Kitahara Hakushū and the Creative Nature of Children Through Dōyō

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KITAHARA HAKUSHŪ AND THE CREATIVE NATURE OF CHILDREN THROUGH DŌYŌ

A Thesis Presented

by

GREGORY DIEHL

Presented to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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SEPTEMBER 2011

Japanese Language and Literature
Department of Languages, Literatures, and Cultures
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ABSTRACT

KITAHARA HAKUSHŪ AND THE CREATIVE NATURE OF CHILDREN THROUGH DŌYŌ

SEPTEMBER 2011

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In 1923, the poet Kitahara Hakushū wrote an essay entitled “Dōyō shikan” 童謡私観 or “Philosophy of Dōyō.” In it, he described a perspective on children that valued their innately creative potential. Hakushū felt that this potential was something that every child had and that could be enriched and drawn out through dōyō 童謡 (children's songs.) Hakushū’s views in this sense challenged the prevailing attitudes in the Taishō period toward children and toward the function that children’s songs and poetry should serve.

Despite Hakushū’s prominence as a poet, the “Dōyō shikan” has never been translated or closely analyzed in English. The analysis of the “Dōyō shikan” provides a lens through which to view Hakushū’s poetry for children. The principles that Hakushū described in this essay for writing dōyō can be seen both in Hakushū’s own work and the work of children who submitted poetry to Akai tori, a literary magazine for which Hakushū managed poetry. Those principles stressed the need for the poet to replicate the child’s voice, mind, and imagination for the purpose of writing dōyō that were creative, artistic, and meaningful to children.
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INTRODUCTION

The poet Kitahara Hakushū 北原白秋 (1885-1942) viewed children as innately creative, and attributed that creativity to their purity of vision and their relationship with nature. This perspective on children is evident in his writings on children's songs as well as in his song lyrics themselves. It is a perspective that celebrated and sought to enrich the natural creative capacity of children, for the benefit of children. At the same time, Hakushū rejected common perspectives of the Meiji (1868-1912) and early Taishō (1912-1926) periods in which children were educated to benefit political or social ideology rather than to develop their creative abilities. The poetry that Hakushū wrote based on his vision of children influenced generations of young readers during the late Taishō and early Shōwa (1926-1989) periods and remains an important part of children's poetry in modern Japan.

Hakushū was among the most prominent and popular Japanese poets of the early 20th century. His poetry ranged in style from classical forms to the new-style of the Meiji period, and folk and children's songs. He was prodigious and prolific, writing poetry from his teen years right up until his death at age fifty-seven. Even in the last five years of his life, when he had lost his eyesight, he continued to write. By the time he died, he had published almost 200 books and contributed to numerous literary magazines.

While the early part of his career was devoted to writing poetry primarily for adults, the latter part included abundant work for children as well. Judging from the timeline of his publications, his interest in children's poetry seems to have developed
mid-career. Once he started writing for children, however, it was a form he pursued vigorously. Between 1919 and 1942, he published fourteen collections of children's poetry. He also edited and contributed poetry to children's literary magazines during these years. His writings for children outnumbered any other single style in which he wrote. At the same time, his works for children can be linked to his other poetry in that they tie music and poetry together, incorporate a youthful spirit, and explore imaginative and sometimes unknown worlds.\(^1\) In this way, children's poetry held an important place within the body of his poetic work.

In 1923, Hakushū published an essay entitled “Dōyō shikan” 童謡私観 or “Philosophy of Dōyō.” The essay appeared in the magazine Shi to ongaku 詩と音楽, which Hakushū had launched with composer Yamada Kōsaku 山田耕筰 (1886-1965) in 1922. The “Dōyō shikan” explained the ideas that had driven Hakushū's work on children's poetry in the approximately five years prior to its publication. Despite Hakushū's fame as a poet, the enormous influence he had on children's poetry, and the volume of children's poetry that he wrote, very little has been written about the “Dōyō shikan.” This is true of research in both Japanese and in English. Furthermore, until now, it has never been translated in its entirety into English.

This thesis will analyze Hakushū's view on children, as expressed in his “Dōyō shikan” and manifested in his work, particularly on Akai tori, a children's literary magazine started in 1918. The first two chapters will provide background on aspects of

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\(^1\) Nakaji Motoo 中路基夫, “Kitahara Hakushū: shōchōha shijin kara dōyō minyō sakka e no kiseki” 北原白秋: 象徴派詩人から童謡民謡作家への軌跡, Ryūkoku Daigaku Daigakuin Bungaku kenkyūka kiyō 龍谷大学大学院文学研究科紀要 31 (December 2009): 186.
childhood in the Meiji and Taishō periods that influenced Hakushū's work on children's poetry. Meiji reforms to music education resulted in the type of dry, didactic songs that Hakushū opposed—songs that were written more for the purpose of social engineering than for the benefit of the child's creative development. In the Taishō period, social changes brought middle-class consumerism and pressure on children for academic success which would lead to social advancement. Like the reforms of the Meiji period, these developments made the child's creative potential a secondary concern. By acknowledging and celebrating the child's innate creativity, Hakushū rejected the conventional outlook on children of these earlier periods.

Chapters three and four describe Hakushū's life and his work on children's songs. This spans from his childhood in Kyūshū through the first several years of his work on children's poetry. In addition to describing the events of Hakushū's life and the literary associations that influenced his formative years, I provide an analysis of some of his early writing in which he shows his interest in children and their creative capacity. For this purpose I have translated and analyzed a short work entitled Dōshin 童心, which Hakushū published in 1917.

Chapter five contains an analysis of the “Dōyō shikan” with excerpts of the original from each section. That is followed by complete translations of both the “Dōyō shikan” and Dōshin.

From the beginning of this project, I considered the children's poetry that Hakushū wrote as a part of children's literature. In the early stages of research, I wanted to explore the ways in which children's songs could be considered part of the field of
literature as a whole. To that end, I examined how the study of children's literature has been viewed in relatively recent history.

The history of children's literature is long and varied. Pinpointing a start to it, if such a thing were possible, would require delving into the distant past. As Seth Lerer points out in the opening of *Children's Literature, A Reader's History, from Aesop to Harry Potter*, “Ever since there were children, there has been children's literature.”² Yet until recently, the field as an academic study was ignored at best and at worst, dismissed by humanities departments in academic institutions. No one would question the place of literature itself in the humanities. So it seems incongruous that exploration and analysis of the literature that shapes the outlook, intellect, and imagination of future adults could be considered unimportant. This thinking arose for a number of different reasons. When the journal *Children's Literature* was first published in 1972, Francelia Butler, the editor, described several common attitudes that contributed to this perspective: equating simplicity with triteness, the lack of verbal sophistication and complexity in children's literature that is expected in an academic field of study, and the lack of critical standards distinguishing between good and bad in children's literature.³

Butler did much to advance the cause for, and change the attitudes toward, studying children's literature. In addition to founding the journal, she worked at the University of Connecticut to establish a guide for teaching children's literature courses. She also wrote textbooks for students interested in studying children's literature.

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Butler's thoughts on children's literature emphasize the value of simplicity and the fact that children's literature has a tradition. She points out that “simple” is not the same as empty, saying, “... simple literature can be often surprisingly deep and rewarding.”\(^4\) Furthermore, along the same lines as Lerer's observation, children's literature has a significant place in history, even if it hasn't always been recognized. “Children's literature has an ancient tradition in the culture if not in the curriculum, and scholars have an obligation to study it.”\(^5\)

At the time Butler was writing about and promoting children's literature, there was little general support for the field. However, while traces of old attitudes may remain, much has changed in the forty years since she founded *Children's Literature*. Although as a field of study children's literature is young, in the United States it is certainly robust. In the past thirty years, numerous centers for research and special collections of children's literature have opened at universities around the country, including the California State University at Fresno (Arne Nixon, 1995), University of Minnesota, San Diego State University (which claims one of the oldest children's literature programs in the country), University of Southern Mississippi, and Eastern Connecticut State University. The University of Connecticut where Butler taught offers both undergraduate and graduate courses on children's literature, and Hollins University, to which Butler donated her own library, offers a graduate degree in the field.

Children's literature appears to be an emerging field in Japan as well. One indication is the increase in volume of articles on children's literature that have been

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4 Butler, “The Editor's High Chair,” 9.
5 Butler, “The Editor's High Chair,” 9.
published in Japanese magazines and periodicals in the past fifty years. A search in the 
*Zasshi kiji sakuin shūsei* 雑誌記事索引集成 database for *Nihon jidō bungaku* 日本児童文学 (Japanese children's literature) indicates virtually nothing written in the years following World War II, until around 1960. In the ten years between 1963 and 1973 the numbers spike dramatically and maintain a fairly steady pace up to the year 2000. Since 2000, publication rates have spiked once again, reaching a high in 2009 of thirty articles published. While this is only a small fraction of the results a similar search for *Nihon bungaku* (Japanese literature) produces, the fact that the amount of scholarly material being written on the subject has increased so dramatically over such a short period of time must reflect a burgeoning interest and seriousness regarding the field of study.

Two significant institutions in Japan also reflect the growing interest in research and study of children's literature. In 1984, the International Institute for Children's Literature opened in Osaka. This was the first institute in Japan dedicated to studies in children's literature. The institute holds lectures and classes on children's literature for students of all ages, manages a variety of projects to promote literacy, and supports research and publication projects. More recently, in 2000, the National Diet Library opened the International Library of Children's Literature in Tokyo. In addition to maintaining its research facilities, the library holds lectures, exhibits and events for children to promote literacy.

The opening of these libraries, research centers and university programs reflects a new era in which children's literature is examined in a serious, thoughtful, and in-depth way. The comparative simplicity of children's literature requires that scholars consider it
very differently from adult literature. This means balancing an examination of texts themselves with an understanding of the social context in which they were written and the motivations of the writers. Perhaps in the simplicity of children's literature there is a fundamental aspect of childhood and a child's vision which is unifying across cultural boundaries.

A Branch of Japanese Children's Literature

With a view of literature as a language-based creative art form, the concept of children's literature should of course include the songs and poetry that children learn from a very early age, including nursery rhymes, lullabies, game songs, and folk songs. In Japan, documentation of children's songs dates back to at least the Nara Period (710-794). The Nihon shoki 日本書記, the oldest official history of Japan (completed in the year 720) references children's songs called wazauta. The kanji characters used to write this, waza 童 and uta 謡 were, at the time the history was written, read with a Japanese reading or kun yomi. The term wazauta referred to songs that contained political content and, as a genre, had their origins in China. They were composed anonymously because the words often contained satirical references to political figures. The references were metaphorical, cloaked in children's language, and the songs were mainly sung by children. This was comparable to the English nursery rhyme “Three Blind Mice,” for example, which was thought to have referred to the blinding and execution of three priests by Queen Mary I of England, although this interpretation is speculative.
Later, the same *kanji* compound took the reading *dōyō*, which is the *on yomi* or Chinese reading of the characters. Before the Taishō period, *dōyō* was a general term used to refer to children's songs, *dō* 童 meaning child and *yō* 謡 meaning chant. Included in this meaning of the term were play songs that were made up by children and passed on to other children. In this sense *dōyō* 童謡 connoted part of a children's oral tradition. *Wazauta* were part of this tradition as well, although they lacked creativity with an appeal to children.

In July of 1918 Suzuki Miekichi 鈴木三重吉 (1882-1936), a poet and novelist, launched a children's literary magazine in Tokyo entitled *Akai tori*. The magazine published works created specifically for children by some of the most outstanding writers, poets, artists, and musicians of the time. Suzuki's goal was to offer enrichment to children's lives through creative arts. In addition to stories and art work, a prominent feature of the magazine was children's songs.

The songs that were printed in this magazine, and others like it, represented a new conception of *dōyō*, and in fact were referred to as *shin dōyō* 新童謡 (new *dōyō*). The term took the meaning of songs composed with original melodies and lyrics, which had high artistic quality as identified and defined by the poets and composers themselves.

The publication of these songs, particularly in *Akai tori*, was a huge popular success. It resulted in a period of enormous creative output of artistic children's songs. This became known as the *dōyō* movement, and the term still refers to songs written during this period.
Many of the dōyō in Akai tori were the results of collaborations between poets and composers. In some cases the poetry and melodies were created simultaneously. In other cases, composers wrote melodies to fit with already existing poems. The most famous dōyō have melodies and lyrics that are inextricably linked. Musical notation did not appear for all of the dōyō in the magazine. The fact that some were printed without any associated melody suggests that the term should be thought to have a slightly broader meaning than just “artistic children's songs.” Some of the songs stand independently as poems. However, the dōyō not accompanied by musical notation still had the form and rhythm of a composition with the potential to be sung. Melodic compositions enhanced this inherent musical quality.

The publication of Akai tori lasted almost twenty years, until Suzuki Miekichi died in 1936. Several other children's literary magazines, inspired by the movement, were launched after Akai tori. These include Kin no fune 金の船, Dōwa 童話, Kodomo zasshi 子供雑誌, and Kodomo no kuni コドモノクニ, all of which also published dōyō. The popularity of the songs from this movement extended beyond the initial market of children from affluent urban families. Through newspapers, weekly magazines, radio broadcasts, live performances, and recordings, they developed a wide popular appeal. Songs from this period are still heard in Japan today—in schools, shops, on public sound systems, and in concert halls. Many of them are so fundamental a common cultural knowledge of Japan that an unfamiliarity with them almost necessarily means having grown up outside the culture.
Numerous creative minds contributed to *Akai tori*. Of the poets who contributed lyrics for *dōyō*, however, Kitahara Hakushū was distinguished both as an enormously prolific writer and as the editor responsible for poetry. From the first issues of the magazine, Hakushū's work appeared numerous times, very often featured in the opening pages. In addition to the *dōyō* that he wrote, he maintained the poetry section of a correspondence column called *tsūshin* 通信 in the back of the magazine. In this column he offered his evaluations of *dōyō* submitted by readers and fans of the magazine, both children and adults. Through his comments on these reader-submitted songs, Hakushū further extended his influence on the artistic content and form of *dōyō*, beyond the example of his own compositions.

**Studying *Dōyō* and Hakushū**

The *dōyō* that Hakushū and others of his generation wrote have been relatively unexplored as a subject of study by English-speaking scholars. This is even more true of the writings by Hakushū and his colleagues that explain their goals and perspectives on writing poetry for children, such as the “Dōyō shikan” translated in this thesis. There is no particularly clear or concrete reason for this, but perhaps it can be explained in the sense that, just as the study of children's literature in general is relatively new, the study of Japanese children's literature and poetry is in an even earlier stage of development among English-speaking academics.

The *dōyō* from the Taishō and early Shōwa periods grew partly out of an opposition on the part of poets to the contents of an earlier kind of song called *shōka*
唱歌. *Shōka* are songs that were developed during the Meiji period specifically for use in schools and were approved for that purpose by the Japanese ministry of education. The poets of the *dōyō* movement, including Hakushū, disliked the didactic nature of *shōka* lyrics and felt they were inappropriate for and uninteresting to children. In *The Influence of the Meiji Period on Japanese Children's Music*, Elizabeth May explains the development of the music education curriculum during the Meiji period resulting in collections of *shōka*. While she does not explore *dōyō* or the philosophy behind it in any depth, she does describe *dōyō* as “a direct outgrowth of the Meiji *shōka.*”⁶ In this sense, her research on *shōka* provides valuable information for understanding the context of the motivations of *dōyō* poets like Hakushū.

Other scholars have made more thorough comparisons between *dōyō* and *shōka*. They are often analyzed for their value in music education today. There is a degree of irony in this, considering that Hakushū and other poets of the *dōyō* movement had little regard for the materials used in formal education at the time they were composing. Hakushū’s focused on the creative content and childlike vision in his compositions, rather than their teaching value. In Donald Berger's 1991 dissertation entitled “*Shōka and Dōyō: Songs of an Educational Policy and a Children's Song Movement of Japan, 1910-1926*” Berger writes about the differences between the two styles. He analyzes a 1912 collection of *shōka* in which he determines that “forty percent of the lyrics are simple, direct and descriptive, while the remaining texts stress duty, obligation, work, and nationalism.”⁷ In

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⁷ Donald Berger, "'Shōka' and 'Dōyō': Songs of an Educational Policy and a Children's Song Movement of Japan, 1910-1926" (PhD diss., Kent State University, 1991), 69.
the latter part of the dissertation Berger analyzes the content of dōyō as well. His description of dōyō lyrics as “simple, poignant, and filled with striking imagery”\textsuperscript{8} reflects priorities that Hakushū himself described in writing poetry for children, although Berger does not analyze Hakushū's philosophy specifically.

