INFORMATION TO USERS

This was produced from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign of “target” for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is “Missing Page(s)”. If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure you of complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark it is an indication that the film inspector noticed either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, or duplicate copy. Unless we meant to delete copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed, you will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed the photographer has followed a definite method in “sectioning” the material. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. For any illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and tipped into your xerographic copy. Requests can be made to our Dissertations Customer Services Department.

5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases we have filmed the best available copy.

University Microfilms International
300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106
18 BEDFORD ROW, LONDON WC1R 4EJ, ENGLAND
SHŪSEI, HAKUCHŌ, AND THE AGE OF LITERARY NATURALISM, 1907-1911

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN ASIAN LANGUAGES

MAY 1975

By

Robert Rolf

Dissertation Committee:

Valdo H. Viglielmo, Chairman
James T. Araki
Hiroko Ikeda
Yukuo Uyehara
Daniel Stempel
CONTENTS

SECTION ONE: TOKUDA SHŪSEI

An Introduction: the Katai Shūsei seitan gojūnen shukugakai ... 1

1892-1895: Early Attempts to Establish Himself ... 8

1895-1902: Ozaki Köyō, Oguri Fūyō, Izumi Kyōka. Shūsei's Childhood ... 18

1902-1907: the Kabi Period. Marriage, Children, the Death of Köyō ... 30

1908-1915: The Period of Literary Naturalism ... 43

1916-1925: Subjective Literature, Deaths of Daughter, Brother, and Wife ... 58

1926-1943: Yamada Junko, Soyo, Kobayashi Masako, Literary "Silence" and Resurgence, Reaction to the War ... 70

SECTION TWO: MASAMUNE HAKUCHŌ

1879-1895: Hakuchō and Shūsei, Hakuchō's Childhood ... 91

1896-1903: Christianity, Waseda ... 103

1904-1907: Yomiuri, Naturalism I ... 115

1908-1911: Naturalism II ... 150

1912-1919: Post-Naturalism, Literary Decline ... 171

1920-1929: Ōiso, Literary Criticism and Drama. Voyage to the West ... 184

1930-1962: The War, Return to Christianity ... 227

SECTION THREE: NATURALIST FICTION OF HAKUCHŌ AND SHŪSEI, 1907-1911

1907: Hakuchō's "Jin'ai," Japanese and Western Naturalism ... 272

1908-1911: Hakuchō's "Doko-e," "Jigoku," "Torō," "Bikō," and "Doro Ningyō" ... 294

1908-1910: Shūsei's "Shussan," "Shinjotai," and Ashiato ... 317

1911: Shūsei's Kabi ... 346

Postscript ... 361

FOOTNOTES ... 362

BIBLIOGRAPHY ... 399
On November 23, 1920, a remarkable cultural event took place in Tokyo. In the afternoon, Shimazaki Tōson, Masamune Hakuchō, Hasegawa Tenkei, Takamatsu Yoshie, and other literary luminaries lectured to a large audience at the Yūraku-za. Songs by the famous soprano Yokoyama Akiko and a concert of violin music lent an air of festivity to the assembly. The event culminated in a banquet that evening, at the Seiyōken in Tsukiji, attended by more than two hundred people—many distinguished writers and artists, as well as government dignitaries, among them. At the center of attention throughout were the writers Tokuda Shūsei and Tayama Katai, who were being thus honored on the occasion of their fiftieth birthdays.

That day's activities are remembered as the Katai Shūsei seitan gojūnen shukugakai (Katai Shūsei Fiftieth Birthday Celebration). Though the celebration of birthdays might be considered trivial, this particular shukugakai has assumed the importance of a landmark in the history of early twentieth century Japanese literature; it is mentioned in all literary histories and chronologies of the period and
The event had been preceded by a preparatory meeting in September, an organizational meeting to attend to the complicated arrangements such a spectacular undertaking would entail. This gathering produced committees in charge of the lectures, the banquet, finances, advertising, and ushering, and all this was reported in such places as the literary monthly Shinchō complete with a photograph of the participants.

It was decided to issue a commemorative volume of Katai's and Shūsei's own selections of their works, and, more extraordinary, a volume containing short pieces by some thirty-three of the most important writers of the day, the Gendai shōsetsu senshū (A Selection of Modern Fiction). The proceeds from the sale of these were to be used to buy gifts for Katai and Shūsei.

The shukugakai was extraordinary not only because of its size, but also because of the unprecedented cooperation it required of so many writers and critics on the literary scene, the social entity the Japanese refer to as the bundan. There was, as could have been expected, some dissension and maneuvering that went on behind the scenes during the planning, but on the whole the event is remarkable as showing the bundan virtually united in this one project. The idea for the birthday celebration was perhaps originally that of the writer Kikuchi Kan, but we should consider why any writer should have been so lavishly honored in the first place.
The modern bundan had been in existence for some time, and, conscious of its own existence and feeling its own importance, it felt in an expansive, assertive mood. The Taishō-period bundan was notably ostentatious in character, and such a grand event was an expression of the times. Honoring two of their number in elaborate style provided the members of the literary establishment, or bundan, an excellent opportunity to assert themselves and their importance, and the coincidence of two of their members attaining their fiftieth birthdays at about the same time (actually Shūsei was born December 23, 1871, and Katai December 13 of the same year) was a happy one.

The obvious reason Katai and Shūsei were fit to be the focus of such a unanimous show of the bundan's respect was their advanced age, and more specifically the coincidence of their birthdays occurring at nearly the same time. The significance of the fact that two writers, rather than one, were to be honored is, it seems, underlined by their very age. Fifty years represents considerable experience, to be sure, but it is, nonetheless, a young age for one to be honored as a grand old man of letters.

The reason for the suitability of celebrating Katai's and Shūsei's fifty years might be found in the relative youth of the other important members of the bundan. All of the thirty-three who were to contribute to the commemorative volume of fiction, the Gendai shōsetsu senshū, were under fifty. Only Tōson was virtually the same age as Katai and
Shūsei, having been born in 1872, and he played a significant role in the observances by giving an address at the afternoon gathering and writing the preface to the commemorative volume.

For this rather young bundan which was barely middle-aged, the fifty-year-old Katai and Shūsei were indeed elder members. The death of Iwano Hömei in May, 1920 ( Hömei was born in 1873) and the earlier passing of Natsume Sōseki in 1916 left the literary scene with few truly great older writers. There were older minor, though significant, writers such as Kosugi Tengai, born in 1865, but only the name of Mori Ōgai springs compellingly to mind as an older literary giant. Ōgai was born in 1862.

Katai and Shūsei, then, were perhaps worthy of such honors as elder citizens of the literary establishment, but the question remains why they were worthy as artists, whereas a Kosugi Tengai might not have been. A Tengai or any other respectable older man of letters could have been selected, if the aim had been to honor age or longevity of service alone, but only a great writer or writers would suffice as the basis for the bundan's gala social assertion.

Tayama Katai had established himself as one of the most—if not actually the most—innovative writers of his time through two decades of major works, Jūemon no saigo (Jūemon's End) (1902), Futon (The Quilt) (1907), Sei (Life) (1908), Inaka kyōshi (Country Teacher) (1909), En (The Bond) (1910), Toki wa sugiyuku (Time passes) (1916). In the
opinion of many critics Katai's *Futon* had virtually created the *shishōsetsu*, or "I" novel, for better or for worse the most significant and characteristically Japanese species of modern Japanese fiction.

Tokuda Shūsei had been on the literary scene since he became a literary disciple of Ozaki Kōyō in June, 1895, but it was for a succession of major works from 1908 through 1915, establishing him as a writer of *shizenshugi* (naturalist) fiction, that he was worthy of such an honor as the *shukugakai*. *Shinjotai* (often referred to as *Arajotai*) (New Household) (1908), *Ashiato* (Footsteps) (1910), *Kabi* (Mold) (1911), *Tadare* (The Sore) (1913), and *Arakure* (Roughneck) (1915) constitute a body of important minor classics which develop the possibilities of autobiographical and biographical fiction in a way and to a degree Shūsei alone seemed capable of managing, owing to his unusual genius of being able to view himself objectively and avoiding in the process the confessional literature of Katai or Shimazaki Tōson.

The *shishōsetsu* was to outlast naturalist fiction and to find further crystallization in the hands of writers of different outlook, notably Shiga Naoya, but in its early days it was the province of the naturalist writers. Katai created the form and Shūsei was to nurture it, adding artistic objectivity to this essentially personal fiction, and as a result producing some of the more truly naturalistic works of fiction. In a sense, then, the *bundan* through the *shukugakai* was honoring the most prominent writers of the
most significant movement in recent literary history. That the two other giants of this movement, Shimazaki Tōson and Masamune Hakuchō, took a major hand in the proceedings has been noted.

The Katai Shūsei seitō gojūnen shukugakai, as Japanese critics have noted, must not be seen as strictly in honor of Katai and Shūsei, but rather as an indication of the increasing prominence of the bundan. Nonetheless, only writers of eminent stature could have been so lavishly honored, and this fact makes the tribute to the two of them all the more noteworthy. Of especial importance here is what this shukugakai says of the literary significance of Tokuda Shūsei. Shūsei had acquired such note and weight despite the fact that, as it turned out, much of his fame, notorious adventures, and literary productivity still lay ahead of him.

Finally, the shukugakai, in addition to being a show of the literary establishment's social prominence, is seen by critics such as Takami Jun as marking an end to a literary era. He finds great significance in the fact that this celebration was followed a month later by another gathering of three hundred or so in the Kanda Y.M.C.A. for the purpose of organizing the Nihon shakaishugi dōmei (Japan Socialist Union). The main and crucial difference between the shukugakai and the gathering of the Socialists was the presence of five hundred policemen at the latter.

Takami Jun's point is that the shukugakai is a symbol
of the short-lived Taishō bundan and that the political gathering, which was attended by some of the contributors to the Gendai shōsetsu senshū, Eguchi Kiyoshi and Fujumori Seikichi, marks the beginning of the continual encroachment of the realm of "social thought" upon the heretofore worry-free world of literary thought. Tōson spoke at the shukugakai of the "hard road ahead for literature," and Shūsei himself, in addressing the gathering, spoke of the need for the bundan to decide between practical and artistic goals. The men of literature were not unaware of the changing times, and the long period of struggle which was beginning between bourgeois literature and proletarian literature was to affect the lives of almost all of them, and certainly that of Tokuda Shūsei.

The Katai Shūsei seitan gojūnen shukugakai may be seen as a kind of postscript, a wreath-laying, to the naturalist literary movement. This study will be concerned with the lives of two of the most important proponents of naturalist fiction, Tokuda Shūsei and Masamune Hakuchō, as well as the naturalist movement itself when at its height, during the years 1907 through 1911. It will first examine at length the lives and careers of Shūsei and Hakuchō, and then proceed to examine closely their naturalist fiction of the period 1907 through 1911, before finally assessing the careers of Shūsei and Hakuchō as naturalist writers and commenting on the naturalist movement and its place in literature. The first concern will be the life and work of Tokuda
Tokuda Shūsei's life up to the point of the high honor bestowed upon him by his literary colleagues in 1920, the road he had followed during the first fifty years of his life, can safely be termed a struggle. It might not even be an exaggeration to call it a desperate struggle, although this is not to imply that he was constantly threatened by starvation or physical privations. His struggle was with himself and his life as a writer.

