations than the war itself (Rosenfeld 2002:48). The outcome of the war is never questioned, or even discussed, but Japan losing is clearly unimaginable to Hino. Furthermore, as Narita points out, the narrator's consciousness of the Chinese people and China does not shift in any way thoughout the trilogy (Narita 2010:166). While *Tsuchi to heitai* and *Hana to heitai* portray increasingly close ties to Chinese people, with *Hana to heitai* even notably featuring a romantic relationship between a Japanese soldier and a Chinese woman, the lack of development in attitudes towards China ultimately serves to reinforce the 'natural' hierarchies which do not stand to be questioned.

The lack of skepticism about the war and its political narrative is projected to

Hino's treatment of the enemy soldiers, where the division between China and Japan becomes most clear. In one scene, Hino himself shoots an older Chinese soldier (K. Watanabe 2015:130); elsewhere, he describes the intense anger he feels towards the Chinese soldiers, exclaiming "the people of our country are most important" (*wareware no kuni no mottomo taisetsuna hito bakari de aru* [Hino 1958a:252; Narita 2010:138]). Most remarkably, the ending of *Mugi to heitai* as it appears in Hino's postwar collected works (*Hino Ashihei senshū* 火野葦平選集, Hino 1958a) was excluded in the original wartime edition: the novel ends with a scene of execution of three captive Chinese soldiers and Hino commenting after their deaths: "I turned my eyes away. I did not become a devil. Knowing this, I was deeply relieved" (Hino 1958a:284; Narita 2010:145–46). As Narita suggests, Hino's 'not becoming a devil' is therefore less indicative of his capacity to feel sympathy with the Chinese (Narita 2010:146); rather, he appears relieved by his capacity to suppress it. Much like with the mixture of affection and condescension Hino directs towards the Chinese peasants in his text, the lack of empathy towards enemy soldiers and unquestioning attitude towards the war allow glimpses of stark reality to shine through, on the surface, plainly nationalist rhetoric. It is then important to note that while Hino's personal, emotional perspective of his narrated I is more pronounced in relation to Japan and his fellow soldiers, the ideological I is always firmly and visibly in place when confronted with Chinese soldiers and civilians alike, reflecting state-sanctioned attitudes and discourses about the the respective group. In other words, oscillating between the poles of *shishōsetsu* and war reportage, Hino sways closer to the personal mode of *shishōsetsu* while dealing with the familiar, and to the propagandistic mode of war reportage when dealing with the ethnically 'other', constructing his narrated and ideological I accordingly in the process. This allows Hino to present *Mugi to heitai* as a strictly personal account, while

fulfilling his duty as a propaganda actor.

4.7. Censorship in Hino Ashihei's *Heitai* texts

Despite Hino's outstanding reputation, his texts were also often heavily censored. After the war, the author claimed that around twenty-seven passages have been cut from *Mugi to heitai* (Hino 1958b:420), perhaps most famously a scene of an execution of captive Chinese soldiers (Rosenfeld 2002:49; K. Watanabe 2015:332). In the commentary (*kaisetsu*) on the second volume of Hino's selected works (Hino 1958b), he describes the conditions under which he had to write as follows[51]:

> 1. The Japanese army must never be described as losing the battle.
> 2. The kinds of criminal acts that inevitably accompany warfare must not be alluded to.
> 3. The enemy must be portrayed as loathsome and contemptible.
> 4. The full circumstances of an operation must not be disclosed.
> 5. The composition of military units and their designations must not be disclosed.
> 6. No expression of individual sentiments as human beings is permitted to soldiers.
> (Hino 1958b:406–8)[52]

While these guidelines seem to merely reiterate the very limited scope of creativity literary authors had during the wartime and illustrate the strict discursive boundaries set by official authorities, the sixth point is especially interesting in the context of the *shishōsetsu* framework. As the example of *Ikiteiru heitai* clearly shows, dwelling on psychological complexities of soldiers was anything but welcome by the censorship. Accordingly, Hino avoids this pitfall by employing the narrative perspective of *shishōsetsu,* constructing a narrated I of an empathetic *heitai,* but

[51] Translation taken from Keene 1984.

[52] Also in Gomi 2017 (121) and Keene 1984 (918); translation by Keene.

narrating as an outsider – as a member of the Information Corps. It is worth pointing out that the extended sequence in which Hino gets trapped in enemy fire also takes place when he is separated from the rest of the troop, disconnecting him on a textual level from the collective he otherwise constructs his narrated I as a part of.

Somewhat surprisingly, Hino openly admitted his frustrations with the censorship and even his own work. In an interview (*taidan* 対談) with Ishikawa Tatsuzō, published in the December 1939 issue of *Chūō Kōron*, Hino comments that while he was familiar with the censorship system from within (having worked with the Information Corps), he still found it difficult to write much under such strict circumstances (K. Watanabe 2015:134). Ultimately, as Hino says, this led him to write 'boring things' (*tsumaranai mono* つまらないもの) out of duty, and even many passages he wrote cautiously ended up being cut (ibid.).

One way in which Hino seemingly avoided censorship is his focus on the plight of horses and mules used by the army, a recurring motif in *Mugi to heitai*. Rosenfeld argues the reason Hino devotes a comparatively large space to scenes of these pack animals painfully dying in enemy fire is because they function as stand-ins for the soldiers themselves, whose suffering would surely not have passed censorship (Rosenfeld 2002:43). The docility, acquiescence and vulnerability of the animals can also be read as an allusion to the soldiers' own condition, but Hino elegantly obfuscates a critical reading by framing the similarities between soldiers and their animals as honorable (Rosenfeld 2002:45). However, in *Tsuchi to heitai*, Hino himself notes, "I'm not saying that horses and humans are the same, but then again one can't separate them entirely" (Hino 1938b: 30-34; cited in Rosenfeld 2002:44), thus supporting this reading. Similarly to Hino dissociating himself from the role of a *heitai*

he otherwise readily assumes when describing his fears on the battlefield, the author shifts his focus towards pack animals when witnessing death among the Japanese forces, allowing him to deal with aspects of the war undesirable to the censorship.

4.8. Résumé: Hino Ashihei's *heitai* as the paradigm of wartime literature

The commercial and critical success of *Mugi to heitai*, as well as the influence it exercised on subsequent wartime texts of literature undeniably make it the most important, paradigmatic piece of Japanese wartime literature and a central point of comparison for any literary text from the front that followed it. It bears repeating that *Mugi to heitai*'s success was the most important factor in establishing the *pen butai* and therefore gave rise to an entire cottage industry for writers of *jūgunki* or (ostensibly) fictional literature on war.

The authority of Hino's voice as a former soldier and present member of the Information Corps (thus writing from experience with both military and state) has often been highlighted as an important factor elevating *Mugi to heitai* above other literary texts of the war in China. Ironically, this also means Hino's act was difficult to follow for writers who lacked his experience, particularly if they came from more privileged backgrounds and were less in touch with the working class of Japan, as represented by the collective subject of the *heitai*. Being a member of the intellectual elite himself, Hino obscures this element of his historical I in the construction of his autobiographical I, while the narrating I (Hino's authorial voice) oscillates between the identities of narrated I (*heitai*) and ideological I (Information Corps).

Despite Hino's own experience as a soldier, his representation of *heitai* bears striking similarity to their construction in wartime media through *bidan* war reportage. Himself being a soldier and therefore a voice of authority on war, Hino's depictions of

the *heitai* renders those in *bidan* accounts as authentic. Employing the ideological I and language of state propaganda, the author ascribes the same values as constructed in *bidan* reportage to the soldiers in his own accounts, and by identifying as a part of the *heitai* community in turn also subscribes to the values espoused by this propaganda. When he pays attention to the soldiers' physicality, constitution and hygiene, aspects of Foucauldian biopower, which often links cleanliness and health with life and justifies killing in the name of 'purification', emerge most visibly – especially in relation to Chinese soldiers and civilians, who also amplify Hino's ideological I. While the death of Chinese soldiers is either deserved or inevitable, the author also emphasizes 'natural' ethnic hierarchies in his interactions with Chinese civilians, and in the end he is only able to empathize with the Chinese so long as they acknowledge these power dynamics and adapt to the 'superior' Japan.

The authenticity and honesty Hino is able to evoke through his text proves how skillfully he was able to construct his autobiographical I through an intricate interplay of the narrating, narrated and ideological I. At the same time, the strictly internalized perspective of a *shishōsetsu* allows Hino (as the narrating I) to separate this narrated I from the collective subject of the *heitai* and relate more problematic aspects of his experience (i.e. a fear of death) as an individual perspective or an act of confession; notably, Hino is separated from the rest of the troop while besieged in Sunping, which is when he is most endangered. This perspective and an apparent conflation of Hino's narrating and narrated I also allow him to follow patterns of the *shishōsetsu*: in focusing on the minutiae of everyday life on the front, and in separating the experience of battlefield (*senjō*) from the context of war (*sensō*), he is able to preclude an interpretation of his text as politically problematic. However, despite his intimate knowledge of censorship as a member of the Information Corps, *Mugi to heitai* was

still severely censored and underwent numerous deletions – and considering the complicated nature of the text's production and Hino's lost manuscripts, it may be possible that the supposedly 'restored' passages in postwar editions have been written by Hino afterwards. It is therefore worth paying attention to elements in the original text which passed censorship but deal with more ambiguous elements of war, such as the protagonist's emotional state or the metaphorical use of suffering animals.

Importantly, the impression of 'authenticity' of Hino's account is supported by abundant paratext. Attached photographs can attest to the veracity of his verbal account and therefore present Hino's text as a historical document (*jūgunki*), which is thus crafted as a convincing narrative of war. On the other hand, Hino's penchant for forewords and afterwords, in which he radically reconceived *Mugi to heitai* as sometimes documentary, sometimes fictional, also shows us the highly malleable nature of the text and the importance of context in which it is read. Therefore, paying attention to nationalist language and other ideological aspects of the text can help us extricate the ideological I of the protagonist from the other elements and allow us to better observe both Hino's personal voice as well as the language of nationalism itself.

5. Niwa Fumio (1904-2005): playing a literary role of a journalist

Formerly a Buddhist priest, Niwa Fumio became popular in the 1930s with a string of love stories, which were known as *madamu mono* マダムもの (madame stories) and *haha mono* 母もの (mother stories; Cipris 1994:145). Niwa's texts have often been adapted for film and television, but as a popular writer, he was also relatively neglected in scholarship until recent decades (Handa 2011:69). While Niwa was

'purged'[53] by the GHQ after the war as a war collaborator, he had also received three sales bans and three writing bans prior to the occupation (Onishi 2014:110–111); during the war, Niwa was at times in disfavor of the Home Ministry due to the sexually suggestive nature of some of his texts (Onishi 2014:106–107). This points not only to the complexity of the relationship between state ideology and literary expression and production, but also of ideological discourses during and after the war, as Niwa has been sanctioned and silenced by both Japanese and American governments, if for different reasons.

Niwa Fumio was one of the writers chosen to participate in the *pen butai*, and he wrote about his impressions from the trip in the essays "Kankō kōryaku jūgunki – Kōshū to Soshū" 漢口攻略従軍記　杭州と蘇州 ["Campaign account from the Wuhan Offensive – Hangzhou and Suzhou"], published in *Fujin Kōron* 婦人公論 in November 1938, and "Tairiku no omoide" 大陸の思ひ出 ["Memories of the continent"], published in 1940 in the essay collection *Shūreishō* 秋冷抄 [*Excerpts from cool autumn*; R. Tanaka 1994:240]. In the latter essay, Niwa describes an incident of being shot at while on a ship and the primal fear he felt at this moment (ibid.), and offers admiring descriptions of soldiers, who almost inspire feelings of inferiority within him. In "Tairiku no omoide", Niwa comments that "the mindset of a soldier is the highest state of mind a human can aspire to" (ibid.), anticipating the deep respect for soldiers which is on clear display in his later wartime works. Embedded to the army (*rikugun* 陸軍) during his trip to Wuhan, Niwa fell sick and could not finish the trip; in the end, only

[53] Meaning prohibited from participation in public service.

three writers reached the final destination – Hayashi Fumiko, Kume Masao 久米正雄 and Kataoka Teppei 片岡鉄平 (R. Tanaka 1994:241). In "Tairiku no omoide", Niwa writes about meeting two soldiers on a medical ship returning to Nanjing who gave him inspiration to write one of the major works of wartime literature, *Kaeranu chūtai* 還らぬ中隊 [*Lost company*[54], 1939]. In this text, Niwa tells the story of a troop advancing towards Wuhan through the eyes of a newspaper reporter, Sakai (Arai 2007:88; Cipris 1994:145). As many other writers who traveled to China and other territories, Niwa participated in lecture tours for Chūō Kōronsha after his return (ibid.). While *Kaeranu chūtai* is a fictional text, and importantly narrated in third-person perspective, several elements of it invite a reading applying the criteria of a *shishōsetsu*, as Niwa's novel provides an interesing example of an interplay between the narrating and narrated 'I'.

5.1. *Kaeranu chūtai*: an introduction

Kaeranu chūtai was first published in two parts (December 1938 and January 1939) in *Chūō Kōron*. Handa notes the extremely short time Niwa had at his disposal to write the novel: not a full month had passed between the author's return from China on October 28th and late November, when the December issue of *Chūō Kōron* was published. The length of the novel[55] therefore necessitated its split in two parts (R. Tanaka 1994:244). The first book edition was published in March 1939, with further editions following in April and May. This suggests Niwa's novel sold well enough,

[54] Cipris' translation of the title (Cipris 1994:145). The literal meaning of the title is 'A troop not returning'.

[55] 131 pages in Niwa's *zenshū* published by Kōdansha (see Niwa 1975a).

although it failed to match the success of Hino Ashihei's *Mugi to heitai* (R. Tanaka 1994:1994).

The protagonist of *Kaeranu chūtai,* Sakai, has been reporting for the Jiujiang branch of the fictional *YA Shinbun*[56] for a year and a half, and over the course of the novel accompanies the troop of the fatherlike Lieutenant Miyake. In *Kaeranu chūtai,* Niwa focuses on the familial relationship between the superior and his soldiers, all of whom die over the course of the assignment (Niwa 1975a:291). The novel's conclusion suggests that Miyake took his own life after losing an arm in the battle, as Sakai is given his suicide note (*isho* 遺書) by another officer (Niwa 1975a:292). The extensive presence of death and particularly the overwhelming demise of the Japanese troop seem starkly at odds with the wartime guidelines for literary censorship, yet the novel was received positively: among others by Ishikawa Tatsuzō, who expected it to have lasting appeal as a piece of war literature (R. Tanaka 1994:246) or Itagaki Naoko, who argued it holds a special position among texts written by the *pen butai* members (Ikeda 2000:54). Importantly, Tanaka notes that Niwa's decision to publish a novel based on his trip to China was already quite unorthodox by late 1938, as other writers typically favored the genre of *jūgunki*[57] (R. Tanaka 1994:244), while *Chūō Kōron* labeled the text as *jūgun shōsetsu* 従軍小説 [campaign novel; R. Tanaka 1994:243]. Niwa himself attaches a one-sentence note after the end of the novel, briefly reiterating that the text is a work of fiction and not based on reality (Niwa 1975a:292).

Yet while *Kaeranu chūtai* is an ostensibly fictional text, a number of its elements

[56] Possibly a reference to both *Yomiuri* and *Asahi Shinbun*.

[57] Nagai argues that the controversy surrounding *Ikiteiru heitai* had also contributed to the overwhelming favor of the war reportage format (Nagai 2014:28).

warrant a comparison with the *shishōsetsu* model. The deliberate differences between the author and his third-person protagonist invite us to look for similarities between the two, but beyond this, Sakai also functions as a focus figure within the narrative. This is an important distinction to Ishikawa's *Ikiteiru heitai*, a more convincigly fictional text given that Ishikawa has constructed the narrative after conducting interviews, while Niwa developed his text from his own experience. As a reporter and as Niwa's surrogate, Sakai is separated from the soldiers by the invisible lines dividing the 'front' of the battlefield and its 'back', which he occupies. This is perhaps also a reason why the novel was able to pass censorship and even enjoy success despite its depiction of death of Japanese soldiers – readers experience the text through the outsider focus figure of Sakai and therefore less directly than if the focus figure were a soldier himself. On the other hand, the attitudes Sakai displays towards the other – the Chinese soldiers and civilians – bear striking similarity to the perspective of the 'soldier' protagonist in Hino Ashihei's *Mugi to heitai*, suggesting that there was a large degree of universality among depictions of Chinese people in wartime literary texts. By employing a journalist as the focus figure of *Kaeranu chūtai*, Niwa shifts the perspective from the 'front' of the battlefield to the 'back' and from soldier to journalist, thus constructing *Kaeranu chūtai* as an authentic account of war journalism instead of war itself.

5.2. Media as a narrator of war in *Kaeranu chūtai*

As hinted above, numerous aspects of *Kaeranu chūtai* set it apart from other texts of wartime literature. As Nagai points out, large parts of the narrative take place in the 'behind' (*kōhō* 後方) of the front (Nagai 2014:29) – the newspaper branch office and its surroundings in a safe distance to the battlefields. In the novel, Niwa describes this

'behind' as "very close to the front but not on the front" (Nagai 2014:29) or as "relatively close to the front, but where the battles do not take place" (ibid.). Nagai argues that Niwa dwells on this distinction in order to present a more nuanced view of the Chinese war theatre and its different aspects and places which were usually conflated in the consciousness of Japanese citizens (Nagai 2014:29). As a reporter, Sakai acts as a conduit between the front and home, and himself understands his role as such (Niwa 1975a:218; Nagai 2014:29); in this way, Niwa gives his novel a layer of metafictionality (Nagai 2014:28). Concurrently, if Hino Ashihei separated the battlefield (*senjō*) from the war (*sensō*), Niwa separated the battlefield itself into a front and back. Doing so allowed Niwa to relocate war onto the front lines and separate soldiers from reporters – thus casting reporters such as Sakai as mere observers of war, instead of participants in it. Allocating Sakai to a different part of the battlefield also became an opportunity for Niwa to separate his protagonist (and focus figure) from the military proper, and therefore acts of war. In theory, casting a reporter as a focus figure of his novel could enable Niwa to portray the reality of war more accurately, or under less restrictions, which focused largely on the depiction of soldiers and military operations.

Niwa's construction of media and war reportage as the connective tissue between the outer territories (*gaichi* 外地) and Japan (*naichi* 内地) lends superiority to the Japanese as observers of China (and the war), while China and its people are the objects of their observation (Nagai 2018:4). This structure of observer versus observed, of course, is supported by the novel's central focus on the work of war journalism. At the same time, Nagai points out how frankly Niwa deals with censorship in *Kaeranu chūtai*, which is depicted as an intrinsic part of the reporting process, and highlights this aspect of the novel as unique in wartime literature (Nagai 2014:33–34). In the fifth chapter, Niwa describes a boyish censor of about twenty years named Kosugi, whose

small build “made him feel very much not like a man (*seinen* 青年)” (Niwa 1975a:200; Nagai 2014:33), implying his unfitness for military service. Kosugi “censored the articles Sakai and the others brought in, one by one, erasing passages touching upon military secrets at his own discretion (*dokudan* 独断), and sent them to the Nanjing branch office” (Niwa 1975a:200–201; Nagai 2014:33). The randomness of censorship on display here also suggests that oversight might be as much of a factor as the respective author’s skill to package problematic textual content in an agreeable way, and should always be considered a possibility when examining wartime texts and their aspects which may seem to have ‘slipped by’.

It seems less coincidental that Niwa deliberately decided to make Sakai a journalist on a long-term assignment, literally the opposite of himself – a writer on a short-term assignment (R. Tanaka 1994:245). Nagai argues that Niwa seeks to assert the status of the text as fiction with this decision (Nagai 2014:28), but this argument is countered by parallels between author and protagonist. For example, Sakai falls ill during his assignment, much like the author Niwa Fumio. Niwa may be expressing his own doubts through Sakai when he notes how he had “stripped himself of the armor of a cultured person (*bunkajin*), becoming a mere realist (*genjitsushugisha*)” (Niwa 1975a:184), and how he feels “strategically and tactically useless” (Nagai 2018:170) as a reporter. Since Sakai is effectively a literary representation of Niwa *ex negativo*, their pronounced differences ultimately serve to highlight their intertextual relation, or that between the narrating and narrated I (the third-person perspective of the text notwithstanding). As a reporter, and by being relegated to the ‘behind’ of the battlefield, Sakai is cast as an outsider to the military, as well as to the war itself. Instead, he is a mere observer of the events (which allows his admiration for

Lieutenant Miyake to appear all the more natural) unfolding around him.

5.3. Omnipresence of death in *Kaeranu chūtai*

As is apparent from the novel's title, and as noted above, *Kaeranu chūtai* also differs from other wartime texts in that all of Miyake's men become war's casualties as the novel concludes on a rather bleak note. Niwa also includes a number of scenes describing or dealing with the death of Japanese soldiers. To give a few examples: in chapter 4, one of the officers exclaims "The commander (*taichō* 隊長) has died an honorable death" (Niwa 1975a:192; Nagai 2016:16) and replaces the dead officer in his duties; or in the final chapter, Niwa describes a field medic (*kangohei* 看護兵) treating a severely wounded soldier (Niwa 1975a:280; Nagai 2016:16), as well as handling a soldier's corpse (Niwa 1975a:286; Nagai 2016:16–17). In addition, there are scenes of soldiers falling in enemy fire, or a scene dealing with the cremation of fallen soldiers (Niwa 1975a:181–182; Nagai 2016:17). Finally, Niwa forgoes the propaganda cliché of soldiers yelling 'long live the Emperor' (*Tennō Heika banzai* 天皇陛下万歳) during their dying moments – as seen, for instance, in *Mugi to heitai* (Hino 1958a:243) – instead, they call out for their mothers (Nagai 2016:18). Nagai also argues that in a larger context, Niwa's frank display of death and the soldiers' fears suggests that in realism, patriotism could not justify the sacrifice of their lives to the soldiers (Nagai 2015:11). Yet, similarly to *Ikiteiru heitai*, the military virtues are embodied by Lieutenant Miyake – a self-sacrificing, loving and protective officer. Despite battling grief after the death of his subordinates, Miyake's strength of will allows him to push forward despite great exhaustion; in this way, as Cipris remarks, Miyake remains "a most uncomplicated man" (Cipris 1994:146). Miyake in *Kaeranu chūtai* therefore

appears to fulfill a similar function to Nishizawa in *Ikiteiru heitai*. When it is suggested at the novel's conclusion that Miyake had taken his own life, it is also clear that this was an act of sacrifice on Miyake's part and him joining his fellow soldiers, and that his life was not wasted in enemy fire. Yet it should also be pointed out that Niwa does not disclose the contents of Miyake's suicide note to the reader, possibly suggesting that the full extent of the reality of war is being hidden from the public.

There seems to be some more nuance to the portrayal of Chinese soldiers in *Kaeranu chūtai* than the preceding texts of wartime litearture as well. Niwa sees them not only as the enemy, but also victims of Chiang Kai-Shek's regime. Cipris points out that Chinese civilians are treated with "detached inquisitiveness, tinged with erotic interest if they happen to be young and female" (Cipris 1994:149), but it is important to note that the novel features no scenes of sexual or physical violence against civilians. In what emerges as a consistent motif running through literature from the war in China, Chinese soldiers appear mostly dead: for example, as the troop enters Jiujiang, they witness toppled cars and trucks, as well as enemy corpses piled on top of each other (Niwa 1975a:215; Nagai 2018:8). In a later passage, as the troop is cleaning out the scene, Sakai observes that "the new corpses still felt warm, giving off a gentle impression as if they were asleep" (Niwa 1975a:248; Nagai 2018:8). While Nagai argues that Niwa's attention to detail is unique among wartime literary texts (Nagai 2018:8), the author's literary treatment and depiction of Chinese soldiers and civilians is certainly not unique among his contemporaries, and neither are the ideological implications of this representation. At the same time, the example of *Kaeranu chūtai* also shows us that by early 1939, not only were the *heitai* established as the collective subject representing Japan in general, but Chinese soldiers and civilians have formed in literature their own respective monoliths of representation as well.

5.4. *Kaisen*: Niwa's account of the Pacific War

Niwa Fumio's second important account of war is *Kaisen* 開戦 [*Naval battle*, 1942], often described as one of the best texts to emerge from Japan's war in general (Keene 1984:939; Sugihara 2011a:145). Donald Keene praises in particular its exceptional vividness, even as Niwa dwells too extensively on the greatness of the military spirit (Keene 1984:939). *Kaisen* is based on the author's own experience on a battleship around the Battle of Tulagi[58] (Sugihara 2011b:166; Ikeda 2000:65), which took place in August 1942. The text features no real plot as such, only describing events of these days from Niwa's internal perspective in minute detail in seven chapters. Aboard the ship were also Asahi's reporter Izumi and photography unit member Morita, as well as Nippon News cameraman Maruza, who appear in *Kaisen* as characters respectively named Sakai, Mōri and Maruyama (R. Tanaka 1997:96). As *Kaisen* focuses solely on the inner perspective of the first-person narrator (*watashi* 私) and completely leaves out the perspective of officers, Hattori points out that the novel marks the first time Niwa utilizes the framework of *shishōsetsu* (Hattori 2014:69). The author stressed the individuality of his account publicly as well, claiming in press he only wrote about the events as he saw them, while at the same time expressing his admiration for the 'unbeatable' (*muteki* 無敵) Japanese navy (Onishi 2014:110). It is important to point out here that the Battle of Tulagi concluded with a loss for the Japanese forces, putting the effectiveness of *Kaisen* as propaganda into question, as well as the authenticity of Niwa's account, given that the forces certainly were not 'unbeatable'. As I will show below, however, this text is more noteworthy within the context of wartime literature

[58] One of the Solomon Islands.

for its formal aspects, rather than its content or ideological message.

Kaisen was published just two months later, in the November 1942 issue of *Chūō Kōron*; the single-volume edition quickly followed in December. Further editions were printed in February and June; in half a year, the novel had sold 45 thousand copies, achieving bestseller status. Interestingly and untypically, the text's relative success led to a publication of a children's edition, published in April 1943 under the title *Shōkokuminban Soromon kaisen* 小国民版　ソロモン海戦 [*Naval battle of Solomon Islands – children's edition*], which itself sold around 20 thousand copies (Hattori 2014:65). This edition has simplified language (Hattori 2014:69), but more importantly removes the narrator's psychological descriptions and most references to death – even as some scenes depicting characters dying remain – and words like 'death' (*shi* 死) and 'resignation' (*kakugo* 覚悟) are largely absent. This makes the text very different in tone from the original, which is quite fixated on the idea of dying and death (Hattori 2014:72).

Tanaka mentions that while Niwa's role clearly was that of drumming up enthusiasm for war (*sen'i kōyō*), the fundamental focus on self-reflection (*jikohansei* 自己反省) makes it difficult to label the text purely as propaganda (R. Tanaka 1997:102). As Niwa was on the ship as a reporter for *Chūō Kōron*, he assumed a similar role here to Sakai in *Kaeranu chūtai* as the conduit of information about the war to the public; in a way, Niwa became the same character, only present even more directly on the scene of action. Niwa's adherence to the *shishōsetsu* model was also noted and praised for its honesty in contemporary critique, even from leftist critics such as Kubokawa Tsurujirō (Sugihara 2011b:164). In *Kaisen*, Niwa accentuates his perspective as that of

an 'ordinary person's gaze' (*shirōto no me*); by utilizing elements of *shishōsetsu,* Niwa can thus come closer to the perspective of a civilian while still retaining a distinctly literary quality of his account, which comes through mostly with his poetic and emotional descriptions of battle (R. Tanaka 1997:99). For example, when he writes about the 'beauty' of a night battle, he likens the sight to the 'world of fairytales' (*dōwa no sekai ni chikai*; Niwa 1975b:66; R. Tanaka 1997:99). Tanaka also stresses that Niwa's 'ordinary gaze' is a conscious choice (R. Tanaka 1997:102). Consequently, Niwa's focus on authenticity takes away from the ideological message and makes *Kaisen* a more personal account than most – among the texts discussed in this chapter, it is perhaps the only one dealing with the situation on the battlefield in which the narrative I can be said to supersede the ideological I. This, however, also puts in question the value of *Kaisen* as a historical document and also as a piece of propaganda, although its commercial and critical success suggests that Niwa's text was perceived as successful on all accounts.

While the ideological I is less pronounced in *Kaisen*, Niwa's narrating and narrated I fully conflate here in the classic tradition of *shishōsetsu,* unlike in *Kaeranu chūtai*. As in the case of *Mugi to heitai,* it appears that this internal perspective and Niwa's outsider position (Hattori 2014:67) allow him to ruminate upon his preparedness for and acceptance of death (Hattori 2014:66). While the military spirit still inspired Niwa, as in previous texts, in *Kaisen* he also admits to the loneliness he feels due to his position (Hattori 2014:67). This allows him to disconnect from the collective of soldiers and assume the ideologically safe position of an observer, much like Sakai in *Kaeranu chūtai*. As the positive assessment of Niwa's text by Keene or Kubokawa suggest, the author was able to subdue the ideological I of his autobiographical account to a degree which managed to appease critics across ideological lines. On the other hand, *Kaisen*

provides a less valuable resource in relation to ideological discourses in wartime Japan than other examples in this chapter.

5.5. Résumé: War through the lens of journalism in Niwa Fumio's texts

Both Niwa Fumio's *Kaeranu chūtai* and *Kaisen* represent an interesting and original way to engage with the paradigms of *shishōsetsu* and *bidan* in the context of wartime literature and propaganda. While *Kaeranu chūtai* is constructed and emphasized as a fictional text, its protagonist Sakai can be described as a focus figure and a surrogate for the author. Despite their pronounced differences, they also share striking similarities. After all, the text only focuses on a short period of time through Sakai's perspective (effectively, his long stay affects his attitude rather than the events portrayed), and much like newspaper journalists, embedded writers (*jūgun sakka* 従軍作家) such as Niwa effectively performed the same duty as the 'stenographers' of state, even if through a different stylistic lens. Sakai's function as a focus figure and Niwa's surrogate, as well as Niwa's focus on the media work on the battlefields of China – which he experienced on his writing assignment – serve to make the text feel more authentic and supply it with a high degree of factuality. At the same time, Sakai's profession as well as physical distance to the front differentiate him from the soldiers, and it is perhaps Sakai's status as a *shishōsetsu*-like 'outsider' to the military that allows Niwa to deal openly with Japanese casualties of war. While it is safe to conclude that the depiction of war and especially soldiers in *Kaeranu chūtai* is in line with established war reportage patterns, Niwa Fumio's text is a further example of the consistent representation of Japanese soldiers between mass media and literature. This is best exemplified by Lieutenant Miyake, whose troop becomes exterminated at the end of

the novel, and who commits suicide in an apparent act of solidary self-sacrifice.

It is also remarkable that following the ostensibly fictional *Kaeranu chūtai,* Niwa himself becomes a Sakai-like figure in *Kaisen,* serving as a war reporter on a battleship in the Pacific Ocean. While *Kaisen* is less pertinent to this thesis, it is interesting in Niwa's full embrace of the *shishōsetsu* paradigm at the cost of the text's value as a piece of either journalism or propaganda. Yet *Kaisen*'s lasting success as a literary text, especially with otherwise fervent critics of wartime literature such as Donald Keene, also shows us that despite the crushing constraints of censorship and surveillance, literary authors were also able to produce texts that managed to draw attention to their literary merits despite also clearly functioning as war propaganda.

6. Ozaki Shirō (1898-1964): *pen butai*'s outsider figure

While Ozaki Shirō had openly identified as a socialist during his studies at Waseda University[59], was actively involved in the socialist movement (Tsuzuki 1994:269–270), and published his literary texts in leftwing literary magazines such as *Bungei Sensen* 文芸戦線, he has notably tended disclosing this ideological background in these texts themselves. One notable example of this approach is his short story "Mikan no kawa" 蜜柑の皮 [*Rind of a* mikan *tangerine,* 1934], which has been praised as the best literary account of Kōtoku Shūsui's High Treason trial[60]. In his retelling of this trial, however, Ozaki does not betray his own political stance on this event, and has refused to

[59] Keene points out that the university's 1924 edition of its *Bungei nenkan* 文藝年鑑 [*Literary Yearbook*] introduces Ozaki as a promising leftwing writer (Keene 1984:956).

[60] The High Treason Incident (*Taigyaku Jiken* 大逆事件), or Kōtoku Incident (*Kōtoku Jiken* 幸徳事件), was a far-left plot to assassinate Emperor Meiji in 1910 and led to a mass arrest of leftists, as well as twelve executions.

publicly associate with any ideology as a literary author (Keene 1984:927–928). However, this led to his categorization as a person of interest (*tokubetsuyō shisatsujin* 特別要視察人) by the authorities, and from 1917 as a 'category 1' person of interest (*tokubetsuyō shisatsujin dai ichihan* 特別要視察人状勢一斑), indicating a potentially dangerous individual (Tsuzuki 1994:270). This was quite conceivably a reason for Ozaki to obfuscate his political beliefs, and it was precisely through literature that he broke with the socialist movement for good. Prior to his career as a literary author, Ozaki's acquaintance with Yamamoto Sanehiko 山本実彦 (1885-1952), the head of *Kaizō*, had enabled him to publish socialist essays and books with titles such as *Nishiyō shakai undōsha hyōden* 西洋社会運動者評伝 [*Critical biography of activists in Western society,* 1919] or *Kinsei shakaishugi hattatsu shiron* 近世社会主義発達試論 [*History of the development of socialism in modern times,* 1920] (Tsuzuki 2003:28). However, he made a departure with his first, two-part novel *Teimeiki no hitobito* 低迷期の人々 [*People in recession*][61], which critically describes the socialist movement and deals with its protagonist's titular 'escape' from it. As proletarian literature was at the height of its popularity at this time, Tsuzuki notes that by doing so, Ozaki remarkably went against the literary trends of the time (Tsuzuki 1994:271). In the later context of wartime literature and ideological shifts in 1930s literature, it is important to point out how deliberately Ozaki engaged in manufacturing a voice separate from his political essays

[61] The two parts were titled *Tōhikō: Teimeiki no hitobito dai ichibu* 逃避行—低迷期の人々第一部 (*Escape: People in recession, part one*) and *Kaigisha no mure: Teimeiki no hitobito dai nibu* 懐疑者の群—低迷期の人々二部 (*A flock of sceptics: People in recession, part two*), and were published by Kaizōsha in November 1921 and May 1922, respectively.

in rebranding himself as an author of literary fiction, essentially crafting a 'narrating I' separate from the historical one.

Unsurprisingly, Ozaki's first novel had damaged relationships with his old friends and acquaintances, and garnered an unfavorable reaction within the literary establishment. Helping Ozaki out once again, Yamamoto Sanehiko gave him a writing assignment in Shanghai for *Kaizō*, thus facilitating his escape from the socialist movement in Japan (Tsuzuki 2003:29). In this sense, as Tsuzuki points out, *Teimeiki no hitobito* can be described as a *tenkō* novel. However, Ozaki's distancing from socialism had already begun before the novel's publishing (Tsuzuki 2008:39). The author spent approximately three months in Shanghai and returned to Japan at the end of May 1922 (Tsuzuki 2003:30), writing about his impressions in essays such as "Boku no machi Shanhai" 僕の町・上海 ["Shanghai, my city"] from June 1922 (ibid.). His greatest literary success came later with *Jinsei gekijō* 人生劇場 (*The theater of life*), which began serialization in *Miyako Shinbun* 都新聞 in 1933 and ran until 1959, with the first volume (*Seishun-hen* 青春篇 [*Volume 1: Youth*]) published in 1935. As Keene notes, Ozaki's literary style stood in stark contrast to the usual "narcissistic recollections" (Keene 1984:927) typical of *shishōsetsu*, while Kawabata Yasunari argued that the novel bridged the divide between popular literature and *junbungaku* (ibid.). Similarly to Hayashi Fumiko's breakthrough novel *Hōrōki* 放浪記 (*Diary of a Vagabond*, 1930), Ozaki's *Jinsei gekijō* conveys a markedly down-to-earth, positive attitude, which on the one hand was dismissed as pronouncedly anti-intellectual, but on the other made the text accessible to a broad readership (Keene 1984:928). Importantly, both Ozaki's and Hayashi's popularity ensured them a broad readership, thus making them valuable

assets to the state propaganda.

6.1. Ozaki Shirō's wartime writing

Similarly to how he refused to publicly align with any ideology, Ozaki also rejected to take responsibility for literature's role in the war, which led to criticism from fellow writers such as Takami Jun 高見順 (Keene 1984:933). Ozaki was among the first writers to travel to China after the outbreak of the war and publish an account of his travels: "Hifū senri" 非風千里 ["Thousand miles of no wind"] came out in in the October 1937 issue of *Chūō Kōron*. To a certain extent, Ozaki goes against the grain of the times here as well by expressing sympathy for the defeated Chinese; however, Japan's justification of the war is left unquestioned (Keene 1984:929). The author's response to what he sees in China is primarily emotional, rather than intellectual, with Ozaki frequently focusing on descriptions of nature (Cipris 1994:98). As one of Japan's foremost popular writers, Ozaki also traveled to China with the *pen butai* in 1938. Like Niwa Fumio, Ozaki did not finish his trip – but unlike Niwa, not due to sickness, but rather his frustration with the delays in the army's progress, which left Ozaki under the impression that Japan lacks the capacity to defeat China (Keene 1984:929). After traveling to China, Ozaki also visited the Philippines in the 1940s, where he struggled with boredom and sickness. Based on his travels in the Philippines, he published the diary *Sen'ei nikki* 戦影日記 (*War shadows diary*, 1943) and, most notably, the novel *Sekiran'un* 積乱雲 (*Cumulus clouds*, 1944), narrated from the perspective of a Filipino officer (Keene 1984:930).

The mild and not particularly bellicose tone of Ozaki's works leads both Keene and Kawamoto to conclude that the writer's 'purge' by the GHQ, in effect between 1945 and

1950, was the consequence of his broad popularity and a need for ideological scapegoats rather than the content of his texts itself (Keene 1984:933; Kawamoto 2003: 337). At the same time, Hayashi Fumiko, who enjoyed a similar degree of popularity, was not affected by the GHQ's purge, despite being considerably more productive as a war correspondent. Yet what also sets Ozaki and Hayashi apart are their prior political inclinations, or rather Hayashi's consistent claim to apoliticality. This suggests that the ideological I as presented through wartime texts had relatively little influence on the postwar treatment of authors who could be described as literary propagandists, and it depended much more on the background of their respective 'historical I'.

6.2. *Aru jūgun butai*: an experiment in satire

Ozaki's most significant wartime text is *Aru jūgun butai* [*An embedded unit*], published after his trip with the *pen butai* in February 1939 in *Chūō Kōron*, where he reflects the public's criticism of these state-sponsored trips as luxury travel (*daimyō ryokō* 大名旅行). The protagonist Sakuhei 作兵衛, a stand-in for Ozaki himself[62], is often drunk during the course of the novel's narrative, while another character comments upon the wordplay between 'luxury travel' and *daimyō*, a feudal lord: "It is a matter of course that *daimyō* travel in luxury" (*damiyō wa daimyō ryokō o suru no wa atarimae*; Ozaki 1966:358; Arai 2007:85). The novel is a satirical account about the writers participating in the trip to China but never finish it, all the while drinking and chasing women on the front. Tsuzuki singles out *Aru jūgun butai* as a unique example of wartime literature in that it takes up the *pen butai* itself as its central topic, and also points out

[62] Sakuhei is also a telling name, comprised of the first *kanji* of *sakka* 作家 (writer) and the first *kanji* of *heitai* 兵隊 (soldier).

that the text can not be read as intending to inspire enthusiasm for war (Tsuzuki 2003:33). While Niwa Fumio's *Kaeranu chūtai*, released at the same time, enjoyed both critical and commercial success despite its relatively deglamorizing (if not to the extent of *Ikiteiru heitai*) depiction of war, the reactions to Ozaki's *Aru jūgun butai* were more split in the contemporary press. One of the criticisms aimed at the text was its perceived gossipy quality and Ozaki's excessive self-criticism (Matsumoto 2018:103–104). In a review published in the *Tōkyō Nichinchi Shinbun*, for instance, the text has been called "more of an inside joke (*gakuyaochi* 楽屋落ち) about the *pen butai* than a war novel" (ibid.). But elsewhere, such as in the review in the March 1939 issue of *Bungakkai* 文学界 titled "Hamuretto to heitai (bungei jihyō)" ハムレットと兵隊—文芸時評— ["Hamlet and soldiers (art commentary)"], Ozaki's cynical attitude and the *shishōsetsu* elements of the text (different characters represent different writers from the *pen butai*) were praised.

Similarly to Niwa Fumio's *Kaisen*, Ozaki Shirō's *Aru jūgun butai* is more interesting as an example of wartime literature (or the products of the *pen butai*) with regard to its formal aspects, rather than its rather uneventful content. Other members of the *pen butai* make appearances under changed names (Hayashi Fumiko, for example, appears as Izumi Fudeko 泉筆子 [Ozaki 1966:326; Arai 2007:85]), and while Ozaki consolidates his narrating I with the narrated I, he also employs the distancing device of a third-person narrator. At the same time, the verifiable parallels between the text and the *pen butai*'s trip preclude a reading of Ozaki's text as pure fiction. Ozaki's sympathetic portrayal of the Chinese in "Hifū senri" and his disregard for what is happening on the battlefield in *Aru jūgun butai* also suggest a certain lack of interest on Ozaki's part to further the nationalist message and direct his attention to less

obvious subjects, which does not seem very surprising considering his awovedly leftist past.

7. Résumé: Japanese wartime literature between *bidan* and *shishōsetsu* and variations of the autobiographical I

Through the above examples of wartime texts by prominent authors of the early Shōwa era, I have attempted to show how applying the literary framework from Chapter 3 allows on the one hand a more nuanced reading of these texts rather than seeing them as mere propaganda, but also to distill the rhetoric of propaganda more clearly. A close examination of literature produced under the auspices of the state can reveal how these texts engage with literary *and* political (propaganda) discourses at the same time, oscillating between the poles of *junbungaku* on the one hand (by employing aspects of *shishōsetsu*), and war reportage on the other (by taking up its gloryfying *bidan* aspects). The construction of the autobiographical I (either in first or third person as a 'surrogate character') and elements of *shishōsetsu* as they appear in these texts also allow us to see the ways in which literary authors construct their literary voice, to what ends they utilize familiar literary forms and modes of reading, and how they engage with and even subvert strict censorship. All of these aspects have considerable influence on each of the literary examples discussed in this chapter.

While Hino Ashihei's *Mugi to heitai* is without a doubt the most influential text to emerge from the war in China, examples which precede it also had a formative effect on Japanese wartime literature as a whole, and should also be taken into consideration in analyzing the case of Hayashi Fumiko's wartime writing. Yoshiya Nobuko provides an interesting point of comparison not only due to her female perspective – which exhibits remarkable parallels with writing by female authors introduced in Chapter 1

of Part II – but also due to the pioneering nature of her writing from Shanghai as one of the first authors in general to depart to China after the outbreak of the war. Much like other female writers during the wartime, Yoshiya makes a sharp ideological turn in her texts shortly after the outbreak of the war in 1937. In her wartime writing, she leans heavily into the *ryōsai kenbo* paradigm in constructing an ideal of femininity, even as she herself is incompatible with it. As a writer, Yoshiya takes on the role of a reporter appropriating elements of *bidan* glorification in her texts. As a woman and a civilian, she assumes a subordinate position to the Japanese military officers. As a reporter, Yoshiya can become a kind of disembodied spectator and exclude herself from the *ryōsai kenbo* model when observing Japanese nurses as the embodiment of the ideal woman, but also Chinese women who shall aspire to 'become Japanese' in order to become true women as well. The example of Yoshiya and other female writers reveals the heterogeneous and conflicting nature of ideology, which is clearly reflected in their wartime texts. The commonalities between the perspectives of these female authors, such as their submissiveness to military officers, provide a valuable point of comparison for the construction of gender in Hayashi Fumiko's texts, allowing us to analyze how they fit within the paradigms of female representation in wartime literature, most importantly the concept of *ryōsai kenbo*. Considering that Hayashi was famous for her unorthodox, emancipated womanhood, it will be important to examine how she positions herself as a representative of Japanese women in the war zones and colonies she visits, but also how she perceives her difference to both Japanese and foreign women as the 'other'.

The intersection of roles as journalist and writer leads to very different results in Ishikawa Tatsuzō's *Ikiteiru heitai,* a fictional text based on the author's journalistic research in Nanjing after its fall and banned with severe legal consequences for

Ishikawa and his publisher, *Chūō Kōron* due to its violent content – even as the Nanjing Massacre is noticeably absent from the text. *Ikiteiru heitai* is a unique text among the examples featured in this chapter – not only due to its detached narrative perspective and its ensemble of characters without a clear protagonist, but also due to its lack of *bidan* elements and the absence of a clear pro-war message. While *Ikiteiru heitai* provides only a very limited point of comparison with Hayashi Fumiko's wartime texts, both in its form and its substance, it provides us with an extremely valuable example of literary censorship and its consequences, and undeniably had a large impact on the formation of literary discourses on war. This much is proven by Ishikawa's follow-up, *Bukan sakusen*, which conforms to the format of wartime reportage and state-sanctioned rhetoric to an almost religious extent.

After the lessons learned by the fate of Ishikawa's *Ikiteiru heitai*, Hino Ashihei – himself formerly persecuted on ideological grounds – emerged in the same year with *Mugi to heitai*. The unparalleled commercial and critical success of Hino's text brought about not only the existence of the *pen butai* itself, but also influenced its writers as a blueprint for successful literary accounts of the war. Unfortunately for most *pen butai* writers, however, the success of *Mugi to heitai* remained unparalleled for the remainder of the war. The authority of Hino's voice stemmed in large part from his own experience as a soldier and the authenticity with which he was able to assume this role, even as he was in the position of a reporter during the assignment which produced *Mugi to heitai*. Smith and Watson's facets of the autobiographical I are especially helpful in Hino's case, as they allow us to observe how he constructs his literary persona to invoke this authenticity in his narrative voice, and by extension in his narrative itself.

Following the model of the autobiographical I, while Hino's historical I – or

himself as a private person, Tamai Katsunori – is unknowable, we can verify that he was politically active as a leftist in organizing labor unions, served during the war as a soldier while establishing himself as a writer, and was a member of the Information Corps while writing the *Soldier trilogy*. This complex and ideologically conflicted personal history already suggests the necessity of a highly constructed narrating I, or the narrative voice in Hino's wartime texts. This oscillates between the narrated I – Hino as a protagonist identifying with the unified subject of *heitai* – and the ideological I – Hino as a propagandist employing overtly nationalist language. Through the format of a field diary Hino utilizes in *Mugi to heitai* and the intensely subjective perspective it both engenders and necessitates, he is able to achieve a stylistic proximity to the *shishōsetsu* supported by the apparent merging of narrating and narrated I. The ideological I, and with it the language of propaganda, announces itself mostly through Hino's employment of nationalist terms such as *sokoku* 祖国 (fatherland) or *Tennō Heika banzai* 天皇陛下万歳 (long live the Emperor) and is often accompanied by a kind of lyricism typical of 'fascist moments' in literature as proposed by Alan Tansman (see 1.6.). However, Hino also employs this lyricism when dealing with potentially problematic issues such as death or fear thereof, shifting his focus either to symbolic or metaphorical images (death of pack animals) or completely inward, thus invoking the narrative perspective of *shishōsetsu* and therefore asserting a strict individuality of his experience.

Conversely, Hino's depiction of Japanese soldiers, as well as Chinese soldiers and civilians, completely adheres to their representation dominant in Japanese wartime media and *bidan* reportage. By replicating the patterns and rhetoric of state propaganda and through the authority of his narrating I both as a soldier and reporter,

Hino legitimizes its underlying ideology. Furthermore, by representing Japan and China as opposites and emphasizing dirt and disease as Chinese traits, Hino also legitimizes the dynamics of biopower (which justifies ethnic cleansing by constructing populations as lacking in health and hygiene, and thus as inherently physically weak) promulgated by the Japanese state and media and thus justifies the Japanese aggression.

Both of Niwa Fumio's texts introduced in this chapter present intriguing forms of engagement with the paradigm of Hino's *Mugi to heitai*. The figure of a reporter is at the center of both *Kaeranu chūtai* and *Kaisen*, as a fictional protagonist in the former and as Niwa himself in the latter. As I have argued above, *Kaeranu chūtai*'s protagonist Sakai can, to a certain extent, be interpreted as a 'focus figure by proxy' and a surrogate for Niwa himself, drawing also attention to other elements of the *shishōsetsu*, which are employed in a similar manner as in *Mugi to heitai*. In *Kaeranu chūtai*, Sakai's identity as a reporter – not a soldier – is emphasized by his relative distance from the front lines. On the other hand, his identity (particularly if interpreted as a full or partial representation of Niwa himself) as a war reporter and therefore producer of propaganda, as well as his unquestioning attitude, also highlight the elements of *bidan* in Niwa's text, and by extension the language of propaganda. These elements of *bidan* are much less pronounced in *Kaisen*, in which Niwa fully embraces the *shishōsetsu* model. However, as *Kaisen*'s commercial success and widespread critical acclaim suggest, a perceived authenticity and perhaps even literary quality seem to have been more important than ideology both during and after the war.

The distancing from the patterns and tropes of *bidan*, first attempted by Ishikawa Tatsuzō and more successfully executed by Niwa Fumio, is exemplified even more radically in Ozaki Shirō's *Aru jūgun butai*. Abandoning the *heitai* paradigm completely

while simultaneously leaning into the *shishōsetsu* framework, Ozaki looks inward – both at his own flaws, as well as those of the *pen butai* as represented in his account. The completely different nature of Ozaki's text in comparison to his fellow *pen butai* writers, as well as its satirical tone, suggest his lack of desire to engage in propaganda and stimulation of pro-war sentiment, but through less provocative means than Ishikawa's *Ikiteiru heitai*. As Ozaki satirizes the intellectual class in *Aru jūgun butai*, it could be argued that he puts the values the *pen butai* writers espoused in their texts into question, and in turn exposes the hypocrisy of the media narrative of war and state propaganda.

In summary, the literary texts introduced in this chapter represent different examples of wartime authors incorporating elements of *bidan* as war propaganda and elements of *shishōsetsu* to divulge their experience from a strictly personal, individual view. In texts of wartime literature, lyricism can function as a vehicle for fascist aesthetics as proposed by Tansman, while the internalized narrative perspective typical of *shishōsetsu* can help authors avoid open discussion of the darker sides of war and potential conflict with censorship, as Hino's example of describing the death of animals and their deep bond with their human keepers shows.

The paradigms of *bidan* and *shishōsetsu* also allow the authors to separate the experience of battlefield (*senjō*) from the larger context of the war (*sensō*). It also appears that the authors' adherence to the *shishōsetsu* model is related to their proximity to the battlefield, and this tendency is best exemplified by Niwa Fumio's two texts. While *Kaeranu chūtai* is narrated in third person and focuses in considerable part on the press milieu of the battlefield, Niwa himself becomes the narrator in *Kaisen* as he is finds himself directly on the scene of the battle. Notably, such immediate proximity to war also seems to mute Niwa's ideological I and amplify the

personal perspective of *shishōsetsu* to the greatest extent among the examples discussed.

Another important element of war reportage that emerges across all texts is the adherence to the patterns of *bidan* in constructing subjects surrounding the author. While Hino Ashihei is usually credited with introducing a model for wartime literature to be emulated by subsequent texts of wartime literature in *Mugi to heitai*, it is also important to note that his depictions of the Japanese *heitai* and the Chinese soldiers and civilians he encounters correspond to their representations in wartime media in general. These patterns can also already be detected in Yoshiya Nobuko's earlier example, *Senka no hokushi* from 1937. *Mugi to heitai* and the subsequent examples in this chapter, however, show us that Hino's text established a working formula for literature that can both be appraised as art as well as further the goals of state propaganda. The relative failure of Ozaki Shirō's *Aru jūgun butai* and the success of Niwa Fumio's wartime writing (as products of the *pen butai*) also suggest that both literary critics and the public were more interested in plausibly authentic accounts of war, rather than accounts of the authors' personal life.

As practical examples of the literary currents in Japan during the wartime the texts I have discussed in this chapter will form the basis for the subsequent analysis of Hayashi Fumiko's wartime writing. With the seemingly inevitable ideological shift that was especially visible in the texts of female authors, special attention should be paid to the elements of *bidan* that Hayashi has utilized as an author who otherwise presented herself as apolitical. Since Hijiya-Kirschnereit also presents Hayashi Fumiko's *Hōrōki* as an unconventional example of a *shishōsetsu*, it will also be interesting to examine how she engages with its elements, what literary personae (narrating Is) she creates in her wartime texts, and how they correspond to the literary

persona she had established prior to the outbreak of the war in China.

PART III: Hayashi Fumiko

1. The early fiction of Hayashi Fumiko

In order to examine Hayashi Fumiko's writing during the war, it is of course necessary to understand the media and literary system she was writing within, and to explain these systems was my goal in the previous chapters. Equally important, in an attempt to ascertain Hayashi's specific position between state-sanctioned propaganda and literary expression of war, is to understand who Hayashi Fumiko was as a writer. As I have shown in the previous chapter, authors of wartime literature have sometimes radically changed their stylistic approach when writing about war in order to accommodate the strict surveillance of state institutions. At the same time, they have frequently employed elements of *shishōsetsu* to insert their own personal voice into these narratives. A thorough examination of Hayashi Fumiko's own wartime texts therefore necessitates an examination of her earlier writing and patterns that emerge within it, so that we can observe how and to what extent she had referred to and utilized these during the war. In other words, getting to know Hayashi Fumiko's literary voice from before the war can better allow us to reflect upon the extent to which she had 'succumbed' to the propaganda machine she would inevitably become a part of when writing about war.

Since Hayashi Fumiko was known first and foremost for her fictional texts into which she frequently incorporated autobiographical elements, these represent an ideal starting point for in getting to understand the characteristics of her writing. Elements of *shishōsetsu*, which have proven quite important in regard to wartime literature, are also of central importance to Hayashi's fiction. Three of her most important literary texts published between 1930 and 1937 – the early phase of her

career – all exhibit elements of *shishōsetsu* to a varying degree, as I will show below. The importance of *Hōrōki* 放浪記 (*Diary of a vagabond*, 1930), "Seihin no sho" 清貧の書 ("Record of honest poverty", 1931) and "Kaki" 牡蠣 ("Oyster", 1935) has been recognized not only in subsequent scholarship and literary criticism as respective milestones in her literary development, but proposed also by Hayashi herself: in 1937, she divided her previous work into a '*Hōrōki* period', 'Seihin no sho period', and 'Kaki period' (Hayashi 1937f:55; 1977e:242). In the following chapter, I will focus on these three texts in order to show Hayashi's creative trajectory and ascertain stylistic and thematic elements they share, which will in turn allow us to see how she would utilize them in her later wartime writing. No less important, however, are Hayashi's position within the literary circles of her time, her personal background and the image or persona she was carefully crafting with her literature. As I will show in the following sections, the person behind the texts was intimately tied to the words on the pages.

1.1. Hayashi Fumiko's early life and path to literary career

According to her family record (*koseki*), Hayashi Fumiko was born in Moji near Shimonoseki on December 31, 1903[63] as an illegitimate child (Brown 1996:86). After separating from Fumiko's father, Miyata Asatarō 宮田麻太郎, her mother Kiku キク left the house and later began a relationship with a shopkeeper named Sawai Kisaburō 澤井喜三郎, taking Fumiko with her. Fumiko attended schools in Nagasaki and Sasebo, while still occasionally visiting her father in Moji (Takayama 2010:89). Despite the

[63] Some sources claim 1904 as Hayashi's birth year (Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai 1958:200; Horiguchi 2012a:123; Satō 2014:246).

image of a rootless vagabond abandoned by her father Hayashi would later project in public through her literature[64], the relationship with her father remained stable and amicable (Takayama 2010:92). The relationship with her father serves as a first example of discrepancies between Hayashi's literary construction of her own persona and her private life, and it is important to keep in mind that despite Hayashi's heavy reliance on autobiographical elements in her works, she was also mindful of constructing a particular persona through her writing. While Hayashi had a number of siblings (fathered by different men) – Fessler mentions six (Fessler 1998:1) – she barely mentions them in her writings. It is also worth pointing out that while Hayashi's status of an illegitimate child certainly wouldn't serve to her advantage in Japanese society, and Brown goes as far as to say she "carried the stigma of illegitimacy throughout her life" (Brown 1996:86), I would rather agree with Fessler's assessment that illegitimacy is never portrayed negatively in Hayashi's work (Fessler 1998:1). Some of her protagonists are illegitimate children as well, but psychological struggles with their status are barely to be found on pages of Hayashi's novels; instead, if anything, illegitimacy is a social barrier to be overcome (ibid.).

Traveling around Kyūshū, Hayashi and her family eventually settled in Onomichi, a small, picturesque town near Hiroshima, in 1918 (Takayama 2010:20). In 1921 – the fourth year of her girls' school (*jogakkō*) – , Hayashi started publishing her first poems in the local newspapers *San'yō Nichinichi Shinbun* 山陽日日新聞 and *Bingo Jiji Shinbun* 備後時事新聞 under the pen name Akinuma Yōko 秋沼陽子, encouraged to take up poetry by her teacher Imai Tokusaburō 今井篤三郎 (ibid.). In the same year,

[64] Her autobiography *Hitori no shōgai* 一人の生涯 [*One's life,* 1939] is a good example of presenting herself as a child abandoned by her father.

upon graduating from the school, Hayashi moved to Tōkyō following the footsteps of her early love from Onomichi, Okano Gun'ichi 岡野軍一, who became a student at the Meiji University and whom she eventually planned to marry. Once in the capital, Hayashi worked a variety of jobs to support herself: as a public bath attendant, electrical factory or celluloid toy factory worker, or in a stockbroker's office (Takayama 2010:20–21; Fessler 1998:10). However, after Okano graduated in 1923, he terminated the relationship with Fumiko due to his family's opposition to the marriage – which most likely stemmed from her familial background (Takayama 2010:21; Fessler 1998:10).

It was around this time and up until the latter half of the 1920s that Hayashi started to keep her private 'poetic diary' (*uta nikki*), which eventually expanded to at least six notebooks in which she recorded her thoughts in a blend of poetry and prose, and it was these diaries that later formed the basis for both her poetry collection *Aouma o mitari* 蒼馬を見たり (*I saw a pale horse,* 1929)[65] and most importantly her first novel *Hōrōki* 放浪記 (*Diary of a vagabond,* 1930), which became Hayashi's literary breakthrough (Brown 1996:88). With Okano out of the picture, Hayashi remained in Tōkyō as an independent woman. Her parents followed her to the capital soon after her move and they lived close to each other in the Shinjuku area during this time, but the Hayashi family fled the city after the Great Kantō Earthquake on September 1, 1923. While they remained in Ōsaka at first, eventually they moved back to Onomichi, where Hayashi stayed at the house of Kobayashi Masao 小林正雄, her former teacher. Kobayashi's name is important in Hayashi's genesis as a writer as it was him who

[65] The volume was published a year before *Hōrōki*, thus marking her 'true' literary debut.

suggested her pen name (Fessler 1998:10), or rather its written form: officially written in *katakana* (as フミコ), her name as an author had a more sophisticated *kanji* spelling (芙美子).

Before long, Hayashi moved back to Tōkyō, where she started to associate with a group of anarchist writers – informally referred to as the 'Nantendō group' (*Nantendō gurūpu* 南天堂グループ) (Mori 1992:11; Kawamoto 2003:41; Takayama 2010:8) after the restaurant in Hongō, Tōkyō where they would congregate. This group included writers who would later themselves rise to prominence, such as Hagiwara Kyōjirō 萩原恭次郎 (1899-1938), Tsuboi Shigeji 壺井繁治 (1897-1975), or Hirabayashi Taiko 平林たい子 (1905-1972), who became Hayashi's good friend. Hayashi was introduced to this group by fellow poet Tomoya Shizue 友谷静栄, to whom she was in turn introduced by her partner at the time, poet and theatre actor Tanabe Wakao 田辺若雄. While Hayashi's and Tanabe's relationship only lasted about two to three months, the acquaintance with Tomoya led to them co-publishing a pamphlet called *Futari* 二人 [*Two*] in July 1924, which became an outlet for their own poetry. While *Futari* only lasted for mere three issues (Fessler 1998:11), this was enough for Hayashi's poetry to capture the attention of her literary fellows – particularly her erotically laden poem "Oshaka-sama" お釈迦様 ("Lord Buddha"), which was highly praised by Tsuji Jun 辻潤 (Takayama 2010:8), and which would later appear in *Hōrōki* as well.

It was also during this time that Hayashi made the acquaintance of two senior writers, Uno Kōji 宇野浩二 (1891-1961) and Tokuda Shūsei 徳田秋声 (1872-1943),

who would eventually become her literary mentors (Fessler 1998:11); Tokuda in particular exerted an important influence on Hayashi's own development as a writer. She would avoid the association with the openly political Nantendō group in both *Hōrōki* and her later texts, such as the short autobiographical piece "Bungakuteki jijoden" 文学的自叙伝 ["Literary autobiography", 1930]. She completely omits any mention of them in her wartime autobiography *Hitori no shōgai* 一人の生涯 [*One's life*, 1939], and as Takayama points out citing Hirabayashi Taiko, Hayashi also distanced herself from the members of the Nantendō group privately (Takayama 2010:4). Her open association with Tokuda and Uno is also indicative of Brown's argument about Hayashi's desire to position herself within a literary establishment dominated by men, and to write like them instead of considering herself a writer of *joryū bungaku* 女流文学, or 'women's literature' (Brown 2001:144).

Still, the association with this leftist group was formative for Hayashi Fumiko as a writer not only due to the networking factor, but it was precisely during this time that actively started to pursue a career as a poet, offering her manuscripts to various publishers. One of these early poems is "Jokō no utaeru" 女工の唄へる ["Song of a factory girl"], which appeared in the August 1924 issue of the leftist literary magazine *Bungei Sensen* 文芸戦線 (Takayama 2010:21). The influence of proletarian literature and leftist politics Hayashi was surrounded by at this time is evident in the radicality of her voice. She describes the scene, likely of the factory the narrator is working in, as a prison with iron chains, yet the titular factory girl's resilience only grows throughout the short poem, culminating in these lines:

Don't make a fool of me!

I believe in my strength
Poor, but strong!
And believing in my strengthI do not despair.
(Hayashi 1924:80).

Here, the 'iron chains' shackling the narrator to her 'prison' may be interpreted, in leftist terms, as the oppressive and exploitative system, or the circumstances of poverty, shackling her to the factory condemning the narrator to hard labor, who nevertheless holds on to her resilience and remains undeterred by her poverty. These themes are reminiscent of her later breakthrough novel *Hōrōki* (see following sub-chapter, 1.2.), but differ in their more radical and explicitly leftist language. This is important to note in order to demonstrate Hayashi Fumiko's willingness and ability to adapt her language to different audiences and even ideologies, as her later wartime texts also often deal with themes of overcoming dramatic circumstances or a certain disadvantage (for example, being the sole woman in a war zone), but utilize a decidedly more nationalist rhetoric.

Aside from *Bungei Sensen*, Hayashi published her poetry in other leftist literary outlets during this time as well: magazines such as *MAVO*, *Bungei Ichiba* or *Bungei Kōron* all featured her work, while the latter also introduced her as part of a new wave of female poets, alongside Tomoya, Yonezawa Junko 米沢順子 (1894-1931) or Mori Michiyo 森三千代 (1901-1977), in its December 1927 issue (Mori 1992:12). Clearly, then, Hayashi's association with political, left-wing literature was intimate, if only for a brief time. It is also apparent through the title of the first of her two poetry collections, *Aouma o mitari*: the title of the collection, which translates to *I saw a pale horse* – and an eponymous poem contained therein – are a reference to the autobiographical novel *Kon' blednyj* (*The pale horse,* 1909) written by the Russian

revolutionary – or "terrorist" (Kawamoto 2003:61) – Boris Savinkov under the pseudonym V. Ropshin, and published in Japanese in 1919. Hayashi would later name the less radical Heinrich Heine, Walt Whitman and Alexander Pushkin as important influences on her poetry (Kawamoto 2003:62).

Her aversion towards any political association, left or right, would persist in the following years and she would often voice her protest at such associations – particularly in relation to *Hōrōki*, arguably her most important work, which was often described as a work of proletarian or 'lumpen' literature, as I will describe in the next section dealing with the novel. This opposition towards the ascription of any political agenda to her work, however, becomes all the more interesting when considering Hayashi's open and prominent association with the army and state propaganda during the wartime years, and should be kept in mind when examining her wartime writings.

On a personal level, Hayashi's distancing from the *Nantendō* group (despite her ongoing and close friendship with Hirabayashi Taiko) may also be related to the relationships she experienced within that group. After Tanabe Wakao, Hayashi became romantically involved with another of its members, Nomura Yoshiya 野村吉哉 (1901-1940). While this relationship lasted longer than the one with Tanabe, both ended due to the men's infidelity (Mori 1992:11), but more concerningly, Hayashi ended up financially supporting both partners – in Nomura's case due to his frail health, which did not deter him from physical abuse towards her. She left him in 1926, and shortly thereafter met painter Tezuka Ryokubin[66] 手塚緑敏 (Fessler 1998:12). Tezuka would remain Hayashi's husband until her death, and in a rather unusual move,

[66] Also pronounced as Rokubin.

eventually even took her last name.

Fessler notes that Hayashi's difficult experiences from both her childhood and with her partners imprinted themselves especially in her early writing, which is marked by "blunt, brutally frank behavior and language of her characters and depictions of psychological and physical violence not usually seen, and perhaps even shocking, in Japanese literature of the time" (ibid.). This immediacy of her writing, but also the public perception of Hayashi Fumiko as an unconventional literary figure – and by extension an unconventional person, a perception she actively promoted through her work (Brown 1985:86). Indeed, the presence of both literary figures and common people at her funeral, and the sheer quantity of those who came to bid Hayashi a final farewell on June 28, 1951, attest to the universality of her appeal both as a writer and a public figure (Brown 1996:99).

This rawness in Hayashi's literature, especially in the early years of her career, has also been noted by her contemporaries. Tsuboi Shigeji, a fellow member of the Nantendō group, has described Hayashi's attitude within her poetry as "uncrystallized emotion released outwards" (Takayama 2010:10); following up on Tsuboi's description, Takayama describes Hayashi's early poetry as not especially accomplished in terms of composition and rhythm. However, as she points out, Hayashi also distinguished herself from her former fellows through her unrelenting optimism (*akarusa*) not present in the gloomy works of anarchist poets who were her contemporaries (ibid.). This optimism stood not only in stark contrast to anarchist poets, but also to the determinism prevalent in the prose of Japanese naturalism (*shizenshugi*) at the time. While Hayashi focuses on the same social strata as much of the naturalist prose, she instead chooses to focus on an ability to control one's life and a belief that it is possible to escape poverty through the force of one's will (Fessler 1998b:xii). Sachiko

Schierbeck points out that this is also an important difference between the works of Hayashi Fumiko and proletarian literature, written as a form of protest against social injustice and describing the lower classes as trapped in their circumstances (Schierbeck 1994:84). At the same time, Hayashi would consistently avoid complex ideologies and philosophical constructs in her work, instead exhibiting a naive common sense; Fessler argues that this was an important factor in attracting a wide audience across social and economic boundaries. To those better off, Hayashi provided a window into the life of social strata otherwise inaccessible to them, while on the other hand, she also represented a voice of those lower classes (Fessler 1998b:xii; 1998a:15).

While Hayashi's style was and remains a unique one within the early Shōwa (1926-1989) literature, her success is also emblematic of broader social and cultural developments. Janice Brown, for example, identifies Hayashi as a member of a third generation of modern Japanese women writers; succeeding the authors active in the Meiji (1868-1912) and the early Taishō (1912-1926) periods, Brown situates this third generation in the transitional period between the Taishō and Shōwa periods, specifically between 1920-1929 (Brown 1996:85). While it is worth pointing out that Hayashi established herself as a professional writer right after rather than during this specific period, this was also a time when women of lower social classes started flooding the urban workforce. The 1920s also were one of the most prolific decades for female authors in the 20th century, many of whom turned to autobiographical writing as their storytelling mode of choice (ibid.). Needless to say, Hayashi was representative of both trends and her early writing (*Hōrōki* in particular) could be seen as a culmination of this socio-cultural development between the Taishō and Shōwa periods.

Importantly, Japan's new female workforce was also literate, thanks to the social and educational reforms established since the Meiji era, and by the 1920s, mass female readership could be established (Ericson 1997:23). This increase in literate female workforce and women's buying power, in turn, stimulated a demand for female authors writing from a female perspective. However, most women who wrote professionally secured themselves financially through marriage, with only a few notable exceptions such as Miyamoto Yuriko 宮本百合子, Tamura Toshiko 田村敏子 or Nogami Yaeko 野上弥生子 (Takayama 2010:49). Hayashi Fumiko, of course, was one such exception as well, but compared to the three authors mentioned, her background was notably underprivileged, making her something of an outsider within both the circles of leftists and female authors of the time, and at the same time clearly increasing her appeal among the broader public. This might also provide an explanation for Hayashi's active cultivation of a (questionably) apolitical, outsider image, for which I will provide more examples throughout this chapter, especially in the context of her travelogues.

One magazine aimed primarily towards female readers and providing a platform for female authors and artists – already mentioned at some length in Chapter 1 of Part II – was *Nyonin Geijutsu*, founded by poet Hasegawa Shigure 長谷川時雨 (1879-1941) and financed by her husband, writer Mikami Otokichi 三上於菟吉 (1891-1944). With *Nyonin Geijutsu*, Hasegawa had explicitly aimed to create a 'journal of arts' (*bungeishi*), and the magazine was instrumental in development of *joryū bungaku*, or 'women's literature' (Takayama 2010:50). It was also on the pages of *Nyonin Geijutsu* where Hayashi Fumiko's *Hōrōki* made its first appearance. In a way much like Hayashi herself, and particularly in its early issues, *Nyonin Geijutsu* did not project a strong political

image about women's role in society and instead explicitly focused on arts (the *geijutsu* of its title) – for which it faced criticism from contemporary activists and even women whose writing was published in the magazine (Coutts 2012:346–347). Yet, as Coutts points out, Hasegawa's aim was to unite women's creative forces; in doing so, *Nyonin Geijutsu* could become a catalyst for a more equal sociely, fueled by her belief in arts as an agent of change. Hasegawa employed her medium creatively rather than for merely transporting content, and the way in which the disparate elements of the magazine interacted with each other was as important as the messages themselves (Coutts 2012:347). The stark juxtaposition of utopian illustrations of naked women placed right next to heavily ideological and explicitly feminist writings challenged the idea of the body and intellect as separate, and with it the patriarchal values of early Shōwa Japan (Coutts 2012:349).

It seems fitting, then, that Hayashi Fumiko's groundbreaking novel began its life on the pages of an equally unorthodox magazine. The first installment of *Hōrōki* appeared in the fourth issue of *Nyonin Geijutsu* (October 1928) after Hayashi Fumiko had published her poem "Kibibatake" 黍畑 ["Millet field"] in the August issue, which caught Mikami Otokichi's attention. *Hōrōki* quickly became the most popular literary work appearing in *Nyonin Geijutsu*, and Hayashi would publish a new installment in almost every issue until October 1930, but disappeared from the pages of the magazine after publishing a travelogue from Manchuria in the following month (Takayama 2010:56). Hayashi herself states in her short autobiography "Bungakuteki jijoden" that the reason for her move away from *Nyonin Geijutsu* was the ever more explicit, leftist leaning of the magazine (Hayashi 1977a:6), a stance consistent with her apparent aversion towards ideology and political agenda, which she has publicly avowed throughout her career. This example is valuable going forward: as Ericson points out,

many scholars and critics such as Donald Keene or Hayashi's various autobiographers have tended to accept the autobiographical pact of her works unquestioningly, even as Hayashi's literature is ripe with embellishments or outright fabrications, and despite the well-known fact that such embellishments in life narratives were quite common in the work of male authors (Ericson 1997:9–10). This is one of the most important aspects of Hayashi Fumiko's writing, especially texts which purport to be based on her authentic experiences – including her travelogues, as I will show in the next chapter.

In summary, Hayashi Fumiko's early life and her first steps in the world of literature already provide some valuable insight into her literary persona. She had an unusual background for a writer at the time: not only as a woman – given that female authors were still somewhat of a rare breed but were also considered a separate literary category from the male writers – but also due to coming from poverty and a relative lack of education. Living in Tōkyō in the early 1920s had provided her with an opportunity to lead an independent life as a woman, but that life was by no means easy, and that perhaps translated into a voracious literary ambition which eventually paved her way to success. Indeed, it was her background and pedigree which might have stacked the odds against her in the beginning, but the socioeconomic developments of 1920s Japan (especially Tōkyō) have also allowed her to become a unique, authentic voice of women and the underclass. And while she would always try to distance herself from questions of ideology, her association with radical, left-wing poets was instrumental not only in developing her literary style, but also allowing her to eventually become a published author. It is then, I would argue, less of an active aversion towards politics than a lack of an earnest interest. This will become even more visible through her debut novel *Hōrōki* and especially in the various ways it has

been read and received.

1.2. *Hōrōki*: Hayashi Fumiko's paradigmatic text

In the previous section, I have attempted to outline Hayashi's unconventional and even unlikely path towards literary success. As Brown points out, this success was not only personal, but also managed to bring the margins of Japanese society and the lives of poor and working-class women to the forefront of popular consciousness, in part precisely due to Hayashi's own underprivileged background of poverty and lacking education (Brown 1996:85). As she had achieved enormous commercial success with *Hōrōki* – the degree of which she likely was never able to match thereafter – her first novel would not only represent Hayashi Fumiko as a writer, but also the early Shōwa era in general (Mori 1992:53). A discussion of *Hōrōki* is therefore inevitable in any in-depth discussion of Hayashi Fumiko's literary work and legacy, especially considering it served to establish her public persona as a rootless vagabond with no home[67]. In this chapter, as well as in the following analysis of Hayashi's wartime writings, I will show how *Hōrōki* is also a fundamental work in understanding Hayashi's literary persona she constructs in her later travelogues and war reportage.

1.2.1. *Hōrōki* as a 'poetic diary'

The defining feature of *Hōrōki* is its diary form. Rather than telling a cohesive story, Hayashi chronicles her protagonists' – and ostensibly her own – trials and tribulation as a young, independent working woman between the Taishō and Shōwa era in the rapidly changing metropolis of Tōkyō. The diary entries do not follow a chronological

[67] One of the first lines in the novel says "I am by nature a vagabond, I have no home" (Hayashi 1977b:265).

order and their dates are obscured: they are consistently labeled as 'month/day X'[68]. Interestingly, the order of the diary entries differs between their order of publication, and the order in which they are arranged in the book version. In *Hōrōki*, Hayashi Fumiko describes the struggles of her protagonist – who mostly appears in the text as *watashi* 私 (I), but is at times referred to by others as Fumiko or other variants of the name, and thus apparently standing for herself – as she navigates her struggles between different jobs, men and her precarious economic situation while pursuing her dream to become a writer. While this frame corresponds to Hayashi's life trajectory in the 1920s, and leads her readership to conflate the narrative of *Hōrōki* with that of Hayashi's own life, it is worth noting right at the outset that the work contains elements of fiction as much as it is sourced from Hayashi's personal experiences. As I will show below, the authentic and honest quality that the text exhibits is as defining to it as its instability and fluidity, as Hayashi had reworked and restructured *Hōrōki* in numerous and sometimes radical ways over her lifetime. Examining the form and narrative aspects of *Hōrōki* therefore means to examine Hayashi Fumiko's literary persona and the public image she carefully constructed throughout her career, and a close look at its literary construction is fundamental to understanding Hayashi Fumiko as an author. Furthermore, I believe examining *Hōrōki* as a deliberately constructed literary work, rather than a collection of miscellanies – as it was often dismissed by both Hayashi herself and her critics – allows for a clearer look at her later travelogues and war reportage.