The dōyō movement and the work of poets like Hakushū did not come only from opposition to the educational reforms of the Meiji period but also in reaction to social changes that they observed in the Taishō period. While the Meiji reforms resulted in a population with a generally higher level of education, the Taishō population benefited from increasing economic prosperity, and consequently a higher standard of living. In *Children as Treasures* (2010) Mark Jones traces these shifts, the ways in which they affected families, and how they created a market for children's literature with less didactic and more artistic content than had previously been available.

Of particular interest to the study of dōyō and Hakushū's work are the ways in which the social and political changes of these periods affected children. Jones discusses this in depth. An important factor in this was the changing role of women. Jones identifies the ryōsai kenbo 良妻賢母 (good wife, wise mother) as the ideal of the Meiji period. The supervision of the child's education was an important part of the role that a good wife and wise mother filled in that it contributed to a Meiji era goal of raising children who would reliably work for the good of society as a whole. Later he contrasts this to “self-made” women of the Taishō period who viewed the child's education as more important for furthering their own social and economic ambitions than for the good of the country. This shift in priorities led to academic pressures on children, for which the dōyō

\textsuperscript{8} Berger, “‘Shōka’ and ‘Dōyō’,” 125.
poets hoped the artistic and imaginative content of their work would offer a counterbalance.

Hakushū was central in the movement to raise the artistic level of children's literature and counter the effects of didactic material and academic pressures on children. His interest in this was strongly connected to his own childhood experiences. These have been described by Margaret Benton Fukasawa in *Kitahara Hakushū His Life and Poetry* (1993). This is a detailed account of Hakushū's life and his major works. While it deals with dōyō in only a very cursory way, it is valuable for thorough understanding of Hakushū's life as a poet.

Missing from the materials that have been written on both dōyō and Hakushū is a close examination of his concept of children themselves and how his dōyō reflected that. The abundance of dōyō that he wrote alone indicates the importance he placed on creating works for children. The translation and analysis of the “Dōyō shikan” in this thesis attempts to add to research that has been done on the social and educational factors that drove the dōyō movement by examining the ideas on creativity, the arts and children that drove Hakushū's work in children's poetry.
CHAPTER 1
CHILDREN'S SONGS AND REFORMS OF THE MEIJI PERIOD

To understand the context of Hakushū's thinking about children and the poetry that he produced for them, it is necessary to look at the period leading up to and including the reforms implemented by the Japanese government during the Meiji period. When American Commodore Matthew Perry arrived at the entrance to Edo Bay (now Tokyo Bay) in July 1853 seeking diplomatic and economic relations, Japan was forced to interact with parts of the outside world to which it had been closed for more than two hundred years.

Faced with military force far beyond anything it could stand against, Japan had little choice but to accept the formalizing of the relationship with the United States. The signing of the Kanagawa Treaty in 1854 allowed American ships, to which Japan would supply provisions, into two Japanese ports and the opening of an American consulate in Shimoda on the Izu Peninsula. These agreements represented a transition for Japan into a new era.

While Japan's relationship with the United States came about through force, one of the results was a decision by the Japanese government to fully embrace modernization and, by extension, aspects of western culture. In 1871, the government sent the Iwakura Kentai Shisetsu (Iwakura Commission) abroad for the purposes of visiting fifteen western countries with whom Japan had formed official ties. Among these were the United States, Russia, the Netherlands, Great Britain and France. The commission
was led by Iwakura Tomomi (1825-1883), a statesmen with close ties to the emperor. While visits to heads of state were officially the commission's purpose, the members were also tasked with studying western society—specifically political systems, trade, industry, banking, and philosophies of education. In addition to Iwakura and other high-ranking officials of the Japanese government, the commission included more than fifty students, many of whom were to remain abroad for study.9

A move to modernize the education system in Japan took place even before the Iwakura Commission returned from its two years abroad. In 1872 the government issued the Fundamental Code of Education, which divided the country into university, middle school and elementary school districts and mandated four years of compulsory education for all boys and girls beginning from age six. Along with this, the focus of the curriculum began to shift to more western centered ideals. James McClain describes the result of this shift as a school system which “deemphasized the Confucian morality found in the schools of the Tokugawa period, promoting instead a curriculum that stressed the practical arts and sciences, self improvement and the development of the individual.”10

According to a white paper issued by the Japanese Ministry of Education, a government annual report from 1875, with data gathered in 1873, reported a total of 373 students studying abroad, of which 250 were funded by the government. According to the same paper, the government intended for students who studied abroad to return to Japan to fill teaching positions in higher education. The number of students sponsored by the government after 1873 dropped slightly, but only because the government imposed

standards that had not previously been in place. According to the white paper, “In May, 1875, the Department of Education established stringent regulations concerning loans for students studying abroad and invited applicants throughout the country - indeed the rules were so severe that no applicant could suit the Department's new request.”\(^{11}\) Clearly the government was not only embracing western education, but also attempting to set the highest standards possible for those who would be filling teaching positions in Japan.

In addition to sending students from Japan to study abroad, the government began increasing the number of non-Japanese teachers teaching in Japan. As with foreign-trained Japanese nationals, the foreign teachers were hired primarily for higher education. According to the same white paper on education, “In the April 28, 1873 supplementary regulations of the Education System Order, specialized schools were authorized and encouraged to employ foreign teachers and offer courses in Western culture and technology. These courses were to be on law, medicine, astronomy, mathematics, physics, chemistry, engineering and others.”\(^{12}\) This again illustrates the government's intent not only to westernize Japan's educational system, but to designate the highest level of teaching and specialized subject matter for those with Western training.

**Reforms in Music Education**

Many of the students who were sponsored for study abroad came from Tōkyō Kaisei Gakkō 東京開成学校, one of two institutes that later merged to form the University of Tokyo. One of these students, who was sponsored to study education in the United States, was

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\(^{12}\) Monbu Kagakushō 文部科学省, “Japan's Modern Educational System.”
States in 1875, was Izawa Shūji 伊沢修二 (1851-1917). Izawa went to New England where he studied at both the State Normal School in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, and Harvard University. While he was there, he studied with Luther Whiting Mason, a supervising music teacher in the Boston public schools. This meeting was significant because Izawa later asked Mason to be involved in music education reforms in Japan.

When Izawa returned to Japan he was appointed to the principal's position at Tōkyō Shihan Gakkō 東京師範学校 (Tokyo Normal School), the first national normal school in Japan. At the same time, he maintained a position at the Ministry of Education. Through his associations there, he established the Ongaku Torishirabe Gakari 音楽取調係 (Music Investigation Committee) in 1879 to study the state of music education in Japan.

Izawa developed a plan for music education with three parts: to develop a curriculum for schools that combined the superior traits of both western and Japanese music, to train Japanese teachers in western-style music education, and to put both curriculum and teachers in place in Japanese schools. He also identified Japanese kotouta 琴歌 and western hymns as having common traits and therefore ideal for use in the curriculum.

Also in 1879, Izawa invited Mason to come to Japan and join the Music Investigation Committee. In addition to advising on the curriculum for school music classes, Mason served as a committee faculty member to train classroom teachers. As with other areas of education, music was slated for westernization through the expertise of both foreign-born and foreign-trained educators.

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14 These were traditional songs that were played on a Japanese koto.
While it may seem that reforming a curriculum such as music would have been a lesser priority than westernizing technology, the economy, or industry (in light of the government's interest in advancing the economic power of the country), there were reasons that revisions to the music curriculum were of interest as well. Although, as Ury Eppstein observes, the reason for including music in the 1872 Government Order of Education was never conclusively explained,\(^{15}\) it was important to the Ministry of Education for the purpose of shaping the moral development of children and, by extension, maintaining a control of society. This became clear in the years during which the music education curriculum was being planned and developed. In 1878, Megata Tanetarō 目賀田種太郎 (1853-1926), one of Izawa's colleagues, described to the members of the Ministry of Education the importance of singing in the following way:

... It is important not to tire the children in school and singing exercise of ten or fifteen minutes during a day will give them more ease in their studies. This is simply regarding music as an art of recreation, but its further benefits are well known to you. The direct benefits, we expect to receive from the first moment of its introduction will be that it will promote the health of school children and the pronunciation (which is very bad now) will be bettered, and it will gradually and indirectly bring a good influence upon our society.\(^{16}\)

Megata later describes how a national music of Japan could be developed through the music curriculum in the schools. His description outlines a vision for something that values what is distinctly Japanese, but also incorporates western elements:

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\(^{16}\) Eppstein, *The Beginnings of Western Music*, 33.
Thus commencing the course in the schools, we can work toward establishment of our national music. By the national music is meant an establishment of such songs and musics as to be sung and played by us all, the Japanese people, whether high or low, at any place and at any time, without such a distinction of 'refined' or 'common', by an assimilation of the best of our music and song proper of old and modern time, with those of the western countries, in case of our deficiency.\(^{17}\)

In 1881, the work of the Ongaku Torishirabe Gakari resulted in a collection of thirty-three songs entitled *Shōgaku shōkashū* 小学唱歌集 (Elementary School Song Collection). This was followed by two more collections in 1883 and 1884, and a collection in 1887 entitled *Yōchien shōkashū* 幼稚園唱歌集 (Kindergarten Song Collection). Songs in these first collections consisted mainly of either American or European melodies set with Japanese lyrics. The lyrics of many *shōka* contained strong messages of morality, obedience, and loyalty. An example of a song from the first collection is “Chōchō” 蝶々, known in English as “Lightly Row.” The melody for this song comes from a German folk song entitled “Hänschen klein,” and is well known to English speakers because of its setting to a Mother Goose nursery rhyme. The Japanese lyrics briefly praise the prosperity of the Emperor's era. The following are the Japanese lyrics with English translation, followed by the Mother Goose version:

**Japanese Lyrics by Inagaki Chikai**

ちょうちょう ちょうちょう。
Butterfly, butterfly,
菜の葉にとまれ。
Alight on the rapeseed leaf.

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なのはにあいたら、桜にとまれ。
If you tire of the rapeseed leaf, alight on a cherry blossom
桜のはなの、さかゆる御代に、
Cherry blossoms, In the prosperous era of the Emperor,
とまれよ あそべ、あそべよとまれ。
Alight and play, play and alight.

**Mother Goose Rhyme**
Lightly row, lightly row, O'er the glassy waves we go,
Smoothly glide, smoothly glide, In the silent tide.
Let the wind and waters be, mingled with our melody.
Sing and float, sing and float, In our little boat.

The song “Yamato nadeshiko,” also in the *Shōgaku shōkashū*, provides an example of the kind of lyrics that Megata must have had in mind when he described the potential for songs to have a good and healthy influence on society. This song is of particular interest because a version of it had been composed for a children's song collection prior to the work of the Ongaku Torishirabe Gakari. As Manabe Noriko describes it, the earlier version “extols the beauty and strength of Japanese women, while the more didactic *shōka* reminds a young girl to obey her parents, in keeping with the goals of the Ministry of Education.”

Saisho Atsuko
When the flowers bloom,
even the Chinese brocade
Cannot exceed their beauty,
as Japanese women have

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sincerity as their core.

Inagaki Chikai
Japanese girls!
You can grow
in various ways,
as you like.
But don't go against
the lessons you learned
from your parents,
who raised you.\textsuperscript{19}

This modification clearly shows the intent of using songs as a tool for children to learn lessons of morality and obedience. Merely celebrating the virtue of Japanese women's sincerity must have been considered inadequate. More direct instructions to girls concerning behavior were apparently preferable.

The Ministry of Education also consulted German educators regarding reforms to the education system, including Emil Hausknecht who was a proponent of the ideas of Johann Friedrich Herbart. Herbart, a German philosopher and educator, stressed the idea of education as essential for the development of ethics and morality in children. Also from Herbart's ideas came a philosophy that, since the motivation for action comes from emotion, it is important for children to develop a deep emotional capacity. Further, because of the intrinsically emotional nature of music, it is an ideal subject for enhancing this development in children.\textsuperscript{20}

The reforms put in place by the government during the Meiji period, in terms of music education, resulted in children's songs that served very specific purposes. Many

\textsuperscript{19} Manabe, “Western Music in Japan,” 110.
shōka described, taught, and reinforced government ideals that would maintain a controlled social order. They encouraged a pride in the natural beauty and resources of Japan. Some taught the importance of the strength of the country through the Imperial power. Others emphasized the laudable traits of hard work and dedication to the family. They were not exclusively didactic in content; some of the shōka for particularly young children focused on nature without any evident message of morality. However, the overall effect of the government-produced shōka was to create a sense of obligation to contribute to and uphold the greatness of the Emperor and the country. In this sense the Ministry of Education was very successful in imbuing children's musical education with the moral lessons it viewed as essential to a healthy society.

The government during the Meiji period recognized music as a powerful tool for what amounted to social engineering.

It goes without saying that music purifies the feelings of men, promotes the health of the body and aids in accomplishing the progress of studies, is a factor in maintaining the public peace and the order of family and state, makes the well-being of human life flourish, and since its effect on present-day education's rate of progress in Western countries is also clear, this indicates the reasons for which, from an educational point of view, music is indispensable.21

In the later chapters of this thesis it will be clear that Hakushū, as well as other poets and composers of the dōyō movement, also recognized the power of songs in relationship to children. In contrast to the Meiji government, however, Hakushū wanted to use the power of songs to enhance and enrich the natural creativity that came from the

21 Eppstein, The Beginnings of Western Music, 66.
child him- or herself, rather than for the purpose of imposing moral lessons on them. Furthermore, he wanted to do this solely for the benefit of the child, not for the family or the state. This was a considerably different motivation from that of the Meiji reformers, whose primary concern was a curriculum that would contribute to social order.
CHAPTER 2
SOCIAL CHANGES OF THE TAISHŌ PERIOD

The educational reforms of the Meiji period had a major impact on defining children's songs that continued into the Taishō period (1912-1926). In 1910, just before the end of the Meiji period, the Ministry of Education issued a revised volume of shōka entitled Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon shōka 尋常小学読本唱歌. The collection used melodies that were composed almost entirely by Japanese musicians. This was a significant change from Izawa's first collection, which had used many Western folk songs. However, the 1910 collection retained the basic approach that Izawa had taken concerning the texts in Shōgaku shōka, using lyrics that conveyed messages of morality and stressed loyalty to the emperor. Between 1911 and 1915, the Ministry of Education published a similar set of songbooks for individual grades from first to sixth. The Ministry also attempted to streamline the content of the songs with other parts of the curriculum. According to Noriko Manabe, “The texts for some of the songs were taken from the Japanese-language textbook Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon.”

Even though a clearly defined concept for children's songs had developed under the influence of the Ministry of Education, some of the social developments that took place during the Taishō period resulted in a population with very different attitudes and desires from the Meiji period. This in turn created a market for the kind of material produced in the dōyō movement.