The connection between a writer's life and his works is always a close one, at least the connection between his works and his inner life. In Shūsei's case, the key to resolving the struggles he faced, whether physical or psychological, often lay in his writings. For when he finally unleashed his powers for objective description in Shinjotai (1908), he found the literary style he was suited for and became, in effect, a success, allowing him to keep body and soul together for the first time. And when he turned his objectivity upon the events of his own life and those that preceded them, as in Ashiato (1910) and Kabi (1911), he began a fascinating communication with his readers through which he was able to reconstruct the events of his life and those close to him. The problem of aesthetic distance in Shūsei's writings—that is, how well he was able to maintain his famed literary objectivity in fictionalizing the events
of his life—is not only of literary but of biographical interest as well.

One of Shūsei's earliest struggles was his literary struggle, his attempt first of all to become a writer and then to evolve a style.

Shūsei first came to Tokyo to become a writer in late March, 1892, with his school and lifelong friend Kiryū Yūyū. They rented a place on the second floor of a carpenter's house, both of them determined to become writers and both of them seeking an opportunity, an introduction into the Japanese publishing world. They soon resolved to take their first major step towards establishing themselves.

The young writer Izumi Kyōka had come to Tokyo for the first time to pursue his literary career in November, 1890, at the early age of eighteen. He was able to meet the famous writer Ozaki Kōyō through a chance connection with Kōyō's childhood benefactor, and in October of the following year Kyōka became a literary disciple of Ozaki Kōyō. In one year Kyōka had made a literary acquaintance that would almost assure literary success of some sort, for Kōyō was in the process of becoming the most influential writer on the Japanese scene in the 1890's and until his death in 1903. His influence with publishers was such that he could and, on occasion, did have them blacklist a writer of whom he disapproved or who had somehow offended him.

Because of the rising influence of Kōyō, Shūsei and Kiryū first approached him for help in launching their
writing careers. Perhaps even more of a reason for attempt­ing to contact Kōyō, however, was the example of the success of Kyōka, who had attended the same school as Shūsei and Kiryū in their native Kanazawa, in securing a foothold in the literary circles of Tokyo through Kōyō.

One day in April, 1892, they both went unannounced to Kōyō's house in the area of Tokyo that is now Shinjuku only to be met at the door by a rather unkempt Kyōka. One of Kyōka's duties as a disciple of Kōyō was to stay at home and answer the door at times, which he was doing that day when Shūsei came calling. Kyōka informed them that Kōyō was out and professed to have no idea when he might be back. All Shūsei could do was leave, but apparently not before leaving some of his writings with Kyōka for the master to read. The following day they were returned to Shūsei by return post with a short note which included a reference to their im­maturity. The proud Shūsei tore the letter in two in his anger.

Shūsei's biographer Noguchi Fujio feels that Shūsei realized that whether or not he could associate himself with Kōyō, as Kyōka had done, was a crucial matter for his liter­ary career, and an interesting aspect of Shūsei's character is revealed in his understandable but, nevertheless, emotion­al reaction to Kōyō's note. Noguchi prefers to explain such behavior in terms of Shūsei's pride as a man of samurai origins from the wealthy former han of Kaga—Shūsei's "Kaga million-koku" pride—the same outlook that led Shūsei to
feel the Tokyoites were the rustics, not he, when he first arrived there. The obvious reason for his behavior here is the impatience of youth, but the incident might reveal something of his personality, for as we shall see he had been the admittedly pampered baby of his family, and it is a fact that his impulsiveness displayed here was to reveal itself at times in more extreme, even violent, behavior later.

Shūsei and Kiryū were determined to become writers, but circumstances drove them to apply for work at the Haku-bunkan, a noted publishing house. They were looking for editing or any writing job, but there was no work for them. To make a living they were forced to move into an attic room and go to work helping manufacture parts for fire extinguishers. Their stay in Tokyo was to be a brief but interesting one.

With the avenue to Kōyō's patronage closed for the time being, Shūsei decided to take the great step of approaching another famous man of letters, Tsubouchi Shōyō. His visit to Shōyō, probably on April 11, 1892, provides a curious scene and a rather odd footnote in the history of literary acquaintanceships, in the light of the fact this one meeting seems to have been the sum of their relationship.

As Shūsei recalls it, Shōyō was kind enough to receive him promptly and he was even treated politely by Shōyō's young student who answered the door. Shōyō impressed Shūsei as resembling a man about town more than a scholar, but Shōyō was eloquent and rattled on about such topics as what
to expect from twentieth century literature. The problem was that Shūsei was feeling hopelessly feverish; Shōyō noticed this and even offered him some water. Shūsei recovered somewhat after drinking some water, but in his confusion he was to leave Shōyō's house without even showing him his writings which he had brought with him. As it turned out, both Shūsei and Kiryū, who did not go to see Shōyō, had contracted mild cases of smallpox. 20

Shūsei was hardly able to speak during his meeting with Shōyō, and the helplessness of that encounter seems to speak for his entire adventure in Tokyo in 1892. Kiryū was soon off to Kanazawa to return to school in May, and Shūsei used some money he had received from his eldest brother, Naomatsu, to travel to Osaka to stay with him.

Naomatsu seems to have been Shūsei's closest relative, and he often assumed the role of protector as he was very partial to Shūsei. Arriving in Osaka, Shūsei found his brother unmarried and living alone in second-floor six- and eight-mat rooms, an Osaka policeman, thirty-eight years old, his youth definitely behind him. Shūsei himself, as might be expected, was in low spirits when he reached his brother's place. Naomatsu approved of his brother's plans to become a writer, and in an action typical of his generosity he even bought his younger brother a desk to use.

Despite his brother's hospitality and eagerness to help him get started in literature, Shūsei soon went to stay at the Osaka house of an older cousin on his mother's side,
Tsuda Suga, ignoring the objections of Naomatsu. Naomatsu was the son of his father's second wife, whereas Shūsei was the son of his third and final wife, so that it was difficult for Naomatsu to appreciate the affinity Shūsei felt for his mother's family, the Tsudas. Indeed Naomatsu felt the Tsudas to be socially inferior. Naomatsu thus disapproved of Suga and her husband Sasashima for many family reasons, but mainly because of the generally disreputable air that surrounded the household.

Suga's husband, Shūsei was to find out, was indeed involved with other women, and there was much disturbing family violence. Suga's mother, Shūsei's mother's eldest sister, Masa, continually pressed Shūsei to become a Tsuda to carry on the family name which was in danger of dying out due to Suga's marriage. Shūsei could not bring himself to accept despite tempting offers of paid tuition at Waseda University, in the light of Naomatsu's vehement objections to the plan.

Finally, tired of the hysterical Suga and the whole dissolute air of the family, Shūsei moved back to his brother's place in the fall after many months at the Sasashimas'. But this was not before he came home late one night to find the Sasashima maid waiting for him with offers of love beneath the mosquito net where he usually slept, presumably led to the spot by Suga. Shūsei's strength in resisting the girl's advances may be attributable to his thoughts of his brother Naomatsu and how that would have hurt him.21 Shūsei
did give Suga and her household a kind of immortality by making her the model for the heroine of his story "Shijū onna" (A Woman of Forty), published in 1909.

Shūsei's stay at the Sasashima place was to have one positive result, namely the obtaining of his first literary introductions. Sasashima was in the business of selling machine oil, and among his customers were newspaper publishing companies. This good fortune led to the serialization of Shūsei's first published work of fiction, the story "Fubuki" (Snowstorm), which ran in the Osaka Shimpo in September, 1892. This apparent success too was unfortunately to end in failure, since he ran into difficulties with the story and was unable to complete it. It was discontinued after twenty installments and is now, it seems, lost. 22

Shūsei stayed with his brother until April, 1893, doing a little writing and managing some brief employment at the city and then county (gun) government offices. He also had a brief infatuation with a fascinating young lady, who is described as the daughter of a priest, shy, intelligent, and proud, but this led nowhere, although she seems to have made quite an impression on him. 23 On the whole, however, the year in Osaka was an unproductive one in which he did little to become a writer and had to content himself with much reading.

Shūsei was frustrated in his attempts to write and he then seized upon the idea of returning home to Kanazawa to re-enter school. Back in Kanazawa he was distressed to find
his mother and fourteen-year-old sister living alone in rather poor circumstances. He was ill at ease, cynical, and on the whole unable to communicate with them. The old familiar places in Kanazawa just made him sad. After studying for his school entrance examination for a while, he finally ended up working for a local political publication in September, 1893. Perhaps the only noteworthy events of this period of Shūsei's youth were the adoption of his pen-name Shūsei in October, 1893, and his acquaintance through his work with the editor Shibutani Mokuan.

Shūsei's given name was Sueo, but he decided to style himself Shūsei because it sounded "sentimental and Chinese." The acquaintance with Shibutani led eventually to employment at the Tokyo publishers, the Hakubunkan; and to an acquaintance with Kōyō, but first he was put off to Niigata in April, 1894, to work for a newspaper at the request of Shibutani. Shūsei seems to have acquired a considerable facility in English, so that in Niigata Shibutani used Shūsei primarily for his English ability, rather than giving him any creative responsibilities or opportunities. This plus the fact that Shūsei had been impressed to the point of envy by the success of the story "Giketsu kyōketsu" (Blood of Duty, Blood of Chivalry) by Izumi Kyōka made him quite impatient to leave Niigata and continue his career as a writer of fiction. His impatience drove him to such lengths that he used a fake telegram in late December, 1894, saying that his mother was seriously ill, to allow him to return to Kanazawa, quit his
position in Niigata, and avoid offending Shibutani in the process.

Shūsei was only home briefly before he continued his journey on to Tokyo where he arrived on January 2, 1895. Nearly three years had passed since he had first arrived in Tokyo full of youthful ambition, and now he was back for another attempt. Shūsei himself referred to his return to Tokyo as reckless, although it may be seen simply as an attempt by Shūsei to make a breakthrough in life and as proof that his unrealized literary dreams were still alive. 25 Certainly the move is proof of his determination.

Now begins a period of poverty and enduring bad food and other inconveniences for Shūsei, although he was able to find a place to stay through friends and did do some English teaching for funds. But with what seems to have been typical determination for him at this age he again swung into action and set about trying to make important contacts, possibly the only way for an aspiring writer to find opportunities for literary recognition in Japan then and perhaps now.

His first step was to call upon a Diet member from Niigata (whose sister-in-law, incidentally, was Mori Ōgai’s sister, the writer and translator Koganei Kimiko), using Shibutani’s name as an introduction. From this politician Shūsei was able to receive a letter of introduction to the new editor of the Hakubunkan publishers, who was to give him work there after their meeting.
Shūsei's new job involved simply proof-reading and adding furigana (phonetic symbols) to texts at the Haku-bunkan. Most of his co-workers and immediate superiors were young men in their twenties and thirties, an indication that the publishing world of the day was in youthful hands, so that it must have irked Shūsei to be doing unimportant jobs that led nowhere while taking orders from men nearly his own age.  

The literary world of Tokyo was a small one in those days, and Shūsei's frustrations were to be short-lived. Izumi Kyōka, as it happened, was doing some editing work for the Hakubunkan at the time, and it was through his urging that Shūsei brought himself to visit Kōyō again in late June, 1895. From this visit until Kōyō's death in November, 1903, Shūsei was a frequent visitor to Kōyō's house, which was always full of writers, journalists, and critics, and was as such an important center for the bundan during this period.  

Ozaki Kōyō had a reputation for being willing to help other writers and to take in almost any writer, even those with doubtful talent, so that Shūsei's good fortune was not at all miraculous. The ease with which he was accepted as a literary disciple of Kōyō in 1895 invites the speculation that part of the reason for Shūsei's frustration and struggle might lie in his pride and obstinancy. Then again Kōyō might have recognized a maturity in the now well-traveled Shūsei that he could not find in his early writings in 1892. The role of Izumi Kyōka in the formation of Kōyō's
opinion of Shūsei is interesting to speculate upon but nevertheless unclear.