The format of a diary is one of *Hōrōki*'s most discussed aspects, and warrants a close examination: not only due to the claim of authenticity, or the autobiographical

[68] For example, as 'November X'.

pact it hints at on its surface, but also due to the links to a broader context and history it necessarily engenders within the context of Japanese literature. Fessler, for example, points towards the unusual attention to detail Hayashi endows her 'diary' with – both in relation to the descriptions of her own feelings, as well as the settings she finds herself in – as something actually unusual for a private diary (Fessler 1998:49). Further, Fessler also makes a connection between the literary style of *Hōrōki* and the *shin kankakuha* 新感覚派 (New Sensationalism) group of Japanese writers[69] through the fast pace of the narrative, with the narrator's attention constantly jumping from one subject to another, a perception aided by the frequent section breaks. In this way, as Fessler argues, the fragmentary diary format fits the disjointed quality of the narrative (Fessler 1998:53). But as I will show below, while discussing a reading of *Hōrōki* as a modernist text, such statement really only applies to the work in its original form and less to the subsequent reworkings of *Hōrōki*, which saw Hayashi mold the text into a more standardized, less poetic and more prosaic and straightforward version of itself.

The connection of *Hōrōki* to the classical canon of diary literature from the Heian period (794-1185), made by Ericson, fortunately proves more resistant to the changes the text underwent over the course of several decades. This connection is already apparent through Hayashi's incorporation of poems accompanying her diary entries; indeed, Hayashi even called the private diaries that eventually formed the basis of her novel 'poetic diaries' (*uta nikki*). These poems are either written by herself, or by other

[69] The group sought to implement formal experimentation increasingly present in Japanese poetry and visual art in the 1920s also in prose fiction, which was still dominated by a conservative, realist style. The *shin kankakuha* authors focused on direct and subjective sensory experiences (Gardner 2004:60). The most prominent literary figures of the movement are Yokomitsu Riichi 横光 利一 (1898-1947) and Kawabata Yasunari 川端康成 (1899-1972) with his early works. The silent film *Kurutta ippēji* 狂った一頁 (*A page of madness, 1926*) is perhaps the most famous example of this movement.

poets such as Ishikawa Takuboku 石川啄木, Shimazaki Tōson 島崎藤村 or Emile Verhaeren, and they often introduce a new section and serve to set its tone (Ericson 1997:59). Angela Coutts sees the poems in *Hōrōki* as a device to bolster the protagonist's position as an outsider in society, as many of them deal with rejection – either of the protagonist, by the protagonist, or both – while also exploring themes of female identity and survival. Coutts notes that the protagonist's "defiant, angry and vengeful" (Coutts 2004:126) attitude as it comes across in the poems is a direct contradiction to Japanese stereotypes of femininity. This defiance is also applied to national symbols such as Mount Fuji or cherry blossoms, challenging both the nature of Japanese identity, as well as Hayashi's (or, strictly speaking, her protagonist's) own identity as a Japanese woman (ibid.).

Coutts makes an interesting point with her reading, as it suggests that the format of a 'poetic diary' Hayashi utilizes in *Hōrōki*, and perhaps even more importantly the specific way she utilizes it – not only by interspersing her diary entries with pieces of poetry, but also the way these two elements interact with each other – makes at once reference to the classical culture and literary canon of Japan, but also constitutes a form of protest. Ericson also points out links to the Heian-era literary diaries that transcend mere formal parallels. Hayashi's protagonist finds herself in situation harkening back to the classical canon: by failing to mend a kimono her lover wears on stage, she mirrors the neglected secondary wife in *Kagerō nikki* 蜻蛉日記 (*The gossamer years*, around 974) who sends her husband's clothes back to him unmended (Ericson 1997:60). Hayashi's self-stylization as the lonely protagonist, neglected and discarded by a string of lovers, also generally parallels the heroines of classical diary literature (ibid.).

A poem which takes Mount Fuji as its subject (Hayashi 1977b:349–350) is a particularly striking example. The mountain is cast as an oppressive symbol and Hayashi's protagonist (and as her readers are led to believe, herself) repeatedly mocks it, expressing her desire to escape. Hayashi's rejection of Mount Fuji as a "nostalgic dream" (Hayashi 1977b:349) leads Coutts to interpret this poem as one about dangers of nationalism during a time when such attitudes were rising within Japan (Coutts 2004:128–129); at the end of the poem, Hayashi dares to stand against the mountain as a lone woman, defying it to punish her (ibid.). Reading *Hōrōki* with Hayashi Fumiko's later wartime writing in mind, this poem becomes especially distinctive for its bold language. This, again, problematizes the earnestness and conviction with which Hayashi approached writing in service of propaganda, or else showing the malleability of her literary persona and her consciousness of the image she chose to project to her readers. Another way to look at the striking difference between Hayashi's mocking of national (even nationalist) symbolism and her later apparent subservience to it is to interpret her writing as reflective of broader sentiments within the country, and in a more general sense, as artifacts of collective memory rather than a purely individual expression of the author. The diary form of *Hōrōki* will become an especially important point of comparison for one of her best-known wartime texts *Hokugan butai*, which she had written as a part of *pen butai* (see Part I, 2.1.2.) and which stylistically stands in stark contrast to the fragmentary, bold and assertive tone of her debut novel.

1.2.2. *Hōrōki* as *runpen bungaku*

Having already explored the literary landscape of the late 1920s and early 1930s, and the freedom of expression granted writers during this period in Chapter 3 (or rather a

lack thereof), the poem about Mount Fuji and its inclusion in the final, published text is also striking if we consider the increasing crackdown on sentiments that could be interpreted as anti-Japanese – a reading which, indeed, this poem very well offers. To this point, it is helpful to consider Ericson's argument that Hayashi could avoid more severe persecution than some of her contemporaries due to her reputation as a *runpen* ルンペン (*lumpen*[70]) writer as opposed to a proletarian one (Ericson 1997:69). The term *runpen* bears an explanation here, as its usage in early 20th century Japan differed significantly from Karl Marx, in whose writings the term originates. While Marx's use of the term 'lumpen proletariat' in *Capital* (1867) was derogatory – describing those not holding wage-earning jobs and not being a productive part of society, as well as vagabonds, criminals or prostitutes (Ericson 1997:63) – in Japan, the term referred to a much wider population and did not necessarily carry a criminal connotation. The term *runpen* in Japanese usually described people on the margins with a precarious hold on employment or housing; in large part, 'lumpen proletariat' as it was understood in Japan consisted of migrants from the countryside (Ericson 1997:64), such as Hayashi herself.

The term *runpen bungaku* ルンペン文学 [*lumpen* literature] was popularized by writer Shimomura Chiaki 下村千秋 (1893-1955), who published his fictional and reportage writing about such people in *Chūō Kōron* since 1928; the topic met with great interest on the part of the magazine's readers (Ericson 1997:66–67). As Hayashi started publishing *Hōrōki* in that same year, it also emerges as one of the first literary works depicting the *runpen* social milieu, while also treating it sympathetically and

[70] From German 'Lumpen', meaning 'rags'; i.e., the underclass.

authentically (Ericson 1997:67). Clearly, insecurity and precariousness are one of the most salient markers of the protagonist's existence. Oscillating as she does between a broad spectrum of jobs across class boundaries – in family-owned businesses, factories, and even offices – Gardner argues that this social and class instability allows readers to identify her as a member of the lumpen proletariat, rather than an upwardly mobile working-class woman, and the emphasis on survival allowed *Hōrōki* to have a special resonance among its contemporary readers (Gardner 2006:138).

Fessler makes a similar observation in order to differentiate *Hōrōki* from proletarian literature, the main aim of which is to expose the plight of the working class – instead, Hayashi chooses to focus on the positive sides of life and celebrates her protagonist's loneliness instead of lamenting it (Fessler 1998:61). Hayashi herself was open about the fact that her goal with *Hōrōki* was simply to reach a large audience, and criticized proletarian literature as dry, highbrow, and inaccessible to a many readers, while also criticizing proletarian writers as opportunists corrupted by commercialism (Fessler 1998:53–54). She saw poverty as the only common ground of her own literature and the proletarian literary movement (Fessler 1998:54). She would continue to insist on the apolitical nature of *Hōrōki* almost up to her death: in the afterword to a 1949 edition of the novel, she writes that while she was a member of the proletariat, she did not take part in the movement and instead walked her own path (Fessler 1998:56). The perception of Hayashi Fumiko as *runpen* and as a literary representative of the Japanese underclass, however, also better allows us to understand her strong and pronounced identification with the soldiers she met and accompanied during her wartime travels, and provides an unusual angle to the texts she produced based on these trips.

1.2.3. *Hōrōki* as a modernist text

While *Hōrōki* can be read as a prime example of *runpen* literature, William Gardner also proposes to read it as an avantgarde, modernist novel: partly due to the fluid nature of the text, as Hayashi had extensively reworked it several times (see 1.2.5. below), but perhaps even more importantly due to Hayashi's employment of montage techniques or her dynamic style, which reflect the modernity of the time and place the novel came out of (Gardner 2006:11). Montage in *Hōrōki*, as Gardner suggests, is employed in a multitude of ways. One important technique is the intertwining of prose and poetry: while the poems and songs often stand for idealism and sentimental feelings, the diary entries depict the more bitter reality of the protagonist's daily life, resulting in a complex and often ironic dialogue between the poetry and prose elements of the novel (Gardner 2006:43). Gardner's point is interesting in the context of *Hōrōki*'s – and by extension, its protagonist's – position between modernity and tradition: Hayashi utilizes the representative format of classical literature, referencing her female literary ancestors, but at the same time updates its language to convey the time and space she inhabits, and exploits this literary reference to Japanese tradition in order to highlight her own complicated position within the Japanese society.

Through the patchwork, staccato nature of the text, Gardner establishes a link to cinematic montage and thus to the broader avantgarde art of the 1920s – a connection rarely, if ever made by other scholars and critics. As an example, Gardner cites the first section of the novel (following the prologue), in which the protagonist traverses Tōkyō by train and on foot, looking for work and eventually returning to her home in Shinjuku. This section consists of four separate journal entries switching between day and night, and these are further broken down by two poems: a *tanka* by Ishikawa Takuboku and a free-verse poem by Hayashi. Ultimately, the scene changes twelve

times within sixteen (relatively short) pages, with Gardner likening it to Walter Ruttmann's modernist film *Berlin: Die Sinfonie der Großstadt* (*Berlin: Symphony of a great city*, 1927) and describing the section as a "tour through the city's various socioeconomic and cultural strata as well as its geographic space" (Gardner 2006:121). Gardner applies a similar view to the novel in general, highlighting its "strong ethnographic impulse" (Gardner 2006:123), exhibiting itself through Hayashi's extensive attention to material culture, ways of everyday life, and her employment of a wide array of cultural markers such as place names, songs, clothing, housing and language. All of these are enfolded into the protagonist's own, personal narrative, but Gardner argues that Hayashi thus also constructs a larger narrative of Japanese modernity (ibid.).

One of the most salient expressions of modernity is the setting of a café, where the protagonist temporarily works as a waitress (*jokyū*). The cafés of early Shōwa Japan are to be understood less as traditional coffeehouses and rather as precursors to the host/hostess clubs in contemporary Japan: their importance lay more in their function as a site where young men and the waitresses could mingle; with their modern furnishings, neon lights and jazz music, Ikenushi describes the Shōwa cafés as a "virtual theater or stage on which modern life was performed" (Ikenushi 2007:129). While the *jokyū* were explicitly only employed as waitresses, many of them found themselves pushed into prostitution (Ikenushi 2007:129).

This connection to is also explored by Horiguchi, who importantly links sex work to empire, sexually abusing female bodies both within Japan proper (*naichi*) as well as in its occupied territories and colonies (*gaichi*). In *Hōrōki*, the protagonist mentions a café coworker who has been sold as a sex worker, and by selling her sexualized body for economic survival, the protagonist herself identifies with the colonized Other

within the Empire of Japan (Horiguchi 2012a:134). For Gardner, too, the café and its waitresses represent the social and cultural periphery of the metropolis and Japan's colonial expansion: in the first two decades of the 20th century, Tōkyō's population expanded by over 60 percent, with 40 percent of its residents born outside the city. The café where the protagonist works at reflects this reality with its mixture of waitresses hailing from both *naichi* (as the protagonist herself) and *gaichi* such as Sakhalin, Manchuria or Korea (Gardner 2006:131–132). And of course, Hayashi's identification with the marginalized women of the *gaichi*, herself a child of the *naichi*, is bound to become an interesting point of comparison when examining Hayashi's texts from Japan's occupied territories during the wartime.

Yet while the occupation as a café waitress brings the protagonist in close proximity to sexual exploitation, it is also in this respect where she displays frankness and agency; notably, Gardner highlights her double exclamation of "hunger and sexual desire!" (Hayashi 1977b:355) in the finale of the first part as an encapsulation of her struggles (Gardner 2006:153). Food and hunger are important motifs in *Hōrōki*, articulating not only the protagonist's socioeconomic position, but also her desires; as Gardner notes, Hayashi devotes much attention to basic physiological needs, and describes the food the narrator is able to purchase as well as that which she desires in great detail (Gardner 2006:152–153). This attention to food and hunger also leads scholars to a comparison with Knut Hamsun's novel *Sult* (*Hunger*, 1890), and Hayashi has acknowledged reading the novel when she was 18 years old (Mori 1992:54). However, the differences between the two works are more telling of Hayashi's own agency as a writer than their similarities. As is apparent from the title, hunger is a defining motif of Hamsun's novel, as it is in *Hōrōki*, and both novels share a writer as their protagonist. Yet while starvation lies at the core of the protagonist's undoing in

Sult, in *Hōrōki*, hunger and desire for food are often just that – underscoring the protagonist's dire straits – but also serve as a marker for her desire to succeed and be recognized (Brown 2001:151). Brown thus reads the element of hope as the decisive difference between the two texts, with Hamsun's protagonist descending ever more deeply into hallucination, gloom and despair, while the setbacks Hayashi experiences keep her hopeful and driven (Brown 2001:153–154).

One last interesting point Gardner raises pertaining to *Hōrōki* and its representation of modernity is the novel's relation to the dichotomy of *junbungaku* 純文学 ('pure literature') and *taishū bungaku* 大衆文学 ('mass literature'), a hotly debated topic in the literary circles of the early Shōwa era. As Gardner points out, authors would traditionally construct their literary identity in a binary relationship between themselves and the 'masses' – in the case of *junbungaku* as opposition, and in the case of *taishū bungaku* as a relationship of the product's creator to his or her market. Within proletarian literature, this binary relationship becomes one of a vanguard educating the unawakened. What all these constructions have in common, following Gardner, is a defined artistic subject and its relation to an objectified 'mass' (Gardner 2006:140). This is not so with Hayashi Fumiko, as she constructs her narrator/protagonist on both sides of this divide: as a writer and reader, she is both the producer and consumer of culture, and this also translates to her occupations and everyday life. Similarly, Ikenushi reads the depiction of the commodified female body in *Hōrōki* as "masking a deeper reality of women as producers of culture and bearers of political agency" (Ikenushi 2007:150). Indeed, while the protagonist is underprivileged and exploited, Hayashi also taps into the curiosity of the early Shōwa audience by offering a look inside her untypical life (her stint as a café *jokyū* is perhaps

the best example of this), establishing herself as a writer and earning financial gain in the process. As Ikenushi notes, in portraying her protagonist as an independent, working woman, Hayashi liberates her from the traditional *ryōsai kenbo* 良妻賢母 (good wife, wise mother) paradigm, and by employing elements of *shishōsetsu* (thus establishing a deliberate connection between the novel and her life), Hayashi herself becomes an extension of this liberation (Ikenushi 2007:151).

Reading *Hōrōki* as a modernist text also makes an interesting point for an examination of Hayashi's writing in wartime, especially of texts that employ the form of a diary. Since the state-sanctioned literature did not allow much in way of experimentation, it should prove especially interesting to look into how she reconciled the mode of literary expression she was most known for with the strict literary framework she had to write under. Furthermore, considering how Hayashi strived to liberate herself from the *ryōsai kenbo* paradigm in *Hōrōki* and present herself as an independent woman – qualities which were certainly not in line with the wartime ideology and the gender roles it envisioned – special attention should be given to the gender aspects of her writing and her own literary persona. At the same time, considering how *Hōrōki* reflects the rapid modernity of Taishō and Shōwa-era Japan on both formal and narrative levels makes a strong case for regarding Hayashi Fumiko as an author keenly aware of her surroundings and the circumstances of ordinary Japanese citizens, and by extension a valuable case study for the representation of life and public opinion in wartime Japan.

1.2.4. *Hōrōki* as *shishōsetsu*

As noted above, scholars such as Gardner (2006:140) and most importantly, Irmela Hijiya-Kirschnereit (Hijiya-Kirschnereit 1996:230) also identify *Hōrōki* as a unique

form of *shishōsetsu* in connection with its diary form and narrative frankness. Hijiya-Kirschnereit's assessment is especially helpful, as she utilizes her own structural model of *shishōsetsu* (see 3.2.) in order to show the kinship of Hayashi's novel with the genre, with the form of a diary constituting the connective tissue. Both diaries and *shishōsetsu* make use of the important elements of factuality and focus figure (Hijiya-Kirschnereit 1996:230–231). An overarching sentimental tone or pervasive melancholy are also typical for both classical literary diaries and *shishōsetsu*, which, as Hijiya-Kirschnereit notes, makes extensive use of evoking feelings of impermanence (*mujōkan*; Hijiya-Kirschnereit 1996:234–235). Finally, one more important element through which Hijiya-Kirschnereit ties *Hōrōki* to other *shishōsetsu* is its comforting function, as Hayashi allows her readers to identify with the protagonist, who finds herself in a similar position to that of her potential audience. This, according to Hijiya-Kirschnereit, makes *Hōrōki* an exemplary *shishōsetsu* (Hijiya-Kirschnereit 1996:236–237). Given her unusual background, less privileged than that of many literates who surrounded her, Hayashi's own unique take on *shishōsetsu* might have offered her readers more than just a voyeuristic look into a life otherwise unaccessible to them, but inspire the same drive towards liberation in themselves.

Fessler points out that both the diary and *shishōsetsu* share a similar appeal, in that the author's ostensibly true and authentic experiences lie at the heart of their audience's interest. With *Hōrōki*, Hayashi Fumiko provided her readers with a glimpse into a lifestyle of a single, independent woman, her romantic life, and of the perhaps unfamiliar worlds she navigates (Fessler 1998:51). Similarly, Mori Eiichi describes *Hōrōki* as a text chronicling a working woman's travel through the world of employment at a time when such women were becoming a topic of conversation, as well as a time when popular literature was on the rise (Mori 1992:71–72). In my

opinion, this observation is especially important when considering the extent of success Hayashi was able to achieve with *Hōrōki*, as she was able to exploit both the readers' curiosity and the burgeoning literary market. Hayashi would utilize this savvy for the interests of the market going forward too, notably with her war reportage, in which she could act as a reader's surrogate, reporting on the soldiers to those they left behind at home.

In the context of wartime literature, the *shishōsetsu* aspect of *Hōrōki* is one of the most interesting. As already discussed in Chapter 4, authors of wartime literature have employed elements of *shishōsetsu*, or more or less its general framework, in order to portray the reality of war they encountered as a personal narrative. By doing so, writers could either convey ideology in a personal manner and as a matter of personal experience, or else attempt to bypass censorship by relating their negative or traumatic experiences as something perceived in the moment and thus not necessarily contradicting the greater state narrative. As Hayashi had incorporated elements of *shishōsetsu* in *Hōrōki* as well as numerous other texts prior to the war, and as these elements were often to be found in wartime texts by other authors, special attention should be paid to their presence and usage in Hayashi's own wartime writing. This, in turn, could allow us to see beyond the surface of her rhetoric and grant us a deeper look into how she related her wartime experience to her readers.

1.2.5. Editions and alterations of *Hōrōki*

Another important, and often overlooked, aspect of *Hōrōki* is its storied and long publication history and, as a result, its instable nature as a text. *Hōrōki* has undergone an unusually large and substantial number of revisions, both by Hayashi herself and by outside actors such as agents of censorship. Horiguchi notes that the extent to

which *Hōrōki* was revised between 1928 and 1949 is unusual within the context of Japanese literature in general, even as such changes are very common between a serial run and book publication (Horiguchi 2012a:129). In the case of *Hōrōki,* however, tone, style and language are fluid and subject to sometimes radical alterations.

As mentioned in the previous section, *Hōrōki* was based on Hayashi's 'poetic diaries' (*uta nikki*) she kept after moving to Tōkyō and supporting herself through a variety of jobs. While she published the novel in *Nyonin Geijutsu,* Hayashi published a short story called "Kyūshū tankō machi hōrōki" 九州炭坑街放浪記 ["Diary of a vagabond in a Kyūshū mining town"] in October 1929, before the last installment of *Hōrōki* in the December issue of *Nyonin Geijutsu*. The first single-volume edition of *Hōrōki* was published by Kaizōsha in July 1930, but importantly, the fourteen sections contained therein are arranged differently from their original order of publication[71], and two sections[72] were omitted completely. "Kyūshū tankō machi hōrōki" became the novel's prologue and was retitled as "*Hōrōki* izen – jo ni kaete" 放浪記以前—序にかへて ["Before *Diary of a vagabond* – in place of a foreword"]. In December 1930, Kaizōsha published a 'sequel', *Zoku Hōrōki* 続放浪記 [*Diary of a vagabond continued*], which was comprised of six previously published and seven new sections, as well as the foreword "*Hōrōki*-go no ninshiki – jo ni kaete" 放浪記後の認識—序にかへて ["Recognition after *Diary of a vagabond* – in place of a foreword"], written especially

[71] Ogata lists the originally published parts of *Hōrōki* as they appear in the Kaizōsha edition as follows: 16, 14, 13, 5, 6, 7, 17, 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 12, 9 (Ogata 1994:299).

[72] "Sakaya no nikai" 酒屋の二階 ["Second floor of a liquor store"], published in August 1929, and "Tabi no furusato" 旅の古里 ["Home of the travel"], published in May 1930 (Takayama 2010: 29–30).

for this second volume, in which Hayashi shares her thoughts on her work after her newfound success (Takayama 2010:29–30).

However, this was only the first version of the text, and it is notable that already within its first incarnation as a book, *Hōrōki* underwent editorial changes altering its structure. In 1937, *Hōrōki* was included in the fifth volume of *Hayashi Fumiko senshū* [*Selected works of Hayashi Fumiko*], in which the first and second volume are merged and section titles removed. But the most widely read version of *Hōrōki* remains the one originally published in 1939 by Shinchōsha as *Ketteiban Hōrōki* (*Hōrōki: Definitive version*), heavily altered from the original Kaizōsha text through additions, changes and excisions (Takayama 2010:30). The changes between the original Kaizōsha version and the Shinchōsha *ketteiban* are not merely cosmetic: The literary language is radically different, deeply altering the style and flow of the novel – and with it also Hayashi Fumiko's narrative voice and the persona she projects as the protagonist, undoubtedly a calculated and conscious decision on her part as a writer. Yet the *ketteiban* is the version still being reprinted to this day, with contemporary editions also including *Hōrōki dai sanbu* 放浪記第三部 [*Hōrōki part three*], originally serialized in *Nihon Hyōron* 日本評論 between 1947 and 1949, when she published it as a single volume. It is worth noting then, strictly speaking, that the most widely read and most readily available version of *Hōrōki* is the one published during wartime and in accordance with the censorship guidelines of the time, even as the text exhibits sometimes stark contrasts with Hayashi Fumiko's wartime writing.

Ericson summarizes the language in the original Kaizōsha version as generally "colloquial, spontaneous, and sometimes melodramatic" (Ericson 1997:69), while the Shinchōsha *ketteiban* is distinguished by a more standard and composed style, with

longer paragraphs altering the novel's rhythm (ibid.). Takayama explains that the Kaizōsha version makes heavy use of onomatopoea, colloquialisms, and vulgarisms (*zokugo*), while sentences are often short or incomplete, giving the original text an impression of a poem (Takayama 2010:31). Kawamoto describes Hayashi's literary style in this early version as reflecting the bustle of the metropolis itself, the vocabulary and language corresponding to the environments Hayashi works or is situated in (café, factory), and her frequent use of the angular *katakana* representing the noise of the city (Kawamoto 2003:79). In a stark contrast to this language as a mirror of modernity, Hayashi utilizes pseudo-classical grammar in certain passages of the Shinchōsha *ketteiban*, typically by using the archaic suffix *-nari*, typical for the Heian period diaries. For Gardner, this linguistic hybridity is a defining feature of *Hōrōki*. Hayashi's employment of dialect, colloquialisms or onomatopoeia on the one hand, and elements of classical Japanese on the other, represents a break with the standardized *genbun icchi* prose[73] from which both the contemporary and classical language were excluded (Gardner 2006:29).

However, as Ericson points out, these elements of classical grammar are, in fact, not used properly (owing perhaps to Hayashi's lack of formal education, and thus ironically underlining the position of her narrator/protagonist) and serve mostly to set a certain tone in an attempt to elevate the lower-class content into a higher literary realm (Ericson 1997:70). Hayashi admits as much in her foreword to the Shinchōsha *ketteiban* when she expresses her discomfort (*fufukuna kimochi*) with the representative position *Hōrōki* (in its original form) occupies within her body of work, as she considers it to be 'written childishly' (*osanai moji de*). In her own words, Hayashi

[73] Term describing the unification of spoken and written language, which emerged between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

took the opportunity of publishing the *ketteiban* to improve upon parts of the text she deemed deficient, while, at the same time, she expresses her joy that young people in situations similar to hers are still reaching for the book years later (Ogata 1994:300).

1.2.6. *Hōrōki* and censorship

The fluidity of *Hōrōki* as a text and the amount of revisions it underwent is owed in part due to the frequency with which it was subject to censorship over the years. This is, of course, also an important point in the context of Hayashi Fumiko's wartime literature. Despite its runaway success, various aspects of the text were regarded as problematic by the authorities, and especially as the wartime year drew closer, Hayashi was undoubtedly made aware of the need for self-censorship and of the boundaries of literary expression. Already the original version from 1930 was subject to a considerable number of deletions: some 20 passages referencing the Great Kantō Earthquake and events related to it have been censored by the inclusion of *fuseji* 伏字 (censorship marks). The Kaizōsha edition contained several passages which violated laws which came into effect before the novel was reprinted in 1932, but have been overlooked by censorship authorities during this reprinting process. This later led to Hayashi being questioned on the grounds of lèse-majesté (*fukeizai*)[74], which in turn led to a stricter supervision of both herself and Kaizōsha by state censorship. This becomes visible in the 1937 *Hayashi Fumiko senshū* version, which is already significantly revised, and Hayashi alludes to her lack of input pertaining to these revisions in her afterword (Hirohata 2013:iii).

These revisions have continued in the 1939 Shinchōsha *ketteiban,* necessitated as

[74] Hirohata, however, does not give specific examples.

they were by the Second Sino-Japanese War, which was now in full swing. For instance, names of persons ideologically opposed to the state are removed (Hirohata 2013:iii). Further, in a 1941 edition published by Kaizōsha, poems by Ishikawa Takuboku 石川啄木 were completely removed against the wishes of both Hayashi and the publisher, as she again seems to indicate in the afterword to this edition. Kaizōsha itself was dissolved by the state a few years afterwards in the wake of the Yokohama incident (*Yokohama jiken* 横浜事件; Hirohata 2013:iii-iv). Finally, Hayashi revised the text in 1946, when she published a partially restored version of the 1930 original, in which about half of the *fuseji* originally put into the text were removed. *Hōrōki dai sanbu,* the 'third part' published after the war, is comprised of chapters that could not be published before due to their 'offensive' content. After its completion, Hayashi began work on another part, *Hōrōki dai yonbu* [*Diary of a vagabond part four*] in 1949. However, she quickly ceased this project in favor of *Ukigumo* 浮雲 (*Floating clouds*), her last finished novel (Hirohata 2013:iv).

At the same time, it is important to point out that Hayashi was not as strictly prosecuted for her writing as writers of proletarian literature even before the war years; as mentioned above, the perception of her texts and especially *Hōrōki* as *runpen* literature may have helped her avoid severe consequences. Despite restrictions she faced in her career, these only applied to specific works, never precluding her from publishing altogether. Aside from *Hōrōki,* examples include her novel *Joyūki* 女優記 (*Diary of an actress,* 1940) or the short story collection *Hatsutabi* 初旅 (*Maiden voyage,* 1941) for its depiction of extramarital affairs, then considered a violation of public morals (Ericson 1997:69). It seems quite clear from these examples that Hayashi's

works have been targeted by censorship during the wartime years moreso than before or after this period, which allows us to make several observations. The frequency with which Hayashi faced censorship did not impede upon the extent to which she was allowed to publish during wartime, and she was obviously not considered an ideological persona non grata by the authorities. It is, however, also safe to assume that this intensity of censorship was a clear signal to her as to what and how she was allowed to write. And in turn, it is also conceivable that this resulted in overt self-censorship or an 'overcorrection' on her part, which should be an important point to consider while examining the rhetoric of her wartime texts.

1.2.7. The contemporary reception of *Hōrōki*

Her reputation as a *runpen* writer seems to be at the root of Hayashi's own harsh remarks towards the proletarian literary movement. *Hōrōki* seems to have been met with skepticism among the intellectual class, if not outright rejection. Ericson cites contemporary reviews characterizing Hayashi's debut as a piece of "lumpen sentimentalism" (Ericson 1997:53) or "a poor girl's graffiti" (ibid.). An interesting assessment of *Hōrōki* can also be found in *Introduction to contemporary Japanese literature (1902-1935),* published in English by the Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai (The Society for International Cultural Relations) in 1939 and aimed at international readers, as it shows that criticisms leveled at the work after its release have persisted well after Hayashi became an established writer in Japan. Described as a "collection of fragmentary notes which [Hayashi] jotted down between hurried moments at different times and at different places, [it] is not, therefore, a work that has been developed fully in accordance with the scheme and composition of the novel form" (Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai 1958:192). Further, *Hōrōki* is "destitute of profound

reflections, of speculative thoughts, of a unified view of human life [...] [it] borders on nihilism and anarchism [...] Yet it is not compounded of a systematized ideology, but merely of explosive expressions of moods of self-abandonment and of ironies and resentment directed at others [...]" (Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai 1958:198–199). This brief glimpse into the contemporary reception of *Hōrōki* allows us to more precisely position Hayashi Fumiko within the literary circles at the time: commercially successful, but critically underappreciated, a 'popular' writer for the masses that a more intellectually minded audience had little interest in.

It seems ironic, then, that it is precisely those elements of *Hōrōki* which appear to have been mocked, criticized or shown as proof of its literary deficiency that have over time ensured the novel's longevity and endurance as a work of literature; even as an emblematic work of art or a time capsule of early Shōwa period. The perception of *Hōrōki* as a *shishōsetsu*, untypical as it may be in its form, even leads scholars such as Gardner to position the text within the realm of *junbungaku* (Gardner 2006:140). Of course, the general reading public – especially the public Hayashi explicitly aimed her novel at and that she saw herself as part of – could not care less about the degree of *Hōrōki*'s formal accomplishment as a novel, and the book became a magnificent and unexpected commercial success. *Hōrōki* and *Zoku Hōrōki*, both published in the same year, have sold an approximate 600 thousand copies within the first two years of their publication; notably, such sales numbers could not be achieved by other titles published by Kaizōsha in the same series of new Japanese literature, despite receiving a heavier advertising push (Ericson 1997:57). Financially secure and newly famous, Hayashi Fumiko had thus etablished herself as a professional author among a mass of readers. But the rather cold reception she received among the literary circles also provides a hint as to why she would never stop trying to prove herself as a 'legitimate'

writer, as I will show in the following section.

1.3. The development of Hayashi Fumiko's fiction in the pre-war years

Hayashi Fumiko followed up on *Hōrōki* with a number of short stories that share her debut novel's characteristic, autobiographical qualities, such as *Fūkin to sakana no machi* 風琴と魚の町 (*The accordion and fish town*, 1931) or *Mimiwa no tsuita uma* 耳輪のついた馬 (*The horse with an earring*, 1932), both told through the eyes of a child living in poverty, but maintaining a positive outlook on life (Fessler 1998:68). However, she quickly abandoned the autobiographical mode of writing and the modernism of *Hōrōki* in favor of more traditional, naturalist prose fiction in what Brown calls "one of the most surprising about-faces in the history of modern Japanese literature" (Brown 2001:157), influenced by her admiration for writers such as Guy de Maupassant (1850-1893) or her mentor Tokuda Shūsei, who similiarly focused on portraying the lower classes in an urban environment (ibid.). This move mirrors another duality emerging in debates within Japanese literary circles between the late Taishō and early Shōwa periods. Nakamura Murao 中村武羅夫 (1886-1949), for example, distinguished between *kyakkan shōsetsu* 客観小説 (objective fiction), which does not directly reflect the author's experiences on the one hand, and *shinkyō shōsetsu* 心境小説 (mental attitude fiction) projecting the author's internal state, as well as *watakushi shōsetsu* 私小説 (synonymous with *shishōsetsu*), which reveals the author's self-destructive tendencies, on the other (Ericson 1997:76). Tokuda Shūsei himself argued that writers should begin writing autobiographically and then move on to 'objective' fiction, which he deemed superior (ibid.). In this sense, Tokuda's

mentorship as well as Hayashi's own adherence to his literary ideals clearly comes through.

The marked difference between Hayashi's earliest texts and those from the early 1930s has led scholars and critics (as well as Hayashi herself, as mentioned in the beginning of this chapter) to divide her work into several phases. Itagaki Naoko, for example, separated her texts into periods of autobiographical fiction (*jiden shōsetsu*), objective fiction (*kyakkan shōsetsu*) and postwar fiction (*sengo shōsetsu*). While the difference between the former two can easily be ascertained by Hayashi's abandonment of the first-person perspective in favor of a more 'objective', authorial third-person perspective, Kang also points towards the conspicuous omission of Hayashi's wartime writing by Itagaki and the influence the wartime period had on her late work (Kang 2016:29). Literary scholar Jeonho Kang instead considers Hayashi's works *Obihiro made* 帯広まで [*To Obihiro*] and "Kaki", both published in 1935, as the point in which her literary style crystallizes and inaugurates a 'middle period' (*chūki* 中期), which would end with Japan's defeat in 1945[75] (ibid.). Kang also notes that Hayashi remains focused on the lower classes and lives of women in this 'middle period', but he also identifies an emergence of the middle class and their wartime experience on the pages of Hayashi's novels and short stories, and thus a more diverse class portfolio of characters (Kang 2016: 30). Hayashi would maintain the connection with the lower classes even in her war reportage, in which she at times focuses on the underclass in foreign countries as well (Kang 2016:31). Of course, Hayashi herself was

[75] Conversely, the 'early period' of her writing would correspond to her autobiographical works and her development of the 'objective' style (around 1930-1935), while a 'late period' would include the postwar years (1946-1951). Kang's categorization interestingly makes Hayashi's 'middle period' both the longest and the least researched.

leading a much more comfortable life following the success of *Hōrōki*, and the appearance of middle-class characters in her fiction therefore mirrors developments in her own life. This, in turn, makes her 'objective fiction' less removed from her own life experience than the vagabond persona she consistently projected onto the public would suggest.

Fessler points toward escapism and preoccupation with free will as important elements of Hayashi Fumiko's early fiction. Expanding on her own image as a wanderer, travel takes an important place in Hayashi's writing, as evidenced both by the numerous travelogues she published throughout her life and by her travelling fictional characters. Her protagonists often desire to leave their present situation by escaping to a distant place, and often succeed in doing so, if only temporarily (Fessler 1998:96). Of course, this is one more point in which Hayashi's characters mirror her own person and where her own life is in close proximity to her 'objective fiction'. Fessler connects this escapism to Hayashi's own avoidance of ideology, in that she steers clear of or glosses over philosophical arguments as soon as they appear in her writing. This avoidance of complicated philosophical ideas further translates to an avoidance of complications in the characters' personal lives , even as they ultimately tend to return to the source of their problems after a temporary escape (Fessler 1998:99). Going forward, it will be important to observe whether such aversion towards ideology or avoidance of its exploration will also hold true for her wartime texts; if so, this could reinforce either the notion that Hayashi aimed to construct inherently political texts as apolitical, or, on the contrary, that she wrote them as purely personal accounts.

During this time, a subtle development in Hayashi's view of free will can be observed: while in *Hōrōki*, it is closely tied to the optimism marking the text, in the

following years, Hayashi would explore circumstances in which individuals are forced to act against their will. Often, this takes the form of characters in arranged or unhappy marriages, which leads them to ruminate upon the meaning of marriage and societal expectations (Fessler 1998:105–106). With Hayashi's newfound success, then, the optimism of *Hōrōki* gives way to a perhaps more somber outlook on life, wihch would culminate in rather pessimistic and gloomy postwar works such as "Bangiku" ("Late chrysanthemum", 1948) and *Ukigumo* (*Floating clouds*, 1951).

Finally, Kang notes that a significant change within Hayashi's writing in her 'middle period' with her move towards a more complex, non-linear narrative structure. This non-linearity can be temporal – for example, the chronological beginning of her wartime short story "Anji" 黯爾 ("Darkness", 1941[76]) is nested in between the last two sections (Kang 2016:38) – but it is important to note that such loose chronology was employed by Hayashi already in *Hōrōki*. Hayashi also started employing multiple narrators, such as in *Obihiro made*, but perhaps most interestingly also utilized abrupt switches in narrative perspective during this time. Typically, these appear as parentheses in which the protagonist becomes the narrator, while the narrative voice switches from third person to first person (Kang 2016:37). In these instances, authorial narration is suspended in place of a brief aside detailing the respective character's internal state (Kang 2016:38). Hayashi would abandon this technique in her postwar works, which are characterized by a strong focus on psychology; indeed, Kang identifies this new focus on emotional states which already surfaces in Hayashi's 'middle period' as a tendency carried over to her late fiction such as "Bangiku" or

[76] While the original publication date could not be verified, this story was included in Hayashi's 1941 collection *Hatsutabi*. It is also possible this was the first time the story was published.

Ukigumo (ibid.).

1.3.1. "Seihin no sho"

Hayashi's most important post-*Hōrōki* autobiographical work is "Seihin no sho", originally published in *Kaizō* in November 1931; among Hayashi's early texts, "Seihin no sho" probably leans closest to a traditional form of *shishōsetsu*. This short story earned high praise from one of Hayashi's early mentors, Uno Kōji, among others (Takayama 2010:98; Aoki 1994:105). In this story, Hayashi depicts a happy life of a newlywed couple, in which the husband Yoichi 与一 tries to establish himself as a painter, making ends meet through odd jobs; the twice divorced narrator finally feels security and safety in this marriage, enabling her to overcome her painful past. Echoing *Hōrōki*, Aoki calls the story "a hymn to people who live in material privation but do not lose pride and integrity" (Aoki 1994:105). The protagonist-narrator's name in "Seihin no sho" is Kanayo 加奈代; she is a 23-year old, former café waitress who abandoned her profession upon meeting Yoichi (Mori 1992:106). While the protagonists/narrators of *Hōrōki* and "Seihin no sho" do not share names, and Kanayo's profession is not specified throughout "Seihin no sho", in both cases they are clearly based on Hayashi and her husband Ryokubin, whom she had met in 1926; this relationship brought about positive change and stability into her own life (Takayama 2010:100). Hayashi herself expressed her fondness for "Seihin no sho" (Mori 1992:106) and even followed it up with a sequel titled "Machi" 小区 ["Neighborhood"], published in November 1932 in *Chūō Kōron*. "Machi" takes place six years later, one year after Kanayo's return from abroad and shortly after Yoichi's enlistment in army reserve troops (Mori 1992:109). This also corresponds to events in Hayashi Fumiko's

life, as she had left for an extended trip to Paris right after publishing “Seihin no sho”.

Takayama notes that in “Seihin no sho”, Hayashi abandons the form of a diary in favor of a collage-style prose, but importantly, also still does not adhere to a traditional narrative structure of development (meaning a ‘setup’ of the story), twist and conclusion (*kishōtenketsu* 起承転結) (Takayama 2010:103). Aside from standard prose, “Seihin no sho” incorporates letters and poems, thus forming a link to *Hōrōki* despite its more traditional prose style; in this sense, “Seihin no sho” is significant within Hayashi’s body of work as a transitional text. Poems in “Seihin no sho” are also used in a manner similar to *Hōrōki*, as they punctuate important moments in the narrative. Due to the story’s relatively short length, only three poems are to be found within the text: one appears in the beginning as Kanayo reminisces about the physical abuse at the hands of her second husband; another, a Matsuo Bashō quotation, underlines the happiness of her present marriage; and the last poem appears as Kanayo awaits Yoichi’s return home, reassured of his love (Brown 1985:114). Brown also points out the similarity of the short, numbered sections of “Seihin no sho” to the diary entries of *Hōrōki*, as each of them always only deals with a single event (Brown 1985:115). This makes “Seihin no sho” an interesting junction between Hayashi’s earliest works (when she was still writing in a semi-autobiographical mode) and her ‘middle period’ (signaling her move towards ‘objective fiction’). It also remains untypical in its portrayal of a fulfilled relationship between a man and a woman, as such relationships generally become decidedly more unhappy in Hayashi’s following works (Brown 1985: 102).

The parallels between Hayashi Fumiko’s life and “Seihin no sho”, of course, also invite a reading of the work as a *shishōsetsu*, which further solidifies the link between “Seihin no sho” and *Hōrōki* and its position as the beginning of a transition for Hayashi

as an author. Takayama describes the form of "Seihin no sho" as a *shishōsetsu* approaching an essay (*zuihitsu*), and importantly points out that it is not necessary for Kanayo (who mostly appears in the text in the first person as *watashi*) to be introduced as anything beyond a housewife, as her audience is already aware she stands for the author of *Hōrōki* (Takayama 2010:101). Takayama also highlights Hayashi's stylization of Kanayo – at times glorified, at times needing rescue – and particularly what she calls an element of 'self-pity' (*jikorenbin*) through her pronounced position as a victim of her previous husband's abuse (starkly contrasted with Yoichi's purity) as notable elements of *shishōsetsu* in "Seihin no sho" (Takayama 2010:109).

The violent ex-husband in question would be familiar to the readers of *Hōrōki* as Hayashi's former partner Nomura Yoshiya; as he was referred to by his real name in *Hōrōki*, Nomura's later wife protested against his negative depiction in Hayashi's works. Hayashi wrote her a letter in reply, saying that she has to write like this in order to eat, asking the wife to understand and "laugh about it" (Takayama 2010:112). Conscious exploitation of sensational or scandalous episodes from the writer's own recent life and a public 'airing of dirty laundry' – regardless of the degree of veracity – are, of course, hallmarks of *shishōsetsu*. By moving away from the diary format of *Hōrōki* and towards a more traditional prose style in "Seihin no sho", Hayashi also moves closer to a traditional *shishōsetsu*. The text therefore provides a valuable example of the lasting appeal of this form for Hayashi, which she would also quite frequently utilize in her wartime texts. At the same time, by employing more markers of fiction than in *Hōrōki* (changed names, younger age of the protagonist, unknown profession), Hayashi also establishes her narrator as unreliable. This unreliability is utilized in a different way in the following example, where elements of Hayashi's own life can arguably be found between the lines of a text that appears fully fictional on the surface.

1.3.2. "Kaki"

Published in *Chūō Kōron* in September 1935, "Kaki" ("Oyster") is the last important landmark within Hayashi Fumiko's literary development before the war. In a way, this text marks Hayashi's definitive arrival as a writer of 'objective fiction' she was striving to become after *Hōrōki*. Hayashi herself has seen the text in this way, commenting on "Kaki" as the point at which she had finally written 'a real story' (*shōsetsurashii shōsetsu*) (Takayama 2010:114).

Rather untypically for Hayashi, at least among her early works, "Kaki" is told from a man's point of view. At least on the surface, Hayashi also completely forgoes any elements of autobiography or sentimentality. Instead, "Kaki" is a straightforward, unvarnished story of a struggling, possibly mentally challenged or ill man, who finds himself unable to deal with increasing demands of his workplace. The protagonist, Morita Shūkichi 森田周吉, sews tobacco pouches, but is unable to meet his weekly quota or adapt to machine production. He attempts to return to Shikoku with his girlfriend Tama たま , but is turned away by his family after his long absence and quickly returns to Tōkyō, where he is forced to work at a cheaper rate, and where Tama eventually separates from him and leaves for Chiba (Ericson 1997:76–77; Takayama 2010:117–118).

Takayama notes that "Kaki" appeared at an important juncture for Japanese literature, the so-called 'literary renaissance' (*bungei fukkōki* 文芸復興期) between 1933 and 1937, which followed the politically loaded period of proletarian literature and its essential disappearance after only about a decade. It was during this time that both the Akutagawa and Naoki Prize were founded (as awards for exceptional works of *junbungaku* and *taishū bungaku*, respectively), as well as a large number of literary

magazines, leading to an increased output by writers from different ideological and stylistic corners (Takayama 2010:114). It was also, as Takayama notes, the time during which numerous female authors came to prominence and started enjoying greater recognition. Notable examples include Uno Chiyo 宇野千代 (1897-1996) and her novel *Irozange* 色ざんげ (*Confessions of love*), which ran in *Chūō Kōron* between September 1933 and March 1934; Yoshiya Nobuko with *Otto no teisō* (see Part II, Chapter 2); or Sata Ineko with her novel *Kurenai* くれなゐ (*Crimson*), which was serialized in *Fujin Kōron* between January and May 1936. Takayama argues that *Kurenai* marks an evolution in Sata Ineko's work away from proletarian novels to a focus on personal issues as a working woman going through divorce (Takayama 2010:116); however, such move away from politics and ideology towards strictly personal matters (indeed, *Kurenai* is a classic example of a *shishōsetsu*[77]) can also be read as a deliberate attempt to avoid trouble with authorities, if not an outright *tenkō*[78] (see Part I, 2.2.2.). It is, of course, also important to note that despite the outwardly apolitical image of female authors (as was the case with Yoshiya and Hayashi) and an ostensibly apolitical nature of these highly successful works of fiction, their popularity made them suitable candidates for participating in state propaganda during the wartime years, as they would by default attract a large readership.

"Kaki" has earned widespread acclaim at the time of its publication, notably moreso than Hayashi's previous works, and it can be said that it was with this text that

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[77] Much like Sata Ineko, *Kurenai*'s protagonist Akiko is a writer married to another well-known writer, and their separation is unfolding in public. While married to Kubokawa Tsurujirō 窪川鶴次郎 (1903-1974), a literary critic, Sata took his name and originally also published as Kubokawa Ineko. Reclaiming her maiden name Sata therefore also meant a very public display of emancipation.

[78] For a study of Sata Ineko's *Kurenai* as an expression of *tenkō*, see Cullen 2010.

Hayashi Fumiko was finally recognized as a serious novelist. For example, in a review for the literary journal *Mita Bungaku* 三田文学, Kusakabe Noriko 日下典子 – previously critical of Hayashi's work – proclaimed that Hayashi "shines like a bright star" (Takayama 2010:117) with this text. Takayama mentions a similar attitude across other newspapers and magazines (ibid.); critical voices were apparently few and far between, one of them being Ozaki Shirō (see Part II, Chapter 6), who found "Kaki" to be a rather mediocre piece of literature (Takayama 2010:123). Later critics and scholars have acknowledged Tokuda Shūsei's influence on this text (Brown 2001:159); Tanaka, for instance, points out similarities between "Kaki" and Tokuda's story "Arakure" あらくれ ["Rowdy"], which depicts a craftsman suffering from a lung ailment, much like Hayashi's protagonist (T. Tanaka 2012:189). Enchi Fumiko highlighted the 'objectivity' of "Kaki" and its formal proximity to *junbungaku* (*jun-kyakkantekina kōsei*), as well as its lack of *shishōsetsu* elements, which single the story out from Hayashi's previous work (T. Tanaka 2012:182–183). But as I will show below, elements of *shishōsetsu* can arguably be found here as well, even if they are admittedly minor and rather obscured.

Kawasaki makes interesting points about "Kaki" and its relation to modernity and technology, even as these aspects are barely explicitly present in the text itself (Kawasaki 2011:95). This makes for an interesting comparison with *Hōrōki* and serves to establish links to Hayashi's early texts which are not readily obvious at first glance, especially as *Hōrōki* and "Kaki" appear as polar opposites in style, and as "Kaki" also was Hayashi's definitive statement on her own, desired literary evolution and move away from autobiographical writing. Kawasaki describes the protagonist Shūkichi as being in a 'dazed state' (*hōshin jōtai*), relating this condition to the modernization

process evolving in the background of the story – the industrial development towards machine production and Shūkichi's inability to keep step with it. This leads Kawasaki to describe "Kaki" as a story of a relationship between modernity and technology, and Shūkichi as a 'mechanical man' (*kikanteki ningen*) devoid of individuality and emotion, who ultimately becomes a mere medium of production (Kawasaki 2011:97). The detached quality of the text can therefore be read as a reflection of Hayashi's conscious attempt to write 'objective fiction', but also as a reflection of Shūkichi's mental state and therefore a subtle indictment of the dehumanization he faces as a worker.

To this end, Kawasaki cites a passage in which Shūkichi's employer, Togawa, speaks to Shūkichi about the growth of factory production and decline of handiwork as performed by Shūkichi (Hayashi 1977c:195). For Kawasaki, this passage brings the relation of capitalism and modern urban development within "Kaki" to the point, as well as the inseparable nature of modernity, mass production and consumption, and the ultimate decline of people such as Shūkichi himself (Kawasaki 2011:97). Shūkichi also exhibits a phobia towards technology, specifically towards modern modes of transportation, mentioning his fear of riding buses and trams (Hayashi 1977c:192); as Kawasaki points out, such phobias were not at all rare at the time, citing newspaper articles from 1935 in which the writers share their perception of then-new ways of public transportation like trams in Ginza or Asakusa as dangerous (Kawasaki 2011:98). Consequently, this phobia is reflective of broader attitudes within contemporary society, once again showing Hayashi's keen attention to her surroundings.

While "Kaki" is often seen as a radical departure from Hayashi's literary roots, especially due to its gloomy and pesimistic nature. At the same time, Hayashi's focus in "Kaki" still lies steadfastly on the urban underclass and the ordinary people (*shomin*) trying to find their place in a rapidly changing world. But perhaps more

surprisingly – given the ostensibly fictional nature of "Kaki" – several of the story's elements can be traced back to Hayashi Fumiko herself, offering a more autobiographical reading than is readily apparent at first glance.

One such example is Shūkichi's exit from Tōkyō to Shikoku, where he is rejected by his family and forced to return to the hostile capital yet again; here, Takayama draws a parallel to a passage in *Hōrōki* in which the protagonist returns to her hometown (Takayama 2010:124). Of course, the events do not exactly mirror those of Hayashi's own life, nor the way in which they were incorporated in *Hōrōki*, as its protagonist has left Tōkyō southward with her family and remained on the island of Honshū. It is nevertheless interesting that in "Kaki" Hayashi places the roots of her protagonist at the small southern island of Shikoku – far from the metropolitan centre of Tōkyō, yet much closer to her own place of origin, Kyūshū.

In an even closer reading of the parallels between protagonist and author, Shūkichi's intellectual simplicity and poverty reminds us of Fumiko's own lack of formal education and her underprivileged background, which effectively served to build up her image throughout her career – and with which she was surely confronted on a regular basis among the privileged literary circles. Shūkichi's inability to meet the demands of production and move away from handiwork to machine production, then, may also be rooted in Hayashi's sudden and immense success, which led to increased demand for her work. Indeed, hounded by the trauma of poverty, Hayashi was an extraordinarily prolific writer during her lifetime[79] and overwork was a

[79] Hayashi Fumiko's literary career was cut short by her early death, spanning only around 22 years between the publication of her first poetry collection (*Aouma o mitari*, 1929) and her last finished novel (*Ukigumo*, 1951). Shortly after her passing, Shinchōsha published her first *zenshū* in 1951, comprised of 23 volumes. While more numerous in number, these are slimmer than the 16 volumes of a later (and more complete) *zenshū* published by Bunsendō in 1977. Yet as already noted in previous chapters in relation to other authors, such 'complete works' are by no means truly complete. In Hayashi's case,

significant factor in her untimely passing from a cardiac arrest: at the time of her death in 1951, she left behind a number of unfinished novels and stories which she was working on simultaneously. However, Tanaka instead sees Shūkichi's girlfriend Tama as the stand-in for Hayashi Fumiko. Shūkichi's poor constitution, which confines him to working at home, reminds Tanaka of Hayashi's former (and, as depicted in *Hōrōki* and "Seihin no sho", allegedly abusive) partner Nomura Yoshiya, while Tama works in a restaurant, outside of the house and dealing with customers – much like the protagonist of *Hōrōki* and by extension Hayashi herself, an erstwhile café waitress. Both Shūkichi and Nomura would lash out at their partners (Tama/Hayashi), and both women subsequently leave (T. Tanaka 2012:189).

Perhaps most interestingly, Shūkichi's technophobia was indeed shared by Hayashi herself, who admitted to it in a number of her writings. Shortly before "Kaki", in the July 1935 issue of *Shinchō*, Hayashi published an autobiographical short story titled "Jinsei-fu" 人生賦 ["Life poem"], in which the first-person narrator (*watashi*) attends a screening of a film based on her literary work and describes her feelings of unease this inspires within her, even doubting her own mental constitution. She ruminates about the phobia (*kyōfushō*) or irrational fears she had been experiencing lately, which make her avoid meeting people. In the afterword ("Oigaki" 追ひ書き) to the fifth volume of *Hayashi Fumiko senshū* (released in 1937), Hayashi mentions that she started to experience such fears or phobias in the wake of her return from Paris; this leads Tanaka to conclude that Shūkichi's mental fragility is, in fact, a reflection of Hayashi's own (T. Tanaka 2012:190).

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they omit a significant number of both fictional and non-fictional works, as well as much of Hayashi's journalistic writing.

The correspondence between “Jinsei-fu” and “Kaki” is especially interesting in their seemingly deliberate contrasting of autobiographical and ‘objective’ fiction. Already the title of “Jinsei-fu” hints at a life narrative or at least a story based on the author’s life, and much like in the case of “Seihin no sho” – where little information is divulged on the protagonist in order for readers to fill in the blanks – the unnamed film in “Jinsei-fu” clearly stands for the first film adaptation of *Hōrōki*, which indeed came out in the same month (June 1935). It is also interesting to note that Hayashi’s phobia, which she seems to share with the fictional Shūkichi, is triggered by another product of modernity, namely film. Due to the modernity of the medium and especially the novelty of sound film, it is easy to imagine the uncanny effect a film based on Hayashi’s novel – itself, in turn, based on her own life – would have on the author herself. Seeing her own work commodified as a product of mass consumption and portrayed by a different person – and in the process losing control of her own image she seemed eager on crafting – might have elicited complicated feelings within Hayashi, and these may well be reflected through Shūkichi’s own struggles with modernity and mass consumption. Finally, it may be the title of the story itself hinting at its autobiographical elements, with Hayashi hidden from plain view inside her male protagonist – and perhaps not even really there after all – like pearls in oysters.

1.4. Chapter résumé: Framing Hayashi Fumiko’s literature

In this chapter, I have shown how Hayashi Fumiko’s social background had formed her as an author, and how her literature has developed in the years leading up to the war. In this sense, her early texts can form a framework against which her wartime writing can be compared and through which we can better examine how and to what extent constitutive elements of her literary expression and style were utilized.

Interesting points for the wartime context already arise in the years before Hayashi established herself professionally: as I have shown, an association with leftist radical literary circles was a formative experience for her as an author, as it was during this period when she was first able to get her poetry published and make important literary connections. While Hayashi had disawoved any political connection in the later years and vehemently rejected any political labels, early poems such as "Jokō no utaeru" show a clear influence of her political environment, which can still be found in *Hōrōki*, as exemplified by her Mount Fuji poem in which she boldly asserts an individual opposition to this national symbol. Hayashi's stated aversion towards politics and ideological lanes can therefore be read, I would argue, as a lack of earnest interest in political matters, and possibly also as a strategy to remain accessible to the broadest possible spectrum of potential readers. Of course, her attempts to distance herself from political discourse will be an important point to keep in mind going forward when examining her wartime texts as propaganda. As already shown in Chapter 4, texts from other authors concerning the war have rarely been politically mute. Attempts at a conscious distancing from politics (such as in the case of Ozaki Shirō) have not been received enthusiastically by critics, and have also apparently failed to resonate with readers.

Hayashi Fumiko's debut novel *Hōrōki* emerges as a paradigmatic text for an examination of both Hayashi's literary style and her literary persona. This is in large part due to its ostensibly autobiographic nature on the one hand, and relatively heavy (and seamlessly integrated) elements of fiction on the other. However, it must also be noted that the wealth of scholarship on *Hōrōki* is helpful in ascertaining the multitude of ways in which the novel can be read and interpreted, allowing us to better appreciate the richness and polyvalence of the text. While the diary form of *Hōrōki* is

indebted to the novel being based on Hayashi's own 'poetic diaries' (*uta nikki*) she had been keeping for years prior to their literary reworking and publication, the autobiographical mode of writing is also in line with its prevalence in 1930s literature. Hayashi's desire to emancipate herself from categories such as *joryū bungaku* and to instead establish herself alongside male writers, as noted by Ericson, was perhaps one of the reasons she would quickly start abandoning overtly autobiographical writing, even as autobiographical elements would remain in her texts throughout her life. Hayashi's pioneer status as a female writer traveling to war zones, which she would establish in the early wartime years (especially throughout 1938), then, perhaps also attests to this desire to break free from the category of a 'woman writer'.

Hayashi's diary is quite unusual in its form and exhibits stylistic idiosyncrasies which she would, in different ways, carry over to her later writing as well. Especially the intertwining of prose and poetry would become something of a trademark for Hayashi Fumiko and can be found in many of her later texts, and as shown above (on examples of both *Hōrōki* and "Seihin no sho"), poems often punctuate the prose or interact with it in a deliberate way. As a diary, *Hōrōki* is also highly stylized, both in its jumbled chronology and 'staccato' nature as well as in its employment of language. While these stylistic elements are quite prominent in the original form of *Hōrōki* as published in 1930, Hayashi would transform the text in the subsequent years and mute them considerably in the 'definitive version' (*ketteiban*) published in 1939, where the language is comparatively 'tame' and close to standard Japanese. Given this trajectory, approach is therefore to be expected in her wartime writing. The stylistic boldness of *Hōrōki* in its original iteration, however, can also be interpreted as a literary reflection of Japan's modernity and the fast pace of life in the metropolis at the time, a reflection that would perhaps be less accurate in the wartime years given the political

developments, as well as the increasingly strict inhibition of artistic expression.

Indeed, Hayashi Fumiko emerges as a keen observer of her surroundings and the environment she inhabits in her early literary texts. Being able to combine this talent for observation with an ability to respond to the curiosity and desires of the reading public seems to be an important factor in her success. Coming from the *runpen* underclass, Hayashi was able to give an authentic account of such a life with *Hōrōki*, and while originally not held in high regard by her literary contemporaries, the text could satisfy the curiosity of readers who sought out such accounts. Hayashi also utilizes the genre of *shishōsetsu* in a creative and even subversive way in *Hōrōki*, as such texts would usually grant their readers an insight into lives of established writers. With *Hōrōki*, Hayashi had instead exposed the life of a working, independent woman – a novel phenomenon at the time. There is little doubt that readers were especially curious to read about the life of a café waitress, an image that also helped Hayashi to establish herself as a bold, unusual and provocative writer. We can therefore conclude that Hayashi had a very perceptive understanding of the literary market and the literary desires of the 'masses' – and I would argue that this is one of the most important characteristics of her career to be considered in the context of her wartime writing as well. Having cultivated an image of a 'vagabond' and understanding there is a broad market for texts concerning the war (both due to the publishers' stimulation of it as well as the readers' concern for their loved ones at war, or just curiosity about life aborad) there is little doubt that Hayashi recognized both an opportunity to keep publishing during the wartime, as well as her own suitability for such writing given her public perception.

These formative elements of *Hōrōki* can still be traced in "Seihin no sho", which has an important place within the Hayashi Fumiko canon as a transitional text. While

written in a more conventional style, Hayashi still employs poetry to emotionally punctuate the text, while the prose itself can be read as a thinly veiled form of a diary. The element of *shishōsetsu,* however, is much stronger in this story, now conforming to the more traditional paradigm of this genre as a voyeuristic peek into the life of an established writer. Even though she gave her narrator/protagonist and her husband different names, the parallels to Hayashi's own life are easily traceable in "Seihin no sho" and are underscored by relatively explicit connections to *Hōrōki,* such as the already mentioned employment of poetry, references to the protagonist's past life as a café waitress, or her previous relationships. This once again shows Hayashi's awareness of her readership and an understanding of the public's curiosity about her own life. "Seihin no sho" also proves Hayashi's continuous interest in writing within the *shishōsetsu* paradigm, this text perhaps being the most overt example of this genre within her early writing, and her ability to utilize it in creative ways.

In the final example of this chapter, Hayashi seems to attempt to consciously erase the stylistic traces to *Hōrōki* in "Kaki" in order to establish herself as a writer of 'objective fiction'; in other words, as a writer not writing about herself. The protagonist of this story is male, the text is devoid of the sentimentality characteristic for her previous texts, and there are notably no poems interspersed within it. However, a closer reading of "Kaki" still reveals parallels – if tenuous – to Hayashi Fumiko's life. Originally from Shikoku in southern Japan, Shūkichi is a member of the lower class (and could perhaps be described as a member of the lumpen proletariat) and struggles with increasing demands on his own production, perhaps echoing the increased demand for Hayashi Fumiko as a writer. Shūkichi's relationship with his girlfriend Tama is also vaguely reminiscent of Hayashi's own past relationship with Nomura Yoshiya as alluded to in both *Hōrōki* and "Seihin no sho", even as parts of Hayashi

would then be 'concealed' in both of these characters. While the text can hardly be interpreted as a *shishōsetsu* in a traditional sense, it still shows that Hayashi's own personal experience seemed to remain at the core of even those texts which on the surface appear the most distant from it. Indeed, as Hayashi would become more successful and upwardly mobile, the texts she published in the 1930s in general feature more middle-class characters and their concerns as Hayashi had become more acquainted with this new life herself. Importantly, "Kaki" still comments and reflects on the modernity of Japan, even as this commentary is much more subtle and much less enthusiastic than it was in *Hōrōki*. The detached quality of the prose and lack of sentimentality are just as important to Shūkichi's misery as the fast-paced, kaleidoscopic nature of *Hōrōki* were to its protagonist's unrelenting optimism and ambition.

Importantly, Hayashi Fumiko published "Kaki" towards the end of 1935, with the war drawing ever closer. Its positive reception within the literary circles and among critics hitherto dismissive of Hayashi's writing also marks her definitive arrival on the literary scene as a 'serious' writer capable of writing *junbungaku*. This is perhaps one of the most salient points pertaining to her later prolific activity during the wartime. As I have shown while discussing *Hōrōki,* Hayashi's first novel had become a target of censorship before and especially during the war years, alongside other texts which have been deemed as not conforming to the idea of public morals or censorship laws. And yet, Hayashi would continue to be employed by media outlets and government-associated initiatives such as the *pen butai* in order to produce state-sanctioned propaganda.

I argue that examining Hayashi's early fiction provides important insight into this apparent paradox. Having established herself as a popular writer with a keen

understanding of the 'masses' and the literary market, she would be able to draw in a large readership and in turn expose it to narratives approved by institutions of propaganda. At the same time, she was able to prove herself as a writer of *junbungaku* with "Kaki", and persuade even the more intellectually minded literary circles of her capabilities as a writer. As she developed her literary style throughout the early 1930s, then, Hayashi proved herself to be an author with a universal appeal, and therefore especially attractive and valuable as a potential vessel for propaganda. As I will discuss in further chapters, Hayashi had her own motivations to turn her attention to war, as she saw an opportunity to develop her literary sensibilites and find new inspiration for her work, which she found to be increasingly stagnant. In the next chapter, I will focus on Hayashi Fumiko's travelogues from the pre-war years, which will become another important point of comparison for the texts produced on the basis of her wartime travels. As I aimed to demonstrate in this chapter, Hayashi Fumiko's fiction was intimately interwoven with her literary persona; in that sense, her fictional and non-fictional texts stand in a mutual exchange rather than being two separate literary entities. The literary persona she constructed in her fiction will therefore, to a certain extent, will also be present in her non-fictional texts, and these will in turn serve as records of experiences that influenced her fictional writing.

2. Hayashi Fumiko's travelogues before the Second Sino-Japanese War (1930-1936)

Hayashi Fumiko's tendency to incorporate elements of her own life into narratives that are partly, or purportedly fully, fictional (one example would be "Kaki"), as described in the previous chapter, call attention to her non-fictional writing as well. Hayashi has left behind an impressive quantity of journalistic writing, essays, travelogues, and other forms of non-fictional writing, which nonetheless remains in

the shadow of her more famous works of fiction; as Fessler notes, only a small number of her travelogues were compiled in her *zenshū* (Fessler 1998:74). An examination of Hayashi's work also reveals the importance of travel, escapism and wandering as motifs in her fiction; indeed, Hayashi was an avid traveler herself and recorded her travel experiences in many travelogues and essays before, during and after the war. Yet only a comparatively small number of these have been collected in her *zenshū*, and most of them remain largely obscured from view, archived only in the magazines and newspapers they originally appeared in.

Over twenty years ago, Fessler argued for more attention to Hayashi's travelogues, as they "show her growth as a writer and display much of her experimentation with style and structure" (Fessler 1998:74). After the success of *Hōrōki*, Hayashi commented on her frustration with her own work in the autobiographical essay "Bungakuteki jijoden", mentioning that she was finally able to free herself from the long period of writing 'miscellanies' (*zatsubun*) and now seeks to establish a new beginning (*saishuppatsu*) with her novels and poetry (Hayashi 1977a:9). And already in *Hōrōki*, she voices her desire to leave Japan (*naichi*) for far-away countries such as France or Russia (Horiguchi 2012a:136), both of which she would eventually visit and write about, as I will discuss in greater detail below. Further, Fessler argues that since longing is such a central factor in the existence of *Hōrōki*'s protagonist, travel could supply Hayashi with a feeling of longing and nostalgia for home after having achieved professional success and material comfort (Fessler 1998:72). These points should highlight the importance of Hayashi Fumiko's travelogues for the construction of her literary persona, as well as their influence on her fictional writing.

Pertaining to Hayashi's insertion of her self into her narratives, Fessler also points out that Hayashi often incorporated her experiences abroad into her fiction (Fessler

1998:78), and the numerous travelogues she published serve as a more direct account of those experiences. Aside from Fessler's monograph, Hayashi's travel writing and especially a select few works of her war reportage have received more attention since; however, this attention remains relatively sparse. The importance of Hayashi's non-fictional writing and travelogues for the development of her fiction – or perhaps more accurately, the travels which served as raw material for subsequent fictional settings and characters – therefore seems rather understated in current research. Considering Hayashi's conscious construction of an image of herself as a vagabond, or an outsider, her travelogues should also be seen as a contribution to this image, rather than fully authentic and objective records of her travel experiences. Last, but not least, the travelogues Hayashi published before the outbreak of war in 1937 can serve as a valuable point of comparison with her wartime travelogues and war reportage, allowing us to perhaps better differentiate between Hayashi's own (prewar) voice as an author, and the (later, wartime) voice guided by state propaganda.

Such comparison is not only warranted by a similar literary style. While Hayashi's arguably most famous and publicized trip took place during the wartime, when she became the first *pen butai* (see Part I, 2.1.2.) member to reach the city of Hankou as it fell to Japanese forces in October 1938, she also famously undertook a long trip via Siberia and Europe to Paris in late 1931. She eventually stayed in Paris for almost a year, as the booming sales of *Hōrōki* provided her with steady income (Takayama 2010:64). But perhaps even more importantly in the context of her later wartime travels, Hayashi's very first trips abroad as an author took place before her journey to Paris, when she visited China, Taiwan, Manchuria or Sakhalin, all of which were not yet annexed by the Japanese empire during this time (Yamashita 2015a:47).

Contrasting with Hayashi's effort to develop a consistent, 'objective' literary style

throughout the early 1930s – culminating with "Kaki" in 1935 – Fessler points out that the literary style of Hayashi's travelogues can differ significantly between texts from the same time, such as those from her European travels and sojourn in Paris (Fessler 1998:78). Examining the style of Hayashi's European travelogues, Fessler highlights certain tendencies within them: describing people she encounters in brief sentences, paying attention to their actions rather than appearance, and an overall terseness reminiscent of reportage. At the same time, Hayashi's sparse observations tend to lead to extended conjenctures about the situations she encounters (Fessler 1998:81). Often, Hayashi forms her impressions based on her perception and observation and less on conversations with the people she meets; a good example of this are Hayashi's disparaging comments on the state of the Soviet Union and what she perceives as overall misery in the wake of the 1917 revolution[80] (Fessler 1998:82; Takayama 2010:74–75). Takayama makes another important observation within Hayashi's travel writing: differently from travelogues written by Miyamoto Yuriko or Yokomitsu Riichi, writers with more privileged and intellectual backgrounds, Hayashi places great importance on living as one of the people in the destination she visits (Takayama 2010:76). Consistently with that image and Hayashi's fictional writing (*Hōrōki* in particular comes to mind), Takayama describes Hayashi's accounts of foreign people and customs (*fūzoku*) as vivid, yet not especially profound, and as firmly rooted in her 'ordinary' (*shomin*) identity (Takayama 2010:78).

Since the research on Hayashi Fumiko's travels and the texts she produced based on them is quite sparse (most of it tending to focus on her time in and writings from Paris), a close look at the texts themselves is necessary in order to establish points of

[80] Discussed in Part III, 2.3.

comparison with her later, wartime texts. This comparison, in turn, will better allow us to discern patterns within Hayashi's own writing and those of propaganda. However, the texts are also useful in understanding the extent to which the Japanese language of propaganda had already been present in the pre-war years. If propaganda is to be considered a consistent enterprise (see 1.5.) and one that develops over a long periods of time, then, Hayashi's pre-war travel texts are vital in an examination of her wartime writing. Especially important to this framework are Hayashi's travelogues from China, as she would visit the country both before and during the war. As I will show in the next section, Hayashi's earliest travelogues from Taiwan – Japan's first colony – offer valuable insights that help to contexualize her wartime texts.

2.1. Taiwan, January-February 1930

Hayashi Fumiko's first travel to *gaichi* 外地 – the colonized or occupied 'outer' territories of Japan – took place between January and February 1930, with Hayashi traversing the entire island over the course of three weeks (Hayashi 1930b:89). The occasion for this trip was the Women's Culture Lecture (*Fujin bunka kōenkai* 婦人文化講演会) conference, organized by the newspaper *Fujin Mainichi Shinbun* 婦人毎日新聞, in which Hayashi took part as a member of a group of writers representing *Nyonin Geijutsu*. Despite the message of women's liberation that became increasingly pronounced over the course of *Nyonin Geijutsu*'s existence, activities of Japanese women on the colonial soil did not serve to liberate Taiwanese women themselves, but rather (quite paradoxically) to assimilate them into the *ryōsai kenbo* ideology of the empire (Yang 2006:103). The conference took place as a commemoration of *Fujin Mainichi Shinbun*'s first anniversary. The guests – ten in total – included the (male)

journalist Matsuzaki Tenmin 松崎天民 (1878-1934), as well as authors associated with *Nyonin Geijutsu* such as Ikuta Hanayo 生田花世 (1888-1970) or Mochizuki Yuriko 望月百合子 (1900-2001) (ibid.). Yang notes that this trip was not a success, fraught as it was by tensions within the group, despite its sensational outward appearance (Yang 2006:106); as I will show below, Hayashi herself was not shy to air out her grievances with the other speakers on the pages of *Nyonin Geijutsu*, even as she herself faced rather harsh criticism for her writing on Taiwan in local media.

According to the reporting in the newspaper *Taiwan Minpō* 台湾民報, Hayashi expressed a wish to introduce Taiwan 'properly' (*yoku shōkai shimashō*) to the Japanese readers once she returns home (Yang 2006:106). It is important to note that Hayashi consistently refers to Japan as *naichi* 内地 – the 'inner' territory or land – and Taiwan as a colony, or *shokuminchi* 植民地, in her Taiwan texts[81]. In doing so, Hayashi assumes a colonial gaze, a position of power which is rather at odds with her conscious self-stylization as a voice from the margins in Japan. Hayashi published a number of texts related to her trip to Taiwan between 1930 and 1931[82]; in this section, I will mainly focus on her publications in *Nyonin Geijutsu* and *Kaizō*. Already these early texts from Taiwan provide us with interesting examples of how Hayashi utilized the language of colonialism (which would later evolve into the language of nationalism) on the one hand, while on the other trying to reconcile her privileged position with

[81] In order to display Hayashi's use of these terms more clearly, I will also use the terms *naichi* and 'colony' when referring to or quoting from Hayashi's texts.

[82] For a full list of publications (as well as the conference schedule), see Yang 2006.

her effort to come across as a part of the 'ordinary people' (*shomin*).

Hayashi made her first contribution while still in Taiwan or shortly after her return, publishing a brief letter alongside Ikuta Hanayo and Mochizuki Yuriko in an article titled "Taipei yori" 台北より ["From Taipei"] in the February 1930 issue of *Nyonin Geijutsu*. In this brief letter, Hayashi merely mentions the exotic impression Taiwan left on her and not much else of substance (Hayashi 1930a:110), an impression she would reinforce in the pair of travelogues that came out in the following month. In "Taiwan o tabi shite" 台湾を旅して ["Traveling through Taiwan"], published in the March 1930 issue of *Nyonin Geijutsu*, Hayashi mentions that Taiwan is more exotic than she had imagined it in the *naichi*, and how she was dazed by the scenery and its beautiful mountains and rivers (Hayashi 1930b:89). Expressing this sentiment, Hayashi at once shares a positive image of the country as beautiful, but her expectations for Taiwan to be more similar to Japan than it is in reality also betray a perception of Taiwan as belonging to her own country, i.e., a colony.

Hayashi further differentiates – or more precisely 'others' – the Taiwanese language (as *dogo* 土語; Hayashi 1930b:89) or people (as *dojin* 土人; Hayashi 1930b:90) by employing the then commonly used *kanji* for earth (*do* 土), now commonly recognized as an ethnic slur; literally, they would translate to 'earth language' and 'earth people', invoking a more primitive way of life compared to the 'civilized' Japan. In the travelogue "Taiwan fūkei – Forumosa ōdanki"[83] 台湾風景—フォルモサ縦断記— ["Taiwan scenes – record of crossing], published in the March 1930 issue of *Kaizō*, she

[83] Further only "Taiwan fūkei".

emphasizes the exotic nature of Taiwan by listing the foreign foods she encounters[84]. For the locals who sell them, she uses the word *dojin* 土人 (Hayashi 1930c:145). That Hayashi's flagrant use of such vocabulary and her concurrent, ostensible aversion to politics serve to illustrate how thoroughly normalized this language had apparently been by 1930. This, further, makes the ease which it would be used as Japan's colonial reach expanded in the following years leading up to and during the war at the time of Hayashi's writing all the less surprising. It is therefore difficult to ascribe conscious political agency to Hayashi due to the employment of such rhetoric during the wartime years. Yet it is nevertheless important to stress that regardless of her intention (or perhaps rather its lack), Hayashi's trafficking in colonialist language and her active engagement in colonialist discourse erases the identity and culture of the colonized Taiwanese people. In the perhaps most explicit example of Hayashi's othering of Taiwan, she describes it as a place of contrasts where dirt and beauty mingle, a place one cannot see in the *naichi*, and she even describes Taipei (specifically its Dadaocheng district) as a 'city of thieves' (*nusubitoshi* 盗人市; Hayashi 1930c:146). By highlighting the dangers of this foreign place and openly associating it with images of dirt and crime (in a notable contrast to the *naichi*, where such sights are supposedly unseen), Hayashi's Taiwan texts already anticipate the tropes that would become so common in the later wartime propaganda and works of wartime literature, and perhaps serve as proof that the nationalist language employed therein was by no means new by the time the war broke out.