22 Manabe, “Western Music in Japan,” 152.
Emergent Middle Class

The Taishō era also saw striking changes, but of a very different sort from the Meiji period. While the dramatic changes that came about during the Meiji period were the result of very specific and calculated reforms that the government enacted, much of the change in the Taishō period came through the development of a middle class and new ideas concerning family and society. These ideas were driven by the population itself, along with a developing mass media, rather than by the government. James McClain describes the atmosphere of this period as a time when a “willingness to experiment socially first manifested itself in Japan's major urban centers, where an emerging middle class, an outgrowth of the earlier middle propertied classes, challenged the status quo and refashioned social norms to meet the demands and expectations they held for the new century.”23

The middle class in the Taishō period was increasing in size and influence. In the years just before and during World War I, Japan's industry thrived. European countries were forced to withdraw from Asian markets because of the need to focus resources into their own war efforts, and Japan was able to fill a large gap that they left. Substantial expansion took place in a wide array of Japanese industries: iron, steel, machine tools, textiles, chemical, drugs, and shipping. Japan began to export more than it imported. By one measure, between 1914 and 1918, the sales of Japanese-produced cotton cloth rose by 185 percent.24 All of this led to significant wealth for the country. Between 1914 and 1918, the real gross national product increased by 40 percent, and according to the Japan

23 McClain, Japan: A Modern History, 345.
Year Book for 1919-1920, the number of millionaires increased by 115 percent between 1915 and 1919.²⁵

The result of this robust industrial period was a wave of immigration from rural areas into cities. Urban life offered jobs that allowed for the potential of social mobility. As a result of this, the concept of a middle class itself was broadening to include people who were beginning to advance financially because of the work opportunities available to them. James McClain describes a middle class in this period which included “government officials, doctors, teachers, policemen, military officers, bankers, corporate managers, and even certain skilled blue-collar factory workers who made their living in large cities, such as Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya.”²⁶

It was not only thriving industry that provided a boost to supporting a middle class. By the beginning of the Taishō period, the population of Japan had also benefited from the educational reforms that the government had put in place during the Meiji period. For this reason, there were more people educationally prepared for skilled jobs. A large part of this educated populace was making the move away from agriculture in rural Japan toward higher earning opportunities in the city.

In addition, opportunities had opened up for women to work. Statistics to support this are limited, but records indicate that between 1911 and the end of the Taishō period in 1926, the number of female nurses in Tokyo increased from thirteen thousand to fifty-seven thousand. Similarly, the number of women working in white-collar positions in

²⁶ McClain, Japan: A Modern History, 345.
government offices almost doubled between 1920 and 1930, from sixteen thousand to around thirty thousand.  

The combination of higher educational levels and increased earning opportunities made the possibility of reaching middle-class status more widely achievable. Mark Jones contrasts this era of possibility for advancement to the pre-Taishō period when the boundaries between classes were more rigid and there was little hope or thought of crossing them.

By the end of the Taishō era [there] was a triumphant new vision of Japan's model social stratum. Middle-class identity was no longer a state of being characterized by stability, financial privilege, and thoughts of national strengthening; instead, it was a state of becoming, with struggle, economic hardship, and dreams of social advancement at its heart. In the 1910s and 1920s Japan, membership in a middle class was presented not as the province of the few but as a possibility for the many.

Along with this expansion of the middle class came a new ideal in family life. Whereas in the Meiji period, the government had stressed the importance of loyalty and hard work for the good of the country, the ideal in the Taishō period (promoted more by mass media than by the government) stressed hard work for the purpose of achieving middle class status. More and more people in the Taishō period aspired to reach the middle class.

Jones points to two particularly important developments in the family roles of this period: that of the yūtōsei 優等生, or superior student, and that of the self-made woman.

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These two figures in a socially ambitious middle-class household were equally important to the male head of the household in terms of reaching the idealized middle-class image.

The importance of the yūtōsei’s role lay in the potential, via academic excellence, for the student to achieve future professional success. This would presumably translate into financial success as well, and the elevated social position that came with it. In this sense the student embodied the hope for social mobility that the middle class in this period maintained. The student was charged with the significant responsibility of earning outstanding grades and, for that purpose, needed to spend substantial time at home reviewing lessons from school. To accomplish this, the student needed a combination of inner strength and innate ability.

The future of a child who did not exhibit these traits, resulting in a poor academic performance, was not regarded with much optimism. *Shufu no tomo*主婦の友, a monthly women's magazine launched in 1917, conveyed the perspective on the capacity for such a child for success: “It is difficult for the child with bad grades in math and other subjects to step into the world and become a significant person in society.”

The child's academic achievement was not his or her responsibility alone, however. The mother's role in maintaining discipline toward academic progress was considered essential. This was not a new idea in the Taishō period. *Katei kyōiku*家庭教育, or education at home, had been emphasized by educators during the Meiji period as well. David Ambaras described the development of education at home in the following way:

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29 Jones, *Children as Treasures*, 186.
Educators also constructed 'home education' (*katei kyōiku*) as a field of knowledge that posited new domestic roles and social relationships. Geared to helping mothers prepare their children to become self-disciplining subjects and citizens capable of absorbing and applying new knowledge acquired in the national school system, this new discipline was developed first by normal school educators and spread among school teachers, school administrators, and other intellectuals in the period around the Sino-Japanese War.\(^{30}\)

This was the model for education that emphasized the values of the Meiji period. Through this system, children learned the moral lessons they would need to become outstanding contributors to society. The extension of *katei kyōiku* in the Taishō period added a change in the mother's perspective on her children, and because of that, on the family dynamic. Rather than seeking the good of society as a goal, the Taishō mother's focus was directed more inward, to the advancement of her own family unit. This was the kind of advancement that would enhance a family's social mobility. Mark Jones points to this ambition on the part of women in the Taishō period when describing the difference between the Meiji mother and the Taishō mother.

Although the self-made woman [the Taishō mother] subscribed to the ideal of educated domestic femininity championed by the *ryōsai kenbo*, she was unable to share the wise mother's silent disregard for the family's social position. The self-made woman was in a different socio-economic position from the *ryōsai kenbo* and that simple fact created a daily life and worldview that distinguished her from her elite sister.\(^{31}\)


\(^{31}\) Jones, *Children as Treasures*, 178.
With education as the key to social advancement, and the importance of that advancement to middle-class women in the Taishō period, mothers became the minders of the review that was required of students at home. In this sense, mothers with middle-class social ambitions became like home tutors for their children. This was possible in part because the generation of mothers raising children in the early Taishō had gone through the compulsory education that the government had implemented. As a result, they themselves had the education to supplement their children's learning.

The responsibility of the mother to raise a yūtōsei was only one of the ways in which family image and dynamic changed during the Taishō period. Other ideals of middle-class families were promoted as well, often through magazines produced for women. The most famous and widely circulated of these magazines was Fujin no tomo. The magazine was founded in 1903 by Hani Motoko 羽仁もと子, first with the title Katei no tomo 家庭の友, then changing to Fujin no tomo in 1908. Motoko lived the kind of life that was promoted in the magazine. She was born in Aomori and graduated from Meiji Jogakkō 明治女学校 in Tokyo, a Christian school that had the aim to “cultivate intellect as well as independence of thought in the women of the new age.”

After some time teaching school, and then a failed marriage, Motoko became a journalist and is considered to have been Japan's first female reporter. She started Fujin no tomo with her second husband, Hani Yoshikazu, also a journalist. In addition, the

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couple started a school in 1921 called Jiyū Gakuen 自由学園 where she encouraged women to “be 'free' to think for themselves [and] shoulder life's responsibilities.”

The content of Fujin no tomo focused on a variety of women's issues, including employment, household budgets, health concerns, and children's education. James McClain describes the contents of articles as seeking,

to reconcile tradition with a new vision of social modernity. In particular, writers in the journal urged women to develop their own talents and abilities, reach their potentials as individual human beings, and dare to pursue careers in teaching, medicine, and other professions . . . The vision created in the magazine was that of a Taishō supermom, an idealized woman able to reconcile the freedom of female self-awareness with the burdens of traditional obligations and careful to balance the demands of a career with a personal life.

In this sense, the magazine provided an ideal for women by emphasizing the importance of areas that would encourage their middle-class ambitions. It stressed not only the importance of their own personal development, through education and professional training, but also the necessity to devote equal energy to their family life.

One other area promoted to women via magazines in this period was bunka (culture) and cultured living. The term bunka seikatsu 文化生活 (cultured living) was not only used to describe a way of living, but it was also the title of a magazine. In 1920, an organization called Bunka Seikatsu Kenkyūkai 文化生活研究会 formed to promote a concept of cultured living. It did this by identifying specific material things as “cultured.” The term connoted the improvement of middle-class life through a refined style of living.

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33 McClain, Japan: A Modern History, 348.
34 McClain, Japan: A Modern History, 348.
Related to this lifestyle, the term *bunka* started to be used in connection to a broad variety of things. There was a *bunka jūtaku*, a cultured house, which conformed to a specific design having two floors, a western-style sitting room and kitchen. Other items to which the term “culture” was applied included pots, knives, and diapers.\(^{35}\) Even if the standard of living for most people in Japan had not improved dramatically during this period, the image of cultured living gave them another thing – a material thing – to which they could aspire. In the way that the term *bunka* was used, it not only suggested a model life, but also encouraged a consumerism that was necessary to reach that ideal.

The benefits of the middle-class lifestyle were apparent to urban residents, and ample opportunities for the cultured family to enjoy cultured living surrounded them. Public parks in Tokyo offered a place for middle-class families to spend their leisure time. Ueno Park, in the Taishō period, offered visitors a zoo, gardens, and art and science museums. In Hibiya Park there were band and orchestra concerts and bicycling in a designated sports area. Department stores in Tokyo provided a modern shopping experience for middle-class consumers. In 1914, Mitsukoshi Department store opened. It had central heating, Japan's first escalator, elevators, and glass cases of merchandise. Among the newly available products during this period were Morinaga-brand milk chocolate and caramels (1913); Mitsuwa soap (1916); Pilot fountain pens (1918); Calpis soft drink (1920); and Pine sewing machines (1924).\(^{36}\) In Tokyo's parks, department stores, and museums, middle-class families could make into reality the images that were offered to them through the media.

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The social changes of the Taishō period, taken together, led to a sense of possibility for privileges that could be open to anyone, if they elected to live their life in a certain way. This was particularly apparent for the middle class. Improving social standing through education was one of these possibilities. Leading a cultured life—in other words, acquiring material possessions—was another possibility.

For the middle-class child of this time, the social changes that took place meant a combination of things. The first was an increased pressure to succeed academically for the sake of the family and personal social mobility rather than for the country. The second was a greater access to material goods which an increasing number of families could afford. These things combined to create an environment for children that Hakushū opposed. The goal of education for the Taishō period child was a path to social success and material acquisition rather than creative accomplishment. Furthermore, the emphasis on external entertainment and consumerism led the child farther from exploring his or her own innate creative abilities which, in Hakushū's view, existed in every child.
CHAPTER 3

HAKUSHŪ'S PATHWAY TO DŌYŌ

When the dōyō movement began with the first issue of Akai tori in 1918, Kitahara Hakushū was already in his thirties and a well-established writer of tanka 短歌, chōka 長歌, and shi 詩. He had published five collections of shi, two collections of tanka, and had worked as the editor of five different poetry journals. His first collection of dōyō, entitled Tonbo no medama とんぼの眼玉, was published a year after Akai tori began. His relatively late-in-life entry into children's literature may be part of the reason that biographical material on Hakushū often mentions his dōyō in a very cursory way. Donald Keene, for example, mentions only that he was known for children's songs, and does not offer any discussion of them.

Despite what seems like a late start in writing dōyō, early events in his life, as well as some of his pre-Akai tori writings, show some basis for his involvement in the work. Hakushū's childhood experiences as well as his many associations in the literary world helped to shape the philosophy he eventually brought to the dōyō movement.

Hakushū's Life

Kitahara Hakushū was born in Kyūshu in 1885 into an affluent family. His given name was Kitahara Ryūkichi 北原隆吉. His father managed family businesses which, when Hakushū was quite young, were very prosperous. One of these, a wholesale

37 Tanka is a 31-syllable poem in five lines with the syllable pattern of 5-7-5-7-7. It is particularly associated with classical Japanese poetry. Chōka is a poem of unspecified length in which the lines alternate between 5 and 7 syllables, and which finishes with an extra line of 7 syllables. Shi refers to modern poetry (shintaishi 新体詩) with no connection to the traditional forms.
38 Donald Keene, Dawn to the West, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 247.
business for marine products, had been in the family for many generations and had a widespread reputation. Hakushū's grandfather had also started a sake brewery and developed it into one of the largest in Kyūshū at the turn of the century. In 1901 when a fire spread through the town of Okinohata where the family lived, they lost most of their sake warehouses. Although Hakushū's father rebuilt after the fire, this event started a decline in the family fortunes leading to eventual bankruptcy. Hakushū would later face financial troubles of his own and in supporting his parents.

Hakushū was the oldest of five children in the family. Margaret Benton-Fukasawa describes a childhood in which, as the oldest and a sickly child, Hakushū was showered with affection by the adults around him. She speculates that the kind of nurturing his physical condition demanded led to his emotional sensitivity.  

Perhaps it also led to a willingness on his part to defy those around him. Having developed an interest in literature from an early age, Hakushū secretly made use of the library in his grandfather's house (where he spent his summers) which had been declared off limits. In the library, he found *kibyōshi*, novels, mysteries, and European literature, including novels on the French Revolution.

Hakushū was initially an outstanding student in school. However, his interest in literature began to result in poor performance in other subject areas. During middle school, he was forced to repeat a year of study because of failed exams. As an adult, Hakushū explained that he had negative feelings about school starting at a very early age.

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When I reached school age, at last I had to enter the town elementary school. I remember that day well. “No way!” I said, and clung to the post of the black school gate, wailing. I turned pale and shuddered. Even to me as a child, I could see school as a horrible kind of prison.

It was while he was in school in Kyushu, however, that Hakushū formed his first literary group with friends, and took his pen name. It was also during this time that he published his first poetry. When he was still a teenager, a literary magazine entitled Bunko began to publish his tanka. In a sign of his capacity for defiance, Hakushū abruptly stopped submitting tanka to the magazine when the editor criticized some of his work and started to submit shi instead, which had a different editor.42

A long-term tension with his father came to a head when Hakushū decided to leave for Tokyo to pursue his literary interests. His father had been against his work on poetry from the start and expected that, as the oldest son in the family, Hakushū would take over management of the family business. Hakushū had no such inclination. His mother, more sympathetic to his talents in poetry, secretly helped him arrange to leave for Tokyo, and he subsequently entered the English Literature division of Waseda University.

42 Fukasawa, Kitahara Hakushū, 9.
Associations and Influences

Between the time that Hakushū moved to Tokyo and the start of *Akai tori*, he had become involved with a variety of literary groups and movements. This involvement gave him opportunities to share and exchange ideas on poetry with other prominent artists, and opened up possibilities for publishing his poetry.

The Yosanos and *Myōjō*

In 1906, Hakushū received an invitation from Yosano Tekkan and his wife, Akiko, to join Shinshisha, a literary group that Tekkan had formed in 1899. The philosophy and the work of the group was strongly characterized by romanticism. Romanticism was loosely defined in Japan at this point, but it contained similar ideas to European romanticism, including an emphasis on the beauty of nature and the understanding of the individual through emotions.

In addition to Shinshisha, Tekkan had also started a magazine entitled *Myōjō*. Members of Shinshisha published their work in this magazine. The sixth issue of *Myōjō* contained the rules that guided the approach of Shinshisha members to poetry. They included the following ideas:

> It is an innate faculty to enjoy the beauty of poetry; the poetry of predecessors should be loved but not re-written; Predecessors should not be imitated. Poems are the invention of the poet for himself; Our poems are national poems of the Meiji era with the lineage of the *Manyōshū* and the *Kokinshū*. 43

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43 Keene, *Dawn to the West*, 21.
These lines show a concern for the question of how the past fits with new creative efforts. Perhaps they also reflect something of the atmosphere of a country that was in transition. While the poets apparently appreciated the past and recognized their connection to it, they did not intend to try to duplicate it.

Hakushū spent two years as a member of Shinshisha and published poetry in Myōjō. In 1908, he and six other poets withdrew from Shinshisha, mainly because of disagreements with Tekkan. While the association for Hakushū was brief, it was an important one. It was the first literary group with which Hakushū became involved after moving to Tokyo. In addition, Tekkan encouraged Hakushū to be experimental in his poetry, including writing in other forms aside from tanka, with the idea that his work in one style would benefit his work in other styles as well. Hakushū's association with Shinshisha also brought him into contact with prominent writers of that era (aside from the Yosanos) including Ishikawa Takuboku 石川啄木, Mori Ōgai 森鴎外, and Ueda Bin 上田敏. Considering that he was at a formative stage of life and that the group gave him prominent connections in the literary world, it must have had significant benefits to his career as a poet.