Shūsei was given some work adapting a story for publication, for which he received five yen, his first remuneration for his literary work. Shūsei was now a monjin (follower) of Ozaki Kōyō; his literary career was at last launched and his life entered upon a new stage.

1895-1902: Ozaki Kōyō, Oguri Fūyō, Izumi Kyōka. Shūsei's Childhood.

In 1895 Shūsei found steady employment, an introduction to Ozaki Kōyō, and some writing work, but he was at best still a peripheral member of the literary establishment. The years 1895 and 1896 saw his progressive acceptance through his increased contact with Kōyō and his literary circle, the Ken'yūsha (The Society of the Friends of the Inkstone).

Shūsei presumably published some short pieces in late 1895, although his authorship of these is disputed, and in 1896 he published several works, the most notable of which was "Yabu kōji" (The Thicket Orange Flower) in August. "Yabu kōji" appeared in the journal Bungei Kurabu, and was noteworthy enough at the time to merit a review in the same magazine. It is of interest now perhaps only because it deals with characters who are members of the eta caste of Japanese society. Any hasty conclusions about the significance of this fact should be avoided, however, since Shūsei's treatment of this unusual subject matter is far from epoch-
The next breakthrough in Shūsei's young career, like the preceding one in 1895, was the result of some decisive --even courageous--action on his part. In November, 1896, Shūsei rather suddenly left his employment at the Hakubunkan, because he seems to have felt he was getting nowhere and that even success in a publishing company would have only a tenuous connection with the life of a writer. Köyō encouraged him in his move and that must certainly have played a part in his decision. Another deciding factor may have been Shūsei's reaction to the recent literary successes of a fellow monjin, Oguri Fūyō.

It was Oguri Fūyō who subsequently invited Shūsei to participate in the establishing of the Jūsenmandō-juku (The School of the Hall of One Hundred Million), which was to be a sort of boarding school (juku) to be located in a house within sight of that of the literary master Ozaki Köyō and inhabited by a handful of his young monjin. At first only Fūyō, Shūsei, and the well-known minor writer Yanagawa Shun'yo inhabited the juku, but in time several other lesser known Köyō followers were to live there, including the younger brother of Izumi Kyōka, Izumi Shatei. Kyōka himself was the only one of the major followers of Köyō who had his own house.

The Jūsenmandō-juku was also known as the Köyō-juku as well as the Shiseidō (The Hall of the Star of Poetry). The exact dates for its existence are uncertain, but it was probably formed on December 31, 1896, and lasted until
late February, 1899. 31

Kōyō would often visit the juku two or three times a day, gathering all of the young residents together for rambling discussions that ranged through all aspects of literary creation. At times they composed haiku together, Kōyō himself participating. All of his disciples slept, or tried to, under the same mosquito net in summer, and the heat and the impossibility of sleeping in summer together with their fervor for literature made them keep very irregular hours, catching their sleep when they could.

Fūyō composed several important stories while living there, such as Rembo nagashi (Drifting with Love) (1898), and Shun'yō too published several stories while busying himself with the editing of the literary periodical Shinshōsetsu. Shūsei tried his hand at a number of stories during this period. He published four stories in 1897 and eight in 1898 in such newspapers and magazines as the Tokyo Shimbun, Koku-min Shimbun, Bungei Kurabu, Yomiuri Shimbun, and Shinshōsetsu. He also apparently published a few pieces in such places as the Shōnen Bunshū (Juvenile Anthology) under the pseudonym of Tokuda Masui in 1897. It is uncertain exactly why he felt the need for a pseudonym, but presumably these lighter works in the Shōnen Bunshū were for the sake of money rather than art and Shūsei may not have been too eager to claim them.

Tayama Katai and Gotō Chūgai often visited the young men at the juku, as well as Kosugi Tengai and some of the older members of the Ken’yūsha, presumably such writers as
Kawakami Bizan, Maruoka Kyūka, and Emi Suiin, who came by for conversation or to compose haiku. Katai was never accepted as a monjin of Kōyō's, although he seems to have tried to gain admittance, perhaps because his prosaic fictional style differed from the finely wrought style advocated by the Ken'yūsha.

They were quite poor at the juku with only the hard-working Fuyō publishing enough to keep up his share of the rent. Fuyō emerges the most interesting of the Four Tennō (Heavenly Kings), as the four main followers of Kōyō--Shūsei, Fuyō, Shun'yō, and Kyōka--came to be called. Fuyō was also the closest to Shūsei, while Kyōka and Shun'yō tended to be closer to one another.

Fuyō was a small man physically, but a man of the world. As Shūsei himself described it, when he was drunk Fuyō's voice would take on the quality of that of a wildcat. He was passionate and would berate people and behave quite abnormally at times. But despite these quirks, Shūsei felt, he was human and his strength lay in his humanity. Normally he was very serious about his work and extremely hard-working, but he was subject to going off on drunken sprees. In one incident Fuyō had been out carousing for several days without returning to the juku, whereupon the always strict Kōyō had him locked out. Fuyō's only excuse had been that rain had prevented him from coming home, and he finally had to find someone to intercede with an apology on his behalf before he could gain readmittance to the juku.
tattoos on his arms from his delinquent youth, was to be thrown out of the juku several times by Kōyō for drinking and causing disturbances.

It was Fūyō, however, who formed the juku, apparently in an unsuccessful attempt to gain a little more freedom from the intrusions of Kōyō upon his life, and it was to be Fūyō who broke up the arrangement in February, 1899. Fūyō had become dissatisfied with the close proximity of Kōyō's residence to the juku, and so he moved to a rented house taking much of the furniture with him. The dissolution of the juku must not have grieved Shūsei, as he was becoming unhappy there, feeling that he was not doing enough reading and that he was becoming too decadent in his way of life. He was publishing more in 1898, and as a result had more money, much of which he was spending on prostitutes. Shūsei says of himself at that time that he believed women were something one bought. Moreover, Shūsei, the late starter, must have felt uncomfortable at times being in such a subservient position to Kōyō, who was only four years his senior. (In 1897 Kōyō was thirty, Shūsei twenty-six, Kyōka twenty-four, Fūyō twenty-two, and Shun'yō twenty.)

Shūsei, in lodgings now after leaving the juku in February, managed to publish six stories in 1899, as well as an obscure translation, having now established a pace of work that he was to maintain and steadily increase for most of the next thirty years. In the fall of 1899 he began employment as a reporter with the Yomiuri Shimbun, securing
the position through Ozaki Kōyō's help. He was not to leave his work at the *Yomiuri* until late April, 1901.

The most noteworthy results and events of Shūsei's *Yomiuri* period of over a year and a half were his acquaintance with the writer Kamitsukasa Shōken and, more significant, Shūsei's illness during the summer of 1900. The illness that plagued Shūsei was a persistent stomach ailment requiring daily treatment and many bothersome dietary changes. Part of the cause of the condition was apparently his poor diet and irregular hours. At the time he seems to have doubted his chances for recovery so that the summer of 1900 was a gloomy one for him. He was indeed to be bothered with stomach and respiratory illnesses throughout his life, many of which might be diagnosed in terms of stress in today's medical terms.37

Shūsei struggled continually with maintaining his self-confidence and the fear that he would lose his creativity. When it came time for him to face the task of writing, he would be beset by anxiety and depression as he would lose his confidence in his ability to write again. It was usually at such times that he would have to take hypo-phosphoric acid and other medicines for his pain.

Despite the pain of that summer, Shūsei worked diligently on the long work *Kumo no yūkue* (Where the Clouds Go), which was serialized in ninety-one installments in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* from August 28 through November 30, 1900. His biographer Noguchi points out that like almost all of
Shūsei's literary work during the first decade or so of his writing career, Kumo no yūkue is of more biographical than purely literary interest, being of importance for the money and confidence it gave the twenty-nine-year-old Shūsei.  

Of his early works such critics as Hirano Ken have noted that there is almost no literary value to be seen in any of Shūsei's stories before Shinjotai in 1908 and no indication of the type of writer he was to become.  

Kumo no yūkue, according to Noguchi, is an improbable entertainment which includes viscounts, villains, madness brought about by another's villainy, and murder. Shūsei was relying upon imagination in his plots, but was unsuccessful, since he was to evolve a suitable style only after he had gone through a period of personal struggle and maturation which would be worthy of re-creating in his fiction through his new literary objectivity which he developed in 1908.

Shūsei left the Yomiuri in April, 1901, having received money for the publication in book form of Kumo no yūkue; it appeared in September. Shūsei had not felt himself suited for his duties at the newspaper, which involved the regular writing of innocuous newspaper essays.

In May, 1901, a new and important name appears in the story of Tokuda Shūsei, that of the novelist Mishima Sōsen. Not long after leaving the Yomiuri Shim bun Shūsei moved into the home of Sōsen and his three younger sisters, who were all grown and, as Shūsei learned, far from innocent. Shūsei was to stay with Sōsen only until about August 1, 1901, and
this brief period formed simply an interesting interlude in Shūsei's life, although his acquaintance with Sōsen was to result in a truly fateful friendship the following April, in 1902.

While staying with Sōsen in 1901, Shūsei was involved in frantic hack writing for provincial publications in an effort to raise money to marry a prostitute with whom he had fallen in love. He seems to have been attracted mostly by her beauty; she was the daughter of a Nagoya restaurant proprietor who had fallen on bad times and sold her. He was willing to marry her, because, unlike what one might have expected from a prostitute, she never tried to extract money or goods from him.

Shūsei was surprisingly naive for a man of thirty, and the picture his life presents during the summer of 1901 is an almost incredible one. He claimed to have been unable to understand her at the time, when she said that she had an elderly man who took care of her. He realized the impossibility of ever maintaining a social position married to her, but he loved her, or was infatuated with her, so much so that he could ignore all those obvious obstacles as he waited impatiently for the payment for his writings to reach him from his provincial publishers. 40

Shūsei was so absorbed in his infatuation that at first he did not notice the activities of the other inhabitants of Sōsen's household. One day, however, a carpenter in the neighborhood stopped him on the street and told him
that Sōsen's male cousin, whom he had observed as a frequent visitor to Sōsen's place, was in the habit of sleeping together in a group under the same mosquito net with all three of Sōsen's sisters. If Shūsei's moral code appears lax to this point, it must be noted here that he was extremely shocked at this news and assembled Sōsen and his sisters to lecture the sisters for their immoral ways and to announce that he was leaving. Sōsen himself seemed much more shaken by the whole proceedings than his sisters who seemed to take it all in their stride. As for Shūsei and the prostitute he hoped to marry, when Shūsei received only about thirty per cent of the amount he had expected from the provincial publishers, he soon tired of the girl in his disappointment and abandoned his marriage plans.

What all of these episodes of Shūsei's early life reveal is a young man unsure of himself and groping for happiness and satisfaction. Such bizarre behavior may be in the usual Bohemian pattern of the aspiring young artist, but the fact that he could suddenly fall in love with and plan to marry a prostitute seems to indicate that he was either dangerously inexperienced or recklessly adventuresome. That he could almost as quickly give up the beautiful young woman might indicate either that he was indeed bound by common sense or was indeed a bit of a rogue.