Her position as representative of the colonizer unacknowledged, Hayashi instead

[84] Hayashi's attention to food also forms a subtle link to *Hōrōki*, although differently from that novel, she indulges in her appetite instead of suffering from hunger. This shift, too, belies the privileged position she occupies within the colony.

actively positions herself as an outsider within her surroundings. In "Taiwan fūkei", the foreignness of the land which she, nevertheless, perceives as a part of Japan inspire ambivalent feelings within her, as she notes that "having not left Japan, I felt like a stranger (*etoranze*)" (Hayashi 1930c:144). This utterance is interesting because it seems to complicate Hayashi's otherwise unquestioning acceptance of the privileged, colonial position she occupies as a Japanese: she recognizes she is a 'stranger' in this land, and while she recognizes it as a part of the *naichi*, she does not feel at home.

Hayashi does mention meeting prominent members of local intelligentsia, such as the founder of the Taiwanese People's Party Lin Hsien-tang 林獻堂 (1881-1956), but she does not dwell on them at all apart from listing out a few names; instead, she quickly jumps to the Japanese emigrants (referred to as *naichijin*) and their hard work on the Taiwanese soil (Hayashi 1930b:89). That Hayashi would just paper over meeting with such influential people probably has less to do with any kind of political agenda and rather signals an authentic alienation from the intellectual class, which is plausible given her background. It is worth keeping in mind that Hayashi's travelogues were published months before *Hōrōki* was finished, and therefore during a time when she was not yet established as an author, nor enojoyed the material privilege her success would later bring her.

This alienation is also apparent in Hayashi's frustration with the other attendees' speeches during the conference: she describes how the Matsuzaki Tenmin spoke about the Meiji-era (1868-1912) recitalist Kumoemon (1873-1916), journalist Kitamura Kaneko 北村兼子 voiced her ambitions – if not outright rallied the crowd – to become a politician, Ikuta Hanayo spoke about 'distant' (*tooi*) literature and Mochizuki Yuriko about French women (Hayashi 1930b:91), all clearly topics of little concern to the

common people in Taiwan. Not so Hayashi, who writes she read 'cheap poems' (*chachi na shi*) and 'chatted about poverty' (*binbō na mandan*) when it was her turn to speak (ibid.). Not only that, Hayashi also mentions in "Taiwan o tabi shite" how the *ryōsai kenbo* propaganda, which was the at the heart of this conference, "made [her] boil more than the Taiwanese heat" (ibid.). These examples show us that while Hayashi was indeed writing from a colonizer's position, she was also critical towards the gender doctrine she found so stifling in *naichi* – and this position is consistent with the stylization of her protagonist, and by extension her narrative voice, in *Hōrōki*, which was being published at the same time. Yet they also illustrate her active pursuit of an image of a marginalized member of the underclass, which she would further cultivate in her later travelogues as well. Frustrated with the privileged circles she was nevertheless a part of during her trip to Taiwan, Hayashi instead turned her attention to the lower classes in her travelogues: a rickshaw driver married to a Japanese woman, women who died after an explosion in a firecracker factory, or a poor Japanese woman sold to the boss of a hot spring guesthouse (*onsen ryokan*; Yang 2006:107).

The *ryokan* woman is an especially interesting example, as she seems to be the subject of Hayashi's later text "Shokuminchi de atta onna" 植民地で会つた女 ["The woman I met in the colony"], published as part of Hayashi's short story collection *Kanojo no rireki* 彼女の履歴 [*Her personal history*] in June 1932. Yang describes "Shokuminchi de atta onna" as a "nonfictional text written in the style of a short story" (Yang 2006:107), presumably meaning that while it is written as prose, it describes a real story as related to Hayashi Fumiko on her trip. The text follows the history of a Japanese maid called Oyō, who escaped her miserable life in Japan by coming to seek fortune in Taiwan with her husband. Unable to find his footing as a salesman among

the native competition, the husband ultimately fell sick to an endemic disease, and only escaped death thanks to assistance from a Taiwanese man. Falling into debt, the husband sold Oyō to pay it off through her work in the *ryokan*, and eventually went back to Japan, leaving Oyō behind and never to be heard from again (ibid.).

As Yang points out, cases like that of Oyō – of immigrant Japanese women coming from poverty and working in Taiwan as helpers (*otetsudai*) or in sex work (*fūzoku*) – often fell prey to human trafficking. To Hayashi's credit, Yang highlights that accounts focusing on such women, like "Shokuminchi de atta onna", are exceedingly rare (Yang 2006:107). Further, by portraying a Japanese woman as the victim of human trafficking and a wealthy Taiwanese man as the perpetrator in this constellation, Hayashi reverses the dynamic of the colonizer and colonized in this story (Yang 2006:108). Yet rather than complicating the reality of colonialism by showing a more diffuse dynamic of colonial exploitation, it is worth mentioning that Hayashi does not devote the same amount of attention to the plight of the Taiwanese underclass. The focus on Oyō, a Japanese immigrant, is in stark contrast to the way she mentions tragedy befalling the Taiwanese themselves in her earlier travelogues. In "Taiwan o tabi shite", for instance, she merely writes:

> "I heard about a firecracker factory exploding, and that many local worker women (*dojin no jokō-san*) have died. I also heard how a local farmer girl (*kosakunō no dojin no musume*) was killed by XX[85] after eating two sticks of sugar cane she made herself. Also stories of thugs, or about criminals (exclusively locals [*dojin nomi*]) driven out of the island […]" (Hayashi 1930b:90–91)

Utterances such as these not only further confirm Yang's argument that Hayashi herself affirms (*jiko kakunin*) her perspective as a (superior) citizen of the Japanese

[85] The censorship marks in the text (*fuseji*) suggest that the identity of the perpetrator (person or institution) was known to Hayashi, but could not be published.

empire (Yang 2006:107), but also show her propensity to associate the colonized Taiwanese explicitly with criminal behavior. It is then important to note that the conference Hayashi partook in faced clear disapproval from local women's groups and Taiwan's intellectual youth, who voiced their disappointments at the lectures in local media (Yang 2006:106). Even more remarkably, despite her outward desire to distance herself from the rest of the conference attendees and the intellectual class, Hayashi herself became the target of harsh criticism. On March 8, 1930, *Taiwan Minpō* published an article titled "Hayashi Fumiko no 'Taiwan fūkei' o bakusu – *Kaizō* sangatsugō" ["Refuting Hayashi Fumiko's 'Taiwan scenes' – *Kaizō*, March issue"], criticizing Hayashi Fumiko's language in her travelogue, especially the usage of the word *domin* and the aforementioned epithet 'city of thieves'. In general, Hayashi's travelogue is dismissed as being superficial and deficient in literary quality, with the reporter comparing it to a middle-school pupil's report. The article further argues that someone like Hayashi should expose the darker sides of Japanese presence in Taiwan; her travelogue, however, does not offer a full picture of the reality of colonization (Yang 2006: 107), and shows no concern for the Taiwanese people or an effort to approach them, instead only reflecting Hayashi's own and very personal impressions (Ishizuki 2005:8).

While Hayashi's Taiwan texts have only received limited scholarly attention so far, they provide valuable context for her later wartime texts. On the one hand, Hayashi's conscious and explicit distancing from her literary peers and a stated desire to approach Taiwan and its people in earnest – and importantly, her revulsion at the *ryōsai kenbo* ideal she was expected to propagate – suggest a lack of alignment with Japan's nationalist politics on her part. It also bears repeating that Hayashi, much to her expressed dismay, was rather seen as a left-leaning author at the outset of her

career, perhaps most so around the time of her Taiwan trip. At the same time, the ease with which she engages in colonialist language (evident in her use of the words *dogo* and *dojin*) and ethnic tropes ('city of thieves', 'dirt and beauty') is undeniably aligned with state ideology. The fact that such language permeated liberal and progressive media outlets such as *Nyonin Geijutsu* and *Kaizō* (which was often in an antagonistic relationship with the censorship institutions) suggests, then, that nationalist tropes found in wartime literature (as examples in Chapter 4 show) and, indeed, in Hayashi's own wartime texts, have been perfectly acceptable in public discourse across the ideological spectrum already years before the breakout of the war. That Hayashi's travelogues were met with a rather harsh response in Taiwan and her critics pointed out these flaws already at the time also hints at Japan's ideological shift and isolation the country apparently found itself in already in 1930. Going forward, I will examine how consistent she would be in her positioning when visiting other countries and meeting their people, native and immigrant, starting with her visit to China later that same year.

2.2. China: Harbin, Hangzhou and Suzhou, late 1930

In late 1930, Hayashi visited Harbin in Manchuria for several days, traveling southward and eventually staying in Shanghai and the nearby cities of Hangzhou and Suzhou. As a result of this trip, she shortly published a number of travelogues in *Nyonin Geijutsu*, *Kaizō* and *Yomiuri Shinbun*. While some of these texts have been published in Hayashi's essay collections as recently as 2003, they seem to have garnered minimal (if any) scholarly and critical attention, less even than her Taiwan

texts[86]. Yet they are no less valuable and interesting in the context of Hayashi Fumiko's wartime writing. During this first visit in Harbin (she would later stop by again en route to Paris), Hayashi meets and speaks to Soviet immigrants in Manchuria, but also gives her impressions of China and local people. All of these episodes and observations provide a valuable comparison with her later, wartime descriptions of the country and its inhabitants. In a larger sense, they allow us to evaluate if and how her rhetoric on Manchuria and China had shifted after Japan's colonization and invasion of these territories; or else, how strongly the language of propaganda had already established itself in the pre-war years, as seen in Hayashi's travelogues from Taiwan.

According to the dates attached to some of these texts, this trip took place sometime between September and October or November of 1930: "Hayashi Fumiko-san no Manshū tayori"[87] 林芙美子さんの満州便り ["Hayashi Fumiko's correspondence from Manchuria"], published in the October 1930 issue of *Nyonin Geijutsu*, situates her visit to Harbin around September 5 (Hayashi 1930c:148). In "Harubin sanpo" 哈爾浜散歩 ["Harbin walk"], published in *Kaizō* a month later, Hayashi indicates she stayed in Harbin for a little over ten days (Hayashi 1930f:102).

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[86] To this point, it is important to mention the valuable work of Imagawa Hideko 今川英子, currently director of Kitakyūshū Literature Museum (Kitakyūshū Shiritsu Bungakukan 北九州市立文学館). Imagawa was the co-editor of Hayashi Fumiko's 1977 *zenshū* published by Bunsendō, but also edited a comprehensive collection of Hayashi's texts from Paris (see Part III, 2.3.) as well as a collection of travelogues from the 1930s titled *Geta de aruita Pari* 下駄で歩いた巴里 (Paris walked in *geta*, 2003), which includes "Harubin sanpo" discussed in this section, "Pari made seiten" 巴里まで晴天 ["Clear skies until Paris"] in Part III, 2.3. and "Hakuga no ryoshū" 白河の旅愁 ["Loneliness on journey on the Baihe"] in Part III, 2.4.

[87] Further only "Manshū tayori".

Finally, in “Yukai naru chizu – tairiku e no hitoritabi”[88] 愉快なる地図—大陸への一人旅— [“A pleasant map – solitary journey to the continent”], published concurrently (November 1930) in *Nyonin Geijutsu*, Hayashi shares the route she took during this time: from Harbin, she traveled through Changchun, Fengtian/Mukden (currently Shenyang), Fushun, Jinzhou, Sanshilipu, Dalian, Tsingtao, Shanghai and Hangzhou before arriving in Xuzhou, her final stop. True to her frugal image, Hayashi notes the entire trip cost 300 yen, and a thank-you note to the readers of *Nyonin Geijutsu* is attached by the editorial team for their support (Hayashi 1930e:57). This outline shows, on the one hand, that Hayashi covered a lot of ground during this time – over 2600 kilometres in total – while on the other hand also showing she had only written about a small part of this trip. Among the five texts I was able to find over the course of my research, three deal with her trip to Harbin, one with her stay in Hangzhou and Suzhou, while the last one is concerned with a Chinese student Hayashi encountered.

2.2.1. Harbin

The three Harbin texts (“Manshū tayori”, “Harubin sanpo” and “Yukai naru chizu”) largely deal with the same experiences and interactions Hayashi had in the city and differ mostly in her delivery; however, a closer examination of the texts also reveals that Hayashi sometimes decides to change her impressions, descriptions and even persons within the respective text. As two of these texts (“Manshū tayori” and “Yukai naru chizu”) appeared in *Nyonin Geijutsu*, while “Harubin sanpo” was published in *Kaizō*, such changes leave little doubt that Hayashi consciously fine-tuned her texts towards the respective audience, examples of which I will show below. Of course, as

[88] Further only “Yukai naru chizu”.

the examination of *Hōrōki* and other fictional texts had revealed in the previous chapter, Hayashi Fumiko was highly inclined to embellish her personal narrative or insert elements of her own life into fictional stories. Recognizing that her ostensibly non-fictional texts such as essays or travelogues were also susceptible to such changes and 'tailoring' to her target audience makes an important point for examining Hayashi's wartime texts as well, as it shows she was always highly conscious of the audience and medium she was writing for. In other words, the media outlet and its audience become a part of Hayashi's creative process and messaging. It is also worth pointing out that her texts from Harbin appeared in the two magazines which have also published *Hōrōki,* and we should therefore also pay attention to how Hayashi takes up the elements of her debut novel and utilizes them again in these travelogues.

One obvious parallel with *Hōrōki* lies in Hayashi's own positioning as an outsider in Harbin – much like she did in Taiwan – and a clear sense of not belonging in this new environment. In "Manshū tayori", she is surrounded by "all big Russians" (Hayashi 1930c:147), while in "Harubin sanpo", she does not see "a single Japanese face" (Hayashi 1930f:100), instead only encountering "Russians, Chinese, [and] a few Americans" (ibid.); this leads her to wonder about how she will look for a place to stay (ibid.), with this sense of homelessness or being lost also evoking her vagabond persona from *Hōrōki*. Yet this situation is quickly resolved, as Hayashi hails a taxi with a Russian-speaking driver and asks him (in Russian) to drive to a Japanese hotel (Hayashi 1930f:101). This exchange is described only briefly in "Harubin sanpo", but a little longer in "Yukai naru chizu", where the hotel is named as Nagoya Hōman ナゴヤ・ホウマン by the driver and as Hokuman Hotel 北満ホテル by Hayashi (Hayashi 1930e:52). Hayashi's attempt to speak Russian with the driver, or a later scene in which

she mentions having a wonderful lunch and indicates the pronunciation of the *kanji* of the word *shokuji* 食事 as *abēdo* アベード (*obed* or Russian for lunch) attest to her desire to immerse herself in the environment she is visiting.

In comparison to the Taiwan texts, it is interesting to note that Hayashi seems to attempt to refute the notion of China as 'dangerous' in her texts. She opens "Yukai naru chizu" by writing how she is always told to be careful when she mentions traveling to Harbin, Shanghai or Nanjing (which she did not visit during this time); Hayashi's response to such reactions is questioning the 'delusions' prevalent in Japan (*mōsōkyō ga ōi no ka;* Hayashi 1930e:52). When she visits a local slum (*hinminkutsu*) called Nakhalovka, she points out that it is not as miserable as the slums of Japan [日本の貧民窟の様な悲惨ない] (Hayashi 1930f:104). Similarly, when she goes to the Japanese quarter (*Nihonjin no machi*), she is warned against going beyond the ramparts in the city (*jōnai*) by herself as a woman – yet once she gets there, she finds the surroundings 'pleasant' (*yukai;* Hayashi 1930f:108).

At other times, Hayashi seems to assert her identity as Japanese, and this identity seems to give her a sense of security. For example, she uses the word *yado* for the Japanese hotel and mentions she paid three yen for her stay, while calling Russian hotels *hoteru* and saying she would have to pay two dollars on top (Hayashi 1930f:101) in her *Kaizō* text. This statement comes across at once as asserting that the Japanese operate more honestly on the territory than the Russians, as well as suggesting that Hayashi feels more secure in its familiarity, which is especially interesting given her own positioning as something of an outcast in *Hōrōki*.

Other observations with which Hayashi links her stay in Harbin to *Hōrōki* are her complaints of high prices (Hayashi 1930c:147) or her description of Harbin as a "city

of memories and games (*omoide no machi, asobi no machi*)" (ibid.) in "Manshū tayori". Similarly, she calls the city of Harbin *natsukashii* (beloved; Hayashi 1930f:101) in "Harubin sanpo" – an adjective with a strong tinge of nostalgia. While this feeling of longing or desire was, of course, central to the mood she establishes in *Hōrōki*, it seems somewhat strange considering Hayashi had not visited Harbin before. Read as a conscious attempt to bridge *Hōrōki* and Hayashi's non-fictional writing through her image of a vagabond, expressions of longing for an unknown place seem more fitting. Hayashi's attempt to conflate her identity as a writer and traveler to that of the protagonist and writer to the protagonist of *Hōrōki* is most apparent at the end of "Harubin sanpo", when Hayashi moves out of her lodgings and suddenly feels as if she has nowhere to go (*yukiba ga nai*); she then goes to a nearby sushi restaurant, and overcome by emotions, starts to cry (Hayashi 1930f:108). Once again, this moment shows a nostalgia for her homeland which she had desired to leave, and where she is constantly marginalized or feels a lack of belonging, both before and after achieving success.

The two instances in "Harubin sanpo" where Hayashi mentions food punctuate her experience: using the word *obed* as the pronuncation for the Japanese word *shokuji* underscores the foreignness of the cuisine in Harbin (and, in turn, the foreignness of Harbin itself) while eating sushi seems to trigger feelings of homesickness. Indeed, in the final section of "Harubin sanpo" which follows shortly after the sushi scene, Hayashi confesses to her desire to return to Japan. Yet driven by her concurrent desire to keep traveling, she boards a ship to Shanghai – as she points out "of course, third class" (Hayashi 1930f:109). Hayashi also remarks that "Manchuria was a good place for a trip with no money" (ibid.), although trip also took place between Kaizōsha's release of *Hōrōki* and *Zoku Hōrōki*, i.e. at a time when Hayashi was already experiencing

booming sales. This suggests that Hayashi's decisions regarding travel as described in these texts are less a necessity than a conscious attempt to manufacture a 'marginalized' public persona in denying the privilege she most likely already enjoyed during this time.

Some of the most interesting parts of Hayashi's Harbin texts are her encounters with Soviet immigrants in the city. This aspect of Hayashi's pre-war texts from Manchuria is especially interesting in comparison with her Manchurian travelogue from 1940, "Kōreru daichi" (see Part III, 5.1.). The picture of Manchuria that emerges in these early travelogues is very different from the later colonial time, and the impression of diversity and exoticity is bolstered by her encounters with these people from a different culture; such aspects are lost in her wartime writing. In "Harubin sanpo", she first meets a teacher called Mizutani from the Japanese-Russian school in Harbin, an avid reader of *Kaizō* (where the text was published) and Chekhov. Mizutani, in turn, introduces her to his "well-built but quiet" (Hayashi 1930f:102) Soviet colleague Anpri Fodoschenkov (Anpri-*sensei*), with whom Hayashi speaks about Soviet female authors and introduces them to her own readers[89]. While they also have this conversation in „Yukai naru chizu", here Anpri himself is the reader of *Kaizō* (Hayashi 1930e:54) and the Japanese teacher Mizutani does not appear at all. Another writere Hayashi meets is Leonid Targevich Astakhov, a poet with a great affinity for Japan. Astakhov publishes a local newspaper, in which an article about Hayashi appeared before her visit. This leads to 'madame Hayashi' being recognized in a shoe shop (Hayashi 1930f:103). Another young poet with interest in Japan, Aleksei Alekseievich

[89] The writers Anpri introduces to Hayashi are Anna Karavaeva (1893-1979), Marietta Shaginynan (1888-1982), Nina Smirnova (1896-1931) and Lidiya Seifulina (1889-1954; Hayashi 1930f:102–103; Hayashi 1930e: 54–55).

Grizov (or Gryzov, and going by the pen name Achair), gifts her a poetry collection in "Harubin sanpo". His dedication reads "to Fumiko Hayashi from the country where chrysanthemums bloom, from Achair in the country of snow" (ibid.). In "Yukai naru chizu", Hayashi mentions he wanted her to tell him about Japan, as well as recite her own poems (Hayashi 1930e:53). Hayashi seems to enjoy Achair's company as well, writing "I liked this young man's attitude even more than I like his poems" (ibid.). Following the success of *Hōrōki*, then, Hayashi presents herself as an established (even internationally known) writer in these Harbin travelogues. Both Leonid and Alexei seem to admire her, while she shows an interest in the culture of these immigrants, as her conversation with the Russian teacher about Soviet authors shows. Differently from her encounters in Taiwan, the Soviet immigrants in Harbin appear in the text as Hayashi's equals, and she treats these encounters as an opportunity to learn or broaden her own horizon.

Hayashi clearly has the best rapport with a young female journalist, Yustina Vladimirovna Kruzenshtern, who works for the Chinese newspaper company Gong-Bao. An aspiring writer herself, Hayashi praises her 'bright and clever short stories' (*akarui ki no kiita tanpen*) and mentions Yustina's current work on a small novel about Japan in "Harubin sanpo" (Hayashi 1930f:103). In "Manshū tayori", however, she describes Yustina's short stories as 'ironic' (*hiniku na tanpen*) and also writes about her newspaper job as unable to provide her with a living, which forces Yustina to teach English to supplement her income (Hayashi 1930c:148). Yustina's photograph with Hayashi is also attached to the *Nyonin Geijutsu* article, alongside a photograph of a Russian samovar and a family of (apparently Soviet) farmer women with a child (ibid.). In "Harubin sanpo", Hayashi also reacts positively to Yustina's refusal to marry at the current point in her life – already a divorcee, she instead prefers to keep "many male

friends" (Hayashi 1930f:103) and possibly remarry at an older age.

Yustina's independence may be one of the reasons Hayashi expresses her joy about women in Harbin being "freed from the kitchen" (Hayashi 1930e:56) and enjoying comfortable lives (even as she describes Yustina's financial struggle in the previous issue of *Nyonin Geijutsu*), yet unsurprisingly, does not dwell on the causes of this liberation or why she does not see it to the same extent in Japan, instead leaving the topic almost as soon as she mentions it (ibid.). With her literary aspirations, economically precarious position and independence, Yustina is also reminiscent of Hayashi herself as she appears in *Hōrōki*, explaining in part Hayashi's own sympathies. This positive image is contrasted with that of an 18-year old dancer from Qiqihar in a cabaret by Hayashi's hotel whom Hayashi speaks to after watching her seductive dance. When Hayashi sees the year 1922 and a man's name tattooed on the dancer's chest, she immediately loses interest in her, saying "she was just like smoke"[90] (Hayashi 1930f:104; 2003b:44). To this point, it is interesting to note the (however remote) similarity of the cabaret to the café where Hayashi used to work at, with the dancer's attachment to a lover also reminiscent of the lovesickness of *Hōrōki*'s protagonist. In Harbin, Hayashi now finds herself in the opposite position, as a spectator in the cabaret, and by refusing to acknowledge the dancer, she might be rejecting the old life she sought to liberate herself from. Yustina can also be seen as the clearest example among these writers for Hayashi's self-identification and her genuine interest in foreign cultures and foreign people, which would become severely diminished in her wartime texts.

[90] Notably, this passage only appears in the relatively recent anthology *Geta de aruita Pari* (2003) and not in the original *Kaizō* publication nor in two collections of travelogues where "Harubin sanpo" was included in the 1930s (*Santō ryokōki, Watashi no kikō*).

Furthermore, the relation between the cabaret and café (and thus "Harubin sanpo" and *Hōrōki*) is underscored by Hayashi placing the only short poem that is present in this travelogue right after her encounter with the dancer:

> I am a melancholy virgin
> Waiting for me to pick me – yet
> I am a wild flower[91]
> Scared of being plucked (Hayashi 1930f:104)

In the poem, written from Hayashi's imagined perspective of the dancer, she alludes to the seemingly sexually exploitative, even dangerous nature of the cabaret (she is scared) as well as the dancer's purity, or perhaps hitherto successful resistance to such exploitation (she is a virgin). This very clearly calls to mind the position of *Hōrōki*'s protagonist and therefore Hayashi's own experiences in the café milieu. As the only poem incorporated into the text of "Harubin sanpo", it also stands apart from the rest of the text. Thus, Hayashi seems to invite her audience to read between the lines, suggesting interpretations that would likely not pass the muster of censorship otherwise.

Finally, a motive that appears throughout Hayashi's texts from Harbin – and moreso in her travelogue from Hangzhou and Xuzhou, which I will discuss next – is that of the looming war. At the beginning of "Manshū tayori", Hayashi mentions the presence of Chinese soldiers in town (Hayashi 1930c:147), but does not elaborate on any feelings this presence evokes in her. However, she does so in the *Kaizō* travelogue "Harubin sanpo", when she sees soldiers guarding the railway which stirs up an emotion of anxiety (*nanka mune ga atsuku narimasu*; Hayashi 1930f:99). At the

[91] In subsequent editions, this line is changed to *watashi wa daremo shiranai nobana* ["I am a wild flower that no one knows" (Hayashi 2003b:43)] .

conclusion of the *Kaizō* text, she writes the following: "I wanted to go see the sites of the Russo-Japanese war, but being a coward (*shōshinmono*) and because I do not really like war (*sensō ga anmari suki janai no de*), I purposely stopped before going to the 203 Hill[92] in Lushun" (Hayashi 1930f:109). Such a statement is interesting in comparison with the overall perception of the Chinese cities Hayashi visited during her trip as 'dangerous' in Japan that she alludes to in the beginning of "Yukai naru chizu"[93], but of course also because of the danger she willingly faced during her wartime travels – even seeking it out during the Wuhan offensive in 1938, when she split from the rest of the *pen butai* to traverse the battlefront with the soldiers.

In summary, Hayashi Fumiko's travelogues from Harbin show interesting connections to *Hōrōki*, and therefore a conscious expansion of the literary persona she established in her debut novel outside of fictional writing. At the same time, they are also interesting in the ways in which Hayashi constructs her identity as Japanese, as they sometimes contradict her *Hōrōki* persona. Hayashi stylizes herself as a perpetual outsider, but while she had constructed her otherness in *Hōrōki* against the broader Japanese society as a woman living on its margins, in her Harbin texts, she has a heightened awareness of her otherness *as Japanese* within the foreign surroundings. She reminds her readers of being the only Japanese in this environment, and at the same time clings to the pieces of Japan she finds in Harbin: the Japanese hotel, a Japanese quarter, or a sushi restaurant.

Food as a motif forms another interesting connection to *Hōrōki*, as it usually seems to signify Hayashi's emotional state. There actually is a subtle difference in the way

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[92] A site of a battle between Japanese and Russian armies in the Siege of Port Arthur during the Russo-Japanese War which took place between 1904 and 1905.

[93] Already the title itself, which translates to "A pleasant map", serves to dispel the notion of danger.

food appears in these travelogues, as it seems to highlight Hayashi's impressions of the city. She is feeling content while enjoying the trip and trying out Russian cuisine (as suggested by her usage of the Russian word *obed*), while eating sushi after checking out of her hotel seems to evoke homesickness and perhaps even painful memories of 'having nowhere to go' that her readers would be familiar with from *Hōrōki*. But food here no longer seems to be connected to hunger, desire or ambition: indeed, Hayashi made this trip as an established writer, a fact made clear by her being featured in the local newspaper, recognized by a stranger in a store or even admired by an aspiring poet. Finally, Hayashi herself seems to accentuate the distance between her old life and newfound success by her disinterested visit of the cabaret, identifying much more with the aspiring (and struggling) Soviet writer instead of the Manchurian cabaret dancer.

Hayashi's apparent plan to visit the former war zone in Lushun and her change of mind at the end of "Harubin sanpo" is certainly striking considering her later – and proactive – trips to Nanjing after its fall in early 1938 and the battlefront at Hankou during the Wuhan offensive in late 1938. Her prolific activity and willingness to face danger during the war years stand in stark contrast to her statement of being a 'coward' in this travelogue. This statement could, therefore, rather point towards Hayashi's unwillingness to engage in complex political questions. At the same time, she does make an offhanded comment about Russian communists (*akairo Rojin*) who, to her, seem to lead extravagant lifestyles in Harbin (*totemo gōsha na seikatsu o shiteimasu*) in (Hayashi 1930c:148). Subtle statements like these, which occasionally appear in later travelogues as well, show cracks in the ideological neutrality Hayashi was trying to project towards her readers. This particular case even appears ironic, given that "Manshū tayori" was published in *Nyonin Geijutsu* and therefore aimed at a rather left-

leaning readership.

2.2.2. Hangzhou and Suzhou

Around the same time Hayashi's Harbin texts were published in both *Kaizō* and *Nyonin Geijutsu*, Hayashi also contributed her travelogue from Hangzhou and Suzhou (the last stops of her China trip) to *Yomiuri Shinbun* between November 21 and 24, 1930. Split into four short parts, it was titled "Aki no kōshū to soshū" 秋の杭州と蘇州 ["Hangzhou and Suzhou in autumn"]; it was later included in Hayashi's collection *Santō ryokōki* 三等旅行記 [*Third-class travel records*, 1933], as well as in another collection titled *Watashi no kikō* 私の紀行 [*My travelogues*, 1939] and in an anthology of China travelogues by various authors titled *Shina kikō*[94] 支那紀行 ["Chinese travelogues"], which appeared in 1940. While it has not been published in newer collections or Hayashi's *zenshū*, these two reproductions of the original newspaper articles make "Aki no Kōshū to Soshū" one of Hayashi's more accessible early travelogues, and a valuable point of comparison for Hayashi's later wartime texts from China.

One striking difference of "Aki no Kōshū to Soshū" from the previous Harbin texts is the tangible presence of war, only hinted at before. While Hayashi does not dwell on the questions of war too much – which, at this point, does not seem surprising given her craftedly apolitical image – she also does not betray any antipathy while

[94] In this collection, the text appears under the slightly changed title "Kōshū to Soshū" 杭州と蘇州 ["Hangzhou and Xuzhou"] (Hayashi 1940a).

describing the nationalist, communist and anti-imperialist slogans[95] (presumably aimed at Japan) she witnesses. Instead, Hayashi merely remarks such slogans are now to be found in every nook and cranny of the cities (*donna machiura o ittemo*), fluttering along with the Chinese flag (Hayashi 1933:276). This lack of commentary on the rise of Chinese nationalism and anti-imperialism (thus, in part, also of an anti-Japanese sentiment) is interesting if quite ambiguous on Hayashi's part. On the one hand, she appears to show the Chinese political reality with no judgement, an element which would – quite expectedly – disappear from her later, wartime texts from China. However, she also follows up this observation with a scene of soldiers (*heitai-san*) marching in uneven lockstep (*fusoroi na ashinami*), comparing the sight to a 'naïve fairytale for children' (*tenshin na kodomo no otogibanashi*) (Hayashi 1933:277). In this way, the foreign soldiers hardly appear as a threat to her.

Further, this statement is immediately followed by her question to a local money exchange owner concerning what the people of China (*minshū*) think about their country always being in war. In reply, the shopkeeper smiles and opines that war is a competition of the powerful, not waged with the interests of people in mind, and that he only wishes for peace (Hayashi 1933:277). That Hayashi seems to pose her question about China always being at war without any hint of irony – given the constant military involvement of Japan in the then recent decades – betrays an almost willful, if not outright forced, ignorance. On the other hand, the shopkeeper's admittedly rather profound observation can then be read either as a rejection of war and a call for peace that Hayashi echoes, or a disinterest on the peoples' part which will ultimately doom

[95] 1. Comrades, we still need to work hard; 2. Knock down imperialism; 3. Communist party is the enemy of people; 4. The national(ist) revolution's goal is to realize the three principles [= nationalism, democracy and livelihood of the people; Hayashi 1933:276] .

the nationalist push to failure. Later, Hayashi is bewildered to hear two Chinese women she overhears speaking English to each other on a train, as they do not share the same language and English offers them the only available mode of communication. In that moment, Hayashi realizes China is so vast (and internally diverse) these two women would not comprehend each other otherwise (Hayashi 1933:277–278). Intended or not, this observation also hints at Hayashi's perception of China as a strange, foreign land far removed from the *naichi*, running counter to both the burgeoning imperialism of Japan and the rising nationalism of China. Between the lines, Hayashi seems to be questioning what unifies China if its people do not share a language and instead have to resort to English to communicate – the language of Western imperialism and thus also the imperial threat to Japan's own expansion.

Hayashi's use of language is also interesting while describing the shopkeeper. She uses the Chinese characters for the words 'money exchange' and 'owner', but gives them a Japanese reading (in *hiragana*) and then explains their meaning in brackets. The word 'money exchange', then, is read as *sensō* 銭荘, and reads *ryōgaeten* 両替店 in brackets; the word *tōka* 東家 is used for owner and translated as *shujin* 主人 (Hayashi 1933:277–278). Why Hayashi chose to include these Chinese words, give them a Japanese pronunciation (the readings do not correspond to Mandarin Chinese) and then translate them anyway is unclear; I would argue that this is another instance of her desire for immersion in the environment and conveying an impression of authenticity through her writing, while being easily understandable. The travelogue was, after all, published in a newspaper and therefore presumably intended for quick consumption, and as I have shown previously, Hayashi was always highly conscious of the medium she published in and the audience she wrote for.

As in her Harbin travelogues and, of course, consistently with the image she was manufacturing both in her fictional and non-fictional writing at this time, Hayashi emphasizes her third-class travel. This allows her to utilize both the tropes of China as dirty (which she had also employed in her Taiwan texts) and backward, carrying the implication of Japan's superiority. In an unusual stylistic turn, Hayashi addresses her readers directly and tells them to not imagine the third class trains of Japan (*Nihon no santōsha o kangaecha ikemasen yo*); in China, the bench is merely a long board facing a (dirty!) window, with a piercing smell emanating from the toilet "like needles" (Hayashi 1933:281) and passengers' garbage strewn around the floor. Also familiar from her previous travelogues is the feeling of loneliness she experiences on her solitary travel (Hayashi 1933:283), though she also does not express a desire to return to Japan.

The last text based on her 1930 trip to China seems to be "Shanhai no joshi daigakusei" 上海の女史大学生 ["Female university students in Shanghai"], published in the April 1931 issue of the literary magazine *Wakakusa* 若草. Unlike in the previous texts Hayashi published from this trip, which have focused on her own travels and experiences abroad, she now focuses on her impressions of several Chinese female students. Short in length and narrow in focus, "Shanhai no joshi daigakusei" does not warrant a lengthy examination on its own, but like "Aki no Kōshū to Soshū" also provides a valuable point of comparison for Hayashi's wartime texts and their representation of Chinese women.

Remarkably, Hayashi describes the young Chinese students she observes in an extremely favorable light, contrasting them with her surprisingly negative assessment of their Japanese counterparts, and even suggests Chinese women could be a role

model to Japanese students[96]. For instance, Hayashi points out how 'active' (*nōdōteki*) Chinese student girls are compared to the 'shop girls' (*shoppugāru*) of Japan (Hayashi 1931:168); elsewhere, she praises the style and liveliness of Chinese students that seems to be leaps and bounds above the 'unsightly' (*bukakkō*) uniforms of Japanese students, who in Hayashi's words also behave 'like robots' (Hayashi 1931:169). In the final part of her text, Hayashi lets one of the women speak about her three-year experience in Japan as an exchange student, who confesses she felt quite miserable in Japan, missing China and not being able to grow accustomed to the food. Hayashi's reaction to the student's rejection of Japan is perhaps just as unexpected, praising the girl's 'courageous' attitude and making her into a positive example for young women in Japan (ibid.). Considering the larger theme of food running through *Hōrōki* and Hayashi's early travelogues, the Chinese student's distaste of Japanese food seems to be the ultimate expression of a lack of belonging, or being 'not Japanese' and asserting herself as Chinese.

In a stark contrast to Hayashi's travelogues up to this point, the texts from Hangzhou and Suzhou deal most openly with questions of war and politics in China, which is especially interesting considering they were written almost seven years before the declaration of the Second Sino-Japanese War. This is perhaps precisely the reason why Hayashi can share her observations as openly as she does. While these observations – especially the statement of the Chinese shopkeeper that war is a game of the powerful rather than something carried out in the people's interest – may on the surface seem critical of the rising war tide and Japanese expansion, at the same time, they also suggest a lack of interest in the war among Chinese citizens. When

[96] Hayashi later published a similar article under the title "Peipin no onna" 北平の女 ["Women of Peiping"] in the magazine *Hōmu Raifu* [*Home Life*] in January 1937 after visiting Beijing (Hayashi 1937b).

Hayashi realizes the vastness of China witnessing two Chinese women communicating in English, she may be calling into question the prospects of the nationalist and communist movements, present in the text through the apparently ubiquitous posters. And while she presents a surprisingly positive image of young Chinese women in "Shanhai no joshi daigakusei" (and an equally surprisingly disparaging one of their Japanese counterparts), she also highlights the dirtiness and poverty of China – by referring to established discriminatory tropes – in "Aki no Kōshū to Soshū". These aspects of the text seem to suggest that while there is indeed a rising anti-Japanese sentiment in China, she did not consider the country and its response to Japan's expansion particularly threatening.

2.3. Journey through Siberia and stay in Paris, 1931-1932

Hayashi Fumiko's most distant journey took place between 1931 and 1932. During this time, she stayed in Paris, departing from Japan on November 10, 1931 (i.e. shortly after the publication of "Seihin no sho"; see Part III, 1.3.1.) and traveling through Korea, Manchuria, the Soviet Union and Germany before finally arriving in Paris on November 23 (Imagawa 2004b:228–229)[97]. Hayashi very clearly accentuates her *shomin* image through the titles of the texts from her journey: she, again, deliberately travels third-class and incorporates this fact into the titles of several of the texts, as well as the volume they were later collected in, titled *Santō ryokōki* 三等旅行記 [*Third-class travel records*, 1932].

Hayashi recorded the impressions from her two-week journey in several travelogues; the looming shadow of war is palpable in these texts, with Hayashi

[97] Imagawa provides Hayashi's full itinerary of the trip.

mentioning sounds of gunshots on her way or witnessing Manchurian soldiers loudly banging on the train doors (Kawamoto 2003:193). In "Bungakuteki jijoden", she also describes this as an arduous, frightening journey, feeling homesick and wanting to return back to Japan (Hayashi 1977a:7), as well as being overcome with a fear of death as she witnesses signs of war in the distance and around her (ibid.). This unease is notably interrupted when Hayashi makes a brief stop in Harbin. The epithet *natsukashii*[98] she described the city with to a somewhat jarring effect during her first visit becomes something of a self-fulfilling prophecy in "Shiberiya no santō ressha" シベリヤの三等列車 ["Third-class train in Siberia"][99], as feelings of nostalgia are palpable in this text. Like before, she hails a taxi with a Russian-speaking driver, and again tells him in Russian to drive her to Hokuman Hotel, in which she stayed during her first visit (Hayashi 1977d:246). Arriving at the hotel, Hayashi immediately notes that everyone remembered her, and how she even got to meet the same maids she met here a year ago (ibid.). After her frightening experience on the train, she is surprised at how peaceful Harbin is, an impression one of the maids confirms, making Hayashi wonder where exactly the battle she saw on the train was taking place (ibid.). She leaves Harbin shortly towards Siberia and again observes that she is the only Japanese among Chinese passengers, with only a few Germans and Americans on board (Hayashi 1977d:247). In "Pari made seiten" 巴里まで晴天 ["Clear skies until Paris"], published in the April 1932 issue of *Kaizō*, she describes the third-class bathroom in this way: "No water was coming out and the mirror was broken. I guess nothing could

[98] Usually translated as 'dear' or 'missed', the word has strong connotations of nostalgia and longing for something gone.

[99] Originally published in the February 1932 issue of *Kaizō* and collected in the tenth volume of the 1977 *zenshū* (Hayashi 1977d).

be done about that in a proletarian country" (Hayashi 2003c:83). The unsanitary conditions in the (supposedly) Russian train, then, seem to reflect the living conditions in the Soviet Union to Hayashi.

Hayashi also intimates her skepticism about politics in Soviet Russia in the letters to her husband[100]. Moscow leaves her with an overwhelming impression of poverty, and observing the state of the country after the revolution, she even confesses to her contempt for Lenin. She dismisses the Soviet Union as a failed, expensive, 'terrible country' (*hidoi kuni*), leading her to hope that a similar revolution will not take place again (Imagawa 2008:4). These statements stand perhaps in the starkest contrast to Hayashi's awoved ideological neutrality or disinterest within her early travelogues, even within her early texts in general. It is remarkable that the increasing severity of war and its misery also coincides in this texts with what she perceives as misery caused by communism, and Hayashi is quite clear in asserting that she is against such political developments taking place in Japan. Of course, it is also important to point out that these texts appeared as the crackdown on communism was increasingly palpable in Japan and its effects have been more acutely felt. In this way, then, Hayashi's explicit statement and condemnation of communism can also be seen as an attempt to protect herself from repercussions. Still, the presence of such statements in her private correspondence also gives a better insight into her own political opinions, toned down as they were in her published writing.

Hayashi Fumiko's travelogues and essays from her trip to Paris are among her best known – unlike the texts from her previous trips to Taiwan and China, the texts from

[100] These letters have been collected by Imagawa Hideko in the volume *Hayashi Fumiko: Pari no koi* 林芙美子　巴里の恋 [*Hayashi Fumiko: Love in Paris*, 2001].

this period were collected in the single volume *Santō ryokōki*, but notably also in the *Hayashi Fumiko senshū* published in 1937, as well as both of her *zenshū*. Considering the time of their publication, Takayama points out the significance of their historical context, as they were written and published around the time of the Manchurian Incident (manifested through the presence of Manchurian soldiers), shortly before the formation of Axis powers and during a time of sharply rising nationalism in Japan . In texts such as "Shiberiya no santō ressha" or "Pari made seiten", Hayashi mingles with Russian, German or Korean passengers in spite of the language barrier separating them. To this point, Takayama argues that this trip was also Hayashi's last opportunity to enjoy a cosmopolitan, international exchange (Takayama 2010:72).

In Paris, Hayashi attempts to learn the language, cooks for herself, visits stores and cafés, makes an acquaintance of a French prostitute, and goes to the bohemian Montmartre, which reminds her of Asakusa. Takayama argues that all these scenes are characteristic of Hayashi's travelogues and her desire to immerse herself in the place she visits, instead of assuming the position of an outside visitor (Takayama 2010:72). Takayama also points out the similarity of the Parisian scenes to *Hōrōki* (ibid.), a similarity which is further underscored by the diary form she chose for a number of her texts from Paris, appearing again in them as *watashi*. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the Parisian texts are also linked to *Hōrōki* through their considerable degree of embellishment, or ficitonality.

For instance, Hayashi mentions that nobody waited for her upon her arrival in Paris, and about the loneliness she is overcome with as a result. This loneliness and sentimentality elicited by travel (*ryoshū*) call to mind the atmosphere and protagonist of *Hōrōki*; yet, as close friend Hirabayashi Taiko later noted in her biography *Hayashi Fumiko* (1969), Hayashi was in fact picked up by an acquaintance living in Paris, artist

Beppu Ki'ichirō 別府貴一朗 (1900-1992; Kawamoto 2003:197). Hayashi also neglects to mention an important reason for her trip to Paris pointed out by many scholars and biographers – that is, to pursue an affair with the artist Toyama Gorō 冨山五郎, which came to an end during her stay, eventually leading Hayashi to become involved in an apparent fling with another Japanese artist living in Paris, Shirai Ken'ichi 白井健一 (Takayama 2010:65). While Hayashi does not disclose her affairs to the readers, these men do appear in the text as T and S respectively, the usage of initials notably being a technique widely used in *shishōsetsu*.

Perhaps most importantly, however, Kawamoto points out that while Hayashi projects an impression of living rather poorly in Paris, this was disproven to Itagaki Naoko during her research for her biography of Hayashi Fumiko (*Hayashi Fumiko no shōgai – uzushio no jinsei* 林芙美子の生涯—うず潮の人生 [*Hayashi Fumiko's life – life in a whirlpool*], 1965) by another of her Parisian acquaintances, Matsuo Hōnosuke 松尾邦之介, a journalist working at the Paris office of *Yomiuri Shinbun*. Apparently, Hayashi had purchased a camera or a record player in Paris, and also frequently visited the opera – all of which would account for rather high expenses. The discrepance between the image she projects on the pages of her Paris 'diaries' and her actual situation in Paris even ultimately led Itagaki to categorize her Paris texts as 'fiction' (*shōsetsu*; Kawamoto 2003:198). Even moreso than her earlier travelogues (particularly those from Harbin), Hayashi's Paris texts serve as an extension of *Hōrōki*: obviously through her employment of the diary form, but also by presenting herself in a similar way as the protagonist in *Hōrōki*, even as her lifestyle and means were now starkly different than just a few years before. This further proves how Hayashi utilized

the perception of herself as *Hōrōki*'s protagonist in order to construct a public image through her literary persona and consciously kept on upholding that perception, no matter how little it corresponded to her real living conditions. The strong fictional elements in her diary texts from Paris can be compared to other materials compiled by Imagawa Hideko in the volume *Hayashi Fumiko: Pari no koi* 林芙美子　巴里の恋 [*Hayashi Fumiko: Parisian love, 2001*[101]], which includes her notebook of expenses as well as letters to her husband. This provides contemporary readers with a valuable and comprehensive collection of Hayashi's Paris texts, readily available outside of her *zenshū*. After Paris, Hayashi also traveled to London, staying there for about a month – interestingly, this becomes two months in her texts (Fukunaga 2017:75). This seems to confirm the partial fictionality of Hayashi's travelogues. Contrary to Paris, her stay in London did not produce any significant texts and Hayashi did not appear to especially enjoy the time she had spent in the city (Imagawa 2008:6).

While it can be said that Hayashi's texts from Paris contribute relatively little to a better understanding of her wartime writing, they show quite clearly that even in purportedly authentic records of her experiences abroad, she seamlessly incorporated elements of fiction in order to build up on a perception of herself based on her fictional texts (particularly *Hōrōki*). Her European texts therefore once again confirm her acute awareness of the audience she is writing for, as well as of the image she projects and consciously constructs for this audience.

This conscious construction is also tangible in the travelogues based on her travel to Paris, which are ultimately more informative within the context of Hayashi's

[101] Also released as in a paperback *bunko* edition in 2004, which is the edition I have consulted (Imagawa 2004a).

wartime writing and her ideological agency. Consistent with the *shomin* image she seeks to construct (as much as it is paradoxical given her significant fame and well-known success at this point), she travels third-class and highlights this fact in the titles of these travelogues as well (as in the case of "Shiberia no santō ressha" and the collection these travelogues would later appear in, *Santō ryokōki*). It is during this journey where she experiences the increasing intensity of military conflict, which at once evokes a heightened emotional response within her, as well as amplifies her otherwise usually muted political views. Witnessing poverty in Soviet Russia, she renounces communism universally and expresses her wish for the failure of this ideology not only in Japan but globally, and by doing so implicitly expresses an agreement with the ideology taking hold of Japan during this time.

This point is also interesting in relation to her previous travelogues. While Hayashi is quick to identify the communist revolution in Russia as the underlying condition of the misery its citizens face, she makes no attempt to even allude to such observations elsewhere – in colonized Taiwan, China, or indeed in Japan where she herself had lived in poverty just a few years prior. In Japan – in texts such as *Hōrōki* or "Seihin no sho" – poverty is depicted as a fact of life. At worst, it is a hurdle to be overcome; at best, it is something beautiful and honorable. In Taiwan or China, poverty is often correlated with dirt, and it is depicted as a quality inherent to these countries and their people – an attribution also in line with Japan's nationalist ideology. While Hayashi's politics up to this point (excluding perhaps her earliest poems) were far too vague in order to consider her condemnation of communism abroad an act of *tenkō*, her statements certainly signal that she means to pose no ideological harm to the increasingly dominant political powers in Japan.

Reflective of the broader geopolitical developments and Japan's increasing

seclusion from the international stage, in large part due to its imperial expansion following the Manchurian Incident of 1931 (see Part I, 1.1.), Hayashi's writing from her Transsiberian journey to Paris and her stay in the European metropolis marks the last time she would be able to mingle with such a cosmopolitan environment. In this way, her texts once again become an expression of Japan's trajectory in the 1930s and show their value as artifacts of collective memory. Her last significant trip abroad would take place shortly before the outbreak of the war, when she would once again travel to China, and the texts she would produce based on her visit provide us with the most immediate point of comparison to her early wartime writing.

2.4. China, late 1936

Between Hayashi's return from Europe and her subsequent travels, she had underwent a harrowing experience with the law. In 1933, she was arrested in Nakano, Tōkyō, and detained for nine days for a subscription to the Communist Party's newspaper, *Akahata* 赤旗 [*Red flag*]. While there is no record of Hayashi's *tenkō* and she had never made any kind of public apology for her participation in state propaganda during the war (Ericson 1997:80), she recounts this ordeal in her postwar *shishōsetsu*-like text *Yume ichiya* 夢一夜 [*One night's dream,* 1947], and it is plausible that this traumatic experience had considerable influence in Hayashi's later apparent ideological conformity.

In late 1936, Hayashi Fumiko traveled to Beijing and Tianjin, recording her impressions in "Pekin kikō" 北京紀行 ["Beijing travelogue", 1937]. The text originally

appeared in the January 1937 issue of *Kaizō*[102] and stands out among Hayashi's pre-war travelogues for multiple reasons: the original text in *Kaizō* is adorned with numerous photographs, providing not only a suitable illustration to Hayashi's writing, but also fascinating sights of Beijing in the 1930s. On a textual level, the travelogue differs from Hayashi's other texts from China and Taiwan in her enthusiastic enjoyment of the city, but it also marks a turning point in her non-fictional writing with an increased attention to the politically tense situation between Japan and China, as well as an interest in the Chinese people barely, if at all, seen in her earlier texts.

Hayashi's records rather positive impressions of Beijing throughout her travelogue, which makes the rather somber observations towards its end all the more jarring. Across the first eight pages in *Kaizō,* she frequently reiterates her fondness of Beijing by describing it as 'really good' (*hontō ni ii tokoro*) (Hayashi 1937a:15; 17), 'fun' (*tanoshii*) (Hayashi 1937a:18), or a 'romantic' place in good taste (*fūga*) (Hayashi 1937a:15). Comparing Beijing to her visit to Shanghai years ago, where everyone seemed to walk absentmindedly[103], nobody seems to be in a hurry here. Even when describing her night walk through streets frequented by prostitutes, where she notes that lanterns are put out quickly and Beijing becomes so dark she could not even see the tip of her nose – a scene that may read as particularly dangerous given her solitary travel – Hayashi seems to romanticize it by saying it made her feel as if she had traveled back in time to the *geisha* quarter of some Japanese city (Hayashi 1937a:14). As in her previous travelogues, Hayashi highlights her position of a foreigner or outsider in her

[102] This travelogue was later included in Hayashi's collection of travelogues *Watashi no kikō*, as well as in the 2003 anthology *Geta de aruita Pari;* it is therefore one of the most readily available early travelogues despite being absent from both of her *zenshū*.

[103] Hayashi uses the Chinese word ***bái xiǎng*** 白想, literally 'white thoughts' or 'blank thoughts'.

surroundings, noting that, differently from Dalian or Mukden she visited before, barely any Japanese are to be seen in Beijing (Hayashi 1937a:12), perhaps pointing towards the absence of Japanese military presence in the city at this point. Similarly to Harbin, she stays in a Japanese guesthouse (*ryokan*), where the French manager speaks good Japanese, much to Hayashi's delight. Looking out of her window, she sees a lively city and describes how content she feels here – while affected by the distance from home, she even feels like she could stay in Beijing (Hayashi 1937a:15).

While Hayashi may have been hinting at the absence of Japanese military in Beijing earlier, she does notice French soldiers singing in unison while visiting the American quarter with a few acquaintances she had apparently made during her stay (Hayashi 1937a:18). This point marks a change in Hayashi's focus on the reality in Beijing and how it affects the lives of its Chinese inhabitants. Seeing posters on a rampart in this part of the city saying that Chinese people are forbidden from entry gives her 'a strange feeling' (*myō na kimochi*), which is only exacerbated by seeing many foreign soldiers and people smiling all around her (ibid.). She also sees similar signs on bathrooms of hotels operated by foreigners (no word, however, on whether this includes the Japanese guesthouse she stayed in), then wonders whether those foreigners can justify their contempt (*keibetsu*) by building parks, hospitals, libraries and universities for the Chinese people.

Hayashi notes that the university and library she saw were also run by Americans, and while she admits the university campus she visited was 'enviable' (*urayamashii*), she could not help but feel an 'American smell' (*Amerikateki na kusami*) from the students (Hayashi 1937a:19). This perhaps startling statement also reflects the increasingly perceived threat of Western powers as a threat to Asia that would become the justification for Japan's aggression in China. In this way, Hayashi's otherwise

positive impressions of Beijing also suggest that while Western involvement and investment improves the city's infrastructure, the leadership of these institutions also threatens China with a progressively foreign control.

One of the most intriguing episodes in "Pekin kikō" is Hayashi's visit to a Chinese architect's house, which is facilitated by a Chinese acquaintance and where she talks to the architect's wife. The woman tells her that she always had fondness for Japan, but those positive feelings are now gone in the light of recent developments. Hayashi seems to understand where the woman is coming from, as she says she is worried about protecting her two small children, but Hayashi only reacts by saying "I could only close my eyes" (Hayashi 1937a:18). While this moment is a telling representation of Hayashi's proclivity to avoid complex topics or discuss ideological issues, she nevertheless remarks on her understanding of this woman's position, saying that she believes everyone has patriotism in their heart (*aikokushin*) and going on to propose that women of the East (*Tōyō*) should join hands in pursuit of peace (ibid.).

Following these remarks, Hayashi again tries to assert herself as apolitical while at the same time appealing to that same patriotism within Japanese women: "I know nothing about politics. I am really just one woman traveler, but something was seeping into my chest. Seeing the cultural invasion (*bunka shinryaku*) through the capital of foreign countries, I also feel the clumsiness of Japan (*bukiyō na Nihon*)" (Hayashi 1937a:19). At the root of this 'clumsiness' seems to be the lack of earnest patriotism, and Hayashi expresses her wish that despite the universal participation of Japanese women in the *aikoku fujinkai* ('patriotic organizations' for women; see Part I, 1.2.), their patriotism would be rooted in true interest rather than obligation; she also says that Japanese women must love Japanese soldiers more (ibid.).

The only truly negative impressions Hayashi shares from her visit in Beijing

appear at the end of the text, when she goes to see a Chinese theatre play. Her remarks about the contempt of the Western powers investing in Beijing's infrastructure become quite condescending here, as she describes Chinese theatre as 'completely vulgar' (*mattaku kitanai*; Hayashi 1937a:20) and reminding her of 'countryside plays' (Hayashi 1937a:21). Yet vaguely reminded of the traditional Japanese *nō* theatre, she also admits that her lack of understanding might be a factor in her reaction (Hayashi 1937a:20). The travelogue closes with Hayashi reiterating her positive feelings towards the city, and her pondering about how this peaceful city will change in two or three years (Hayashi 1937a:21), a remark that rings quite ominous knowing that the war was already, so to speak, knocking at the door.

Hayashi recorded her travels around Tianjin with two Japanese newspaper reporters, only referred to as A and B, in a travelogue titled "Hakuga no ryoshū" 白河の旅愁 ["Loneliness on journey on the Baihe"], split into four short parts on the title pages of the newspaper *Miyako Shinbun* between May 24 and 27, 1937[104]. This would become the last travelogue from China she published before the outbreak of the war. Among the four installments, the first one is the most striking. Right at the beginning, she describes her aversion towards the "distasteful English colonial food" (Hayashi 2003a:25) in the British guesthouse she stays in, and together with the reporters decides to visit a nearby Chinese neighborhood, named as San Pu Guan 三府管[105] to eat Chinese food. Again, Hayashi's enjoyment of food (or lack thereof) seems to

[104] This travelogue was also collected in the 2003 anthology *Geta de aruita Pari*, which is the edition I cite here. This version is identical to the original newspaper publications.

[105] This phrase is generally used in Chinese to describe a 'no man's land', and is therefore likely not the real name. A neighborhood with such name does not presently exist in Tianjin, and I was not able to find proof of existence of such a neighborhood during the time of Hayashi's visit.

accentuate her overall impressions of her environment as a commentary on her disagreement of the British presence. Both Hayashi and her companions seem to be weary of the place: while A has only been in Tianjin for two or three months, she mentions how B wants to return to Japan after two years spent here, and she finds the place (unsurprisingly) 'dirty' (Hayashi 2003a:25–26).

But it is only after their arrival at the town square when Hayashi describes a truly shocking scene, heretofore unseen in her travelogues:

> "At the square shrouded in a smoke-like dust, corpses of the fallen sick were strewn around here and there, with people ripping off their clothes and shoes and those looking on [...] Flies swarming on the naked corpses in a black mass, I was shocked that there is a place in a world like this. The three of us walked with handkerchiefs against our mouths. It was so awful I could not even think this is in the same place as the British concession I was staying in.
> I thought places like the Shotoru Market in Dalian or Tianqiao in Peiping [Beijing] were pretty filthy, but people lived in this place. [...] A and B would momentarily joke when seeing the corpses, but I felt like running away somewhere where there is no dust, fast. [...] Even B, who had lived here for a long time, said he found the people of San Pu Guan strange (*nazo no yō*). [...] San Pu Guan was a place of no ideology (*shisō*), where people lived like dogs and monkeys, beyond human morals [...]" (Hayashi 2003a:26–27)

It is also worth noting that this graphic scene is once again punctuated with food, as Hayashi describes a sausage vendor inviting customers to try out his 'delicious' product while flies swarm around the corpses (Hayashi 2003a:26), with Hayashi vividly transporting the nauseating sight onto her readers. Food, then, is once again used by Hayashi as something of a synecdoche representing her environment and her impressions of it as a whole. Within Hayashi's travelogues preceding the war, this town square scene is the most extreme expression of China as poor and dirty; here, the filth and poverty are manifested in sickness and death, their ultimate form. And while this part of Tianjin is a shocking sight to reporter B as well, who had been staying in the

city for two years – and therefore being an exception to the city as a whole – Hayashi's comparison of its inhabitants to animals can be read as an expression of Foucauldian biopower (see 1.4.) with which she delineates the difference between the uncivilized, dirty Chinese and the civilized Japanese. That this travelogue appeared shortly before the outbreak of a war is also reflective of the increasingly dehumanizing way in which China was represented in public discourse. Hayashi does not touch upon the Sino-Japanese conflict in "Hakuga no ryoshū", apart from remarking that B had a 'strong opinion' (*hageshii iken*) on the 'Chinese question' (*Shina*[106] *mondai*) while visiting his residence (Hayashi 2003a:30), once again showing her unwillingness to engage in complicated, political topics.

This sentiment is also present in the short article "Shinshun ni sai shite monomōsu" 新春に際して物申す ["Speaking on occasion of the Lunar New Year"], which Hayashi published in January 1937, concurrently with "Pekin kikō". Prefacing her statements once again with her 'apolitical' positioning, she goes on to express her anxieties about the political developments: "I don't know much about politics, but why must the country be in such a state now that its makes citizens (*kokumin*) anxious? [...] It is not just me who wants to make Japan good (*kimochi no ii Nippon*), it is all the citizens right now" (Hayashi 1937c). While she does not elaborate on her own stance towards the looming war, she briefly expresses her anxieties about the tensions (*mushikaeshi*) beginning between the Japanese government and Chiang Kai-Shek. Even more interestingly, she states her antipathy towards Hitler, who she says has a 'terrifying face' and who, to her, looks like he is even going to bed in his cap and

[106] While in general use before and during the wartime years, *Shina* 支那 as the word for China (instead of *Chūgoku* 中国) is today considered pejorative.

uniform (ibid.). While she is by no means explicit with her statements, they nevertheless provide valuable context to her later wartime writing. They at once show her otherwise rarely stated reservations, perhaps even reluctance to support the war, as well as the possibility to express such reservations in the Japanese press at the outset of 1937, the year in which the war would break out officially. This may seem starkly at odds with her appeal for patriotism and love for soldiers in "Pekin kikō", but it is also important to note that within her wartime texts, too, her focus almost always lies on the support for the soldiers, rather than the war in a political sense. In this way, the soldiers become an extension of Hayashi's identification with the common people (*shomin*) rather than an ideological tool. At the same time, Hayashi would never voice open disapproval of the war, and this *Sunday Mainichi* article remains a rare artifact complicating her image of a prolific propagandist in expressing an apparent anti-war sentiment.

The texts Hayashi wrote after her last trip to China before the war offer perhaps the broadest spectrum of impressions among her travelogues. In "Pekin kikō", Hayashi's fondness for the city, the lively and even romantic image of Beijing she conveys, as well as her seeming interest and compassion with the Chinese people she encounters (such as the architect's wife concerned for the safety of her children) are quite unusual when compared to her earlier travelogues. Even the food is absolutely delicious to Hayashi in Beijing, a clear signal of her warm feelings towards the city.

While she still positions herself as an outsider here, not forgetting to remind her readers how she is the 'only Japanese' around, and even though she does once again stay in a Japanese guesthouse, she seems much less interested in holding on to pieces of Japan that would affirm her sense of identity the way she did in her Harbin texts. In fact, she seems interested in exploring the foreign parts of the city, such as the

American quarter, and engage with locals. Yet ultimately, this interest leads Hayashi to the very affirmation of her Japanese identity. She observes the lavish American investment in Beijing's infrastructure and education (as exemplified by the university and library she mentions) with anxiety, as it suggests an increasingly menacing presence of Western powers in China. And while she shows compassion with the Chinese mother whose fondness of Japan is waning as the political conflict increases, this eventually only leads Hayashi to affirm the importance of patriotism, which she finds lacking within Japanese women.

Hayashi's fondness of Beijing is strongly contrasted with Tianjin and the shocking images of poverty she describes in "Hakuga no ryoshū". Again, food serves as a motif to underscore her impressions when she shares her distaste for the British cuisine in the concession she stays and the food stalls on the marketplace right next to corpses swarmed with flies in the poor part of the city. Hayashi's rhetoric towards the Chinese people turns from the interest she showed in Beijing to anxiety and a comparison with those living in poverty to animals. While not pronounced, the proximity of this poor part of the city to the British settlement also seems to suggest that the Western presence in China is not beneficial to the country, or at the very least, that the Western investment in China's infrastructure is very selective and serving the powers' own interests.

In a very subtle way, then, Hayashi's curiosity and affection for Beijing turns into an affirmation of values that would ultimately be used to justify Japan's war effort and aggression towards China. The marketplace scene from Tianjin seems to suggest that in certain parts of the country, the situation could not get much worse. Considering this, it is telling that despite voicing her concerns about the intensifying political situation between China and Japan in her *Sunday Mainichi* article from the same

month, where she also expresses her clear dislike of Hitler, there is no mention of Japanese politics. Of course, this can be readily explained by the already extremely strict censorship of Japanese press in early 1937. But it also shows how precisely this censorship and limited freedom of speech shaped the discourse on war and allowed Japan's imperial aggression to be framed as a necessity in the face of Western colonial threat, or else frame the war as something that 'happened'. It can even be said that the Western activity as portrayed in Japanese texts could be seen as a legitimization of the war that followed.

2.5. Chapter résumé: Continuity of Hayashi's pre-war and wartime travelogues

Throughout this examination of travelogues that Hayashi Fumiko had written before 1937, we could observe certain patterns emerging within her writing that are relevant in the context of her wartime travelogues and non-fictional writing based on her trips to warzones and occupied territories as well. Especially helpful are Hayashi's texts from China, which allow us to compare continuities and discrepancies between her rhetoric in writing about this country before and during the war. While Hayashi's travelogues from her Siberian journey and Paris exhibit a diversity in style, the other travelogues considered in this chapter are stylistically consistent, possibly due to them being written as assignments for various magazines and not written especially for a book publication.

Some of the particularly salient characteristics in Hayashi's pre-war travelogues involve the language with which she describes the foreign countries she visits and the people who inhabit them. To this end, Hayashi's desire to immerse herself in the foreign environment and inhabit it as a local, observed in previous research, only applies to a certain extent. In fact, Hayashi's assertion of her Japanese identity in

foreign countries may even appear somewhat surprising considering her insistence on positioning herself as an outsider of Japanese society, or as marginalized in her early fiction, particularly *Hōrōki*. At the same time, we could observe an active endeavor on Hayashi's part to build up on the persona she constructed in her early fictional (and semi-fictional) writing.

Particularly in the earlier travelogues, Hayashi associates herself with Japanese elements in her environment while at the same time presenting herself as something of an outsider figure by consistently observing that she is the 'only' or one of the few Japanese abroad. She seeks out Japanese lodgings, Japanese food or Japanese parts of the city (such as in Harbin), or focuses her attention on Japanese inhabitants (in Taiwan). One element that her early travelogues seem to have in common is her interest in people who, in one way or another, remind her of herself. In Taiwan, she focuses on the struggle and exploitation of Japanese immigrants (and largely ignores that of the Taiwanese), while in Harbin, she gives particular attention to the Soviet immigrants with a keen interest in literature, either as readers or as aspiring writers. Reading her description of the young female journalist, struggling to make ends meet while writing and refusing to be bound by marriage, it is not difficult to imagine Hayashi Fumiko as she constructed her own persona in *Hōrōki* in her place.

There are numerous elements in Hayashi's early travelogues with which she establishes a connection to *Hōrōki* and its protagonist, the most striking of these being her employment of food. Hayashi's enjoyment and taste for particular cuisines and foods seem to be directly linked to her overall impression of the place she visits, or serves to highlight the emotional state she is going through at the given moment. She is struck by the exoticity of the fruits in Taiwan, overcome with homesickness while eating sushi in Harbin, pleasantly suprised by the taste of Chinese cuisine in Beijing

and disgusted by the British food in the British concession of Tianjin, while she does not even think of trying the sausages at the filthy and disease-ridden market in its poor part. The important difference between *Hōrōki* and Hayashi's travelogues and how she utilizes the food motif is precisely the factor of enjoyment: as discussed in Chapter 1.2. of this part, food in *Hōrōki* stands for Hayashi's desire for it, her constant hunger in a physical sense, but also representing her hunger for success and recognition. Since she had already achieved those while traveling, affording food is no longer a question, and so it is her appetite and tastes which inform us of her relationship to the places she visits and writes about.

In fact, even the mere existence of Hayashi's travelogues and the distant journeys connect to the central motifs of longing, desire and escapism of *Hōrōki* – whereas in her debut novel, Hayashi portrayed herself as hungry for success and wanting a different life for herself, the travelogues become something of an expression of wish fulfillment on her part; traveling to other Asian countries and even all the way to Paris, she can experience and witness different ways of life. As noted above, Hayashi seems eager to create continuities between how she constructed her persona in *Hōrōki* and her travel writing, but the basic difficulty of this project lies in the fact that she is no longer poor and struggling, as the very possibility of these travels for her attests to. Yet she is also keenly aware that her popularity lies in the relatability of her *Hōrōki* persona to the ordinary public, and she therefore tries to reconcile these differences by positioning herself in her environment as one of her potential readers. This is especially obvious in her insistence on traveling third-class, and she goes to particularly great lengths in establishing herself as struggling in her Paris texts. This leads her to employ heavy elements of fiction, later disproved by those who have met her; in turn, this fact exposes the necessity to read her travelogues in general as highly

constructed and written with the intention of evoking a particular reading she aims for, particularly in regard to her own image.

Hayashi's identification with the marginalized in *Hōrōki*, in particular with her fellow café waitresses coming from the colonized *gaichi* (see Chapter 1.2. in this part), is also relativized through her travelogues. In the texts from Taiwan, Hayashi employs colonialist and discriminatory language such as the terms *dojin* or *dogo*, and by doing so erases the (former) national identity of Taiwan's inhabitants. Furthermore, while she does find Taiwan's landscape to be beautiful, it is at the same time an environment full of dirt and crime. Important to note is also the fact that this has been recognized and criticized by the Taiwanese press, which suggests Hayashi could perhaps have avoided the use of derogatory language, or else that it was an editorial decision; either way, the colonialist language as it appears in these texts is a valuable example of its normalization already in 1930. Similarly, China is exceedingly associated with poverty, dirt and sickness – tropes that would persist in Hayashi's wartime writing as well, but which also show that such language was by no means new to her, and should therefore not be seen as a radical change in her rhetoric. The Japanese environments Hayashi seeks out in China, such as the Japanese quarter in a supposedly unsafe part of Harbin, offer her comfort and relief.

Hayashi's reluctance to discuss ideological and political questions and her quick turns away from such topics as soon as they she raises them has been discussed already in the context of her fictional writing, and is therefore quite expected in her travelogues as well. However, I would argue that this is what makes these passages particularly interesting, especially when considering them as a point of reference to her later wartime writing, some of which was written under explicit propaganda initiatives such as the *pen butai*. For the most part, Hayashi stays silent, or even

willingly ignorant to the underlying causes of poverty she witnesses during her travels. One notable exception among her earliest texts is "Shokuminchi de atta onna", in which she describes the plight of the Japanese immigrant woman to Taiwan, trafficked by her husband to a proprietor of a guesthouse to repay his own debt while he himself disappears to Japan. While this text is an unusual example of portraying the harrowing fate of poor female Japanese immigrants who came to seek a better fortune in Taiwan only to find themselves exploited, it also contributes to Hayashi's representation of Taiwan as a place full of crime. At the same time, she does not consider Japanese colonialism as a contributing factor, and its destructive presence is hardly, if at all, alluded to.

In China, Hayashi describes the ubiquitous nationalist and communist posters she witnesses during her travels between Hangzhou and Suzhou, but offers no commentary of her own. She is much more alarmed by the discrimination of the Chinese through the West, witnessing the apartheid-like treatment of Chinese locals in Harbin, who are forbidden from entry in foreign concessions or hotels. In the larger context of her Chinese travelogues between 1930 and 1937, these however seem to signal a distrust towards the foreign powers as a threat to Asia. Hayashi's most open discussion of ideology can be seen in "Shiberiya no santō ressha" as she travels through the Soviet Union ravaged by poverty, and she is quick to identify the communist revolution as its root cause, renouncing communism, as well as expressing her contempt for Lenin and her hope that such a revolution shall not take place anywhere else. Hayashi's strong words towards communism appear startling at first glance, particularly given her openly articulated aversion towards politics and her consistent attempt to position herself as apolitical, even during the war. Given her prior association with leftist literary circles and *Nyonin Geijutsu*, which represented

an increasingly explicit political project during its lifespan, I propose to read Hayashi's 'condemnation' of communism less as an earnest expression of her political ideology than an attempt to position herself as ideologically 'safe' as the oppression of Japan's left was intensifying. Nevertheless, considering her prolific output in the service of right-wing state propaganda, this 'punching left' was sure to leave Hayashi with no repercussions and also shows her keen understanding of the political developments in her country and a necessity to take a political side in the interest of her own career and livelihood. Importantly, her reiteration of an anti-communist stance in the letters to her husband suggests that she, at least in part, shared the views dominant in the political discourse at the time. No matter how vague her political beliefs were, then, Hayashi was clearly aware of the necessity of a political positioning already during the pre-war years.

Finally, one of the most interesting aspects that emerges throughout Hayashi's pre-war travelogues is the increasing presence of war. While only marginally palpable in her Harbin travelogue through the foreign soldiers, Hayashi experiences it much more closely during her Transsibirian journey to Paris, hearing explosions from her train and through her frightening encounter with Chinese soldiers in Manchuria. In her travels through Hangzhou and Suzhou, Chinese soldiers appear much more benign, and Hayashi's encounter with the Chinese shopkeeper who sees war as a game of the powerful – instead merely wishing for peace – suggests a lack of mobilization on the part of Chinese people. This, in turn, suggests that despite the heavy presence of nationalist and communist posters Hayashi witnesses – an expression of anti-imperialist sentiment – she did not consider China to be a particular threat to Japan's geopolitical interests.

3. Hayashi Fumiko's texts in the early days of war (1937-1938)

Hayashi Fumiko has started participating in the Japanese state propaganda early in the war, traveling to Shanghai and Nanjing[107] in late 1937, and writing a number of non-fictional texts after her returning to Japan. Despite her publicly stated achievement of being the first female writer (*joryū ichiban nori*) in Nanjing, Hayashi was not the first female writer to visit China generally during the war; she was preceded by Yoshiya Nobuko by a few months, who traveled on behalf of the women's magazine *Shufu no Tomo* (see Part II, 2.1.; Takayama 2010:148). In addition to her essays, travelogues and columns, Hayashi had also published a few fictional texts which touch upon the war and in some cases (chiefly "Kōkaku", published in *Kaizō* in March 1938) also function as intriguing supplements to her non-fictional writing. Within the non-fictional texts such as her travelogues and war reportage, it is interesting to consider not only how Hayashi Fumiko had portrayed the Japanese soldiers and the Japanese war effort, but also how her depiction of China compares with that of the travelogues she had written before the war's outbreak. Another aspect of interest is Hayashi's own experience of the war and how she conveys it. These aspects of the texts related to the war and her participation in it she had published between the second half of 1937 and first half of 1938 will be the main focus of this chapter, and they will also provide a point of comparison for the fictional texts from this period (see Part III, 3.4.). I will also consider texts by authors from the same period, namely Yoshiya Nobuko and Ishikawa Tatsuzō, in the analysis of Hayashi Fumiko's writing about the war as important points of reference. I will particularly focus on ways in which her fictional and non-fictional writing complement each other,

[107] I will be using standard *pinyin* transcription throughout this text, as it is currently most widely used in English.

and also how Hayashi utilizes the frame of *shishōsetsu*, which she had steadily employed throughout her earlier work in varying ways (see Chapter 5).

3.1. Hayashi's pre-war texts and the war's early days: conflict in China as a creative catalyst (1936-1937)

Hayashi's interest in the looming war in China in relation to her own literary work already becomes apparent in September 1936, when she published the essay "Kokyū" 呼吸 ["Breath"] in *Shinchō*, which was also included in the fourth volume of her collected works *Hayashi Fumiko senshū* in 1937[108]. In this essay, dated August 2, 1936 (Hayashi 1937d:298), Hayashi links two crises – the political one in China on the one hand and her personal stagnation as a writer – and in the end connects these two topics in order to seek new inspiration. The first hint toward a creative crisis appears at the beginning of the essay, as she wonders why she is even alive (*watashi wa naze ikiteiru no darō*; Hayashi 1937d:288) and writes about feeling an 'unpleasant movement in her chest and stomach' (ibid.). She writes about a letter she received from a soldier in Northern Manchuria whom she had never met, but which inspires her to visit a shrine 'feeling a fleeting youth' (*hakanai seishun o kanjite*; Hayashi 1937d:289) Thinking of the youth of the Japanese pilots flying the airplanes in the sky she watches, she wishes for their safety: "I want no one to get hurt. In that way, I am a woman" (Hayashi 1937d:291). With this utterance, Hayashi establishes a positioning highlighting her femininity in relation to the war, which will continue reappearing in her later texts concerning her trips to Nanjing and Hankou. Similarly, mentions of the strength of the Japanese army ('Japanese soldiers are all strong') and Hayashi addressing the

[108] This is the version cited here.

soldiers with wishes for their well-being ('Please work in good health') are established already in this pre-war essay (Hayashi 1937d:292). Importantly, Hayashi also subtly hints towards the darker sides of war when she writes she had not seen many soldiers come back home (Hayashi 1937d:294), then follows up this observation with reminiscing about living across a hospital in Setagaya, the morgue of which would light up when soldiers in the hospital had passed away (Hayashi 1937d:295). In no unclear manner, Hayashi seems to allude to the members of the Japanese army, strong as they are, dying on the Chinese front. Such allusions to the sacrifice of Japanese soldiers, but also the violence committed by them on the battlefield, will also recur in Hayashi's wartime texts, as I will show below.