Pan no Kai パンの会

In 1908, Kinoshita Mokutarō 木下奎太郎, a doctor and a graduate of the medical school of the University of Tokyo, founded a new literary organization called Pan no Kai. In addition to being a doctor, Kinoshita was a poet, playwright, and a novelist. Hakushū

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44 Fukasawa, Kitahara Hakushū, 16.
joined him as a founding member of the organization. While their interests primarily focused on literature, the group also included artists, painters, and musicians. They were inspired by artists and intellectuals from the café culture of Paris to convene and discuss arts related topics of interest to them. This included a basic premise of the value of art for its own sake, and a love of romanticism in opposition to the naturalist movement. Pan no Kai was a loosely-knit organization, but it reflected the changing atmosphere of artistic life in Tokyo in that they maintained an interest in Western and particularly French culture, while also retaining an appreciation for art from the Edo period.

The group took its name from Pan, the Greek god of flocks and herds, as well as rustic music. The organization founded a magazine that was intended to be its official publication, but it was banned after the first issue for corrupting public morals. In a separate incident, but one that was also indicative of the restrictions that the government maintained over organizations during this period, in 1910 the police investigated one of the meetings of Pan no Kai. This came about because of a misunderstanding of the name – “pan,” meaning “bread” rather than the Greek god, was also the name that an anarchist group used.  

Pan no Kai did not, as a group, have its own publication in the way that Shinshisha had Myōjō. However, there were strong connections between members and certain literary and artistic publications. Several artists in the group, for example, had launched a magazine entitled Hōsun 方寸 in 1907 in which members of Pan no Kai, including Hakushū, published their work. Another magazine with a strong tie to the group was Subaru スバル. Subaru was the result of an effort by Mori Ōgai in 1909 to

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45 Fukasawa, Kitahara Hakushū, 37.
reassemble the contributors to *Myōjō*, which had folded the previous year. Hakushū was a contributor to this magazine as well. *Subaru* in particular reflected similar priorities to Pan no Kai in terms of stressing the value of art for its own sake, appreciation for European romanticism, and a nostalgia for Japan's own past.⁴⁶

Pan no Kai's lack of structure led to eventual disbanding in 1911. While the organization did not last very long, and was far less cohesive than Shinshisha, it included a variety of prominent and influential artists and created an opportunity for them to share their ideas and influence each other.

**Hakushū's Interest in the Child's World**

While Hakushū's associations prior to his work on *Akai tori* were almost exclusively with groups that were focused on poetry for adults, some of his early writing dealt with children's themes. This indicates that his interest in *dōyō* did not arise simply because of the launching of *Akai tori*. Rather, he had clearly given much thought to the way children think, sense, and react to the world around them. The writings that reflect this describe not only recollections of Hakushū's own childhood, but also particularly powerful interactions he had with children.

One of these works is a collection of *shi* published in 1911 entitled *Omoide* 思い思。

As the title suggests, this is a collection of Hakushū's memories, in this case of his childhood growing up in Kyūshū. In the preface to the collection, Hakushū conveys some

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⁴⁶ Fukasawa, Kitahara Hakushū, 36.
of the dream-like quality of the world in which he felt children resided. In addition to this, his childhood attachment to the natural world is strongly apparent.

Memories are like red-ringed fireflies
Glowing green, as soft as
The uncertain feel of afternoon.
Light which is not seen as light.

Or better yet, the flowers of grain.
Or the song of a gleaner.
Or, south of a warm liquor warehouse,
The white heat on the plucked feathers of a dove.\(^\text{47}\)

In describing the character of memories, Hakushū also describes a state of childhood in which things have a dreamlike quality. In the same way that a memory from long ago can become hazy, the differentiation for a child between images from his or her conscious mind and his or her dreaming mind may be blurred. Perhaps the uncertainty in the feel of the afternoon is the kind a child experiences when waking from a nap. The dream state of sleeping and waking blends together. Hakushū reminds the reader that

these are recollections of his own childhood, through his reference to the liquor warehouse.

Hakushū's recollections clearly come from things that stimulated his senses, which for the most part were natural things. The sight and perhaps the smell of the flowers in the field, the sound of the bird, the sense of heat he sees radiating from the dove – all of these naturally occurring things stayed with Hakushū into adulthood. As he recalls them, he describes experiencing nature through the senses in the way that a child naturally does.

The publication of Omoide came just as Pan no Kai was disbanding. It seems likely that Hakushū's use of nature imagery in this collection would have been influenced by his association with both Pan no Kai and with the contributors to Subaru. At the same time, the focus on childhood experiences can certainly be thought of as precursor to his work on dōyō. Hakushū himself acknowledged this when he later wrote about Omoide.

It can be said, without much doubt, that Omoide lies at the source of my present interest in children's verse . . . The poems that are included are not nursery rhymes in a language for children; however, their subject matter is such that with some change in rhythm they could be made suitable for children. I feel that my real nature can be found in this verse.48

The degree to which Hakushū was interested in children and the purity of their natural state is also evident in Dōshin 童心, a short essay he wrote in 1917. In it, he describes five encounters with children. Hakushū's description of these interactions and his responses to them demonstrate his concept of a child's world view as natural and

48 Fukasawa, Kitahara Hakushū, 49.
honest. At the same time, he shows the devastating results when adults interfere with or disrupt the innocence of a child.

In the first of these encounters, Hakushū describes a beautiful scene of wide, open blue sky and wild roses in the middle of a field. But in the midst of this he finds a child sobbing. When Hakushū asks what the problem is, the child says he doesn't know, yet he continues to sob. Hakushū is struck by the natural emotional outpouring of the child, despite no clear external cause. It must be a response to the environment around him. Perhaps he is responding to a sadness he senses in the landscape. Hakushū once again observes the surrounding scenery and realizes that he also has an emotional response to the landscape which he can not clearly explain, saying:

おお子供よ、私何も知らない。
Ah, my child—I also don't know anything.

Hakushū uses this line as a poetic refrain, and returns to it later in the Dōshin. It signals, in a way, the common ground between Hakushū and the child. They are both overwhelmed by the landscape when they observe it with a purity of vision.

The second encounter is quite simple, but it illustrates the pure honesty that Hakushū identifies in children. A child, whom he asked to bring him a lotus flower, brings him the blossom only, torn from the stem and leaves. Hakushū is surprised, but concedes that he asked for a flower, not the stem and leaves. The child's understanding is obviously very literal, but it reflects the pure and direct vision that Hakushū attributes to children. He asked for a flower, and nothing more.
In the next encounter, he describes the same kind of childlike vision in a different context. In this case it is in relation to what the child actually sees, not what he understands from speech. Hakushū points to the leaves on a Japanese cypress tree and then to a turnip plant. The child identifies both as leaves, making no distinction between them. For Hakushū, this represents children's ability to identify the most fundamental characteristics of things around them. It is again a kind of literal view, but for Hakushū, it is an honest and desirable way to see that is particularly within children's capacity. As he comments at the end of this interaction,

子供こそ物の真の本質を抓むでゐる。
Children, especially, grab hold of the true essence of things.

Next is an interaction in which the child is corrupted, and the responsibility for it lies with Hakushū himself. A child innocently brings him some flowers she has picked. Pleased, but without thinking, Hakushū offers to reward her if she will bring him flowers every morning. By doing this, he immediately corrupts her innocent motivations. She starts bringing him flowers with the reward as her motivation rather than with the innocent selflessness she had at first. The result carries over to other children as well, when the girl brings her friends to collect their own rewards.

Hakushū views this situation he has created as shameful and irreparable. The extent of his feeling in this sense is evident through his setting of the scenario in a religious context. He describes the innocent generosity of the girl by saying,
その時、その女の子は神様であった。
At that moment, that little girl was God.

To Hakushū the purity of the child's innocence was divine. For this reason especially, his corruption of the child is inexcusable. For this, he is distraught.

大人位卑しいものは無い。私はいつも不知不識のうちに神を冒瀆してゐる。許してくれと、私はその子の後かげを拝むだ。涙がこぼれ落ちた . . .
かほど迄に子供の心を醜くしたのは誰だ。恥さらし。

There is nothing as despicable as an adult. Without realizing it, I am always dishonoring God. Please forgive me! I entreated the receding form of the child. My tears overflowed . . . Who made these children's hearts so ugly? It's disgraceful.

The final interaction in Dōshin again shows the divide between the adult and child worlds. In this case, however, Hakushū is able to redeem himself by protecting a child when other adults will not. The child in this case is a dim-witted boy who is asking other people where he himself is going. They ridicule him. Hakushū is left with the boy in a desolate, wintry landscape and agrees to help him find his way back to his mother.

In this scene as well, Hakushū shares common ground with the child in some ways. He seems inspired by the child's lack of anger, shame, or sadness despite the ridicule he suffers. Because of this, Hakushū agrees to act as the child's temporary protector. Hakushū recognizes, in the child's longing for his mother, his own longing for the security and love that the mother represents. At the same time, like the child, he finds
he is lost on his way there. He ends with the same uncertainty he expressed earlier in the work:

おお子供よ、私も何処へ行っていいかわからない。
Ah, my child—I don't know where I should go either.

The Dōshin in its entirety reveals two important points in considering the dōyō that Hakushū wrote later. The first is that he already had clearly developed ideas concerning the character of children and the purity of their minds. Hakushū's connection between children and nature is particularly emphasized by his description of the way they respond to the landscape around them. In his view, children not only have a great sensitivity to the landscape, but in their purity and honesty are virtually extensions of that landscape.

Equally important in the Dōshin is that it shows Hakushū's hope and intention of seeing things through a child's vision. Through his sympathetic words to the child in both the first and last sections, he indicates that he not only understands what the child is seeing and experiencing but that he is seeing and experiencing the same thing. Later, in his “Dōyō shikan,” Hakushū describes this ability to see and experience through a child's vision as an essential element to writing true dōyō. It is through this vision that the creative capacity emerges.
CHAPTER 4

THE CHILD'S VISION IN AKAI TORI

In 1918 Suzuki Miekichi (1882-1936) launched Akai tori, a children's literary magazine. The magazine was important for Hakushū in several ways. His work on the Akai tori brought him into contact with other artists who had similar ideas concerning children's art and literature. Akai tori also gave Hakushū a place to publish his own dōyō and evaluate, in print, the dōyō that children themselves wrote. Through his association with Akai tori, Hakushū was able to explore and develop the ideas he had written about earlier in Dōshin.

The magazine was significant in offering literature for children that was not only highly artistic, but that also tried to capture the natural creativity and sensitivity in a child's view of the world. Suzuki rejected the didactic and overly complicated content of materials that the Japanese Ministry of Education produced for school use. In the first issue of Akai tori he wrote about the goal of producing literature that would “preserve and develop the child's pure essence”. Instead of literature that contained lessons that adults wanted children to learn, the stories, songs and poetry in Akai tori tried to capture images, themes, and ideas to which children are naturally drawn. Out of the goal of producing literature that would describe the world through a child's vision came the principal of dōshin shugi 童心主義 or “literature of the child's mind.”

49 Jones, Children as Treasures, 291.
Suzuki was born in Hiroshima. He studied first at Kyōto Daisan Kōtō Gakkō (a forerunner to Kyōto University) and later at Tokyo University, graduating from the English literature department. While he was studying in Tokyo he came in contact with outstanding writers of the period, most notably Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867-1916). Sōseki's praise for the short stories Chidori 千鳥 in 1906 and Yamabiko 山彦 in 1907, which Suzuki wrote while still a university student, helped build his reputation as a writer. He continued to write and publish fiction after graduating from the University of Tokyo while he taught at a middle school in Chiba. By the time he launched Akai tori, Suzuki had established a respectable career as a writer and novelist.

After the birth of his daughter in 1916, Suzuki's interests turned to children's literature. With a child of his own, he became more aware of available children's literature and was distressed by its inferior quality. Evidence of his interest in this came with the publication of his first collection of original dōwa, published in 1916 and entitled Kosui no onna 湖水の女. With the launching of Akai tori two years later, Suzuki's intent to create new, original and artistic literature for children was clear. He expressed this desire on the opening page of the first issue of the magazine:

世俗的な下卑た(げびた)
)子供の読みものを排除(はいじょ)して、子供の純性
を保全開発するために、現代第一流の芸術家の真摯(しんし)なる努力を集め、兼て、若き子供のための創
作家の出現を迎ふる、一大区劃的運動の先駆である。

51 Kami Shōichirō, ed. 上笙一郎編, Nihon dōya jiten 日本童謡辞典 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 2005), 11.
This [magazine] is the pioneer of a great, cutting-edge movement which rejects the worldly coarseness of children's reading material to preserve and develop the pure, innocent nature of children, gather the sincere efforts of present-day first-class artists, and concurrently welcome the emergence of story writers [writing specifically] for young children.

The magazine was a collaborative effort. Suzuki was able, perhaps because of his own stature as a writer and because of the literary ties he had made in university, to involve some of the most prominent writers of the time. Among the writers who contributed original works to Akai tori were Mori Ōgai, Shimazaki Tōson, Izumi Kyōka, Tokuda Shūsei, and Akutagawa Ryūnosuke. The fact that so many top-tier writers wrote stories for the magazine assured that it would have a significant place in the literary world.

In addition to being the founder, Suzuki was the editor of the dōwa that appeared in the magazine. This involved editing stories written by professional writers as well as those submitted by children who read Akai tori. In the back of each issue of the magazine, in a column entitled “Tsūshin” 通信 Suzuki responded to and evaluated children's submissions and gave advice on writing. Yamamoto Kanae 山本鼎 filled the same role for the magazine's art and Kitahara Hakushū for the poetry.

**Jiyūga Kyōiku Undō 自由画教育運動**

Yamamoto was the founder of the Jiyūga Kyōiku Undō 自由画教育運動, or Free-Drawing Education Movement. He studied at Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku and then in France for four years. On his return trip to Japan he traveled through Russia and was struck by
the freedom of expression he saw in an exhibit in Moscow of artwork by children. Inspired by this, he established the Nihon Jidō Jiyūga Kyōkai 日本児童自由画協会 (Japan Children's Free-Drawing Association).52

Yamamoto encouraged children to draw outdoor landscapes instead of having them copy drawings indoors, presumably to allow their own creative perspective to develop. This approach reflected a developing sense of individual freedoms in Taishō Japan, and the atmosphere of a rapidly changing culture. Yamamoto's ideas on art education spread throughout Japan and became a counter to the rigidity of the government educational system. According to Kaneda Takuya, “this was the first time that the issue of freedom in art education was raised in Japan.”53

Yamamoto had a long and significant association with Hakushū. He had been a member of Pan no Kai at the same time as Hakushū, possibly where they first encountered each other. Yamamoto had also provided the art work for the cover of Hakushū's first collection of symbolist poetry in 1909, entitled Jashūmon 邪宗門. Later, Yamamoto became Hakushū's brother-in-law, marrying Hakushū's sister in 1917. Given the close personal and professional ties of the two, it is not surprising that their ideas concerning materials for children overlapped.

Through his work on this magazine, Hakushū was influential in shaping its content. At the same time, the magazine provided a forum for him to put his ideas into practice. The monthly magazine was usually around eighty pages in length, with brightly colored illustrations on the covers. Inside, the pages were filled with stories, poetry,

illustrations and beginning in the second year of publication, notation with piano accompaniment for doyō. The illustrations often showed scenes of nature and landscape, such as birds, flowers, dragonflies, and children playing in rural settings.