Whatever interpretation is agreed upon for Shūsei's unconventional behavior, it must be noted that he was to remain unconventional his entire life. Therein, as Shūsei
noted in Fūyō's case, might lie his strength as a person, namely in his honesty and humanity. He had few secrets, and as he grew older he was to have even fewer. Even when he was in his last years he was always the same man, as the writer Hayashi Fumiko noted in commenting that he was the same whether with his sleeves pulled up and doing the accounts on an abacus at a geisha house or giving a speech at the P.E.N. Club. 42

His unconventionality could be overstressed here, but it was to cause him considerable pain and embarrassment in his life, as well as, presumably, bring him much pleasure. He seems to have felt different, even alienated, from his childhood days as the son of his father's third wife, being from a different womb (actually hara, or "belly," in the Japanese idiom), which constituted a definite social stigma. His mother's family, the Tsudas, had, like the Tokudas, been samurai and apparently higher ranking than the Tokudas, but the decline in their status brought about by the social upheaval of the Meiji Restoration had been farther and more complete. 43 Perhaps in order to mask the true source of his feelings of inferiority, Shūsei was to take more pride in his mother's family than his father's.

The Tokudas themselves certainly experienced difficult times, it must be noted. They were so poor that Shūsei was promised to a farmer while still in the womb; Shūsei's father, however, was unable to bring himself to hand over the child. They moved an uncommon number of times for a Japanese family
of that period, as Shūsei's father, Umpei, was never able to accept his post-Restoration status and was even to degenerate into a drunkard before his death in 1891.

As a child Shūsei was frail and kept company with his mother and sisters rather than any male playmates. He himself later described himself in childhood as weak, underdeveloped, always taking medicines and unhappy. Noguchi makes much of his being from a fallen samurai background, and feels in the light of the social context it is impossible to dismiss Shūsei's shame for his youth as frivolous. Since the usual pattern for families of very poor samurai in Kanazawa in those days was for the sons to become policemen and the daughters prostitutes, Noguchi's point seems well taken. At any rate, growing up must have been a painful struggle for Shūsei, as he wrote hardly any works on his boyhood, despite the fact that eventually he was to turn almost every significant aspect of his life into fiction or autobiographical essays.

Of all his relatives it was to his eldest half-brother of course that Shūsei felt closest, as his brother was kind to him despite his prejudice against the Tsudas, presumably because Shūsei was weak and helpless and for the first eight years of his life the baby of the family. (He was the sixth of seven children.) And not too long after Shūsei's infatuation with the woman from Nagoya and his encounter with Sōsen's sisters, he was off again to visit Naomatsu in Osaka on December 30, 1901. The apparent reason for the visit was
simply that he had missed him, and although he had little money at the time he thought he would also be able to indulge his interest in kabuki and bunraku while in Osaka. Thus, he spent New Year's with his understanding brother and his new wife, an attractive widow of a Kanazawa lawyer.

While in Osaka Shūsei had an opportunity on one occasion to go out drinking with Ozaki Kōyō, who happened to be in the Kansai for a visit, but in February he was off again, this time to Beppu in Kyushu to try to cure new stomach trouble. On the way to Beppu he was bothered by feelings of guilt, for he felt he was escaping by going so far away from the bundan in Tokyo.48

Staying with a distant aunt and her three daughters, he was again amid interesting surroundings, as the eldest daughter turned out to be a rather indolent prostitute and the second daughter someone's concubine. While in Beppu he managed to free himself from the tensions he felt among the bundan in Tokyo, sleeping as late as he wanted every day, and when he sailed for Osaka in early April, full of excitement over a commission to write a novel, his stomach ailment suddenly healed. He was to proceed to Tokyo in late April, 1902, where he would begin a truly fateful friendship and a period of his life important from the standpoint of his personal life as well as his literature.
1902-1907: the Kabi Period. Marriage, Children, the Death of Kōyō

The story of Tokuda Shūsei's life to a great extent comes to constitute a chronicle of his encounters with unusual, even unforgettable, people. Some are so singular that the danger arises of their presence overshadowing that of Shūsei himself. His interest in many of these people, such as the many prostitutes who play an important role in his life, may be discussed in terms of his nonconformity or eccentricity, while his interest in others such as Oguri Fuyō and Mishima Sōsen is probably best thought of as a natural affinity for fellow members of a basically conformist social entity, the bundan, who, like him, were unconventional.

Back in Tokyo Shūsei moved into a house there in April, 1902, and soon took the fateful step of inviting Mishima Sōsen to stay with him, apparently remembering the sad figure Sōsen had cut while helping Shūsei pack his belongings for his trip to Osaka the previous December. Sōsen was indeed a curious fellow for his time, with his long hair, unshaven face, and general indifference to dirt, added to his basic good looks and masculinity. He was content to remain poor, although he insisted on such graces as good tobacco and only the best tea, even if he had to pawn his clothes or umbrella to obtain them. He was thought by some to be proud and haughty, although he was compassionate enough to care for a tubercular friend on one occasion.

Sōsen was not adept at supporting himself, although he
did, as a published writer and one of the "characters" on the literary scene; attract new arrivals from the country. He would often live off people, only to end up quarreling and breaking with them later. Sōsen had come from a long line of physicians, and his strong-willed father had long and vehemently opposed his plans to write, only to die some two weeks after finally approving of Sōsen's career. The psychological turmoil that followed for Sōsen after his father's death seems to have set the tumultuous tone of his life. 49

In the same way that Shūsei's long stay at the juku and his friendship with Oguri Fūyō must have had some influence upon Shūsei's social attitudes, or at least have reinforced or encouraged some existent tendencies, his stays with the notorious Sōsen, however brief, must also have had their effect upon him. They were soon to separate that summer, true to the Sōsen pattern, but not before the arrival of their new housekeeper, Ozawa Sachi, who was soon followed by her daughter, Ozawa Hama.

The arrival of Hama changed the atmosphere of the house considerably, for the girl was pretty, a good cook, and at first sight struck Shūsei as a cross between what one might call a decent woman and a tea-house girl. 50 Shūsei was attracted to Hama's beauty and vivacity, and by about November, 1902, Hama was pregnant, presumably by Shūsei. Their son, Ichinoh, was born the following summer, probably in July, 1903, and thus Shūsei's life was now bound irrevocably with that of Hama.
The period of Shūsei's life beginning with his relationship with Hama and encompassing their first five years together might best be called the Kabi period, although actually the novel was written later. For Shūsei's highly autobiographical Kabi (1911) is, on the whole, an accurate and factual fictionalization of the events of Shūsei's life from about the spring of 1902 through the summer of 1907. It is so accurate and so factual that it seems to be used by Japanese critics as the primary biographical source on Shūsei's emotional life during this very important period in Shūsei's development.

Not long after the birth of Shūsei's son, Shūsei's literary teacher Ozaki Kōyō died on October 30, 1903. This may be seen as the end of an era in Japanese literary history, in view of the heights to which, as we have seen, Kōyō's literary influence climbed. Kabi includes a highly objective description of its hero, apparently Shūsei, visiting M Sensei, presumably Kōyō, while he is on his death-bed. The story was believed as fact so implicitly that Izumi Kyōka and Yanagawa Shun'yō were severely offended by Shūsei's depiction of Kōyō as an ordinary mortal, doomed to die and subject to the confusion and embarrassment pain brings. Shūsei's break with Kyōka because of this incident was to be a long and unpleasant one.

This incident reveals, of course, something of Shūsei's objective fictional style as a naturalist writer in 1911, but it also shows the difference between Shūsei and Kyōka in
their attitudes towards Kōyō, even in 1903. To Kyōka he was like a god, whereas to Shūsei he was someone to be respected, but in the final analysis simply another man like himself. No lack of affection for Kōyō on Shūsei's part can be claimed here, either. For Kōyō had been ill throughout most of 1903, and Shūsei undertook the revision and polishing of Kōyō's Japanese translation of the English version of Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris* (Shōrōmori) to help with Kōyō's medical expenses about the time of his first hospitalization in March of that year.

The *Kabi* period was one of new difficulties for Shūsei. He had been struggling for ten years to establish himself as a writer, as well as with the problem of his individuality, his "nonconformity," and now a new element was added to the equation. He was evidently in no hurry to marry Hama, who had already had one unsuccessful marriage, since he waited until just four days before the birth of their son to register her as his wife. She had been raised in poverty, her father having squandered the family fortune through his drinking and debauchery, and judging from the accounts of those who knew Shūsei and Hama well, as well as from such sources as chapters 13 and 42 of *Kabi*, we see that because of her family background Shūsei never respected Hama and treated her more like a concubine than a wife. In reference to why he waited so long to marry Hama, Shūsei himself said that he had no thoughts of marriage because he had not yet established himself as a writer and lacked confidence.
As he saw it, he just drifted into marriage.

Shūsei never seems to have trusted Hama, at least not until they were much older. Hama may well have been somewhat of a coquette, and there definitely seems to have been a good deal of mistrust of her relationship with Sōsen on Shūsei's part. An incident which occurred much later indicates the extent to which jealousy could arouse Shūsei, as well as his capacity for extreme, even violent, behavior. This occurred at the marriage of Sōsen in 1912. Hama, dressed splendidly, was in high spirits. To those at the banquet there had been no excessive familiarity between her and the newspaper reporter who was acting as Sōsen's go-between, but at the height of the banquet Shūsei suddenly began striking his wife and then dragging her about the floor by the hair, screaming all the while. This story was related by Sōsen's widow. Noguchi explains this manifestation of Shūsei's jealousy in terms of his general feeling of inferiority to others, and this indeed may have been the root cause of the situation. But whatever the cause, this incident might also show the frustration Shūsei felt for having drifted into a marriage with a woman whom he did not respect.

The marriage that Shūsei drifted into was of course brought about by the impending birth of his first child. Shūsei seems to have feared becoming a father and bearing the financial and psychological responsibilities the child would bring. This seems to be borne out by the contents and the curious disappearance of chapter 68 of Kabi.
In its original newspaper serialization Kabi contained eighty chapters, but for some reason chapter 68 was omitted from subsequent book editions, and the novel has since been published in seventy-nine chapters. This omission was not pointed out until April, 1947, some three and one half years after Shūsei's death. The missing chapter concerns the return of Sasamura and O-Gin's (presumably Shūsei and Hama's) son from the hospital and her anger at Sasamura for having chosen such a time for spending a night carousing with an old friend who had just been discharged from the army. The chapter was probably deleted at Shūsei's request, since it contained references to his reluctance to accept the responsibility of parenthood and might have been unpleasant for his son to discover, given the autobiographical nature of the story.57

It was more important than ever now that Shūsei keep writing stories for publication, as he had Hama, his son, and even Hama's mother and other in-laws to care for. With the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War in February, 1904, Shūsei spent a year writing war stories to keep the family alive, producing such contemporary gems as "Tsūyakkan" (The Interpreter) in April, 1904, "Hito ka oni ka" (Men or Devils?) in August, and "Shōshūrei" (Call to the Colors) in October. "Hito ka oni ka" depicts the Russians as cowardly, afraid of the brave Japanese, and capable of delight in torturing a Korean sympathizer with the Japanese. It is clear that Shūsei was not writing to create works of art but simply to
keep his family alive. He apparently even considered going to the war zone as a correspondent to gather material for a war novel to raise money for his family, but seems to have been dissuaded by his friend Sōsen and by his own doubts about his health. 58

He did obtain considerable success with his novel, Shōkazoku (The Young Noble), which he serialized in the Man-chōhō from December 12, 1904, to April 15, 1905. The story was made into a play, and the dramatization of his work seems to have been a great encouragement to him inasmuch as he began to produce a prodigious number of stories in 1905, mostly still in the Ken'yūsha style. His story Shōkazoku is considered one of his last kannen-shōsetsu, a genre of fiction favored by Ken'yūsha writers wherein the author concentrates on developing one notion or motif in his story, but the important point here is that Shūsei is in the process of discarding another link with his Ken'yūsha past.