In the final part of "Kokyū", Hayashi recalls her earlier travels in China and Manchuria (her accounts regarding these journeys have been examined in Chapter 2.2. of this part of the study). Her rhetoric in "Kokyū" is also reminiscent of these earlier texts, such as when she describes a Soviet soldier wearing better clothes than the peasants (*domin*) in Siberia (Hayashi 1937d:296). With this image, she suggests an inequality between soldiers and the ordinary people, which seems absent from the Japanese persons (i.e., both soldiers and civilians) she meets. In Hangzhou, Japanese soldiers leave an unforgettable impression of cleanliness on Hayashi (Hayashi 1937d:297), while the only thing she points about about the Chinese soldiers is how they smell of garlic (Hayashi 1937d:296), evoking a physically less pleasant encounter. In examining the texts from the Second Sino-Japanese War in its early period, then, it will also be of interest to establish how Hayashi follows up on the depiction of China from her earlier travelogues, marked as it was by a discriminatory and sometimes xenophobic depiction of the country, but also by a curiosity and a certain fondness for it (see Part III, 2.4.).

Finally, Hayashi expresses her desire to write about the great history unfolding, coupled with a desire to write freely and not produce a 'cowardly propaganda novel' (*okubyō na hōkoku*[109] *shōsetsu*) (Hayashi 1937d:297), and closes the essay with a newfound appreciation of life despite her fears and insecurities (Hayashi 1937d:298). By doing so, Hayashi reveals her understanding of war as a creative catalyst and an opportunity to elevate her own status as a writer, and within the larger context of the essay also establishes a link between her own literary inspiration and the work and sacrifice of Japanese soldiers on the Chinese front. As I will demonstrate in this and the following chapter, this will become one of the most important recurring motifs in Hayashi's writing about the war in China.

The frustration Hayashi felt towards her own writing during this period is most palpable in a couple of essays published in August 1937, soon after the Second Sino-Japanese War officially commenced in July. In "Watashi no sakuhin taido" 私の作品態度 ["Attitude towards my work"], published in *Nihon Dokusho Shinbun* 日本読書新聞, Hayashi compares her literary skills to colors, expressing the feeling that her texts are not vibrant enough and seeking to improve herself in this regard (Hayashi 1937e:9). She mentions her desire to write 'with new proportions' and with a unique perspective as a woman who has to deal with different hardships than those of men (Hayashi 1937e:9). The 1937 *senshū* represents an end of an era for Hayashi, and she wants to seek inspiration for a new beginning in her travels (Hayashi 1937e:9). In the essay

[109] This word is not written with the usual *kanji* as 報告, meaning 'report', but as 報国, i.e. consisting of the characters for 'report' and 'country/home'. This latter orthography has a more patriotic or nationalist connotation, and is by no means ideologically neutral. While 'propaganda' is not an exact or the most satisfactory translation of the term, I believe it is the closest approximation.

"Watashi no shigoto" 私の仕事 ["My work"], published concurrently in *Bungei* 文藝[110], she comments on how the 1937 collection is full of throwaway texts she does not like (Hayashi 1937f:56; 1977e:243), and how she feels she needs more courage to develop as a writer despite the steps towards improvement she has already made in the past decade (Hayashi 1937f:55; Hayashi 1977e:242). In exposing herself to a first-hand experience of war, then, Hayashi could put herself in a situation requiring extraordinary courage with the aim of writing 'something big' that she mentions in this essay (Hayashi 1937f:55; Hayashi 1977e:242). The frustration she feels with her own writing seems to apply to literature in general, as she mentions her lack of interest in reading novels in *Asahi Shinbun* on August 9, 1937 (Hayashi 1937g:9), as well as the surveillance by authorities that *Kaizō, Chūō Kōron* and *Bungei Shunjū* are all under – this perhaps being one of the causes of her writer's block and a sense of unease she has been feeling since the outbreak of the war she also mentions in the newspaper (Hayashi 1937g:9). Later, in "Sensō yomimono" 戰爭よみもの ["War writing"], published in the October 1937 issue of *Chūō Kōron,* Hayashi complains about the lacking quality of literature on war (*sensō mono*) despite its quantity. None of it interesting, she describes wartime literature as 'general and hasty pieces' and expects for better writing to come out by embedded journalists (*jūgun kisha*) or soldiers themselves (Hayashi 1937i:356). By taking on the role of such a journalist, then, Hayashi could make her own attempt at participating in what she perceived as valuable contribution to the war discourse. The stance Hayashi Fumiko assumed towards her own work before and shortly after the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in her public statements, as demonstrated with these articles, was

[110] Also included in the 1977 *zenshū*.

therefore clearly marked by a high degree of ambivalence. While she was frustrated and impatient with her own writing, she also understood this challenge as an opportunity to improve it, and witnessing the war herself would require the courage necessary to achieve that goal; her frustration, then, was directly linked to Hayashi's literary ambition.

Hayashi Fumiko divulges her own intimate connection to the war in "Kansō" 感想 ["Thoughts"], a column published in September 1937 in *Kagayaku*. In this text, she describes the time when her husband Ryokubin received his own draft notice, which leaves her in a confused emotional state and inspires her thoughts of going to the front herself as a nurse (Hayashi 1937h:1). As she sees him in his khaki-colored uniform, she recognizes patriotic love: "I don't know about the Yamato spirit (*Yamato damashii*), but I feel a clear love for the fatherland (*sokoku*)" (ibid.). Hayashi also opens the essay "Ōshō zengo" 応召前後 ["Around the call-up"; *Fujin Kōron*, January 1938[111]] by describing the evening on which Ryokubin received his draft notice and mentions the fear it causes her to feel (Hayashi 1938a:374; Hayashi 1977f:141). The following day, he goes to shave his head while Hayashi orders a *senninbari* for him at the Isetan department store (Hayashi 1938a:374; Hayashi 1977f:141); a photograph of Ryokubin in his uniform, holding a child with the Japanese flag in its hand, is attached to the essay in *Fujin Kōron* (Hayashi 1938a:375). Hayashi reveals that Ryokubin – then 36 years old – was enlisted as a medic and assigned to a place close to Tōkyō, the name of which is censored with three *fuseji*[112] (Hayashi 1938a:377; Hayashi 1977f:144). Her

[111] Also collected in the 1977 *zenshū* (Hayashi 1977f).

[112] In *Hokugan butai*, Hayashi discloses her husband's location as Utsunomiya (Hayashi 1939a:107-108; Hayashi 2002:94-95).

husband's duty and therefore his proximity to the soldiers may have inspired Hayashi's own feeling of concern for the soldiers.

In "Kita Shina no omoide" 北支那の思ひ出 ["Recollections of northern China"; *Kaizō*, November 1937[113]], she acknowledges that the challenge lying ahead for the Imperial Army will be significant, and describes how she could not hold back tears upon seeing a dirty, sweaty face of a Japanese soldier eating a watermelon in the news, expressing her wish for a swift peace that would allow soldiers like this one to return home safely (Hayashi 1937j:138). Despite this, she has trust in the strength of the Japanese army, such as when she expresses her thanks to pilots Itanuma and Tsukagoshi, who participated in the bombing of Nanjing (possibly one that took place on September 5, 1937) in the column "Itanuma, Tsukagoshi ryōhikōshi" 飯沼・塚越両飛行士 ["The two pilots Itanuma and Tsukagoshi"; *Fujin no Tomo*, January 1938] (Hayashi 1938b:6[114]) .

In three texts published in October and November 1937, preceding her trip to Nanjing, Hayashi writes about Beijing and Shanghai during the war, and also touches upon her previous visit to Beijing in September 1936. In these texts, Hayashi makes references to or reiterates statements from her earlier travelogues from China, particularly "Pekin kikō" (see Part III, 2.4.) and "Aki no Kōshū to Soshū" (see Part III, 2.2.). One aspect that emerges across these texts is a growing anti-Japanese sentiment in China, which Hayashi finds hard to comprehend and which she considers to be a

[113] An excerpt is collected in the sixteenth volume of the 1977 *zenshū*.

[114] Hayashi's article is a part of a *furoku* (supplement) to the magazine titled "Tora ni tsubasa" 虎につばさ ("Tigers and wings") in which the pages are not numbered. Hayashi's contribution is on the sixth page of this supprement and is therefore numbered here as such.

result of the Western influence in Beijing and Shanghai. In “Shina fujin ni tsuite” 支那婦人に就いて [“On Chinese women”; *Hōmu Raifu*, October 1937], Hayashi claims to understand the “urgent feeling to fight Japan” (Hayashi 1937k:28), but at the same time also feels “a sort of anti-Japanese delusion” (ibid.) taking hold of the country. Concerned about the popularity of left-wing thought among women (ibid.), she points toward the American influence in Chinese education, especially among those families which stayed in the United States, as a root cause of this anti-Japanese sentiment, while also claiming that it feels unacceptable to be on the receiving end of it (ibid.). Hayashi’s bewilderment at seeing female intellectuals with a strongly anti-Japanese position makes her compare them to “blindfolded horses” (ibid.) in this text.

In the three-part column “Shina nanboku” 支那南北 [“China north to south”], published in the newspaper *Miyako Shinbun* 都新聞 between 29 and 31 October, Hayashi writes about a Chinese feminist with American education she encountered in Shanghai. She is described as an architect and novelist openly bashing Japan, at which Hayashi can “not help but be quiet and smile” (Hayashi 1937m:8), apparently dismissing the unnamed woman’s criticism of Japan, which Hayashi does not further specify. As she has, however, previously heard (this information is in no way confirmed) that women are being employed by the police and even military force as officers and soldiers, and as if to anecdotally confirm the rumor, she also comments upon the lack of women shopping or at work (she does not disclose how) in Shanghai during her visit (ibid.). Yet witnessing the anti-Japanese ideology embodied in the female intellectual, Hayashi does not consider such women (to the extent that they are present in police and military force) to be indicative of social progress for Chinese women (ibid.). While she writes about Chinese schoolgirls being employed for tasks

such as ammunition transport for the Chinese army as it ramps up its forces in "Shina fujin ni tsuite" (Hayashi 1937k:28), she ultimately concludes that Chinese women have not contributed in any significant way to the Chinese war effort (Hayashi 1937k:29). Hayashi also calls towards a female solidarity between the nations to prevent 'cruel events' like the Tungchow mutiny[115] (*Tsūshū jiken* 通州事; ibid.). In her views towards Chinese women, Hayashi Fumiko echoes Yoshiya Nobuko when anti-Japanese rhetoric appears to fortify her national identity (or the ideological I; see Part I, 2.3.1.). Their texts even share the reference to the Tungchow mutiny, the aftermath of which Yoshiya witnessed and which inspired her wish for peace between women so that such scenes could become a matter of 'distant dreams' (see Part II, 2.1.). Differently from Yoshiya, however, Hayashi does not appear to view Chinese women as inferior and even reiterates her fondness for Chinese people. When remembering the Chinese university students and journalists who guided her around Beijing in 1936, Hayashi recalls their friendliness, ponders on their current state, and expresses her desire for reunion and peaceful relations between China and Japan in the future in the essay "Kita Shina no omoide".

Much like Yoshiya before her, Hayashi is suggesting a kind of female 'solidarity' which is guided by Japanese values, and even expresses her difficulty understanding the anti-Japanese sentiment (*kōnichi shugi*) which she considers to be China's 'child sickness' resulting from the discrimination they face from the Western inhabitants in "Shina nanboku" (Hayashi 1937m:8). Touching upon her stay in Astor House during her visit of Tianjin in 1936 (see Part III, 2.4.) – which she also reiterates in "Kita Shina no omoide" – she laments the anti-Japanese mood in China: she mentions bathrooms

[115] See Part II, 2.2.1.

being explicitly off-limits to Chinese people (Hayashi 1937j:136), who are also denied entry to hotels (Hayashi 1937m:8) and even parks (Hayashi 1937k:29). Hayashi considers such discrimination insulting to her as a fellow Asian, and not justified by the development of the city under Western forces (Hayashi 1937j:136), given that new institutions (such as universities) are largely run by those foreigners themselves (Hayashi 1937k:29). In order to illustrate the derogatory views of the Chinese about Japanese people, Hayashi recalls her visit to a university in Tianjin and the confusion her presence seemed to cause for the patrol officers there. She also mentions how the openly anti-Japanese staff had to remove caricatures of Japanese soldiers before Hayashi and her company arrived (Hayashi 1937j:137). But when she writes "I hate Stalin and Chiang Kai-Shek, but I love the people of Russia and China" (ibid.), Hayashi also separates her relationship towards China's government and its people, suggesting that their hostile attitude towards Japan is more a result of Chiang Kai-Shek's propaganda than of the Chinese people's own agency, and is prepared to take them under Japan's supposedly benevolent wings once they are ready to accept its leadership.

Comparing China and its 'many wars' (similarly to "Aki no Kōshū to Soshū", see Chapter 6) to Japan's Sengoku period (1467-1615) in "Shina nanboku" (Hayashi 1937l:8), Hayashi seems to suggest the backwardness of China as she already did in her pre-war travelogues, and while she describes Shanghai as a city in ruins (Hayashi 1937m:8), she does not acknowledge the role of Japan in its destruction. Instead, she mentions how people who lived in Shanghai would tell her it would be a good place for love "were it not for the war" (ibid.), employing a passive voice belying the role of Japan as invader. But differently from her pre-war travelogues, she admits the strength of the Chinese army (Hayashi 1937n:8), and comments on the Chinese soldiers she sees in

Beijing as different than those she saw in Suzhou six or seven years ago (see Part III, 2.2.) – older, stronger and with bigger bodies – in "Kita Shina no omoide" (Hayashi 1937j:137).

In the texts published leading up to and in the early days of the war, then, Hayashi had largely reiterated and referenced her previous experience of China as related through her pre-war travelogues, such as the foreignness of China and a sense of the unknown Hayashi is exposed to in the country. Importantly, however, she focuses on the growing anti-Japanese sentiment in China and its intensity in the early days of the war, understanding the war as an impetus for it, yet also blaming the Chinese for not understanding the ultimately benevolent intentions of Japan in the conflict, which is the position Hayashi seems to represent in these texts. She is unable to reconcile the animosity towards Japan with the colonial policies of Western countries which are harmful or discriminatory towards the Chinese, such as entry bans. By doing so, she transposes the corrupting influence of Western culture on the Japanese spirit, as envisioned by the *kokutai* ideology (see Part I, 1.2.), onto China and sees the West, instead of the Japanese expansion, as a threat to the country. At the same time, there is a continuity in Hayashi's representation of China before the outbreak of war and after it, giving her claims a veneer of authority which she would further utilize during the war. It is precisely this continuity, particularly when Hayashi recalls instances of anti-Chinese discrimination by the Western forces before 1937, that seems to imply Japan as the liberator of China from the tyranny of the West the Chinese have already been enduring earlier. Such understanding of Japan's role – or rather the intention to present Japan's role to the reader of her war reportage – is perhaps the only explanation for Hayashi's bafflement at the lack of popularity of Japan's foreign policy in China. The urgency of Japan's expansionist project is supported by Hayashi not only

by her keen focus on the anti-Japanese sentiment brewing in China, but also by the increased strength of its army. Unlike the nationalist fervor that anti-Japanese rhetoric inspired within Yoshiya Nobuko, however, Hayashi merely fails to comprehend the anti-Japanese sentiment, and even reiterates her fondness for China and its people throughout her texts.

Following the publication of these texts, Hayashi would travel to Nanjing in December 1937 and publish texts concerning the trip throughout the first half of 1938; in the following section, I will examine how her view of China compares with the texts from the early phase of the war, as well as how she portrayed the Japanese military effort in China and the fall of Nanjing.

3.2. "The first woman in Nanjing": Hayashi's non-fictional texts from January-July 1938

After Hayashi Fumiko had visited Shanghai and Nanjing around the New Year of 1938[116] – shortly after the city had fallen and been subjected to an infamous massacre committed by the Japanese army – she would publish a number of texts about her experience in 1938. These texts are important within the context of Hayashi's wartime writing, and especially her China texts, in that she utilizes stylistic and formal devices she would reuse and refine in texts based on her trip to Hankou, which took place in the same year, between September and October 1938 (see next chapter).

Considering the reach and extent of censorship on the Nanjing Massacre, which started on December 13, 1937, Hayashi was unable to write about the event or even

[116] According to the itinerary Chen provides, Hayashi arrived in Shanghai on December 29, 1937, departed the next morning to Nanjing, where she arrived on the evening of December 31, and left the city on January 3, 1938 and returned to Shanghai the next evening. She stayed in Shanghai for about one more week (Chen 2014:15).

divulge her knowledge of it. However, her arrival on the evening of December 31 (Hayashi 1938d:14) would place her trip in close vicinity to Ishikawa Tatsuzō's stay in Nanjing, which resulted in *Ikiteiru heitai,* his own fictionalized record of the soldiers' experiences around the time of the massacre based on his interviews with the troops (see Part II, Chapter 3). The extent to which Ishikawa captured the violence of the Japanese soldiers against Chinese civilians, which ultimately led to the banning of his text and Ishikawa's prosecution, however, suggests that it is highly unlikely Hayashi would have no information about the violence committed by the Japanese army. This makes it important to identify any potential allusions to the massacre in her texts in order to examine the fullness of Hayashi's account of Nanjing.

Hayashi reached perhaps the largest audience with the short travelogue "Josei no Nankin ichiban nori" 女性の南京一番乗り ["First woman in Nanjing"] in the February 6, 1938 issue of the weekly magazine *Sunday Mainichi*. The travelogue prominently features a photograph of Hayashi standing in front of a bombed wall at the gates of Nanjing in the magazine (Hayashi 1938d:14), and opens with Hayashi heading towards the city on a press truck, accompanied by the sound of gunfire "as if stones were being shot at" (Hayashi 1938d:15). The scenery is foggy and hazy, but passing the Zhongshanmen gate, Hayashi sees soldiers on guard and her eyes start "feeling warm" (Hayashi 1938d:14), suggesting tears of happiness or relief at reaching her destination. The soldiers smile, but are also surprised to see her, and she is informed by 'Mr. Hirakida' from a film crew that she is the first woman to arrive in Nanjing (Hayashi 1938d:14).

She is then taken to the former residence of "someone named Xu Kan" (Hayashi 1938d:14), which has been transformed into *Mainichi*'s branch office. The surroundings remind Hayashi of the Kōjimachi Sanbanchō area in Tōkyō, and the

mansion is located closely to Jiming Temple and Lake Xuanwu. The property itself is made of stone in an English style, with a tennis court, front yard and backyard. The emptiness of all houses around her temporary residence makes Hayashi wonder about where these families fled to, and shudder at the thought of the same fate befalling Japan. She posits that as long as wars 'happen' (again employing a passive voice to downplay Japan's role as the aggressor in the war), every country must prepare to win (Hayashi 1938d:14). But in the same breath, Hayashi adds that seeing the traces of war makes her realize how little she knows about her country (Hayashi 1938d:14). This remark is vague enough to suggest both her witnessing the strength of the Japanese army (a recurring motif in the texts preceding her Nanjing trip), as well as her knowledge of violence the army committed, providing a useful example of Hayashi's shrewd and deliberate employment of her rhetoric. When Hayashi mentions walking around the city in a 'demented' state (*chihō no jōtai*; Hayashi 1938d:15), a scene she repeats in later Nanjing texts as well, she may be alluding to her own state of shock at the sights in the fallen city (Chen 2014:19).

But Hayashi seems to attribute the destruction of Nanjing to the Chinese army, writing: "The traces of a struggle are clear and frightening. [...] I can imagine the strength of the enemy is great, too. When I went beyond the walls of Guanghua Gate, all the houses were riddled with bullet holes. The hailstorm from the enemy was tangible to me" (Hayashi 1938d:15). In doing so, Hayashi completely omits the involvement of Japanese troops from her observation of the traces of the fight and instead invokes an idea of a strong, destructive Chinese army, possibly inspiring fear (and therefore urgency in Japan's war effort) in the readers.

In the kitchen of Xu Kan's mansion, Hayashi discovers "Chinese from the defeated army and boys from Wuxi who came with the people of the branch office, preparing

dinner" (Hayashi 1938d:14). The kitchen of this Chinese family, in Hayashi's words, "seemed to lack a woman's care" (ibid.) and "it would be cleaner in the small houses in Tōkyō" (ibid.); here, too, Hayashi's vague statement may be interpreted as suggesting both a lack of care on the part of the former occupants of the house, but also of the current Japanese ones. In her increased attention to objects and spaces coded as female, such as a girl's room, kitchen, or a lipstick – also present in "Josei no Nankin ichiban nori" (ibid.) – Chen reads an empathy towards Chinese women as victims of war. While the country of China is represented as the enemy in Hayashi's texts, women appear to stand outside of that paradigm; she regards them as fellow wome deserving of solidarity (Chen 2014:22). Chen's statement should therefore be considered when examining the representation of Chinese women in Hayashi's other texts based on her Nanjing trip.

The Japanese soldiers, however, are gentle to their Chinese cohabitants, wishing the Chinese boys a happy new year several times as they are eating the food prepared by them (Hayashi 1938d:15). This gentle image of the soldiers is reinforced by Hayashi when she goes up to the second floor and watches a soldier from Ise (his troop only referred to as XX) play a piano. Standing next to the soldier and watching his "thick fingers" (Hayashi 1938d:15) – suggesting perhaps an unrefined quality to his playing – the view makes Hayashi emotional, bringing tears to her eyes(Hayashi 1938d:15). The soldiers ask Hayashi about home and talk to her about their wives and children, and tell her they most look forward to the letters they receive; their fight inspires Hayashi to exclaim "since we fought up here, we need to do our best so the fight wouldn't be in vain" (Hayashi 1938d:15). The above examples well illustrate a 'plainness' or 'simplicity' (*sobokusa*) of Japanese soldiers (Chen 2014:17), which is a quality Hayashi imbues upon them in general, and which is one of the defining

characteristics of her wartime texts in general.

Hayashi followed up the text in *Sunday Mainichi* with a number of publications appearing concurrently in March 1938[117], in which she details her experience in Nanjing in a more personal manner; these can be considered to be the non-fictional counterparts to the short story "Kōkaku" 黄鶴 ["Yellow crane"], published in the same month in *Kaizō* (see Part III, 3.4.1.). In "Watashi no jūgun nikki" 私の従軍日記 ["Diary of my assignment"], which appeared in the January 1938 issue of *Fujin Kōron,* Hayashi mentions riding the press truck accompanied by four or five reporters (*kisha*), occupying the passenger seat due to being the only woman. She hints at being accompanied by thoughts of death, speaking to the driver about the possibility of being ambushed by Chinese soldiers remaining in the area, and whether she should jump into a creek to her death if such occasion were to arise (Hayashi 1938c:460). While she acknowledges on occupying a space between life and death on this journey, she specifically dismisses the emotion this inspires as a feeling of impermanence (*mujōkan*) and rather describes it as a sense of destiny (ibid.). In "Nankin made" 南京まで ["To Nanjing"; *Fujin no Tomo*, March 1938], Hayashi's descriptions of Nanjing convey a peaceful, quiet impression, but as Chen argues, these appear contrived (*sakui*) with the knowledge of the historical context (Chen 2014:16). Chen also questions whether the city could have really returned to a truly peaceful state in mere two weeks that had passed between Nanjing's fall and Hayashi's arrival (ibid.). Pointing to Ishikawa Tatsuzō's 1946 interview with *Yomiuri Shinbun*, Chen also quotes Ishikawa as saying he saw corpses on the streets after entering the city, making Hayashi's lack

[117] See Chen 2014:14.

of knowledge highly unlikely as they traveled to Nanjing at the same time (Chen 2014:18).

One aspect of these texts which will reappear in her later writing about the Hankou offensive (see next chapter) is Hayashi's lack of emotion towards the fallen Chinese soldiers she encounters during her trip; however, differently from the Hankou texts, this lack of empathy extends even to the civilians she sees in Nanjing. Hayashi professes to feel a sense of vindication: "Somehow, I felt it serves them right" (Hayashi 1938c:462), she writes as she witnesses crying women with bound feet and children bowing (*keirei*) to her. Yet Hayashi's remark on her lack of emotions despite seeing many gruesome (*mugotarashii*) things on her journey (ibid.) also suggests an emotional numbness as a result of facing the raw reality of war. In the text "Jūgun tsūshin" 従軍通信 ["Assignment correspondence"; *Gendai,* March 1938], with which Hayashi establishes an epistolary format she would later utilize in her long-form text *Sensen* (see Part III, 4.2.), she writes about witnessing many corpses on the road, causing her "eyes and heart [to] become increasingly demented (*chihō no jōtai*)" (Hayashi 1938e:178), an expression she also used in "Josei no Nankin ichiban nori". "I feel I am becoming hardened coming here – either due to [my] ethnic difference or a [my] sentimentality as a woman" (ibid.), Hayashi writes as she ponders the strangeness of her lack of empathy. Similarly, in "Seianji-ro tsuioku" 静安寺路追憶 ["Recollections of the Bubbling Well Road"], the last of the March 1938 texts published in *Shinjoen*, Hayashi considers herself 'cold-hearted' (*reikoku*) due to how unmoved the sight of dead soldiers and horses, as well as destroyed cables and tanks left her (Hayashi 1938f:143). She also mentions passing dead Chinese soldiers on the road, without any further observation, in "Watashi no jūgun nikki" (Hayashi 1938c:460),

while in “Jūgun no omoide” 従軍の想ひ出 [“Recollections of the assignment”], published June 1938 in the magazine *Tairiku*, she describes their corpses as “mummies in withered leaves” (Hayashi 1938h:326) when she sees their still dressed bodies reduced to bones in the trenches. Hayashi’s ‘cold-heartedness’, signified by a reduction of dead people into objects within her texts, and her lack of emotion towards them clearly marks the Chinese victims, in Butler’s (2009) terms (see 1.4.), as ‘ungrievable’. Their death is treated as a matter of fact, whereas that of the Japanese soldiers is considered an act of sacrifice, distinguishing the two sides and justifying the war effort of Japan.

Even when she witnesses an old woman drawing water in “Jūgun tsūshin”, this inspires a feeling of commitment to the war rather than any clear sign of empathy, as Hayashi exclaims “I thought, oh, we must win this war at all cost” (Hayashi 1938e:180), perhaps supposedly for China’s sake as well. She expresses this sentiment as one shared by others on the ground when she describes the embedded reporters joining hands with soldiers in tears after the conquest of Nanjing in *Tairiku* in June 1938 (Hayashi 1938h:326). In the same text, Hayashi also explicitly validates the Japanese coverage of the war, and therefore the state propaganda, when she writes how what she has heard back home in Japan (*naichi*) has been confirmed by her own travels (ibid.). The sense of empathy Chen identifies in Hayashi’s texts in Nanjing (Chen 2014:22), I would argue, is highly ambivalent, if perhaps more present than in Yoshiya Nobuko’s travelogues from Shanghai.

In “Jūgun tsūshin”, Hayashi also hints towards an ostracization of Japan from the international community when passing through the Bubbling Well Road in Shanghai,

describing the area of Jewish, Black[118], French, American, British and Chinese concessions where "middle- and upper-class capitalists from every country live in peace" (Hayashi 1938e:177–178) and expresses her wish for more Japanese of all classes – not just the intellectual elites (*bunkajin*) – to come to the country (Hayashi 1938e:178). In the texts published in March 1938, similarly to her pre-war travelogue "Aki no Kōshū to Soshū", Hayashi also perceives China's soil as one "drenched in blood of many folks (*minzoku*)" (Hayashi 1938e:179; Hayashi 1938f:143) **a**nd by doing so presenting China as a country constantly ravaged by war – again distracting from Japan's role as an invader in the conflict she witnesses.

While Hayashi describes herself as always having been a 'solitary traveler' (*kodoku na hitoritabi no ryokōsha*; Hayashi 1938f:144), referring to both the persona she established with *Hōrōki* (see Chapter 1.2. in this part) and the travels she largely undertook in the early 1930s (see Chapter 2), she did, as mentioned above, travel with a group of reporters and also interacted with a number of people during her visit to Nanjing. As a member of the press, Hayashi receives a press armband (ibid.), which she also references in the short story "Kōkaku" (see Part III, 3.4.1.). In the Nanjing mansion, she meets a reporter simply named M who asks her if she is not concerned about a mental breakdown (*shinkei suijaku*) on the battlefield, and shows a photograph of a woman he found in this empty house, telling Hayashi that "it might be sick (*byōteki*), but I feel love towards this photograph" (ibid.).

Chen identifies this young reporter, who seems to suggest to Hayashi that he had suffered a mental breakdown himself, as Satō Shinju 佐藤振壽 (1913-2008), a photographer for *Mainichi Shinbun*, who was in Nanjing and Shanghai between

[118] Their nationality is not specified, and they are identified only as *kokujin* 黒人 ("black people").

September 1937 and February 1938, and who had later written about what he had witnessed and photographed on the ground (Chen 2014:23). In two excerpts from his own writing, Satō describes scenes of Japanese soldiers killing the surviving Chinese soldiers with guns and swords after their defeat, as well as compliant, unarmed civilians, and his empathy for the Chinese refugees who face the brutality of Japanese troops (Chen 2014:25). Satō is best known as the photographer who documented the infamous 'hundred heads contest' (*hyakunin kiri kyōsō*) between second lieutenants (*shōi*) Mukai Toshiaki 向井敏明 and Noda Takeshi 野田毅, who sparred in who would behead one hundred people during the Nanjing offensive. This 'contest' was reported on by *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun* on November 30 and December 4, 6 and 13, 1937, as well as by *Ōsaka Mainichi Shinbun* on December 1, 4, 7 and 13 (ibid.); this instance of the violence of Japanese troops in China was therefore well documented and by no means kept away from the public. Satō took a photograph of Mukai and Noda with their swords at the gates of Changzhou in November 1937, published in *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun* on December 13. Today[119], this photograph can also be seen in the Memorial Hall of the Victims in Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders (Nankin Daigyakusatsu Kinenkan 南京大虐殺諦念館), which is the name of the museum in Nanjing opened to commemorate the event (Chen 2014:25).

As Satō had published his photographs from Nanjing – among these also graphic images of the Chinese victims – he also provided a historical record and evidence of the massacre, and publicly established himself as an important witness. Chen therefore deduces that as far as Satō and Hayashi had more candid conversations, as

[119] As of 2014, and presumably also in 2022. The museum remains open.

suggested by the remark about a mental breakdown[120], Hayashi would likely be told about the massacre by Satō even if she did not bear direct witness to it (Chen 2014:26). In her texts, Hayashi also omits mentioning visiting the French Concession in Shanghai with Satō, during which one of Satō's photographs was apparently taken, leading Chen to infer that Hayashi had significantly edited the events she had witnessed in her travelogues (ibid.). Shinfune raises a similar point, pointing towards an absence of the sound of gunshots Hayashi should have routinely heard in her texts, or events unflattering for the army[121] she should have been aware of (Shinfune 2016:51).

The omissions that Hayashi makes, however, have also been used to interpret her account of Nanjing after its fall as truthful, and even to deny the Nanjing Massacre itself. Miyata (2019), for example, contrasts the peaceful scenes of Nanjing with a scene from later *Sensen* in which a pair of Japanese soldiers executes a POW, or with Hayashi mentioning corpses in Hankou, implying she had not seen violence or any proof thereof in Nanjing either. Miyata argues that as a newspaper reporter, she would have more freedom of expression at her disposal than on a military assignment as a member of the *pen butai* (Miyata 2019:133). However, Miyata's statement is misleading in that while the *pen butai* was directly connected to the military, Hayashi was working on an assigment for *Asahi Shinbun* in Hankou, putting her in the same or at least similar position as during her Nanjing trip. On the contrary, then, the more Hayashi Fumiko divulges about the darker sides of war in her texts from Hankou, the more her

[120] This moment connects "Josei no Nankin ichiban nori", "Seianji-ro tsuioku" and "Kōkaku" (Chen 2014:26).

[121] Shinfune mentions an incident in which Japanese soldiers arrived at John Rabe's refugee camp and demanded the release of [Chinese] women (Shinfune 2016:51), implying they intended to rape them.

deliberate editing of the Nanjing texts becomes apparent. Yet Miyata's approach to Hayashi's texts on Nanjing as an authentic testimony in order to put the Nanjing Massacre in question, precisely in its aim to deny a war crime, makes a case for these texts as valuable artifacts of Japan's wartime propaganda and, in a larger sense, of the construction of Japan's collective memory.

Hayashi's encounter with Japanese soldiers emerges as perhaps the most formative experience of her trip. Chen highlights the celebratory rhetoric about the strength and nobleness of Japan's army as a defining characteristic of Hayashi Fumiko's texts on Nanjing. Following the public record of Hayashi's visit as well as the texts Hayashi herself wrote about it, Chen describes Hayashi's positioning as a reporter, but also as a woman, as one of 'looking up' towards the Imperial Army (Chen 2014:17), similarly to Yoshiya Nobuko's retreat into a more subservient kind of femininity during interactions with army officers in her Shanghai travelogues (see Part II, 2.1.). Her affection for the soldiers is, however, already apparent in the January 1938 text "Arawashi butaichō o tazunete" 荒鷲部隊長を訪ねて ["Visiting commanding officer Arawashi"], published in *Fujin Kurabu*, which predates her Nanjing texts. Here, Hayashi meets Major Wada (Wada *shōsa*), who speaks about the soldiers' resolve during the bombing of Nanjing, and she describes their faces as not reflecting a determination to die, but rather peace (*heiki na kao*; Hayashi 1938g:121). Yet Wada is also faced with the presence of death, as two of the three soldiers with whom he shares a room have apparently fallen. Seeing their empty beds, Hayashi is left speechless, and comments upon the sadness of writing to their families (Hayashi 1938g:125). In the magazine, Wada is depicted smiling on a portrait (Hayashi 1938g:120), as well on a large photograph standing next to Hayashi (Hayashi 1938g:118). The other two photographs show doubledecker planes (Hayashi

1938g:120) and soldiers during what appears to be a roll call (Hayashi 1938g:122–123). Hayashi also expresses how thankful she is for the fact that the American-made Chinese planes are light and easy to destroy (Hayashi 1938g:121), establishing a superiority of the Japanese army over both China and the United States or even the West at large, whose influence she had observed as corrupting since before the war (e.g. in "Pekin kikō", "Shina Fujin ni tsuite", and "Kita Shina no omoide").

Another important motif established in this early text is Hayashi's keen attention to the horses on front and the exceptional love of soldiers for them, when she describes letters from soldiers she receives at home saying "both me and my horse are doing well" (Hayashi 1938g:124). Horses will become an even more important focal point for Hayashi in her later texts related to her trip to Hankou in late 1938 (see next chapter), but already here or in the later "Seianji-ro tsuioku" she expresses her sympathy for the horses tied to houses in Nanjing, emaciated and cold with wounded skin, wanting to comfort them by feeding them "a mountain of carrots" (Hayashi 1938f:146).

In the texts about Nanjing and Shanghai, Hayashi is surprised at the Imperial Army's might (*chikara*); she feels the troops could go to the ends of Earth and describes their work as "godly" (*kamigakari*; Hayashi 1938c:463). This ascription of a godlike quality links Hayashi's texts ideologically with the nationalist concept of *kokutai* (see Part I, 1.2.), according to which Japan was a nation descended from the gods and which posited a toxic effect of Western culture on the Japanese spirit, also echoed by Hayashi in China by her lamenting of the Western influence and her antagonism to it. On the other hand, Hayashi also establishes the Japanese soldiers' ordinariness: seeing the spirited faces of soldiers "from all the villages" (Hayashi 1938e:176) – establishing them as *shomin* (ordinary people, see Part III, 1.2.) – inspires feelings of

trust within her. Considering Foucault's concept of masculinity as a process of growth from a peasant to a soldier (see 1.4.), the soldiers' ordinariness also enables them to represent the ideal of manhood. The soldier as an embodiment of Japan's 'natural' leadership quality fits well into the ideology of 'fascist imperialism' that Young (2017) proposes as central to understanding the political status quo; at the same time, the aspects of tradition, action, heroism and overcoming of struggle, all of which are inherent to the soldiers Hayashi depicts, are all important parts of 'ur-fascism' which Eco (1995) understands to be a root cause for the popularity of nationalism globally (1.6.).

Despite the soldiers' godlike strength, Hayashi is preoccupied with their sacrifice, pondering the destiny of soldiers who get shot while going to relieve themselves, reminding the readers that such simple (*jimi*) death on the battlefield is also a glorious (*hanabanashii*) one (Hayashi 1938e:179). She also wishes for the safety of her husband, who was drafted three months before her trip to Nanjing, and calls for national unity (*kyokoku icchi*) coming 'from the heart of the country' (*kokunai no kokoro kara*) as an appropriate response on the part of Japanese citizens to the soldiers' sacrifice (ibid.).

In her *Tairiku* text from June 1938, Hayashi touches upon the sacrifice of the Japanese soldiers in more detail, as well as the the inspiring effect it has on her. She singles out a memory of seeing wooden grave plaques on the roof of an army headquarter (*rikusentai honbu*) as the most unforgettable one on her trip and the sight bringing tears to her eyes (Hayashi 1938h:326). Yet she also mentions how the sight of soldiers marching to Nanjing, their figures all black with dirt and erasing distinctions between troop commanders (*butaichō*) and regular foot soldiers (*ippeisotsu*), with everyone marching forward as one, is the memory she recalls whenever she feels miserable (Hayashi 1938h:327). She appeals to the readers to send old magazines and

newspapers to the front, as the soldiers are most curious about news from home (*naichi*), about which they also inquire when they send her letters; Hayashi also points out how accomplished their written expression is (Hayashi 1938h:328). Despite the death and danger that was so palpable to Hayashi during her trip, and especially in her texts from March 1938, the strength of the Japanese army reassured her, and she mentions how she had "never once felt anxious" (Hayashi 1938h:327) while walking on the battlefield. Hayashi also closes this June 1938 text with wishing the soldiers well (*heitai-san, o-genki de irasshite kudasai*; Hayashi 1938h:328), which will also become a recurring motif in her later writing on the war in China. The focus on the soldiers' sacrifice also connects Hayashi's texts to the journalistic tradition of *bidan* (see Part I, 1.5.), accounts glorifying the actions of soldiers and usually focusing on them leaving for service, life in the army, fighting on the front or on the return of servicemen's remains. Their sacrifice, coupled with their godly strength, is in accordance with the depiction of soldiers in wartime media as "human and superhuman at the same time" (Earhart 2008:99), as Earhart puts it (see Part I, 1.5.).

Finally, Hayashi also signals her ambitions as a writer in her Nanjing texts. While in "Seianji-ro tsuioku", she concludes that China is a country she cannot comprehend no matter how often she visits it (Hayashi 1938f:146), she also writes in *Asahi Shinbun* on March 28 about a sense of duty in the war, how writers can not afford to rest now, both physically and spiritually (Hayashi 1938i:7). In her series of columns "Watashi no pēji" 私の頁 ["My page"], published in *Bungei* between May and August 1938, she expresses her desire to travel to China again for a longer period of time – around a month – and hopes for other writers and journalists to explore different aspects of the country as well (Hayashi 1938j:208), foreshadowing her participation in the *pen butai* which she would join just three or four months later (see Part I, 2.1.2.). Contrary

to the disappointment at wartime literature she expressed before her trip to Shanghai, she has high praise for Hino Ashihei's *Mugi to heitai* after she reads it in *Kaizō*, mentioning that she has not yet read such accomplished writing from a soldier, and how the text made her cry not out of sadness or pity, but rather due to how noble (*tōtoi*) it is (Hayashi 1938k:186).

In the texts Hayashi published after her trip to Nanjing and Shanghai, then, Hayashi presents a very different picture of war than Ishikawa Tatsuzō did in *Ikiteiru heitai*, although it must be noted that Ishikawa's novel omits mentioning the Nanjing Massacre itself as well. Yet the civil conduct of Japanese soldiers, their kind treatment of Chinese civilians and overall gentleness are in stark contrast to the violence they commit on the pages of *Ikiteiru heitai* towards the very same people. While Hayashi's increased attention to women and female-coded spaces can be read as a sign of her empathy, as Chen does (Chen 2014:22), there is also a marked lack thereof – by Hayashi's own admission, no less – to be observed across her Nanjing texts.

The representation of Japanese soldiers in her Nanjing texts serves as the embodiment of ideology and is therefore the most crucial aspect in their examination as propaganda. While Hayashi's affection and awe she feels towards the soldiers is made to appear as an expression of her genuine emotion – as it may have been – at the same time it also fits neatly into the overall mode of representation of the army in Japanese media. Hayashi's texts therefore also serve to support an established discourse on the army and war as it was led in and defined by the Japanese media with strict state oversight. Describing the same soldiers as 'godly' and 'ordinary', Hayashi can both accommodate the *Kokutai* discourse and paint an aspirational picture of an everyman ascending to a hero – a potential seemingly any Japanese man can fulfill.

Another important aspect connecting Hayashi's texts to propaganda related to the

soldiers is her employment of narrative patterns familiar from *bidan* reportage. These pieces of glorifying war reportage about soldiers often dealt with their departure for duty, life in the army, struggle, or sacrifice, all of which can also be found in Hayashi's texts. Especially interesting in this respect is "Ōshō zengo", as it deals with the departure of her own husband, establishing a personal connection between Hayashi and the soldiers. The sacrifice and nobility of Japanese soldiers are what distinguishes their potential deaths as 'grievable', while the fallen Chinese soldiers, dead and sometimes barely recognizable as human, are clearly marked as 'ungrievable' (see 1.4.). Despite this, Japanese soldiers are shown as respectful towards the enemy corpses as they cover them with a small amount of dirt where the Chinese army left their comrades' corpses exposed (Hayashi 1938h:124). Suggesting an implicit superiority and seemingly natural mandate for victory, Hayashi's depiction of the war not only follows established patterns in the media, but also plays well into Foucault's concept of biopower (see 1.4.): while the Japanese sacrifice in war is noble and tragic, the Chinese sacrifice is necessary in order for the war to come to an end. Hayashi seems to highlight the superiority of the 'Japanese spirit' (above the corrupt West) and military might (against China), for instance, when she rejoices about the ease with which China's American-made planes explode (Hayashi 1938h:121).

3.3. The essay collection *Watashi no konchūki* (July 1938)

The last significant publication by Hayashi Fumiko concerning her trip to Nanjing and Shanghai is the volume *Watashi no konchūki* 私の昆虫記 [*My book of insects*[122]],

[122] The title is a reference to Jean-Henri Fabre's *Souvenirs entomologiques* (*Book of insects*, 1879-1907), a ten-volume series of biology books in which he describes life cycles of various insects.

published in July 1938, just two months before her next assignment in China. The volume contains mostly essays and travelogues, but also prose such as “Fūfu” (see Part III, 3.4.1.), with only some of these texts having been published previously – such as “Nankin yuki” [“Bound for Nanjing”], her *Sunday Mainichi* article from February under a changed title.

In the previously unpublished texts, Hayashi in large part reiterates the points made in her earlier accounts of her visit to Nanjing, at times conveying a more personal perspective, at others a more propagandistic one. For instance, in “Roei no yoru” 露営の夜 [“Camping night”], Hayashi imagines the possibility of being ambushed and killed by Chinese soldiers remaining in the location she camps in with her company on the *Ōsaka Mainichi* press truck. With nobody carrying a gun and their cargo consisting of newspapers, cigarettes, gasoline and food they are transporting for the New Year in Nanjing, and not surrounded by Japanese soldiers, Hayashi feels exposed to the Chinese troops potentially lurking in the area (Hayashi 1938l:38). Like in “Watashi no jūgun nikki” from March 1938 (Hayashi 1938c:461–462), Hayashi is most concerned about the issue of sanitation as the sole woman on this trip (Hayashi 1938l:40). Considering her thoughts about soldiers who get shot while relieving themselves on the field in the earlier (Hayashi 1938e:179), this concern is clearly not only connected to her being singled out as a woman among her company, but also to her increased sense of exposure and vulnerability. When looking for a bathroom in an abandoned farmer’s house, where she spends the night in its rice storage, she notices traces of fire in the rooms in passing, but does not elaborate on its cause (Hayashi 1938l:40). Instances of Japanese troops setting fire on entire neighborhoods have been recorded by soldiers themselves in diaries from the war, as recounted by Yoshimi (Yoshimi 2015:70); in this context, Hayashi’s silence on the fire’s cause seems

deliberate.

Similarly, she does not dwell on the emptiness of Nanjing, the streets of which are full of soldiers – "of course, Japanese soldiers" (Hayashi 1938l:45), assuring the readers that while the streets are full of empty houses, this is due to the citizens having gathered in refugee zones (*hinanmin kuiki*; ibid.), including the inhabitants of the burnt house she spent the night at previously (Hayashi 1938l:40). Even though she does mention the Guanghua Gate at the entrance to the city as the point through which the Wakisaka troop (*Wakisaka butai*) was the first to pass through, and which the Japanese soldiers have nicknamed the 'gate of death' (*shi no mon*), Hayashi does not go into any detail about whose death this is related to, particularly as the Japanese army does not seem to have suffered great losses. In this way, the mention of a 'gate of death' could be considered an allusion to the massacre having taken place, but as in the previous texts, Hayashi remains vague enough to suggest both the (real) death of Nanjing's citizens as well as the (potential) death Japanese soldiers were resolved to face.

In "Kai asobi no Nankin" 会遊びの南京 ["Meeting in Nanjing"], Hayashi curiously mentions staying in Nanjing for merely a day (Hayashi 1938l:60) – a fact which is inconsistent with her previous texts and which points toward a flexibility of truth in her accounts – but also her surprise at the preservation of the city, which she had expected to find completely bombarded (ibid.). In this way, Hayashi seems to suggest a civil conduct on the part of Japanese soldiers, compounded by her surprise at the lack of respect from the Chinese civilians shown to them as they march the streets with whistles (*fue*) and drums (*taiko*) after Nanjing's fall (Hayashi 1938l:61).

In light of the massacre that took place mere days before Hayashi's arrival in the city – and of which Hayashi would plausibly have at least a passing knowledge –

Hayashi's surprise at the lack of admiration towards Japanese soldiers among the citizens of Nanjing seems absurd. Chen points towards the paradox in Hayashi's description of the houses in Nanjing as well preserved, after having witnessed (as expressed in her texts) corpses of people and animals on her way there; other inconsistencies across her Nanjing texts which Chen identifies also seem to be deliberate. Such inconsistencies, then, rather point toward Hayashi's awareness of censorship and her adaptation to it (Chen 2014:20).

Now that Nanjing has fallen, Hayashi also seems to suggest that Japan should be in charge of the city's reconstruction when she writes how it could return to its previous state "if Chiang Kai-Shek does not return" (Hayashi 1938l:62), claiming the city herself as Japanese territory. In "Roei no yoru", Hayashi reiterates the camaraderie of the soldiers as they sing songs from home together (Hayashi 1938l:39), as well as their godly strength (Hayashi 1938l:37), already familiar from her earlier texts. Similarly, she remains unmoved by the sight of fallen Chinese soldiers, instead being deeply struck by the sight of fallen horses on the road and thinking of sending them care packages (*imonbukuro*) full of carrots (Hayashi 1938l:36–37).

Watashi no konchūki can be considered a precursor to Hayashi's most important pair of texts she published after her later trip to Hankou, *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai* (see Part III, 4.2.). In the afterword to *Watashi no konchūki*, Hayashi describes this essay collection as her 'diary', but also states that her goal was to write war reportage (Hayashi 1938l:224), and suggests that she is not quite yet satisfied with it. In the text "Gogatsu no tegami" 五月の手紙 ["May letter"], she writes that it is impossible to write battlefield essays (*senjō no zuihitsu*; Hayashi 1938l:175), at once hinting at a frustration with her own writing, but perhaps also to the reach of censorship which makes the full extent of war's reality impossible to convey.

While Hayashi largely develops motifs established in her previously published texts about her trip to Nanjing and Shanghai, there is also a more personal, emotional focus to *Watashi no konchūki*. Feelings of anxiety, fear of death of Hayashi's own vulnerability (vividly represented by Hayashi's concern about sanitation) seem more pronounced than in the earlier Nanjing texts, owing perhaps to Hayashi's own understanding of this collection as a 'diary'. While the darker sides of war or Hayashi's experience with it are hinted at more strongly in *Watashi no konchūki* (such as with the 'gate of death' reference), they are still not explored in any significant depth, which can be easily explained by the extent of censorship (see Part I, 1.4.) as well as Ishikawa Tatsuzō's recent *Ikiteiru heitai* scandal (see Part II, 3.3.). At the same time, Hayashi's 'diary' includes pieces of officially commissioned war reportage ("Josei no Nankin ichiban nori", which appears as "Nankin yuki") or fiction ("Fūfu"), thus insisting on an authenticity and immediacy of the texts contained in the collection, as well as their claims to veracity. Hayashi even seems to bolster such a case by confessing she had produced a diary instead of a war reportage in the afterword, thereby apparently expressing discontent with the collection (Hayashi 1938l:224). By doing so, she may seek to present the texts as raw, unfinished, and therefore authentic and immediate, and deliberately downplay their propagandistic aspects, such as the officially sanctioned view of war and the representation of the Japanese army.

3.4. Hayashi Fumiko's fiction about war between 1937 and early 1938

Hayashi has published a few fictional texts between 1937 and the early 1938 which are related to the war. The more important of these are the three texts featuring Shigeko, a thinly veiled representation of Hayashi Fumiko who is easily identifiable through references to Hayashi's travelogues. These stories focus on Shigeko's visit of her

husband in Korea ("Yukukari" 行雁 ["Returning geese", 1937]) around the time of Hayashi's 1936 trip to China, her husband Shintarō's military draft ("Fūfu" 夫婦 ["Husband and wife", 1938]), corresponding to Ryokubin's own call-up, and Shigeko's trip to Shanghai and Nanjing as a reporter ("Kōkaku" 黄鶴 ["Yellow crane", 1938]). Employing elements of *shishōsetsu* and conspicuously referencing her own, non-fictional writing, Hayashi makes a claim to authenticity to the Shigeko texts, in the process also corroborating the authenticity of her non-fictional accounts. Another story published in December 1937, "Airashiki niwa", is a short piece of more traditional fiction about a wife separated from her husband on the war front, which is nevertheless interesting in the context of Hayashi's wartime writing in that it employs several elements from both her non-fictional and fictional texts from this period, helping to establish overarching motifs in Hayashi's texts concerning the war in China.

3.4.1. The Shigeko stories: "Yukukari", "Fūfu", and "Kōkaku"

Hayashi Fumiko's short stories featuring the character of Shigeko have been published between February 1937 and March 1938. The proximity of their publication to Hayashi's travels, mirrored in these texts by those of Shigeko, and the focus on brief, emotional episodes from these travels suggests a reading of these texts as *shishōsetsu*, even as they are narrated in the third person – an approach which harkens back to Hayashi's 1931 prose text "Seihin no sho" (see Part III, 1.3.1.).

The first of these, "Yukukari", was published shortly after Hayashi's 1936 trip to China, in the February 1937 issue of *Chūō Kōron*. The story depicts Shigeko's visit of her husband Shintarō (standing in for the author's husband Ryokubin) in Korea, from whom she had been separated for four months. The marriage seems quiet and Shigeko

is largely unconcerned about what Shintarō, who is a painter, is doing, and their correspondence is sporadic (Hayashi 1937o:59). Shigeko herself is introduced as a writer, and confesses how strange (*fushigi*) it feels to earn a living by writing (Hayashi 1937o:60). While this may suggest that, as Hayashi Fumiko, she is not coming from a privileged background, any observations about the characters outside of their immediate vicinity and experience (as with typical *shishōsetsu*) are impossible to make.

During Shigeko's visit, she speaks with Shintarō about the possibility of war, which he considers to be a mere question of time, and about the possibility of his conscription. This makes Shigeko consider joining the war effort as a nurse (Hayashi mentioned this idea in her essay "Kansō" from September 1937). Shintarō objects to her suggestion, claiming she would be rejected[123], and instead suggests for her to leave to the countryside (Hayashi 1937o:64–65). Neither the issue of Shintarō's conscription, Shigeko's move, or the couple's future are resolved in the text. Towards its end, Shigeko tells Shintarō she will spend around two weeks in Northern China and Shanghai, although she has concerns for her safety. She wonders aloud whether she would have been useful to 'XX' (Hayashi 1937o:70), at which Shintarō calls her a 'fool' (*baka*; ibid.); the meaning of this exchange remains unclear. The text ends with Shintarō departing to Busan on a train and the couple becoming separated yet again (Hayashi 1937o:71). The date of September 1 is attached to the text, situating it around the time of Hayashi's 1936 trip to China, only being published months later. It is worth noting that Ryokubin's trip to Korea is not mentioned in Hayashi's travelogues, which gives the text a degree of plausible deniability and fictionality; on the other hand, the intertextual references to Hayashi's non-fictional texts and her personal life anchor it

[123] Hayashi had poor eyesight, which might be a reason for this rejection.

in her own reality. This suggests a reading of "Yukukari" through the lens of a *shishōsetsu*, which will become even more apparent in the later examples, which link Shigeko's stories with Hayashi's travelogues and essays more explicitly than "Yukukari".

The second part of the Shigeko trilogy, "Fūfu", was published almost a year later in the January 1938 issue of the magazine *Asuka* and was subsequently also included in the collection *Watashi no konchūki*. This short piece, only a handful of pages long, can be described as a prose-form retelling of "Ōshō zengo", an essay about Ryokubin's conscription published the same month in *Fujin Kōron*. Like "Yukukari", there is a date attached to this story, in this case November 24, 1937. In "Fūfu", Hayashi explores the unease that Shintarō's conscription is causing her, and which she only mentioned in passing in "Ōshō zengo". It opens on an unspecified date (censored by two *fuseji*), when Shintarō returns home '[looking] like a soldier' (*heitai sugata de*), surprising Shigeko (Hayashi 1938m:56). Hayashi seems to hint at a fear for his life when she looks towards a barrack with sick soldiers and hears organ music come from it as she accompanies Shintarō to his health check-up (Hayashi 1938m:58). The following day, Shigeko sees Shintarō off at Ueno, where she buys him a pen (ibid.), which is the only means for the separated couple to remain connected during Shintarō's duty. Hearing a group of women singing a war song (*gunka*), it sounds not heroic (*isamashii*), but rather dark; it reminds her of a lullaby (Hayashi 1938m:58–59). In this way, following up on the musical motif of the organ, Hayashi might be expressing her fear of Ryokubin's, or the soldiers' at large, potential death on the front. The text closes with Shigeko passing a woman standing absentmindedly (*bon'yari*) by the station, accompanied by an oppressive (*ikigurushii*) feeling inside her (Hayashi 1938m:59). Among the Shigeko texts, "Fūfu" stands out not just due to its brief length, but also for combining the immediate, direct mode of *shishōsetsu* (therefore establishing an autobiographical pact

between Hayashi and the reader) and a classic sujet of *bidan* propaganda, the soldier's departure to the front.

The final Shigeko story "Kōkaku", published in the March 1938 issue of *Kaizō*, is perhaps the most important among the three[124]. It concerns Shigeko's trip to Shanghai and Nanjing on an assignment for the 'D Newspaper', a *shishōsetsu*-like stand-in for the *Mainichi Shinbun*, or 'daily newspaper'. Unlike with the previous installments of the trilogy, no date is attached to "Kōkaku", but its contents corresponds with "Josei Nankin ichiban nori" and "Seianji-ro tsuioku", published at the same time. It was also collected in Hayashi's anthology *Hyōga* [*Glacier*], also from 1938. Chen points out that while the events related in "Kōkaku" are largely identical with those described in Hayashi Fumiko's war reportage and travelogues, the focus on the protagonist's internal state and her dark and oppressive emotions, as well as the text's supposed fictionality, become Hayashi's tools to express doubts about the war (Chen 2014:20); at the same time, this supports the case for examining how war is depicted by Hayashi through the *shishōsetsu* lens.

"Kōkaku" opens with Shigeko standing on a ship's deck on a cold, rainy night. Shigeko is intensely anxious: "Shigeko felt suffocated, as if lead had set in inside her chest and somebody was judging her – everything you are doing is a mistake! (What did I get on this ship for…?)" (Hayashi 1938n:59; 1977g:175) In passages such as these, Hayashi utilizes the quick switch to a first-person perspective often seen in her earlier 1930s prose, in this case articulating the protagonist's anxiety about her journey. Such anxiety was often downplayed or even ignored by Hayashi in her non-fictional writing, and brings "Kōkaku" closer to *shishōsetsu* than the previous two Shigeko stories.

[124] It is also the only one included in the *zenshū* (Hayashi 1977g).

Further, when Shigeko does not "understand where [Japan's] flag's destination lies at all" (ibid.), she may be expressing her uncertainty about the personal experience which lies ahead for her, or even about the future of the war and Japan. Still, Hayashi seems to position Shigeko as sympathetic to Japan's war effort, when she feels as if a war song she hears "resonated from the depths of the water, deep inside [Shigeko's] ears" (Hayashi 1938n:62; 1977g:177), the military music seemingly touching upon something essential within Shigeko.

In Shanghai, Shigeko visits the branch office of the above-mentioned 'D Newspaper', located on the second floor of a bank, and is introduced to other people whose names also are abbreviated to one letter: a young reporter Y and captain (*taii*) S from the newspaper crew, whom Hayashi feels relieved to see dressed in a suit instead of military garb, and with an easygoing attitude (Hayashi 1938n:63; 1977g:178). Shigeko is also given an armband with the number 195, the same as Hayashi's number in "Seianji-ro tsuioku", and immediately feels a connection with the larger community of reporters:

> "When Shigeko put the new armband on, she felt vividly as if the scenery had flipped. She was curiously happy seeing the armband with the number 195. Looking at the number, there was something poetic about pinning it on, what with the amount of people behind the number 195, and [Shigeko] could see each of those numbers brightly." (Hayashi 1938n:64; 1977g:178)

Putting on the armband, then, becomes something of a rite of passage for Hayashi in Shanghai, making her presence in China tangible as a member of the press rather than being a plain civilian. At the same time, the number 195 suggests to Shigeko that 194 members of the press may have come to China before her, and as the scenery 'flips', so does her perspective. By highlighting Shigeko's consciousness of her own role as a reporter (rather than a literary author) in service of a newspaper, Hayashi Fumiko also

justifies the congruence of her own, non-fictional texts with the official reporting on the war, and further establishes the aspect of factuality in "Kōkaku", which is critical to its reading as a *shishōsetsu*.

As Hayashi did in her travelogues, Shigeko too encounters dead bodies of horses and fallen soldiers while on the press truck, and suddenly remembers Russian writer Vsevolod Garshin's short story "Tchetyre dnya" ("Four days", 1877), which she considers to be an unforgettable piece of war literature: "There were no bushes or a forest here, yet Shigeko could see the scenery from [Vselovod] Garshin's story right before her eyes. When she saw the frozen, shrunk corpses of fallen soldiers – how many days was he groaning? The cries resounded in Shigeko's ears like the buzzing of flies" (Hayashi 1938n:70; 1977g:184). Shigeko's matter-of-fact, distanced observation of the dead Chinese soldiers here mirrors the lack of empathy towards them that Hayashi showed in her Nanjing travelogues. Still more interesting is the passage corresponding to Hayashi Fumiko's travelogue "Roei no yoru" from *Watashi no konchūki*: here, Shigeko wonders about where the inhabitants of a village she spends a night at had fled to (Hayashi 1938n:67; 1977g:181), which seems at odds with the certainty with which Hayashi relayed their safety in "Roei no yoru".

The reporter M from "Seianji-ro tsuioku" becomes Shimizu in "Kōkaku", with whom Shigeko discusses the whereabouts of the original occupants of the house they meet in. Shimizu speculates they might be around Hong Kong, and Shigeko asks him, "Aren't they in the refugee zones?" (Hayashi 1938n:81; 1977g:192) "Of course not, but still, when I walk around here, I think about the woman in the picture… I get restless and feel like looking for her" (ibid.) Shimizu replies and asks Shigeko to not tell anyone, which she finds touching (ibid.). The scene reveals more with the understanding that this fictional reporter represents a real photographer who witnessed and documented

the violence omitted from this text (as well as Hayashi's travelogues). Without it, for example, it would be unclear why the fictional Shimizu refutes Shigeko's idea of the house's inhabitants being in the refugee zones (ibid.), as the official media narrative insisted on all the citizens of Nanjing being evacuated before the Japanese army entered the city. As none of Hayashi's texts contain any indication that Satō had told her about the massacre, it would also help to better understand why Shimizu asks Shigeko to not mention their conversation to outsiders. Shimizu's request might therefore explain the absence of other conversations between Satō and Hayashi in her travelogues.

One short paragraph from the original *Kaizō* version of "Kōkaku" is curiously omitted in the Bunsendō *zenshū* from 1977; it concerns Shintarō's infidelity:

> "While it had nothing to do with her current feelings, Shintarō's affair with a maid called Hiro crept up in Shigeko's heart like a dark shadow. Things from days past like this melted inside Shigeko, as if they were building layers of her spleen. She just wanted to be at peace for a long time now, but the bitterness she felt about her marriage ate away at her heart." (Hayashi 1938n, 69–70)

While this short paragraph does not have a great bearing on the story, it is interesting to see it removed in later editions. Hinting upon an extramarital affair that Shintarō (and by extension, possibly, Ryokubin) had with a maid is at stark odds with Shigeko's unconcerned attitude about Shintarō's life in Korea she presented in "Yukukari"; whereas their marriage was described as peaceful in the first Shigeko story (Hayashi 1937o:59), she now feels bitter about it. It is curious to see that a reference to Shintarō's affair was kept intact in the original 1938 version of the text, considering it could be easily construed to constitute an encroachment on 'public morals' and therefore unfit for publication (see Part I, 1.4.).

"Kōkaku" closes with Shigeko visiting a restaurant in Shanghai. There, she has an

encounter with a waiter, speaking good Japanese, who wishes to move to Japan, as he finds Shanghai to be a tough place to live in; Shigeko looks at him in bewilderment at his wish to leave such a big country for Japan (Hayashi 1938n:86; 1977g:196). When she visits a dance hall and sees Chinese people dancing, she describes her complicated feelings as she contemplates the face of war she had just witnessed (Shinfune 2016:51; Hayashi 1938n:85; 1977g:195). With a somber tone to a scene of young people dancing, Hayashi distorts the typical image of Shanghai as a site of entertainment, similarly to Yoshiya Nobuko in her Shanghai travelogues (see Part II, 2.1.).

While Hayashi distances the narrating I from the narrated I by employing a third-person perspective in the Shigeko stories, there are still many signifiers identifying Shigeko as a stand-in for Hayashi and therefore an intention on Hayashi's part to be read as such. Not only is Shigeko (like Hayashi herself) married to an artist, a considerable number of intertextual links connect the Shigeko stories to Hayashi's non-fictional texts published in the same period of time as well. This connection is corroborated by dates accompanying the first two Shigeko stories, whereas the links to Hayashi's travelogues in "Kōkaku" are made through intertextual references. Several elements of *shishōsetsu*, such as the shared perspective of Shigeko and Hayashi, proximity of publication (to each other and to Hayashi's travels) and the readily apparent intent to establish the aspect of factuality, help establish the autobiographical pact between Hayashi and her readers typical for this genre. A conscious proximity to *shishōsetsu* on Hayashi's part would also explain her decision to relate scenes and emotions not present in her travelogues and other non-fictional texts as authentic. Conversely, referencing her own travelogues in the semi-fictional, semi-autobiographical mode of *shishōsetsu* allows Hayashi to suggest the veracity of

them to the reader, by proxy of the autobiographical pact the concept of *shishōsetsu* entails. The Shigeko stories follow the facts of Hayashi's trip as established by herself, which were also the only ones available to her contemporary reader. Hayashi does not add so much factual information about her travels here, but rather supplements her non-fictional texts with a more personal, emotional perspective, allowing the reader to empathize with the protagonist's view of the war. Similarly to "Seihin no sho" (1931; see Part III, 1.3.1.), then, Hayashi employs elements of *shishōsetsu* while linking them with her own texts in order to corroborate the reality of her own construction. In the case of "Seihin no sho", Hayashi made references to *Hōrōki* enabling the reader to identify people in the author's personal life, and she employs the same mechanism in the Shigeko texts to validate what is being said (and what is left out) in her non-fictional texts.

In this respect, "Kōkaku" is the most interesting, rich story among the three. It most clearly situates Shigeko as an outsider within her environment – both as a press representative and as Japanese – in China. Several of Hayashi's travelogues published around the same time, "Josei no Nankin ichiban nori", "Nankin made", "Jūgun tsūshin", and "Seianji-ro tsuioku", help "Kōkaku" make a claim to factuality. The focus on Shigeko's daily work schedule, her immediate reality and her private matters also establish it as a *shishōsetsu,* and therefore an autobiographical narrative. At the same time, the omissions corresponding to those from Hayashi's non-fictional texts (such as the extent of the relationship to Satō Shinju, present as M in "Seianji-ro tsuioku" and as Shimizu in "Kōkaku") serve to corroborate those omissions as authentic, i.e. as of situations not having taken place. In this way, the supposedly authentic, immediate and unvarnished description of events, in compliance with the standards of *shishōsetsu,* gives way to a conscious editing in accommodation of censorship.

3.4.2. "Airashiki niwa"

Aside from the Shigeko stories, Hayashi published a short story titled "Airashiki niwa" 愛らしき庭 ["Lovely garden"] in the December 1937 issue of the magazine *Hinode*. Labeled as a *jihen shōsetsu* 事変小説 [literally 'incident novel'] by the magazine, it is thus explicitly linked to the *Shina jihen*, or 'China incident', as the war was commonly referred to. The story is also introduced as "a tragedy of the household (*katei*) of a drafted soldier (*shussei heishi*)" (Hayashi 1937p:220) in a short paragraph preceding the text. As this story was published after Hayashi's own experience of Ryokubin's draft, later recorded in both essayistic ("Ōshō zengo") and fictional ("Fūfu") form, it is easy to see a parallel between Hayashi's life and this story's premise despite its apparent fictionality.

"Airashiki niwa" opens one day after the protagonist Kazuko's husband departs for war (Hayashi 1937p:221). Kazuko lives with her older sister Hisako and the maid Sono. Kazuko's husband Hiroshi is only present in the story through a letter she receives a month after his departure. In it, Hiroshi writes about the physical hardship and exhaustion on battlefield, about the sporadic news of victories and how 'sad news' [i.e. of casualties] are passed on secretly. Hiroshi writes Kazuko about hearing how fallen soldiers are transported covered in white cloth (Hayashi 1937p:227). He has to prepare for a tough battle, and asks Kazuko to believe that if he perishes in war, his death was brave (*isamashii saigo*; Hayashi 1937p:228).

There is one more male character in "Airashiki niwa", the younger brother of Hiroshi's friend, whose name is Hirohata. He visits Kazuko in the beginning of the story, and Kazuko asks him if he is also going to become a soldier; Hirohata's reply is censored with five *fuseji*, but he says he may go if the war becomes protracted (Hayashi

1937p:224). Described as having a strong, masculine figure, Hirohata expresses his desire to go to war, the obstacle being his eyesight that is so poor he cannot see airplanes in the sky (Hayashi 1937p:226). Hirohata's reference to his eyesight and absence from duty is striking considering Hayashi Fumiko's own impaired vision, her thoughts of aiding the war effort as a nurse ("Kansō", "Yukukari") as well as Shintarō's dismissal of Shigeko's suggestion she should become a nurse in "Yukukari". Yet the story ends with Hirohata's conscription and Kazuko writing him a letter where she asks him to keep in touch (Hayashi 1937p:232); that same night, Hirohata visits Kazuko's house in Setagaya with a shaved head (*bōzu ni natte*) "looking like a different person" (ibid.), moving Kazuko to tears as she gives him a *senninbari*[125]. Here, Hayashi mirrors the moment of Ryokubin's ("Ōshō zengo") and Shintarō's ("Kōkaku") hair cutting, but also their physical transformations into the image of a soldier, which would be echoed by Shigeko putting on the press armband in "Kōkaku" (the moment itself referring Hayashi's travelogue "Seianji-ro tsuioku").

While Hayashi does not implement elements of *shishōsetsu* in "Airashiki niwa", a few elements still link it to both her fictional and non-fictional texts from this period. Perhaps the most interesting character in the story in the context of war is Hirohata, who seems to share with Hayashi both a desire to go to the front and a physical impediment, poor eyesight. That Hirohata eventually does depart for war is an interesting point, as it at once seems to validate his own desire to serve and a virtue in fulfilling his duty, but it also suggests that soldiers not necessarily fit for duty were already being drafted in this early phase of the Second Sino-Japanese War. Having published this story only shortly after her husband's draft, Hayashi was herself in a

[125] See Part I, 1.5.

situation similar to Kazuko; therefore, the examples of both Hirohata and Kazuko show that Hayashi inserted elements of her own life experience in subtle ways even into narratives that were otherwise fully fictional. This approach of constructing characters who embody certain aspects of Hayashi's own life can also be observed in "Kaki" (1935; see Part III, 1.3.2.). "Airashiki niwa" can therefore be seen as a unique example of Hayashi's prose where her objective fiction (*kyakkan shōsetsu*) and the topic of war converge. It thus also importantly shows continuity within Hayashi's writing, and her wartime writing in general an important step in her evolution as an author. This also supports the argument to see Hayashi's postwar texts and their representation of the wartime years as a continuation of her writing from this time.

In relation to Hayashi's non-fictional texts, and in a broader sense to Japan's war propaganda in general, it is also interesting to observe that "Airashiki niwa", similarly to "Fūfu", employs elements familiar from *bidan* reportage. While Kazuko's drafted husband Hiroshi is only present in the story through a letter he sends, in describing the struggle and difficulty of the life on the front, the heroism of the soldiers' sacrifice as well as his own wish to be perceived as such, Hayashi also conforms to the established patterns of war reportage. Another typical *bidan* narrative, the departure for duty, is represented by the character of Hirohata; the markant physical transformation after shaving his head and Shizuko's surprise echo the moment of Ryokubin's own call-up. Considering these examples, Hayashi's fictional texts from the wartime should therefore be examined as an extension of her non-fictional writing, and particular attention should be paid to the elements which appear across both

3.5. Chapter résumé: Hayashi Fumiko's early wartime texts

Considering Hayashi's writing about China from before the war, her non-fictional texts from the early period of the Second Sino-Japanese War exhibit a remarkable degree of continuity in the representation of the country. Owing to the attention she had paid to foreign soldiers and the brewing tensions between Japan and China in her previous travelogues, the heightened urgency with which she presents the anti-Japanese sentiment taking hold of China and the threatening influence of the West are both elements which have been, to some extent, present in her pre-war travelogues as well. This urgency informs her depiction of both Japanese and Chinese soldiers within these texts. While Hayashi's travelogues from Nanjing are not as overtly nationalistic as Yoshiya Nobuko's, the urgency for Japan to win the war is nevertheless palpable and her impressions of China convincingly authentic, owing to the continuity they display in comparison with Hayashi's pre-war travelogues.

While Hayashi discusses the Japanese soldiers with a sense of gratitude and portrays them as kind, civil, selfless and loving, illustrating these qualities through episodes such as playing a piano or soldiers speaking about letters from their families, it is also important to note that such depictions correspond to the overarching image of Japanese soldiers presented in the media (see Part I, 1.5.), even if Hayashi may have brought her own individual 'flavor' to this general framework. By establishing these positive qualities in the soldiers correspondingly across both her non-fictional as well as fictional texts, Hayashi corroborates the authenticity of her accounts even as she, to a large extent, repeats patterns established in Japan's war propaganda. In this way, Hayashi's Nanjing texts conform to the ideology of fascist imperialism as proposed by Young (2017; see 1.6.). Particularly important are the elements of 'Asianism' and 'hyper-militarism', as Hayashi elevates the Japanese everyman to a hero through the

process of becoming a soldier and therefore a part of a 'godlike' community. This godlike quality of Japan and the Japanese reinforces the idea of Asianism, i.e. establishing a pan-Asian unity under the leadership of Japan. This idea is also reinforced by Hayashi's wish for solidarity and peace expressed towards the women of China, who should however still receive the guidance of Japan and abandon the corrupting influence of the West. Particularly the heroism of Japanese soldiers and their readiness to sacrifice themselves for the country also fits Eco's (1995) concept of ur-fascism, which lends Hayashi's glorifying representation a more universal frame of reference.

Any suggestion of violence on the part of Japanese soldiers would be incompatible with Hayashi's adoring representation; in this way, her texts are an interesting counterpart to Ishikawa Tatsuzō's *Ikiteiru heitai*. In her non-fictional writing about Nanjing, much like Ishikawa Tatsuzō, Hayashi looks outward – yet her impressions of China largely correspond to those from before the war and the representation of the Japanese army in her texts does not in any way stray from the officially sanctioned representation in the media. When Hayashi abandons the role of a war reporter and instead assumes a more personal mode in her fictional texts – most importantly "Kōkaku" – she decides to instead look inward and adopt the mode of *shishōsetsu*. With this shift, there is no room left to ponder about what has happened in Nanjing before Hayashi's arrival, as the narrative mode only allows for the immediate reality of the protagonist to be conveyed. Instead of elaborating on the events in Nanjing leading up to her visit, the focus remains on Shigeko's emotions stirred up by the trip and the visit to the fallen city. Even more traditionally fictional texts such as "Airashiki niwa" incorporate elements of Hayashi's own experience (as can be gleaned from her other writing), pointing towards their importance in the larger context of Hayashi's wartime

writing.

Through the lens of autobiographical writing and under consideration of the model proposed by Smith and Watson (2010), the three aspects of the autobiographical I – the narrating, narrated and ideological I (see Part I, 2.3.1.) – converge and divert in intriguing ways throughout Hayashi's Nanjing texts. In her non-fictional writing, the narrating and narrated I are conflated, while the ideological I is clearly identified by markers connecting Hayashi with the press (and by extension, the state). This allows the reader to divide the narrating/narrated I (Hayashi in the role of a reporter) from the ideological I, even if they may appear the same at first glance. In the Shigeko texts, the narrating and narrated I are separated by the third-person perspective Hayashi employs, but can be 'stitched' back together through the intertextual references to Hayashi's non-fictional writing, which supports the texts' claim to factuality as *shishōsetsu*. This genre's framework also allows the ideological I to appear suppressed, as the texts are only concerned with Shigeko's immediate experience.

While Takayama argues that the value of Hayashi Fumiko's Nanjing texts as travelogues or war reportage is exceedingly low, she also admits they must be remembered as the author's first steps in war collaboration and a basis for her subsequent texts from China and Southeast Asia (Takayama 2010:153). Putting their literary merits aside, Hayashi's prolific writing on Nanjing constitutes a valuable artifact which undoubtedly contributed to the shaping of Japan's collective memory of the Second Sino-Japanese War. As becomes apparent through a closer examination of both her non-fictional and fictional writing, Hayashi's texts published after her visit to Nanjing are strongly influenced by the ideologically dominant war discourse and constructions of nation. Omissions concerning the Japanese army's violence – present, for instance, in Satō Shinju's postwar accounts of Nanjing, or as documented by

Ishikawa Tatsuzō in a fictional form in *Ikiteiru heitai* – show the limits of acceptable discourse surrounding Japan's actions on Chinese soil. At the same time, considering the Foucauldian conception of discourse (in this case on war), Hayashi helped shape the reality of war as perceived in Japan at the time by largely leaning into established patterns of narrating the war. This had undoubtedly helped her gain credentials as a propagandist and a reliable press representative. Coupled in turn with Hayashi's relatable presentation and public popularity fostered by her earlier literary work, she could become a respected voice on the war, a representative of the state and of the Japanese people at once.