Hakushū's influence on the magazine is immediately apparent. While other poets contributed doyō to the magazine as well, his name appears the most frequently and in the most prominent places. Hakushū dominated the magazine's poetry content to the extent that Saijō Yaso 西条八十, another well-known doyō writer, later left the magazine, recognizing that his opportunities would be limited with Hakushū in control.54

In the group of writers and artists associated with Akai tori, Hakushū found colleagues with similar thoughts and concerns about children. The collective goal for the magazine was to enhance the child's world, through art, by capturing the purity and innocence of the child's mind. In the first issue of Akai tori, Suzuki emphasized this, saying that there was a need to produce literature to “preserve and develop the child's pure essence.”55 The importance of preserving and protecting the imaginative world that the child inhabits was later echoed by Noguchi Ujō, another famous doyō writer.

Too much interference restricts the child's heart and invites numerous harms. It is meaningless... to restrict the freedom-loving heart of the child by imposing upon it an adult way of thinking.56

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55 Jones, Children as Treasures, 291.
56 Jones, Children as Treasures, 293.
These ideas follow the same line of thinking that Hakushū expressed both in his 
*Doshin* and later in his “Dōyō shikan.” There is a purity to the natural state of a child –
the same kind of purity that exists in natural landscape, unaffected by adult development.
Hakushū viewed this as a source of honesty and creative possibility. He described this
creative potential, saying:

子供たちはみんな詩人です。引出してさへやればこんなにうまく歌へます。 
All children are poets. If we can only draw it out of them, they will be able to sing wonderfully.

**The Poetry**

As described earlier, Hakushū valued poetry for children that incorporated a
child's voice and captured a child's perspective. Out of this approach came an honest
simplicity through which the child observed the surrounding world. These characteristics
are apparent not only in the *dōyō* that Hakushū himself wrote, but also in those which
Hakushū selected for publication in the magazine, written by child readers.

Many of the *dōyō* that Hakushū wrote for *Akai tori* focused on nature and
landscape. These were clearly subjects to which Hakushū felt children readily responded,
as he indicated in his *Dōshin*. A *dōyō* he published in *Akai tori* in 1919 entitled “Yama no
anata o” 山のあなたを reflects the same sentiments:

山のあなたの
見わたせば、
あの山戀し
里こひし。

Looking out there, at the distance beyond the mountain,
I long for the mountain
and I long for the village.

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58 All translations in this section are my own unless otherwise noted.
Hakushū conveys the close tie between the child's sensitivity to the landscape around him, and his emotional capacity. The mountains, the sky, and the sunset are all things which naturally draw the child's attention. At the same time, the child ties his love for nature and the beauty he sees in it to the most fundamental of childhood emotions, the love for his mother. The simplicity of the words reflect the direct honesty that Hakushū saw both in children's vision of the world and in the way they express themselves.

In another dōyō, entitled “Happa” 葉っぱ, which appeared in Akai tori in 1920, Hakushū echoed the encounter he had described in the Dōshin in which he praised the child's ability to see leaves without the need to give them a specific classification:

杏の葉っぱは杏の香がする。Apricot leaves smell like apricots.
蜜柑の葉っぱは蜜柑の香がする。Tangerine leaves smell like tangerines,
それでも葉っぱは葉っぱつっぱ。Even so, leaves are leaves.
いばらの葉っぱにやお針がついている。Even so, leaves are leaves.
Rose leaves have thorns.
花の無い葉っぱは花のよに咲いてる。

Leaves which have no flowers look like flowers.
それでも、葉っぱは葉っぱつば。

Even so, leaves are leaves.
緑の葉っぱも葉っぱつば。

Green leaves are leaves,
真紅な葉っぱも葉っぱつば。

Red leaves are leaves,
それでも、葉っぱは葉っぱつば。

Even so, leaves are leaves. 59

While the child's voice in this song recognizes differences between the types of leaves, the differences are relatively unimportant to that child. The main interest for the child, and perhaps the pleasure, is in observing the leaves as part of the landscape around him. In this way, Hakushū expresses what he considered the purity of a child's view. The child is sensitive to nature without an adult's analytical approach.

One of the first dōyō that Hakushū published in Akai tori was “Risu risu ko risu” りすりす小栗鼠. In this, the child is observing a baby squirrel:

りすりす小栗鼠、 Squirrel, squirrel, little squirrel,
ちょろちょろ小栗鼠、 Scampering little squirrel,
杏の實が赤いぞ、 The apricots are red,
食べ食べ小栗鼠。 Eat, eat, little squirrel.

りすりす小栗鼠、 Squirrel, squirrel, little squirrel,
ちょろちょろ小栗鼠、 Scampering little squirrel,
山椒の露が青いぞ、 The dew drop on the pepper tree is sparkling blue,
飲め飲め小栗鼠。 Drink, drink, little squirrel.

りすりす小栗鼠、 Squirrel, squirrel, little squirrel,
ちょろちょろ小栗鼠、 Scampering little squirrel,
葡萄の花が白いぞ、 The grape blossoms are white.

Hakushū expresses the pleasure the child feels watching the squirrel involved in the activities so important to the child himself—eating, drinking and playing. Here again Hakushū replicates a child's voice with simple observations. The fact that it is a baby squirrel suggests the capability of the child to see commonality without analysis. Just as the child's voice in “Happa” was able to see the commonality in leaves, the child in “Risu” may be seeing the commonality he himself shares with the young squirrel.

Also published in the first year of Akai tori was a dōyō entitled “Akai tori ko tori” 赤い鳥小鳥. In this dōyō the child tries to make sense of the color differences in birds:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>赤い鳥、小鳥、</td>
<td>Red bird, little bird,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>なぜなぜ赤い。</td>
<td>Why, why is it red?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>赤い実をたべた。</td>
<td>Because it ate a red fruit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>白い鳥、小鳥、</td>
<td>White bird, little bird,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>なぜなぜ白い。</td>
<td>Why, why is it white?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>白い実をたべた。</td>
<td>Because it ate a white fruit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>青い鳥、小鳥、</td>
<td>Blue bird, little bird,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>なぜなぜ青い。</td>
<td>Why why is it blue?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>青い実をたべた。</td>
<td>Because it ate a blue fruit.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The child's attention is focused on both the colors and the birds themselves. Through observing what birds do, the child in this dōyō produces what, from a child's point of view, is perhaps a logical explanation for its color. At the same time, the explanation shows the capacity of the child to think creatively about something he sees in the landscape around him.
*Akai tori*—"Tsūshin" 赤い鳥通信

The section of the "Tsūshin" column that Kitahara Hakushū maintained in *Akai tori* for corresponding with children who submitted dōyō to the magazine offers further evidence of Hakushū's priorities in terms of the content and character of dōyō. The evaluations that Hakushū wrote were brief, but generally pointed to the positive characteristics of the children's dōyō that he had selected for publication.

In the third issue, in September of 1918, Hakushū responded to two dōyō submitted by a child named Ogawa Chūnosuke 小川忠之助. The first appeared on its own page, marked as suishō 推稱 (praiseworthy), and was entitled “Akai hana” 赤い花:

昔遠くのお山の中で、<br>赤い赤い赤い花が、<br>昨日と今日を赤く咲いた。<br><br>金のいりふの赤い花を、<br>たてに裂いたら虹がでた、<br>よこにさいたら日が照った。

Long ago in a faraway mountain,<br>a red red red flower,<br>bloomed vividly yesterday and today.<br><br>The red flower with gold in it,<br>When opened vertically, a rainbow came out,<br>When open horizontally, the sun shone.

In "Tsūshin" for this issue, Hakushū responds quite favorably to this dōyō:

今回は前よりいい成績でした。わけていい将来を見せてくれた作家が二三人あります。その中で小川君の
「紅い花」が幻想味に富んでいい作でした。

This time, the results were better than before. There were two or three writers who showed especially good prospects. Of those, Ogawa-kun's “Red Flower” was an excellent work, rich with the flavor of illusions.

It is not surprising that Hakushū liked this dōyō, in light of the style of his own dōyō, as described earlier. The child's attention is focused again on nature – the flower,
the color, and the image of light and rainbows connected to it. The words are simple, but in this simple view, the child offers a creative image of the flowers' potential in blooming. He imagines something beautiful from his observations of something natural, just as Hakushū did in many of his dōyō.

Hakushū refers to the second dōyō that Ogawa submitted as “inferior.” The second one, appearing on a later page in the same issue of the magazine, was entitled “Yume no ouma” 夢のお馬:

坊やどこへ行く、
東か西か、
夢のお馬は楽しかろ。 Boy, where are you going,
East? West?
Are you enjoying the horse in your dream?

あの森こえて、あの川わり,
東行くなら春の山、
赤いお花か桃色か。
西へ行くなら秋の野べ、
白いお花か紫か。

Pass through that forest, cross over that river,
If you go east, the spring mountain has
Red flowers - or are they peach colored?
If you go west, the autumn fields have
White flowers - or are they purple?

あの森こえて、あの川わり,
夢のお馬は楽しかろ。

Pass through that forest, cross over that river,
Are you enjoying the horse in your dream?

In the “Tsūshin” Hakushū does not explain why he considered this inferior. However, there are ways in which it does not match the style of his own dōyō, nor that of “Akai hana.” The focus of “Yume no ouma” is not particularly clear. It introduces several subjects in the landscape – mountain, rivers, flowers, colors – but does not center attention on any one of those in the way, for example, that “Akai hana” focuses on the flower and the color. There is also a repetitive, refrain-like characteristic to the dōyō that Hakushū wrote himself which is missing here. The repetition in his dōyō seems to mimic both a child's singing style and perhaps the tendency of a child's thoughts to remain
focused on one particular subject. In this sense, “Yume no ouma” may be, for Hakushū, overly imitative of an adult voice rather than representative of a child's.

In October of the same year, Hakushū featured a dōyō by Chigami Makoto 萩上真人 entitled “Kaeru” 蛙. This dōyō offered a humorous image of a frog:

蛙ひよこひよこ酒買いに。 Bobbing frog going to buy sake.
あの森越えて、 Pass through that forest,
川越えて。 Cross the river.
蛙ひよこひよこ酒かいに。 Bobbing frog going to buy sake.

Hakushū praised this one in “Tsūshin,” saying:

「蛙」は簡潔な中に原始的な幼なさと無邪気な笑ひと
があり。 . . .
“Kaeru” has an innocent humor and a primitive childishness at the center of its simplicity.

This dōyō clearly has the characteristics that Hakushū valued, both for his own work and in choosing others. With the frog as the focus of the dōyō, the humor comes from the suggestion of it engaged in a human activity. The voice of the child in the song envisions a possible scenario for what the frog is doing as it hops along. The dōyō also shows the ability, within a child's vision, to conflate the natural and human worlds.

Hakushū himself was extremely prolific, and every issue of Akai tori included many dōyō - Hakushū's own, those of other poets, and the submissions of readers. A thorough analysis of the body of work that was published in Akai tori is beyond the scope and space for this thesis. However, the few dōyō that are included here are representative of the characteristics that Hakushū sought. They also illustrate the goals that Hakushū shared with Suzuki and Yamamoto in their respective fields. Through his work on this magazine, Hakushū was able to put into practice his desire to recreate the child's voice.
and vision in the poetry he wrote for children. Furthermore, he was able to influence the thinking of a generation of young readers regarding the form and content of the songs they learned. In this way, *Akai tori* played an important role in advancing Hakushū's significance as a writer for children.
CHAPTER 5

“DŌYŌ SHIKAN” ANALYSIS

Hakushū published his “Dōyō shikan” 童謡私観 in 1923 in Shi to ongaku, a magazine he started with the composer Yamada Kōsaku 山田耕筰. The work outlines Hakushū's ideals for the characteristics of dōyō. For Hakushū, true dōyō required a deep sense of tradition, love of nature, and understanding of a child's mind. In his view, these elements are all closely interconnected and therefore none of them are indispensable. Dōyō with these elements reflect the purity and honesty of both children and nature. Furthermore they spark the creative imagination of children themselves. In this way, dōyō can enrich the inherent creativity of children in their unadulterated states.

In this chapter, excerpts of the original “Dōyō shikan,” with the corresponding numbers, are followed by translation and analysis. A complete translation appears later in the thesis.

日本の昔噺は日本の爺さん婆さんから始まる。常に常に野山に交じる爺と婆との正しき親しさ、さうしたものから、日本のよい蒼空が展けて来た、そのよい日和が。

Japan's folk tales begin with and Japan's old men and women. The honest, upright intimacy of the old men and women who spend their lives going out into the fields – it is from such things that Japan's blue sky and fine weather unfolds.

60 Hakushū echoes the opening lines of Taketori Monogatari here. While he does not identify the classic folktale by name, the wording is arguably a reference to it.
From the start of his “Dōyō shikan,” Hakushū evokes a sense of history, tradition, and purity. By alluding to *Taketori Monogatari*, Hakushū recalls ancient times from which the story comes. While a specific date for the story is not known, it is thought to have been written between the years 850 and 950. Hakushū calls up a very specific image of the past – one in which the hard-working woodcutter and his wife represent an admirable simplicity, honesty, and purity. The fact that this is visual – one can clearly picture a scene of farmers in rural Japan going out early in the morning in the pure environment of the countryside to begin their hard but admirable work – makes the description particularly effective. It is interesting that at a time in Japan's history when urbanization was becoming more and more prevalent, Hakushū pointed to the rural life to illustrate purity. If one acknowledges a rejection of social changes from the Taishō period as part of Hakushū's motivation, an endorsement of rural images over urbanization is not surprising.

Hakushū's vision in the opening of the “Dōyō shikan,” is to emphasize the beauty, purity and honesty of nature. This is not only nature in terms of rivers and mountains, although he describes those as well. Hakushū links elements of nature to what is natural in the human world. In his view, the purity and the honesty of the old people working in the countryside occur naturally. They are intrinsic characteristics of the figures in the story. Furthermore, they are part of the cultural heritage through which Japanese children first experience and learn about the world. Just as natural geographical features are timeless, these characteristics of honesty, sincerity, and purity are also immutable.
With this as the basis for his philosophy and for his art, Hakushū emphasizes that the past must not be forgotten. Forgetting the past would mean forgetting an essential element of being both human and Japanese. Moreover, for the consumers of dōyō, whether children or adults, these things are impossible to forget.

The new Japanese dōyō places its source on the pre-existing Japanese dōyō. Dōyō differs from elementary school shōka, which has forgotten Japan's landscape, traditions, and the child's mind. Accordingly, I don't count myself among the people with the point of view that New Dōyō simply has the meaning of artistic shōka.

Hakushū illustrates his point on the importance of history and tradition once again in this section by stating that the new Japanese dōyō (which is the dōyō that Hakushū and his colleagues are writing) come from landscape, traditions, and the child's mind. He clearly does not want dōyō to be thought of as a variation on shōka. Rather, he describes a direct contrast between the new dōyō and shōka. For Hakushū, shōka is the product of those who have forgotten Japan's history and tradition. In this we can see his rejection of both the Meiji music education reforms which idealized westernization and the urbanization of the Taishō period. The new dōyō have the same simplicity and purity that he referred to when he pointed to Taketori Monogatari and the natural landscape.

Hakushū's reference to the mistake of importing western songs also points to a fault with shōka. Initially, shōka were based almost entirely on western musical tradition. The foundation for producing shōka came from a time when the emphasis on
westernization was so strong that inclusion of Japanese heritage or tradition was secondary at best. However, ignoring this heritage or tradition is the same as ignoring a fundamental part of the Japanese identity, such as the scent of one's birthplace or customs and manners.

Hakushū also acknowledges that dōyō cannot be static. The expansion of form and content over time that he describes is a natural process. In light of the connection he makes between dōyō and nature, the expansion over time can be thought of in the same way that changes in the physical landscape occur – plants grow and die, land erodes, new foliage grows, etc. The way that composers of dōyō deal with these naturally occurring changes is up to each one individually. At the same time, dōyō must have a unifying thread, and for Hakushū, that thread is found in the innate ties to nature and tradition that are part of the shared culture for all Japanese people.

三
三
此の生れた風土山川を慕ふ心は、進んで寂光當楽の彼岸を慕ふ信と行とに自分を高め、生みの母を恋ふる涙はまた、遂に神への憧憬となる。

This heart, that longs for the wind, earth, mountains, and rivers of one's birth, elevates the self, to the point of having the belief and carrying out the practices that lead to the far shore of the quiet light and eternal bliss; the tears for the birth mother, in turn, finally become a longing for God.