In the summer of 1905, probably, Shūsei's first daughter, Zuiko, was born, her birth occurring when Shūsei was for a change earning more money through his increased productivity. In August the Russo-Japanese War ended, and in September Shōkazoku was both presented as a play and published in book form. The year 1905 was for Japanese fiction just a playing out of the last moments of the Ken'yūsha fictional spirit, when looked at from the standpoint of the works produced. Considering that the most important works of fiction produced that year were Sōseki's Wagahai wa neko
de aru (I am a Cat) in January and Fūyō's Seishun (Youth) in March, we may say that there is little indication of the fiction to follow in 1906 and thereafter. For although Wagahai wa neko de aru is certainly innovative it is much lighter in tone than Hakai (Broken Commandment) or Futon, and Seishun is of course one of the last Ken'yūsha masterpieces. The naturalist literary movement abroad was being discussed in 1905, however, as such articles as Katayama Masao's "Shinkeishitsu no bungaku" (Nervous literature), which appeared in the June issue of Teikoku Bungaku, attest, and it can be assumed that this new approach to fiction was in the air.

In 1906 Shūsei continued to produce short stories, none of them particularly notable. Curiously he moved twice that year, in April and again in May, before finally settling in the present Shūsei Historical Site in Morikawa. His son was hospitalized with dysentery for over a month, from late May to late June, and in November Shūsei's old friend Sōsen, who had been living in squalor in a small house vacated before his arrival by the poet Miki Rofū, came to live in a three-mat room at the Tokudas' new place.

While Shūsei was continuing his previous domestic and literary patterns in 1906, Japanese fiction was passing through a brief but important period of transition that might be seen as extending over the year 1906 and much of 1907. In January, 1906, the literary publication Waseda Bungaku, which had previously been published under the direction of Tsubouchi Shōyō from October, 1891, to October,
1898, was revived under the dynamic leadership of the critic Shimamura Hōgetsu. Waseda Bungaku in its second period was to be a major vehicle for new fiction and literary criticism responsive to the zeitgeist of the age. In time the role of this journal in espousing literary naturalism was to be a major one.

The next great moment in 1906 was the appearance in March of Shimazaki Tōson's novel Hakai. Despite the fact Hakai contained many flaws, it was epoch-making in that, with the exception of Futabatei Shimei's Ukigumo (Floating Cloud) in 1887, it was the first Japanese novel that was truly modern in spirit, representing a movement towards the development of characterization and plot and away from the simple emphasis on theme and style characteristic of the kannen shōsetsu. And, unlike Ukigumo, Hakai was to have tremendous and immediate impact upon Japanese fiction. As the critic Nakamura Mitsuo observes, Hakai was to constitute a brief but genuine literary revolution of barely a year or so, only to be inundated by the rush of a new and greater revolution brought about by the publication of Tayama Katai's Futon in August, 1907.61

Hakai represents the appearance of a modern, large-scale novel which does not appear to be autobiographical. It is fiction in perhaps its truest sense, a creation of the imagination with an imagined plot and imagined characters. The intellectual tension in Japanese fiction after the appearance of Futon lay between this familiar approach of
Hakai, now made in realistic rather than romantic style, and the new approach of Futon.

The frank, obvious autobiographical element in Futon made the work a sensation; in it Katai appears to make a total revelation of his inner life by revealing personal attitudes and embarrassing actions that give the work the air of a confession. To Nakamura Mitsuo the literary effects of Futon were twofold. First of all, the distance between the writer and his fictional hero was eliminated. Secondly, fiction became "subjective reflections" that permitted no imaginary hero; the story became the author's, or hero's, monologue.

Critics such as Yoshida Seiichi emphasize strongly that although Futon did not compare in scope with Hakai, it was of far more historical significance in determining the direction naturalist fiction was to take. Katai had announced in 1906 that he was no longer going to write romantic stories and that he was going to begin depicting reality as it was. In the year 1907 he produced a succession of short stories that, in Yoshida's opinion, amounted to little more than realistic sketches and descriptions. However, although Katai was writing from the point of view of an observer rather than of a participant in the action described in his stories, these stories contain definite stylistic and thematic links with Futon through such points as Katai's increasing realism and his treatment of the theme of the painful aspects of sexual desire.
Yoshida holds that Katai was taking the attitude that he would seek to expose his inner life to the reader, keeping nothing hidden, and in the process attempt to re-create the reality of human existence with a special emphasis on man's physiology in general and sexual desire in particular. In the September, 1907, issue of Bunshō Sekai Katai stated that in order to touch reality (Yoshida sees this word "fureru," or "to touch," as of great importance in naturalist literary theory) the writer must objectively portray reality as it is, but that he will fail if he is too distant from the reality he is portraying. Katai spoke in favor of the superiority of knowledge over feeling and of fact over fiction. He felt compelled to observe, to analyze, and to gain insight into the psychological and physiological life of his characters but at the same time to remain completely credible in his fictional plots and incidents. To insure the type of realism that he sought in his fiction, Katai turned to the events of his own life for material. Yoshida does not find it surprising that Katai, whom he regards as lacking in imagination generally, ended up revealing himself completely in his fiction in the process of being faithful to his own literary theories.

Futon was not the first highly factual autobiographical Japanese story; Kōyō had written "Aobudō" (Pale Grapes) in the mid-1890's. The difference between Futon and "Aobudō," which was apparently even more factual than the Katai story, was that only in Futon did the author-hero appear in a
negative or absurd light. In view of such fictional innovations, Yoshida is among those critics who hold Futon to be the pioneer "I" novel. 69

The problem of aesthetic distance in Futon was recognized immediately by contemporary Japanese critics. The October, 1907, issue of Waseda Bungaku carried the "Futon gappyō" (A Joint Review of Futon) which contained articles on Futon of varying length by nine critics. 70 As Yoshida points out, some of these critics such as Fūyō and Matsuhara Shibun felt that Katai had succeeded in touching reality and discovering a new stylistic technique to free fiction from the hold of the third person point of view, although on the other hand others such as Katakami Noburu were to note that Katai was too close to his subject matter and Mizuno Yōshū was to feel that Katai lacked a critical perspective in Futon inasmuch as he was so close to his material. 71

It is difficult not to agree with both of these lines of criticism, and the Western reader perhaps can only underscore Hirano Ken's comments on the difficulty of classifying Japanese writers as either "I" novelists (shishōsetsuka) or objective novelists (kyakkan shōsetsuka) and translating this distinction into Western literary terminology. As Hirano notes, the subjective autobiographical Japanese "I" novel might easily be placed in the category of non-fiction by the Western critic, although essays (zuihitsu) and chronicles of impressions (kansō) that would probably be considered non-fiction in the West constitute a large proportion
of the body of Japanese fiction (shōsetsu). In the case of Futon then the reader, Western or Japanese, senses that he is indeed reading something real and true to life and is moved accordingly. At the same time, however, for the Western reader at least, there is the lingering feeling that ultimately his emotions are being manipulated unfairly and that to label such a frankly autobiographical work as Futon as fiction somehow violates the spirit of that term. Part of the problem might lie in the custom of translating the Japanese term shōsetsu as "novel" or even as "fiction," because the Japanese word seems to include much more territory than the former English term and territory much different from the latter.

Masamune Hakuchō was one of the nine contributors to the "Futon gappyō." His criticism was brief but characteristically incisive. To Hakuchō Futon was a masterpiece in which Katai finally succeeded in producing an important work of fiction which truly realized the possibilities of his announced artistic intentions and fully incorporated his fictional theories. Hakuchō noted that Futon was an original work, showing no signs of borrowing from a foreign literary source. In discussing the historical significance of Futon, Hakuchō ranked the evolution of Katai's fictional style alongside of Tsubouchi Shōyō's redefinition of the purposes of fiction in his Shōsetsu shinzui (The Essence of the Novel) of 1885 and Kosugi Tengai's call for an objective fictional realism in the preface to his Hatsu sugata (First Appearances)
in 1900. Hakuchō also delighted in the fact that Katai did not try to elicit the sympathy of the reader for his hero, and in the fact that Katai did not permit his narrative to stray into the descriptions of scenery and ornate prose that had adorned his earlier works. 73

It is difficult to determine exactly how Shūsei himself viewed the sensational Futon, for he does not appear to have published any comment on it at the time. However, it is significant that, as we shall see, he too was publishing autobiographical fiction by the summer of the following year.

The most notable event in Shūsei's personal life during 1907 was his romance with the prostitute O-Fuyu, but even this liaison, which was to assume greater importance much later, is overshadowed in Shūsei's life by the literary struggle between the fictional approaches of Hakai and Futon. The latter was of course to prevail and to become associated with the naturalist fiction which was to dominate the literary scene from 1908 through the remainder of the Meiji period. This subjective autobiographical approach was to become more of an objective approach in the hands of Shūsei, who in 1907 was still writing primarily to support his family and his adventures, rather than from purely artistic motives.

1908-1915: The Period of Literary Naturalism

The January, 1908, issue of Waseda Bungaku was devoted to the problem of naturalism, or shizenshugi. There were five lengthy essays—by Hōgetsu on naturalism in art, by
Sōma Gyofū on the naturalism of Maupassant, Nakamura Seiko on the naturalism of Zola, Katakami Noburu on the naturalism of Flaubert, and Shiramatsu Nanzan on naturalism in philosophy—in addition to two extraordinary examples of the finest of Japanese naturalistic fiction, Tayama Katai's "Ippeisotsu" (One Soldier) and the first of four monthly installments of Masamune Hakuchō's Doko-e (Whither?). Waseda Bungaku was responding to the currents of literature, just as it had when it carried criticism of Hakai by seven critics, including Hakuchō, Hōgetsu, and Yanagida Kunio in the May, 1906, issue, and when it featured criticism of Futon by Hakuchō, Fūyō, Katakami Noburu, Gyofū, Hōgetsu, and four others in its October, 1907, issue. The age of Japanese literary naturalism was now in full swing with two of its three most important full-time practitioners, Hakuchō and Katai, leading the movement, and only Shūsei yet to change his fictional style.

The probable date for the birth of Shūsei's second son, Jōji, is in early summer, 1908, and this event provided the inspiration for perhaps the most significant story Shūsei had written to date, "Shussan," (Childbirth), published in August of that year. It is a brief story but significant as a transitional work in which Shūsei objectively described an incident from his own life in his fiction. The objectivity he displayed is as important as the autobiography, if Shūsei's contribution to the genre of the naturalist "I" novel is to be taken as the ability to view his
fictional self as a being apart rather than to write confessionally with his fictional and real selves viewed as one and the same. The picture of Shūsei that emerges from "Shussan," if it can be taken literally, shows him feeling rather fatalistic about his relative poverty and the fact of another child. That a writer who, after all, was publishing regularly could view himself this way would normally invite charges of self-pity, but his objectivity, his ability to view his fictional self as a being apart, enables him to avoid such a flaw in "Shussan."

There is perhaps no satisfactory explanation for how Shūsei was able to change from a rather mechanical writer of Ken'yūsha and post-Ken'yūsha short stories and novels to one of the foremost writers of naturalist fiction. Masamune Hakuchō in his Shizenshugi bungaku seisuishi (A History of the Rise and Fall of Naturalist Literature) has noted that Shūsei did not particularly want or try to associate himself with naturalist literature. As Hakuchō saw it, Shūsei was suited to naturalism by nature and the current of the times just carried him to it. 74

Shūsei himself described his feelings at the time of his first experiment with naturalism, the novel Shinjotai, published in October, 1908, in terms of beginning anew, of a first step, and emphasized that with three children, a wife, and in-laws now depending upon him he had to get closer to the harsh reality of life and the pain of literature. 75 Hakuchō may have been correct in feeling, as many other
critics have, that Shūsei was suited to naturalism, but in the light of Shūsei's own conception of his change of literary style it seems hard to speak of it in terms of drifting with or even being carried by the current of the times.