Hayashi's wartime texts should therefore perhaps be appreciated less as literary works and more as historical documents. Unfortunately, this approach has also been used in service of historical revisionism, such as by Miyata (2019) in his attempt to utilize Hayashi's Nanjing accounts to deny the massacre. At the same time, Miyata's book is a valuable cautionary example showing how collecting memory can be weaponized in service of nationalist, revisionist ideologies. A proper, wide-reaching understanding of the sociopolitical context and the discourses shaping these texts in tangible ways is therefore necessary in approaching Hayashi Fumiko's wartime texts, as well as those by any other author connected to the propaganda apparatus. This same approach shall be applied to Hayashi's texts on the war in China published between late 1938 and 1939, which I will discuss in the following chapter.

4. Hayashi Fumiko's participation in the *pen butai* (1938-1939)

Following her visit to Shanghai and Nanjing, Hayashi traveled to China again in September 1938 as a member of the *pen butai* concurrently with the military's offensive on Hankou (today a part of Wuhan), also called the Wuhan Offensive (*Bukan*

sakusen 武漢作戦). After Nanjing's fall, Hankou became the de facto capital of China and was therefore a city of major strategic importance; to this end, Japan drafted over 300 thousand soldiers, up until that point the biggest number (Kawamoto 2003:238). Hayashi notably managed to reach Hankou first among the *pen butai* writers, of which she was operating independently for most of her stay in China (Takayama 2010:59). In fact, the press truck Hayashi was traveling with approached the city on October 25, the same day Chiang Kai-Shek fled it with his wife, and Hayashi herself entered the city on October 27, when the city was still littered with corpses (Yokoyama 2002:235). Ishikawa Tatsuzō had mentioned later that nobody from the group knew how she managed to join the soldiers. Hayashi's actions and separation from the rest of the *pen butai* have drawn the ire of Kume Masao, leader of the Army group (*rikugunhan no danchō*) as well as the head of *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun*'s (today *Mainichi Shinbun*'s) cultural section (*gakugeibu-chō;* Takayama 2010:60). However, her split was not entirely unexpected as she had announced her goal to travel separately in public prior to her departure, as I will show below. Immediately after her return, Hayashi Fumiko held lectures in Ōsaka, Fukuoka, Kumamoto, Nagoya and Tōkyō, and also participated in various roundtables (*zadankai*) and published frequently on her experience of the Wuhan Offensive. With her achievement and publicity, Hayashi Fumiko had overshadowed the other members of the *pen butai* considerably (Takayama 2010:160), achieving a level of prestige within the *bundan* that rivaled Hino Ashihei's (Takayama 2010:168).

Hayashi's texts from this period of the war show little of the 'cowardice' she had confessed to while visiting Harbin in 1930, avoiding a former war zone (see Part III, 2.2.1.), as Takayama also notes (Takayama 2010:167). This is most clearly reflected in two of her most important texts from the war, *Sensen* 戦線 ["Battlefront", 1938] and

Hokugan butai 北岸部隊 ["Northern bank troop", 1939], published at the height of Hayashi's publicity on December 20, 1938 and January 1, 1939 respectively. While based on the same trip, *Sensen* takes the form of letters in, and *Hokugan butai* that of a diary, resulting in two different perspectives of the same events. Hayashi Fumiko would continue to publish texts on her experience in Hankou well into 1939, alongside a number of fictional texts which more or less directly drew inspiration from that experience. The diary form of *Hokugan butai* especially is typical of other wartime texts from this period, most notably Hino Ashihei's *Mugi to heitai* (Mori 1992:178; see Part II, Chapter 4). Therefore, a comparison with Hino's seminal text and other texts authored by members of the *pen butai,* most importantly Niwa Fumio's *Kaeranu chūtai,* is in order for this chapter.

Similarly to the previous chapter, I will analyze Hayashi Fumiko's texts of the *pen butai* period focusing on the representation of China as the Other, on the representation of Japan and its soldiers as the point of reference (for both China and Hayashi Fumiko), as well as on Hayashi's construction of a literary self, or the autobiographical I. Doing so can help highlight continuities and discontinuities with Hayashi's pre-war texts and her publications during the early stage of the Second Sino-Japanese War. Especially in the case of *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai,* it is also worth paying attention to the ways in which Hayashi utilizes devices from her previous fictional work (see Chapter 5) such as elements of *shishōsetsu* in supposedly non-fictional texts. Conversely, I will also show how Hayashi's experience as reflected in her war correspondence and travelogues is reflected in her fictional texts.

4.1. Hayashi's trip to Hankou (September-October 1938)

Hayashi Fumiko had made her enthusiasm about her participation in the *pen butai*

public when she wrote in *Asahi Shinbun* on August 25, “I want to go [to China] by all means” (Yokoyama 2002:224). A mere week later, on September 2 in the appropriately titled “Kankō jūgun o mae ni shite: Ittekimasu” 漢口従軍を前にして　行つて来ます [“Before the Hankou assignment: I am going”], Hayashi was already able to express her joy at being selected as a member of the *pen butai,* as well as her surprise at women being chosen for a military assignment at all (Hayashi 1938o:7). While she had been working with the *Mainichi Shinbun* on her previous visit to Nanjing, the newspaper had contracted Yoshiya Nobuko as their correspondent, pushing Hayashi to approach *Asahi Shinbun* (Yokoyama 2002:227). Both her participation and her husband Ryokubin’s duty were publicized by *Asahi* (Yokoyama 2002: 228). In “Ittekimasu”, Hayashi mentions Suzuki Kurazō, a counselor (*sewagakari*) for the *pen butai* who helped Hayashi out during her assignment, supposedly to get her directly to a troop. Suzuki would later become a negative symbol of wartime censorship, but both he and Hayashi shared a desire to produce a ‘masterpiece for the ages’ (*eikyū no kessaku*) that would rouse the ‘Japanese spirit’ (*Yamato damashii*) within the readers. Satō also opines that Hayashi would be driven by a rivalry with Yoshiya Nobuko, and by signing a contract with Asahi Shinbunsha after Yoshiya was contracted by *Manichi Shinbun* allowed the two then biggest newspapers pursue a sales race (Satō 2014:250–251). Asahi would eventually win this informal race in no small part due to the sensation of Hayashi reaching Hankou before the *pen butai,* and the circulation of *Asahi Shinbun* went above four million after the event (K. Watanabe 2015:165–166).

Also in September 1938, literary magazine *Bungei* published Hayashi’s essay “Shi no senshi” 詩の戦使 [“Warrior of poetry”]. Here, too, Hayashi contemplates the trip to Hankou ahead of her, her preparations and what it means to her as a writer.

Similarly to her statements in *Asahi Shinbun* a few months earlier, Hayashi writes about a feeling of her cultural responsibility as a writer (Hayashi 1938q:290), or a great duty that feels differently from Nanjing (Hayashi 1938o:7); she however does not elaborate on what constitutes this difference. While her split from the rest of the *pen butai* in China is sometimes referred to as unexpected, Hayashi had signaled her desire to do so in these two articles to overcome her fears (Hayashi 1938q:290; Hayashi 1938o:7), as well as staying for about two months in China (Hayashi 1938q:290). Besides mentioning that she wants to be as close to the soldiers as possible (Hayashi 1938o:7), Hayashi also mentions paying attention to her diet, keeping her body in 'extraordinarily good condition' (Hayashi 1938q:290) and receiving vaccinations against cholera and typhoid (Hayashi 1938o:7) so as not to become a burden to the soldiers. In "Shi no senshi", Hayashi also writes about her plans to write quickly and immediately after returning from her trip, even if the writing is unrefined, as "now is not a time for refinement" (Hayashi 1938q:290); by doing so, Hayashi seems to contradict her criticism of wartime literature as 'general and hasty pieces' she was expressing a year earlier in *Chūō Kōron* (see Part III, 3.1.). She wants to write long form rather than short pieces (Hayashi 1938o:7) like with her previous assignments, and is drawn to war as a male sphere in which she can enmesh herself (Hayashi 1938q:290). This is also reminiscent of Hayashi's desire to be recognized as a peer of male writers she respected rather than associating herself with the sphere of *joryū bungaku*, or women's literature (see Chapter 5).

During her assignment in Hankou, Hayashi published a series of columns titled "Kankō jūgunki" 漢口従軍記 ["War reportage from Hankou"] between September 29 and October 31, subsequently reprinted in *Sensen* as "Kankōsen jūgun tsūshin" 漢口戦

従軍通信 ["Correspondence from the Hankou battle assignment"][126]. In these, she sets up topics or themes she would take up in her later texts written after her return from the assignment, such as describing her sojourn on the front akin to a dream, the happiness she felt upon arriving in Hankou, as well as her sense of accomplishment as a representative of Japanese women (Hayashi 1938w:193-195; 2014a:137–138). She would continue utilizing these motives in her publication after her return through 1939. One such example is the column "Wakaki shōi no shi" 若き少尉の死 ["The young sublieutenant's death"], in which she recounts witnessing the young sublieutenant Umemura pass away from his injuries, described as "a big hole open in his chest" (Hayashi 1938w:180-181; 2014a:131). This happens on September 30, 1938, as Hayashi is traveling on a ship as one of three hundred passengers, one third of whom are severely injured soldiers. Hayashi assists the combat medics (*eiseihei)* and also writes about four men passing away over the course of two evenings (Hayashi 1938w:180; 2014a:130–131). Upon entering Hankou, she conveys her impression of it as a beautiful city and the image of the destroyed Japanese Concession leaves a lasting impression on her (Hayashi 1938w:193-194; 2014a:137–138).

Hayashi followed up this series of columns with another after her arrival in Hankou between November 5 and 8 titled "Kankō yori kaerite" 漢口より帰りて ["Coming home from Hankou"], in which she also reiterates her impression of Hankou as the most beautiful city after Beijing, while at the same time stating firmly that Japan should not excuse itself for making sacrifices of the kind she had just witnessed in war (Hayashi 1938w:199-200; 2014a:141). This statement in particular marks a shift in

[126] The texts printed in the newspaper and *Sensen* are identical.

Hayashi's rhetoric towards a more full-throated support of Japan's war policy and an even more pronounced reverence for the troops than in her Nanjing texts, as will also become evident through examples from *Sensen*, *Hokugan butai* and her later writing concerning the Second Sino-Japanese War. The lack of understanding the anti-Japanese sentiment in China, a prominent theme in her travelogues from Shanghai and Nanjing, also turns into a more aggressive conviction about Japan's supremacy. For instance, Hayashi describes her feelings of surprise at Japan's material richness after her return home, and how she wants to show it to soldiers in China (Hayashi 1938w:205; 2014a:144), suggesting that Japan is already reaping the rewards of its righteous mission, and the same opportunity could be available to China as well, should it choose to submit to the Japanese empire. By once again describing China's soil as having 'soaked up the blood of many folks' (Hayashi 1938w:206; 2014a:145), Hayashi also continues utilizing a conception of China as a country ravaged by war, much like in her Nanjing texts and even pre-war travelogues. Here, Hayashi once again diminishes the role of Japan as an aggressor by employing a passive voice, almost as if to suggest wars are a natural occurrence in China.

4.2. *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai*

Hayashi's most well-known texts published after her participation in the *pen butai*, and thus likely also her most significant wartime texts altogether, are *Sensen* 戦線 ["Battlefront"; published in December 1938 by Asahi Shinbunsha], and *Hokugan butai* 北岸部隊 ["Northern bank troop"; published in January 1939 by Chūō Kōronsha]. At the same time, *Hokugan butai* appeared in full length in the January issue of *Fujin Kōron*. While *Sensen* was marketed as a brand new, previously unpublished book

(*kakioroshi*), this is only true for the main part, the eponymously titled "Sensen". The volume, however, also includes further texts previously published in *Asahi Shinbun* (Satō 2014:254). Asahi Shinbunsha embarked on a massive promotional campaign with *Sensen*, raising a giant advertising balloon over the head office on December 20, the release date; the same day, Hayashi also begun serializing her novel *Hatō* 波濤 [*Rough sea*] (see Part III, 4.4.3.) in *Asahi Shinbun*. *Sensen* was promoted with slogans such as "an impressive book all of Japan has been waiting for" (Satō 2014:253–254) or "magnificent, brand new work" (ibid.). It is also important to point out that while *Hokugan butai* was included in the twelfth volume of the 1977 *zenshū*, *Sensen* has been omitted from both the Shinchō and Bunsendō editions of Hayashi's 'complete works'.

After her return to Japan, Hayashi held a lecture in Ōsaka, followed by another three in Tōkyō and six more in places such as Kokura, Kumamoto and Kagoshima, receiving intense attention from the public as well as the newspapers, who praised her as the best *pen butai* writer and a historical phenomenon among women, or a writer representing Japanese women as a whole (Satō 2014:256–257). During this time, Satō points to Hayashi's awareness of the workings of the media industry, as she was able to exploit the publicity to her benefit (Satō 2014:258) and thus willingly participated in it. Satō, for example, mentions a *bidan* article in the morning edition of *Asahi Shinbun* from November 14, in which Hayashi visits the family of a fallen sublieutenant Umemura. This is a continuation of an article which appeared in the newspaper previously and covered Umemura's family itself (Satō 2014:258–259). It is, however, also connected to Hayashi's own column in *Asahi Shinbun*[127] (also included in book version of *Sensen*), which dealt with her witnessing Umemura's passing. In this

[127] The above-mentioned "Wakaki shōi no shi".

way, the *bidan* article also serves as a promotional tool for *Sensen*, which provides important context to it.

Hayashi would also appear on radio programs to promote *Sensen* (Satō 2014:260), and it was even adapted for a theatre performance by the group *Tōhō Gekidan* in the *Yūraku-za* theatre in Tōkyō. Hayashi was portrayed by the actress Mimasu Aiko; the cast announcement in *Asahi Shinbun* from January 13 lists other actors portraying members of the Asahi crew, as well as the commanding officer. To Satō, this suggests a focus of the play on the media representatives rather than on the soldiers, and this might also be the reason why the play was poorly reviewed and criticized as lacking Hayashi's trademark pathos (Satō 2014:260; *Asahi Shinbun* 1939b:3). The theme song from the theatrical adaptation of *Sensen* was released by Columbia Records on March 31, 1933, performed by Itō Hirao and featuring lyrics by Hayashi Fumiko set to a composition by Koseki Yūji (Satō 2014:260–261). Finally, Hayashi herself also held an exhibition of her photographs from Hankou organized by *Asahigraph* from January 27 to February 2, 1939, in the Matsuzakaya department store in Ginza, Tōkyō (Satō 2014:260). This exhibition was also advertised by *Asahi Shinbun* on January 28 (*Asahi Shinbun* 1939a:10). In the light of such an aggressive and multifaceted promotion for *Sensen*, Satō concludes that the book was bound to become a best-seller (Satō 2014:259–260). 100 thousand copies of *Sensen* were reportedly sold on the first day of its sale, and it remained a best-seller for several months (Romagnoli 2018:268).

The success of *Hokugan butai* is more difficult to gauge, with Romagnoli mentioning that the book was one of the year's best-sellers (ibid.), whereas Ōoka Shōhei wrote after the war that while 50 thousand copies of *Hokugan butai* were printed in its first run, most of them were returned to the publisher, which Ōoka interpreted as a sign of waning interest of the reading public towards the war

(Takayama 2010:166). The concurrent publication of *Hokugan butai* as a book and in the January 1939 issue of the *Fujin Kōron* magazine, where it appeared in full length, might have been a plausible factor in smaller sales as well. Similarly to *Sensen*, however, *Hokugan butai* was also adapted as a radio play with music added, and its broadcast was announced by *Asahi Shinbun* on December 6 for 8 pm of that day (*Asahi Shinbun* 1938c:9).

Sensen in particular is an important text within Hayashi's catalogue, as it would become her best-selling book following *Hōrōki*; it is however not included in either *zenshū*[128] (Satō 2014:247). Satō therefore sees the contemporary social impact of *Sensen* as unparalleled within Hayashi's body of work, describing it as a 'soprano war song' directed at women whose husbands and sons were drafted into war, and who could read the text in their 'feverish' worry about the men (ibid.). Cipris calls it, somewhat ironically, "an effusive paean to the glory of the Japanese soldiers, its language breathlessly poetic and rich in flattering epiteths" (Cipris 1994:139). Yet Satō names *Hokugan butai* (included in the 1977 *zenshū* and published in an uncensored version in 2002) as the far superior text, calling it an extensive record of "a woman's soul capturing human feelings on a battlefield" (Satō 2014:252).

While they are based on the same events, the texts differ significantly in their presentation. *Sensen* assumes the form of letters to an unnamed recipient (only sometimes referred to as 'you', *anata*), already familiar from Hayashi's Nanjing text "Jūgun tsūshin" (see Part III, 3.2.). In style, it is significantly closer to her previous travelogues and war reportage than *Hokugan butai*, in which she instead assumes a more personal perspective similar to "Kōkaku", but employing a first-person narrative

[128] *Sensen* is widely available in paperback editions, republished in 2006 and 2014.

perspective. In fact, Hayashi directly references "Kōkaku" when she compares her impressions of the front to Vsevolod Garshin's short story "Tchetyre dnya", as she did in the earlier story[129] (Hayashi 1939a:152-153; 2002:131). Within the larger context of Hayashi's wartime writing, then, *Hokugan butai* is a text in which qualities familiar from her earlier non-fictional writing (Chinese setting and Hayashi's observations, representation of the military, ideological messaging), as well as her fiction (Hayashi's internal perspective as narrated through Shigeko) converge. By appearing within both *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai* as 'I' (*watashi*) and utilizing the format of a diary in the latter, Hayashi also establishes a stylistic link to *Hōrōki*, as she provides the reader with references to extradiegetic reality, similarly to how she did in her first novel. Much like in the case of *Hōrōki*, an examination of *Hokugan butai* through the lens of *shishōsetsu* reveals the text's complexity, and warrants a comparison with other works produced within the *pen butai*, discussed in Chapter 4. The proximity of publication to the experience portrayed in *Hokugan butai* has a double significance for the text as a *shishōsetsu* due to its claim to immediacy and authenticity, which can in turn aid its veracity and urgency as propaganda. Similarly to "Kōkaku", then, Hayashi's claim to factuality within *Hokugan butai* can also be read as a tool to reassure the reader of the completeness and authenticity of her other accounts of the war.

While *Hokugan butai* was published a few weeks later than *Sensen*, it covers a longer timespan, as it begins on September 19 and ends on October 28, 1938. In *Sensen*, Hayashi does not provide exact dates, but at times makes references to a week or ten days spent on the front. This would place the letters in *Sensen* between middle and late October, beginning around the half of *Hokugan butai*. In this way, between the two

[129] See Part III, 3.4.1.

texts, Hayashi oscillates between her two roles as a reporter and a writer, much like she did between her Nanjing texts and "Kōkaku". These texts are also the only realization of Hayashi's wish to write long form instead of short pieces from the war, making them perhaps the closest to what Hayashi sought to accomplish with her wartime writing, as she wrote in the afterword to *Watashi no konchūki* (see Part III, 3.3.).

One interesting aspect both texts share are apparent gaps in their record: *Sensen* is divided into 23 letters[130], the seventeenth one is however missing; similarly, entries for September 27 and 28 are missing from *Hokugan butai*, even though Hayashi otherwise records every day even if there is nothing of note to write (Hayashi 1939a:72; 2002:65). While Yokoyama argues the missing entries in *Hokugan butai* are to be explained by Hayashi's physical condition (Yokoyama 2002:230), the incomplete nature of her record also suggests an impossibility of her experience to be captured fully due to the limitations imposed by censorship. In this way, Hayashi retains the ambivalence about censorship, familiar from her Nanjing texts.

Comparing the two texts under consideration of Hayashi's construction of an autobiographical I – as her first-person narration suggests – the voice of a war correspondent Hayashi assumes in *Sensen* is similar to that of her Nanjing texts, resulting in a suppression (if not outright absence) of a narrated I and an emphasis on a clearly defined narrating I, Hayashi as a war reporter. The ideological I of *Sensen* (Hayashi as a propagandist) can therefore emerge as a part of her constructed identity as a journalist. In *Hokugan butai*, however, Hayashi as a narrating I presents herself in

[130] Written as *shin* 信, they are written to an undisclosed person only addressed as *anata* (you). Since these letters were most likely written after Hayashi's trip, the addressee could also be understood as the reader, and the epistolary form only a stylistic choice, much like the form of a diary (also written after Hayashi's return to Japan) in *Hokugan butai*.

the role of a writer, as suggested by the form of a private diary the text assumes. The internal, personal and immediate perspective of a diary allows a narrated I to emerge more clearly, and the ideological I to therefore emerge as a result of Hayashi's emotional process and a personally meaningful experience on the front. This gives the ideology of the supposedly more personal *Hokugan butai* more urgency than that of *Sensen*, even as Hayashi assumes the more official role as a propagandist in the latter text.

4.2.1. The representation of China

This more personal approach in *Hokugan butai* as compared to Hayashi's earlier travelogues and *Sensen* is apparent from the first pages in her negative impressions of the Chinese landscape, hitherto unseen in her texts. When she flies from Shanghai to Nanjing, she comments on China's 'boring' landscape that "made [her] want to retch" (Hayashi 1939a:5-6; 2002:9) in her entry from September 19. While Hayashi had been to China a number of times before, even to the very same area she is visiting in this text, she does not touch upon her previous travels to the country often. In this way, Hayashi positions herself as an equal to a reader to whom China is completely unknown, yet also becomes their guide to the country in its present state, detailing and justifying Japan's mission.

This strategy also informs Hayashi's descriptions of China in general. In Nanjing, she meets children on a marketplace, apparently surprised to see her and whispering 'Japanese' in Chinese (Hayashi 1939a:8; 2002:11). While the children's surprise can certainly be interpreted as fear or apprehension given the history of Japan's actions in Nanjing – not to mention the ongoing and escalating war – Hayashi in this way also singles herself out as a Japanese in a foreign environment, which seems to soldify her

national identity, much like she did in her early travelogues from China (see Chapter 6). As in her earlier travelogues from the war, Hayashi is taken aback by the anti-Japanese slogans she sees painted on walls[131] in Ruichang on September 24; she compares the 'ominous' black ink they are painted with to the paintings of George Grosz. Remarkably, even as she notices everyone around her including announcers from JOAK[132] dressed like soldiers with swords at their hips, and admits to feeling 'strange' about this sight (Hayashi 1939a:39; 2002:37), she does not connect it to the destruction she witnesses here, with not a single house left intact. Hayashi sees Chinese refugees in Ruichang and describes children with pale faces and vacant (*bon'yari*) looks "as if they forgot to smile" (Hayashi 1939a:42; 2002:40). Yet, she does not further reflect on their experiences and the violence they encounter, or connect their ordeal to the anti-Japanese graffiti. She similarly comments on how strange it feels to see anti-Japanese slogans [打倒日本[133]] in Hankou shortly before her departure (Hayashi 1939a:223; 2002:190) when she is struck by the sight of the burned Japanese concession (Hayashi 1939a:223; 2002:189).

A similar scene is presented in *Sensen*, when she sees the same slogan in a bathroom of Chinese workers employed by the Japanese army, but only comments how strange (*fūgawari*) she finds it (Hayashi 1938w:85; 2014a:64), most likely suggesting a lack of gratitude for an 'opportunity' provided, as I will discuss further below. An interesting counterpoint to the overwhelmingly oppositional attitude towards the Japanese described in *Hokugan butai* occurs in the sixteenth letter of

[131] Importantly, these parts of the text passed censorship at the time of publication.

[132] Today's NHK.

[133] See Part III, 2.2.2.

Sensen: here, Hayashi notes that while there are American flags to be seen close to Hankou, she sees children and peasants waving Japanese flags (Hayashi 1938w:117-118; 2014a:87). This statement supports the notion of Asian liberation and unity under Japanese leadership promulgated by the state propaganda, and is consistent with the principle of Asianism underlying the ideology of fascist imperialism as proposed by Young (2017; see 1.6.). That Hayashi sees 'beloved Japan' as a leader for China and that she believes in its people's need for protection from the forthcoming dangers is reinforced in the appendix to *Sensen*, where she writes: "Please imagine if our people were used as helpers for Chinese soldiers. Just thinking about it makes me want to retch (*hakike ga kisō*)" (Hayashi 1938w:168; 2014a:122–123). In the face of such threat, Hayashi suggests, the war must be won at all cost.

While Hayashi's omission of the violence committed by Japan as a plausible root cause for the anti-Japanese sentiment intensifying in China can be easily explained by the complex framework of censorship she had to operate within, it is remarkable that her thoughts on it and even the way she describes and addresses these slogans remain very similar to those that could be found in her pre-war travelogues. In this way, Hayashi can maintain the narrative of Japan as a liberator and minimize the negative and devastating influence of war and Japan's aggression on Chinese lives. Further, there is a scene in the fifth letter of *Sensen* in which she finds a Chinese newspaper with photographs and comic strips, adorned with slogans in Chinese, which depicts Japanese soldiers in a supposedly demeaning way; here, she insists that this is not how Japanese media portray the Chinese soldiers (Hayashi 1938w:42; 2014a:36). This remark is reminiscent of her earlier text "Kita Shina no omoide" in which she visited a university in Tianjin, where the staff had removed caricatures of the Japanese army before her arrival (see Part III, 3.1.). By doing so, Hayashi insinuates that the Chinese

press had been unfairly hostile towards Japan since before the war, while on the contrary also suggesting the Japanese media representation of China and its military is based in 'truth'.

The most significant encounter with a Chinese civilian is described in the entries for October 2 and 3 of *Hokugan butai*, when Hayashi interacts with a maid at a house in Nanjing she is staying in. The maid is thirty years old and has an eight-year old son. She mentions her husband working as a driver in Hankou, and how 'nothing can be done' (*shikata ga nai*) about his absence (Hayashi 1939a:68; 2002:61). The protagonist of Hayashi's 1939 short story "Kawa wa shizuka ni nagareteyuku" 河は静かにながれてゆく ["The river flows quietly"; see Part III, 4.4.4.] is clearly modeled after this maid, suggesting a deep impression this encounter had left on Hayashi. Here, the husband of the fictional Chinese maid Pan is also employed as a driver in Hankou, and in *Hokugan butai*, Hayashi is photographed standing next to her smiling, out of focus and with a vacant look[134]. On October 3, Hayashi relates how the child taught her Chinese words, describing him as 'sweet and good'; she teaches him a Japanese song in return, wondering what world this child will grow up into (Hayashi 1939a:69-70; 2002:61). It is also worth mentioning that Hayashi uses Chinese words written in *katakana* in the novel when reporting the maid's speech, adding to the immediacy and authenticity of the situation she is currently describing. Similarly, when she writes letters to her mother, she reproduces them verbatim in *hiragana* (Hayashi 1939a:82-83; 2002:26; 73–74). This marks a significant stylistic difference of the text compared to Hayashi's travelogues and war reportage and becomes one of the prominent elements of

[134] This picture appears in the photographic appendix to the book edition, in which the pages are not numbered.

shishōsetsu present in *Hokugan butai*.

In another episode from October 23, while passing through a deserted village, Hayashi discovers a dead body of a young woman lying face down. Next to her is her child, a boy of about three years, clinging to her body and visibly exhausted from crying. Hayashi quickly concludes the woman was possibly struck by a stray bullet from the gunfire that could be heard the previous night, dismissing the possibility of her being killed on purpose and absolving the Japanese military from even potential guilt. One of the Japanese soldiers mentions the child is so pitiful it would be better off being killed, while another soldier responds he would be unable to do so and they instead leave the child to its 'destiny' (Hayashi 1939a:152-153; 2002:131). This passage is remarkable in that it presents both Hayashi and the soldiers as concerned and empathetic, yet the nonchalance of one of the soldiers also invites a suspicion about the violence committed against children in China in the name of 'mercy'. Whether intentional on Hayashi's part or not, considering the absence of violence in Japanese war reporting and wartime literature in general, such a suggestion is perhaps the closest Hayashi could allude to the violence committed against civilians. A similar moment occurs towards the end of the text, when Hayashi meets a Chinese woman with a baby in a village near Hankou on October 26. The woman holds the baby in her arms and shows it to the soldiers, while other women from the village look at her with mistrust (Hayashi 1939a:209; 2002:178). In the preceding entry, Hayashi ponders the 'destiny' of civilians from Hankou who have not escaped earlier and got shot by stray bullets – like the woman in the village house above – as she sees dead horses and Chinese soldiers on the road (Hayashi 1939a:194-195; 2002:166). In this way, Hayashi at once deflects from the violence caused by the Japanese army, but also alludes to civilian casualties which were otherwise off the table from official reporting on the

war.

The only other two Chinese civilians who are mentioned at any length in *Hokugan butai* are two Chinese helpers employed by the northern bank troop, and who are given the names Noppo and Chibi. Stripped of their Chinese identity and given names reminiscent of pets rather than people, they thus also become dehumanized to a certain degree, although not to the extent of Chinese soldiers. When Hayashi does endow them with their own characteristics, they do not appear especially flattering. Noppo, for example, is boasting that he will open a tobacco company in Hankou on the brink of its fall, in the entry for October 26, suggesting opportunism, a lack of patriotism and perhaps even greed on his part (Hayashi 1939a:214; 2002:182). Chibi, on the other hand, has a lovely face 'like a girl' (ibid.), implying a lack of masculinity Hayashi also describes in the underage Chinese POWs of about 17 or 18 years she witnesses a day earlier – in their still new uniforms, they appear to her "meek like women" (Hayashi 1939a:195; 2002:166).

Chibi and Noppo also seem to lack the empathy towards their fallen countrymen Hayashi exhibits consistently towards Japanese soldiers when she describes them passing by the corpses of dead Chinese soldiers 'unconcerned' (*heiki*) on October 24 (Hayashi 1939a:162; 2002:139). The difference between the personal tone of *Hokugan butai* and the more journalistic style of *Sensen* can be illustrated on the example of the tenth letter in *Sensen*. Here, Hayashi visits a big farmer's house, which was turned into a troop headquarter, where she sees dozens (*nanjūnin*) of Chinese helpers, civilians (*domin*) as well as POWs. They are getting paid a daily wage for their work, and the Japanese soldiers joke how "it's perhaps better than ours" (Hayashi 1938w:84-85; 2014a:64). As an agent of propaganda, Hayashi therefore not only reassures the reader of the humane treatment of Chinese at the hands of Japanese army (although, again,

the ethnic slur *domin* faintly suggests their perceived inferior value as human beings), but also suggests that their work provides them with an opportunity. Further, as she illustrates with Noppo's tobacco business plans in *Hokugan butai*, the Japanese army even provides them with an economic opportunity which some are more than happy to take.

As in her Nanjing texts, the lack of empathy towards Chinese soldiers as exhibited by Noppo and Chibi is shared by Hayashi. If anything, it is more pronounced in her Hankou texts, and the lack of emotion and even a certain cynicism on their part conveniently justifies her own. New to these texts, notably, are a few instances in which Hayashi encounters Chinese soldiers who are (still) alive. The earliest instance in *Hokugan butai* occurs when she meets an injured Chinese army captain on September 19 while being shown a solitary confinement cell. She describes him as short but with unusually clear, beautiful eyes "for a Chinese" (Hayashi 1939a:13; 2002:15), but ultimately concludes that if someone like this is a captain (*tai'i*), the Chinese army does not represent a substantial threat (ibid.). A month later, on October 19, Hayashi encounters a dying Chinese soldier in an abandoned house, shot in the chest and blankly staring at her "with no strength (*kiryoku*)" (Hayashi 1939a:126; 2002:109), making Hayashi shudder as his face reminds her of someone she cannot remember (ibid.). This scene is also present in the fifth letter of *Sensen* and is described in an almost identical way, with Hayashi noting that the familiarity of this soldier's face caused her to run away (Hayashi 1938w:42; 2014a:37).

Somewhat surprisingly, Hayashi also depicts Chinese soldiers being killed by the Japanese troops in these texts. In *Hokugan butai*, in the entry for October 19, she describes witnessing a Chinese soldier feigning blindness and walking with a stick. When called upon by the Japanese soldiers, he opens his eyes and starts running away,

and is promptly shot in the back (Hayashi 1939a:124; 2002:108). Hayashi leaves this episode without comment. She does, however, describe an execution of a POW in *Sensen*. In the eleventh letter, Hayashi sees two soldiers discussing whether they should behead or shoot the prisoner, eventually settling on beheading as the method of execution. Hayashi then opines she finds this "not at all cruel" (Hayashi 1938w:91-92; 2014a:67-68), and in a rare instance of addressing the imaginary reader (*anata*), she asks "what do you think?" (Hayashi 1938w:92; 2014a:68). While the execution might have been perceived as less cruel or even noble for contemporary readers, today, this passage stands out with its frank depiction of the Japanese soldiers' violence, but also due to Hayashi's apparent and stated endorsement of it. Indeed, Fessler argues that the brutality on display here runs counter to the 'pure state of mind' Hayashi celebrates in the text, but also concludes that as Hayashi had not otherwise written satirical texts, this passage is unlikely to contain a hidden or subversive, anti-war message (Fessler 1998:134). It is, however, addressing the reader which makes the scene stick out even more from the rest of the text: the open-ended question leaves the answer up to the reader, and arguably even allows for disagreement on the reader's part. Yet in their singularity within the respective text (shooting in *Hokugan butai* and beheading in *Sensen*), and especially through Hayashi's stated agreement with the execution in *Sensen*, Hayashi is also able to display the violence inflicted on the Chinese at all. Considering the strict censorship regulations which did not allow for violent acts of the Japanese military to be discussed at all, these scenes can be read as either a clever circumvention of the rules on Hayashi's part, or an oversight by the censorship suggesting its (occassional) lack of effectivity (as discussed in Chapter Part I, 1.4.).

The instances described above constitute distinct exceptions in *Sensen* and

Hokugan butai in their treatment of Chinese soldiers who, as in Hayashi's Nanjing texts, mostly appear dead. While in Nanjing, the fallen Chinese soldiers were left exposed on the field, here, their corpses on the road are adorned with a square piece of paper with the character *hotoke* (Buddha, or a departed soul) attached to them; this sight reminds Hayashi of old woodblock prints (*hanga*; Hayashi 1939a:123; 2002:107). Echoing her Nanjing texts, Hayashi describes her apathy towards them after witnessing wounded Japanese soldiers being transported as follows:

> "The bodies of those Chinese soldiers did not look like anything more than mere objects. Just now, I felt such piercing sentimentality and a feeling of reverence towards our soldiers, and yet I feel cold-hearted and distant at these corpses of Chinese soldiers. The feelings I have towards these dead bodies of Chinese soldiers are utterly vague. I thought that it might be the coldness of not knowing the real life of the Chinese that lets me reduce a body of a human being to an 'object'." (Hayashi 1939a:148-149; 2002:128)

One intriguing statement from Hayashi in *Hokugan butai* which points towards an intensification in her own rhetoric about the Chinese army appears in the entry for October 25, just as Hayashi is about to reach Hankou. Saying that she has seen many dead Chinese soldiers, she remarks that it "always feels wrong (*kimochi ga warui*)" (Hayashi 1939a:194; 2002:165-166) when she sees them alive; here, her apathy seems to turn into aversion with her increased proximity to the intensifying fight. In the preceding entry, when passing their corpses with Noppo and Chibi, Hayashi notes how "these dead people surely did not think they would die more miserably than dogs" (Hayashi 1939a:162; 2002:139). She notices a notebook with a photograph of a beautiful woman next to the corpse of a soldier who appears not even twenty years old, but quickly dismisses it as she does not understand what is written there (ibid).

Just a few pages later, she discovers another dead Chinese soldier at the roadside. She finds an army notebook on him, as well as a commemorative sword for graduation

from his military school, with an apparent dedication to Chiang Kai-Shek on its handle, which Hayashi finds 'childish' (*kodamashi*; Hayashi 1939a:169; 2002:145). In the notebook, Hayashi finds a photograph of the soldier on a bicycle, and another photograph of a young woman, assuming her to be this soldier's lover. Before leaving, Hayashi ponders his miserable death and places a few chrysanthemums on his face (Hayashi 1939a:170; 2002:145). This scene recalls Hayashi's earlier travelogue "Arawashi butaichō o tazunete", in which she mentions how Japanese soldiers cover the fallen Chinese, left exposed on the battlefield by their fellows, with a bit of dirt as they are marching on and interprets this as a gesture of respect (see Part III, 3.2.). It is also reminiscent of a scene in Hino Ashihei's *Tsuchi to heitai* where the narrator finds a similar photograph on the body of a fallen Japanese soldier – in Hayashi Fumiko's account, the nationalities are reversed (Iida 2016:245). That Hayashi chooses to cover this soldier's face with chrysanthemums instead of dirt can be interpreted as a gesture of respect; however, the symbolic value of the chrystanthemums as a national symbol of Japan and the symbol of the emperor must also be considered. This supports a reading of this scene as Hayashi's claim to victory or superiority, as she is also traversing the front as a representative of the state, even if she downplays this aspect of the text with its personal perspective.

In *Sensen*, Hayashi's indifference towards the fallen Chinese soldiers is even more heightened. In the fourth letter, when Hayashi sees their dead bodies "in every state" (Hayashi 1938w:34; 2014a:31) on the narrow streets of Xishui, she seems perturbed by her lack of emotion and writes "this will be a big assignment (*shukudai*) for me" (Hayashi 1938w:35; 2014a:31); she wonders whether one can "get used to such cold feelings about a different race (*chigatta ketsuzoku*)" (ibid.). In the earlier part of the text, Hayashi is therefore still struggling with the lack of empathy that appears

unexpected to her, even as she merely reiterates what she had already expressed in her earlier texts from Nanjing. Importantly (and conveniently), she ascribes her lack of emotion to her ethnicity, engaging in racist rhetoric highlighted by the word *ketsuzoku* 血族, literally a 'blood tribe'; the dead Chinese, therefore, are defined by their nationality or ethnicity more importantly than their shared humanity in Hayashi's perception.

Later, in the seventh letter, Hayashi describes the Chinese civilians (*domin*) and soldiers (*tsunkopin*[135]) whom she passes on the press truck at night as looking like 'monsters' (*obake*) as their smiling or crying faces are illuminated by the car's headlights (Hayashi 1938w:58; 2014a:48). And as a final example, she sees a dead soldier in the tenth letter, apparently only 17 or 18 years old, at whom she stares 'blankly' (*shirojiro*) and who brings out heartwrenching memories of Japanese soldiers on stretchers – a feeling she is unable to impart on the fallen Chinese. While she finds her lack of emotion 'awful' (*susamajii*), she also maintains it is something she cannot help, and attempts to counteract this by expressing empathy towards the Chinese peasants (Hayashi 1938w:77-78; 2014a:60). In later stages of the text, the dead Chinese soldiers cease to warrant even this amount of reflection on Hayashi's part, and appear as not much more than a part of the scenery. This does not, however, discourage her contempt towards Chiang Kai-Shek as she wonders about how he feels about the sacrifice of these soldiers (Hayashi 1938w:86-87; 2014a:65). This stands, of course, in stark contrast with her concern (presumably shared with the Japanese government, as seems to be the suggestion) about the sacrifice of the Japanese troops, which I will discuss in more detail in the following section.

[135] Japanese transliteration of the Mandarin word for 'Chinese soldier', *Zhong Guo bing* 中国兵.

Iida situates the dispassionate depiction of dead Chinese soldiers in a broader context of Japanese wartime literature, and points out its similarities to *Mugi to heitai* (Iida 2016, 240). The sense of unease the lack of empathy arouses within Hayashi Fumiko are shared by the narrator of *Mugi to heitai* as well (Iida 2016, p. 241), and Iida also finds similarities in the aestheticization of the battlefield between Hino Ashihei and Hayashi (Iida 2016, 243–244). Horiguchi importantly points out that by describing the Chinese as dirty, begging and idle, Japan can be recreated as the party which provides, makes progress, and purifies (Horiguchi 2012a, p. 141). In this sense, Hayashi takes up the familiar perception of China as seen by the soldiers in Hino Ashihei's *Mugi to heitai* and therefore a broader attitude towards China and its citizens. Nevertheless, Nomura detects a more open attitude from Hayashi towards civilians in China in *Hokugan butai* in comparison to *Watashi no konchūki* (see Part III, 3.3.) and interprets this as a reflection of her interest in the *shomin* (ordinary people; (Nomura 2015, 177). For Imagawa Hideko, this attention to the lives of *shomin* becomes a defining feature of Hayashi's travelogues, building upon the legacy of *Hōrōki* and other early texts (Iida 2016, 249). Similarly, citing Fessler (Fessler 1998, 80–81), Romagnoli concurs with her that Hayashi devotes special attention to other people she meets, as well as her interaction with them and their different culture. Referrering to the scene near the end of *Hokugan butai* where Hayashi holds a Chinese baby while the Chinese women sheltering in the house look at her with mistrust, Romagnoli also describes Hayashi's instinct towards the baby as it comes through in the text as not "particularly maternal" (Romagnoli 2018:269).

4.2.2. The representation of Japan

As Hayashi avoids contemplating on questions of politics, Japan's side of the war can

only be represented through those involved in its military operations such as soldiers or nurses. Given the soldiers' modest origins, the war can therefore be represented as one of the people, waged in their interest. In *Hokugan butai,* Hayashi explicitly states she wanted to be on the side of soldiers from her home (*furusato*) as she reveals the troop she is travelling with as the 'Yangtze northern bank troop' (*Yōsukō hokugan butai*), which gives the text its name (Hayashi 1939a:71; 2002:63). In this way, the title describes not only the troop Hayashi crossed the front with, but also gives it a more personal meaning connected to Hayashi's own identity, which dovetails with the more personal quality of the text. Otherwise, *Hokugan butai* follows the censorship conventions of the time (see Part I, 1.4.), in that troop names are censored by *fuseji*[136] and officials above a certain rank are uniformly referred to as troop commanders (*butaichō*; Hayashi 1939a:105; 2002:92).

Much like in Hayashi's Nanjing texts, the soldiers' bravery and sacrifice is one of the most prominent aspects of her writing from Hankou; in this respect, however, Hayashi's tone becomes more urgent and sentimental in this later stage of the war in China: in *Sensen,* she describes the sight of wounded Japanese soldiers as one that makes her feel "extremes of tragedy" (Hayashi 1938w:8; 2014a:14–15). But particularly in *Hokugan butai,* the soldiers' dedication has a profound and transformative effect on Hayashi, which I will discuss in more detail below. Touching upon their beloved home once again, she writes on September 25:

> "All of the soldiers have a beautiful, happy home (*furusato*). I don't think any of them thought too deep about getting covered with mud, get hurt and fall. Yet I have responded with my entire being to the clear eyes of those men fueled by strong faith, and decided to look straight at them with

[136] The troop names are identified in the notes of the 'restored' edition (*fukugenban*) of *Hokugan butai,* published in 2002.

kindness." (Hayashi 1939a:49; 2002:45-46)

Hayashi makes the sacrifice of soldiers present in the text not by depicting their deaths and suffering – under the strict censorship system, she was unlikely to be able to do so. Instead, she relies on allusions and expressions of deep sympathy towards Japanese soldiers whom she witnesses having sustained injuries. When she remembers seeing them on stretchers, Hayashi wonders how "the blood spilled by so many soldiers for the sake of our kind (*waga minzoku*) bear fruit on this Chinese land (*Shina tairiku*)" (Hayashi 1939a:49; 2002:45). With this contemplation, Hayashi not only once again takes up the trope of China as a country 'plagued' by wars throughout its history, as she already did in her pre-war travelogues (see Part III, 2.2.), but also highlights the value of the Japanese sacrifice in China that is in stark contrast with that of the dead Chinese soldiers, who appear as mere and necessary byproducts of war in her texts. The sight of Japanese men on stretchers also makes her emotional while thinking about her husband, who is on duty as a medic (*eiseihei*) and who is likely put in similar situations (Hayashi 1939a:93; 2002:82), once again foregrounding how she is affected by the war in her personal life. Writing about the funeral of sublieutenant Umemura, which she had written about previously for *Asahi Shinbun* (see Part III, 4.1.), she pays her respects to his ultimate sacrifice and 'worthy' (*rippa*) death by clipping the toenails on his remains. Apparently inspired by the soldiers' bravery, she iterates that while she feels sadness at his passing, she is not scared of approaching his dead body, and wishes him to rest in peace (Hayashi 1939a:65; 2002:59).

Yet as great as the soldiers' sacrifices are, they ultimately serve to make a case for Japan's bravery. Deeply moved, Hayashi confesses to the reader she wants to "broadcast the soldiers' faces on the sky like television" (Hayashi 1939a:45; 2002:42) so she could share the sight of them with all people in Japan. When marching towards

Hankou on October 24, Hayashi relates an order from the troop captain to not lose even one man, and to push forward with sweeping fire (Hayashi 1939a:167; 2002:143). A few pages later, Hayashi describes their march as follows:

> "Truly (*mattaku*), if I showed this file of soldiers (*gunretsu*) to the children of the northern bank troop, they would scream 'daddy, daddy, my daddy!' This was a beautifully splendid climax on the battlefield. Even though I have heard and read many dark tales from the front, for the first time it was such a strong and confident fight, and having this chase unfold in front of my eyes made me feel a how important it is to my work." (Hayashi 1939a:171-172; 2002:147)

It is important to note that as of the day this entry corresponds to, Hankou had not yet been conquered. In keeping with her presentation of the Japanese army as undefeatable, however, Hayashi writes about the city's fall as a *fait accompli*. She does so in earlier entries too, such as when she mentions that she "cannot forecast when exactly Hankou will fall" (Hayashi 1939a:70; 2002:63). When Hankou does ultimately fall, Hayashi illustrates the strength of the Japanese army in numbers, as she reports five dead and 80 wounded soldiers on the Japanese side, and 70 thousand casualties on the Chinese side (Hayashi 1938w:163; 2014a:119). The certainty of Japanese victory is underscored by Hayashi in the eighth letter of *Sensen,* when she passes the Guanghua 光華門 (*Kōkanmon*) and Zhongshanmen 中山門 (*Chūzanmon*) gates of Nanjing. She sees pieces of blue cloth (as in the Chinese military uniforms) and mentions how she associates the color blue with defeat (Hayashi 1938w:66; 2014a:53). In the afterword of *Hokugan butai,* Hayashi also states how she deliberately avoided the term *heitai-san* commonly used at the time for soldiers, as she finds it diminutive and therefore inappropriate to their noble stature (Hayashi 1939a:245; 2002:207-208). She voices a similar sentiment in the appendix (*fuki*) to *Sensen,* arguing that the term *heitai-san* makes the strong and noble soldiers appear "sweet and small" (Hayashi

1938w:168; 2014a:123); however, she does occasionally employ the term in her *Asahi Shinbun* coverage, which has been reprinted in the volume (Hayashi 1938w:205; 2014a:144), as well as in her earlier Nanjing texts (see Part III, 3.2.).

The paramount importance of family to the soldiers is reiterated throughout the texts. For example, soldiers are described as speaking solemnly about their children and fighting in this war for their childrens' future in the same entry in *Hokugan butai* (Hayashi 1939a:172; 2002:147), while in the first letter of *Sensen*, the soldiers are described as incessantly thinking and speaking of their mothers, sisters, wives and lovers (Hayashi 1938w:8; 2014a:14). In *Hokugan butai*, the troop itself is described as a 'family' (Hayashi 1939a:201; 2002:171). Hayashi mentions how they write diaries and letters to their families (Hayashi 1939a:23; 2002:23), and in the entry from October 27, she even reproduces one of these letters (Hayashi 1939a:229; 2002:193-194), which ultimately serves to support Hayashi's own portrayal of the soldiers as devoted family men. A letter from a soldier to his wife is similarly reproduced in *Sensen* (Hayashi 1938w:95-96; 2014a:70-71), highlighting his love for her. In *Sensen*, she also describes the friendship within the troop as "beautiful like a rainbow" (Hayashi 1938w:29; 2014a:28), one that she will never forget. The pronounced focus on soldiers as family men is one of the most striking aspects of *Hokugan butai* for Horiguchi as she considers the sexual slavery of the so-called 'comfort stations' (*ianjo*) taking place in the occupied territories at the same time. However, it also allows Hayashi to construct herself as a motherly figure looking after the soldiers in accordance with the ideology of the Aikoku Fujinkai (see Part I, 1.2.; Horiguchi 2012a:139).

Hayashi's affection for the soldiers is most clearly brought to a point with her poem "Watashi ga heitai ga suki da" 私は兵隊が好きだ ["I love soldiers"], which appears both in *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai* and therefore forms an important

connective tissue between the two texts (Hayashi 1938w:49-50; 2014a:41–42; Hayashi 1939a:202-203; 2002:172–173). The phrase first appears in the fifth letter of *Sensen* (Hayashi 1938w:40; 2014a:34) before being expanded into the poem in the following one. In *Hokugan butai*, Hayashi receives applause from the soldiers after reading the poem to them; in the dim light of candles, the soldiers' bearded faces remind her of Christ, and she ponders how they would look in suits (Hayashi 1939a:211-212; 2002:180). This imagery is also employed by Hayashi in *Sensen*, where the sight of soldiers in candlelight makes her smile, imagining that Christ had become a soldier (Hayashi 1938w:63; 2014a:51). This metaphor is a continuation of Hayashi's representation of the soldiers as godlike, while their depiction as lovely family men from Kyūshū also allows their ordinariness to appear just as important. Hayashi therefore portrays the soldiers in much the same way as she did in her earlier Nanjing text, but the Christ imagery makes them into mythical figures in a more concrete manner and, in no uncertain terms, aids the idea of a 'holy war' (*seisen*), heavily pushed by the wartime propaganda. Interestingly, the image of Christ also breaks with Japanese mythology, which would perhaps more closely link the soldiers with the *kokutai* ideology.

Hayashi writes about field nurses in a similar way. Early in *Hokugan butai*, in the entry from September 19, she mentions several nurses by their names (these were not subject to censorship, unlike the names of soldiers) and describes them as "thoroughly ordinary (*soboku*), godly (*kamigamishii*) people who become mothers to the soldiers" (Hayashi 1939a:12; 2002:14). The difficulty of the nurses' work is illustrated by Hayashi's numerous visits to field hospitals, such as one in Ruichang which was too close to the front for nurses to be called there. The 'hospital' is described by Hayashi as merely an empty house with the soldiers 'strewn around', and with no

nurses around, the soldiers wear old bandages and help each other out. As Hayashi proceeds to hand out care packages (*imonbukuro*) she brought from home, she also assumes the role of a caretaker or an ersatz nurse, as she does a number of times throughout both texts (Hayashi 1939a:40-41; 2002:38-39). By doing so, Hayashi can realize her desire to serve and contribute to the war effort more directly than through writing – the desire she expressed in her earlier Nanjing texts could therefore come to a fuller fruition than on the first assignment, echoing also the 'sense of duty' Hayashi mentioned she feels towards the trip to Hankou before her departure (see Part III, 4.1.)

Continuing another theme from her Nanjing texts, Hayashi devotes a significant amount of attention to the horses, especially in *Sensen*, where she often describes their suffering. Already in the first letter, she writes about their stables, which are in fact small, dark and poorly ventilated storage spaces on a ship (Hayashi 1938w:15; 2014a:18), but they are loved by the soldiers (Hayashi 1938w:18; 2014a:19). As they struggle onwards on the front, dirty with blood and emaciated, Hayashi calls them 'silent warriors' (*mokushi*) and feels 'warmth' seeing how the soldiers care for them (Hayashi 1938w:74; 2014a:57-58). Recurrently, she also describes their death or dying in vivid images, such as when she mentions seeing many fallen and discarded horses and their sad expressions: "Please try to imagine the anxious eyes of a horse looking for its soldier" (Hayashi 1938w:46; 2014a:39), she writes in the fifth letter of *Sensen*. Some of the already dead horses, in Hayashi's description, look as if they were kicking up to the sky (Hayashi 1938w:79; 2014a:61). In *Hokugan butai*, Hayashi even devotes two poems to the horses (Hayashi 1939a:103-105; 230; 2002:91-92; 195), and describes them as wearing *senninbari* and *mamori* charms, much like the soldiers themselves (Hayashi 1939a:19; 2002:20). The keen attention to the military horses and the vivid description of their suffering in both texts stands in stark contrast to an almost

complete absence to the deaths of the Japanese soldiers, as well as to the unemotional, dry observations of Chinese casualties. The horses are also connected to the soldiers by the strong emotions Hayashi feels towards both of them. In this way, the horses can also be seen as surrogate figures for the soldiers themselves, through which Hayashi is able to show the more brutal effects of war on the troop she is attached to. Similarly to the way she endorsed the violence against the Chinese POW in order to show such an episode at all, her devoted attention to the suffering of military horses can also be interpreted as a loophole in the censorship guidelines through which Hayashi was able to put the darker sides of war onto the page in the first place.

4.2.3. The representation of Hayashi's self

In *Hokugan butai,* Hayashi represents her experience on the battlefield as one of profound internal transformation. While the text veers from the established frame of *shishōsetsu* in this aspect, it is also important to note that Hayashi as a narrator consistently stresses this transformation as one bound to China as *gaichi,* while repeatedly also expressing her anxiety about returning to her 'old self' in Japan as *naichi,* as I will show below. The internal transformation Hayashi undergoes during the march to Hankou is therefore impermanent and perhaps even obsolete at the time of the text's publication, giving *Hokugan butai* a confessional quality about Hayashi's extraordinary experience and pulling it closer towards the *shishōsetsu* paradigm. Hayashi's emotional state is fittingly described by Nomura as a sense of liberation (*kaihōkan*) and emotional unity (*jōchoteki na ittaikan*; Nomura 2015:185).

Hayashi's transformative and life-affirming experience on the battlefield is predicated by her resolve to follow the soldiers instead of staying with the other *pen butai* writers. In the first entry from September 19, she admits to her fear of heavy

gunfire, but at the same time thinks that other, male writers from the group might chance to go to the front lines as well (Hayashi 1939a:10; 2002:13). The same day, she confesses to a feeling of a 'strange loneliness' as she is boarding the Asahi truck that will take her closer to the front, realizing there is no turning back from her decision as another *pen butai* member, Sugiyama Heisuke, is bidding her farewell (Hayashi: 1939a:14; 2002:16).

At times, Hayashi feels monotony on the trip, as during a seemingly never-ending stretch of the Yangtze River (Hayashi 1939a:25; 2002:25), which turns into restlessness as she arrives in Jiujiang on the morning of September 23, on which day she parts with the soldiers and horses on the ship, wondering about the destiny that lies ahead (Hayashi 1939a:33; 2002:32). It is also in Jiujiang where her resolve to go to the front strengthtens (Hayashi 1939a:38; 2002:36). 'Destiny' (*unmei*) becomes an important keyword within the text, underscoring the inevitability of Hayashi's transformation into an impassioned patriot on the front. Hayashi also portrays the also the inevitability of Japan fulfilling its manifest destiny, as she never questions the eventual victory in Hankou.

Hayashi also highlights her unique position among the soldiers as both a civilian and a woman; as in the Nanjing texts, she comments upon the surprise of the soldiers when they see her (Hayashi 1939a:15; 2002:17). Similarly to her previous texts, she also utilizes the motif of sanitation to underscore both her difference and her vulnerability. One such scene from the September 25 entry is punctuated by a poem about wheat fields, in which she ponders death on the battlefield (Hayashi 1939a:47-48; 2002:43-44). By prominently focusing on the imagery of wheat, Hayashi makes an undeniably clear nod towards Hino Ashihei's *Mugi to heitai,* which is referenced in *Sensen* when Hayashi describes her march as "not 'cotton and soldiers' (*wata to heitai*), this is 'cotton

and reporters' (*wata to kisha*)"[137] (Hayashi 1938w:98; 2014a:71–72). Realizing her vulnerability and wanting to avoid being a burden to the troop she accompanies (a concern she had expressed before her trip in "Shi no senshi"), she exclaims "I want to be like glass, transparent and not eating anything" (Hayashi 1939a:48; 2002:45) and "I want to be born again on this battlefield" (ibid.), once again hinting towards a transformative quality of her experience. Towards the end of the text, on October 24, she references this passage: "Bit by bit, since coming to this battlefield, I am becoming a glass-like human, one who does not eat anything. Eating just miso soup and rice, I would not complain about my appetite even if I went on like this forever" (Hayashi 1939a:177; 2002:151). At the same time, by associating feelings of shame with her femininity, which to her is an obstacle in the war zone, Hayashi endows her narrative with an important ingredient of a *shishōsetsu*. However, by perceiving herself as inherently weak, Hayashi's resolve to reach Hankou strenghtens, and she seems to realize more fully how the experience inspires her, when she writes the following in the same entry:

> "I certainly want to try and go to the front. I am a civilian, and what's more, a woman; but I want to imprint the fight of Japanese soldiers fully onto my damaged eyes. I do not know for how many more years I can write the truth – and besides, what are the characters with which the truth is written? I have witnessed with great surprise the things that have happened in front of me, those which are happening [now], and also to the patriotic passion gushing up within me. Even if I were to get shelled and die, such matters are becoming trivial to me. This intense feeling of loving this country, to me, feels like a kind of a great springtime (*ōkina seishun*)." (Hayashi 1939a:50; 2002:46)

In this paragraph, Hayashi touches upon her poor eyesight, which lends more

[137] As mentioned in Chapter 4 of Part II, while Hino Ashihei did participate in war as a soldier, he wrote *Mugi to heitai* on an assignment as a member of the military press corps. Despite this, Takayama also argues for *Hokugan butai* to be read as a text with a different character (*seikaku*) than Hino Ashihei's 'soldier' texts (Takayama 2010:166), a stance also taken earlier by Mori (Mori 1992:180).

urgency to her feelings in two ways – by making her even more vulnerable on the ground and by seemingly imposing a limit on her writing ability after this assignment. Hayashi, then, is trying to seize an opportunity to witness a historical moment of major importance for Japan, a chance she might not be able to get again in the future.

Especially in *Hokugan butai*, Hayashi stresses the importance of her writing not only as a historical record, but also a personal significance of the campaign for her development as a writer. To Hayashi, the opportunity presented to her is so great that even putting her own life on the line is insignificant. Yet to the reader, this personal importance is dressed up as a desire to provide a record of the war, and she qualifies the texts as such by stressing her patriotism – and since patriotism was definitely not a theme in her earlier writing she was mostly known for (see Part III, 1.2.), she attempts to make it plausible to the reader by highlighting her own surprise at it, which would likely be shared by the reader. In this context, Hayashi's somewhat obscure remark about 'characters with which the truth is written' may well be referring to the framework of censorship Hayashi was writing under, suggesting that a vocabulary with which she could present a full, unvarnished account of her experience on the front is not available to her, and an impossibility to capture her truth. Instead, she has to present a 'truth' that is palatable to the state and media institutions she was subordinate to, and seems to suggest as much to the reader.

It is also in the entry for September 25 where Hayashi makes a clear separation of her self between *gaichi* and *naichi*, when she writes a manuscript[138] at the Asahi branch office at night. Breaking down and unable to stop crying, she realizes that she has no more attachment (*miren*) to her life in Tōkyō. When she writes a letter to

[138] Identified in the new edition of *Hokugan butai* as Hayashi Fumiko's article which appeared in the morning edition of *Asahi Shinbun* on September 30, 1938 (Hayashi 2002:214).

Kawabata Yasunari, she promptly burns it, unsure of whether the feelings she expressed in the letter will stay with her one or two months later (Hayashi 1939a:50; 2002:46); i.e. after her return to Japan. Similarly, in the September 29 entry, she exclaims how she does not care about her house in Tōkyō[139] anymore, inspired by the patriotism of a soldier from Kumamoto, and instead remaining and caring for this "strong soldier" (Hayashi 1939a:63; 2002:57). One of the most succinct passages on the sudden emergence of Hayashi's patriotic feelings can be found in the October 21 entry:

> "Perhaps I will not die, no matter what happens. But then a tinge of pathos over death makes my heart frail and teary (*namida moroku*). Each and every soldier faces trouble and scarcity, and none of them have thoughts like I do. Going out to the front, I have been hit with the noble beauty of the battlefield. [...] they brush away even a shadow of a tinge of anxiety and march on strongly. Every soldier's face carries their splendid homeland, and their young brows carry peace (*ochitsuki*)." (Hayashi 1939a138-139; 2002:120)

The patriotism 'gushing' within Hayashi, as she presents it in *Hokugan butai*, can therefore be traced to the bravery and resolve of the soldiers she describes instead of a prescribed state ideology and propaganda she herself participates in. It also strengthens in direct correlation to the time she spends with the soldiers on the ground. This reading is also supported by the fifteenth letter of *Sensen*, in which she appeals to the historians of Japan to not only focus on the (larger) history, but especially to tell the 'children and grandchildren' about the Japanese soldiers in China (Hayashi 1938w:108; 2014a:80). In *Sensen*, she also distances herself from the intellectual elites in Japan, who do not put their lives on the line as the soldiers do – the experience of the battlefield had allowed Hayashi, in her own words, to

[139] Hayashi's house in the Nakai neighborhood of Shinjuku, Tōkyō, today open to the public as a museum, was finished in 1941. It is therefore quite likely Hayashi's participation in war propaganda also provided her with finances for the property's design and construction.

understand what her homeland (*sokoku*) 'truly' is (Hayashi 1938w:31; 2014a:28-29).

The above examples also show a certain amount of alibism in Hayashi's patriotism, especially in *Hokugan butai*. Originating in her deep admiration for the soldiers, she aligns herself with the ordinary people (*shomin*) of Japan instead of the state, which also allows her narrated I (*watashi*) to be consistent with that of *Hōrōki* (from which it also borrows the form of a diary) despite conspicuous ideological differences between the texts. On the other hand, by contrasting the narrated I in the *gaichi* from that in the *naichi* – and expressing uncertainty about whether the transformation she experiences will still be palpable to her back home, as she does with the Kawabata letter – she also signals to the reader that her statements and convictions might only have temporary validity. In this way, then, Hayashi may once again be alluding to the function of the text as propaganda and perhaps even to doubts about the patriotism she otherwise expresses with great certainty. The effectiveness of her approach is well exemplified by Kawamoto Saburō, who argues against reading *Hokugan butai* as a pro-war text, but rather as one dealing with the soldiers' everyday existence, representing as they do the masses (*taishū*; Kawamoto 2003:384).

The motifs of resolve and transformation are repeated throughout the texts – especially in *Hokugan butai*, they become the proverbial red thread. While she confesses to being overcome with desperation which she fails to understand in the entry for October 4 (Hayashi 1939a:71; 2002:64) – again possibly alluding to aspects of the war she was unable to express due to censorship – she is unwavering in her own mission and frequently reiterates her resolve. "I want to march on. No matter what" (Hayashi 1939a:75; 2002:67), she writes on October 8. While she felt she could die before reaching Hankou, she cannot turn back and now instead wonders about what led her towards such 'womanly' (*onnaonnashii*) feelings. Supposing that nobody except

for her mother would mourn her passing, she realizes one cannot be cowardly about their life and destiny (ibid.). As Hayashi and the soldiers get closer to Hankou, her *gaichi* transformation appears complete: she has gotten so used to the sounds of shelling that she often does not hear them anymore, and in certain 'peaceful moments' she is completely devoid of thoughts. Her growth is further underscored by the praise she receives from a soldier for coming as far as she did on October 20 (Hayashi 1939a:133; 2002:115). The separation between a more 'feminine self' in *naichi* and a more 'masculine self' in *gaichi* is interestingly expressed in the October 23 entry, when she sniffs at a rose-scented lotion in her backpack, which brings nostalgic feelings of her friends in Japan. Wondering what they are up to now, she puts the bottle back: "Strangely, when I put the bottle in the backpack, I become a woman going to the battlefield again, watching the starry sky from the driver's seat absentmindedly, without any thought. In the distance, there are sounds of machine guns" (Hayashi 1939a:161; 2002:138), Hayashi describes matter-of-factly, reflecting the numbing effect the experience of war has on her.

In *Sensen*, this motif of transformation is closely tied to the physical hardship of the journey. Right in the beginning of the text, she writes that even though she had only spent a week on the front, she feels as if she had been here her whole life, and her life leading up to this moment feels merely like "a brief dream" (Hayashi 1938w:4; 2014a:13). In the second letter, she describes how she feels as if her feet were about to "rot and fall away" (Hayashi 1938w:21; 2014a:22), but looking in her compact, she sees a healthy face (Hayashi 1938w:23; 2014a:22). She contrasts the physical fatigue in *gaichi* to a spiritual or emotional (*seishinteki*) fatigue she felt in *naichi*, noting a certain pathos about death (*shishū*) she had acquired on this trip, hoping that her experience will allow her to make new discoveries (about herself) and that she will be able to

return alive (Hayashi 1938w:31; 2014a:29). In later letters, she touches upon a discovery of her 'true self' in the *gaichi* and how her life in *naichi* now seems "like a lie" (Hayashi 1938w:49; 2014a:41), and about her anxieties about returning back and adjusting to her former life (Hayashi 1938w:56; 2014a:46). Most interestingly, Hayashi expresses a demand to her mother to destroy all of her 'dirty books' and to apologize to her husband upon his return from duty in case she dies in China (Hayashi 1938w:103-104; 2014a:75-76). It is unclear what Hayashi means by 'dirty', and if she refers to a supposed lack of artistic quality or their content, as a number of her texts have been banned during the war (see Part III, 1.2.6.). Her wish for the books to be destroyed, however, can plausibly be connected to the 'epiphany' she experiences on the battlefield, and which makes her previous concerns and work appear frivolous to Hayashi. Finally, however, upon reaching Hankou alive, she is overcome with emotion, thinking about why she had not died on the battlefield while walking the empty city streets (Hayashi 1938w:163-164; 2014a:119). Hayashi also seems more preoccupied with thoughts of death in *Sensen*, where her they are closely tied to her representation of China as 'dirty' – a representation consistent not only with her earlier texts from the wartime (see Part III, 3.2.), but also her travelogues predating the war (see Part III, 2.2. and 2.3.). This preoccupation with death and filth is expressed perhaps most clearly in the tenth letter, in which Hayashi is wary of the idea of 'dying dirty' (*kegareta mono o motte shinuru*; Hayashi 1938w:76; 2014a:59), and in the twelfth, where she exclaims "I do not want to die on this dirty soil" (Hayashi 1938w:103; 2014a:75).

As Romagnoli points out, Hayashi emphasizes her womanliness in *Hokugan butai* (this, however, also applies to *Sensen*) against the soldiers as the Other, with national identity constituting the common denominator and the gender identity marking difference. According to Romagnoli, particularly in *Hokugan butai*, Hayashi Fumiko

shows a "gradual erosion of her femininity as a result of exposure to the battlefront" (Romagnoli 2018:270). In these texts, war is represented as a predominantly male enterprise, and Hayashi's taking part in it is "experienced as a crossing of symbolic boundaries that define femininity" (ibid.). Her femininity emerges in the challenge to adapt to the life on the front, as soldiers' everyday activities are difficult for her (Romagnoli 2018: 271). To this end, Hayashi also employs the motif of sanitation (even though, as in the Nanjing texts, this also serves to underscore her vulnerability) and expressions such as *onna to shite* ('as a woman') to "highlight the magnitude of her efforts in an unfamiliar environment" (ibid.). Considering Romagnoli's understanding of the text, Hayashi's entry from October 27, in which she takes out her compact to wipe her tears and resolutely states "I was not born in China. I was born in beautiful Japan" (Hayashi 1939a:218; 2002:185) is a particularly interesting passage, as it is in this compact where both her femininity and national identity converge, and her national identity is solidified just as she is about to enter the fallen Hankou.

Crossing of boundaries, then, correlates to a loss of femininity, and this comes through in *Hokugan butai* by Hayashi gaining similar physical characteristics as the soldiers, such as a dust-covered hair or a tan, or when she lays down in the mud like them (Hayashi 1939a:196; 2002:167; Romagnoli 2018: 271). Romagnoli also points out that *Hokugan butai* opens and closes with scenes where Hayashi sorts the contents of her backpack, which includes a makeup bag in the beginning (also depicted as a drawing in *Sensen*), but at the end, only a few dirty clothes are left. In this sense, the backpack becomes a signifier of the crossing of boundaries, or Hayashi's transformation (Romagnoli 2018:272). This crossing is, however, only restricted to Hayashi Fumiko herself. Hayashi's gender identity is relevant in relation to the soldiers and not in a sense of belonging to a social group. This becomes clear in that she does

not dwell on the soldiers' wives, instead focusing on the soldiers themselves, who must behave in a "way that rewards the chastity of their wives" (ibid.).

Intextricably linked to the transformation she experiences in China is Hayashi's reflection on her own work as a writer. It also links *Hokugan butai* with texts from the early days of war such as "Watashi no sakuhin taido" or "Watashi no shigoto" (see Part III, 3.1.), in which she expressed frustration with her work and turning to war as an opportunity to elevate her writing. The experience of the battlefield is on the one hand inspirational for Hayashi, as becomes apparent through statements such as "I am overflowing with letters (*moji*)" (Hayashi 1939a:105; 2002:92). On the other hand, the immediate experience of war seems to render her preoccupations and ambitions as a writer trivial, such as when she writes the following on October 14:

> "Like this, I might not be able to return to Japan, but that is fine. It is mysterious (*fushigi*) how the battlefront is my only passion now. Not that I am not thinking about [literary] serials, but coming here, those love stories become unimportant to me. I have had enough. I have written as best I could (*isshōkenmei*), but what solace does that give my heart now? I could be poor. I am thinking of not writing anything. A letter from home (*naichi*) arrived asking me to write a poem (*uta*) for the nurses, but that too is something I am unable to do now. All I can do is just breathe." (Hayashi 1939a:87-88; 2002:77-78)

The inspiration she experiences on the battlefield therefore becomes a double-edged sword for Hayashi, as she doubts her ability to put her experience into words, while the magnitude of this inspiration also marks a shift in perspective towards her own work. She is similarly frustrated while writing her diary: "A new destiny awaits me tomorrow. As I was writing my diary, I started to feel disappointment at writing it. I do not understand why" (Hayashi 1939a:146; 2002:126), she states on October 21, and reiterates her inability to record her experiences on October 24 (Hayashi 1939a:170-171; 2002:146). The experience even seems almost unreal to her before her departure

from Hankou: "[...] coming home [to *naichi*] with such boundless feelings, I have not the slightest idea about what I should speak about. I feel like I have not seen anything, or that it was a single, brief dream. But when I see my hands, filthy with dirt, I think of how long this life has been" (Hayashi 1939a:233; 2002:198), she writes on October 28. Similarly, in the nineteenth letter of *Sensen*, she rejects the label of an 'embedded writer' (*jūgun sakka*), instead preferring to think of herself as a single woman going the distance (Hayashi 1938w:136; 2014a:99) – likely referring to the rest of the *pen butai* which had remained farther behind – and expresses her unhappiness about not knowing what to write and speak about as she is unable to convey her experiences of the battlefield (ibid.).

Hayashi's mention of writing a diary is interesting in its suggestion that the text presented (*Hokugan butai*), while asssuming the form of a diary, is not the diary she was keeping on the ground. Instead, the text as it is presented is merely based on that diary, and is most likely a considerably edited version thereof. This is, in fact, a point made by Hayashi herself in the afterword to *Hokugan butai* (dated December 2, 1938), in which she refers to the text as an "incomplete duty diary (*arakezuri na jūgun nikki*)" (*Hokugan butai* p. 2002, p. 207), a result of her contracting malaria in China and thus being unable to write anything larger. Similarly, in the appendix to *Sensen*, Hayashi mentions her desire to write much more, but as she could not write as she wanted, the text represents a "record of her intense recollections of the soldiers" (Hayashi 1938w:167; 2014a:122). Here, her inability to write 'as she wanted' can be interpreted as either a physical inability due to her ailment, but perhaps also as an allusion to the strictness of the censorship – hence, she defines the text as one about the soldiers instead of as about war.

In this afterword, Hayashi also reacts to the publicity she gained as the first

woman in Hankou, giving the credit for her accomplishment to the northern bank troop. At the same time, she expresses her happiness about her destiny (Hayashi 1939a:245; 2002:207), and mentions that she does not believe she will be surrounded by such passion again in her lifetime (Hayashi 1939a:246; 2002:208). The afterword also suggests that the transformation she experienced at the side of the soldiers has affected her in a more lasting manner after all, as Hayashi mentions having visited an injured captain in a Kumamoto hospital immediately after her return despite becoming ill, powering through her fever inspired by the northern bank troop's strength (ibid.). In the afterword to *Sensen*, Hayashi thanks those who have accompanied her on the press truck Ajia-gō [Asia] and calls the text her 'maiden publication' (*shojo shuppan*), as she had not yet turned travelogues (*ryokōki*) and war reportage (*jūgunki*) into a book (*Sensen* 2014, p. 150). Such a statement seems somewhat misleading considering her volume *Watashi no konchūki* (see Part III, 3.3.) had been published mere five months earlier, but it also signals the complete and lasting nature of the inner transformation Hayashi had undergone and described on the front.

Fessler describes Hayashi Fumiko's travelogues and her focus on soldiers, horses, as well as the Chinese landscape as an interest in writing about "anything but the underlying mechanism that drove the war machine" (Fessler 1998:133), thus showing naïveté and ignorance; at the same time, he also argues that an emphasis on the individual and personal aspect of war would draw more sympathy at home than a "broad, patriotic appeal for support" (ibid.). Going even further with her criticism, Takyama opines that Hayashi Fumiko's *jūgunki* (war reportage) are generally of low quality, finding the author's sentimentality as it is on display in the texts overbearing (Takayama 2010:161). *Hokugan butai* was also criticized by Itagaki Naoko as a

repetition of *Hōrōki* and for completely lacking objectivity, discrediting the text as war reportage (Takayama 2010:165); at the same time, Itagaki praised *Hokugan butai* as a "vivid, exciting piece of reporting from the ground" (Yokoyama 2002:242). Ōoka Shōhei describes the text as a 'travelogue of emotions' (*kanjō kikō*) and credits Hayashi with capturing the mad rush of troops in Hankou well in romantic writing 'wrapped in sorrow' (*aishū o obita*; Yokoyama 2002:242). The focus on the immediate world and deeply personal perspective, however, also allow Hayashi to avoid jingoistic slogans and clichés present in other wartime propaganda (Ericson 1997:81).

With her analysis of *Hokugan butai*, Horiguchi goes against the prevalent perception of Hayashi's wartime texts which ignores their historical and political dimensions. Instead, they are deemed as 'poor', sentimental writing unworthy of critical examination, and Hayashi's own ideological and political consciousness are generally considered to be lacking. In other words, Horiguchi sums up the general attitude in scholarship towards Hayashi's writing as one where the personal is largely disconnected from the political (Horiguchi 2012a:127). She, however, describes a continuity between *Hokugan butai* and works by earlier authors Tamura Toshiko and Yosano Akiko, which all focus on questions of gender and/or class while narrating in *naichi*, where the the authors perceive their selves as insecure. Moving to *gaichi*, they become more conscious of questions of race and ethnicity, constructed along the lines of imperialist and nationalist discourse, and incorporate the story of the nation-state into their own, personal ones (Horiguchi 2012b:xii).

Horiguchi juxtapositions *Hokugan butai* with *Hōrōki*, in which Hayashi constructed herself as a vagabond floating adrift in *naichi*, unfit as a member of the family system and living outside of the institutionalized womanhood of the *ryōsai kenbo* paradigm. In *Hōrōki*, a woman's role as a nurturer and bearer of children as soldiers carries no

significance to the narrator (Horiguchi 2012a:130-131). In *Hokugan butai*, as shown above, Hayashi however willingly assumes the role of a caregiver and elevates field nurses to the 'godlike' status of the soldiers, constructing her own feminine ideal on the battlefield and at the same time advocating for an active participation in war by women. Horiguchi points out that while *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai* utilize a combination of prose and poetry similarly to *Hōrōki*, Hayashi's construction of the self in her wartime texts is very different, now marching wirth determination to a destination in unison with the soldiers instead of drifting aimlessly as she does in *naichi* (Horiguchi 2012a:138). While the narrator of *Hōrōki* identified with the marginalized (see Part III, 1.2.), in *Hokugan butai*, Hayashi as the narrator reconstructs her identity as a patriotic Japanese, her national identity in *gaichi* determined by the clear distinction between Japan and China (Horiguchi 2012a:140). Hayashi's discovery of purpose and awakening confidence in *Hokugan butai* are similarly in stark contrast to the absence of a grand narrative the "I" of *Hōrōki* experiences (Horiguchi 2012a:142).