In this section, Hakushū describes one of the reasons that the tie to tradition and history is so powerful: the emotion of nostalgia. Nostalgia is the bond between an individual and the environment from which that person comes. Hakushū views this as a religious or spiritual element in the human experience. His reference to the root cause of
nostalgia predating birth indicates that it comes from a kind of natural state. The tie to the natural world is not only a tie to mountains and rivers but a tie to a spiritual condition. Furthermore, that tie leads eventually to “salvation.” In this way, nostalgia is at the center of an individual's spiritual core.

Contemplation of reality must ultimately be correct in response to the circumstances and the times, and from the point of view of a child's mind, must always have sincerity and simplicity. We have to consider a child's emotional joy in confronting the true life that exists in everything and flows universally.

Hakushū explains here that along with having a spiritual component, dōyō need to recognize the reality of the time at which they are composed. This implies two things. First, an understanding of reality is something that fluctuates. This recalls his description of the non-static nature of dōyō in part II. Secondly, elements of reality are not always beautiful things. A child's reality is simple and direct and may include beautiful things. However, songs that only use pretty images do not include the full spectrum of elements in reality. Dōyō must recognize both the intense emotional character of children, and the importance of the spiritual component for adults.
It is said that the child is the father of the man. After all, whatever kind of adult you are, you cannot lose the true character (original nature) of a child's mind (the inner child). . . I have often said, “Return to the childlike mind!” However, my meaning in saying this is not simply that a child's ignorance is good. And I absolutely don't mean imitating children's play, or flattering children. What I am saying is to pass through the child's mind until [reaching] the condition of true thought and innocence . . . This circumstance, even in the case of contemplating nature, in the end agrees with the underlying principles of the arts.

From here, Hakushū begins to explore the characteristics of a child's mind. In his description, a child's mind, or a child's way of viewing things, is wise in its ability to be unaffected. It is pure and innocent, the way we all are as children. To be able to write dōyō effectively, a poet must retain this characteristic and be able to return to that kind of purity of vision. This does not mean trying to create a state of limited intellectual development, but rather a state in which we can feel, understand, and absorb the world around us with a child's unselfconscious emotions. Furthermore, all adults can benefit from returning to our child-like mind because of the joy that perspective on the world allows us to feel. Hakushū suggests that this state of mind is consistent with a fundamental aspect of producing art and is important for all kinds of Japanese poetry.

The other aspect of the child's mind that Hakushū emphasizes here is the ability to see something exactly as it is. From his perspective as an adult writing dōyō, this overrules the need to return to a child's state of mind. The ability to see in this way is a shared characteristic of children and adults. The difference, though, is that children use their innate sense or instinct, seeing only what is right in front of them. Adults, in

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61 Hakushū is quoting William Wordsworth, from Ode: Intimations of Immortality “My Heart Leaps Up,” 1802, ‘The child is father of the man.’
contrast, bring their learning and rationality to what they see, creating a more detailed picture. One of Hakushū's goals in writing dōyō is to create songs that will bridge the space between these two kinds of vision. The result should be poetry that a child understands but that also fulfills an adult's need for complexity.

There are people in the world who mix the wise imagination of the child's mind with the witty imagination of the adult. No matter how self-indulgent a child's imagination is, it is impossible for an imagination to exist which does not pass through the stratification of true senses. The deeper that stratification is, the more the complexity and abundance of the imagination increases. The imagination without the basis of rigorous senses is simply the cleverness of small minds. It is in dōyō, which are pure, that this cleverness should be avoided.

Hakushū makes a distinction between a child's imagination and an adult's imagination. He refers to the adult imagination as witty, which implies that adults employ their intellect to create imaginative thought. In contrast, he describes a child's imagination as wise. In this view, wisdom is equated with a direct and uncorrupted perspective. Such a perspective must come primarily via the senses. The child's imagination is not something that is created through intellectual processing, but rather from the child's perception passing through his or her senses. A child is able to do this naturally, which gives the imagination both wisdom (or honesty) and purity. In this way, Hakushū's view on imagination is similar to his explanation of the child's mind and the difference in the
way children and adults see things. For a child, perception and imagination both come from an innate capacity to view the surrounding world as it is – in other words, reality – without manipulation or intellectual analysis. Imagination grows out of that initial unaffected recognition of reality.

Hakushū wants dōyō to have this kind of purity. Because of this, he feels that a composer of dōyō needs to rely on a sensory quality rather than a conceptual quality. This is essentially what children do when they fantasize about the world around them.

What I should say here is the fact that people have made the false accusation that my theory of advocating a direct, intuitive method in the expressions of dōyō is merely intuition, which simply forgets the child's mind . . . Naturally, unconditionally returning to intuition is a talent which adults do not have. This is not only true as regards intuition. It is also true as regards the spirit. On the other hand, if there is already a recognized point of agreement between adults and children in the area above the spirit, there should be, to the same degree, a recognized point of agreement in the area above intuition as well.

In this section, Hakushū describes the meeting point between a child's world and an adult's. This is clearly intended to fend off the criticism stating that his requirement for poets to capture the child's perspective is impossible. His contention is that dōyō poets should be able to retain a connection or memory to their own experience and perspective as children. By maintaining and using that connection in their work, they strengthen it.
In his explanation of this, he once again describes the child's world as something that comes from nature. The state of unawareness or innocence to which he refers is the child's view, which does not yet have the complexities of adult experience to corrupt it. In order to recreate this, an adult needs to remove him- or herself from these corrupting experiences. Hakushū describes a state of wonder and joy as the reward for adults who do this. They can once again experience things with the intensity of a child, in the spiritual or fantastical way that a child's imagination allows.

There are those who see me as a realist. My dōyō are by no means only realism. However, no matter what kind of mysterious fantasies they are, always in my thoughts is that they have to contain insights built on penetrating the reality of the way things are . . . I want, in my dōyō, fragrance and vivid colors just like the truly pure life of the child freed unreservedly (just as they are) in nature.

Hakushū believes that dōyō must be based on a very clear idea of reality. When he describes penetrating reality, he is once again referring to the power of a child's senses to process things in the physical world. This processing is something which children do naturally. Through their senses they capture intense images connected to scents, sounds, and visions. Furthermore, because of their unadulterated vision, the images they capture represent the purest form of reality. This is what Hakushū is describing when he says that children see things exactly as they are.
Children go beyond this, however, to create fantasies out of these images. Because a child absorbs all kinds of images, the fantasies that grow out of them are not only bright and happy, but also dark. Whether bright or dark, happy or sad, the fantasies and the images themselves come from a purity of mind and vision that is innate in a child. The festival of the innocent spirit is the wonder of child's constant sensory processing that produces a strong emotional and fantastical world.

Hakushū emphasizes how thorough and intense this process is for children. Children have heightened senses in every way – sight, smell, taste, feel – and every part of their bodies is involved in exploring the world through sensory experience. The dōyō “O-matsuri” reflects, in a joy-filled way, the intensity of a child's experience.

九歓喜と興奮驚異、または憤怒と嗚咽その他に於て . . . 児童は事ごとに直感的であつて意識して詩情を弄ぶすべを知らぬ。

The spiritual condition is dynamic in a child's great joy and excitement, rage and weeping, and other such things . . . Children are intuitive in everything and they are ignorant of the method of consciously playing with poetic sentiment.

Hakushū recognizes that children's emotions have a volatility which also gives them a natural rhythm or meter. This comes from the capacity for their emotions to change in an instant. The clarity with which they view the world also means that their emotional reactions are definitive. They are rarely confused about what they feel. At the same time, they have a broad range of emotions.

Hakushū does allow for a limitation to the emotional content or depth of dōyō. Presumably, when he describes plumbing the depths of the world's most profound
emotions, he is referring to the adult world and the more complex emotional capacity of adults. At the same time, he warns that poetry for children should not be written to appeal to children on a superficial level, rather than reflecting the emotions that they feel in the way that they feel them. This, he says, is the kind of work that a poet who does not understand the child's mind produces.

Hakushū also rejects the idea of work that is purely sensory, and indeed objects to the use of the term at all. While he is not explicit about this, dōyō that is purely sensory probably lacks the foundation in reality that he insists dōyō must have. While he stresses the importance a child's senses play in perceiving the world, he does not want people to think that his dōyō consist only of images that appeal to the senses.

十
私は児童の残虐そのものを肯定するものではない。然し児童の残虐性そのものはあり得る事である。而もその残虐たるや畢竟の残虐ではない。成長力の一変態である。美であり詩であるのみである。ただに塗しとすることは成人の不純な徳る道観念に外ならぬ。

I do not endorse children's cruelty itself. However, the potential for cruelty in a child does exist. Furthermore, that cruelty is not persistent cruelty. It is one stage of growing power. It is simply beauty - it is poetry. What I consider evil is the impure moral ideas of adults, and nothing else.

Creating dōyō that truly reflect the natural state of a child's mind requires inclusion of images that adults may consider dark or cruel (in addition to the bright and joyous content). Hakushū maintains, however, that while cruelty is not something to encourage or condone, it can be a natural part of a child's experience. In the dōyō, “Kingyo” a child is waiting for his mother to return. While he waits for her, he plays with the goldfish. In his fear, anxiety, and loneliness without his mother, he kills first one, then
another, then another goldfish. Rather than cruelty, Hakushū describes this as indicative of the child's love for his mother. Without his mother there, he has dealt with his anxieties by harming the goldfish, although without malicious intent. Hakushū wants to emphasize that in addition to the joys that children experience, their natural curiosity and experimental natures lead to sadness and darkness. Hakushū points out that the child in the song feels remorse when he realizes the effects of what he has done.

十一

單に童謡は諧謔的なものと思惟してゐる人がある。また何等かさういふ要素を含んでおなければ童謡でないとして、故に作ひる作家がある。尤も眞の無邪滑稽體は時として童謡には必要である。何となればその種の流露は児童の天真そのものから來る。然し児童生活の凡て、本質としての童謡の凡てがさうであると思うのは謬つてゐる。

There are those who think that a work is not a dōyō unless it includes this kind of funny component, and they deliberately compose them that way. Although, truly innocent comic style is sometimes needed in dōyō. The reason is that that kind of revelation of feeling comes from a child's innocence itself. However, to think that a child's daily life in its entirety, or that the true nature of the entirety of dōyō is like this, is a mistake.

Humor, because it is a natural part of a child's world, should be included in dōyō. However, it should be a particular kind of humor that is appropriate to a child's mind. It should not be jokey humor. There is humor in the way that children imitate things around them. In addition, children are inclined to animate or project their own characteristics on things around them. Hakushū's belief in this is apparent in the way the child's voice in his dōyō will sometimes speak directly to animals. He sees this kind of interaction as a source for humor that builds on the child's perspective.
A child's sense of sound can be accommodated in lyrics that are imitative of natural sounds. These are the sounds to which children are naturally responsive – for example, bird sounds. Because a child is inclined to imitate sounds that he or she hears, even when they don't have any particular meaning to the child, Hakushū advocates using such sounds in dōyō. Such sounds, sung freely by children, have a musical characteristic.

Hakushū advocates meaninglessness as another characteristic that can be used in dōyō. In this case, meaninglessness refers to the innocence of a child in its natural state. As he says, it is the heart of nature, and a child's mind represents the honesty and purity of nature. He does not want meaninglessness in word play.

From the melodies of lullabies, a child understands for the first time the joy of dreaming in this world. And then the child understands poetry and understands music. No matter how old a person gets and what strange place he is wandering in, what could be harder to forget than the lullaby of one's birth mother and her affection?

Hakushū points to lullabies as a kind of dōyō that should allow the child to revel in his or her natural world. That natural world includes children's dreams as well as the nurturing environment that should surround them early in life. In his view, a lullaby needs to reflect both of these. By combining the child's natural dreamlike state with the warmth
of the mother's nurturing, the child will develop and will retain these things, to a certain
degree, for the rest of his life.

十四
普通の科学者は、主として分析的に微を極め細を検する事を識って、最も大切な
その真生命の根本の光耀には触れ得ない。だから真の科学者は先づ真の詩人たる
を要する。でなければ科学者としての真の偉大には達し得られないのである。無
論、詩人としても、一方に、自然界の実相に就いて、直観以外相当にそれらの智
識は基礎学として體得し得なければ真の偉大には達せられない。

An ordinary scientist mainly understands things through analytical investigation of
minuteness and the examination of details, and can not experience the most important
shining of the source of actual life. Therefore, a true scientist, first of all, needs a true
poet. Without one, true greatness as a scientist cannot be attained. On the other hand,
poets also, in addition to intuition, must of course master a considerable knowledge of the
reality of the natural world in order to reach a true greatness.

Hakushū again connects dōyō to the natural world. He refers to natural elements
(birds, flowers, eggs, insects) as his subject matter. In his dōyō he wants to combine art
and science. The scientific aspect (which is really nature) is what he refers to as reality.
However, he once again emphasizes the role of the senses in reaching a kind of truth.
When the poet combines the power of the senses with elements of nature, he is able to
produce art. Furthermore, that art captures the wonder of life itself. In this way, poets and
scientists have something to offer each other. A poet must understand a scientist's work to
be able to use it as a foundation for his poetry. A scientist must experience this wonder of
the natural world through the art or fantasy of poetry. [This is the ability that Hakushū
attributes to children and so he must be referring to poets who are able to tap into their
childlike mind.]
Hakushū points to things that many adults have forgotten are miraculous. He calls them magic, because they are mysterious in a truly wonderful way. His dōyō, “Mahō tsukai,” outlines exactly this kind of mystery. It is the mystery of flowers blooming, of children being born, and of apple-producing trees growing from a seed planted in the ground. These are the types of things that Hakushū points to when he describes the natural wisdom or ability that a child has to see the wonder in reality. These things fascinate children, but are forgotten by adults.

For the first time, here in Japan, we saw significant development in genuine dōyō. Furthermore, this development reached its peak after the Muromachi period. Thus dōyō of the Tokugawa period were naturally inherited by children all the way down to the Meiji period. However, the Meiji elementary school education yanked dōyō away from children and their households. Our advocacy of new dōyō and our movement of dōyō revival was thus an inevitable occurrence.

The composition of wazauta represents a reverse process from that of dōyō. The basis for wazauta was adult conceptions that were passed on to children through songs. With real dōyō, however, the basis comes from the essential nature of children. They are based on a vision of the world that children have and understand. However, these things appeal to adults as well, and so they reverse the direction that wazauta took.

By linking dōyō back to the Muromachi period, Hakushū again invokes the importance of history. Furthermore, he emphasizes how the school reforms of the Meiji
period, which produced *shōka*, interrupted the progress of children's songs. His *dōyō*, and the other *dōyō* from the movement, represent a recovery after the destructive interlude that produced *shōka*. Through his *dōyō*, he wants to draw out characteristics that naturally exist in children.

Dōyō are songs of children's minds in children's language. However, songs are songs, and therefore they must be made to fit a tune, and in addition to the rules of musical composition, perhaps they should be singable with the rhythmic clapping and stamping that children naturally do.

Hakushū emphasizes the importance of natural elements in relation to meter and rhythm. Since *dōyō* are songs, he feels that the necessary musical composition should have the same kind of rhythm that children naturally create when they sing, either from their clapping or foot-stamping. To encourage a freedom of rhythm he advocates free meter poetry for children as well.
CHAPTER 6
TRANSLATIONS

DŌSHIN 童心

Under the vast, blue blue sky, the sky over a wide field, near the white flower of a wild rose, a small child was alone, and with both hands on both eyes, was wholeheartedly wailing. I patted his head and asked,

“What's the matter?” “What's so sad?” I asked.

“I don't know, I don't know.”

With tears flowing down from between his fingers, the child was looking around in the daylight of every direction. Then suddenly he sobbed once again.

“I don't know what it is.”

If I am spoken to like this, Ah, my child—I also don't know anything.