The process of change in Shūsei's style can be observed in such stories as "Shussan" (August, 1908) and "Hokkoku-umare," (Born in the North Country) (September, 1908), which deals with the prostitute O-Fuyu, with whom Shūsei became involved in 1907. He is now writing autobiography, which accords with the literary style of the times, dealing with heroines such as prostitutes, which is certainly naturalistic, and approaching his material with objectivity, which will be for some time characteristic of his literature.

In Shinjotai Shūsei made the transformation from a writer with economic purposes to an artist with aesthetic purposes. He set out in this work to be an artist rather than a Ken'yūsha artisan. Whatever the faults and shortcomings of the naturalist literary movement in Japan, it did stimulate literary debate, and Shūsei's new sense of artistic purpose in Shinjotai seems a joining in on his part, a participation in the exciting literary and artistic fervor stirred up by Waseda Bungaku, Hakai, and Futon. Rather than being seen as a drift with the current of the times, Shūsei's new style should be viewed as a response to those times.

In an announcement of the forthcoming publication of Shinjotai Shūsei stated his high artistic purposes and his
desire to make this work different from the usual serializations which were, more often than not, artistic failures. He claimed his purpose was to grasp the reality of human life and to search faithfully for its essential meaning. 76

To deal with these ambitious purposes he selected as his material the lives of a young couple who run a small retail store and struggle to cope with their finances and their basic incompatibility. Significantly, too, there were apparently real life models for these unassuming characters, a young couple whom Shūsei often observed at their store in his neighborhood. 77 This fact makes Shinjotai a kind of fictional reporting and in that sense akin to the "I" novel. The significant difference, however, between Shinjotai and the usual (or real) "I" novel is that Shūsei himself does not appear in the story nor does anyone close to him in real life. This distance between his emotional life and the material of his fiction may have been necessary at that time for Shūsei to develop and maintain his objective attitude towards the story.

Shūsei was now transforming the events of his life and the lives of those around him into fiction, and in 1909 he was to have his most productive year ever, writing at least one story each month and in most months several. Some incidents from real life would be fictionalized more than once. In May, 1909, for example, Shūsei took Hama and their children to her home in Nagano to visit her relatives and see a festival there. This would be retold in "Yome" (Wife)
(September, 1909), "Matsuri" (Festival) (February, 1911), and "Giseisha" (Victim) (September, 1916).

In "Wagako no ie" (My Child's House) (April, 1909) an interesting critical problem peculiar to biographical studies of Japanese "I" novels arises, for although the story is apparently an autobiographical "I" novel, the central incident can be proved to have never occurred. The story contains the visit to Tokyo in 1908 of Shūsei's mother Take, and this conflicts with the apparently reliable recollection of Shūsei's eldest son that Take never visited them in Tokyo. Such discrepancies might seem trivial to some and certainly not of great concern to literary criticism, but such is the nature of the "I" novel and the usual Japanese approach to them that Shūsei's biographer Noguchi must devote several pages of his Tokuda Shūsei-den (A Biography of Tokuda Shūsei) to the literary implications of this discrepancy between fictional events and real events.

In discussing "Wagako no ie" Noguchi concludes rather irrefutably that if Shūsei only borrowed the frame of the "I" novel to include imagined events, then either he was not writing an "I" novel or the usual conceptions and definitions of the genre need to be revised. Noguchi's conclusion might at first glance seem rather obvious, but it makes an important point, for under a strict definition of the shishōsetsu as an accurate fictionalization of facts in which the author appears as a central character Shūsei would not be a writer of shishōsetsu until Kabi in 1911, a view which Noguchi for one holds.
The exact nature of the Japanese "I" novel is deceptively difficult to determine. The "I" novel is not simply autobiographical fiction and it is not simply fiction narrated in the first-person. Perhaps the only stylistic character of the "I" novel that can be noted with certainty is that the author must be present as one of the characters in the novel, but even this stipulation is debatable.

To attempt to define the "I" novel in terms of its external characteristics alone seems somehow unsatisfactory, for as the genre developed it appears to have incorporated definite tendencies in fictional mood and philosophical outlook as well. That the "I" novel and naturalist fiction developed to some extent out of the same source, Katai's Futon, has been seen, so that it is difficult to conceive of the one as totally independent of the other.

The "I" novel was to survive the decline of naturalist fiction which occurred about the year 1912, however, and to flourish anew in the writings of such Taishō-period writers as Uno Kōji, Kasai Zenzō, and of course Shiga Naoya. The distinction that Hirano Ken draws between the "I" novel of the naturalists and that of the Taishō writers is of interest. Hirano sees the former as a literature of extinction (horobi) but the latter as a literature of salvation (sukui). In fact he seems to find the term "I" novel appropriate for only that autobiographical fiction which he views as philosophically negative, and thus he is able to trace the historical line of "I" novelists from the early naturalists
such as Chikamatsu Shūkō through the Shōwa-period writer Kamura Isota down to such post-World War II writers of decadent fiction as Dazai Osamu. The later autobiographical fiction which Hirano finds brighter in outlook, or subduing crises (kiki kokufuku) as opposed to embodying crises (kiki taiseigen) which he views naturalist fiction as doing, he prefers to call the shinkyō shōsetsu (psychological novel). He finds the relative philosophical optimism of the shinkyō shōsetsu to have its origins in the idealism of the early Taishō-period Shirakaba-ha (White Birch School) which he sees as essentially Oriental in its philosophical approach with its emphasis on self-cultivation. He traces the line of shinkyō shōsetsu writers from the Shirakaba-ha writer Shiga Naoya down to the Shōwa-period novelist Ozaki Ichio. Whereas the naturalists sought the answers to the problems of human existence in their art, the Shirakaba-ha and later writers of shinkyō shōsetsu sought their answers in life and that distinction, in Hirano's opinion, accounts for the strength of the latter. 81

A view of the naturalist "I" novel such as that of Hirano is logical and certainly not unexpected, since the psychological and philosophical landscapes exposed to view in many notable works of autobiographical naturalist fiction are bleak and upsetting. The difficulty in defending such a work as Futon as healthy is apparent, for example. But such distinctions as those of Hirano are basically moral ones, and as such, although they are useful, they appear to
leave the essentially literary question of an exact definition of the "I" novel unanswered. Not only that but such a view of the naturalists does not seem to give sufficient recognition to their strengths as well.

As Nakamura Mitsuo notes, one of the important concepts that shaped the spirit of the naturalist writers was doubt.82 The naturalists were skeptics who could accept nothing on faith alone. They had freed themselves from a reliance upon conventional morality and the usual restrictions that the dictates of taste and convention had heretofore imposed upon art. As Nakamura points out, they sought to believe but would believe nothing without proof.83 That proof had to be empirical. Thus, as we have seen in the case of Katai and Futon, the naturalist writer could be led of necessity to the examination and description of the concrete reality of his own life in his sincere attempt to recreate the reality of human existence in his fiction. They were idealists and seekers after truth in the very basic sense that they would accept no deception and no improbable explanations for the pain of existence. They were negative in the sense that they negated everything as a necessary precondition before beginning their search for believable answers in their lives and their art.

From July 30 to November 18, 1910, Shūsei serialized the novel Ashiato in the Yomiuri Shimbun. This story is a fictionalization of the early years of his wife Hama, dealing mostly with her life in Tokyo, beginning at about the
age of eleven or twelve and culminating with her escape from her first unsuccessful marriage. It is an episodic work centering on the adventures of the heroine O-Shô (Hama) which involves primarily descriptions of the many crude and unfortunate people among whom she was reared. The story of Hama is continued in Kabi, and seen together with that later work Ashiato performs the function of showing the environment that shaped the character of the heroine of Kabi, O-Gin, Shûsei's wife Hama. Ashiato has been proved to be very factual, and a reading of Hama's turbulent upbringing makes Shûsei's sometimes cruel and condescending attitude towards her much more understandable, although ultimately unforgivable nonetheless.

From the time Hama was eighteen until about the age of twenty-one she was involved with a university student who was quite sexually experienced, having had dealings with many women, including geisha, and who often borrowed considerable sums of money through temporary loans. Shûsei's jealousy and mistrust of Hama might have sprung from his awareness of her past as much as from his feelings of inferiority towards other men. This first lover of Hama's is found in Kabi, as of course are many other of the Ashiato characters. Shûsei himself is not present in Ashiato, however, although he is to be one of the central characters of Kabi, and thus Ashiato is perhaps not a true "I" novel in the strictest sense of the term.

In March, 1911, Shûsei's fourth child, his second
daughter, Kiyoko, was born, and on August 1 the serialization of Kabi began, running until November 3 in eighty installments. Shūsei had begun his fictional adaptations of his surroundings and his own life in 1908 with such short stories as "Shinsatsu" (Medical Examination) in May, "Shusan" in August, "Hokkoku umare" in September, and "Nyuin no hitoya" (A Night at the Hospital) and "Kasutani-shi" (Mister Kasutani) in October, and the process of developing an objective autobiographical style can be seen as resulting in Kabi three years later.

The story was praised even by such opponents of naturalism as Natsume Sōseki, who apparently was instrumental in having Kabi published in the Tokyo Asahi Shimbun. Sōseki and his literary followers were not hesitant to praise Shūsei's work, because Shūsei never engaged in literary arguments or theorizing and because they felt his objective descriptions of life made him a shaseibun (sketching from life) writer like themselves. Shūsei was apparently never a friend of Sōseki, having met him briefly only once, and even then he could not bring himself to take the opportunity to speak to him. Later he regretted his foolishness, as he felt it to be, in not speaking to Sōseki, but he did have a modest correspondence with him, which, owing to Sōseki's eminent position in Japanese literature, Shūsei and his family were to treasure.

The years from 1908 through 1915 may be seen as Shūsei's most significant literary period. By the end of the Meiji
period in 1912 the brief but important time of naturalist literary domination was drawing to a close, but Shūsei was to continue to produce important works which carried on his fictional development begun in 1908. To try to force this span of Shūsei's highest creativity into the historical framework of the period of naturalism, 1907-1911, is convenient for determining his role in the rise to prominence of naturalist fiction, but, on the other hand, is somewhat arbitrary. Shūsei was to follow a trail that led beyond the confines of the Meiji and naturalist eras to Tadare in 1913 and Arakure in 1915.

Ashiato, Kabi, Tadare, and Arakure comprise a compelling string of fictional portraits of women. Ashiato and Kabi had concerned the life of Shūsei's wife Hama, but for Tadare Shūsei turned to the family doctor of some of Hama's relatives and the doctor's women for material. The heroine of Tadare, O-Masu, is a prostitute (yūjo) who is the concubine (nigō) of the man Asai. A struggle arises between O-Masu and Asai's legitimate wife O-Yanagi, and when the latter dies O-Masu becomes the legitimate wife of Asai. O-Masu's fate, however, is to suffer the same misfortune as O-Yanagi, as Asai is attracted to another woman younger than O-Masu who in turn steals him from her.