The genuineness of the narrated I, as constructed by Hayashi Fumiko as the narrating I, is intriguigingly corroborated by Shimohara's (2009) reproduction of his father's field diary; his father, once an aspiring writer, had happened to meet Hayashi on a ship alongside Ishikawa Tatsuzō (Shimohara 2009, 211–212). He particularly highlights Hayashi's relatability and how she does not share the unapproachable quality of many male literates (*bungaku seinen;* Shimohara 2009, 213). The soldier even records in his diary utterances by Hayashi similar to those in *Hokugan butai*, such as when she speaks about imprinting the fight of Japan's soldiers on her eyes or her uncertainty about how long she will be able to write 'the truth' (Shimohara 2009, 215). She also confesses to Shimohara's father about how she does not care about writing literature or newspaper articles, and she marches with the soldiers and horses for the

country. As she relates to him, Hayashi understands her position to be one of an observer who surrenders to fate (Shimohara 2009, 215-216).

Already in 1939, Abe Tomoji wrote in the November 29 issue of *Bungei Jihyō* that *Hokugan butai* should not be perceived as a novel or a work of 'literature', and he praises the frankness of feelings Hayashi conveys as she engages with the reality of war (Satō 2014:261). Certainly, this is how both *Hokugan butai* and *Sensen* are presented – as factual, non-fictional accounts of Hayashi's experience on the battlefield. Yet as particularly the case of *Hokugan butai* shows, Hayashi's deliberate incorporation of elements of *shishōsetsu* invites both its reading as an authentic and immediate testimony of the writer as narrator, as well as a more careful consideration of the ways she stylizes and embellishes it in pursuit of engaging the reader emotionally. In these two texts, then, the aspects of Hayashi's non-fictional and fictional writing on war established in her Nanjing texts converge and the boundaries between fictional and documentary writing merge even further.

4.3. Hayashi Fumiko in the media after her return to Japan

During and shortly after her assignment in Hankou and achieving the status of the first writer to enter the city after its fall, Hayashi published (and also was a subject of) a series of articles in *Asahi Shinbun*. The evening edition of *Asahi Shinbun* of October 30 featured an article on the 'heroic deeds of the *pen butai*' particularly highlighting Hayashi's success and the respect she has earned from the soldiers for her undertaking, calling her a "pride of all women in Japan" (Yokoyama 2002:236). Hayashi also published texts about her war experience in magazines aimed at different audiences such as women and children, the ones for the latter being especially surprising in their relatively frank depiction of war. In the *Shōgaku Gonensei* 小学五年

生 travelogue “Kōgun ni tsuite” 皇軍に従ひて [“About the Imperial Army”] published in January 1939, for instance, she describes wounded soldiers in a field hospital in Ruichang, with one of them asking where his leg is following a surgery (*shujutsu*; presumably amputation) after a gunshot wound (Hayashi 1939b:121). Horses are described as suffering in grueling conditions, some of them dying during the journey, causing the soldiers terrible grief (ibid.). Hayashi also mentions soldiers losing their limbs in the *Shōjo no tomo* 少女の友 text “Senjō ni ware wa nakinu” 戦場に我は泣きぬ [“I do not cry on the battlefield”] from the same month (Hayashi 1939c:69). In this text, Hayashi also writes about a young sublieutenant (*shōi*) dying on a ship and his dead body wrapped in a flag (Hayashi 1939c:68), an episode she also related in her *Asahi Shinbun* column “Wakaki shōi no shi” published during her trip to Hankou.

Despite the soldier’s hardship, already familiar from her Nanjing texts, Hayashi once again highlights their heroism in the Hankou texts, which is such that it inspires songs of even the Chinese enemies (Hayashi 1939c:69). Hayashi describes the Japanese soldiers as marching to Hankou still dressed in summer clothes, soiled by mud and dirt, their faces all black and only with *umeboshi* and rice to eat. Despite this, they are in good spirits, their strength inspiring happiness within Hayashi (Hayashi 1939c:70). Seeing their fight, she recognizes the Japanese spirit, *Yamato damashii* 大和魂, and is moved to tears (ibid.). In this way, Hayashi depicts the soldiers in a similar way to Hino Ashihei in *Mugi to heitai,* but with a more overt note of nationalism in a text aimed at young girls. Another gesture which could be interpreted as an expression of the author’s nationalism is Hayashi taking out a Japanese flag from her backpack and raising it in Hankou after its fall (Hayashi 1939c:74), symbolically claiming the

territory as an inspirational figure to the young readers.

A photograph of the Japanese soldiers marching in line is attached to the transcript of Hayashi's lecture in Ōsaka, published in the weekly magazine *Shūkan Asahi* titled "Kōgun no yūshi ni gokō kagayaku" 皇軍の勇姿に後光輝く ["Halo glowing behind Imperial Army's heroes", shortened to "Kōgun no yūshi" below] on November 20, 1938 (Hayashi 1938u:7). As already referred to in the title of this text, Hayashi speaks about being so impressed by the strength of the Japanese army that she felt like the soldiers are surrounded by a halo (*gokō*) as they were entering Hankou (ibid.). As can be seen from this lecture, Hayashi had adopted the rhetoric of her written texts in her public speeches as well, thus consolidating a unity between the narrated I of *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai* and the narrating I of Hayashi Fumiko as a public figure. This also makes her ideological I (both in her public speeches and her texts) more pronounced than before.

Hayashi often writes about the soldiers' 'hunger' for and need to feel love (Hayashi 1938u:7; Hayashi 1938t:11; Hayashi 1939c:74), and mentions their joy at receiving letters from their wives and mothers they would read repeatedly (Hayashi 1938u:7). In *Asahi Shinbun* from November 1 and the *Shōjo no tomo* travelogue, Hayashi mentions a pencil sent to a soldier as a present from a schoolboy in Japan, which brought this soldier great happiness (Hayashi 1938t:11; Hayashi 1939c:74). As in *Hokugan butai* and *Sensen*, and continuing a theme from her Nanjing texts, Hayashi lets the Japanese soldiers emerge as ordinary, loving and gentle people.

In the texts published after her return from Hankou, Hayashi frequently reiterates her appeal to women for participation in war, which she already expresses during her assignment, on October 5, in *Asahi Shinbun* (Hayashi 1938r:6). In "Kōgun no yūshi", she mentions a lack of nurses in field hospitals, writing about the harsh reality she

experiences helping out at them and witnessing the injuries and suffering of Japan's soldiers (Hayashi 1938u:6), and she appeals to women to come to the front as nurses (Hayashi 1938u:7) – an act of service Hayashi herself was considering in the early days of war (see Part III, 3.1.). Passages describing her assisting in hospitals or serving cider to soldiers, a situation which moves her emotionally (Hayashi 1939c:69), can allow her to inform the public on the significance of women's contribution to the war effort. As an embodiment of maternity, and thus as the feminine ideal in line with the *kokutai* ideology, nurses become surrogates for the mother figures the soldiers dearly miss, as she had heard many of them call out to their mothers (not, however, to their fathers) on the battlefield (Hayashi 1938u:7). They call the nurses 'mother' too, as many are already in their forties and fifties; Hayashi also refers to them as 'angels' (Hayashi 1939b:121). Hayashi mentions the shortages in medical supplies at field hospitals in her travelogue published in a children's magazine (*Shōgaku Gonensei*), communicating the urgency of Japan's war effort to children with the same intesity she did to their parents. Conversely, she informs the young female readers of *Shōjo no Tomo* about the ways women can participate in war: by working in water supply, as medics or by mending clothes, all of which has, for the time being, to be done on the ground by the soldiers themselves (Hayashi 1939c:74). This statement also appears in the December 1938 issue of the women's magazine *Fujin no Tomo,* in which Hayashi recognizes the importance of women taking care of their families back in Japan, but at the same time expresses her desire to 'expand their horizons' (Hayashi 1938v:2[140]).

Hayashi therefore presents the ways in which women can participate in the war

[140] Hayashi's text was published as a part of a *furoku* (supplement) to the magazine, in which pages are not numbered. Her contribution is on the second page of this supplement and is therefore numbered as such here.

not only as a duty (as presented in her Nanjing texts), but also as an opportunity that can provide women a sense of purpose and excitement (Hayashi 1938r:6). This sense of purpose is what Hayashi proposes to counteract a lack of interest in the war among women (ibid.). While confessing to an utter exhaustion and marching forward through sheer through willpower to the girls reading *Shōjo no Tomo,* even (somewhat shockingly) admitting to entertaining thoughts of suicide (Hayashi 1939c:71), Hayashi precedes this with expressing her happiness to be of help as a woman on the front (Hayashi 1939c:67). Her feelings of joy upon entering Hankou, which she also mentions in her Ōsaka speech to the sound of applause (Hayashi 1938u:7), are buttressed by her feeling of representing the 'mothers and sisters of Japan', as she intimates to the child readers of *Shōgaku Gonensei*, as well as asking them to write letters to the 'kind soldiers' (Hayashi 1939b:123).

The lack of women on the front, however, also secured a more unique position for Hayashi within the war discourse, and this was certainly played up by the press particularly after her achievement of reaching Hankou before the other *pen butai* writers. Curiously ignoring Yoshiya Nobuko's participation in the *pen butai,* the press titled Hayashi the sole woman (*kōitten* 紅一点) of the group (Hayashi 1938s:11; Hayashi 1938u:6), or a *Yamato nadeshiko* 大和撫子, i.e. a woman embodying the virtuous female ideal of old Japan. Public interest also seemed to be in Hayashi's favor, as according to *Shūkan Asahi,* the lecture she held on November 1, 1938 in Ōsaka Asahi Kaikan was attended by a full audience (Hayashi 1938u:6). True to the desire to overcome her fears she expressed to her Hankou trip and becoming more courageous in order to advance as a writer – a frustration Hayashi wrote about in the early days of war – she speaks here of her demeanor on the front as composed, surprising the

soldiers she met (Hayashi 1938u:6). Yet she also wishes she could bring the soldiers on the stage with her, grateful for their assistance in accomplishing her goal (Hayashi 1938u:6). Hayashi presents the depth of her feelings towards the Japanese soldiers in no uncertain terms in the short text "Watashi no nōto" 私のノート ["My notebook"], published in the March 1939 issue of *Asahigraph* アサヒグラフ, in which she visits a soldier in a Red Cross hospital. While the other soldiers are visited by their wives, Hayashi fills out her relation to the soldier as 'friend' (*yūjin*) on the official paperwork (Hayashi 1939d:25).

The benevolence of the Japanese imperial project and righteousness of war is also bolstered by Hayashi in her description of Chinese refugees who are being treated in Japanese hospitals in Shanghai, while 'misinformation' (*dema*) about poison being administered to them is spread by the Chinese propaganda (Hayashi 1938p:1). In her speech in Ōsaka, Hayashi mentions Chinese soldiers who would feign death among their fallen comrades, surprising her (Hayashi 1938u:7); while it could be expected that they were promptly killed, Hayashi understandably does not elaborate on this point. She also mentions Chinese soldiers feigning death, as well as wounded soldiers peeking out of the abandoned houses in Hankou, to the young girls reading *Shōjo no Tomo*, while also reassuring them (much like in her Nanjing texts) that Hankou's citizens have fled to the mountains as the city lies in ruins (Hayashi 1939c:72). She also reminds her young readers of the hardships the Japanese soldiers are going through in China (ibid.). In this text, she also curiously mentions that the husband of the maid in the Siemens villa in Nanjing (also present in *Hokugan butai*) was a soldier fighting in Hankou, with the maid uncertain about whether he is still alive (Hayashi 1939c:68); in *Hokugan butai*, the husband is introduced as a driver, which is also reiterated in his

fictional counterpart Zhu in the story "Kawa wa shizuka ni nagareteyuku" (see Part III, 4.4.4.). Hayashi's interaction with the maid also makes palpable to her the inequality in education in China, seemingly only available to wealthy Chinese, as the maid does not know Chiang Kai-Shek and many other Chinese are unable to even write their own names (Hayashi 1939c:69). Educating the Chinese, then, as Hayashi seems to suggest to the young readers of *Shōjo no Tomo* with a sense of urgency, could become another avenue in which Japan's expansion in China could prove to be beneficial.

Between November and December 1938 (leading up to the publication of *Sensen*), Hayashi appeared in a series of columns in *Asahi Shinbun* where she answered questions from peers (such as Hasegawa Shigure) or readers. The reader questions are especially interesting in their concern for Chinese children, a topic barely present in Hayashi's own texts. On December 5, a nursery teacher from Nagano writes about being worried about the children in China. In her response, Hayashi considers lack of education an important factor impeding their development, mentioning the hunger and misery of Chinese children she had witnessed on the ground. She also mentions teaching Chinese children a Japanese song, which they were able to learn immediately (*Asahi Shinbun* 1938a:10). The following day, Hayashi answered a reader's concern about the Chinese army employing female child soldiers explaining that while she had not seen girls, she has seen male soldiers of fifteen or sixteen years of age, crying for their mothers as they were imprisoned as POWs (*Asahi Shinbun* 1938b:6). In this column, Hayashi also mentions finding a wounded child of thirteen or fourteen years near Hankou who asked her for help (ibid.); this episode is absent from *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai*, and even here, Hayashi does not mention what became of this child.

The enthusiasm for war diminishes in Hayashi's texts published in the later part of 1939. In her column "Kyūsoku" 休息 ["Rest"], which appeared in the July issue of

Taiyō 大洋, Hayashi writes about going to Yugashima on the Izu peninsula to recuperate after experiencing problems with her eye and pain in the head. Feeling 'absentminded' (*bon'yari*) reading newspapers, she also has difficulty writing, even as she was able to finish her 'newspaper novel'[141] (*shinbun shōsetsu*; Hayashi 1939e:66). As her health does not improve even upon her return to Tōkyō after over a month, she keeps writing during the night, the thought of not having died on the battlefield weighing heavily on Hayashi (ibid.). She writes about her prolonged emotional struggle after returning home from her war assignment and confesses to a feeling of a loneliness difficult to explain but akin to 'a soldier in Remarque's novel' in her essay "Ikiru hi no tame ni" 生きる日の為に ["For the living days"], which appeared in the September issue of *Shinjoen*. In this essay, she also states her intention to express herself honestly about war, complicated by the fact that one 'cannot write anything' at this time (Hayashi 1939g:97); but free expression, as Hayashi opines here, is necessary in order for 'a beautiful society to be born' (Hayashi 1939g:98).

Similarly, in the essay "Jihen no omoide" 事変の想ひ出 ["Memories of the incident"], which appeared before the *Shinjoen* essay in the August 1939 issue of *Tairiku* 大陸, Hayashi complains of seeing no 'passion' about the war in newspapers, but instead the government ordering citizens around about what they are not allowed to do. This inspires a feeling of 'strange unease' about the war in Hayashi, as the citizens are seemingly not allowed to project any imagination (*sōzō*) or hopes onto the war (Hayashi 1939f:166). She is worried that the austerity measures taken by the Japanese government targeting their consumption habits or choice of hairstyle might

[141] Referring to *Hatō* (see Part III, 4.4.3.).

result in the citizens' antagonism (Hayashi 1939f:167) and opposes the conflict between Japan and China to be called an 'incident' (*jihen*) when the word 'war' much more fits its historical significance (ibid.). While she cannot forget the determined fight of the Japanese soldiers and the sight of a burning Japanese concession in Hankou, she also appeals to her readers to feel for the Chinese who are hungry and displaced due to the war (ibid.).

4.4. Hayashi's fictional texts between 1938 and 1939

Hayashi Fumiko published considerably more fiction around and after her trip to Hankou than in the early phase of war, and her stories from this period also cover a wider range of characters and themes. There are no more Shigeko stories, as they seem to have found an indirect continuation in *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai,* and while Hayashi carries on portraying soldiers' conscription ("Shishi no gotoku", "Daigakusei"), she also shifts her focus towards the women staying behind ("Meian") and particularly to their experience with work and independence (*"*Hi no tsuku ie*"*, "Unmei"). These themes all seem to converge in her longest wartime novel *Hatō,* published as a newspaper serial in *Asahi Shinbun* between December 1938 and May 1939. The most unorthodox example of her fictional writing in this period is the story "Kawa wa shizuka ni nagareteyuku" (see Part III, 4.4.4.), which follows a Chinese woman clearly modeled after the maid from *Hokugan butai,* and in which Hayashi imagines her trials and tribulations leading up to their encounter in Nanjing.

4.4.1. "Shishi no gotoku"

Just in time for the celebratory press coverage following her achievement in Hankou, Hayashi published a short story titled "Shishi no gotoku" 獅子の如く ["Like a lion"]

in the November 1, 1938 issue of the weekly magazine *Shūkan Asahi*[142]. Similarly to "Airashiki niwa" (see Part III, 3.4.2.), published a year earlier, "Shishi no gotoku" deals with the protagonist Masato's departure for duty, and much like the men in the earlier stories, the cutting of Masato's hair is depicted as a rite of passage (Hayashi 1940b:230), with other characters expressing surprise at his changed physical appearance (Hayashi 1940b:233). Before leaving for the front, Masato marries Tsuya, a woman he had liked for a long time, and together they visit her family on the countryside (Hayashi 1940b:236-237). Apparently distressed by the news from the warzones he had seen, the images appear in Masato's mind as "burning white flames" (Hayashi 1940b:241), in which the faces of his family members appear, yet Masato is not sad about his departure. Instead, the duty that lies ahead for him makes Masato realize the love for his family more deeply, and the marriage to Tsuya gives him comfort (Hayashi 1940b:243). The title of the story comes from a poem written by a young girl that Masato encounters by chance after his marriage, and which is about soldiers as 'real', or ideal, men (Hayashi 1940b:239-240); shortly before his departure, Masato remembers this poem once again, strenghtening his resolve to fight for his people (*waga minzoku*) 'like a lion' (Hayashi 1940b:243). The story closes on the day before Masato leaves, going to take a photograph with Tsuya. While he is uncertain about what destiny awaits him on the front, Masato realizes he must fight with all his strength (Hayashi 1940b:246).

In "Shishi no gotoku", Hayashi largely follows the themes established in her previous fictional writing about the war. Differently from the the texts published after her visit to Nanjing, however, Masato's conscription is related from his own

[142] "Shishi no gotoku" was subsequently included in the short story collection *Budō no kishi* 葡萄の岸』 (Hayashi 1940b), which is the edition I cite here.

perspective instead of that of a female protagonist, as was the case with the earlier examples. Masato's feelings about the conscription and his forthcoming duty correspond fully to Hayashi's own descriptions in her non-fictional texts; he therefore becomes a literary representation of the an archetypical soldier, also present in *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai*. In "Shishi no gotoku", Masato can emerge as an ideal male through his innate strength of the 'lion' from the title and readiness to serve his country, but also through the love for his family. This ideal is also represented through his name (正人), the characters of which literally translate to 'righteous man'.

4.4.2. "Hi no tsuku ie"

Following "Shishi no gotoku", and around the time of publishing both *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai*, Hayashi started to serialize the novel "Hi no tsuku ie" 灯のつく家 ["A lit house"] in the January 1939 issue of *Fujin Kōron*. The introductory paragraph in the first installment promotes it with utmost enthusiasm as new long-form novel and Hayashi Fumiko's 'new masterpiece', and describes the author herself as "glowing from her achievement in Hankou (*Kankō ichiban nori ni kagayaku*)" (Hayashi 1939h:75). In an editorial note at the end of this first installment, Hayashi is further praised as tying the front (*sensen*) and home (*jūgo*) together with her achievement (Hayashi 1939h:83). Hayashi Fumiko provides her own note at the end too, in which she writes how she wants to pour all her strength into writing this story while struggling with malaria (ibid.). Despite this, however, the serial novel would be interrupted after five installments – the magazine cites Hayashi's illness as the cause – and never finished, even though a continuation is explicitly promised for the next number of *Fujin Kōron* in the June 1939 issue (Hayashi 1939l:86). The existing installments have also never

been collected in any volume, as far as I was able to verify through my research, and perhaps unsurprisingly are also missing from both of Hayashi's *zenshū.* As the text is only available in the original issues of *Fujin Kōron,* "Hi no tsuku ie" can be considered something of a forgotten novel among Hayashi's extensive body of work.

The protagonist of "Hi no tsuku ie" is Tsuyako, whose husband Ryūzō has been conscripted, and she decides to work to support herself in Tōkyō (Hayashi 1939h:76). Tsuyako deeply misses her husband and is despondent about his absence (Hayashi 1939h:78). Ryūzō himself, like the conscripted husband Hiroshi in the earlier "Airashiki niwa" (see Part III, 3.4.2.), is only present in the novel through letters he sends to Tsuyako from the front. In the first letter, he is stationed in Nanjing and about to move on, reassuring his wife and telling her not to worry about him (ibid.). It has already been half a year since his departure and Ryūzō is now used to his life in the military, but tells Tsuyako he still most looks forward to dreaming of her, and writes how happy he was to smell her perfume on the package he recently received (Hayashi 1939h:79). Ryūzō writes about his soldier friend (*sen'yū*) Satō Shūtarō, a "hard-working, truly dignified Japanese boy" (ibid.) with a good reputation among the other troops. He illustrates his heroism with an anecdote in which Satō was on a defense duty in an undisclosed (censored) location and became surrounded by two or three hundred enemy soldiers, yet Satō made the chief of this enemy troop surrender and returned with him to his own troop (ibid.). Satō's wife, Namiko, is an elementary school teacher, and Ryūzō asks Tsuyako to write her a letter (ibid.). He also describes Nanjing as a picturesque city, one he would like to show Tsuyako 'when there is peace', and tells her about seeing everyone in a village by the Yangtze River holding a Japanese flag, making him feel the reliability and strength of Japan (Hayashi 1939h:80).

The second installment introduces Tsuyako's friend Yuriko, who is a painter, and

Tsuyako's workplace, a trade office (*bōeki shōkan*; Hayashi 1939i:419). In another letter, Ryūzō mentions that his friend Satō comes from Onomichi, Hiroshima (ibid.), which he mentions again in the third installment as well (Hayashi 1939j:65). Tsuyako also has to fend off the advances of her superior, Yoneyama, and during one such episode, she thinks of Ryūzō on the front and cries (Hayashi 1939i:424). While Satō's wife Namiko comes to visit Tsuyako in Tōkyō, they are suddenly visited by Tsuyako's coworker Katsumoto Yoriko, a typist who has not shown up at work in the past few days. Crying hysterically and pleading with Tsuyako to let her stay the night, she confides to Tsuyako that she wants to die after having been involved with Yoneyama, and the next day, Tsuyako notices Yoriko had attempted suicide by ingesting poison (Hayashi 1939k:63).

Two months after Namiko's visit, Tsuyako receives a letter from Namiko telling her that her husband had died in the war; here, Hayashi employs the 'switch' from third-person to first-person perspective marked by parentheses, already familiar from her pre-war writing (see Part III, 1.3.) as Tsuyako worries about the well-being of Ryūzō, from whom she had not heard in some time (Hayashi 1939k:70). These worries are shared by Namiko in another letter as she asks her for news about Ryūzō, and in which she also tells Tsuyako that her husband's death made her appreciate the value of life more than before (ibid.). In turn, this makes Tsuyako's feelings for Ryūzō even deeper, despite occasional difficulties in their relationship (ibid.).

This is about as far as the story of "Hi no tsuku ie" develops; the open plot lines are neatly summarized by *Fujin Kōron* in the editorial note at the end of the fifth, and last, installment (Hayashi 1939l:86); most notably, Ryūzō's and Yoriko's fates remain unresolved. The existing installments of the novel only set up the characters and their plot lines, and from these, it seems like Hayashi was indeed intending to run the serial

over a relatively long period of time. Despite this, interesting connections emerge throughout the existing text, tying the unfinished novel to overarching themes in Hayashi's wartime writing (fictional and non-fictional alike) and helping to establish certain character types across her texts.

The above summary of the novel's plot shows Hayashi's distinct focus on the characters' morals, which are closely connected to their relation to the ongoing war. The characters' virtuousness appears almost in a direct correlation to their participation or proximity to war, and it could be said that they are divided across this line to those who participate and those who do not. In this way, Hayashi further develops the themes established in "Atarashiki niwa", while also incorporating elements familiar from her non-fictional texts, *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai* in particular. Tsuyako and Namiko are portrayed as devoted wives, and while they do not participate in the war directly, Tsuyako is described as "[standing] on a new work front (*shokugyō sensen*)" (Hayashi 1939j:65). Her own personal 'battle' is the one with the philandering Yoneyama, who clearly lacks morals as he expresses his interest in a married woman, while pushing another to the brink of suicide. Importantly, Yoneyama's problematic nature is also underscored by his presence in the city instead of the front. Namiko, as she mourns her husband's death, is ultimately reminded of the value of life through his sacrifice. Notably, she works as a schoolteacher, raising Japan's future generation, which gives her character a maternal quality and makes her the closest embodiment of the *ryōsai kenbo* (good wife, wise mother) ideal so pervasive in Japan's wartime ideology (see Part I, 1.2.). The young typist Yoriko's suicide attempt, then, appears as a punishment for her alignment with the amoral Yoneyama, or else as an attempt to atone for it.

The two soldiers introduced in the novel, Ryūzō and Satō, correspond to the

portrayal of soldiers in Hayashi's non-fictional texts. While Ryūzō's fate remains uncertain, in the existing installments, he seems to represent the 'loving' side of the soldiers, as he openly expresses his affection for Tsuyako and reiterates his bond and deep friendship with Satō. Satō, on the other hand, represents the 'heroic' side, as illustrated by his capture of the enemy, which he accomplishes despite apparently being overpowered. His later death becomes the ultimate proof of this heroism, and is not presented as tragic and senseless – on the contrary, his sacrifice becomes a learning experience for his wife Namiko. As in "Atarashiki niwa", Hayashi also incorporates elements from her own life into the characters, despite not incorporating other formal elements of *shishōsetsu* into these stories. Tsuyako's friend Yuriko, for instance, is a painter, like Hayashi's husband Ryokubin, while Satō and his wife come from Onomichi, like Hayashi Fumiko herself. This can be possibly read as a faint parallel to *Hokugan butai* and *Sensen*, in which Hayashi shares her birthplace (Kyūshū) with the troop, while in "Hi no tsuku ie", she relocates the troop's origin to her 'other home'. Since the troops were assembled by the soldiers' place of origin, this also suggests Ryūzō might be a native of the same region.

4.4.3. *Hatō*

Hayashi Fumiko's longest wartime text, the novel *Hatō* 波濤 [*Rough sea*], was serialized concurrently with "Hi no tsuku ie" between December 1938 and May 1939 in *Asahi Shinbun* and published in a single volume in July, and is also included in her 1977 *zenshū*. Although the novel had run for five months in a daily newspaper, resulting in its considerable length, Hayashi had openly voiced her frustrations with

it in the foreword to the book version[143] (dated June 10, 1939). In this foreword, she speaks of ambivalent feelings of love and hate towards the novel and about a great difficulty writing it, describing the process as "exhausting" (Hayashi 1977h:215). She had a particularly complicated relationship to the female protagonist Satoko, whom she only grew to like more after finishing the text. On the other hand, she was more attached to the male protagonist Shin'ichi, through whom she wanted to express hope for soldiers returning to Japan after having fought in China (Hayashi 1977h:214).

The novel opens with the 21-year old Nomura Satoko leaving her home (in Kyōto) after her father faces financial difficulties. Satoko departs for Tōkyō, where she plans to find work. She wants to provide for her paternal half-brother Keitarō and send him to school, but Keitarō's desire is to become a soldier instead, an idea Satoko disagrees with (Hayashi 1977i:95–97). Satoko appears to have a complicated relationship with her own mother, whom she had only seen twice during her time in a girls' school (*jogakkō*) and not once since graduating (Hayashi 1977i:101). After arriving in Tōkyō, Satoko quickly realizes how difficult it is for a single woman to find work with which she could support herself, with a typist earning 45 yen [a month], apparently a sum to barely get by (Hayashi 1977i:104). She shares a house with Ritsuko, a young woman who had lived with her parents in San Francisco previously, and she speaks of having a friend there who is presently working as an embedded reporter (Hayashi 1977i:105).

Quite soon after her arrival in the capital, Satoko meets Sayama Shin'ichi, a native of Shinshū who lives in Ōkubo, and to whom she quickly confides about her difficulty with finding suitable work (Hayashi 1977i:113). Shin'ichi becomes enamored with her, a feeling possibly spurred on by his conscription and imminent departure for military

[143] Collected in the sixteenth volume of the 1977 *zenshū* (Hayashi 1977h). The original edition of the novel was also reprinted in 2002; I will cite the *zenshū* in this thesis.

duty, which makes him anxious about losing everything in his life, possibly life itself (Hayashi 1977i:117). On the front, Shin'ichi has the rank of a corporal (*gochō*), and brings with him a flag of the rising sun, signed by people he knows. Satoko's signature is not present, and this realization makes him miss her even more (Hayashi 1977i:138), but he also carries a compact she had given to him as a parting gift (Hayashi 1977i:144). Shin'ichi stays in touch with Satoko through letters and postcards (Hayashi 1977i:177; 188), and presses the compact on his lips while writing to her (Hayashi 1977i:171). He also shares painful news with her, such as the passing of his friend from illness, which leaves him despondent (Hayashi 1977i:192).

On the front, Shin'ichi experiences a night attack by a Chinese troop remaining in the area where he currently is located (Hayashi 1977i:194), and he gets shot in his left arm, the injury leaving permanent damage (Hayashi 1977i:195–196) (*Hatō*, p. 195-196). As he heads to Nanjing in order to return back home, he ponders the uncertainty ahead and realizes his lack of desire for going to Japan (Hayashi 1977i:207), holding on to Satoko's compact for comfort (Hayashi 1977i:208). In the meantime, Satoko receives a telegram from home, informing her that her father's health is worsening (Hayashi 1977i:217).

Shin'ichi eventually returns to Tōkyō in October [1938], surprised at the freshness of the sights in the city, particularly the beauty of the women (ibid.). Hearing the bustle and scents of the city, Shin'ichi has a moment where he suddenly feels "the excitement of the battlefield" (Hayashi 1977i:218). In the hospital where he is staying, he is treated by a young nurse with a Kansai accent, which reminds Shin'ichi of Satoko (ibid.). This moment reinvigorates his desire to see Satoko once again (Hayashi 1977i:219). Shin'ichi shares the room with Hirose, a schoolteacher who had lost his leg in war, and who wonders if his injury will bring out more passion for teaching than before

(Hayashi 1977i:220).

On October 26, the fall of Hankou[144] becomes big news (Hayashi 1977i:226), and Ritsuko raises a flag at the house she shares with Satoko to commemorate the victory (Hayashi 1977i:228). Still visiting her family, Satoko feels discomfort at her home, as her father is opposed to Satoko's relationship with Shin'ichi due to his injury (ibid.). Upon her return back to Tōkyō, Satoko starts taking a two-month typist class, which would give her employment opportunities in *gaichi* – in Manchukuo, Taiwan or Korea (Hayashi 1977i:243). One of the women in her course, for instance, is going to work in Korea to support her family, as both her father and brother have been drafted, and the family is facing financial hardship (Hayashi 1977i:244).

Shin'ichi's family is moving to Kamaishi, Iwate, for an indeterminate amount of time after their village is evacuated, and Shin'ichi himself is struggling after his return to Japan. He finds it difficult to cope with the matter-of-fact reporting about the deaths of his friends on the front in newspapers and on the radio, and he feels like the civilization (*bunmei shisō*) is falling apart (Hayashi 1977i:259). He does, however, reunite with Satoko, and as they are walking side by side, Satoko takes his disabled arm in an apparent gesture of love and support (Hayashi 1977i:260). Shin'ichi confides to Satoko about his intentions to leave Tōkyō behind and move to Kamaishi as well in order to work as an engineer. He explains how unfulfilling his life was before his duty, defined by working at day and drinking at night, and how the war had changed his thinking and spurred a desire within him to work in service of the country (Hayashi 1977i:260-261). In an inner monologue, Satoko is surprised at how starkly war can change one's outlook on life (Hayashi 1977i:262).

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[144] Referred to as Wuhan in the text.

Shin'ichi thus relocates to Kamaishi, a city established (in present form) in May 1935 and under rapid development during the war (Hayashi 1977i:274). Focusing on the future, Shin'ichi is able to find work as an engineer, and he expresses his indignation at the treatment of injured soldiers in Japan, believing that even those without eyesight or limbs can do good work and that people like him need hope – if he were not able to direct his energy into work, he would find it preferable to have died in the war (Hayashi 1977i:266-267). At his new workplace, he meets Ogata, a new colleague dressed in green military garb (*kokubō fuku*) and wearing a cap similar to soldiers' headwear (Hayashi 1977i:279).

In the final part of the novel, Satoko's estranged mother passes away, with Satoko praying for her destiny (Hayashi 1977i:293). Ritsuko leaves for Shanghai with her new husband, Komiyama (Hayashi 1977i:295), while Satoko and Shin'ichi remain in Kamaishi. The novel closes with a scene of Shin'ichi and Satoko overlooking the Pacific Ocean while sharing a kiss (Hayashi 1977i:316), mirroring an earlier scene of a solitary Shin'ichi looking at the ocean and realizing the depth of his love for Satoko (Hayashi 1977i:273).

The above summary, while lengthy, shows that the novel's plot is not especially complex. It is populated with an unusually broad (for a Hayashi Fumiko novel) cast of characters, whose storylines more or less intertwine with Shin'ichi's or Satoko's story. For a lack of a better word, *Hatō* is a somewhat bloated novel, owing to the length of its serial run in *Asahi Shinbun*, which was in turn certainly propelled by Hayashi's fame and publicity after her return from Hankou. The two protagonists, however, always remain at the center of Hayashi's attention and also best reflect her attitude towards war as it is experienced by the people of Japan and herself. The novel is narrated in a third-person, personal perspective and frequently employs the 'switch' to first-person

monologues through parentheses, very much like her pre-war texts from the 1930s. The alternation between Satoko and Shin'ichi's perspective is quite untypical for Hayashi's wartime fiction, but as described in Chapter 1.3. of this part of the study, also originates in her texts from the early 1930s.

Published as it was concurrently with "Hi no tsuku ie", *Hatō* shares some characteristics with that novel, but Hayashi is able to explore these themes at greater length. Most importantly, Shin'ichi becomes a protagonist of *Hatō*, in contrast with Ryūzō in "Hi no tsuku ie", who is only present in the text through the letters he sends to his wife Tsuyako. Considering Hayashi's non-fictional texts, particularly *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai*, Shin'ichi also embodies the soldiers she encountered while on her trip to China. Like Hayashi's husband Ryokubin, Shin'ichi comes from Shinshū, although this is where the connection apparently ceases. Elsewhere, Hayashi projects elements of herself onto Shin'ichi, such as his weariness about returning to Japan from the front, and the feeling of unfamiliarity with Tōkyō upon his return, which he now sees with different eyes. One of the most intriguing passages is Shin'ichi's remark about feeling the excitement of the battlefield upon being exposed to the bustling sounds and smells of the city, which from a contemporary standpoint reads as a post-traumatic flashback, something Hayashi may well have experienced after witnessing the doubtlessly traumatizing sights in China. Through the character of Shin'ichi, Hayashi is also able to convey criticism at the soldiers' treatment at home, which does not appear in her other texts. When Shin'ichi expresses his belief that even injured or disabled soldiers can – and should – still be reintegrated into society as its valuable members, it is quite obviously Hayashi's own beliefs being expressed. Shin'ichi's newfound sense of purpose and duty are also already familiar from Hayashi's non-fictional texts, harkening back to the transformation she experienced in China. By relocating to the

newly founded city of Kamaishi, which is still under development, and finding new work as an engineer, Shin'ichi can therefore provide a valuable contribution to the construction of a new Japan, which lies ahead following the destructive effects of war. His ultimate purpose is reflected in Shin'ichi's name itself, as it literally translates to 'new one'. In this way, Shin'ichi's injury disqualifies him from participating in war (which had also permanently marked his body, making Shin'ichi a living reminder of war's human cost), but at the same time allows him to find purpose and a place in Japan's supposedly bright future.

Satoko's name also appears to be a telling one, as it consists of the characters for 'home' (often reiterated in *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai* in the word for home or a place of origin, *furusato*) and 'child', often used in female names. Unlike Ritsuko, who had lived in San Francisco prior to the novel's plot and who relocates to Shanghai at its conclusion, Satoko never leaves Japan, and her move to Tōkyō is in fact the first time she leaves her home at all. As an aside, however, Ritsuko's stay in Tōkyō also seems to affirm her national identity, as demonstrated by the scene of her raising the Japanese flag in front of their house after the fall of Hankou. If Shin'ichi represents the 'battlefront' (*sensen*), then, Satoko can be seen as a representative of the 'homefront' (*jūgo*), with their union corresponding to the *kokutai* ideology and patterns within wartime literature which reflected it, such as the ideal and glorification of sacrifice and the dominant representation of women as motherly figures and caretakers. Through Shin'ichi's apparent connections to the representation of soldiers in Hayashi's non-fictional texts, he then also embodies the male ideal, which interestingly seems to remain untarnished in Hayashi's construction of his character despite his disability. Even though he is no longer able to perform the heroic duty for his country as a soldier, Hayashi affirms his value by letting him discover a purpose

in life and a way to serve society after his injury.

4.4.4. "Kawa wa shizuka ni nagareteyuku"

Without a doubt, "Kawa wa shizuka ni nagareteyuku"[145] 河は静かに流れゆく ["The river flows quietly"; September 1939, *Fujin Kōron*] is one of the most interesting and unusual of Hayashi's wartime fictional texts, as it focuses on a Chinese protagonist and the time of the Nanjing Massacre. It appeared in the and tells the story of Pan, a Chinese woman living in abject poverty in Nanjing, clearly modeled after the maid prominently present in *Hokugan butai*. The sympathetic account of Pan's hardship suggests a deep impression the encounter with the maid left on Hayashi and allows for the author's empathy for the suffering of Chinese civilians come through, an aspect only faintly present in her other wartime writing; it thus adds a further layer of complexity to Hayashi's texts about the war as a whole.

Pan had been married to Zhu, a peasant, since she had been fourteen years old. In his ambition to overcome his status as a farmer, Zhu relocates with Pan to Nanjing when she is sixteen, and quickly finds work as a driver (*jidōsha-ya*; Hayashi 1939m:344).While his pay is very modest, Pan is able to make do within their poor lifestyle and lead a happy life with Zhu, even though the couple has to be very thrifty during their first year in Nanjing. They have a child called He. Zhu leaves for the village of Xiagang to drive a customer who owns a mansion, and does not come back to Nanjing for half a year. The child, He, is born in poor health and with afflicted legs, so that it cannot stand on its own (ibid.).

[145] Abbreviated to "Kawa" below.

That summer[146], fighting breaks out in Shanghai, with Pan not having the slightest idea about where the war began. She, however, acutely feels its effects as prices slowly rise and her rent in the barracks doubles (Hayashi 1939m:345). Zhu, who had returned in the meantime, must go back to Xiagang to pick up his clients in their mansion, and tells Pan that Japan had attacked. Pan reacts with bewilderement, having no idea about why Japan would attack China, but also being completely unfamiliar with the country of Japan in the first place. In autumn, Pan's neighbors gradually start evacuating Nanjing, as the presence of Chinese troops gradually increases on its streets. Pan, however, remains behind alone with He as Nanjing becomes "a city of soldiers" (Hayashi 1939m:346). Between October and November, only the poor still stay in Nanjing, while the Chinese soldiers camp in the abandoned mansions and on first-rate shopping streets. Unable to buy anything with the amount of money at her disposal, Pan is forced to pretend He is a child from a different family when picking up rice rations (Hayashi 1939m:347).

In December, Pan starts hearing gunfire and sounds of shelling, sporadic before but now numerous in a day. Increasingly desperate, Pan does not "feel like living anymore" (ibid.). She joins other refugees with He after she hears a nearby mountain is the single place the enemy (i.e. Japan) is not bombing. Spending the remainder of the month in the mountain, enduring the pouring rain and the ear-splitting, unrelenting sound of cannons, she watches "awesome fire that looked like fireworks" (ibid.) at night. The severe gunfire ceases as New Year approaches, and Chinese soldiers stop crossing the area, leading the group to wonder whether the war had ended, and they return to the city (ibid.).

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[146] While not specified, the reference to the outbreak of war and later indices in the text let the reader deduce it is 1937.

At the city entrance, Pan meets a "splendid soldier, one like she has not seen before, standing guard" (ibid.), smiling with clean, white teeth and wearing elegant leather boots. In the city, she witnesses (Japanese) sentries standing everywhere and fluttering rising sun flags; she walks around until she finds herself in front of the German embassy. Asked by a well-spoken man if she is going to the refugee zone, and with Pan answering in the affirmative, the man offers her a job as a maid in his house in exchange for a monthly wage, which shocks Pan as she had never been offered a monthly wage, and her eyes light up (Hayashi 1939m:348).

The mansion of this Japanese man, named Satō, is where the final part of the text takes place, in which Hayashi inserts herself into the story. Pan sees a Japanese woman visiting Satō's house before New Year[147], walking up the stone stairs, carrying a backpack, wearing elegant leather shoes, a red handkerchief wrapped around her head, and a fine watch on her arm (Hayashi 1939m:350). The text closes with Pan wondering about Zhu's fate in Hankou, with a tinge of contempt, contrasted with her new admiration for the Japanese soldiers:

> What is Zhu doing in Hankou, so far away? Why did he go there when he could have just stayed in Nanjing, just like her? Maybe he was recruited and became a soldier. But Zhu was a coward, he was not fit to be one. The Japanese soldiers, all dressed in the same way, were manly and gallant. Pan marveled at the thought that there were soldiers this splendid. (Hayashi 1939m:354)

While a previous reading of *Hokugan butai* allows us to clearly establish parallels between the maid at the Siemens mansion and Pan, alongside other identifiers such as her husband working as a driver in Hankou the possibility of his conscription. "Kawa" therefore resolves the discrepancy between *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai,* where

[147] Meaning December 1938.

the maid's husband is introduced as a soldier in the former and as a driver in the latter. Conversely, the backpack, red handkerchief, and watch, are all intertextual references which allow the Japanese woman in the conclusion to be identified as Hayashi Fumiko. There is, however, a pronounced age gap between the maid in Hayashi's non-fictional texts and "Kawa": In *Hokugan butai*, the maid is said to be 30 years old, placing her birth year at 1908, while Pan had moved to Nanjing at sixteen and the majority of the plot seems to take place shortly thereafter, suggesting Pan would be born around 1920. As Hayashi did not speak Chinese and the maid, as well as Pan, completely lack any education, the language barrier would most likely prevent Hayashi from learning about the maid's true life story, which strongly points towards most of the text being fully fictional. It is nevertheless a most interesting contribution to Hayashi's body of wartime writing: on the one hand, it constitutes a unique attempt to explore the other side of the war and the life of Chinese civilians in fictional form. At the same time, Hayashi spins the story in ways that accommodate the media propaganda in Japan and justify the righteousness of its war, or at least the superiority of its army.

One of the most intriguing aspects of the text that reveals itself with an attentive reading is the way in which Hayashi avoids, and thus tacitly denies the massacre in Nanjing. Temporal references allow us to see that Pan leaves Nanjing just before the massacre had taken place, escaping into the mountains in December 1937 as the fighting draws nearer; in this context, the description of her desperation and lack of will to go on living are especially chilling. Hayashi also suggests in the text that the city had been almost completely evacuated prior to December, with only the poorest citizens staying behind who then escape together with Pan. She spends almost the entire month hiding in the mountains, and while she hears the sounds of shelling and watches bombings from the mountains, only soldiers supposedly remain in the city.

Going back to Nanjing just before the New Year of 1938, Pan would avoid the most acute period of the killings, while the date also situates her return around the time Hayashi Fumiko visited the city.

The dichotomy of 'clean Japan' and 'dirty China' is noticeably present in "Kawa" and is consistent with Hayashi's earlier texts. Her representation of the Japanese military, as well as the admiration Pan has towards the Japanese soldiers, is inspired by the cleanliness, elegance and friendliness of the smiling Japanese soldier at the gate to Nanjing Hayashi had described in her travelogues. In the context of the massacre, such depiction appears quite cynical and, at the very least, contradictory. Moreover, this encounter allows her to see the superiority of Japanese soldiers over the Chinese ones – who, earlier in the text, only appear as swarming the city and taking up the more upper-class properties such as abandoned mansions, unavailable to the poor such as Pan. At the end of the story, Pan realizes that the gallant, manly quality so clearly inherent to the Japanese soldiers is something not at all shared by her 'cowardly' Chinese husband. In a somewhat insidious manner, then, Hayashi presents the Japanese military on the Chinese soil as, quite shockingly, welcomed by the very same citizens of Nanjing who have been ruthlessly raped, tortured and murdered by these soldiers mere two years before the publication of this text. Rather, Japan is depicted as magnanimously providing an economic opportunity and a betterment of the citizens' lives.

4.4.5. "Daigakusei"

Following "Kawa", Hayashi published another short story in the October 1939 issue of *Fujin Kōron*, titled "Daigakusei" 大学生 ["University students"]. This short story focuses on a group of Japanese university graduates facing military conscription, and

although included in her *zenshū*[148], it is probably the least interesting of Hayashi's texts from this period in its relation to the war. As Hayashi largely reiterates tropes from the previously analyzed examples in "Daigakusei", and the story itself is quite short, I will keep the following discussion accordingly brief.

The most important aspect that connects the characters in this story is their enthusiasm for duty and admiration for the Japanese soldiers, and they do not exhibit fear or major anxieties about going to war. When one of them, Ihara, imagines himself as a soldier, it makes him feel strange, but at the same time also pleasant, and he even feels indifferent or unconcerned about possibly having to die (Hayashi 1939n:222; Hayashi 1977j:197). When he sees a group of fresh conscripts on the street, he is also impatient to get his hair cut as well (Hayashi 1939n:224; Hayashi 1977j:199), thinking that "if he cuts his hair, he will become that way" (Hayashi 1939n:225; Hayashi 1977j:200). Kazehaya, another one of the friends, encounters a group of conscripts on a train platform as they sing in unison and shout 'long live the Emperor' (*Tennō Heika banzai*) while bystanders observe them "with warm eyes" (Hayashi 1939n:226; Hayashi 1977j:202). This solidifies Kazehaya's desire to become a soldier himself, as he finds himself dissatisfied with his present life (Hayashi 1939n:228; Hayashi 1977j:204). By displaying the university students' enthusiasm for their forthcoming duty, Hayashi reiterates the devotion of the soldiers to their country, already familiar from the other fictional texts from this period.

4.4.6. "Unmei"

The last of Hayashi's short stories published by *Fujin Kōron* in 1939 appeared in the

[148] "Daigakusei" is collected in the fifth volume of the 1977 *zenshū* (Hayashi 1977j).

magazine's November issue under the title "Unmei" 運命 ["Destiny"]; it is also collected in the fifth volume of the 1977 *zenshū* (Hayashi 1977k). While it is not directly concerned with the war, it is rather unique among Hayashi's fiction from this period as it is concerned with working women and the life of Japanese in *gaichi*, an issue touched upon in other texts (such as *Hatō*) but never before explored in more depth by Hayashi. As I will show below, the story, while fictional, also incorporates numerous references to Hayashi's own experiences in China.

"Unmei", in fact, begins with an obvious reference to Hayashi's "Kōkaku", a heavily *shishōsetsu*-inflected text written after her trip to Nanjing (see Part III, 3.4.1.). Like Shigeko in "Kōkaku", the protagonist Mitsuko is standing on a ship's deck in rain – she is moving to Shanghai, where she has family, in order to work as a typist (Hayashi 1939o:353; Hayashi 1977k:54). She is reflecting upon her choice to move, and remembers her "dark and lonely" (Hayashi 1939o:354; Hayashi 1977k:55) life back in Tōkyō. Not wanting to admit that she is moving there to meet Mizukami, a man whom she had been involved in Tōkyō, she thinks about improving her modest, solitary life through work (Hayashi 1939o:354; Hayashi 1977k:55).

On the ship, she starts talking to Horiuchi Shinko, a Japanese woman living in China, who asks Mitsuko if this is her first time going to the country (it is), and who tells her that Shanghai is a very crowded place. Shinko's final destination is Hankou, a city she says is brighter than Shanghai, the people more free, and which is generally a good place to live in, even though it is rather distant. She will stay in Shanghai for three days, then go to Nanjing, and from there travel on the Yangtze River on a ship (Hayashi 1939o:354; Hayashi 1977k:56). Shinko's younger sister Riko is traveling with her, and Mitsuko talks to the sisters about life in China. They are convinced that Mitsuko's lover would already have anotehr woman in Shanghai. The sisters also warn Mitsuko that

people in Shanghai generally have very different attitudes from those in Japan (*naichi*). This is something which, as they say, Mitsuko will see and experience for herself, and they advise her to forget about Mizukami and instead join them towards Hankou (Hayashi 1939o:355; Hayashi 1977k:57). Shinko also tells Mitsuko that people who migrate to the colonies (*shokuminchi*) are lonely, and what they have in common is a pain they seek to soothe by the move (Hayashi 1939o:356; Hayashi 1977k:58).

Mitsuko had met Mizukami about two years prior, when she was working for a cotton trading company in Marunouchi, Tōkyō, where he had also worked. At that time, Mizukami stood out from the others with his good English and Chinese, and also his clean, well put-together appearance (Hayashi 1939o:357; Hayashi 1977k:59). However, Mitsuko has also been disappointed in her experience with men, and feels that men in general find working women unattractive (Hayashi 1939o:358; Hayashi 1977k:60). She decides to meet Mizukami after all the next day, wanting to resolve their relationship, and he visits Mitsuko at her hotel. Mitsuko immediately notices his changed appearance, as he is visibly chubbier than he was in Tōkyō, leaving her confused. She is aghast when Mizukami reveals he has married in Shanghai, and he tries to mend the situation by telling Mitsuko that she is too distinguished (*erai*) to be his wife. Mitsuko believes that this is only an excuse, and he really sees her as lacking femininity, and is left feeling bitterly disappointed (Hayashi 1939o:361; Hayashi 1977k:61-62).

After meeting Mizukami, Mitsuko decides to take up Shinko's offer and leave for Hankou. Shinko offers Mitsuko work at her flower shop, saying she can give chrysanthemums to soldiers (Hayashi 1939o:363; Hayashi 1977k:64). The Horiuchi sisters and Mitsuko share the ship with diverse other passengers, among them soldiers, horses and journalists. At the end of the story, Shinko discloses to Mitsuko she

originally ended up in Hankou after marrying ten years ago, and decided to stay after her marriage dissolved. Shinko states that she is open to a business cooperation with Chinese partners in the name of mutual growth (Hayashi 1939o:363; Hayashi 1977k:64-65).

In "Unmei", Hayashi has the clearest focus on the topic of working women that emerged in the earlier fictional texts from this period. Remarkably, the character of Horiuchi Shinko makes the same route in China as Hayashi Fumiko herself, and Shinko's sympathetic attitude towards China might then perhaps translate as Hayashi's own. Yet while Shinko's openness for business relations with China read positively, Hayashi still portrays Shanghai as a miserable city and suggests life outside of the Japanese homeland is one possibly full of misery and loneliness. Rather than advocating for full independence, then, Hayashi seems to suggest that a solution for Japanese women in difficult times of war lies in mutual solidarity and collaboration.

4.4.7. "Meian"

Hayashi Fumiko's final fictional text of 1939 appeared in the November issue of the magazine *Nihon Hyōron* under the title "Meian" 明暗 ["Light and dark"], and similarly to "Daigakusei", largely takes up on themes introduced in her previous fictional texts. It has also been included in the third volume of the 1977 *zenshū* (Hayashi 1977l). The protagonist of "Meian" is Tsuneko, whose partner Munekata has just left their household and expects to be gone for "maybe three years" (Hayashi 1939p:427; Hayashi 1977l:240); it is important to note that while the nature of his departure is not made clear, he does not depart for a military duty. Tsuneko and Munekata are an unmarried couple, and Tsuneko is content that way, but his absence makes her ponder about whether she will be able to remain faithful to him (Hayashi 1939p:429-430;

Hayashi 1977l:243).

Tsuneko has a 24-year brother named Kōichi, who is one year younger than her. Kōichi is about to graduate the following year and is unsure whether what awaits him thereafter is a search for work or conscription; as a swimmer since middle school, Kōichi is described as having a strong and robust body. He also bears striking physical similarity to their late grandfather (Hayashi 1939p:430-431; Hayashi 1977l:244). Tsuneko had never met the grandfather, as he had falled in the Russo-Japanese War, and she only knows him from old photographs. Their grandmother would often praise his sacrifice, stressing that he was a hero despite being a plain foot soldier (Hayashi 1939p:428; Hayashi 1977l:242).

Upon Munekata's departure, Tsuneko is unsure about how to reorganize her life. She hears young women in the city speaking about the 'distinguishment' (*erasa*) of working women, but Tsuneko knows how difficult it is for a single woman to earn her living. Anxiously, she wonders whether marriage is the only way for a woman to earn stability and peace, and about whether either she or Munekata would regret marrying if they were to do so (Hayashi 1939p:437; Hayashi 1977l:250-251). Towards the end, Tsuneko wonders whether Munekata has reached America already (Hayashi 1939p:441; Hayashi 1977l:254); this suggests that he is likely working as a journalist, or perhaps in an official capacity outside of the military.

In "Meian", the war barely has a bearing on the narrative, and appears almost as an afterthought. The physical similarity of Kōichi to his fallen grandfather, for instance, seems to suggest Tsuneko's anxiety about Kōichi dying if he were to be drafted, but is not elaborated upon by Hayashi. It is even uncertain whether Kōichi will have to become a soldier at all, and Tsuneko's partner Munekata is not serving in the military either. What becomes apparent in "Meian", then, is a shift in focus for

Hayashi away from the 'battlefront' (*senjō*) and towards the 'homefront' (*jūgo*), and an increased concern for domestic issues in her writing. This is also underscored by the heightened attention to Tsuneko's inner life, who as a female represents the 'homefront' in accordance with its media representation – her partner is notably gone, even if it is not for military duty. Tsuneko is unemployed and expresses her anxieties about self-sufficiency as a woman, echoing Hayashi's concerns about working women from *"*Hi no tsuku ie*"*, *Hatō* and "Unmei". Having had experienced the difficulties of supporting herself on her own as a female in her younger years, as recorded in *Hōrōki*, Hayashi can speak on these hardships from an informed perspective. Avoiding simplistic and prescriptive solutions for women during the wartime to simply 'get to work' in order to support Japan's economy during the wartime, then, Hayashi instead presents a more complicated (one might even say slightly feminist) picture of what this effort truly means. Despite this, her depiction of women's hardship during the wartime never veers into an outright criticism of a system which does not enable women to lead a truly self-sufficient, comfortable life when left to their own devices by no choice of their own.

4.5. Chapter résumé: Hayashi Fumiko's *pen butai* texts

Yokoyama argues that while it is easy to detect ideological messages and a language of discrimination in *Hokugan butai*, the text is nevertheless worth of attention as a contemporary account of a woman living in a time when Japanese society was completely engulfed in the ongoing war (Yokoyama 2002:242). Kawamoto similarly advocates for *Hokugan butai* as a realist account of war, as Hayashi focuses on the struggle of the Japanese soldiers and herself; she does not, however, situate her story in the greater cause of the war (Kawamoto 2003:242). Hayashi's focus on the effect of

the conditions of war on herself, rather than on the war itself, is however a point of criticism by Itagaki Naoko, who considered this approach to be self-centered (Mori 1992:177). Mori also sees the absence of a (critical or moral) reflection of the war as characteristic for *Sensen,* and its content as an instrument to raise the Japanese war morale (Mori 1992:176). Kawamoto, on the other hand, explains this absence by the scandal around *Ikiteiru heitai,* arguing that Hayashi was most likely acquainted with its content (Kawamoto 2003:243).

Horiguchi describes her participation in state propaganda [149] as signifying Hayashi's quest for power within the empire rather than beyond it, with her writing thus becoming a part of the imperial aggression (Horiguchi 2012a:143). While this is undoubtedly a valid and important observation, approaching Hayashi's texts as examples of contemporary discourse on the war allows us to see where emotions and personal sympathies may meet with and even endorse nationalist ideology. Hayashi's discovery of her own patriotism, as it is conveyed particularly in *Hokugan butai,* is set into motion by her deep admiration and feeling of kinship with the Japanese soldiers rather than through intellectual discourse, which she confesses to despise. The nobility of the soldiers, as they represent the ordinary people, however, also enables Hayashi to see the nobility of Japan's mission itself. This, in turn, for her justifies the means to achieve victory, one which Hayashi sees as ultimately beneficial for China.

While both *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai* share a number of similarities with *Mugi to heitai* (elements of *shishōsetsu,* narrative perspective), important distinctions must also be made between Hino Ashihei and Hayashi Fumiko. Hino's autobiographical I can be distinctly divided between the soldier (or rather, press corps member) as 'narrated I'

[149] In *Hokugan butai,* but this argument can certainly be extrapolated to the larger context of Hayashi's wartime writing.

and the author as 'narrating I' (see Part I, 2.3.1.). However, this distinction is less clear with Hayashi Fumiko, who devotes a large amount of attention to her difference as a woman among the soldiers. This also precludes Hayashi from fully becoming a part of this larger group – unlike Hino – even as she strongly identifies with it. As in *Mugi to heitai*, the experience of the battlefield (*senjō*) is disconnected from the larger reality of war (*sensō*), and like in Hino's text, Hayashi is able to understand the purpose of war through the intense experience of it. It must, however, also be noted that this purpose carries a personal, rather than political meaning for Hayashi.

Still, the personal transformation Hayashi undergoes on the battlefield (particularly in *Hokugan butai*) tracks well with Tansman's concept of epiphany as a vehicle for ideologically loaded 'fascist moments' (see 1.6.). Here, Hayashi Fumiko's admiration for the soldiers and her bearing witness to their bravery and sacrifice touch her so profoundly she manages to overcome her physical shortcomings, reach her destination, and return to Japan as a changed person. While Hino Ashihei's personal experience as a soldier certainly allowed him to write an even closer account of war with *Mugi to heitai* than Hayashi Fumiko, both *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai* are clearly more aligned with Hino's texts than, for example, those of Niwa Fumio. Even as Niwa and Hayashi wrote on the basis of the same assignment, the stark differences between Hayashi's writing and Niwa's *Kaeranu chūtai* (see Part II, Chapter 5) suggest that her split from the *pen butai* had a decisive impact on her experience. On the whole, however, Hayashi reinforces and builds upon themes and tropes familiar from her earlier texts, as well as the press coverage of the war in general.

As far as Hayashi Fumiko's fiction from this period is concerned with the soldiers, it corresponds to her non-fictional accounts in the soldiers' depiction as kind, gentle, patriotic men with a sense of duty and a love for their families. Hayashi's sympathy

for the Japanese soldiers extends beyond the battlefield with *Hatō*, where she advocates for a better future for disabled veterans, who can still make a valuable contribution to Japanese society. This human interest in soldiers which extends beyond their heroic acts on a battlefield seems rare among texts of wartime literature which seemed to limit their scope to their duty. This allowed Hayashi to draw upon the framework of *bidan* reportage and at the same time call attention to issues with their repatriation and meaningful reintegration into society. Hayashi's newfound sense of purpose, documented in *Sensen* and particularly in *Hokugan butai* and often mentioned by her in press after her return from Hankou, seems to be reflected in her fictional writing from this period by an increased focus on working women and the new challenges and opportunities Japan's imperial expansion and war present. While she had advocated for a greater participation in the war effort by women in press, Hayashi's fictional texts also present (similarly to *Hōrōki*) a woman's independence as a challenge to an order which needs their participation and at the same time expects their subservience.

While Hayashi abandons the *shishōsetsu* model in her fictional writing (and instead draws upon it in her non-fictional texts), and with it the character of Shigeko, the attention to the emotional and psychological states of her female protagonists recalls this aspect of her semi-autobiographical stories published around her trip to Nanjing. This attention is also a defining feature of Hayashi's late, post-war fiction; in this way, we can see her wartime fiction as the root of her more celebrated post-war literary work. Remarkably, both "Kōkaku" (see Part III, 3.4.1.) and "Unmei" open with a scene of the protagonist on a rainy deck on their way to China; Hayashi's last finished novel *Ukigumo* 浮雲 ["Floating Clouds", 1951] begins with the protagonist Yukiko returning on a ship to Japan during similarly bad weather. When Yukiko reunites with

her (Japanese) lover Tomioka, whom she met in Vietnam, she discovers he is married – very similarly to how Mizukami discloses his marriage to Mitsuko in "Unmei". In this way, Hayashi projects her war experiences onto her fictional characters, who in turn complement her non-fictional writing and perhaps even appear more authentic as a result.

Between 1938 and 1939, Hayashi shifts the focus of her fictional writing from the battlefront to the home, where it would remain in the following years. Considering this shift, as well as one away from soldiers to working women, her newspaper serial novel *Hatō* can be considered a point where all of her thematic interests converge, as well as a transitional text between her respective focus on *gaichi* and *naichi*. Aware of her role as a representative of Japan's women, which was greatly played up in the media coverage of her trip to Hankou, and one she herself assumed in her texts, Hayashi would publish many of her texts in this period in women's magazines such as *Fujin Kōron*. Her increased focus on issues at home and the wartime reality of women therefore also reflects her public position and awareness of her audience.

5. Trip to Manchuria and the middle period of war (1940-1942)

After her profile-raising trip to Hankou, Hayashi had remained in Japan until January of 1940. At that point, she had traveled to Manchuria for a month on an assignment for the publisher Jitsugyō no Nippon-sha, along with financial backing of Asahi Shinbunsha (Satō 2014:262). This trip resulted, most importantly, in an extensive travelogue titled "Kōreru daichi" 凍れる大地 ["Frozen earth"], published in April 1940 in the women's magazine *Shinjoen*. In this period, Hayashi also published a number of essays and fictional texts, although both considerably smaller in number than between 1938 and 1939. In general, the texts from this period display an increased

focus on domestic issues and the lives of people in Japan under a war of attrition. However, Hayashi also makes explicit connections between the symbiotic nature of the front (*senjō*) and home (*jūgo*), with soldiers and the military conduct still representing models for the Japanese citizens to emulate in their own lives, as I will show in this chapter. Following Hayashi's trip to Manchuria, her fictional texts from this period also often deal with the emigration experience to Manchuria or China, or with families of fallen soldiers left behind.

5.1. Trip to Manchuria and "Kōreru daichi" (1940)

Hayashi undertook her fourth trip to Manchuria between January 5 and February 3, 1940, and it was her longest sojourn in this region (Imagawa 2003:146; Zeng 2012:45). It makes sense to begin an examination of Hayashi's texts from this period here – one reason being that her Manchurian trip preceded the publication of all other texts discussed in this chapter. More importantly, however, Hayashi reflects on this trip in her non-fictional texts and it also forms an important basis for her fictional writing, especially the 1940 novel *Jūnenkan* 十年間 [*Ten years*; Imagawa 2003:146-147].

Hayashi stayed in northern Manchuria (*Hokuman*) during this time, mainly in Manchuria's capital Xinjing/Shinkyō (today Changchun), and in the cities of Mudanjiang, Jiamusi and Baoqing, where winters get extraordinarily cold (Zeng 2012:48). "Kōreru daichi" begins with Hayashi's arrival at the Korean city of Busan (Hayashi 1940h:290; Hayashi 2014b:155), from which she travels further to Manchuria, visiting the cities of Xinjing, Mudanjiang and Jiamusi over the course of the text. Due to Asahi's involvement, Satō considers Hayashi's Manchurian trip and the resulting travelogue to be a continuation of the *Sensen* campaign, and the respective texts are indeed linked in various ways. For instance, the reporter Watanabe Masao, who

accompanied Hayashi on the press truck in China, picks her up at a train station in "Kōreru daichi" (Satō 2014:262). Similarly, Hayashi's focus on the harshness of Manchurian nature and physical challenge of the trip – using epiteths such as "it was so cold I was unable to breathe" (Kan 2010:30) or "coldness that could break glass" (ibid.) or describing uncomfortable living conditions – remind Kan of descriptions of China in Hayashi's earlier *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai* (ibid.). Living conditions, clothing and food form major focal points of "Kōreru daichi" in Zeng's assessment as well (Zeng 2012:57). While Hayashi had received significant financial support and assistance of two publishing houses, Jitsugyō no Nippon-sha and Asahi Shinbunsha, she writes about having received no official guidance and no official accommodation (Satō 2014:263).

Despite her statement about receiving no guidance, Hayashi's portrayal of Manchuria as a desirable destination for Japanese workers adheres to the state propaganda . As Kawamoto points out, Manchuria had a reputation of a 'boom town' in Japan at the time of Hayashi's visit (Kawamoto 2003:213), a reputation which had been building up since the early 1930s. In that decade, droves of students, teachers, photographers, painters and novelists flocked to the continent, which resulted in a flourishing travel industry forming an important cultural cornerstone of Manchuria. Continental tours were advertised with images of Manchuria's modernization and provided sights of the Dalian wharf, government buildings in Xinjing, or the Asia Express train. With promotional literature, as Young points out, the travel industry could assume a role of "unofficial publicity agent for the new empire" (Young 1998:259). The continental tour also became a favorite among Japanese authors, who had written about their impressions of Manchuria throughout the 1930s (Young 1998:266–267) – including, of course, Hayashi Fumiko. The travel experience and

travel literature mirrored each other, structured as they were around a dichotomy of old and new, Chinese and Japanese. These contrasts effectively showed a 'before and after' of the Japan's development of Manchuria after taking control of the territory, packaging Manchuria for domestic consumption and crafting an image of the region as a urban utopia (Young 1998:268). Hayashi's travelogue was supposed to be one in a long line of texts serving the purpose of attracting Japanese migrant workers to the developing Manchuria by selling them a vision of participating in (and reaping the rewards of) building Japan's future, and this might partly explain the strict censorship it faced.

Such interest is also apparent in the complications surrounding "Kōreru daichi", as the text had been initially refused by the censorship organs and deemed unfit for publication. Hayashi was given the offer to visit Manchuria for the purposes of travel reportage by Uchiyama Motoi, the editor-in-chief of the women's magazine *Shinjoen*; prior to this position, Uchiyama had been in charge of the girls' magazine *Shōjo no Tomo* (Urano 2016:8). Already having left his imprint of the then-modern 'schoolgirl culture', Uchiyama launched *Shinjoen* as a publication aimed at young intellectual women (Satō 2014:266). This had put him at ideological odds with Major Suzuki Kurazō, the director of the Cabinet Intelligence Bureau (*Rikugun Hōdōbu*), who was opposed to Motoi's "brand of individualism of the upper class and its bourgeois women" (ibid.). Values like liberty and individualism were a point of contention for the censorship organs not only in the case of *Shinjoen*, but also other women's magazines, which were often seen as outlets for 'anti-national' (*hankokusakuteki*) ideology (Urano 2012:43). Major Suzuki had endorsed Japanese migration to Manchuria as a means to reduce poverty in rural Japan and intended for Hayashi's travelogue to help this cause (Satō 2014:264).

The text was therefore closely examined and, as mentioned above, was initially rejected for publication. This led to a three-hour negotiation between Motoi and Suzuki; an important point was Hayashi's description of Manchuria as being "cold like the devil (*akuma no gotoku samui*)" (Urano 2012:43; Satō 2014:266–267), which was seen as unfavorable for promoting the government's migration efforts (ibid.). This line was changed to "Manchuria is endlessly cold (*Manshū wa tohō naku samui*)" (ibid.), among other amendments. For instance, Hayashi's remark about her joy at Ikeda Shigeaki's (former director of Mitsui Bank) ministerial appointment had to be excised completely, as it was seen as outrageous to "express joy about a liberal like Ikeda becoming a Minister of Finance" (Satō 2014:267). The title "Kōreru daichi" itself, which translates to 'frozen earth', was criticized by the Cabinet Intelligence Bureau (Zeng 2012:46), but ultimately remained intact.

"Kōreru daichi" was also advertised by *Asahi Shinbun* in the morning edition of February 5, 1940, the final day of Hayashi's trip, when she published a column about it. The lead paragraph highlights the harshness of Manchurian nature and its cold temperature in relation to the author's physical endurance (Hayashi 1940f:4), which had already been a big selling point and a prominent theme of *Sensen*. A week later, in the morning edition of February 13, Hayashi had published another article concerning the youth volunteer corps (Hayashi 1940g:5). "Kōreru daichi" was reproduced in a 'softer' version in *Shōjo no Tomo* as "Akahi shizumu tokoro" 赤陽沈むところ ["Where the red sun sets"] concurrently in April 1940. It was later also collected in Hayashi's anthology *Zuihitsu* 随筆 [*Essays*, 1941] under the title "Manshū: Fuyu no Manshū kikō" 満州—冬の満州紀行 ["Manchuria: Travels in winter Manchuria"]. Although eight other texts from *Zuihitsu* are present in Hayashi's

Bunsendō *zenshū* (collected works) from 1977, as Urano points out (Urano 2012:42), "Kōreru daichi" is notably omitted from both this and the previous 1951 *zenshū* published by Shinchōsha.

While Zeng argues against reading "Kōreru daichi" as a critical account of the Manchurian project, Hayashi nevertheless expresses uncertainties about the life of the Japanese 'settlers' (*kaitakumin seikatsu*) in the text. She would take up on these difficulties of settler life in more explicit manner in her later postwar essay "Sakka no techō" 作家の手帳 ["A writer's notebook"]. In it, Hayashi writes about the freezing cold and the lack of government's responsibility towards the migrants, who suffer terrible conditions and eventually return home 'naked' (*hadaka*), i.e. impoverished (Zeng 2012:58–59). Hayashi does, however, voice disagreement with state policy at times, such as when she echoes Uchiyama Motoi's own criticisms of regulations on female clothing. In "Kōreru daichi", Hayashi laments them, saying women losing their beauty in these 'citizen clothes' (*kokuminfuku*) is "the most miserable thing [she has] seen" (Satō 2014:269). She adds that women's love for their country would not change if they were allowed to wear different clothes for work and life (ibid.). On the other hand, Satō also points towards Hayashi's flagrant use of the word *shokuminchi* (colony) in reference to Manchuria, which was officially an independent sovereign state. This, according to Satō, serves to illustrate a general stance of the Japanese population towards the Manchuria as a colonial territory than an independent entity (ibid.).

The themes of development and progress, familiar from the Japanese travel propaganda of the 1930s, are certainly echoed by Hayashi in "Kōreru daichi". In an early passage, she reminds herself (and by extension, her readers) that ten years have passed since the Manchurian Incident of 1931, at around which time she herself traveled on this rail on her way to Paris (see Part III, 2.3.). She observes the diverse

class backgrounds of her fellow train passengers, and as many of them wear olive green uniforms of the so-called *Kyōwakai*[150] (The Concordia Association), Hayashi ponders the drastic change the decade brought upon Manchuria (Hayashi 1940h:294; Hayashi 2014b:161). She writes:

> "I buy a Korean newspaper at the station: productivity growth, international loan equity, supply and demand regulation; every color of wartime Japan is printed in huge letters. As a commoner, a woman of the streets, worry constantly circles in my head in Japan nowadays. [...] When I leave Japan, I feel like reinforcing the courage and honesty of the human, and the country, within me. Waves of soldiers leaving for the battlefield well up, the smiling faces of our relatives among them." (Hayashi 1940h:294; Hayashi 2014b:161-162)

While Hayashi's stance towards the *Kyōwakai* appears vague, she clearly follows patterns of the travel industry and government rhetoric of Manchuria as a prosperous, booming place, a fact perhaps not yet firmly planted in the Japanese consciousness, as Hayashi seems to suggest when she says "worry constantly circles in my head in Japan" (ibid.). Importantly, the military spirit Hayashi was apparently imbued with during her *pen butai* assignment in 1938 still resonated within her, as she takes inspiration from the soldiers' strength in fulfilling her perceived mission to reinforce "the courage and honesty of the human, and the country" (ibid.). In her later essays from this period, Hayashi will similarly link the soldiers' fight on the front lines of China with labor on the 'home front', i.e. the domestic sphere of Japan (*jūgo*), unifying them both in their resilient spirit.

Another aspect of "Kōreru daichi" with which Hayashi follows the prevalent media

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[150] The *Kyōwakai* was a party built by the Kwantung Army between 1933 and 1934 as an organizational vehicle for the multi-ethnic state and mobilization of all Manchurian subjects. As an organ of cooperation, equality, diversity and local self-government, *Kyōwakai* was a party of the masses apparently operating to bring about a "society controlled by producers rather than capitalists" (Young 2017:283).

images of Manchuria is its portrayal as a place of abundant and important resources. For instance, Young mentions an illustrated map in the magazine *Kingu* which showed Manchuria as a "cornucopia of resources" (Young 1998:94), with iron ore, gold and coal emerged from the ground, an endless plain filled with varied livestock, and produce from the local earth including soybeans, cotton, wheat, and many other grains (ibid.). The media portrayal of Manchuria therefore suggested success for the Japanese imperial project and a promise of abundance for the Empire's citizens. This wealth of agricultural resources is emphasized by Hayashi in "Kōreru daichi" as well:

> "When you open up the map of Manchuria, it's astonishingly big. [...] The main agricultural produce on this map is soybean, grain, wheat, corn, mainly grown on the bank of Songhua River. I was told that apart from that, horses and pigs are the main livestock. Whenever I come to Manchuria, I look at the boundless fields of soybean and corn. [...] Many families are coming from Japan to develop the land and take up the mantle of other farmers in Manchuria." (Hayashi 1940h:305; Hayashi 2014b:182-183)

This wealth of resources becomes a symbol of great hope for Japan, and it brings a more nuanced and more optimistic meaning to the title "Kōreru daichi". Hayashi comments that watching the frozen scenery and dark soil makes her feel desolate, but at the same time she realizes that summer will come again, and all kinds of flora will bloom from beneath the frozen ground again. For Hayashi, overcoming the long winter is a sign of resilience of the people, and she wonders if Japanese city people coming to Manchuria are able to work on the difficult soil (Hayashi 1940h:307; Hayashi 2014b:185). At the conclusion of the text, Hayashi comments how she wants to see the severe, frozen earth change when flowers bloom in spring, and imagines them to be quite beautiful, bringing about new life: "When the frozen earth warms up and grass grows, birds and animals will be doing well too. Rivers will float away ice in their stream, and fish will start swimming again" (Hayashi 1940h:341; Hayashi

2014b:244). This cycle of death and rebirth can also be tied to the broader propagandistic rhetoric of development and progress of Manchuria under Japan's watchful eye; Hayashi's descriptions thus feed into the dominant media image of economic progress and promise of Manchuria's growth for Japan.

Hayashi describes the class inequality between migrant Japanese of solid financial and professional standing and the native Manchurians rather frankly. In the beginning of the text, she visits a certain Mr. Yagi, a director of a forestry company in Andong. Yagi had apparently previously helped Hayashi out while she was "living a poor student's life in Paris" (Hayashi 1940h:296; Hayashi 2014b:164) by sending her money from Andong as a benefactor. As discussed in Chapter 2.3. of Part III, Hayashi was in actuality far from poor during her stay in Paris; her remark therefore serves more to evoke the literary persona familiar from *Hōrōki* (see Part III, 1.2.) than to shed light on her history with Yagi. Arriving at Yagi's residence, Hayashi tips the Manchurian driver fifty *sen*, who thanks her profusely; at this moment, she is overcome with a sentimental mood (Hayashi 1940h:295; Hayashi 2014b:163). Yagi also employs a Chinese butler, Fu, whose Japanese Hayashi judges as extraordinarily good (Hayashi 1940h:296; Hayashi 2014b:164). The difference between the driver and the butler seems to be the benevolence of Yagi, who represents the opportunity Japan can bring to Manchuria.