I once again looked at the vast sky. At that round, blue ceiling. And then once again, I looked at my surroundings. The rolling of the endless hills and fields. From far away, many clouds of smoke were rising. They were all moving. I again looked at my feet. On the wild, white rose, a wasp is moving. Each time the wasp moves, the blossoms of the wild white rose fall.

Ah, my child—I, too, don't know anything.
二

When the lotus flower blossoms, bring me one—I requested this of a child. When the lotus blossomed, that child immediately brought me only the flower of the lotus, placed on both hands. The large, pure white lotus flower only, the stem and the leaves completely torn off, he brought only the flower.

“Only the flower?” I said, surprised.

“You said to bring the flower, didn't you?” The child opened his eyes wide.

He was quite right. Without a doubt, I had said to bring me a flower.

三

I showed one child the bluish-green leaves of a Japanese cypress and said, “Do you know what this is?”

“It's a leaf.”

I pointed to it and then again to the turnip leaves in the vegetable field.

“They're leaves,” he said.

The child's answer was extremely simple: “They're leaves.”

They truly were leaves, without any doubt. I was ashamed of my adult wisdom which required me to classify them as Japanese cypress leaves or turnip leaves.
Children, especially, grab hold of the true essence of things.

四

A certain girl had gathered some asters blooming in the field. At that moment, she placed all of them in my hand, saying, “I'll give them to you.”

That little girl was God.

“I'll give them to you.”

This selflessness, the heart of bestowing flowers on a person, without seeking any reward whatever and a love which involves giving everything. I think this expression, “I'll give them to you,” — just how many adults are there in the world who can innocently bestow this on others?

Without thinking I said to the child who had brought me the flowers, “What a nice girl, they are nice flowers—from now on you bring them to me every morning and I'll give you something nice.” When I said that it hit me—it was a bad thing to say. It's irreparable. The child who today innocently picked the wild asters will, tomorrow, go out into the field wanting something and look for flowers. There is nothing as despicable as an adult. Without realizing it, I am always dishonoring God. *Please forgive me!* I entreated the receding form of the child. My tears overflowed.
The next morning the child once again brought me flowers. I felt the color drain from my cheeks. I had to give her something. I handed over one red apple to her. Once the child had bitten into the fruit of knowledge, from then on, every morning, she brought me the impure flowers. Then it became two of them, then three, then four or five. Under the vast sky, when there was something they wanted, children often used to cry from the middle of the wild roses. But now without crying they pluck the wild roses and bring them to exchange for something. Then, just as before, they say,

“Shall I give them to you?”

What is this, *Shall I give them to you?*

Then, they hold their hands out and wait for their reward. If I do not give them something, they stand there like that forever.

At the times when I have nothing, since there is nothing I can do, I pat the children's heads. Even so, they do not intend to leave empty-handed. Then at last, when they understand that they won't get anything from me, one of them shouts from near the gate.

“He doesn't have anything today!”

I felt myself grow pale. Who made these children's hearts so ugly? It's disgraceful. There's something even more dreadful than that. I had nothing – truly nothing at all. What on earth am I? What did I think I could give them?
One time, I again encountered a certain child. The child was standing in the middle of the withered pampas grass of the river embankment and was asking out loud, “Where am I going?”

The child was hulking and somehow rather dim. When I asked how old he was, he said fifteen. His swollen head was indented in one spot and every time the wind blew it quaked like tissue paper. When they saw that, the farmers laughed at and teased him.

“Where am I going! You fool! If you don't know where you are going, how should anybody else know?”

Even though he was raucously jeered by everyone, in this idiot child's heart there was nothing — not anger, not shame, not sadness.

“All right! We'll go together. Come here.”

I beckoned the child from behind. For all that, the child bowed his head and thanked me.

After a while, it was only the two of us on top of the cold embankment. I wonder where I should go. Once again the child stood still. The whole sky was perfectly clear to immense heights, and a cold howling wind blew. The broad expanse of countryside had neither color nor scent, its withering complete, only the white Mt. Fuji, beyond the remote distance of the withered woods, made a small bump in the landscape. I wonder
where I should go. Ah, my child—I just don't know where I should go either. Me too—where should I go?

My tears flowed. Ah, me—I don't know anything, I don't know where I should go.

*I'll take you with me. Where can I take that child?* I blushed. What shamelessness!

This child had bowed his head to me in thanks. He was relieved. He believed that if he just went along with this adult he would be able to get back to his loving mother's side.

The mother who is the vast sky, the origin of love - I also long for that mother. Where do I have to go to get there? Ah, child—I don't know where I should go either.

*(Katsushika shōhin, 1917)*
“DŌYŌ SHIKAN” 童謡私観

一
1. Japan's folk tales begin with Japan's old men and women. The honest, upright intimacy of the old men and women who spend their lives going out into the fields – it is from such things that Japan's blue sky and fine weather unfolds.

2. Unchanging tranquility and solitude (lonesomeness). People who don't think about old times are cursed (past is not to be ignored).

3. In my view, the image of eternal nature is not only a thing of ancient Japan. The immutable is the fragrance of the landscape, the tone of the mountains and rivers.

4. The old man and woman are not a thing of only a single child. They are the ever-unchanging grandfather and grandmother of all of Japan's children.

5. The hometowns (old villages) and the human emotions of Japan and of dōyō are in this [long ago]. This must not be forgotten. Japan's dōyō is Japan's dōyō. Japan's children are Japan's children.

二
1. The new Japanese dōyō places its source on the pre-existing Japanese dōyō. Dōyō differs from elementary school shōka, which has forgotten Japan's landscape, traditions, and the child's mind. Accordingly, I don't count myself among the people with the point of view that New Dōyō simply has the meaning of artistic shōka (has omitted the heritage).
2. It is also a mistake to try to import, wholesale, western poetry and even children's songs (dōyō). It is good to adopt and unite them as long as one does it discerningly. However, such ingrained things as the scent of one's birthplace, and customs or manners, must not be disregarded. We have to think about this.

3. Nonetheless, the various phases of a period shift with time, and become complicated. The form and content of Japanese dōyō change and expand over time. This kind of thing should be freely entrusted to generation after generation of writers.

4. However, through thousands of years, in Japanese dōyō, there must be a constancy that runs through them. In the sense of truth and ethnic spirit.

三
1. In my dōyō there are many things taken from my own childhood experiences. Indeed, nostalgia! It is nostalgia that is, for humans at a foundational level, the purest attachment of the soul. This heart, that longs for the wind, earth, mountains, and rivers of one's birth, elevates the self, to the point of having the belief and carrying out the practices that lead to the far shore of the quiet light and eternal bliss; the tears for the birth mother, in turn, finally become a longing for God. The root cause of this nostalgia comes from long, long ago before birth. It is this nostalgia, continuous as it was, that transmutes into a higher meaning - the path to salvation.

四
1. Dōyō should not simply be the singing of children's unchecked, beautiful illusions. Contemplation of reality must ultimately be correct in response to the circumstances and
the times, and from the point of view of a child's mind, must always have sincerity and simplicity. We have to consider a child's emotional joy in confronting the true life that exists in everything and flows universally. Furthermore, we have to consider the fact that adults revere their god in the blue skies with deep exaltation and appreciation.

五
1. It is said that the child is the father of the man.62 After all, whatever kind of adult you are, you cannot lose the true character (original nature) of a child's mind (the inner child). It must be especially because of that, consequently, that humans have value. Poets especially preserve an abundance of this childlike mind (naiveté). Furthermore, to be qualified as a writer of dōyō, you would expect that one has to be extremely rich in childlike naiveté.
2. Adults who return the most frequently to the childlike mind are made the happiest.
3. I have often said, "Return to the childlike mind!" However, my meaning in saying this is not simply that a child's ignorance is good. And I absolutely don't mean imitating children's play, or flattering children. What I am saying is to pass through the child's mind until [reaching] the condition of true thought and innocence. In a single moment of forgetting oneself in ecstasy, become one with the universe.
4. This circumstance, even in the case of contemplating nature, in the end agrees with the underlying principles of the arts. This is [true] not only in dōyō, but it is the same ultimate experience you find in all forms of Japanese poetry.

62 Hakushū is quoting William Wordsworth, from Ode: Intimations of Immortality “My Heart Leaps Up,” 1802, 'The child is father of the man.'
5. Therefore, I have at last completely accepted this fact – that now I no longer absolutely have the need to return to the childlike mind. The truth as truth is enough. The contemplation I am doing is fine as it is. It is fine for things to be as they are.

6. Bamboo is bamboo. This is how children see bamboo, and adults see bamboo in the same way. Children simply see bamboo. Furthermore, they sense bamboo intuitively. Adults see bamboo in detail [finely, minutely]. Moreover, they see it thoroughly, inside and out. Even so, there are no two ways about the fact that both children and adults see bamboo as bamboo.

7. Dōyō, in its contents and expressions, must be, of course, easily understood by children, but it also must entertain adults even more deeply with its lofty conceptions. The expression is done of course by means of children's words.

六
1. There are people in the world who mix the wise imagination of the child's mind with the witty imagination of the adult. No matter how self-indulgent a child's imagination is, it is impossible for an imagination to exist which does not pass through the stratification of true senses. The deeper that stratification is, the more the complexity and abundance of the imagination increases. Furthermore, regarding imaginations that are wise, they increase on account of the senses to which they are connected; it is only after this filtration by the senses starts, that the imagination begins to shine from within.

2. We should value the perception of beauty because it is a recognition of the soul, and is in the background of the senses, which should be valued. Furthermore, the reason this sense should be respected is that it is a gateway to the soul itself.
3. We who always see in the child's mentality unceasing curiosity and a longing and aspiration to bring unknown things close, notice in ourselves too the soul's impetus and unceasing desire for growth and improvement.

4. Furthermore, regarding this wise imagination, it is not generated by disregarding the body's senses. By means of the real, we can set fantasy free. Genuine mystery is not simply something that is lodged in fanciful illusions. Genuine mystery resides in the interior of true existence, which is attained by means of intellect and senses. Accordingly, although the fantasies of children can flap their beautiful wings into the sky, they can only do this if they have a grounding.\(^63\)

5. The imagination without the basis of rigorous senses is simply the cleverness of small minds. It is in dōyō, which are pure, that this cleverness should be avoided.

6. My fantastical dōyō also come mainly from what has passed through the genuine sensory stratification. That's the reason why, in the expressions of dōyō, I avoid an indirect conceptual method and employ an entirely direct sensory method.

七
1. What I should say here is the fact that people have made the false accusation that my theory of advocating a direct, intuitive method in the expressions of dōyō is merely intuition, which simply forgets the child's mind. People who do not make this first argument say that it is impossible for an adult to return to intuition. Naturally, unconditionally returning to intuition is a talent which adults do not have. This is not only true as regards intuition. It is also true as regards the spirit. On the other hand, if there is

\(^{63}\) Hakushū is not specific about what that grounding is, but I interpret it as a grounding in reality.
already a recognized point of agreement between adults and children in the area above the spirit, there should be, to the same degree, a recognized point of agreement in the area above intuition as well. Especially when it comes to the poets who possess the greatest amount of childlike nature, in them the memory of intuition is most copiously preserved and becomes more and more refined, more and more polished. On account of this, their recollection of childlike intuition is always fresh and they never part with the wonder of their childlike nature. Shouldn't dōyō poets take some pride in this?

2. Especially when someone, shedding the bitterness of adult thoughts, idle thoughts, truly transcends to the point of the eternal child, such a person discovers the self in the ecstatic [spiritual] realm of childlike nature beyond the child, with more childlike unawareness. In this awe-inspiring unawareness at which it is nearly impossible to arrive – this marvelous state of innocence - I myself always feel a deep humility and chagrin. It causes me to try all the more.

八
1. I abundantly and directly reproduce the life emotions of lively children. There are those who see me as a realist. My dōyō are by no means only realism. However, no matter what kind of mysterious fantasies they are, always in my thoughts is that they have to contain insights built on penetrating the reality of the way things are.

2. Children dream in the daytime too. However, those daydreams come entirely from the pleasure of reality. In the daytime, the bright red, glowing sunlight is their affectionate father. Children consider nighttime dreams scary, sad, and beautiful. However, those

64 His chagrin comes apparently from the fact that he is unable to arrive at that awareness himself.
nighttime dreams are induced equally by the sorrow of reality. The boundlessly vast, bright radiant moon and stars are their affectionate mother and their brothers and sisters. What entices children's poetic fantasies is by no means found simply in a conjuror's dove or the beauty of artificial flowers. They have reminiscences associated with places of vivid scent, music and light, and they desire a tomorrow of hope – that is when a dream boards the wing of imagination and soars. In a child's body, day and night there is always a festival of the innocent spirit.

3. My dōyō requires the kind of freshness and intimacy of the mud-smeared hands of a child. What I want is something emitting the essence of the juice of grass, the legs of insects, the fragrance of fruit, the stickiness of milk, pollen, sweat – on the hands, on the head, on the cheeks, on clothing, on bare knees, on the bottom of the feet - I want, in my dōyō, fragrance and vivid colors just like the truly pure life of the child freed unreservedly (just as they are) in nature.

4. Among the dōyō I have written like this, I have as my ecstasy the ecstasy of the child who leaps and jumps to ever greater heights, like the children in “O-matsuri” with its wasshoi, wasshoi.66

九
1. I generally try to express the vibrant emotions of children by means of their natural meter as it is. This is mainly because the essential spiritual condition of the child is for

65 This dōyō was published in the October 1918 issue of the children's magazine Akai Tori.
66 People chant wasshoi while parading very heavy portable shrines through the streets during Japanese festivals. While the word has no specific meaning, it evokes both the group effort of moving the shrine, as well as the lively, high-spirited festival atmosphere.
the most part a thing of dynamism and abrupt change. The spiritual condition is dynamic in a child's great joy and excitement, rage and weeping, and other such things.

2. However, it does not mean that I feel nothing for the varied complexity in a child's spiritual state. As I look back on my own childhood, I feel it again as if for the first time. In isolation, friendship, envy, jealousy, inclination to steal, cruelty, rivalry, compassion, sorrow, yearning, regret, and in other things; still, the most fixed and constant image is of me standing with a somewhat pale countenance in the shade of a particular tree in a certain secluded place. If I overlook that, my childhood years are excessively sentimental.

3. However, there is one thing that should be considered here: a thing like a child's sentimentality of sorrow is by no means the superficial children's cloying poetic-ness. Children are intuitive in everything and they are ignorant of the method of consciously playing with poetic sentiment. The world of poetry – its openess, floating, extreme embellishment, creating the special existence of something that is outside of reality – these things of the art-loving child are truly things that set your teeth on edge. Children's poetry does not in fact plumb the depths of the world's most profound emotions. However, if there are only illusions of rhetorical flourishes, if the dōyō in question are ones that only have the wit and cleverness of a conjurer and flatter such children's tastes, in those kinds of qualities it should be reasonable to doubt or question the childlike mind of the writer.

4. This doesn't mean that, concerning the spiritual condition of the child, I don't have understated, emotionally sensitive works as well. Examples would be such works as “Minami no kaze no,” and “Chōchō no tabi.” If I compare the amount of this kind of
verse I have written with other less productive writers, the amount I have written of this type of verse may possibly be more. (When the second volume of *Hakushū Dōyō shū* is published, I believe this will be substantially understood.) However, in my works, dynamic things are easy to see, and in number I suppose they probably slightly exceed the static kind of composition. However, I do not want to be labeled on one side or the other.

5. Also, even if my *dōyō* are possibly unique in their sensory aspect, people who consider my *dōyō* as purely sensory arts because of that really misunderstand them. Indeed, I wonder how such inadequate words as *sensory poets/sensory arts* are even allowed.

†
1. I esteem the child mind as the child mind. Furthermore, I treat the value of *dōyō* as the value of art. The foremost meaning in creating *dōyō* is that one should form [establish] a sincere song, for oneself, according to one's own child mind. In that sense, *dōyō* is neither a means of teaching, nor is it made for some other goal.