In Tadare, which was serialized in sixty installments in the Kokumin Shimbun from March 21 to June 5, 1913, Shūsei has forsaken autobiography temporarily, but is continuing to develop his powers of characterization through the depiction
of another woman with a stormy past. Noguchi sees Shūsei as entering a sort of second-stage naturalism now, more subjective than before and not purely naturalistic, and he finds Tadare to be Shūsei's masterpiece in terms of its depth of characterization and solidity of plot. Shūsei had tried out this plot in the experimental stories (experimental in terms of the plot) "Ribon" (Ribbon) (February, 1909) and "Aru yo" (One Night) (January, 1911).

The distinction that Noguchi is trying to make is that Tadare, unlike Kabi, is not autobiographical but simply biographical. The characters and incidents of the story are taken from real life, but although they are handled with objectivity and regard for fact, the treatment is not as objective and factual as in Shūsei's earlier naturalist works. Thus in that sense Tadare is unlike Kabi and the succession of earlier stories that resulted in that classic "I" novel.

Despite all of Shūsei's literary achievements, he was still not a true literary and financial success. Shūsei was never able to devote himself totally to his literature and to write intellectual literature solely, like Sōseki or Ōgai, for he was always under some sort of economic pressure with his many children and in-laws depending upon him. What he thought of his social position as a writer is evident from the advice he was to give the aspiring writer Terazaki Kō when the latter married Shūsei's daughter Kiyoko on February 26, 1936, namely that Terazaki should become a writer of popular fiction. The implication is that one cannot eat
art and that he did not relish the thought of his own daughter suffering as the wife of an artist.

In January, 1914, Shūsei was fortunate enough to become employed again by the Yomiuri Shimbun, where he was to work a year, despite being hospitalized for illness in October of that year. Shūsei now had a source of income outside of his writing, but the demands on his time of a full-time job made him a Sunday writer during 1914, which was not an easy schedule to follow for his house lacked a decent study and the noise from his children made getting into an "artistic mood" nearly impossible. Thus, the image of Shūsei the writer is different from that of successful post-war writers, such as Mishima Yukio, who acquire leisure through their writing popular successes and can devote themselves solely to their art and literary theory. The fact of Shūsei's financial obligations must not be overlooked in accounting for the uneven pattern his long career as a writer and artist presents.

In January, 1915, the serialization of Shūsei's long work Arakure began in the Yomiuri; it was to continue until July, appearing in 113 installments. The heroine of Arakure, O-Shima, was modelled on Suzuki Chiyo, the lover of Hama's brother Ozawa Takeo, who provided the model for Arakure's male protagonist. Shūsei had wanted to portray a character who paid little attention to feelings of duty and social obligation (giri ninjō), someone rough and active. He apparently had intended the action of the story to come mostly
from his imagination, which would have represented a departure or even a kind of regression from his recent style, but the story seems to have gotten out of hand, as he once stopped it midway because of its increasing length, and he stated that he found himself sticking to the facts of the lives of the models for the main characters eventually. 91

In the fall of 1915 Shūsei serialized Honryū (The Torrent), which was to be the last notable long work he produced for some twenty years. For some time to come his important literature would be in the short story form, which, however, does not mean that he abandoned long works. For from Yūwaku (Temptation) in 1917 until the mid-1930's Shūsei was to produce thirty or forty nearly forgotten long books which would fall into the category of illustrated tsūzoku shōsetsu (popular novels). Shūsei was always able to churn out works with popular appeal, and as his family and obligations increased, Shūsei would often write all night to collapse into sleep when finally finished, often producing great amounts of fiction at a single sitting. 92

As the critic Hirotsu Kazuo points out, after Honryū Shūsei continued his objective fictional approach, which Hirotsu sees as reaching the peak of its artistic potential for Shūsei in Arakure and Honryū. However, with the exception of several of his more successful short stories of the period such as "Giseisha" in 1916 and "Kanashimi no ato" (After the Sorrow) in early 1917, Shūsei's fiction grew monotonous and uninspired, and, as Hirotsu notes, often
elicited the criticism that it was "pseudo-realistic."93

Shūsei's sixth child, his fourth son, Miyahiko, was born in March, 1915; his fifth child, his third son, Sansaku, had been born in February, 1913. Shūsei's family affairs occupy the center stage of his story for the next ten years or so, as the many shocks he was to feel in that area seemed to have shaped his awareness of the fleeting nature of human relationships and perhaps account for his problematic behavior after Hama's death in 1926.

1916-1925: Subjective Literature, Deaths of Daughter, Brother, and Wife

During the decade from 1916 to the death of his wife Hama on January 2, 1926, Shūsei was to suffer many losses. In July, 1916, his oldest daughter, Zuiko, was to die at the age of twelve; in October, 1916, his mother, Take, died in Kanazawa. In December, 1921, he lost his beloved eldest half-brother, Naomatsu, and in the summer of 1924 his mother-in-law, Sachi, was to pass away. All of these deaths were to have their inevitable effect on Shūsei.

In the summer of 1916 Shūsei's daughters Zuiko and Kiyoko as well as his third son, Sansaku, were all ill with cholera infantum (children's dysentery). All three of these children were near death, although Zuiko was the only one to succumb to the disease. His daughter's death was extremely painful to Shūsei, but his reaction to it was characteristic of Shūsei's life as an indefatigable writer of autobiographical fiction, and provides further illustration of the
relationship between Shūsei's life and his fiction. For when Zuiko died, Shūsei seems to have gone right to work transforming this event, however painful, into fiction.

Shūsei's quick reaction to Zuiko's death proved to be a bit controversial, since he has been criticized by at least two other writers for his apparent callousness. Satomi Ton, in his Futari no sakka (Two Writers) (1950), was appalled at Shūsei's taking such a tragedy and using it for his fiction and at what Satomi termed Shūsei's spirit of "resistance to heaven's will" displayed in this fictionalization of her death, "Giseisha," published in September, 1916. Tanaka Jun had happened to visit Shūsei's place the morning after Zuiko's death and was shocked to find him writing at his desk beside the corpse of his beloved daughter.

This is an amazing incident, and it can only be said in Shūsei's defense that he was coping with the sorrow of Zuiko's death in the only way he knew. It was a fact also that he still had two other seriously ill children and three still presumably well ones to be provided for by the income from his writing. Whatever line of speculation about Shūsei's psychological or economic motives one prefers to pursue, the implications about Shūsei's creative processes are clear, namely that his fictionalizations of real life events were for the most part to be fresh, photographic, and objective, rather than from memory, impressionistic, and subjective. Of course, the treatment and conclusions taken
from these fresh, accurate re-creations was another matter, and the emotional distance from his subject matter was to become increasingly a problem of Shūsei criticism. In other words, the reader can continue to believe the facts revealed in his works, but less and less the objectivity of their interpretation, although it may be argued that any interpretation of facts would be to some degree subjective.

When Shūsei's mother died in October, 1916, he was apparently much less grieved than he had been at the death of his daughter. For the death of his daughter seems to have benumbed Shūsei, so that he was not able to comprehend the enormity of the loss of his mother, whose death followed so closely that of Zuiko. This is apparent from the story "Kinoko" (Mushrooms), which appeared in January, 1917, and is concerned with these two deaths. Characteristically, Shūsei was writing "Kinoko" on the train to Kanazawa after learning of his mother's death.

Something seems to have changed Shūsei as a writer in 1916, for he now enters a long period of rather mechanical writing that might be seen as definitely having begun when the long work Yūwaku began to appear in February, 1917. The Shūsei who launched forth in a new fictional direction with Shinjotai in 1908, and produced Ashiato, Kabi, Tadare, and Arakure, Shūsei the artist, is now hidden in the shadow of Shūsei the writer, dependably and predictably producing stories for popular consumption.

The most obvious reason that can be deduced with any
certainty is that Shūsei was protecting the economic security of his large and growing family--his last child, a daughter, Momoko, was born in December, 1918--and recovering from the shock of Zuiko's death and the near death of two other of his children. This may be all that can be said with any certainty, but even this is unsatisfactory somehow as a full explanation for his decline in creativity. The general decline in critical interest in the type of naturalist fiction by which he had established himself must also have played a part in Shūsei's change.

Yoshida Seiichi considers Shūsei a common writer (hirasakka) during this period, and he notes that the difficulty of a writer's life is obvious from the fact that Shūsei was unable to accumulate much wealth despite producing more than twenty full-length novels during the twelve-year period from 1915 through 1926 in addition to an average of more than ten short stories a year. Yoshida does bestow upon Shūsei's long works from Yuwaku until his later fictional resurgence the damning praise that they are not all that bad for tsūzoku shōsetsu. He does make it clear, however, that even the best of these should not be considered on the same artistic level with works such as Tadare and Arakure or the later Shūsei masterpieces Kasō jimbutsu (Disguised Characters) (1935) and Shukuzu (Minature) (1941).

Age seems to have brought Shūsei closer to his family, to his children, his second eldest half-brother, Juntarō, and finally his wife Hama. He saw his eldest half-brother,
Naomatsu, for the last time on a visit to the Kansai in May, 1920. This brother, who had been his closest relative, was to die in December of the following year, and by a strange coincidence it was not long before he was able to become intimate with his brother Juntarō, who had always been aloof from him, for the first time. This occurred in October, 1922, while Shūsei was back in Kanazawa for the anniversary of his mother's death. This reconciliation with Juntarō resulted in the short story "Kago no tori" (Bird in a Cage) (June, 1923), in which Shūsei shows that he was moved by his visit to his brother, a mining engineer, who had stayed close to the Tokuda homestead and lived his solitary life in a house on a mountain for some thirty years. The death of Naomatsu had resulted in three stories, "Shotō no kibun" (Early Winter Mood) (January, 1923), as well as "Tatakai" (Conflict) and "Hitokuki no hana" (One Stem Flower), both of uncertain date. 98

Shūsei was to become even closer to his children as they grew older and we have seen how he effected a reconciliation with his brother Juntarō, but his relations with his wife present more of a puzzle. He had always been attracted to her but had never respected her. Yet he wanted to possess her sexually, and this fact in combination with his feelings of inadequacy and residual mistrust of her often produced powerful and irrational feelings of jealousy in him. He himself, however, was not always faithful to her, but in the context of the double standard for male and
female sexual behavior and the tradition of male infidelity in Japan at that time, it is difficult to draw many meaningful conclusions about his feelings for his wife from this fact. In other words, it can be concluded that when Shūsei was engaging in secret affairs with other women he was certainly not close to his wife in the sense that he was sharing his emotional life with her, but in the light of what could be expected from their respective roles as husband and wife in Japan at the time, this was perhaps understandable.

In August, 1920, Shūsei engaged in the first of several rendezvous with the woman O-Fuyu with whom he had had a brief affair thirteen years before. O-Fuyu became an important literary source for Shūsei, appearing in "Hokkoku-umare" (1908), "Doko made" (How Far) (January, 1921), "Hana ga saku" (Flowers Bloom) (April, 1924), and "Mikaiketsu no mama ni" (With Things Still Unresolved) (April, 1925). In "Mikaiketsu no mama ni" she is described as being eighteen or nineteen years old in 1907, with smooth white skin, a lithe, well-proportioned body, sensuous eyes, and a full, friendly face. Shūsei seems to have taken to her at once.

O-Fuyu thirteen years later is described in "Hana ga saku" as having lost her youth and as having a timid look in her eyes that gave Shūsei a cold, unpleasant feeling. Nonetheless, he was to see her four times in all. He describes his motives for going to see her as a simple curiosity to see what had become of her after all those years and a vague desire to have dinner with her. Noguchi refers to this
"curiosity" as Shūsei's curiosity as a novelist, and he notes the similarity to Shūsei's attitude toward his later lover Yamada Junko, commenting that Shūsei possessed the ability to be genuinely attracted to a woman on the one hand but at the same time view her as material for his fiction on the other. This is certainly a valid observation and it is a significant and curious fact that Shūsei was able to approach his human relationships from this ambivalent point of view. Nevertheless, given the descriptions of the young O-Fuyu, to dismiss Shūsei's motives for visiting her again in 1920 in her little house in the suburbs as simple curiosity or vague desire is perhaps to believe him too implicitly.