Hayashi also visits the aforementioned *Asahi Shinbun* reporter Watanabe Masao, whom she had met during her assignment in Hankou. His house has two floors, and he has a wife and a maid; Hayashi is quick to comment that there are few houses in Xinjing, and often up to four people live in a six-*tatami*[151] room, or two couples in a

[151] Approximately 10 square meters.

four-*tatami*[152] room (Hayashi 1940h:299; Hayashi 2014b:170). On the one hand, Hayashi admits to Watanabe having built up a nice life for himself in Manchuria, but at the same time, she feels "ashamed" (ibid.) as she brings up the inequality which seems to be a severe issue for its population.

In "Kōreru daichi", Hayashi generally assumes a position of endorsing immigration of Japanese workers, describing those she encounters with respect and admiration. In Mudanjiang, she receives a massage from a woman who had been living in the city for six or seven years, and tells Hayashi about its remarkable delopment – when she had arrived, there was no railroad yet. However, she, too, complains about the problems with lack of housing (Hayashi 1940h:311; Hayashi 2014b:192). She is happy to be close to "lively, beautiful Japanese women" (Hayashi 1940h:320; 2014b:205) when she encounters female office workers at the airport, working briskly. Similarly to the texts Hayashi published after her return from Hankou, she appeals to young women to join the workforce in Manchuria, as she finds the harsh weather difficult for the elderly dorm mothers for the *giyūtai* (youth volunteer corps) she sees (Hayashi 1940h:333; 2014b:229); Hayashi also appeals to doctors to migrate to Manchuria (Hayashi 1940h:333; 2014b:230).

Ultimately, the struggle of immigrants in Manchuria underscores their resilience, and in Hayashi's portrayal in "Kōreru daichi", this seems to validate the colonial effort of Japan. Her trip to Manchuria seems to have convinced her of its righteousness when she writes: "Anyone could spend a large capital on construction, but within such a short span of time and with such small resources, we could not do it if we did not have a thorough colonial spirit" (Hayashi 1940h:315; 2014b:199). The Japanese colonization

[152] Approximately 6.6 square meters.

of Manchuria and the resulting puppet state are therefore, in Hayashi's account, evidence for Japan's manifest imperial destiny. Hardship is to be expected, as Hayashi seems to suggest when she reminds her readers of the span of time it took to rebuild Tōkyō after the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923, dispelling notions of cities like Mudanjiang or Jiamusi being built 'overnight' (Hayashi 1940h:327; 2014b:217). If Manchuria was portrayed as an urban utopia in Japanese propaganda, Hayashi seems to highlight the human factor behind the construction of this utopia, a resilient spirit powering through harsh conditions, instead of any kind of 'miracle'. Going back to the travelogue's title, "Kōreru daichi", its 'frozen earth' seems to suggest the harshness emblematic of the Manchurian nature, but should also remind Hayashi's audience of the persistence needed to overcome that harshness.

The essay titled "Akahi shizumu tokoro" ["Where the red sun sets"], published concurrently with "Kōreru daichi" in *Shōjo no Tomo*, largely follows the original text, with some nuance in Hayashi's descriptions. For example, she describes the faces of her fellow passengers on the express train from Busan to Xinjiang as "burning with hope (*kibō ni moeteiru*)" (Hayashi 1940i:115) as they leave Japan for a distant land on the continent. As in "Kōreru daichi", Hayashi expresses her wonder at the great change the city of Xinjiang underwent in the eight years since her last visit, when it was still called Changchun; she also comments on its coldness (ibid.). In this essay, however, Hayashi speaks favorably of native Manchurians (*Manjin*), writing that they have more perseverance than the Japanese (Hayashi 1940i:116), as well as about their hard life filled with work (Hayashi 1940i:117). In consideration of the *Shōjo no Tomo* audience, Hayashi particularly highlights the healthy constitution of all women, which she describes as superior to that of Japanese schoolgirls (Hayashi 1940i:118). As in her earlier texts from China, Hayashi's praise for Manchurian schoolgirls becomes

an opportunity to discuss the inequality in access to education in China, and the difference of Manchuria to the enemy country in providing education equally (Hayashi 1940i:119).

Hayashi also describes her visit to the volunteer corps (*shōnen giyūtai*) whose members enlisted to aid in developing the land, lived in dormitories and were between 17 and 20 years old. She also describes their caretakers (*ryōbo*), who look after the boys and are like mothers to them (Hayashi 1940i:122). Praised for their admirable strength, these caretakers in Manchuria are reminiscent of the nurses on the Chinese front in Hayashi's earlier texts, and as mentioned above, there is a severe shortage of them.

Hayashi's travelogues from Manchuria can be read both as propaganda pieces for the Japanese government and the travel industry, as they largely follow the politically desirable representations of Manchuria familiar to the readership from other media. Despite difficulties that the Japanese immigrants face, Japan's colonization is portrayed as a step forward for Manchuria, and Hayashi makes a case for Japan's predestination as a colonial power by praising its 'colonial spirit'. While she seems conflicted about, or at least acknowledges class and ethnic inequality, the lives of the poor native Manchurians and the Japanese immigrants can also be seen as a 'before and after' image corresponding to the contrasting images of old and new, or Chinese and Japanese, in the wartime media and travel advertisement. Still, Hayashi makes it clear in her texts from Manchuria that more immigration and workforce is needed and appeals especially to young Japanese people to make the move. Importantly, her portrayal of Manchuria not only largely corresponds to its prevalent media representation, but within this context also serves as a valuable example of 'radical statism', a concept which is one of the pillars of the ideology of fascist imperialism Louise Young proposes as lens through which to observe Japan's empire (see 1.6.); in

short, the term 'radical statism' stands for the idea of Japan and the imperial state as an agent of salvation, as right-wing policies had been envisioned as a solution to alleviate the effects of a global economic crisis in Japan (Young 2017:276). It can be therefore said that Hayashi had provided her readers in Japan with a glimpse into Japan's bright future, while also acknowledging the human cost of this effort.

5.2. Hayashi Fumiko's non-fictional texts between 1940-1942

Two dominant points of focus emerge from Hayashi Fumiko's texts from this period: she is looking back at her experience with war in China, and increasingly focusing on the situation of Japanese citizens at home. As I will show below, these two themes are inextricably linked in Hayashi's essays published after her trip to Manchuria. She still holds up Japanese soldiers as the nation's ideal and embodiment of Japan's spirit, which must be followed and emulated in the domestic sphere as well in order for Japan to fully realize its potential. However, her recollections of war are tinged with melancholy and somber thoughts, and lack the euphoria emblematic of Hayashi's earlier texts from the war.

This is apparent already in the collection of poems and essays titled "Kagayakashiki tsuioku" 輝かしき追憶 ["Splendid memories"], published in the magazine *Kagayaku Butai*, the wartime successor of *Kagayaku* (see Part II, 1.1.) in January 1940. There are three essays collected in the magazine, each of them related to the war. In the first essay titled "Nankin" 南京[153] ["Nanjing"], Hayashi reminisces about her visit to Nanjing and the sights she witnessed, with no notable changes to her

[153] Also collected in Hayashi Fumiko's anthology *Shinkyō to fūkaku* 心境と風格 [*Mind and personality*; Hayashi 1940l].

account from her early 1938 texts. One interesting passage concerns Hayashi's memories of traveling to Nanjing before the outbreak of the war, where she visited a university professor's house. Now, she wonders what happened to the people she had met, and where they had escaped (their successful escape is assumed by Hayashi). She also thinks about the people she met in Beijing and about whom she had written fondly in her earlier texts, her feelings now more ambivalent as she has heard they had joined the fight against Japan (Hayashi 1940c:61). She also writes how difficult it is to imagine the war going on in China from the "peaceful Japan" (Hayashi 1940c:62). This remark is also intriguing considering the fact Hayashi had assumed the role of a war reporter in the preceding years, and was therefore actively contributing to the way the war in China was imagined in Japan. Her statement here, however, suggests that this imagination in Japan is false, or at the very least incomplete. In the second essay "Wakaki shōi o tazunete" 若き少尉をたづねて ["Visiting a young sublieutenant"], Hayashi recalls her visit of a young hospitalized soldier in Kyūshū, which was also a subject of one of her columns "Watashi no nōto", as well being mentioned the afterword of *Hokugan butai* (see Part III, 4.2.). Here, she again relates the death of a young sublieutenant in China she had written about in *Asahi Shinbun* and subsequently *Sensen* (Hayashi 1940c:62). Perhaps most interesting is the essay "Jinsei no shūgyō" 人生の修業 ["The study of life"], in which Hayashi discusses her mental constitution following her trip to Hankou. She writes about having been overcome with 'vague' (*kūbaku*) feelings as of late, and feels no passion for anything in her life (Hayashi 1940c:64). She also mentions that she still has dreams of war and wakes up frightened at night, admitting to the psychological toll of her experience, as well as crying easily to music, unable to help herself (Hayashi 1940c:65). These observations

about the traumatizing effects of war, even for someone who had a relatively limited exposure to the experience, are particularly interesting due to the ideological trajectory of *Kagayaku*, which by the time of its iteration as *Kagayaku Butai* was largely supportive of the government's actions (see Part II, 1.1.).

In her essay "Rekisei" 歴世 ["Succession"], published in *Bungei Shunjū* in September 1940[154], Hayashi invokes her memories of war she otherwise usually expressed in poetry during this period. The beginning parts of the text seem familiar and similar to Hayashi's texts from Hankou as she reminisces about a night spent camping with the communications corps in Autumn 1938. Once again, Hayashi remembers wondering about what her work up until that point had really meant, and how her past life and present circumstances suddenly seem different "as day and night" (Hayashi 1940j:370; Hayashi 1977o:3). Also familiar is her confession to feeling she would not mind dying on the ground in China, but still being apprehensive of the idea of death (ibid.). But Hayashi also recalls her husband after his return from service and his apparent loss of interest in painting (ibid.), one that seems to mirror her own loss of passion she describes in the earlier essays. In "Rekisei", too, Hayashi speaks of being overcome with a "strange anxiety" (*myō na fuan na mono*; Hayashi 1940j:371; Hayashi 1977o:4) undoubtedly connected to her nightmares, and voices her concerns about the protracted length of the war and of material scarcity as its result (Hayashi 1940j:376; Hayashi 1977o:10). And while Hayashi hopes for what she calls an "Eastern renaissance" (*Tōyō no renessansu*; Hayashi 1940j:377; Hayashi 1977o:11), supposedly meaning Japan taking the lead in a cultural development of Asia, she also admits to

[154] Also collected in the fifth volume of Hayashi's 1977 *zenshū* (Hayashi 1977o). The text is dated August 9, 1940 (Hayashi 1940h:384).

the artistic poverty of the times. Takayama Kyōko names "Rekisei" (alongside "Kanjō enshū/Furōberu no koi"; see below) as an example of 'essayistic prose' (*zuihitsuteki na shōsetsu*) from this period in which Hayashi lays bare the difficulties of wartime life (Takayama 2010:187), although it would perhaps be more accurate to say Hayashi voices her frustrations with and anxieties about the wartime life and the future lying ahead.

Hayashi's final publication in which she looks back on her trip to the Chinese front during this period is much more in line with her earlier texts from 1938 and 1939, and appeared as a *furoku* (appendix or supplement) to the July 1941 issue of *Shōjo no Tomo* under the title "Hokugan butai no tsuioku" 北岸部隊の追憶 ["Recollections of the northern bank troop"][155]. This appendix consists mostly of rather large photographs spread over eight pages with only a short accompanying text. These photographs include a shot of Hayashi at the Nanjing city gates (Hayashi 1941d:1), its destroyed walls (Hayashi 1941d:6) and a pillbox in the field (Hayashi 1941d:2), as well as soldiers marching on foot (Hayashi 1941d:2) and riding their horses (Hayashi 1941d:7). One of the most interesting photographs is a shot of refugees on the streets of Hankou (Hayashi 1941d:8). In the text, Hayashi writes about being stricken with malaria for a year after returning from Hankou, but emphasizing that the war experience gave her strength (Hayashi 1941d:3). Here, too, she writes about being ready to die in China – but again, this feeling was offset by the discovery of her own mental strength under the difficult conditions (Hayashi 1941d:4). The more optimistic tone of this text compared to the previous ones can be easily explained by Hayashi writing to an

[155] As with other *furoku* (supplements) to magazines, the pages are not numbered here. The numbers given in the citations represent the page order as printed in the *furoku*.

audience of children; it is, however, also interesting to note that the tone in which she had been relating her war experience in the previous years is now one she seems to keep reserved for children, and writes for adults in a markedly more somber (and sober) voice.

The concerns about the effects of war, which she addressed in her previous essays, are also palpable in her article in *Asahi Shinbun* published in the evening edition of June 21, 1941, where she writes that once the war seizes and peace comes, the mothers, daughters and children of Japan will be "completely exhausted and reduced to nothing" (Hayashi 1941c:3). And much like in her earlier writings for *Asahi*, she once again appeals to the readers to send care packages (*imonbukuro*) to the soldiers on October 3, 1941 (Hayashi 1941e:4). It is therefore apparent that Hayashi's empathy for the soldiers on the battlefields of China has not diminished, but the enthusiasm for war and its transformative power, which marked Hayashi's texts from 1938 and 1939, begins to waver as the conflict drags on and begins to take material toll on the Japanese citizens.

Hayashi's war trauma and any shadows of doubt about the war are, however, nowhere to be found when she is writing about the circumstances at home. The connection between the front and home Hayashi draws throughout these texts is made explicit by her in the January 1940 text published in the weekly magazine *Shūkan Asahi*, "'*Senjinkun*' o yomite" 「戦陣訓」を読みて ["Reading the *Senjinkun*"]. The word *Senjinkun* (*Field service code*) refers to the military code based on Tōjō Hideki's speech, which among other things forbade Japanese soldiers from becoming prisoners of war, as imprisonment results in shame, which was to be perceived as a sign of weakness (Straus 2011:38-39). In this column, Hayashi admits to feeling "something refreshing in [her] chest" (Hayashi 1940e:9) after reading the *Senjinkun*, and she specifically

highlights its seventh section, which pertains to life and death, as it reminds her of her own experience on the battlefield. Hayashi describes the *Senjinkun* as "extraordinarily philosophical" (ibid.) and proposes to see it as a code for all Japanese instead of just soldiers. She considers the text to be a "Japanese ideology" (*Nipponjin no shisō*; ibid.), "Japan's philosophy" (*Nippon no tetsugaku*; ibid.) and even "Japan's holy scripture" (*Nippon no seisho*; ibid.). Finally, she advises teachers to read and explain the *Senjinkun* to young children and argues the text can contribute to the betterment of Japanese society (ibid.).

Given Hayashi's apparent admission of her war experience as traumatic and her ponderings of war's human cost in the texts mentioned above, the rhetoric in this column appears perhaps even more radical as it would without their context. By urging her readers to adopt the military code into their civilian existence and making it synonymous with a vague notion of a 'Japanese spirit', Hayashi essentially advocates for a complete obedience to the state and a sacrifice (of any measure) on the part of citizens. This attitude invites comparison to Young's (2017) concept of fascist imperialism, especially its aspects of hyper-militarism and radical statism in the glorification of military, as well as equation of military and civilian conduct and the faith in state as an agent of salvation (see 1.6.). In making civilians and soldiers equal in their following of the *Senjinkun*, Hayashi essentially views life as a battle, or struggle – also an important aspect of the 'ur-fascism' as proposed by Eco (1995; see 1.6.).

This military ethos is already palpable in Hayashi's essay "Genkan no techō" 玄関の手帖 ["Notebook at the entrance", 1940], published in January 1940 in the literary magazine *Bungei*[156]. Hayashi introduces her readers to Tsuneji, an 18-year old man

[156] Also collected in the tenth volume of Hayashi's 1977 *zenshū* (Hayashi 1977p).

from Shinshū (Nagano) who moves to Tōkyō for work and eventually gets employed at an arms factory (Hayashi 1940d:156; Hayashi 1977p:157). He is paid a daily wage of one yen and ten sen (Hayashi 1940d:157; Hayashi 1977p:158), but only if he wakes up at 5 am and arrives at work by 7:20 am – otherwise, his wage gets cut in half (Hayashi 1940d:157; Hayashi 1977p:158). Tsuneji's harsh work conditions might remind Hayashi's readers of her own trials and tribulations in *Hōrōki* (see Part III, 1.2.), but Hayashi does not criticize the oppressive conditions Tsuneji has to work under – after all, he accepts the work out of need and effectively sells his body and labor in order for other bodies to be destroyed. Hayashi instead highlights the importance of Tsuneji's work (or rather his work on the 'labor front', *shokugyō sensen*) even though this meant giving up on his goal to study at a university (Hayashi 1940d:158; Hayashi 1977p:158). Through Tsuneji, then, Hayashi seems to suggest that the sacrifice for the country at this time supersedes individual desires for self-fulfillment. It also appears that the harsh conditions Tsuneji works under are not portrayed as exploitation, but rather as an opportunity for him to embrace the military discipline crucial to Japan's success. The sacrifice of individual desires and comfort can therefore be read as an additional virtue to Tsuneji's already virtuous service to the country, and Hayashi seems to hold him up as an example for other young Japanese.

In "Kuni o tateru utsukushii shōjo" 国を建てる美しい少女 ["Beautiful girls building the country"], Hayashi's contribution to the September 1940 issue of *Shōjo no Tomo*, the author begins by writing about the beauty of young working girls she saw in the early morning hours on a train as she was returning home from a lecture in Nagano (Hayashi 1940k:118). This inspires her to think about the importance of Japan becoming self-sufficient (*jikyū jisoku*), which in turn requires everyone's participation to build up the nation's strength (Hayashi 1940k:119). Hayashi portrays these factory

workers as aspirational role models to the children reading *Shōjo no Tomo* when she is struck at the sight of them "sending bullets to the battlefield" (ibid.) and impressed at the strength of young girls to carry out work of such great importance (ibid.). While she admits that freedoms during this time are limited, the nation must endure this (Hayashi 1940k:120). Hayashi also reminds her young audience of the misery of defeat in war she had witnessed, appealing to their devotion to Japan: "Those who forget their country will not find happiness" (Hayashi 1940k:121), she writes at the text's conclusion. She ends the text with a farewell to these young workers, very similar to those dedicated to soldiers in Hayashi's texts from Nanjing and Hankou: "Everyone, please work well and quickly in good health" (ibid.). In this way, Hayashi directly connects the young factory workers to soldiers fighting on the front, and suggests to her young female readers a way to join the fight. This again calls to mind the ideology of fascist imperialism and particularly its military focus, as the virtue of the girls' work seems amplified in meaning as a contribution to the war. It also speaks to the exploitation of minors as workforce during this time and a mobilization of children as they were forced to participate in the war effort. This text is therefore of special interest within this period as it shows an aspect of the war which is not often discussed, the role of children and minors within the war and their indoctrination, which Hayashi participates in.

During this time, excerpts from *Hokugan butai* have been published in an anthology of literature on the war in China titled *Tairiku senshi* 大陸戦史 [*Continental war history*; Hayashi 1940m]. This suggests that she had been seen by the public as a voice of authority on the war in China following her highly publicized trip to Hankou, or at least her texts have been deemed culturally relevant by the authorities as a desirable representation of the war. Since the ideological aspects are more

pronounced and prominent in Hayashi's texts from this period, this gives the ideology she communicates more power, legitimized through her relatable public persona.

In a roundtable discussion (*zadankai*), which appeared in May 1942 in the women's magazine *Fujin Kōron* as "Kokumin rensei to josei" 国民錬成と女性 ["Citizen training and women"], Hayashi praises working women, and on the contrary condemns women who want to enjoy themselves in these times, calling them "sick" (*byōteki*; Hayashi 1942a:26). Having seen the hard work soldiers put in on the front, people in Japan should apply the same effort in their lives, as she opines (ibid.). A month later, Hayashi published a reportage from her visit of a military school in the Hiroshima prefecture in *Fujin Asahi* under the title "Kaigun heigakkō hōmon" 海軍兵学校訪問 ["Visit of a Navy military school", 1942]. Right at the outset of the text, Hayashi admits to being moved by this visit, describing the boys who live far away from their homes in Tōkyō as her young brothers (*otōto*; Hayashi 1942b:66). She is impressed with the orderliness of the students' desks, where nothing is out of place and the attention to order is stricter than in girls' schools (Hayashi 1942b:67), and is left with a "feeling of purity" (Hayashi 1942b:70). While she admits that life at this school must seem old-fashioned (*myō ni jidai okure*) to liberal university students, Hayashi wishes for both sides to unite in the future (Hayashi 1942b:68). Ultimately, she endorses this kind of education for young boys, and relates their development to Nietzsche's philosophy, feeling as if she had witnessed the "birth of true Japanese men" (Hayashi 1942b:70). This, of course, well illustrates the nationalist ideology underlying Hayashi's impressions, considering Nietzsche's philosophy had also been hijacked for ideological purposes in Nazi Germany at the time. By describing the future soldiers as the embodiment of Japanese masculinity, Hayashi also once again invokes the ideal

figure of the Japanese soldier, familiar from her earlier texts. The references to the purity of these boys, their discipline and a 'traditional' education all underscore the ideological sentiment Hayashi brings across in this text and are, again, reminiscent of aspects of Eco's ur-fascism (Eco 1995)[157].

In October 1942, Hayashi published an essay titled "Nowaki no hana" 野分の花 ["Flower in the typhoon"] in the literary magazine *Bungakkai*. The text is dated as "before departure on September 14, 1942" (Hayashi 1942c:123), and Hayashi opens it by writing about hearing an Italian military song (*gunka*) on September 12; having found it striking and beautiful, the song reinvigorated her enthusiasm for work (Hayashi 1942c:121). That same day, as she writes, Hayashi had resolved to go 'south'[158] (*minami ni iku*), even as she is busy with work such as writing children's stories for newspapers. Specifically because she is a woman, she wants to write an extensive travelogue (*fudoki*) about "the gentle and beautiful south" (Hayashi 1942c:123). The itinerary Hayashi shares in this text is extensive, covering Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines and Burma (ibid.). The countries in Southeast Asia, in Hayashi's view, had lain "on their deathbeds" (ibid.), but now even here the Japanese flag "now shines beautifully" (ibid.), and she considers herself greatly honored to "walk under the beautiful [...] Japanese flag" (ibid.). Here, Hayashi openly propagates the image of Japan as Asia's liberator, this time on the new frontier of Southeast Asia. Published shortly before Hayashi's departure to the region, which would become her longest stay abroad during the wartime years, it can be seen as a transition to Hayashi's late wartime texts, but also as a kind of a mission statement for her trip.

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[157] See 1.6.

[158] I.e., to Southeast Asia (*Nanpō*).

Finally, in November 1942, Hayashi published “Kanjō enshū/Furōberu no koi” 感情演習／フローベルの恋[159] [“Emotional exercise/Flaubert’s love”] in *Bungei*. In this text oscillating between prose and essay, Kawamoto points out Hayashi’s descriptions of her own tired face, of herself as a ‘boring woman’, or an ‘unsightly, sad being’; seemingly rejecting herself, particularly in comparison to younger women. The pessimism of this short text is extraordinarily striking to Kawamoto especially because Hayashi had largely ceased to write after the publication of this text (Kawamoto 2003:275), only publishing sporadically during her stay in Southeast Asia. Hayashi also seems to be permanently changed by her war experience, as she writes that while she is happy for being alive, she is also haunted by thoughts of life’s transience and brevity (Hayashi 1942d:149; 1977q:449). In Kawamoto’s assessment, this pessimistic tone is emblematic of Hayashi’s texts after 1939 up until the end of the war, reflective of the country’s isolation, and despite the relatively small quantity of texts compared from the earlier days of the war, it is one of the most important periods for Hayashi (Kawamoto 2003:380). This pessimistic tone is one of the most striking features of Hayashi’s more celebrated postwar writing, in which she often touches upon the misery of war, and which is frequently put in stark contrast to the optimism of her earlier texts such as *Hōrōki*. What an examination of Hayashi’s wartime texts and especially of those from this period reveals are the root causes of her later pessimism; with the conclusion of the war in 1945, the misery of defeat Hayashi warned against in her texts had become reality. But already in 1940, Hayashi’s fatigue from war is palpable in her essays, even as she advocates for an adoption of a military ethos in citizens’ lives and a refusal of a surrender to the dire circumstances. These

[159] Also collected in the fifth volume of the 1977 *zenshū* (Hayashi 1977q).

concerns also constitute important themes in Hayashi's fictional texts between 1940 and 1942.

5.3. Hayashi Fumiko's fictional texts, 1940-1942

War is still a dominant theme in Hayashi Fumiko's fiction at this time, but as already foreshadowed in her late 1939 texts "Unmei" or "Meian", her focus shifts away from the direct experience of the front to the families of soldiers at home, or civilians otherwise affected by war. Another emerging theme during this period is that of migration, also a prominent element of "Unmei", and also a logical consequence of her trip to Manchuria. Hayashi's stories center on wives, mothers and children whose husbands have gone to war, or have died in it. In the texts dealing with the topic of migration, Hayashi focuses on the opportunities seized by the protagonists abroad (again, much like in "Unmei"), but as I will show below, also writes about those befallen by misfortune or tragedy after leaving Japan.

Another theme running through Hayashi's fictional texts from this period, as identified by Susanna Fessler, is a questioning of the legitimacy of marriage. Characters are pressured by friends or family to marry, but do not particularly want to themselves. Their families and friends tend to see marriage as a natural act, while these characters reevalue such assumptions (Fessler 1998:106). Fessler singles out *Kawauta* 川歌 [*River song*, 1941] as an example of this theme. Originally published as a newspaper serial in *Miyako Shinbun* between February and September 1940, it only came out in a single volume a year later; the titular river might be a metaphor for the large number of the novel's characters and subplots. The protagonist of the novel, Kikuyo, is a young woman who leaves the countryside for the city to improve her social position. She moves in with her former teacher Hisako, who is also single. While

Hisako has a suitor, she does not feel inclined to marry him despite her loneliness. In her diary, Hisako wonders whether people marry to make their lives more difficult or live their lives in comfort. The younger Kikuyo, on the other hand, is not preoccupied with thoughts of marriage; it is more of a curiosity to her than an urgent concern (Fessler 1998:107).

Fessler also cites *Kawauta* as the most striking example among Hayashi's texts dealing with the topic of a child's illegitimacy, in this case Hisako's student Yasuko. Regarded as a problem child, Yasuko becomes orphaned and Hisako gives her increased attention, which lands her in trouble on grounds of favoritism. Regardless, she provides for Yasuko and gives her shelter; however, Hisako's charity ultimately only makes Yasuko feel more lonely (Fessler 1998:126). Fessler argues that Yasuko is a reflection of Hayashi herself, as similarly to her, Yasuko wants independence and an opportunity to support herself instead of pity (Fessler 1998:128). This is certainly reminiscent of Hayashi's literary persona of the early works such as *Hōrōki* or "Fūkin to sakana no machi". At the same time, it calls to mind the persistence at all cost and unwavering fighting spirit Hayashi advocated for in adopting the principles of the *Senjinkun* in the citizens' lives. This is echoed in her foreword to *Kawauta*, where she writes that people must come together in extraordinary (*hijō*) times, i.e., times of war (Hayashi 1977m:232). She also mentions she aimed to write a novel speaking to everyone, and that "all people live and die with the country" (ibid.). Hayashi therefore had an interest in reaching the masses with her writing, and considering the ideology she communicates in her non-fictional texts from this period, special attention should be paid to the ways this ideology and military ethos manifest themselves in her fiction.

5.3.1. The lingering presence of war

While Hayashi had put the lives of Japanese soldiers and their families in the center of her fictional texts from this period, as was the case with her earlier wartime fiction, these are just as much informed by Hayashi's own experience of war. Aside from her essays discussed above, Hayashi also expressed her recollections of the war during this time through poetry. Following literary scholar Ogata Akiko, Kawamoto highlights the poem "Kagayakashiki tsuioku"[160] 輝かしき追憶 ["Splendid memories"], published in the January 1940 issue of *Kagayaku Butai* (see Hayashi 1940n), but concurrently also in a special issue of the magazine dedicated to soldiers, *Umi no Jūgo* 海の銃後 [*Homefront on the sea*] (see Hayashi 1940c), arguing that even moreso than Hayashi's war reportage, the poem is preoccupied with death and one can sense Hayashi's rejection of war (Kawamoto 2003:271). The somber tone of the poem links the sentimentality of *Hokugan butai* with Hayashi's essays from this period. It is, however, also one of the very few texts directly concerned with life on the front among those which appeared after 1940; Hayashi also included the poems "Heitai no uta" 兵隊の詩[161] ["The soldiers' poem"; Hayashi 1941f] and "Aisuru uma yo" 愛する馬よ ["Beloved horse"; Hayashi 1941g] from *Hokugan butai* in her 1941 anthology *Zuihitsu* [*Essays*]. In a collection of four poems collectively titled "Kinen" 祈念 ["Prayer"] and published in the March 1941 issue of *Kaizō*, Hayashi also remembers and honors the soldiers in China (Hayashi 1941b:306–308). The most interesting of these poems is

[160] The poem is collected in the 1977 *zenshū* (Hayashi 1977n).

[161] The "Watashi wa heitai ga suki da" ["I like the soldiers"] poem from *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai* (see Part III, 4.2.2.).

"Monpe" モンペ, titled after the work pants women were mandated to wear in private; in this poem, Hayashi mentions how every woman in Japan must wear this garment, and how embarassing it feels to her (Hayashi 1941b:308). This echoes her sentiment from "Kōreru daichi", where she lamented women's loss of beauty due to being mandated to wear unflattering clothing.

Hayashi explores the traumatic effects of war in "Sushi" 寿司[162], published in the January 1940 issue of *Ōru Yomimono*. At the center of this story is the married couple Kiyoshi and Suzuko; Kiyoshi is a war veteran. The text opens with Kiyoshi waking up terrified from a dream about war (Hayashi 1940o:71; 1977r:213); this is reminiscent of Hayashi's own nightmares she mentions in her essays from this period. Later in the story, Kiyoshi and Suzuko learn that their friend, Ms. Honda, had committed suicide after her husband had fallen in the war (Hayashi 1940o:92; 1977r:229). Hayashi also comments on the hardship of women left behind in Japan, stretching on as the war continues ever longer (Hayashi 1940o:92; 1977r:229–230); she addresses similar concerns in "Onsen yado" 温泉宿[163] ["Hot spring inn"], published in *Hinode* in the same month (Hayashi 1940p:154–155; 1977s:72–73).

In "Yafuku" 夜福[164] ["Night fortune"; *Fujin Asahi,* April 1941], Hayashi tells the story of Hisae, who furnishes an altar for her deceased parents at the beginning of the text; in the previous year, her son Seiji had fallen in war as well (Hayashi 1941a:182; 1977t:209). Seiji was 26 years old, a university graduate and a company employee

[162] Also collected in the third volume of the 1977 *zenshū*.

[163] Also collected in the fifth volume of the 1977 *zenshū* (Hayashi 1977s).

[164] Also collected in the fifteenth volume of the 1977 *zenshū* (Hayashi 1977t).

before going to war (Hayashi 1941a:184; 1977t:212). Hisae is eventually visited by Fuku, a youthful woman who, unbeknownst to Hisae, had had a child with Seiji. Hisae feels grateful that Seiji left behind a child, which also bears his resemblance (Hayashi 1941a:186; 1977t:215). Seiji's child represents a continuation of her son's existence to Hisae, and at the same time, carries the legacy of Seiji's sacrifice.

A soldier's sacrifice is also an important part of the children's novel *Keikichi no gakkō* 啓吉の学校 [*Keikichi's school*], published in 1941 by Kigensha[165]. The plot follows the protagonist Keikichi's life on the countryside, where he moves with his mother from the city after his father dies in the battle of Nanjing. In her foreword, Hayashi addresses children that may have had fathers, brothers or grandfathers who went to war, and states that she had intended for Keikichi to be like one of them (Hayashi 1977u:229). Even those children who are not in a situation similar to Keikichi's have kids like him around themselves, Hayashi writes, and adds that she is fond of kind children like Keikichi (Hayashi 1977u:230). Finally, she tells her readers that they should learn about their fathers and brothers on the battlefield, as it would be 'troubling' (*komaru koto*) if they grew up to uphold the 'second Japan' (*dai ni no Nippon no kuni*) without knowing anything about the present moment (Hayashi 1977u:230). With this foreword, then, Hayashi sets up Keikichi as a role model for her young readers and reminds them of the importance of pursuing an active interest in the war and feeling a respect for soldiers – a prominent characteristic of Keikichi himself, as I will show below. It can therefore be said that *Keikichi no gakkō*, in part, represents the *Senjinkun* ethos Hayashi advocated for in the citizens' private lives, communicated

[165] *Keikichi no gakkō* was potentially previously published as a serial in the children's magazine *Shōgaku Sannensei* between January and March 1940. This could not be verified, as the magazine appears to be lost.

to an audience of children.

The death of his father is a source of grief for Keikichi – in the beginning of the novel, he is moved to tears when the schoolteacher Kiriyama mentions his father's passing to Keikichi's new classmates (Hayashi 1941h:14). More importantly, however, his father is also an inspiration: when the children sing a military song about horses in school, Keikichi wonders whether his father was also singing the same song as he was dying, and this thought fills him with courage (Hayashi 1941h:51). The teacher also tells Keikichi to take care of himself so that he becomes a good (*rippa*) soldier like his father (Hayashi 1941h:60). When bitten by mosquitos, he endures the great discomfort, saying "when I thought about soldiers who went to war, it was nothing" (Hayashi 1941h:135). Over the course of the novel, Keikichi goes back to Tōkyō with his mother to visit the Yasukuni Shrine twice, and during his second visit, he imagines a conversation with his father, and wonders whether he would be surprised at how much Keikichi has grown (Hayashi 1941h:202).

Keikichi encounters another (living) soldier when his friend Terazaki's brother returns from the front. At Terazaki's house, Keikichi listens to his stories from war, such as how he had captured five enemy soldiers, and at that moment Keikichi resolves to become a doctor like his grandfather (Hayashi 1941h:187). At the end of the novel, facing his fifth year of school only strengthens Keikichi's resolve to study hard, exercise, and become a good citizen (*rippa na kokumin*), so that he can ultimately follow in his grandfather's footsteps. He believes his fallen father is watching over him (Hayashi 1941h:208). As Keikichi is leaving for a train to Tōkyō, he parts from his grandfather living on the countryside imitating a soldier departing for duty, at which the grandfather laughs (Hayashi 1941h:214).

As Earhart points out, educational reforms in wartime Japan transformed primary

schools into 'citizens' schools' (*kokumin gakkō*), where young boys trained to join the war effort as 'junior citizens' (*shōkokumin*). They could do so upon graduation at thirteen, or continue advanced training in middle school (Earhart 2008:182). Volunteer service and sacrifices were expected from children just as they were from adults (Earhart 2008:191). Keikichi's identification with and deep admiration for the soldiers are therefore not only matters of personal significance. His emulation of the military ethos in his own life is a sign of not only respect for his father and carrying on his legacy, but also of the thorough indoctrination of children during the wartime Earhart mentions (Earhart 2008:209). Keikichi also realizes that in order to become a doctor and follow in his grandfather's footsteps, he will need his father's discipline to succeed. The adoption of military ethos can therefore be read as what Keikichi, and in turn Hayashi Fumiko, perceives as a key to a successful life.

One fictional text concerning the experience of war from this period which stands out from the rest is "Unmei no tabi" 運命の旅 ["Fateful journey"], published in the August 1942[166] issue of *Hinode*. Essentially a different version of "Kawa wa shizuka ni nagareteyuku" (see Part III, 4.4.4.), Hayashi tells here a story of Kin, a seventeen-year old refugee from Nanjing who escapes the city to the mountains with her husband as Japanese troops are approaching. Similarly to Pan from the aforementioned short story, Kin had merely heard that a war began "in a distant country" (Hayashi 1942e:66), allowing Hayashi to once again allude to the woeful lack of education among Chinese peasants. As in "Kawa wa shizuka ni nagareteyuku", Hayashi also describes the city as largely deserted prior to the entry of the Japanese troops, with only the poorest peasants remaining in Nanjing by October and November of 1937 (ibid.). In this text,

[166] The text is dated June 20, 1942 (Hayashi 1942e:76).

too, Chinese soldiers are portrayed as inconveniencing the citizens of Nanjing and taking up stores, with people of Nanjing speaking about the Japanese army as a possible 'remedy' to this issue (ibid.). And similarly to Pan from "Kawa wa shizuka ni nagareteyuku", Kin lives apart from her husband, who was traveling for work over three years along the Yangtze River (Hayashi 1942e:66–67).

Perhaps the most important characteristic of "Unmei no tabi" shared with Hayashi's previous story "Kawa wa shizuka ni nagareteyuku" is her determination to reassure the readers (and perhaps herself) of the safety of Nanjing's citizens. She writes that all of them have evacuated to the surrounding mountains (Hayashi 1942e:68), and Kin hears the rattle of gunfire from a safe distance (ibid.). In the camp, there are rumors about the Japanese troops coming to kill the refugees if they don't flee, but these concerns are ultimately moot (ibid.). After the sounds of battle cease around noon, Kin and other refugees are picked up by female soldiers; Kin witnesses a wounded soldier on a stretcher, his leg missing (Hayashi 1942e:69).

Kin and her husband Huangtu 黄土[167] eventually return to the city, and they notice 'strong' (*rippa*) soldiers at the entrance. They meet an old Chinese man who informs Kin that Japanese troops are now in the city, and alleviates her safety concerns, claiming the Japanese "do not kill refugees" (Hayashi 1942e:74). Meanwhile, Kin's husband arrives at Zhongshang Park, where refugees assemble and are served bread; some of them wonder whether the bread given out by the Japanese is poisoned (ibid.). This concern, too, ultimately appears baseless. Huangtu finally meets a friendly newspaper reporter, who offers him a ride to Hankou; there, he can find work again

[167] His name meaning 'yellow earth', and recalling the ethnic slur *domin/dojin* 土民・土人; essentially meaning 'peasant'.

(Hayashi 1942e:75). Hayashi concludes the text as follows: “The sun flag with a white field and a red dot fluttered brightly and vividly in the desolate city like a flower” (Hayashi 1942e:76).

The story, then, ends on an even more triumphant note than its previous iteration, “Kawa wa shizuka ni nagareteyuku”, if also on a more abstract one. While there was a tangible improvement in Pan’s life to be observed in the 1939 story with her stable employment as a houseworker, Kin’s fate going forward is left unresolved, as is her husband’s eventual fortune in finding work. Clearly, then, the titular ‘fate’ of Chinese civilians affected by the war is subordinate to the glorious and radiant image of the Japanese flag reminiscent of a flower, and thus representing a new life for the city in ruins. Tansman’s lens of fascist aesthetics (see 1.6.) seem appropriate to apply here, as the image certainly represents an “aesthetically cathartic epiphany susceptible to being politically channeled into the creation of a fascist mood” (Tansman 2009:19), as Tansman defines what he calls a fascist moment. The appeal of the scene lies in its emotional, sentimental impact which supersedes rational thought (Tansman 2009:3). Tansman’s argument about nature replacing history in fascism (Tansman 2009:4) manifests itself quite literally in the final scene of “Unmei no tabi” when Hayashi likens the Japanese flag to a flower among the city’s ruins, with Japan symbolically replacing China, the new reign replacing the old.

In the context of the Nanjing Massacre, Hayashi essentially doubles down on the revisionist aspects of “Kawa wa shizuka ni nagareteyuku” with this newer text. In essence, she tells the same story of illiterate Chinese peasants whose lives are ultimately bettered by the Japanese invasion. The closeness of their two stories suggests a commonality in their background, but at the same time, Hayashi separates Kin and Pan by slight nuances in their stories, as well as distinct identites. Kin

therefore represents a separate eyewitness to the battle of Nanjing. By telling a new (and yet largely the same) story, Hayashi 'corroborates' her former fictional account in "Kawa wa shizuka ni nagareteyuku", once again stresses the safety of refugees in Nanjing, and thus implicitly denies the existence of the massacre that took place in the city.

5.3.2. The migrant experience

Japanese migration, primarily to Manchuria, is the last major theme of Hayashi's wartime fictional texts I will discuss in this chapter, even if the quantity of these is smaller than those concerned more directly with war. Hayashi's protagonists emigrate for a variety of reasons. In "Gyokai" 魚介[168] ["Seafood"; *Kaizō,* December 1940], the protagonist moves to Jiamusi in Manchuria after economic opportunity dries up for her in Japan (Kawamoto 2003:219–222). In a short story titled "Ryoshū" 旅愁 ["Travel loneliness"], published in a collection of Hayashi's texts "Shūsaku" 習作 ["Etudes"] in the September 1940 issue of *Bungei,* Hayashi describes the emigration of her fictional protagonist Yonekawa, who moves to China in 1914. At first living in Tsingtao, he moves to Shanghai and eventually to Nanjing, "a filthy city of poor farmers" (Hayashi 1940q:165). Going back and forth between China in Japan, he eventually returns home permanently after the outbreak of war, where he begins publishing a pamphlet educating Japanese readers on China (Hayashi 1940q:166).

Perhaps the most important of Hayashi's texts concerned with migration is *Jūnenkan* 十年間 [*Ten years*], a serial novel originally published in *Fujin Kōron*

[168] Also collected in the fifth volume of the 1977 *zenshū* (Hayashi 1977v).

between January and December 1940. In her foreword to the 1942 single volume edition, Hayashi writes about wanting to situate a fictional text in Manchuria due to her own fondness of the place, and Imagawa Hideko argues that any of Hayashi's misgivings about national policy are not yet apparent here (Imagawa 2003:147). In the foreword, Hayashi writes that she had poured her heart and soul into the protagonist Tetsuo (Hayashi 1977w:227), and also admits that *Jūnenkan* was the novel she struggled with the most (Hayashi 1977w:229). She writes that ever since the Manchurian Incident, the thinking (*shishō*) and lifestyle (*seikatsu*) of young men had gradually changed; she also finds the people now in their thirties have been struggling since the years around 1932 and 1933. Lacking in opportunities for employment and close relationships (*chiki*), these young men live in a stagnating environment (*shinposei no nai sekai*), which is one of the reasons Hayashi set the novel's plot to unfold over ten years (Hayashi 1977w:227). On the other hand, Hayashi wanted to write about the lives (*seikatsu*) and character (*seikaku*) of women at the time 'thoroughly' (*tsukitsumete*) through the female protagonist Yukiko, and focus on the struggles and triumphs of working women (Hayashi 1977w:227–228). By giving the novel a happy ending, Hayashi admits that it might appear as 'Manchurian propaganda' (*Manshū senden*), but reiterates that this was not her intention; instead, it was her own fondness for Manchuria that inspired the ending (Hayashi 1977w:228).

The protagonist, Tetsuo, is a graduate of Tōkyō University moving to Manchuria from a farming family in Shinshū (Nagano). His graduation corresponds to the aftermath of the Manchurian Incident, taking place between 1932 and 1933. Tetsuo decides to move to Manchuria when he is unable to find work in Tōkyō, yet as Kawamoto points out, his thoughts as portrayed by Hayashi betray anxiety about moving to such a distant place, and in this way Hayashi seems to suggest that

Manchuria was not the most popular destination for young people to move to (Kawamoto 2003:222). Later, Tetsuo marries his childhood friend, Sueno, and they move to Manchuria together to start a new life. While Hayashi by and large portrays Manchuria as a place of opportunity (Kawamoto 2003:223), she also includes characters such as women doing night work (*mizu shōbai*) Tetsuo and Sueno encounter on a train station, contrasting the poor lower classes with the happy newlyweds. Another character, Tetsuo's former girlfriend Yukie, who had worked as a café waitress (*jokyū*) in Manchuria after their separation, passes away in a hospital in Harbin over the course of the novel's plot, and her death weighs heavily on Tetsuo afterward. In other words, while Tetsuo and Sueno end up leading a happy life in Hailar at the conclusion of *Jūnenkan*, Kawamoto also stresses that Hayashi's picture of life in Manchuria is not wholly optimistic (Kawamoto 2003:224).

Between 1941 and 1942, Hayashi had serialized the novel *Ame* 雨 [*Rain*] in *Shinjoen*. Andō, the protagonist of the novel, works in an office during the day and attends a business school in the evenings. He eventually decides to go to Manchuria and join the youth volunteer corps (*giyūtai*). These refer to the volunteer corps started in 1938, which accepted boys between 16 and 19 years of age (Kawamoto 2003:224–225), and which Hayashi had also visited during her stay in Manchuria. Andō's parents are opposed to the idea, but he argues that he hates the life he is currently leading in Japan and craves a change (Kawamoto 2003:226). This, as Kawamoto points out, is in line with Hayashi's portrayals of emigrants to Manchuria, which focus on those who left for Manchuria in order to change their lives and have a grasp at a fortune which had eluded them in Japan. The tragedy of the Manchurian project, in Kawamoto's words, is the fact that these same settlers from Japan, pushed by their own unfortunate circumstances to emigrate, would later also be accused of participating

in the exploitation of the region (Kawamoto 2003:226–227). As he enlists in the volunteer military service, Andō's departure to Manchuria represents both the motivation for a betterment in one's life as well as the violence committed on the continent. As a young soldier, Andō also most literally embodies the code of *Senjinkun* Hayashi saw as the purest expression of the 'Japanese spirit'.

5.4. Chapter résumé: Thematic and rhetorical transitions between 1940-1942

As shown on the above examples, Hayashi had thoroughly embraced Japan's imperialist ideology in her writing in this period, during which Japan also became involved in the Pacific War. Seemingly still inspired and changed by her trip to Hankou, where she had followed the Japanese troops on their victorious march, Hayashi's ideological attitude is best exemplified by her column "'*Senjinkun*' o yomite", in which she appeals to the Japanese citizens to adopt the military code of conduct in their own lives. Correspondingly, she embodies these values of resilience herself in the travelogue "Kōreru daichi". Portraying Manchuria as a place of opportunity and resources, Hayashi also suggests that the success of the Manchurian colonial project is dependent on the mental and physical strength of the Japanese colonizers. The 'frozen earth' of the title – the harsh conditions of Manchuria – therefore represents an obstacle to be overcome in order to unlock the wealth of natural resources inherent to the region. The natural cycle of seasons and the coming spring Hayashi hints towards at the conclusion of the text seems to her as natural as Japan's control of Manchuria and the predestination of Japan to become the leading power in Asia; Hayashi's flagrant use of the word *shokuminchi* (colony) in reference to Manchuria is one more example of such attitude. Japan's colonization does not only present an opportunity for the Japanese migrants, but can lead to the betterment of the natives'

lives as well, as the contrasting examples of the Manchurian driver and steadily employed Chinese butler show. At the same time, her appeals for Japanese care workers and doctors to migrate to Manchuria also recall her appeals from China for more nurses, communicating that the colonial project is still in need, and reminding Japanese citizens of the duty to their country.

Recollections of war in Hayashi's non-fictional texts from this period are marked with a more somber and less enthusiastic tone than those from the early period of war. In these texts, Hayashi writes about the lasting effects of war, both physical (malaria in "Hokugan butai no tsuioku") and mental ("Jinsei no shūgyō", "Rekisei"), and highlights the soldiers' sacrifice in her poems such as "Kagayakashiki tsuioku". In articles written for *Asahi Shinbun*, Hayashi perhaps most clearly expresses her doubts about the future aftermath of the war. Despite this, selflessness and obedience to authority are extolled as virtues in Hayashi's texts such as "Genkan no techō", "Kuni o tateru utsukushii shōjo" or "Kaigun heigakkō hōmon". By wholeheartedly endorsing and embracing the nationalist ideology, her texts are also valuable documents of the totality of Japan's mobilization and the working conditions in the country. The texts from this period, permeated as they are by a radical ideology, also demonstrate the extent to which nationalist thought and rhetoric had become normalized at this stage of war. By simultaneously occupying the propagandistic rhetorical space and concurrently showing Hayashi's growing pessimism, the texts from this period represent an especially important link between her early and late literature.

This pessimism is, however, still less apparent in Hayashi's fictional texts. While she often portrays characters immediately affected by war, such as by losing their father, son or husband to it, these characters ultimately overcome their grief and the loss becomes a means of personal growth. The soldiers' sacrifice is never in vain, and

their legacy is carried on by their children, such as Seiji's child in "Yafuku" or Keikichi in *Keikichi no gakkō*. Keikichi is an especially striking protagonist in that he embodies the military spirit Hayashi advocated for in her non-fictional texts at this time. Importantly, his father's identity as a soldier becomes his defining feature for Keikichi, as well as one he most wants to emulate. In this way, a children's book such as *Keikichi no gakkō* is a valuable historical artifact of the militaristic indoctrination of children, or at the very least the active pursuit thereof. Hayashi also establishes a continuity with her previous texts in "Unmei no tabi", essentially a retelling of "Kawa wa shizuka ni nagareteyuku" from 1939. By repeating the refugee story and reiterating the civil and respectful conduct of the Japanese army, Hayashi effectively once again denies the Nanjing Massacre. Hayashi's fictional texts concerning Japanese migration to the colonies from this period also correspond to the non-fictional ones, portraying Manchuria as a place of opportunity to improve her characters' lives (*Jūnenkan*, *Ame*). Her representation, while on the whole positive and endorsing migration of Japanese citizens (in line with government policy), is however more ambivalent in her fiction as she introduces characters experiencing personal failure or tragedy after emigrating.

It is also worthwhile to shortly compare Hayashi's representation of Manchuria during the war with that of her pre-war travelogues. Prior to the war, Hayashi portrayed Manchuria as a multi-cultural, diverse and, importantly, a foreign place in which she positioned herself as an outsider. In "Kōreru daichi", Hayashi is no longer the outsider on this territory, and she does not need to seek out Japanese environments as she did before the war, evoking an impression that Manchuria *is* Japanese environment. Motifs of longing and hunger from the pre-war travelogues, connecting these texts to Hayashi's literary persona from *Hōrōki,* also disappear; instead, the content of "Kōreru daichi" largely corresponds to state and travel

propaganda. The comparison of Hayashi's texts related to Manchuria before and during the war therefore reveals the change the region underwent in the 1930s, as well as the ideological shift in Hayashi's writing during that time.

6. Trip to Southeast Asia and the war's end (1942-1944)

The final period of Hayashi Fumiko's wartime writing corresponds to her eight-month official trip to Southeast Asia between November 1942 and May 1943. This vast, culturally and ethnically heterogeneous region has become known in Japan simply as *Nanpō* ('South'[169] or 'southern regions'). Overtaking the place of Manchuria in the spotlight of propaganda, this 'South' was advertised in similar ways; one particularly important theme of this advertisement was the notion of the 'South' as Japan's lifeline. As in the case of Manchuria, these propaganda efforts were closely connected to the establishment of the Great Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere in 1940, and to the plan of the so-called 'Southern advance' (*nanshin*), which started in the September of that year in northern Indochina (Nakagawa 1996:250). Citing Machida Keiji's *Tatakau bunka butai* [*Fighting culture troops*, 1964], Takayama writes that the 'Southern draft' (*Nanpō chōyō*) consisted of three phases – the first focused on establishing cooperation in the region, the second on the military presence, and the third coincided with the hardships faced by the army right before the end of the war – and situates Hayashi's stay within the second phase (Takayama 2010:177).

While the trip to Southeast Asia would become Hayashi's longest period of time spent abroad during the wartime years (and second longest after the one to Europe a

[169] I will refer to *Nanpō* as 'South' below.

decade earlier), Hayashi had only published a handful of texts during this period[170]. The majority are travelogues from Sumatra and Java, although she had covered a much wider ground during her trip, traveling across the coast of Malaysia and Singapore, across Java, Sumatra and Bali, visiting the city of Banjarmasin in south Borneo, Manila in the Philippines, and making stops in Taiwan and Shanghai before returning to Japan (Katō 2005:251–252). Notably, Hayashi had written no fictional texts during this period, and most of her travelogues have only been published after her return to Japan, likely allowing for a more thorough editing and censorship process.

6.1. Hayashi Fumiko and the 'Southern draft'

The success of the *pen butai* had shown to the state how useful literary authors can be in service of propaganda, which prompted the founding of the so-called 'Southern stragegy propaganda squad' (*Tai-Nanpō sakusen senden-han*), similar to the Propagandakompanie (PK) of the German Nazi government. In literary context, this initiative is more commonly referred to as *Nanpō chōyō*, or 'Southern draft' of authors. Takayama points out that the totality of mobilization at this point in the war is apparent in the usage of the word *senden* instead of *hōdō* (Takayama 2010:171). While the word *hōdō* 報道 translates to 'report(ing)' or 'information', the word *senden* 宣伝 rather means 'advertisement' or 'propaganda', making the ideological mission of this group clear in representing the interests of the state. The 'squad' was responsible for Japanese language education on the ground, filmmaking, ensuring the local population is exposed to Japanese culture through media, and provide information to Japanese civilians (Takayama 2010:171). The Japanese language education in the South,

[170] Yamashita Kiyomi provides a comprehensive list of published texts (Yamashita 2012b, 25–26).

which Hayashi Fumiko participated in herself, consisted of three tenets: making the native population familiar with everyday Japanese; acquainting it with 'Japanese spirit' (*Nippon seishin*) and culture; and building up local communities in order to make Japanese the common language (*kyōtsūgo*) of the region (Yamashita 2015b:6).

The 'propaganda squad' differed from the original *pen butai* in important ways: participation was mandatory for the selected writers, who were required to assist operations on the ground (*jōriku sakusen*) if needed, as well as perform their duties even under fire. In this sense, as Takayama argues, the writers had received treatment akin to that of soldiers and were exposed to greater danger than in China (Takayama 2010:171). Yet, Sata Ineko had described her experience in Southeast Asia as very different from that in China which obviously had caused her painful memories, not amounting to more than "tourism" (Takayama 2010:180). While the members of the *pen butai* have received an allowance of 300 yen per day, Sata Ineko wrote in her autobiography *Nenpu no gyōkan* [*Between the lines of chronology*, 1984] that the participating authors would only receive meals and no allowance at all in the 'South' (Takayama 2010:174).

The first draft (*chōyō*) took place in November 1941 and lasted through 1942. Hayashi participated in the second tour from October 1942, and did so alongside four other female writers Sata Ineko, Mikawa Kiyo, Koyama Itoko and Mizuki Yōko (Nakagawa 1996:250–251); this group consisted of eighteen participants in total (Takayama 2010:174). Members had contracts with different publishers – Hayashi and Mikawa with Asahi Shinbunsha and Sata Ineko with Mainichi Shinbunsha (Nakagawa 1996:253). For this reason, most of Hayashi's texts from the 'South' appeared in periodicals published by the Asahi Shinbunsha conglomerate (*keiretsu*; Takayama 2010:175). The writers had assembled in Hiroshima, and departed from the Tejina

Harbor on October 31, 1942. The group traveled on a medical ship (*byōinsen*), which at that time was actually forbidden under international law. As Takayama points out, the military has been quite secretive about this journey; and the conditions on the ship must have been difficult to bear (Takayama 2010:174).

As is apparent, considerably more female writers were drafted to Southeast Asia than to China. Horton also notes the greater gender parity in activities such as public speaking, meeting officials and traveling among this group of writers, and points out that the media focus on women was more intense than on men in 1942 and 1943. Women emigrating to work in the 'South' were typically hired for hotels or offices as clerical staff or typists, primarily on Java and in the Philippines (Horton 2014:46). In this context, a presence of a smaller group of journalists, writers, actors or other celebrities such as Hayashi Fumiko would give the colonial project increased visibility as "part of the purpose of the crisscrossing the occupied territories was precisely to be seen" (Horton 2014:41). And indeed, Hayashi's trip was publicized not only in domestic media, but in local newspapers abroad as well: *Boruneo Shinbun* wrote about Hayashi's lecture on December 20 (December 22, 1942 issue), and about her participation in a discussion on December 24 (on December 26; Yamashita 2014:28).

Hayashi's travel itinerary has been reproduced in a number of sources, perhaps most usefully by Katō Mako, who provides not only a detailed schedule of her travels in the 'South' (Katō 2005:252–254), but also of the author's travels between 1930 and 1943 in general (Katō 2005:250–251). Her itinerary in the 'South' is also provided by Takayama (Takayama 2010:172–173) and Nakagawa (Nakagawa 1996:241), and a summary of her trip is even available in English by Horton (Horton 2014:41–44). In the following sections, I will introduce Hayashi's texts from the 'South' roughly in their chronological order, following this itinerary.

6.2. Malaysia, Singapore and first visit to Java

Together with the other female authors, Hayashi had first visited places such as a checkpoint in the vicinity of enemy troops at the Strait of Johor in Malaysia or Bukit Timah in Singapore, at the time an enemy territory, around November 18. On November 19, in her *Asahi Shinbun* column titled "Tada atama ga sagaru" ただ頭が下る ["Just a lowered head"], Hayashi mentions her desire to write about the fallen soldiers in Singapore (*Shōnan*) and about the fighting in the 'South' from a woman's point of view (Hayashi 1942f:3). As will become apparent through the texts she had published during this period, this desire remained unfulfilled during the wartime years, possibly pointing to a considerable strengthening of censorship related to writing about war; on the contrary, Hayashi paints a largely idyllic and pro-colonialist picture of the 'South' in her texts.

After visiting Malaysia and Singapore, the group of female writers had split: Sata stayed on northern Sumatra around the city Medan, Mikawa on Java and Bali, and Mizuki in Burma. Hayashi herself went to Surabaya, and with military assistance was able to proceed further into Java and Borneo, where she held lectures and participated in discussions (*zadankai*). She later returned to the village of Trawas, and recorded this stay in her travelogue "Minami no sawa" (see Part III, 6.4.), where she actively participated in teaching Japanese (Nakagawa 1996:255). At the end of the year, an interview between Mikawa Kiyo and Hayashi was published in the *Asahi Shinbun* on December 29, in which they discuss their impressions of the 'South'. Having seen children in Jakarta speak Japanese, Hayashi opines that the education in these newly annexed countries must start early, while Mikawa praises the openness (*shitashiku koto*) of Indonesians towards Japanese (Hayashi/Mikawa 1942:4).

Hayashi's first travelogue from the 'South', based on her trip to Malaysia, was published in *Fujin Asahi* on January 6, 1943, under the title "Nanpō hatsudayori" 南方初だより ["First news from the South"]. In it, she stresses the distance and difference of the country, repeatedly telling the reader to "look at the map" (Hayashi 1943a:20; 21) and writing how difficult it is to imagine the Malaysian landscape back home (Hayashi 1943a:20). Yet, in the end, she also writes that the Malaysian scenery reminds her of Japan (*naichi*) in May and June (Hayashi 1943a:21). To illustrate the difference of Malaysia to Japan, Hayashi touches upon the colonial history and influence on the city of Malacca (Hayashi 1943a:20). However, she recognizes a similarity of Malay houses to Japanese one in their structure (Hayashi 1943a:21). Among the people Hayashi met in Malaysia are a Japanese woman married to a Malay man and living in Malacca for thirty years, as well as women teaching Japanese; Hayashi tells the readers that she wants to write about the fate (*unmei*) of these women going forward (ibid.) Similarly to her desire to write about the fallen Japanese soldiers, this did not materialize in her following travelogues from Indonesia, in which she instead focuses on the life of the native population and her own experience living among them.

One theme that already emerges in these first texts from the 'South' is Hayashi's oscillation between difference and exoticity of her environment, and its concurrent familiarity or closeness. In this aspect, the author's texts from the 'South' are reminiscent of her pre-war travelogues, in which she would position herself as an outsider in a foreign environment, but at the same time also attempt to blend into her environment. However, as Hayashi was on an official duty as a propagandist in the

'South'[171], the aspect of familiarity will become more important in these texts, as I will demonstrate on further examples from this period.

6.3. Java and Sumatra

At the time of the publication of "Nanpō hatsudayori", Hayashi was already in Indonesia, spending late December and New Year in Surabaya (Java), then shortly visited Banjarmasin and Kalimantan on Borneo in the first week of January 1943, returning back to Surabaya on January 6 (Nakagawa 1996:255). On January 12, Hayashi published a column titled "Genjūmin to fureau kokoro" 原住民と触合ふ心 ["Touching hearts with the natives"] in *Asahi Shinbun*, in which she points out that she wants to experience the local life "as a Japanese woman moreso than as a writer" (Hayashi 1943b:4), and writes about her desire to write a "Javan *Hōrōki*" (ibid.). She expresses her desire to show Japan to the native people, so that they can see "the real face of fighting Japan" (*tatakau Nippon no hontō no sugata*; Hayashi 1943b:4). Ultimately, however, she wishes to spend more time with them, and notes that they seem happy to work under Japanese guidance. Considering their poverty, Hayashi concludes that Japan is on an honorable mission in educating the local population (Hayashi 1943b:4). On January 29, Hayashi published another article "Jūmin no ma no sugata motomete" 住民の真の姿求めて ["Pursuing the natives' true face"] in which she further writes upon her stay on Java. This text is accompanied by a large photograph of Hayashi dressed as a local, alongside the mayor of the Trawas village Soepeno and his wife (Hayashi 1943c:4). Soepeno is prominently featured in her later travelogue "Minami

[171] One of Hayashi's private notebooks recording her travels is named *Techō (Nanpō jūgun)* [*Notebook* (*Military assignment in the South*); Yamashita 2013:21], suggesting she also identified as an agent of the military.

no sawa", in which she describes her (second) stay in the village, and which also reflects Hayashi's desire to harken back to *Hōrōki* and her early writing during this period.

On May 23 and 30, 1943, Hayashi published a travelogue from Java titled "Nanpō roman-shi" 南方浪漫誌 ["Southern romantic poems"] in two consecutive installments in the weekly magazine *Shūkan Asahi*. In the first part, she describes hearing Japanese soldiers marching and singing (Hayashi 1943d:16), but also pays attention to local, exotic food and utilizes Indonesian vocabulary, reminiscent of her pre-war travelogues (ibid.). She describes the Indonesian people as friendly, pure and diligent (Hayashi 1943d:17), and the sound of *gamelan*[172] as a 'dull *taiko*' (ibid.). This is another example of Hayashi oscillating between the familiar and the exotic, and by likening the Indonesian instrument to the Japanese drum also used in military marches, Hayashi also invokes the notion of Indonesia as Japan's war ally.

In the second part, she similarly observers Indonesian children to be 'pure' and 'sweet', and points out that wherever she meets them, they greet her in Japanese; she also sees schoolchildren sing Japanese songs (Hayashi 1943e[173]). Hayashi contrasts the 'masculine' (*danseiteki*) Malaysian nature, with its endless rubber fields, and one which will "bring about Japan's ideals" (*risō o fukikonde kureru*; Hayashi 1943e), with the 'feminine' (*joseiteki*) nature of Java (Hayashi 1943e); however, she does not elaborate upon what constitute these masculine and feminine qualites, respectively. As in her previous travelogue from Malaysia, Hayashi voices her surprise at how

[172] As the word *gamelan* refers to a musical ensemble, it is unclear which of the instruments Hayashi means exactly.

[173] The text was published in a *gurabia* ('gravure' or an inlay) to the magazine with no pagination, on a single large page.

different the 'South' is from her imagination when she was still in Japan (Hayashi 1943e). Seeing Japanese soldiers on the streets, she writes about the trust (*shinrai*) they inspire within her, and also meets a colonel (*taisa*) whose acquaintance she made back in Hankou (Hayashi 1943e). While these mentions of soldiers and the Japanese military are marginal within the texts from the 'South', they also serve to establish a continuity between Hayashi's writing from the 'South' and her earlier wartime texts, as on their surface, the texts from these respective periods appear quite different.

After about two months on Java, Hayashi traveled to the city of Palembang on the island of Sumatra. Her journey from Palembang on southern Sumatra to Medan on northern Sumatra is the subject of her travelogue "Sumatora – nishikaze no shima"[174] スマトラ—西風の島— ["Sumatra – the island of western wind"], published in two installments in *Kaizō* in June and July 1943. Hayashi dates this travelogue between April and May 1943, as she writes at the beginning of the first part that it has been around six months since she has been in the 'South' (Hayashi 1943i:87). Notably, both this travelogue and the later "Minami no sawa" – her most extensive texts from these period – are incomplete, and "Sumatora" is marked as 'unfinished' (*mikan*) in the July issue of *Kaizō* (Hayashi 1943j:111). While Mori notes a change in Hayashi's view of war and a general "lack of urgency" (Mori 1992:182) in this text when compared to those from China, he also points out quotes in accordance with the military about reinvigorating (*fukki*) the country under the guidance of Japan and about her feeling of reliance on Japanese soldiers, which reminds Mori of *Sensen* (ibid.). I argue, and will demonstrate below, that a sense of urgency is very much present in "Sumatora", as well as in other texts, as Hayashi intensely highlights on the strategic importance of

[174] Further referred to as "Sumatora".

the region due to its wealth of resources, and thus imparts this importance upon her readers. In doing so, she also advocates for Japan's colonial project and the importance of its success, while also contributing to the public imagination of the 'South' as 'Japan's lifeline', as construed by the travel and state propaganda.

The significance of Indonesia in its wealth of resources is made quite explicit by Hayashi in "Sumatora" when she describes Palembang as "a city of rivers and oil" (Hayashi 1943i:92). She describes seeing Shell and Standard factories on both banks of the river[175], which she describes as "oppressive" (ibid.) and "glorious" (ibid.) in the same breath: "I felt grateful for the paratroopers. Heroic soldiers! I want to show the smoke from these glorious factories to people back home (*naichi*)" (ibid.). While the city of Palembang is in ruins at the time of Hayashi's visit, a state she sees as a result of the Western invasion, she sees it prospering "in maybe fifty years" (ibid.), which makes the ruins appear "beautiful" (ibid.) to her. When she shares that "traveling around an oil-producing area feels relieving, like a cruise on a sea of gasoline" (ibid.) with her readers, she further reassures them of the positive effect the colonial project will ultimately bring to Japan's war effort. Hayashi writes:

> "Rubber is one of the most important things in our lives. It's probably clear that car or bike tires are very much essential. If the busy conduct I saw in a tire factory in Buitenzorg [today's Borog], Java, was captured on film and I could show it to the people back home (*naichi*), people there would be moved and understand the power of this fight." (ibid.)

> "The thick wheels of an airplane are rubber, the cones (*mari*) that bring children joy are rubber, sponges we use in baths are rubber, boots we wear in rain are rubber, tabi boots (*jikatabi*) are rubber, as well as countless other things." (Hayashi 1943i:94)

In this way, Hayashi imparts the importance of Indonesia for Japan's success, and

[175] Likely the Musi River.

thus portrays the region as a place of opportunity of national importance, much like Japan's expansion in Manchuria. Similarily, Hayashi also portrays Japan as a place of opportunity for the Indonesians, and thus the colonial project itself as a tool to improve the locals' lives. When she visits the newly opened Japanese school named Mizuho Gakuen on March 4 (Takayama 2010:176), she shows the Sumatran children themselves understanding this:

> I wrote my name on the blackboard. When I said that if their destiny ever brings them to Japan, they shouldn't forget to come to my house, the students smiled and nodded. The students here live in dorms and will graduate in three months. In the evening, I received a forty-page essay (*kansōbun*) from an Indonesian boy which moved me deeply. I will put down what Mohammad Zahari wrote.
>
> 'This morning, a Japanese woman came to our school to see us. His[176] [sic] name is Hayashi Fumiko. He [sic] came on a plane from Tōkyō to Borneo, Java and Sumatra to write a book. (...)
> Right now, the Japanese are working with all their strength and heart for the good of Asia. That is the Japanese spirit. He [sic] told us young ones to study in Tōkyō and visit his [sic] home.'" (Hayashi 1943i:91–92)

With Mohammad's letter, Hayashi appears to communicate to her readers that the Indonesian population recognizes the importance and supposed benevolence of Japan's colonialism. This can be read as a reassurance that Japan's southern expanse is beneficial to them and happens at no human cost on the ground – on the contrary, even Indonesians can now realize their potential under Japanese 'guidance'. At the same time, however, she also seems concerned about the ethnic diversity of this region, when she mentions learning about the many different ethnicities of Malay people (native to Sumatra) and about their customs in the second part of "Sumatora". As Hayashi writes, many other foreign ethnicities are present in the 'South', such as

[176] Mohammad uses the masculine pronoun *kare* instead of the feminine *kanojo* in his letter, which Hayashi reproduces verbatim.

the Chinese, Caucasian, Javanese, Indian or Arab. To this point, she also notes that "one cannot say there is a beauty to the bloodline (*kettō*)" (Hayashi 1943j:106), evoking a difference to the myth of Japanese racial purity. Notably, Japanese are not among the ethnicities listed by Hayashi, perhaps suggesting their still small presence on Sumatra, or else fortifying the notion of the 'South' as Japanese territory (thus making the Japanese not 'foreign'). Whether the Japanese presence should also prove beneficial in 'beautifying' the local bloodline remains unclear. Hayashi is, however, pleased to meet a young Indonesian man "with beautiful Japanese" (Hayashi 1943j:111) who speaks to her on a bus. By and large, then, Japan is portrayed as a desirable place and a locus of opportunity and progress for the native population, and colonization seems to be welcomed with open arms.

Yamashita suggests two possible reasons for "Sumatora" having been left unfinished. Either the resources for publication have run out or the manuscripts have been lost, or the missing parts were either not written at all or disposed of – and argues for the latter option as being more likely. In his book *Sumatora no Iku Tatsufu* スマトラの郁達夫 [*Yu Dafu on Sumatra,* 1995], Suzuki Masao mentions the likelihood of Hayashi having met the Chinese writer Yu Dafu during her stay (Yamashita 2013:29). Yu Dafu had previously studied in Japan, where he became acquainted with Hayashi Fumiko, among other writers. In the early period of war, he had moved to Singapore, where he participated in the anti-Japanese movement; after the conquest of Singapore by the Japanese army, he fled to Sumatra, where he had lived under a false name. While there, he would however work for the Kenpeitai (Japanese military police) as a translator, utilizing his language skills. After moving with the *Kenpeitai* from the city of Bukittingi to Aceh, he later ceased to work as a translator. Suzuki points out that his

and Hayashi's stay on the island overlap (Yamashita 2013:29–30). Yu Dafu was later executed by the Kenpeitai, and Yamashita therefore argues that a suppression of information on his whereabouts might provide an explanation for Hayashi's blank spots in her accounts from Indonesia (Yamashita 2013:30). This explanation is, however, unconfirmed and rests on the assumption that this suppression of information on Yu would happen in the months between Hayashi's stay on Sumatra and the publication of her travelogues.

The strategic importance of Indonesia is also an important aspect of Hayashi's travelogue "Sekidō no shita" 赤道の下 ["Under the equator"], published as a three-part column in the newspaper *Tōkyō Shinbun*[177]. Hayashi mentions having spent the New Year in Banjarmasin and watching ships on the sea, so numerous the sea itself looks "as if a toy box had been scattered" (Hayashi 1977x:32). In the third part of "Sekidō no shita" (notably the only one not included in the 1977 *zenshū*), Hayashi writes that there is not enough paper to name all the important resources in the 'South' such as rubber, oil or diamonds (Hayashi 1943k). In "Sekidō no shita", Hayashi also alleviates the concerns of her fellow Japanese about sickness and the humid climate, and calls Borneo an 'unopened treasure trove' (Katō 2005:258–259). This calls to mind Hayashi's descriptions of Manchuria and its own wealth of resources, and establishes a continuity in her rhetoric between these two periods in her wartime writing.

During this time, Hayashi had also published poems in *Fujin Asahi* in the issues from February and March 1943. The February issue features a number of poems collectively titled "Minami no ame" 南の雨 ["Southern rain"], and the lead paragraph

[177] Only the first two of the three parts are included in the sixteenth volume of the 1977 *zenshū* (Hayashi 1977z).

reminds the readers of Hayashi's life among the local peasants (Hayashi 1943f:10). In the poem "Takison no hama" タキソンの濱 ["Beach of Takison"], Hayashi refers to children drawing pictures of military ships and the Japanese flag on a sandy beach, the glorious "fate of our homeland" (Hayashi 1943f:11), as well as Japan's 'dragonlike' strength (ibid.). The following month, Hayashi published the poem "Surabaya no kōnan" スラバヤの螢[178] ["Fireflies in Surabaya"], in which she describes the sound of a *gamelan* 'sadly' calling upon the titular fireflies; watching them, she is reminded of soldiers singing marching songs (*gunka*) (Hayashi 1943g:10).

If the fireflies metaphorically represent the Japanese soldiers, who are being drafted to the 'South' (represented by the sound of the *gamelan*) without any free will, this poem seems to be Hayashi's only expression of her desire to write about soldiers as she had announced about in her column "Tada atama ga sagaru". Further, the short lifespan of a firefly seems to imply many of these draftees will die in the 'South', which gives the poem an uncharacteristically somber tone when considering Hayashi's other texts from the 'South'. It is also in stark contrast to the previous poem "Takison no hama", which portrays the apparent enthusiasm and willingness of Indonesians to fight for Japan. Hayashi's ability to only portray the human cost of war in a short poem, as well as the absence of Japanese soldiers in her following texts, further point towards the strengthening of censorship in Japan as the tides of war turned and the country headed ever closer towards defeat.

[178] Here, the Japanese word *hotaru* (firefly) is given the Indonesian pronunciation *kōnan* コウナン.

6.4. Return to Java

After traveling around Sumatra, Hayashi returned to the village of Trawas on Java and recorded her stay in the travelogue "Minami no sawa" ["Southern fields"], published in two parts in *Fujin Kōron* in September and October 1943. Like "Sumatora", "Minami no sawa" would remain unfinished; however, differently from "Sumatora", it seems like this travelogue was intended for further publication, as it is marked as 'to be continued' (*tsuzuku*) in the second installment (Hayashi 1943m:56). As with "Sumatora", the reasons for the discontinuation are unclear.

The village of Trawas does not exist as such anymore; it was located in the region of Mojokerto in the vicinity of Surabaya (Yamashita 2012b:27). Hayashi has left behind private diaries and notebooks she kept during this stay as well, allowing for a comparison with the texts she had published about it[179] (Yamashita 2012b:26). While the timeline of Hayashi's stay is difficult to surmise from the travelogue itself, Yamashita notes that it clearly differs from Hayashi's private notebooks: for example, Hayashi mentions staying in Trawas for two weeks in "Minami no sawa", yet according to her notebook, she only appears to have stayed for six days. This further leads Yamashita to conclude that the travelogue is likely to include fictional elements (Yamashita 2012c:78). While the degree of fictionality of the travelogue is difficult (if not impossible) to confirm, it is an approach reminiscent of Hayashi's pre-war travelogues, particularly those from Paris. Yamashita also points out the kinship of this travelogue to *Hōrōki* – clearly intended by Hayashi – and its form of a semi-fictional diary (Yamashita 2012c:78). It is also the only text in which Hayashi touches upon her official duties, although this only amounts to her brief mention of going to

[179] Hayashi's schedule in Trawas is provided by Yamashita (Yamashita 2012b, 26).

the local school to educate the teachers on the Japanese language (Hayashi 1943l:32); Hayashi also notes that this education policy is met with enthusiasm among the teachers (Hayashi 1943m:50–51). The brevity of these remakrs might also suggest that Hayashi, as well as the other authors, were not at liberty to discuss their duties in detail in their texts.