2. A certain writer viewed "Kingyo," one poem among hundreds of my poems, carelessly and saw it as simply cruel, and furthermore applied his own narrow-minded view to my other *dōyō*. I do not endorse children's cruelty itself. However, the potential for cruelty in a child does exist. Furthermore, that cruelty is not persistent cruelty. It is one stage of growing power. It is simply beauty - it is poetry. What I consider evil is the impure moral ideas of adults, and nothing else.

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67 It is unclear what volume Hakushū is referring to here.
68 In this *dōyō*, a child is waiting for his mother to return home and kills the goldfish by playing with them while he waits. “Kingyo” was printed in *Akai torigi* in 1921 with music by Narita Tamezō.
3. Even in my dōyō “Kingyo,” the child killing the goldfish is the embodiment of the child's love toward his/her mother. This impulse is neither evil nor ugly. It is an innate thing. In such a case, who can sit in judgement of the child? What is more, this child regrets the cruel action from the depths of his heart. That pure heart, Buddha nature, wisdom, facing its own impulsive blunder and evil, is crying in thorough dismay. This kind of thing is the nature of reality in the heart of a child.

4. Furthermore, I want it to be understood that dōyō is art.

5. If there is an educator who doesn't want to use my dōyō as shōka, then it is perfectly alright not to. This is because I do not write dōyō with only educational use as my objective.

6. Also, I know that a certain educator by chance, happening to see the word ikigimotori in my dōyō, superficially sees it immediately as cruel and, of his own accord, begins to revise it, choreograph it, and have it sung and danced. I do not permit a single other finger to color my art. The educator with no understanding toward art, in the end, has no appreciation for what it is that is the child's mind, nor for what dōyō is. Pure art is by no means something that misleads the child. Rather, it is precisely those uncomprehending busybodies themselves that warp children's minds.

7. However, let me tell you this: my dōyō with such examples are, out of several hundred, no more than one or two verses, or perhaps two or three occasions.

8. I do not want to be unjustly referred to as cruel.

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69 This term translates directly as “live liver taker” and appears twice in Hakushū's collection entitled Omoide. The poetry in Omoide recalls images and experiences of Hakushū's own childhood. In the poem “Yoru” he describes the blackness of night and blood dripping, when the ikigimotori comes with pale scissors. The description captures a child's bedtime fears, while echoing the tone of cautionary tales for children in the German collection Struwwel Peter.
There are people who think that dōyō are simply humorous things. There are those who think that the a work is not a dōyō unless it includes this kind of funny component, and they deliberately compose them that way. Although, truly innocent comic style is sometimes needed in dōyō. The reason is that that kind of revelation of feeling comes from a child's innocence itself. However, to think that a child's daily life in its entirety, or that the true nature of the entirety of dōyō is like this, is a mistake.

Concerning what is called humor in dōyō, I always hope for an innocent, sincere, and exceedingly natural expression of feeling. Unless you have those things, adult wit that is merely comedy for its own sake, simply injures the essential nature of children.

There is also sometimes a need for personification. The reason why is that children, because of their sentiment of friendship, do not make a distinction between themselves as humans and other living and non-living things as coming from different categories. They transfer their own minds to everything and they see themselves in everything else. From this flows a humor that should make one smile.

Furthermore, concerning the precise and poetic use of imitative sounds, I approve of this. When the direct effects of such imitative sounds are made light of, considerably complicated expressions outside of this must be demanded. Children are already prodigious creators of this imitative sound. Also, even infants, who cannot speak words whose meanings they cannot understand, copy the caw caw of crows, and imitate a sparrow's cheep cheep. They are also delighted when they hear other people saying these things [nonsense words]. We must think about this. However, there are people who say
that the use of imitative sounds is unmusical, and causes the loss of profundity and mystical charm. Yet, it would be a mistake to think that dōyō in its entirety is something that is composed by the specialized hand of a musician and should be sung with the accompaniment of various kinds of instruments. Sometimes, as in traditional dōyō, they should be sung simply, freely, by means of the child's own clapping and gestures. At such times, the imitative sounds that delight children are the sounds that strike them most directly. Only, on account of how often people overdo this, one should make sure to exercise caution.

十二
1. In dōyō, in some cases, a meaningless rapture is also necessary. In Lao Tzu also, there is something called the use of emptiness. This meaningless rapture is not simply meaningless. You could call it the laughter of a child who takes as its mother the blue arc of heaven. It is the soliloquy of innocence. It is the non-self of a handball bouncing in the palm of one's hand.

2. Ah - the meaningless idleness of the useless non-self – the heart of great nature.

3. However, I want to add here that this meaninglessness doesn't mean mere meaninglessness, mere vulgarity, or the play of puns and flowery language, as you see in ball-bouncing songs and riddle songs.

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70 By “traditional dōyō” Hakushū is referring to zairai no dōyō 在来の童謡, children's songs prior to the dōyō movement, which were called warabe uta.

71 Hakushū refers here to chapter 11 of Lao Tzu's Tao te ching in which he emphasizes the importance not only of what is but what is not (emptiness). Through this reference Hakushū indicates that what may be perceived by adults as vacuous in some dōyō may be representative of the purity and innocence of a child. In this sense it is not meaningless at all.

72 This image recalls the Zen monk Ryōkan, referred to as temari shōnin 手鞠上人, the saint of ball-bouncing, because he kept balls in his sleeves for playing with children, and was known for his own pure and child-like nature.
十三
1. A compassionate mother's love must pour incessantly, like the downpour of the spring rain, tenderly above the child, gently, leaving no part untouched. Lullabies also must let the child play, off in his or her dreams, gently, warmly and without care. I hope that lullabies will be composed with this in mind.

2. From the melodies of lullabies, a child understands for the first time the joy of dreaming in this world. And then the child understands poetry and understands music. No matter how old a person gets and what strange place he is wandering in, what could be harder to forget than the lullaby of one's birth mother and her affection?

3. I composed lullabies again and again as a consequence of that unforgettable heart within my heart. A certain person smiled, saying this: “No one else is as much of a baby as you are. For a baby to be the one to compose lullabies is strange.” I also smiled and answered: “There is nothing strange about it at all. Isn't it precisely because I am lovingly cared for by people that I am filled with gratitude for being cared for? And isn't it because of that that I am able to write lullabies?”

十四
1. Regarding sound, numbers, and the spirit of words and also celestial bodies, birds, the forms of flowers, each type of insect, the eggs of all kinds of reptiles; or feelings on hearing the sound of bird and insect wings, the murmur of the natural world, the great joy of living things; progressing even more to human life and death, I produced a new style
of dōyō about these things - I produced it with the idea of the fusion of every kind of art and science and the truth found in fantasy and sketching from life.

2. In the senses alone, no matter how acute they are, there is no way in which they can be considered lofty or noble. What is important is the intensity of the illumination of wisdom that is hidden in the interior of those senses. A poet's wisdom comes via those sharpened senses, purely from grasping intuitively the essence of the life force of all of creation and its individual truths. Indeed, if one cannot intuitively see the light of that life, really he or she cannot be called an outstanding poet.

3. An ordinary scientist mainly understands things through analytical investigation of minuteness and the examination of details, and cannot experience the most important shining of the source of actual life. Therefore, a true scientist, first of all, needs a true poet. Without one, true greatness as a scientist cannot be attained.

4. On the other hand, poets also, in addition to intuition, must of course master a considerable knowledge of the reality of the natural world in order to reach a true greatness.

5. Mystery is at the very center of reality – it cannot be anywhere else. I suppose people who have read my poem “Mahō tsukai” have laughed out loud. However, I find very peculiar people who cannot see the wonder in true wonder, and also who forget that wonder, and don't look back on it. Also, it is OK to laugh at people who believe that art and poetry consist of thinking that mystery is in the interior of a magician's box, or, conversely, sneer that ostentation itself is poetry.
6. I say this to scientists: My poems “Tsukiyo no niji,” and “Tsukigasa higasa” are not fiction or imagination. They are precise reality itself, just as you see them. I say this to poets: I worship the mystery of that kind of reality itself. That is what I see.

1. According to sources, the origins of Japanese dōyō are in wazauta. Wazauta are the satire and prophecy of any given age. Ordinary people sang them first and children passed them on. Furthermore, they were not the kind of thing that should be looked at as true dōyō.

2. Songs of children's minds and language came about after that – that is, as a matter of course – from the essential emotions of children's lives. Furthermore, even adults were attracted to this. In this way, the nature of phenomenon in songs was reversed from that of before.

3. For the first time, here in Japan, we saw significant development in genuine dōyō.

4. Furthermore, this development reached its peak after the Muromachi period. Thus dōyō of the Tokugawa period were naturally inherited by children all the way down to the Meiji period.

5. However, the Meiji elementary school education yanked dōyō away from children and their households.

6. Our advocacy of new dōyō and our movement of dōyō revival was thus an inevitable occurrence.

73 Wazauta refers to a kind of ancient song of social or political satire, of unknown authorship.
7. These days, Japanese children have made their emotions shine abundantly and with true freedom, and they make their lives right through poetry.

8. We have been blessed to offer our dōyō for the nourishment of children's souls, simply with the modest intent of drawing out their poetic sentiment. And henceforth it should remain so.

9. I never had any intention of asking children for any kind of compensation.

10. Ah – but how blessed I am. Japan's children are truly beginning to shine.

16. Dōyō are songs of children's minds in children's language. However, songs are songs, and therefore they must be made to fit a tune, and in addition to the rules of musical composition, perhaps they should be singable with the rhythmic clapping and stamping that children naturally do.

2. In addition to dōyō that should be sung like this, we should give children poems that should be silently savored or quietly read aloud. Now children themselves are mainly making free verse poems too. Furthermore, for fear that the children's own songs will tend toward lifelessness through too much concern with meter, I ardently encourage free meter poetry at the present time.

3. Children must be longing for poems as reading material too.

4. When I think about this, in addition to songs, from here on I think it's about time to move the plow of cultivation in the direction of children's poetry as an innovation. I already have two or three prototypes, but sooner or later, children's poetry will become my main creative endeavor, on a par with my dōyō.
5. I am racing toward the fruition of this long-held dream.

[Shi to ongaku, Taishō 12 (1923) January]
CONCLUSION

Kitahara Hakushū's philosophy of dōyō, as reflected in the dōyō that he wrote in the early Taishō period, was significant in that it presented a view of children as having an innately creative and poetic capacity. It was a view that, prior to the dōyō movement, had played virtually no part in the literature that children could access, particularly that created for school use. By writing dōyō with themes and imagery that he felt would be meaningful to children, and giving them a childlike voice and vision, Hakushū both acknowledged the innate creativity of children and used it as inspiration for his work.

In a commercial sense, Hakushū's work writing dōyō was a success. While all of the poets involved in the dōyō movement benefited from this success, for Hakushū it meant the end of an impoverished lifestyle. Margaret Benton Fukasawa describes the signs of Hakushū's financial success and reactions of the people around him:

With the money earned from his children's verse, folk songs, and fiction, Hakushū decided to build a modern two-story house . . . he made elaborate plans for the traditional groundbreaking and purification ceremonies, hiring geisha from Tokyo and building a stage for entertainment. When his family arrived for the ceremony, they were shocked by his ostentation. Even more perturbed at Hakushū's display were those acquaintances who barely a year and a half earlier had contributed from their own pockets to help build the other two houses on the grounds.74

There is some irony in this success. It lies mainly in the fact that while Hakushū was rejecting the consumerism and academic pressure that characterized middle-class life in the Taishō period, these were the very things that were producing consumers of his

74 Fukasawa, Kitahara Hakushū, 84.
Thanks to the educated, middle-class population that grew from Meiji reforms and the economic prosperity of the Taishō period, there were families who could afford to buy magazines and recordings of dōyō.

Despite this, it is clear that Hakushū's motivations came from a desire to write poetry that would benefit children themselves rather than promote any kind of political or moral agenda, and in this sense his dōyō were undeniably successful. To do this, Hakushū emphasized recreating a child's voice and perspective in his dōyō. They are often narrated by a child interacting with something around him – speaking directly to an animal, for example, or theorizing on why birds are a certain color. Hakushū wanted to recreate children's ability to view what is around them in a non-analytical way. This reflects Hakushū's appreciation for the purity and innocence of children. Hakushū considered a child's capacity for purity and honesty in observing his surroundings in a direct and penetrating way to be essential in writing effective dōyō.

It was in their observations and interactions with nature that Hakushū saw the creative capacity of children. The observations of children, as re-created in Hakushū's dōyō, resulted in a broad variety of imagery: euphoric, humorous, fantastical, despairing. In some cases, the voice in Hakushū's dōyō attempts explanations for what it sees, using a child's reasoning. It often ascribes human attributes to non-human characters. Furthermore, it relates actions or characteristics it observes with experiences that are close to the child himself. By recreating the voice and perspective of a child, Hakushū provided songs that could serve as an extension and enhancement of a child's own innate ability to think creatively. The observations were often simple, but insightful.
When Suzuki Miekichi died in 1936, publication of the magazine stopped and the 
*dōyō* movement effectively ended. The impact of the movement was significant enough 
however, that *dōyō* as a form of song for children continued and still continues to be 
enjoyed today.

While the content of songs during World War II became increasingly patriotic and nationalistic, the years of American occupation after the war reversed that trend. When a new school system patterned after American schools was developed, the focus of the curriculum changed as well. The *Kyōiku kihon hō* or Fundamental Law of Education from 1947, states as its goal to develop a population of “builders of a peaceful state and society.” The music curriculum was of course included in this goal and the songs books that were used in schools were revised again.

By the time the 1947 song collections by the Ministry of Education were released, the distinction between *dōyō* and *shōka* had begun to blur. The restriction on militaristic, nationalistic, or moralistic content in songs brought the *shōka* that were used a bit closer to that of *dōyō*. Furthermore, the 1947 music textbooks included several famous Taishō-period *dōyō*, such as “Donguri korokoro” どんぐりころころ, “Akatonbo” 赤とんぼ, “Kanariya” かなりや, and “Yūyake koyake” 夕焼小焼. While these were not Hakushū's compositions, they contain the same characteristics that Hakushū considered essential in writing true *dōyō*.

Another irony arises in the way that *dōyō* in the post-war period were used by the Occupation to advance a political agenda. *Dōyō* written by Hakushū and others for the

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express purpose of benefiting children were used in the same way shōka had been in the Meiji period. It seems unlikely, however, that Hakushū would have objected to this. The dōyō were not altered for this purpose, so they still had the characteristics that Hakushū felt would benefit the creative minds of children. The decisions made in 1947 on school songs speak less about Hakushū and the dōyō movement, and much more about the government's recognition of the power of songs to convey messages and ideals to children.

Because so little has been written in English on dōyō, the possibilities for further research are extensive. Hakushū published a total of fourteen collections of dōyō. An in-depth examination of these would serve not only to more fully show how his philosophy played out in his work but also how his style might have changed over the approximately twenty-five years he was composing dōyō.

While Hakushū was arguably the most influential and prolific figure in the dōyō movement, he was not by any means the only one. Saijō Yaso 西条八十 and Noguchi Ujō 野口雨情 were both particularly prominent in the movement as well. Noguchi wrote his own theories of dōyō which, to date, have not been examined in an in-depth way. Analysis of the work of these two writers would be valuable in further understanding the dōyō movement itself.

Because the focus of this thesis has been Hakushū's philosophy of composing dōyō, it has concentrated on his poetry. However, the music and the musicians who composed it offer another important area of research relating to dōyō. Some scholars who have written on music education have done musical analysis of the songs of specific
composers, but the way in which the composers interacted, contributed to, and influenced the work of the writers has not been adequately studied.

One other area that warrants further exploration is that of other children's literary magazines (aside from *Akai tori*) that printed *dōyō*: *Kodomo no kuni*, *Kin no fune*, and *Dōyō*, for example. These were largely imitative of *Akai tori* but nonetheless published important and long-lasting *dōyō*.

*Dōyō*, as a field of study, has the potential to uncover insights into literary, musical, social, educational and artistic influences on several generations of Japanese children. Such insights might open a wider understanding on generations that lived after the *dōyō* movement but, possibly without even being aware, were affected by it.
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