As in the previous travelogues, Hayashi focuses on the people living in Trawas, and particularly their affinity for Japan, as well as her own experience in the village. She is staying at the house of the village mayor Soepeno, a young medical school graduate who speaks 'perfect' German and French. Hayashi mentions that both Soepeno and his wife share an immense interest in Japan, and want to visit the country; this interest is apparently common among his peers, as Hayashi writes that Soepeno said that many of the mayors at the headmen's conference in Surabaya, which took place this February, mentioned they would like to go to Japan (Hayashi 1943l:33). This admiration for Japan is embodied by Todon, a mail delivery boy of sixteen or seventeen years of age whose acquaintance Hayashi makes, and whom she describes as follows:

> "Speaking of those who want to visit Japan, Todon is eagerly learning Japanese, and the [Soepenos] have asked me if I could speak with him for a little bit. Todon was born in Prigen and his parents ran a small grocery store for European villas, but apparently the white people have taken the groceries from Todon's house without paying a single sen and left. Todon's parents have returned to this village of Trawas with their grown child, and now they have a small plot of land on loan and live as farmers. Todon is keen on going to a Japanese medical school after he found out about them." (Hayashi 1943l:34)

While there is a language barrier between Hayashi and Todon, who also speaks some English and French, she notes that "we could understand each other through some strange force; it is thoroughly mysterious" (Hayashi 1943l:35). This is another

example of Hayashi's oscillation between the familiar and the foreign, this time applied to her feeling of kinship with representatives of the Indonesian people themselves, further validating Japan's colonial project. Todon's earnestness in learning Japanese (and thus his 'growth' as a colonial subject) is illustrated by Hayashi at the end of the first part of "Minami no sawa", when she receives his postcard from Surabaya written in Japanese, "a divination written in funny lines" (Hayashi 1943l:36).

As the divination on the postcard suggests, the native population is also portrayed as deeply religious. In the beginning of the text, Todon makes his morning prayer to Surya, the sun god, and Hayashi notes: "The natives are all religious, they trace all of nature back to gods. They take this passionate worship with the innocence of a child" (Hayashi 1943l:31). Children in general seem to have, according to Hayashi's descriptions, a great enthusiasm for Japan and its language, as already shown on the example of Mohammad's letter in "Sumatora". The first part of "Minami no sawa" includes a scene where Hayashi is approached by the village children, who beg her to sing a Japanese song and start singing along with her. This seems to remind Hayashi of the wide reach of Japan's empire, and by extension the apparent success of its expansion: "I hear a song of the fatherland here, in these mountains, from the mouths of Indonesian children. The fatherland may be far away, but it reaches even to places like this" (Hayashi 1943l:35).

Hayashi's repeated comparisons of the native population to children and the representation of their love for Japan through children – intentionally or not – also infantilizes the Indonesians, thereby communicating to the readers back home the necessity and benefit of Japan as a leader to 'raise' the 'South'; with her participation in the education policy, Hayashi herself is participating in this process. Their animistic beliefs also paint the Indonesian people as underdeveloped and backward,

similarly to the way she had portrayed the Chinese – the difference being that Indonesians seem eager to follow Japan's leadership, which undoubtedly informs Hayashi's noticeably warmer relationship towards them. Toriki similarly notes that Hayashi attempts to relate to and communicate with the locals, even as she delves into stereotypes in her portrayal (Toriki 2017:3). Hayashi takes up on these themes in the second part of "Minami no sawa" as well; perhaps the most interesting example of the locals' assimilation within the empire is portrayed by her when she witnesses a morning radio exercise (*rajio taisō*) conducted in Japanese when she is visiting the local school (Hayashi 1943m:50).

The second part of "Minami no sawa" leans closer to Hayashi's intention to write a 'Javan *Hōrōki*' as she had mentioned in her earlier texts from the 'South'; she now increasingly focuses on sensory descriptions of the lush Indonesian nature, a point also highlighted by Yamashita (Yamashita 2012c:76). In the beginning of the second part, Hayashi passes a picturesque scene of the fields (*sawa*), where workers greet her. This moment makes her think about all the other populations[180] in Southeast Asia she does not yet know or understand (Hayashi 1943m:50). Further in the text, Hayashi comments on the 'magical' (*gensōteki*) landscape, which she could not have imagined in *naichi*, and writes that this distant trip had given her courage, while the landscape inspires intense emotions within her (Hayashi 1943m:53).

Perhaps most importantly, the second part of "Minami no sawa" features a scene where Hayashi attends a local 'rice festival'[181] (*kome matsuri*). As in the earlier text "Nanpō roman-shi", she focuses on food like grilled meat, durian and other fruits, the

[180] I use the plural 'populations' to stress the ethnic diversity of the region. This applies to further examples in this chapter as well.

[181] This festival does not take place anymore (Yamashita 2012c:74).

sound of a *gamelan* (again described as a 'dull *taiko*'), or "the rich scent of earth" (Hayashi 1943m:54). Again, the focus on the sensory experience of this festival links "Minami no sawa" with *Hōrōki* and her pre-war travelogues. Similarly to these, and particularly *Hōrōki,* Hayashi also reproduces an Indonesian song she hears in *katakana*; this is followed by Soepeno explaining the romantic meaning of the song ("If you were not in this world, we could not be together" [Hayashi 1943m:54]), which she finds "fitting to the South" (Hayashi 1943m:54), stimulating the readers' imagination of the 'South' as a romantic and exotic place. She also wrote about this festival in her private notebook, mentioning that the harvest was good this year – an important point as rice was of strategic importance to the occupying Japan (Yamashita 2012b:28). Yamashita also links Hayashi's interest in rice and food with the themes of *Hōrōki,* and points out the meaning of rice as a source of life (Yamashita 2012c:75–76).

The scene of the rice festival therefore connects several important themes of Hayashi's texts from the 'South': a stylistic focus on the five senses familiar from *Hōrōki* and her pre-war travelogues, the harmonious relationship of colony and empire, and the benevolent nature of Japan's expansion. The rich harvest, while not mentioned in the travelogue itself, can be seen as a harbinger of a brighter future for the 'South', while rice as a critical commodity further connects the 'South' to Japan. Yamashita also points out Hayashi's usage of the local language as words written in Japanese are given Indonesian pronunciation. One example of this is the title "Minami no sawa" itself, where the Japanese word *den'en* 田園 (field) is given the Indonesian pronunciation *sawa* (Yamashita 2015b:8). This also connects Hayashi's *Nanpō* travelogues with her pre-war ones, in which she similarly utilized French or Russian words and phrases (see Part III, 2.2.; 2.3.). Differently from her texts from China and Manchuria, then, Hayashi shows the reader her desire to blend in with the

environment while also positioning herself as an outsider within it, and establishes a continuity with her pre-war texts. “Minami no sawa” would also become Hayashi’s last (and incomplete) account of her stay in Indonesia, and with the exception of a few publications I will introduce in the following section, she would retreat from writing and public life until the end of the war.

6.5. Hayashi Fumiko’s last wartime texts

After her travels around the Indonesian islands, Hayashi had also briefly visited Manila, where she had participated in a commemorative event for the first anniversary of the offensive on Corregidor, an island in Manila Bay on May 6. The following day, on May 7, Hayashi’s poem “Sokoku no shushō o mukau” 祖国の首相を迎ふ [“Facing the Fatherland’s prime minister”] was published in *Asahi Shinbun*. In this poem, she describes the Filipino people with ‘fluttering hearts’ (*kokoro tokimeku hitobito*) holding Japanese flags as they face Japan’s prime minister, chanting *mabuhai*, the Tagalog greeting, and in the closing stanzas implores the ‘gods of the Fatherland’ (*sokoku no kamigami*) for their protection in the ‘hundred-year fight’ and to ‘watch over Japan’s history’ (Hayashi 1943h:4).

The rhetoric of this poem is much more reminiscent of Hayashi’s texts from China than her Indonesian travelogues, and once again shows her embrace of nationalist language. She portrays the Filipino population as welcoming of Japan’s expansion and their eagerness to become a part of the empire, as is evident by her description of the Filipinos excited at the sight of Japan’s prime minister with the flags in their hands, recognizing Japan as their own ‘fatherland’. At the same time, while this apparent endorsement of colonialism on its subjects’ part Hayashi shows might suggest the

overall success of Japan's colonial project, the fight is not yet over, once again imbuing the poem with a sense of urgency that was generally less prominent in her Indonesian travelogues.

After her return from the 'South', Hayashi had apparently only published two texts. The essay "Utsukushii kotoba" 美しい言葉 ["Beautiful language"] appeared in January 1944 in the journal *Nihongo*. Hayashi writes about receiving an Indonesian guest two months before[182], the governor (*kenchō*) of Mojekerto called Harmani ハルマニー[183], whom she had met during her travels (Hayashi 1944a:103). Harmani tells Hayashi about his visit to Hakone and how impressed he was by the beauty of autumn in Japan (Hayashi 1944a:103). His favorite languages, in his own words, are French and Japanese. To this point, Hayashi comments how she found Malay (*maraigo*) to have a certain similarity, as well as finding the customs of Indonesians to be 'Japanese' (*Nipponteki*), and felt an unusual sense of kinship with the people (Hayashi 1944a:104).

Harmani's statement further promts Hayashi to praise the beauty of Japanese language and its literature herself, pointing out an inherent sense of 'harmony' (*chōwa*) to the principle of arranging *kanji* and *hiragana* alphabets (Hayashi 1944a:105). She also writes she loves the 'clear and simple language' of soldiers, and reminisces of her time on the front and the fighting spirit it spurred within her (Hayashi 1944a:106). Then, she remembers visiting a village in Borneo and witnessing children sing in Japanese, and how it moved her to tears to hear Japanese in the outside world (Hayashi

[182] I.e., October or November 1943, prior to her evacuation to Nagano.

[183] While this might indeed be a real name, it sounds remarkably like the Japanese loanword for harmony, *harumonī* ハルモニー, which is a fitting descriptor for Indonesian people in general as portrayed by Hayashi.

1944a:106). In the conclusion of her essay, however, Hayashi also admits to expecting Japan to face economic hardship going forward (Hayashi 1944a:107).

On April 17, 1944, Hayashi evacuated to Kanbayashi Onsen (also called Kakuma Onsen) in Shimotakai-gun, Shinshū (today Nagano) together with her 80-year old mother and five-month old adoptive child. The place is today called Yamanouchi-chō, Kakuma, and was close to Ryokubin's hometown (Higashi 2018:273). During this time, on August 23, she published her final wartime text in *Asahi Shinbun*, titled "Subete no shiyoku o nageutō" 總ての私慾を抛たう ["Let us abandon all selfish desires"]. This text stands out with Hayashi's urgent plea to the people of Japan to 'abandon selfish desires', as the title suggests, and reflects the waning fortune of Japan in the war during this time. Hayashi refers to an article about a Japanese woman who had perished at Saipan. However, she assumes knowledge of this event on the reader's part and does not provide any explanation of this event or a summary of the article she refers to. Hayashi writes how imagining this woman at Saipan has been keeping her from sleeping peacefully. She imparts the importance of working with all strength in the 'great war' (*daisensō*) to the readers, and to this end, they should do away with all selfish impulses while facing economic hardship befalling Japan at this time, and she expresses her wish for Japan to nevertheless emerge victorious (Hayashi 1944b:4). Finally, Hayashi reminds her readers that there are still soldiers left behind on Guadalcanal[184], and mentions that she is inspired when thinking about the strength of these stranded soldiers (ibid.).

While few in quantity, these last examples constitute an important connective

[184] The Battle of Guadalcanal took place between August 1942 and February 1943 – over a year prior to the article's publishing – and significantly contributed to Japan's ultimate loss in the war.

tissue between Hayashi's wartime and postwar texts. While Hayashi's travelogues from Indonesia portray an idyllic, paradisiacal picture of the region and can be starkly contrasted to the intensity of the texts written after her trips to Nanjing and Hankou. At the same time, the nationalist rhetoric characteristic of Hayashi's texts from China seems to reemerge in her late wartime writing. This period is therefore vital for a nuanced understanding of Hayashi's postwar fiction, in which her stance towards the war is much more ambiguous, at times even apparently rejecting it. While it also must be acknowledged that Hayashi had written under a strict system of censorship and her own, true feelings about the war will remain unknown, these texts offer us a more nuanced context, with Japan's defeat rather than its wartime aggression as causes for Hayashi's pessimism and misery of postwar Japan she portrays in her late fiction.

6.6. Chapter résumé: Japan as a benevolent empire in Hayashi's late wartime texts

Hayashi Fumiko's late texts from the war, and particularly her Indonesian travelogues, present yet another distinct phase in her wartime writing. Contrary to the Chinese in the earlier texts, the Indonesians here are portrayed as obedient, even eager colonial subjects. This makes for an interesting contrast with the texts from Manchuria which preceded her trip to the 'South'. While Hayashi imparts upon her readers the significance of both regions for Japan in their wealth of resources, she focuses on Manchuria as a place of opportunity for (particularly younger) Japanese, with the betterment of the native population's lives as a consequence of Japanese development in Manchuria. Conversely, she barely touches upon Japanese emigrating to the 'South' in her late travelogues, instead trying to connect with the locals and portraying Japan as a place of opportunity for them. At the same time, Hayashi stresses the critical importance of his region to her readers when she describes the wealth of natural

resources the 'South' offers to Japan.

In Hayashi's texts from the 'South', the native populations understand the 'benevolence' of Japan's colonial project, and see Japan as a dream destination. Participating in Japanese language education on the ground, Hayashi was enmeshed in a mission of prime importance to the empire: as Earhart points out, education and training were one of the most immediate goals to assimilate the 'South', with great investment in bilateral exchange taking place (Earhart 2008:277–278). While the native population of Indonesia is portrayed as backwards or primitive, especially due to their animistic beliefs, Hayashi writes about them sympathetically; the union of the 'South' and Japan appears almost as a mysterious destiny. The willingness of the native populations to become subjects of the Japanese empire represents a stark contrast to the Chinese fighting the Japanese invasion in Hayashi's earlier texts, and in turn also informs Hayashi's openness and warmth towards them.

At the same time, however, the natives of the 'South' are also portrayed as in need of Japan's guidance and ethnically inferior, even 'impure' as apparent through Hayashi's own comments about the southern 'bloodlines'. While Hayashi appears, on the surface, to have an honest interest in the people of the 'South', she thus still reiterates the ethnic hierarchy of the empire, and engages in a more subtle variant of Foucault's biopower (see 1.4.), predicating her affection for the people on their willingness to be subjected to Japan's rule. To the readers at home, she also repeatedly stresses the strategic importance of the region, stimulating their approval of the colonial project as well; after the US sanctions imposed upon Japan between 1939 and 1940, oil was a resource of critical importance (Duus 1996:xvii), reinforcing the notion of the 'South' as Japan's 'lifeline', widely spread through Japanese propaganda. In this way, Hayashi's texts from the 'South' are perhaps the clearest example of the concept

of 'Asianism' – the idea of a united Asia under Japan's leadership, as manifested through the formation of the Great Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere – which was one of the core tenets of the ideology of fascist imperialism, as Louise Young proposes (see 1.6.).

Hayashi's attempts to immerse herself in her environment, frequent sensory descriptions and usage of local vocabulary also connect these late wartime texts to her travelogues from before the war, as well as *Hōrōki*. In this way, the texts display a continuity both with her pre-war and wartime writing, thus enabling us to see Hayashi's literary output during the war not as a disconnected phase in her career in service of propaganda, but a vital part of her own body of work. After her return to Japan in 1943, Hayashi would turn to writing children's literature until the end of the war (Horton 2014:44). However, the 'South' notably reemerges in her postwar texts as a source of inspiration for Hayashi, and is referred to in several of her postwar texts such as "Kōya no niji" 荒野の虹 ["Rainbow on the wasteland", 1946] or "Bangiku" 晩菊 ("Late Chrysanthemum", 1949; Katō 2005:260). Perhaps most importantly, Hayashi's last finished novel *Ukigumo* 浮雲 (*Floating clouds*, 1951) is partly set in Indochina, and in its afterword, Hayashi mentions that she had decided on this setting during her eight months abroad (Katō 2005:260). As in her fictional texts from the war, Hayashi incorporates elements of her own experience into her postwar narratives: for example, the protagonists of *Ukigumo* and "Boruneo daiya" both travel on a medical ship (Katō 2005:263). Hayashi's late wartime texts therefore also provide a vital context to a fuller understanding of her celebrated late fiction, which up until this point had been largely overlooked.

7. Conclusion: Three faces of empire

The scope of this thesis has been rather broad, but also necessitated by the lack of research on both Hayashi Fumiko (as one of the most prolific wartime writers) and Japan's wartime literature. By filling both of these gaps, the wartime literature of Japan in general as well as the texts of Hayashi Fumiko can be approached with proper nuance and understanding. While Hayashi's texts from this period have heretofore been largely neglected or outright dismissed in prior examinations of her literature, I believe that this study persuasively argues that her wartime literary texts are as important within her larger body of work as the generally more well-regarded ones. Even though undeniably propagandistic and validating of the state ideology, Hayashi's wartime texts also reveal a stylistic and thematic continuity with those preceding and succeeding the war. With their ideologically inflected language and the sometimes radically different values Hayashi espouses and embodies (in comparison to her early writing), these texts therefore reflect the wartime years just as much as her early texts documented the changing Japan of the early Shōwa era and her late ones its postwar misery.

By situating Hayashi's wartime writing within the broader context of Japanese wartime literature, the aspects between them which correlate – as well as diverge – can emerge more clearly, allowing for a more complete understanding of wartime literature than either an isolated examination of the literary 'canon' of the period or an analysis of Hayashi's wartime literature would. This also makes a stronger case for the meaning of wartime literature and its texts as artifacts of collective memory. The prevalence of certain themes (such as reverence for soldiers, their concurrent ordinariness and nobility, gravity of their sacrifice), styles or modes of writing (autobiographical, fictional, journalistic etc.) or roles the writers adopt in their texts

(like writer, journalist, civilian, woman, or soldier) can attest to how the public consciousness was shaped through narratives of war, as well as if and how writers such as Hayashi Fumiko presented themselves as agents of media or the state. As products of their sociopolitical circumstances, wartime literary texts therefore become valuable historical documents, and can meaningfully contribute to an understanding of Japan's history. It must also be noted that as records of the wartime years, the media and literary narratives of war have also greatly contributed to the shaping of Japan's role within the collective memory of Japan, and have also been used in attempts for historical revisionism. To this day, narratives of liberation (of Asia from the Western colonial powers), victimization (after the defeat) or denial (of war crimes such as the Nanjing Massacre) are still more broadly heard than opposing arguments of collective responsibility, such as that proposed by Yoshimoto Takaaki (2011)[185]. This is well shown on the example of Miyata's (2019) reading of Hayashi Fumiko's travelogues from Nanjing which aims at denying the massacre that took place in the city. Dealing with wartime literature is therefore especially timely in an era of surging nationalism and right-wing extremism, both in Japan and around the world.

7.1. Wartime media and propaganda

Propaganda is one of the most important tools in shaping narratives of war and the

[185] A good example of the widespread acceptance of these narratives is the runaway success of Hyakuta Naoki's novel *Eien no Zero* 永遠の０ (*The eternal Zero*, 2006), which has been adapted into an even more successful film in 2013. The film, also shown on international film festivals (and therefore selected both in and outside of Japan as a representative piece of its culture), was enthusiastically endorsed by the late right-wing prime minister Abe Shinzō 安倍晋三 (1954-2022; Schilling 2014). On the surface, Hyakuta mourns the sacrifice of the *kamikaze* pilots in World War II. A closer look, however, reveals a piety towards this sacrifice and a representation of the military and war itself consistent with wartime texts. The novel can therefore be seen as an example of a lasting resonance of wartime propaganda within the Japanese society, even among young generations.

collective memory of it. As shown in 1.5., it is important to understand propaganda not only as an influence on public opinion, but also as its (partial) reflection, as it must react to political discourses in an engaging manner. When dealing with an openly nationalist political system such as that of wartime Japan, we must therefore follow the process of ideological normalization since before the war, which is 'merely' a culmination of a previous political development. This argument is certainly confirmed by the imperialist foreign policy Japan had been pursuing since the Taishō era, otherwise usually known for its liberal domestic governance. However, as both the political left and right were on the rise concurrently during the 1920s and 1930s around the world, the right-wing ideology present in Japan during this time must then also be understood as one oppositional to another, (originally) relatively equal ideology. The strenghtening grip of nationalism was reflected in its embrace by the intellectual elite in Japan and the systematic destruction of the proletarian literary movement by the authorities as an important bastion of political dissent in Japan. After the February 26 incident in 1936, active resistance in the cultural circles was effectively a thing of the past. Any skepticism in relation to Japan's political trajectory was instead replaced with expressions of what Louise Young calls 'fascist imperialism' marked by a reverence for the military, radical refusal of left-wing politics and ideas of pan-Asian unity under Japan's predestined leadership.

Japan's nationalist ideology was based on the concept of a 'national body' or *kokutai*, 'codified' in written form by *Kokutai no hongi* (see Part I, 1.2.). While decidedly more official in tone than other right-wing scriptures such as Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, it nevertheless shares with them the idea of an outside threat as a menace to Japan's national purity, creating an important link between Japan's variant of right-wing nationalism and those in Germany and Italy. In its notions of ethnic and cultural

supremacy of Japan over other Asian nations, which ultimately served to justify the violence inflicted upon them, *Kokutai no hongi* thus also validates structures of biopower as proposed by Foucault (see 1.4.), in which perceived supremacy (on ethnic or other grounds) is seen as a mandate over management and administration of life and death. By crafting crafting a mythical narrative of Japanese exceptionalism and divinity, the military and the state could set up and exploit a sense of uniquely Japanese identity and a noble goal of 'liberating' Asia from the threat of the West, which ultimately only served to justify Japan's own imperial expansion. The success of this indoctrination can be observed on the example of Hayashi Fumiko herself: when she travels to China in the early 1930s and notices anti-Japanese posters, they leave her mostly indifferent or at most confused. During the war, women were 'mobilized' by the state through mandatory participation in 'women's patriotic groups' (*aikoku fujinkai*), and most female authors have openly turned to nationalist ideology in their writing, such as the trailblazing feminist Hiratsuka Raichō.

How the narratives of war in media and literature were shaped was, to a large extent, dictated by the extensive and powerful system of censorship during the wartime. This system had its roots in the Publication Law and Press Law from the Meiji era – further speaking to the continuity of Japan's nationalist policy – and legislation of press and publishing would be revised in ever stricter iterations until the end of the war. The Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923 was an important catalyst in the strenghtening of censorship, as the state was presented with an opportunity to do so when facing the necessity of rebuilding the infrastructure of Tōkyō, where much of the Japanese publishing industry is concentrated. As examples of Japanese wartime literature itself show, however, the complexity of the censorship system sometimes hindered its effectiveness, something Niwa Fumio explicitly touches upon in his novel

Kaeranu chūtai (see Part II, Chapter 5) as well.

By and large, however, the war also presented an opportunity for the media industry to bolster its support among the public, which was widely literate at this time, and with it sales for publishers. This is apparent particularly through the extensive employment of embedded reporters (*jūgun kisha*) and later writers (*jūgun sakka*) in order to produce pieces of *bidan* reportage glorifying the Japanese military actions abroad (see Part I, 1.5.). The institutional control of censorship extended even to the private sphere, as the example of soldiers' field diaries show. Within the context of constructing collective memory, these diaries still often tell a different narrative from the contemporary media and therefore constitute valuable artifacts of 'counter-memory' as proposed by Weedon and Jordan (see Part I, 1.6.). The development of the media rhetoric pertaining to Japan's foreign policy throughout the 1930s is also a striking example of how swiftly media can shift from championing pacifism to jingoism, particularly with a financial incentive. Still, penalties faced for transgressions against the press legislation by magazines such as *Chūō Kōron* or *Kaizō* also demonstrated material consequences for publishers if they failed to comply with the law. It is therefore only to be expected that literature would mirror such a development, as it was closely tied to the wider media industry through the tradition of publishing literature in newspapers and magazines. The widespread involvement of Japanese writers in the Nihon Bungaku Hōkokukai, an association closely tied to the state and designed to regulate public opinion, further shows how closely the government, media and literary authors were tied during this time.

7.2. Wartime literature as a genre: the poles of *bidan* and *shishōsetsu*

Japanese wartime literature should then also be seen in a larger context of the early

Shōwa-era literature, which indeed provides a useful frame of reference. As such, texts of wartime literature often implement elements of 'writing from the scene', a popular approach among contemporary writers in pursuit of authenticity during the early 1930s (see Part I, 2.1.1.). It can even be argued that if its social and economical relevance had stimulated interest in producing and consuming literature about the war, these texts even reflect an increased interest in social issues prevalent during the earlier part of the decade. At the very least, the ordinariness of the soldiers – one of the defining motifs of Japanese wartime literature in general – always reminds the intended audience of their commonality. Aspects of Japan's 'fascist imperialism' could be seen in literature through its turn to historical, militaristic themes, met with enthusiastic response – one example would be Yoshikawa Eiji's historical epic *Miyamoto Musashi*. Writers embracing right-wing ideology such as Kume Masao were also celebrated for their 'evolution' as early as 1932, while resistance to imperialist policy was rare and penalized, especially after the outbreak of the war.

The framework of *shishōsetsu* therefore offered writers during the wartime a way to produce texts which, through their proximity to *junbungaku*, could be considered valuable as literature and therefore transcend a status of mere propaganda. At the same time, they could satisfy the demands of the reading public for authentic accounts of the war (often fought by their family members) and the state through the exclusively personal and individual narrative perspective, which precluded any, especially critical, discussion of the war. In this regard, it is especially important to point out that despite the supposed avoidance of political thought the *shishōsetsu* model enables, ideological language is frequently present in wartime literature and is often tied to the narrator's emotional state, making the messaging appear less overtly political and instead more personal. At the same time, by adopting the role of *jūgun*

sakka [embedded writers], literary authors also took on a role as agents of media, which is reflected by the adoption of *bidan* patterns in texts from their journalistic assignments.

This oscillation between *bidan* and *shishōsetsu* is best exemplified by Hino Ashihei's seminal novel *Mugi to heitai*, which indeed became a model for subsequent texts of wartime literature to be emulated, its success directly leading to the establishment of the *pen butai*, of which Hayashi Fumiko was perhaps the most publicized member. While the texts produced by *pen butai* authors have hardly enjoyed lasting cultural significance in the traditional sense – certainly they did not produce any celebrated literature – I agree with Gomibuchi, who argues that its ideological project was nevertheless successful through sheer saturation of the war discourse (2018:124). For the state, the *pen butai* and financial support for propaganda literature was thus an investment that yielded returns not in sales, but rather in lasting influence on the discourse and collective memory of war. It could therefore be seen as achieving what propaganda ultimately seeks to accomplish, and this is well evidenced by the longevity of the wartime historical narrative, present as it is in Japan's political and public discourse to this day.

The elements of *bidan* and *shishōsetsu* can be effectively parsed by approaching wartime texts as autobiographical writing, for which the framework proposed by Smith and Watson (2010) proves especially helpful (see Part I, 2.3.). This also allows us to see wartime literature as a kind of record of individual history, making not only the experience of war more tangible, but also the writers' motives for producing their texts. By separating the narrative voice into a 'narrating', 'narrated' and 'ideological' I, the texts can be effectively deconstructed as the *bidan* elements give them their ideological quality, while aspects of *shishōsetsu* frame them as autobiographical,

personal writing. At the same time, it is also important to be aware of the context in which autobiographical writing is produced, as these texts are also shaped by a number of outside factors mentioned above. To this point, it is helpful to consider Alan Tansman's concept of 'fascist moments' (see 1.6.), text passages in which the flow of narrative becomes suspended through 'epiphanies' of the narrator, spiritually and emotionally moved by the experience of war. This allows for the ideology of the text to attach itself to its personal aspects and thus divert the reader's attention from the political message to the emotionality of the text. The framework of *shishōsetsu* is therefore especially suitable for the employment of such 'fascist moments'. Examining Japan's wartime literature through the lens of *bidan* and *shishōsetsu* can therefore enable us to clearly see how literature actively helped to legitimize state ideology in a manner which might have appeared as not inherently political.

Examining previous research on Japanese wartime literature reveals a small number of texts repeatedly selected as representative of it, and which could therefore be informally considered a 'canon' of wartime literature. These were introduced (mostly) in chronological order of their publishing in Chapter 4 in order to examine them, in their most important aspects, as points of reference for a more detailed analysis of Hayashi Fumiko's texts. Wartime literature by other authors is also important to clearly show a trajectory of the development of war literature during the early years of war, as well as the relatively narrow window of time within which these texts appeared (1937-1939) , which appears to reflect a waning interest in literature concerning war in its later years.

As one of the first writers to visit China after the outbreak of Second Sino-Japanese War, Yoshiya Nobuko represents a valuable point of comparison to Hayashi Fumiko as a fellow female writer in male-dominated spheres – of literature, media and the

military. Reading Yoshiya's texts from China quickly reveals a radical break with her established image as an author of fiction for young girls with nationalist language, yet she also foregrounds her femininity by embracing conventional gender roles and stressing her subordinacy to the military men she is surrounded by. At the same time, Yoshiya might have been able to adopt overly nationalist rhetoric precisely because her writing up to that point had been perceived as apolitical, and she therefore occupied no ideological position in the public consciousness. Yoshiya's pre-war and wartime texts are connected through her attention to femininity, even as this attention manifests itself in different ways. As other examples of female writers in Chapter 1.1. of Part II show, however, writers such as Yosano Akiko, Tamura Toshiko or Ōishi Chiyoko have all endorsed Japan's expansion in their text, even if such position was inconsistent with their previously espoused politics. Similarly to Ōishi, Yoshiya herself approaches the assimilation of native populations of Southeast Asia into the empire as empowerment in her novel *Tsuki kara kita otoko* (see Part II, 2.2.), providing a sympathetic portrayal of a Vietnamese nurse whose profession brings her closer to a Japanese feminine ideal of the female nurturer. Yoshiya's empathy towards foreign women predicated on their compliance with Japan's imperial policy can also be found in Sata Ineko's wartime texts (see Part II, 1.4.), as well as those of Hayashi Fumiko.

The importance of Ishikawa Tatsuzō's novel *Ikiteiru heitai* lies not only in its infamous banning and subsequent prosecution of Ishikawa and the editors of *Chūō Kōron*, but also as an example of the aforementioned literary trend of 'writing from the scene' in a war setting. Ishikawa had already tried this approach in his debut text *Sōbō*, in which he wrote about Japanese immigrants in Brazil, to great success, earning the inaugural Akutagawa Prize. *Ikiteiru heitai* was based on interviews Ishikawa conducted with Japanese soldiers in Nanjing, who then became his composite,

fictional characters. The problematic nature of the text quickly becomes apparent through frequent and graphic scenes of violence committed against Chinese civilians. In *Ikiteiru heitai,* soldiers are represented differently than they were otherwise in media, and the ambivalence of the text and its openness to interpretation certainly did not help its ultimate fate. Originally published in March 1938, *Ikiteiru heitai* quickly disappeared until after the war, and Ishikawa's prosecution clearly signaled that the boundaries set by censorship are not to be taken lightly. Ishikawa himself had shown to have learned this lesson when he was given a second chance as a member of the *pen butai,* which resulted in *Bukan sakusen,* a documentary and thoroughly unprovoking text about the Wuhan Offensive, the same assignment which bought Hayashi Fumiko great publicity.

The biggest success story of Japanese wartime literature was undoubtedly Hino Ashihei's *Mugi to heitai,* which, as mentioned above, also provided a model for subsequent texts of wartime literature to emulate. The extraordinary reception of Hino's novel partly lies in his own previous experience as a soldier, which could help the text achieve the aspect of authenticity much desired by readers. While Hino identifies with and, so to speak, 'becomes one' with the other soldiers in *Mugi to heitai,* it is important to note that he wrote the novel as a member of the press corps, and therefore strictly speaking from the standpoint of a civilian. Hino also enjoyed a higher social status and education than most of his fellow soldiers, yet he persuasively assumed their perspective. He could therefore intentionally employ elements of *bidan* in his descriptions of the battlefield and soldiers, stylize himself as one, and subsequently validate these elements of propaganda through the aspects of *shishōsetsu* the novel exhibits and therefore suggests to the reader a personal and authentic account. In other words, while Hino avoids any overt discussion of politics in *Mugi to*

heitai (and the subsequent installments of the 'soldier trilogy'), the text is by no means free of ideology.

Important differences separate *Mugi to heitai* from Ishikawa's *Ikiteiru heitai*, and go beyond mere style. These also possibly reveal further aspects that may have been considered problematic in *Ikiteiru heitai*, but 'alleviated' by Hino in his text. Most obviously, the representation of soldiers in *Mugi to heitai* is consistent with their media representation in *bidan* propaganda. Embodying the 'Japanese spirit', clean and healthy, they are clearly differentiated from the Chinese soldiers and civilians. In *Mugi to heitai*, this justifies their position as purveyors of biopower in China, which itself appears 'cleansed' by the presence of Japanese soldiers. This stark and 'obvious' difference, then, allows Hino to experience epiphanic moments on the battlefield – 'fascist moments' which convince him of the righteousness of Japan's mission. The mode of *shishōsetsu* allows the reader to experience the battlefield through Hino's eyes, and ideally come to the same conclusions without any discussion of Japan's politics and its full effects. This is perhaps the most important distinction between *Ikiteiru heitai* and *Mugi to heitai*: while Ishikawa had shown the effects of war on the soldiers through their gradual desensitization, and thus connected the battlefield (*senjō*) with the war (*sensō*) on a narrative level, Hino clearly separates the two, focusing on the experience of the battlefield and omitting its political component. The separation of battlefield and war therefore seems to be a more critical aspect for the wartime censorship than the text's apparent fictionality.

Hino further supported his claim to the authenticity of his narrative through extensive paratextual material, such as photographs, forewords and afterwords. Observing *Mugi to heitai* through its different editions, then, it also reveals itself as a malleable text which Hino suited to the demands of the market and was presented in

accordance with accepted war discourse. The original claim to authenticity and documentary quality of *Mugi to heitai* eventually gave way to Hino's assertions of its fictionality in the postwar years, especially as the text's erstwhile success eventually became a burden on Hino's reputation. Despite being considered a prime war literary collaborator, Hino's *Mugi to heitai* was extensively censored before its publication (much to the author's frustration) and passages in the text suggest Hino was looking for ways to subvert it. The most important example is Hino's employment of wounded and fallen horses as a metaphor for the Japanese soldiers themselves, who could not be depicted suffering in the same way. This also shows a genuine empathy for his fellow soldiers on Hino's part, something he has stood by even as he rejected Japan's wartime policy after its defeat. This empathy towards the soldiers and their separation from Japan's government can also be observed in other wartime texts, and extensively in Hayashi Fumiko's writing, revealing a trend that could be observed across Japanese wartime literature in general.

It is perhaps somewhat surprising, then, that Niwa Fumio's novel *Kaeranu chūtai,* written after Niwa's participation in the *pen butai,* repeatedly mentions Japanese soldiers dying in war. This is most likely due to the overt stylization of the text as fiction and its protagonist being a journalist; in this way, the novel might also be seen as reflecting what was being reported on by the Japanese media at this time. The paradigm of journalism can, in fact, be seen as just another way of separating the battlefield from the war, as the media focuses on the former in their reportage and omits the latter. Considering that this seemed to be a critical element in the institutional evaluation of *Mugi to heitai,* it is possible that keeping the dichotomy of battlefield and war separate helped Niwa avoid censorship of his text. Ironically, Niwa also comments on the ineffectual and arbitrary nature of press censorship, leading to

oversights in censorship and therefore for undesirable content to be published. And while Niwa's text is on the surface fictional, the parallels and differences between the author and protagonist seem to be constructed so deliberately that *Kaeranu chūtai* can hardly be considered a text without any autobiographical elements. In turn, these autobiographical elements can be read in adherence to the framework of *shishōsetsu*, along with other important aspects such as the text's factuality, temporal or narrative perspective. Further, while the reality of soldiers' death on the front is dealt with more frankly in *Kaeranu chūtai*, their representation (especially of the heroic Miyake) is also consistent with *bidan* propaganda, most importantly through the nobility of their sacrifice.

Despite its ambivalences, the text passed censorship without great difficulty and even became a commercial success, leading Niwa to follow it up with his account of the battle of the Solomon Islands, *Kaisen*. While on the whole a less interesting text than *Kaeranu chūtai*, it is nevertheless relevant for its even more autobiographical nature – here, Niwa no longer appears under the guise of a fictional character, while the temporal structure and the narrative perspective 'with' the protagonist also bring the text even closer to *shishōsetsu*. *Kaisen* is an interesting example of wartime propaganda, as it can be considered outright misleading (it depicts the heroism and glory of the Japanese army much like previous texts, even though the battle had ended in Japan's loss). Even more commercially successful than *Kaeranu chūtai*, *Kaisen* was eventually also published as a book for children in a toned-down form, thus showing the scale of efforts to indoctrinate as many segments of population as possible in Japan around 1942, when the text was first published. In general, the text can be placed on the same intersection of *bidan* and *shishōsetsu* as other examples, further evidencing the popularity and dominance of this approach in Japan's wartime

literature.

Finally, Ozaki Shirō's text *Aru jūgun butai* is mostly interesting for how much it diverges from other wartime texts in its subject matter and attitude. While Ozaki was active in the leftist movement as a student, he had split from it in a very public manner, and even disparaged it in his literary texts. He thereafter refused to publicly align with any ideology, and in the context of wartime literature, this represents an interesting parallel with Hayashi Fumiko, who had also rejected any political labels before, during and after the war. While Ozaki's first travelogue from China, *Hifū senri,* is notable for a greater sympathy towards the Chinese than other authors displayed, both the battlefield and war are largely omitted in *Aru jūgun butai,* a text he had written as a member of the *pen butai*. Ozaki instead opts for a satirical account of his trip, focusing on his fellow writers (akin to *shishōsetsu,* appearing under changed yet identifiable names) and the privileges they were able to enjoy during their travels. While the text had not put Ozaki in the crosshairs of censorship, it had also not found great success either with readers or critics. Under consideration of previous examples of wartime literature, then, Ozaki's lack of attention to the Japanese soldiers or the national cause could have been interpreted as self-absorbed navel gazing, and 'rewarded' with indifference. This also shows how critical the elements of *bidan* were in wartime literature: while reminiscent of *shishōsetsu,* Ozaki's (deliberate) failure to incorporate them had apparently also resulted in an equal failure of audiences to engage with his text.

7.3. Early literature of Hayashi Fumiko

As an example of wartime literature between *bidan* and *shishōsetsu,* Hayashi Fumiko's writing during this time offers a fascinating case study for many reasons. First of all,

Hayashi had enjoyed a special and particular position within the literary establishment of Japan due to her background as a working class immigrant to Tōkyō from the countryside, which in turn enabled her to become the literary representative of the *shomin*, or ordinary people, with her first novel *Hōrōki*. The emotional rawness of Hayashi's prose and poetry could be interpreted as a critical stance towards Japan's patriarchy and a defiance towards its values. This is perhaps best exemplified by a poem in which Hayashi mocks Mount Fuji (see Part III, 1.2.1.). Hayashi was consequently often understood to be a writer of proletarian or 'lumpen' literature (see Part III, 1.2.2.), a label she steadfastly refused along with other political affiliations. *Hōrōki* nevertheless remains one of the most fascinating literary accounts of Japan's early modernity. The fast pace of the metropolis and Hayashi's own life are reflected in *Hōrōki*'s kaleidoscopic style as it abruptly changes place, time (Hayashi's diary entries are out of chronological order) and characters who quickly come and go, fittingly inspiring Gardner (2006) to read *Hōrōki* as a modernist novel.

While the modernist quality of the text would diminish as Hayashi reworked *Hōrōki* into a more traditionally styled prose with subsequent editions, the novel at its core remains the same, which allows us to see all of its iterations as a kind of *shishōsetsu*, following a reading proposed by Irmela Hijiya-Kirschnereit (see Part III, 1.2.4.). Hijiya-Kirschnereit highlights the function of *Hōrōki* as comforting reading, given that a major part of Hayashi's audience lived in circumstances similar to those she narrates. On the other hand, as a *shishōsetsu*, *Hōrōki* could also offer the more privileged classes of Japan a glimpse into the lives of the underclass and particularly through the eyes of a café waitress (*jokyū*), a figure occupying a prominent position in Japan's popular imagination at the time.

Elements of *shishōsetsu* would remain prominent in Hayashi's writing afterwards,

even as she had turned towards objective rather than autobiographical fiction, as evidenced by some of her most important texts from the 1930s, such as "Seihin no sho" and "Kaki". "Kaki", in particular, constitutes a particularly interesting example in that the text appears completely fictional on the surface, and elements of *shishōsetsu* only come to the forefront through close reading such as those shown in Chapter 1.3.2. of Part III, reflecting Hayashi's own misgivings about modernity. They are, indeed, also prominently present in Hayashi's wartime texts, in which she also gradually abandons the optimism and a belief in free will, aspects especially significant for her early writing. Instead, they are replaced by a fatalistic belief in fate, which becomes fully expressed in Hayashi's postwar texts such as *Ukigumo*. An examination of Hayashi Fumiko's pre-war texts therefore further supports the argument for seeing wartime literature as a part of a literary continuum and a vital period for understanding postwar literature, which had produced some of Japan's most celebrated literary texts. At the same time, it also serves to show that while Hayashi had always refused political associations, her texts have never been free of ideology, and her reluctance for taking a specific political position could rather be seen as a shrewd branding strategy which could secure her the broadest possible audience.

Hayashi's travelogues published before the war also offer a valuable point of comparison to her wartime texts, as they were a vital part in maintaining the 'vagabond' persona she had created with *Hōrōki;* furthermore, her travels have been an important source of inspiration for her writing, clearly showing a symbiotic relationship between her fiction and non-fiction. In her texts from the war, Hayashi takes up on tropes established in her pre-war travelogues, as well as on the language of colonialism and discrimination, which can be found in her writing as early as 1930. This is an important argument for regarding wartime literature as a continuation of

and reaction to previous and ongoing trends in literature, just as war itself is a culmination of the historical developments preceding it.

This colonialist rhetoric is most apparent in her earliest travelogues from Taiwan, published in early 1930. While Hayashi unquestioningly accepts Taiwan as *gaichi*, an 'outer land' of Japan, she is also continuously struck by its foreignness and exoticity. Interestingly, she expresses her discomfort with other authors praising the virtues of the *ryōsai kenbo* ('good wife and wise mother') ideal in her writings from Taiwan while participating in a speaking tour with them. Her embrace of these values in her wartime texts, then, stands in stark contrast to the rejection visible in these early travelogues. While she details the exploitations faced by Japanese migrants in Taiwan, Hayashi omits any discussion of negative effects of Japanese colonization, which would later become an important part of her wartime texts.

Hayashi's early travelogues from her first trip to Manchuria in late 1930 also offer an interesting and direct point of comparison with her wartime travelogues from the same region, especially as her representation of Manchuria and her own positioning within it changes dramatically in 1940. During her first visit to Harbin, Hayashi portrays herself as an outsider in foreign Manchuria, which strikes her with its diversity, exoticity and lack of familiar markers of 'home' such as other Japanese people or food. This heightens Hayashi's awareness of her own alterity and even inspires a longing for Japan, a surprising reaction considering her own stylization as a rootless outsider in *Hōrōki*, prompting her to seek out traces of her own country such as a sushi restaurant. On the other hand, Hayashi also displays a clear desire to immerse herself in this foreign environment and experience it as closely to a local as possible, utilizing Russian vocabulary and putting a spotlight on Soviet authors active in Manchuria. These writers also offer a site of belonging to Hayashi in the foreign

Manchuria as she relates to them through literature and their own writing, especially the young journalist Yustina Kruzenshtern, and with them, Hayashi also shows an interest in foreign cultures. Also striking in comparison with her wartime texts is Hayashi's reluctance to visit former war zones in Manchuria, which she expressly avoids as she 'does not like war' (Hayashi 1930f:109; see Part III, 2.2.1.). At the same time, she perceives China as a place of perpetual war. Its presence is more palpable in her writing from Hangzhou and Suzhou, most importantly through anti-Japanese slogans Hayashi observes with utter indifference; when she witnesses Chinese soldiers from afar, she does not feel threatened by them.

While the content of Hayashi's texts from her trip to Europe between 1931 and 1932 has little bearing on her wartime writing, their formal aspects and especially their relatively high degree of fictionality offer a valuable argument for examining Hayashi's fictional and non-fictional writing in tandem. As in her previous texts from Harbin, Hayashi tries to immerse herself in a foreign environment as much as possible, even though unlike in Manchuria, she manages to make several Japanese acquaintances in Paris. Importantly, Hayashi stylizes herself as a woman living somewhat precariously in Paris, even though she was an established writer at this point and was able to travel to Europe due to the extraordinary commercial success of *Hōrōki* in the first place. Constructing a 'narrated I' consistent with her famous novel would therefore make her Paris texts more accessible and relatable to readers if they were familiar with the literary persona she portrays in these texts, even as it no longer corresponded with her lived experience. Differently from *Hōrōki*, however, where she treats poverty as a fact of life and a hurdle to be overcome through hard work, Hayashi lays the blame of the poverty she witnesses in the Soviet Union en route to Paris unequivocally on leftist policy and communism, which she seems to denounce in an

unusally frank and open manner.

This reflects the increasing dominance of right-wing discourse in Japan, as also illustrated by the earlier examination of the changing media landscape in the 1930s. Despite her apolitical public profile, Hayashi herself was a victim of persecution of leftists when she was detained for ten days in 1933 for a subscription to the Communist Party's newspaper. The brutality of these circumstances as she portrays them in her postwar text *Yume ichiya* suggest that this experience had left Hayashi deeply aware of the consequences of actual dissent, an important factor to consider when regarding her participation in state propaganda. Despite brewing tensions between Japan and China, however, Hayashi records thoroughly positive impressions of Beijing and its people in travelogues published shortly before the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War. Instead, she reserves her criticism for the Western powers seemingly overtaking China, threatening Japan's dominant position in Asia. Appalled at the discriminatory treatment of the Chinese by the Western inhabitants of the Chinese cities she visits, she also indirectly makes an argument for Japan to 'liberate' China from the corrupting influence of the West. While maintaining an apolitical veneer, a shift towards a rhetoric supporting the 'national cause' can be observed in Hayashi's texts shortly preceding the war, highlighting their contextual importance in reading her wartime texts.

7.4. Hayashi Fumiko's early wartime texts (1937-1938)

Hayashi also perceives the war in China as a creative catalyst and an opportunity to grow as a writer, something she had expressed her frustration with in texts published right after the outbreak of the war. Seeing the historical moment as a chance for a creative achievement, Hayashi also voices her desire to write more than 'mere

propaganda'. Her participation in state propaganda therefore had more components than simple opportunism, and considering the influence of Hayashi's wartime writing that can be seen in her celebrated postwar texts, the war years were certainly very inflluential in Hayashi Fumiko's development as an author. In the texts preceding her trips to China during the war, Hayashi also reveals how she herself is affected by the deployment of her husband for duty as a field medic. The empathy and admiration she expresses for the soldiers in her wartime texts, while consistent with the representation in *bidan* propaganda, are also informed by her personal circumstances.

As in her earlier travelogues, Hayashi lacks understanding for the anti-Japanese sentiment in China even after Japan's invasion, instead once again focusing on the discrimination the Chinese population faces at the hands of Western powers which seem to be taking over the territory, heightening the emergency of Japan's effort. Consistently with her travelogues from Beijing, and similarly to Yoshiya Nobuko before, Hayashi expresses a fondness for Chinese people and envisions a solidarity between the women of China and Japan. However, she presents her visit to Nanjing in a starkly different way from Ishikawa Tatsuzō, who stayed in the city around the same time. Hayashi, who claims to be the first Japanese woman to enter Nanjing after its fall, omits any mention of Japanese violence and instead ascribes the destruction she witnesses to the Chinese army; further, she also employs passive voice when discussing the war (which 'happens'), deliberately downplaying Japan's role in the conflict and instead making the case for the necessity of Japan's victory in the war.

Considering the general information embargo on the Nanjing Massacre, also clearly evidenced by the banning of Ishikawa Tatsuzō's novel and his criminal prosecution, it is unsurprising that Hayashi omits any mention of it in her accounts, even as she likely had some information about the event (see Part III, 3.2.).

Nevertheless, she seems haunted by her imagination of the previous inhabitants of the Nanjing mansion which had become deserted after the city's fall, and which now serves as a newspaper branch office. The theme of female solidarity and empathy towards Chinese women is also prominent in her Nanjing texts, as Hayashi grants special attention to female-coded spaces and objects (such as cosmetics) and to the fate of the women who had occupied the mansion previously. This 'presence in absence' of Chinese women – likely victims of the brutal massacre – gives them a striking, almost ghostly quality, which becomes even more resonant with the knowledge of what happened in Nanjing before Hayashi's arrival.

Generally, however, Hayashi's Nanjing travelogues correspond with patterns familiar from *bidan* reportage, portraying the Chinese casualties as byproducts of the war, while the Japanese death on a battlefield is a tragic, yet glorious sacrifice. The 'inevitable' victory of Japan must therefore achieved as swiftly as possible, in order to prevent yet more senseless deaths of the Japanese; those who have fallen already, however, could not have done so in vain. This dichotomy of the unfortunate 'necessity' of Chinese death and the noble tragedy of the Japanese death correspond strikingly well to Judith Butler's (2009; see 1.4.) separation between ungrievable and grievable lives, respectively, an expression coined by Butler as an extension of Michel Foucault's concept of biopower. According to Butler, media utilizes this dichotomy to effectively mobilize its consumers in war by dehumanizing the 'enemy' and, by contrast, remind their audience of the human cost on the part of the 'friend'. Whether Hayashi employs her own dichotomies about China and Japan with the same intent ultimately does not matter; if not, it only proves how normalized such rhetoric (and by extension the dehumanization of the Chinese themselves) was by the time the war broke out. Through the lens of Foucault, then, it is also possible to interpret Hayashi's confusion

about the anti-Japanese sentiment in China as a failure to understand why the Chinese would not want to improve the 'value' of their lives by accepting their place within the Japanese empire, which they surely could not expect under Western governance.

As the examples of Hayashi's fictional writing during the early period of the war show, she would often utilize the form of *shishōsetsu* to relate her own experience with war in a prose form, particularly in the informal 'Shigeko trilogy' (see Part III, 3.4.1.). The personal tone of her essay collection *Watashi no konchūki* (see Part III, 3.3.) also points towards Hayashi's interest in *shishōsetsu* as a way to narrate her war experiences, which would fully flourish in her later texts. As connections to Hayashi's non-fictional texts can be easily made in the Shigeko stories, she makes the interpretation of Shigeko as herself readily available. Reading the story dealing with her trip to Nanjing ("Kōkaku") alongside its non-fictional counterparts, however, also reveals a continuity between them in the role that Hayashi assumes – namely that of a reporter, and therefore an agent of media and propaganda. Hayashi does not give the reader any more information about Nanjing through Shigeko than she did as herself, and since the framework of *shishōsetsu* does not allow for a discussion of a reality outside of the narrator's immediate experience, she comments on the war only as it manifests in front of her eyes. At the same time, the form of *shishōsetsu* also suggests an authenticity and truthfulness of the events narrated to the reader, by extension validating Hayashi's non-fictional accounts as authentic too. Therefore, the state narrative of the war – which had importantly shaped her travelogues – becomes confirmed once again through an ostensibly autobiographical account, in which the Nanjing Massacre is omitted as well.

7.5. Hayashi Fumiko's *pen butai* texts (1938-1939)

Hayashi carries on with the themes and style established in these early texts after her participation in the *pen butai* in late 1938. This trip had led to great publicity for Hayashi, who was in the immediate vicinity of the city of Hankou as it fell, and thus became the first of the group to enter it directly afterwards. However, important distinctions between these texts and the earlier ones can be identified as well. For instance, the *shishōsetsu* form is now present in her non-fictional writings similarly to how her previous essay collection *Watashi no konchūki* employed a form of a diary. The formal choice of *shishōsetsu* is also not surprising considering the parallels with Hino Ashihei's *Mugi to heitai*, the success of which was a direct incentive for the creation of the *pen butai*. In the fictional texts she wrote between 1938 and 1939, then, Hayashi moves towards objective fiction (*kyakkan shōsetsu*) much like she did in the earlier days of her career, and also gradually shifts her attention away from the soldiers and the battlefields of China towards the 'domestic front' (*jūgo*), people at home in Japan and particularly towards working women.

While soldiers are to a large extent absent from Hayashi's fictional writing in this period (with the notable exception of *Hatō;* see Part III, 4.4.3.), Hayashi puts them front and center in her non-fictional texts, most importantly *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai* (see Part III, 4.2.). The respect towards soldiers from the earlier texts is heightened to a worship of their heroism here, which she underscores by elements such as religious imagery. While Hayashi gives more attention to Chinese soldiers here, who are sometimes physically present in her texts from Hankou (differently from those from Nanjing), they mostly appear as lifeless corpses and treated as no more than collateral damage or a part of the scenery. Even when they are alive, they are clearly distinguished as less civilized as their Japanese counterparts, and Hayashi does not

condemn violence against them, at times even seemingly endorsing it. Chinese civilians seem to fall somewhere in the middle of this spectrum, and Hayashi exhibits empathy especially towards the children. While sympathetic towards the suffering of the Chinese, their misery ultimately only serves to make the case for their 'liberation' by Japan, and Hayashi's feelings towards them also seem to be dictated by their compliance with the new order.

These respective representations are consistent not only with tropes familiar from *bidan* reportage but also with the hyper-militarist aspect of the 'fascist imperialist' ideology (see 1.6.) in their worshipping attitude towards soldiers, and Foucault's biopower (see 1.4.) in establishing and replicating an ethnic hierarchy with Japan at its top. The connection to *bidan* reportage also shows how this genre of media propaganda itself could be considered and expression of this hyper-militarism and biopower, and thus an important tool of imperialist indoctrination. In Hayashi's later texts from China, the Chinese and Japanese lives are framed as ungrievable and grievable, in Butler's terms, even more starkly than in the texts from Nanjing[186]. This difference is made perhaps most apparent by Hayashi in "Wakaki shōi no shi" dealing with the death of a young sublieutenant caused by a severe gunshot wound. It must also be pointed out, however, that such extreme expressions of the Chinese and Japanese casualties as ungrievable and grievable, respectively, possibly also allowed for such content to be published in the first place. The scene of a Chinese POW being executed in *Sensen*, for instance, seems to violate the censorship guideline prohibiting depiction of violence caused by the Japanese military, while the aforementioned

[186] It could be argued, however, that the complete omission of the Nanjing Massacre, even as it was caused by outside factors, is perhaps the strongest expression of the Chinese lives being 'ungrievable', as their deaths are not even acknowledged.

sublieutenant's death runs counter to the guideline prohibiting the depiction of the suffering of Japanese soldiers (see Part I, 1.4.). The reasons for this oversight are unclear and most likely impossible to pinpoint with certainty. Considering the convoluted nature of wartime censorship during the editorial process, it is possible that the passage simply slipped by a censor, but as the 'mistake' had not been rectified in subsequent editions of this best-selling book, it is also plausible that it was interpreted as an affirmation of Japan's superiority by the censors, a sentiment possibly bolstered by a hubris on the part of Japanese military as a consequence of its successful campaign in China. This further proves the value of wartime literature as a historical document, and even regardless of the authenticity of Hayashi's texts, they also serve to show the prevalent or at least widely accepted attitudes towards China during the war.

The fusion of *bidan* and *shishōsetsu*, typical for the wartime literature of Japan post-*Mugi to heitai*, is most clearly visible in *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai* among Hayashi's wartime texts. Consistently with other authors, Hayashi carefully separates the battlefield (*senjō*) from the larger questions of war (*sensō*) in her texts, instead focusing on the transformation the experience of war is causing within her personally. The sense of purpose and inspiration which had been lacking in Hayashi's life at the war's beginning seem to be awakened by her encounter with the soldiers of the 'northern bank troop', with which she shares the home of Kyūshū and a humble background. The sense of connection she experiences with the soldiers has a profound effect on her, inspiring an 'epiphany' consistent with the 'fascist moments' Tansman proposes as elements of the text which transport an ideological message through inciting an emotional reaction in the reader. Indeed, the soldiers and even the war itself have a radiant quality to them, sometimes depicted in overt terms such as halos or the

soldiers appearing as Christ-like figures to Hayashi. Such motifs of radiance and shining are, as Tansman importantly points out, also central to *Kokutai no hongi*, a codification of Japan's wartime nationalist ethos (Tansman 2009:163). The inspiration Hayashi describes in these texts seems to manifest itself in the influence of her experience on her postwar work, which often deals with the war or its consequences; in this way, then, Hayashi had not 'left the war behind' after it concluded at all, despite important omissions in her *zenshū* as a representation of her life's work. Importantly, too, such decisions were made by editors after Hayashi's death, and her work has been preserved without the possibility of her own input. It is therefore not only Hayashi who had downplayed her involvement with the war during her lifetime, but also publishers who shape the way in which her literature and what parts of it are remembered.

Reserving the autobiographical form for her non-fictional texts, Hayashi moves toward objective fiction during this period. While earlier texts such as "Shishi no gotoku" (see Part III, 4.4.1.), coinciding with her departure for China, focus on the deployment lying ahead of men at home (also in "Daigakusei"; see Part III, 4.4.5.), Hayashi increasingly focuses on working women in Japan. Their motivations for seeking employment differ, as they are sometimes necessitated by their husbands' draft ("Hi no tsuku ie"; Part III, 4.4.2.), while at other times, a job is seen by the female protagonist as an opportunity for independence ("Unmei"; Part III, 4.4.6.). The most unorthodox example of her fiction from this period is "Kawa wa shizuka ni nagareteyuku" (Part III, 4.4.4.), as Hayashi depicts Nanjing around the time of Japan's invasion through the eyes of a local peasant woman. Ultimately, however, this story serves to uphold the state narrative according to which the Nanjing Massacre had been committed, and in which Japan plays the role of a liberator rather than an invader.

All of the important themes of Hayashi's wartime writing seem to come together in *Hatō*, one of her longest novels (see Part III, 4.4.3.). Uncharacteristically narrated through two perspectives, Hayashi is able to show the struggle of independent women in Japan through the female protagonist Satoko, as well as that of soldiers drafted to and returning from the war through the male protagonist Shin'ichi. Hayashi's empathy for the soldiers is tangible in Shin'ichi's storyline, as he suffers an injury on the front (apparently during the Wuhan operation, which Hayashi had taken part in) and is therefore unable to keep fighting. In Japan, he finds a new purpose in civil engineering and participating in developing the city of Kamaishi, and thus in building the country of the future. Through the character of Shin'ichi, then, Hayashi points towards an apparent neglect of disabled war veterans and their struggle to find a new direction in life, but also shows hopeful possibility of such direction to be found. Recognizing Shin'ichi's purity, Satoko chooses to stay by his side despite opposition from her family, showing to the readers that her heart is 'in the right place'. The novel ends with the couple starting a new life together, and it is not difficult to read Shin'ichi and Satoko as Hayashi's ideal representation of wartime values.

Hayashi would turn her attention away from men as soldiers to women in Japan (and abroad) in the fictional texts after *Hatō*, most notably in "Meian" (Part III, 4.4.7.), where the departing man is almost completely left out and apparently revealed to be a journalist at the end – not a soldier as in previous texts, providing a surprising twist to the ending. Yet echoes of *Hatō* can be found in one of Hayashi's most celebrated postwar novels *Ukigumo*, also narrated through alternating perspectives of a female (Yukiko) and male (Tomioka) protagonists. Interestingly, the idealized representation of both in *Hatō* is inverted by Hayashi in *Ukigumo*. The relationship of Yukiko and Tomioka began in French Indochina (today's Vietnam) during the war and continues

in Tōkyō after Japan's defeat, even after Yukiko discovers he is married only after years of their affair. Yukiko struggles with poverty in Japan (thus, of course, also invoking a reference to *Hōrōki*[187]) and circumstances even push her towards sex work and embezzlement, while Tomioka is depicted as a dishonest, heartless womanizer; Hayashi overtly brings his destructive nature to a point when two women, including Yukiko herself, die in the wake of an affair with Tomioka over the course of the story.

Both novels even reference their titles in their respective endings: Satoko and Shin'ichi face their future in a happy union while gazing upon a rough sea in *Hatō* (which translates to 'rough sea'), while Tomioka stares at Yukiko's lifeless body and ruminates on their commonality in an aimless existence as 'drifting clouds' (*ukigumo*), which he now must carry on in solitude. The respective endings of both novels, of course, also represent Hayashi's statements about the state of Japan, the hope and purpose of *Hatō* replaced with the nihilism and despondence in *Ukigumo*. It is also worth mentioning that Hayashi herself passed away shortly after completing and publishing *Ukigumo*, giving her somber message an air of finality and thus, however unintentionally, increasing its emotional resonance – particularly due to the numerous and easily drawn parallels to Hayashi's own life present in the fictional story. While *Hatō* in itself was not a particularly successful novel – its biggest weakness being perhaps its extensive length[188] and lack of innovation – it can be considered an important stepping stone and even a vital reference point for one of her most

[187] As noted in 4.4.3. of Part III, Satoko's move to Tōkyō and her struggles in the city in *Hatō* are reminiscent of *Hōrōki* as well.

[188] This is perhaps less Hayashi's own 'fault' than a result of her publicity after Hankou and the commercial opportunity the publisher would logically see in *Hatō*'s serialization as a newspaper novel. These factors may have contributed to the longevity of the novel's run, which was published in *Asahi Shinbun* between December 1938 and May 1939.

significant achievements as a writer. This is but one example of how Hayashi's wartime texts provide important context to her postwar writing, and the same approach could likely be applied to other authors active during and after the war as well.

7.6. Middle period of Hayashi Fumiko's wartime writing (1940-1942)

In the early 1940s, Hayashi seems to fully embrace the nationalist ideology in her writing, most notably when praising the military code (*Senjinkun*) as a model for civilian life (see Part III, 5.2.). She reiterates the virtue of resilience in her longest travelogue after *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai*, "Kōreru daichi", written after her trip to Manchuria on assignment for the women's magazine *Shinjoen*. Hayashi shows Manchuria as a place of opportunity for Japanese migrants, advancing the state's goals also stimulated by travel propaganda. The significance of the territory is made clear through its abundance of resources, while the seriousness with which Japan pursues its colonial endeavor is demonstrated by Hayashi through her display of Manchuria's rapid development. As Japan's 'lifeline', the success of Manchuria's colonization was deemed critical for Japan's success at war and thus for the fulfillment of the country's 'destiny'; this is also reflected in Hayashi speaking about Manchuria as a 'colony' (*shokuminichi*) even though the territory in general and the state of Manchukuo particularly were officially sovereign. Manchuria is also not described as the diverse and exotic place familiar from Hayashi's travelogues from the early 1930s; rather, she perceives it as a part of Japan and presents it as such, and omits mentioning the Soviet writers she had met here during her previous travels. While Hayashi quite openly discusses difficulties of life in Manchuria, particularly the harsh climate and the country's still ongoing development, the resilience of its inhabitants and the rapidity

of Manchuria's growth could also assure contemporary readers of migration as a worthwhile pursuit on both personal and national level. Meanwhile, the 'benevolence' of Japan's colonial project is communicated by Hayashi on examples of poor locals employed by privileged Japanese migrants and those who have seized an economic opportunity presented by Japan to make their lives better, such as the butler she meets in a mansion of a Japanese official.

While Hayashi is joyful when meeting members of the Japanese military in Manchuria already familiar from the texts written after her trip to Hankou, her recollections of this experience during the early 1940s are noticeably more somber. Hayashi reflects on the physical and psychological effects of her experience of the war, and often focuses on the soldiers' sacrifice and suffering in the texts from this period. Despite this, she still makes appeals to authority in her writing, leaving the war and the state's ideological project unquestioned – perhaps due to the widespread normalization of nationalist ideology in the public discourse. The moral conundrum Hayashi is left with as a result, namely how to reconcile the necessity of the war (in order to fulfill Japan's destiny) with the war's senseless and excessive human cost, can be then seen as the underlying cause for the pessimism that takes root in Hayashi's writing in this period. This aspect forms another important link to her postwar literature and points towards its continuities with her wartime texts rather than their rejection.

The normalization of state ideology in public discourse and Hayashi's embrace of these values are also apparent in her fictional texts, of which *Keikichi no gakkō* (see Part III, 5.3.1.) is perhaps the most striking example. In this children's book, the protagonist Keikichi temporarily moves to his grandparents' house in the countryside with his mother after his father had fallen in the battle of Nanjing. Hayashi presents

Keikichi as an ideal child and a role model for the young readers, and reminds them of the importance and heroism of the soldiers through the father's sacrifice. While still grieving his passing, it ultimately inspires Keikichi to live responsibly and retain discipline in order to become a doctor as an adult; in this way, Hayashi suggests to her readers to embrace the same values or, in other words, principles of military conduct in their private lives. Through Keikichi's fallen father and the brother of Keikichi's friend Terazaki, who briefly appears in the text while visiting his family, soldiers make a brief 'comeback' in this period of Hayashi's writing, their representation consistent with previous texts. Hayashi's narrative of the war in China is reiterated in other texts as well, notably in "Unmei no tabi" (see Part III, 5.3.1.). Essentially a retelling of "Kawa wa shizuka ni nagareteyuku", "Unmei no tabi" similarly shows the misery of Chinese people through the perspective of a woman from Nanjing. Here, too, the brute, invasive conduct of the Chinese military is in stark contrast with the gentle, friendly demanor of the Japanese troops. With this text, then, Hayashi denies the Nanjing Massacre once again, nearly three years after its occurrence.

7.7. Hayashi Fumiko's late wartime texts (1943-1944)

Similarly to Manchuria, Hayashi reiterates the state's rhetoric about Southeast Asia as Japan's 'lifeline' in her texts from this region as well. However, the national importance of the region due to its natural wealth (most significantly oil) clearly takes precedence before any personal aspirations for the potential migrants from Japan in these texts. This clearly shows how urgent the propaganda has become in the later wartime years in Japan, after its initial success in war began to wane . This urgency is also displayed by Hayashi herself in her *Asahi Shinbun* article appealing to the better nature of her fellow Japanese and enduring the hardships of war just a little longer

(see Part III, 6.5.). Hayashi still advocates for Japanese to participate in the colonial project in this region, and reassures her readers of the pleasant climate and safety of Indonesia. Locals are portrayed as friendly and eager to assimilate themselves into the empire, recognizing Japan as a place of opportunity for themselves as well, an attitude Hayashi seems to openly encourage. As in Manchuria, then, Hayashi shows the benevolence of Japan's imperial policy, which in her texts seems to be welcome with open arms in Southeast Asia.

The positive representation of the 'other' in Hayashi's texts from Indonesia is in stark contrast to the indifference she largely displayed in her texts in China. Despite this, she still reiterates the ethnic hierarchy of the empire when she talks about the 'impurity of the bloodline' in Southeast Asia, caused by its ethnic diversity. While other female authors such as Ōishi Chiyoko during this period have endorsed interracial marriage in their writing (see Part II, 1.5.), Hayashi does not openly do so, although she also does not voice her opposition to this idea. Unlike Yoshiya Nobuko in *Tsuki kara kita otoko,* Hayashi also consistently writes about herself and does not focus on the locals' perspective. As evidenced by her previous short stories "Kawa wa shizuka ni nagareteyuku" and "Unmei no tabi", however, an adoption of such a perspective would likely only lead to a reiteration of the state narrative of war and colonization. This is also suggested by Hayashi's consistent representation of the natives as eager colonial subjects.

Hayashi's trip to Southeast Asia – her longest stay outside of Japan after her time in Europe – became an important influence on her postwar writing, and appears as a setting often in her late fiction. While *Ukigumo* features the region perhaps the most famously, Hayashi does not seem to have visited Vietnam, where the novel is set. This is perhaps why the place represents a 'paradise lost' within the narrative, as Hayashi

could project her fantasy of the 'South' upon Da Lat, a place famous in Vietnam as a romantic getaway. By contrast, the short story *Boruneo daiya* published in 1947 portrays the experience of a young Japanese woman on Borneo as a 'comfort woman' (*ianfu*) and the harsh conditions these sex workers faced as one of them eventually passes away. That Hayashi was able to publish such a story, discussing darker aspects of war largely (if not completely) absent from public discourse just months prior, was likely also due to the changing tides of power under the American occupation, once again showing Hayashi's adaptability and dynamism even among turbulent changes in the society. Yet, her political leanings have certainly not been pro-American, as she celebrated the departure of General MacArthur in her late essay "Sayonara Makkāsā-gensui" ["Goodbye, Marshal MacArthur"], published in *Ōru Yomimono* in June 1951, the month of her passing (see Hayashi 1951). This, of course, further shows the value of Hayashi's literature in general as a reflection of widespread public attitudes and therefore as valuable artifacts of collective memory, instead of as an insight into her own political convictions.

7.8. Concluding remarks

Three distinct representations of the war and Japan's imperial project emerge throughout Hayashi Fumiko's wartime literature: a) While the texts between 1937 and 1939 record Japan's military successes and the country on track to fulfill its 'divine' destiny, they also show the most antagonistic portrayal of the 'other', directly related to the resistance of the Chinese against the Japanese invasion. It is also in these early texts that the elements of *bidan* are most present, most significantly in the heroic and yet ordinary representation of the Japanese soldiers. With them, principles of Foucault's biopower emerge as well, with Japan being the arbiter and administrator of

life and death, as well as a 'purifying' influence on the dirty and diseased China.

b) Hayashi offers a more positive portrayal of the 'other' in her travelogues from Manchuria, but there are important distinctions to be made too – she writes from cities instead of war zones and instead of death, and she is faced with friendliness and gratitude from the local population. Applying Butler's framing of the 'others" lives as 'ungrievable' therefore becomes obsolete as the colonial subjects are absorbed by the empire and directly become its subjects – in other words, there are no lives to be grieved when nobody is dying. Importantly, the contrast of the peace shown in environments where the colonization is successful as opposed to the violence occuring in resisting regions serves to show the urgency with which the Japanese imperial project must succeed, and the ultimately benevolent and harmonious result this success can lead to. For the most part, however, Hayashi turns her attention to her fellow Japanese both at home and abroad. This middle period of the years 1940 and 1942 also emerges as an important link to Hayashi's postwar texts, particularly with their turn towards a more pessimistic attitude about Japan.

c) Hayashi's late texts from Indonesia confirm the hypothesis that her sympathetic portrayal of the local population of Japan's colonies is directly proportional to their compliance with the imperial project: happily depicting the Indonesians' eagerness to integrate themselves within the empire, Hayashi describes them with greatest warmth among her wartime texts. This further makes the case to approach wartime literature through the lens of biopower, which also rears its ugly head through Hayashi's thoughts about the ethnic 'impurity' of the 'South', which coexist in her text alongside what seems like genuine affection. As in her texts from Manchuria, the locals' compliance as colonial subjects also precludes any violence, and therefore the necessity of portraying the 'other' as 'ungrievable', and the resulting positive attitude

on the surface of the texts might perhaps overshadow the underlying violent or exploitative aspects of Japan's colonialization, which were by all accounts present in Southeast Asia.

While the framework of wartime literature as a genre generally oscillating between the poles of *bidan* and *shishōsetsu* can only be satisfyingly applied to Hayashi's texts from the early phase of war, ultimately melding in the hybrid non-fictional/fictional form of *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai*, such an analysis of these early texts makes them a valuable basis for a further examination of Hayashi's wartime writing through their consistencies and contrasts. While Hayashi generally turns to objective fiction after 1938, the ideological worldview of her texts remains the same; it is also worth noting that her wartime fiction is clearly strongly influenced by her own experiences, as it can be gleaned from her non-fictional texts, regardless of writing in an autobiographical or fictional mode.

With the proposed framework of *bidan* and *shishōsetsu*, I hope that this thesis can provide a valuable contribution to the research on Japanese wartime literature, which has heretofore been comparatively small in scale. The paradigms of *bidan* and *shishōsetsu* allow us to easily identify the propagandist and authorial perspectives in the texts by applying the filters of ideological, narrating and narrated 'I', while regarding autobiographical writing as a reflection of the narrator's social and political circumstances. A proper and nuanced understanding of the workings of Japanese wartime ideology, propaganda, and cultural norms and values as they are reflected in literature can then aid us in seeing wartime literature as a distinct phase in the evolution of Japanese literature. This, in turn, can also provide a deeper understanding of Japan's literature in the decades following the country's defeat. During this time, Japanese literature enjoyed the highest international prestige, often

through literary works discussing Japan's war history[189]. From a contemporary perspective, an understanding of propaganda as not only an influence on public opinion, but also a form of engagement with it, can provide a useful memento at a time when the pendulum of history seems to swing back to the extreme right once again. As a product of propaganda, but also of the desires and interests of its readership, literature can become its representation and a mirror at the same time.

[189] Two most notable examples of authors are Mishima Yukio 三島由紀夫 (1925-1970) and Ōe Kenzaburō 大江健三郎 (1935-), the Nobel Prize laureate of 1994.

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Appendix 1: Abstract (English)

In this thesis, I examine the Japanese wartime literature between 1937-1945 as a genre positioned between the poles of propagandistic and autobiographical writing, utilizing aspects of both in order to construct an authentic and favorable record of the Japanese war effort. In addition to proposing this analytical framework for Japanese wartime literature, I utilize it to analyze the wartime writings of Hayashi Fumiko (1903-1951), one of Japan's most prolific propagandists. Since Hayashi's relatively open pro-war stance brought her great publicity and caused a surge in her popularity despite being starkly at odds with her pre-war literary persona, Hayashi's wartime writing presents an especially interesting case study for wartime literature as an artifact of collective memory. The thesis is divided into three parts, with the first part laying out the necessary context of production of Japan's wartime literature, as well as defining the journalistic genre of *bidan* reportage, essentially propagandistic pieces highlighting the Japanese soldiers' heroism; and *shishōsetsu*, a genre of autobiographical literature, aspects of which are often utilized in wartime literature to suggest an authenticity of the written account. The second part applies this framework to various wartime literary texts in order to establish recurring patterns, tropes and tendencies of wartime literature in general. Finally, Hayashi Fumiko's own wartime writing is analyzed in the third part, both within the context of wartime literature and her own pre-war writing.

Appendix 2: Abstract (Deutsch)

In dieser Dissertation untersuche ich die japanische kriegszeitliche Literatur zwischen 1937-1945 als ein Genre positioniert zwischen den Polen von Propaganda und Autobiographie, indem Aspekte von beiden im Zwischenspiel verwendet werden, um einen positiven und authentisch wirkenden Bild der japanischen Offensive zu zeigen. Ich verwende den vorgeschlagenen analytischen Rahmen auch, um kriegszeitliche Texte von Hayashi Fumiko (1903-1951) zu untersuchen, die als eine der produktivsten japanischen Propagandistinnen galt. Obwohl ihr die offene Unterstützung des Krieges große Publizität und einen neuen Popularitätsschub unter der Öffentlichkeit brachten, war eine solche Position auch im starken Unterschied zu Hayashis vorkriegszeitlichen literarischen Persona. Dies macht Hayashi Fumikos kriegszeitliche Literatur zu einer besonders interessanten und ergiebigen Fallstudie von Literatur als Artefakt des Kollektivgedächtnisses und Kriegsgeschichte. Die Dissertation ist in drei Teile unterteilt. Der erste Teil stellt den notwendigen Produktionskontext der japanischen Kriegsliteratur vor und definiert die Begriffe von *bidan,* propagandistischen Kriegsreportage mit einem heroischen Flair; und *shishōsetsu,* einem Genre der autobiographischen Literatur, dessen Aspekte in kriegszeitlicher Literatur oft verwendet werden, um einen Eindruck von Authentizität zu vermitteln. Dieser Rahmen wird angewandt an verschiedene literarische Texte im zweiten Teil, um wiederkehrende Muster, Topoi und Tendenzen der kriegszeitlichen Literatur in Japan zu identifizieren. Letzlich werden im dritten Teil Texte von Hayashi Fumiko analysiert, sowohl im Kontext der kriegszeitlichen Literatur als auch ihres eigenen, vorkriegszeitlichen Werks.