Shūsei's curiosity seems to have resulted in the twin girls born to O-Fuyu in 1921, although who their father was has never been proved positively. If the details of "Mikai-ketsu no mama ni" can be trusted explicitly, O-Fuyu, obviously pregnant, had shown up at Shūsei's house one day while he was out and told everything to Hama. The whole affair seems to have hurt Hama, quite understandably, and she apparently greeted Shūsei with a violent and ugly scene that night. After the children were born, O-Fuyu returned to Shūsei's house one day while he was out; he returned while she was there, but managed to sneak around to the back of the house before being noticed. Shūsei did, in fact, make several payments of money to O-Fuyu when the children were born and afterwards, not so much because he felt the girls
Shūsei's family survived the destruction and chaos of the Great Kantō Earthquake of September 1, 1923, despite some damage to the roof and walls of their house, but on the day of the disaster Shūsei happened to be in Kanazawa while Hama and the children were at home in Tokyo. Shūsei was alarmed at the reports of damage he received in Kanazawa and hurried to get a travel permit to travel into the disaster area. He first intended to return on September 4, but his permit did not arrive in time. He did finally get the permit, but for some unknown reason he did not go to Tokyo until October 12. His rather sympathetic biographer explains this in terms of Shūsei's "Oriental philosophy" of seeking the way (that is, philosophy of dealing with life) through a "no action" (mui), "no morals" (mudōtoku) course, which tendency was originally attributed to Shūsei by the critic Yamamoto Kenkichi. It may be true that Shūsei was passive in a peculiarly Oriental way, but that seems unsatisfactory as an explanation for his behavior and did not satisfy Hama, who was not too happy with Shūsei when he did return after she had guarded the home and family alone for six weeks. Considering the scale of destruction and rioting in Tokyo following the earthquake Shūsei's inaction can only be viewed as irresponsible and indicative of a lack of concern for his wife on his part.

Shūsei's activities during the summer of 1924, as much as at any other time, show his strengths, weaknesses, and
natural inclinations. That he was capable of compassion and action had been demonstrated the previous April when Shūsei had answered the plea for help of a young fellow-Kanazawa writer, Shimada Seijirō, who was involved in a sensational sex scandal. Shūsei had visited the father of the girl whom Shimada had allegedly raped to try to persuade him to drop the matter, and, when that failed, secured legal counsel for the young writer.

When Shūsei heard of the illness of his second elder brother, Juntarō, in the early summer of 1924, he was soon off to Kanazawa to see him. Although brought to Kanazawa by love and duty, while there, however, another important side of Shūsei's nature asserted itself and he soon found his way to a brothel where he was to spend twenty days. He had become infatuated with a Kanazawa geisha with whom he said he would like to stay forever. What part Hama played in his thoughts at this time is impossible to guess. The girl in Kanazawa appears in the story "Sōwa" (Episode) (January, 1925), which treats Shūsei's whole visit to Juntarō, as well as in "Kuroi maku" (Black Curtain) (February, 1925). Shūsei's life was still his art, in that the fertility of the latter was dependent upon the events of the former.

Shūsei's blissful stay with the Kanazawa geisha was soon interrupted by a telegram from Tokyo telling him that his second daughter, Kiyoko, was hospitalized with cerebro-spinal meningitis. He always demonstrated affection for his children, so that he quickly returned to Tokyo, leaving
behind the infatuation that had seemed so important. His daughter was to recover, but while she was still hospitalized, another blow fell as his mother-in-law, Sachi, died suddenly of a cerebral hemorrhage.

Sachi's death left its mark on the relationship between Shūsei and Hama. Hama, as it turned out, was not to live much longer, but it was during the last year and a half of their marriage that Shūsei and his wife finally truly came to understand one another. Shūsei's relationship with his wife, given their differing personalities and mutual stubbornness, had never been close and confiding, but what intimacy they were to share came after the death of her mother.

It is impossible to speculate at this distance in time whether Sachi's death caused Hama at last to turn to her husband, whether it allowed Shūsei to reach out at last to her, or whether the shock of the loss and new relationship brought about a new initiative on the part of both of them. Be that as it may, the new intimacy may indicate that Shūsei was mellowing, even maturing, and becoming more of an emotional participant in life rather than simply an observer gathering material for his stories.

This new emotional participation is reflected in his literature of this period as well as in his life. The detached objectivity of his naturalist masterpieces from the time of Shinjotai through Arakure has been discarded for a subjective treatment of actual events in his late Taishō
stories. Hirotsu Kazuo has noted in his "Tokuda Shūsei-ron" (A Discourse on Tokuda Shūsei) that the strength and passion of Arakure are lacking in his later stories, and that his late Taishō stories end with a "puzzling sweetness" not found in the stories of his naturalist period. Hirotsu finds this new style very Maupassant-like, and feels that in such stories as "Hana ga saku" and "Furo oke" (The Bathtub) (April and August, 1924, respectively) the "window of subjectivity" has opened. To Hirotsu there is a fusion of the objective and the subjective and Shūsei's literature is now freed from the tyranny of the objective. 107

As we have seen, "Hana ga saku" concerns the aftermath of Shūsei's brief resumption of his affair with O-Fuyu. The story begins with the hero Isomura (Shūsei) delighting in blooming flowers and the generally pleasurable scene his garden in late spring presents. The pleasantness of the spring flowers is contrasted with the gloom that the disclosure of his affair with O-Fuyu has added to his relationship with his wife and oldest son. However, the problem of Isomura's financial responsibility for O-Fuyu's child is apparently finally resolved at the end of the story. Then his wife becomes enthusiastic over the idea of going flower-viewing, which Isomura had hoped to be able to find the time and money for, but Isomura senses that she, who takes things so seriously, still is inwardly upset somehow by the whole affair with O-Fuyu. He concludes that such behavior is what is touching (ijirashii) about his wife. 108
In "Furo oke" the hero Tsushima is becoming increasingly obsessed with thoughts of his death as he grows older. At every turn he wonders how much longer he will live. Tsushima's house, which is small and overcrowded with children, does not even contain a proper bathroom, so that they have to use the public bath. When they finally are able to expand their living area, they decide to repair their old bathroom, which they had long been forced to use as a storage area. Tsushima overhears his wife, Sakuko, talking in a loud voice with the carpenter about how they might repair it. He later berates her for her crudity in talking so loud and he reflects that as a man grows older he becomes more and more refined whereas with a woman it is just the opposite. Tsushima has often beat his wife but the severity and frequency of his attacks upon her have increased with age. He feels that he is becoming like a wild beast or a spoiled child with the onslaught of the infirmities of old age.

A few weeks after Tsushima's argument with Sakuko over her loudness their new bathtub arrives. Tsushima is finally able to take a bath again in his own tub, but the enjoyment of this is marred somewhat by the dirty surroundings in the unfinished bathroom. As he soaks in his tub, he falls into his usual habit of wondering how long he will live and he begins to speculate upon how long he will be alive to enjoy his new bathtub. He concludes that one tub will last him the rest of his life, whereupon he has the feeling that his new bathtub is his coffin.
The "puzzling sweetness" that Hirotsu finds in these stories is certainly evident in "Hana ga saku," but it is hard to find anything sweet about the difficult old hero of "Furo oke," although the image of the cranky old novelist soaking in his new bathtub in his unfinished bathroom does have its touching side. Both stories, however, definitely differ in mood from his earlier naturalist stories, for even in "Furo oke" the human side of the autobiographical hero is displayed and stressed to a higher degree than in such earlier stories as "Shussan" (1908). Hirotsu's observation seems a valid one in the final analysis, because it is obvious that Shūsei was viewing himself with more sympathy as he approached old age and the appearance of sentiment in his stories added a dimension of feeling that was unattainable with his former strictly objective approach.

Even though his literature had lost much of its gloom and was somehow brighter now, other critics were to object to Shūsei's shortened distance from his subject matter, especially in the light of the furor over his personal behavior after Hama's death. However, the period from 1916 through 1923 may be seen as a transition period from naturalism to this new phase, and the "window of subjectivity" was to remain open in his literature until well into the 1930's.

1926-1943: Yamada Junko, Soyo, Kobayashi Masako, Literary "Silence" and Resurgence, Reaction to the War

An account of Tokuda Shūsei's life and literature from
his wife's death in January, 1926, until his death in November, 1943, must center on two things: his women, who continued to be the source of his material and who could make him the center of scandal and controversy, and his literary resurgence of the mid-1930's, which followed his unprecedented silence during the early 1930's. In the background of both are the social, literary, and political trends and values of the times which acted upon Shūsei's life and his writing.

Shūsei was a man who involved himself with all sorts of women—prostitutes, respectable women, bar proprietresses, maids, and women who came seeking help for their literary careers. 110 Shūsei's problematical marriage has been noted, as well as his apparent new intimacy with Hama in 1924 and 1925, but the depth of his affection for her is certainly suspect if one considers how quickly after her death Shūsei was to involve himself with other women. His insensitivity to the moral dicta of the time might be seen in connection with his old and familiar strain of nonconformity, which has been seen earlier. Noguchi discusses Shūsei's nonconformity in terms of his being a social, though not of course legal, outlaw.

Very soon after Hama's death on January 2, Shūsei was dividing his affection between two women. One was a widow, a Waseda University English literature graduate who was a translator and writer of adventure stories with definite literary aspirations. The other and much more significant
woman for his emotional life and literary career was a woman from the Yoshiwara, Soyo, whom a friend introduced to him in late February, 1926, even before the end of the traditional forty-nine-day mourning period for Hama. Shūsei was to know Soyo as a lover and later as a friend for a long period into the 1930's. After becoming involved with her he helped her to establish herself as the proprietress of a house of assignation (machiai) catering to the literati and artists. Soyo was to be the subject of many short stories: "Mizugiwa no ie" (The House by the Water's Edge) (March, 1927), "Aoi kaze" (Pale Wind) (October, 1929), "Kaki zōsui to imobō" (Oyster Porridge and Dried Cod with Yams) (November, 1931), "Kinko kobanashi" (A Little Story of the Cashbox) (January, 1934), and "Kiri" (Fog) and "Aida" (Interlude), of uncertain date. Shūsei never devoted a long work to her, but she did supply the model for the important character Sayama Koyoko in Kasō jimbutsu (1935). Shūsei said of his relationship with Soyo that it came about because he wanted to hear about the strange world the woman had lived in, that he had the vice of having too much interest in people.

Noguchi admits that sexual desire may have been one reason for Shūsei's visits to Soyo at her machiai, but insists that Shūsei also went there for professional reasons, that is, to hear what this woman of great and varied experience could tell him (about life, presumably). It may be safe to believe Noguchi more unreservedly here than in O-Fuyu's case, but, even so, the problem of determining the
exact nature of the interrelationship between Shūsei's literary and personal motivations for his actions seems almost impossible. Shūsei's life and art are bound together so inextricably that thirty years after his death there are few safe guides to follow in separating the one from the other. We may only conjecture.

In Shūsei's pursuit of O-Fuyu and Soyo the most important point may be why his responsibility to his wife and the threat of social censure did not deter him from visiting them. In other words, what do his affairs with these women say about his relation to his wife and society? His affair with O-Fuyu certainly shows that he was not satisfied with Hama, and his involvement with Soyo shows that he did not adhere to or respect conventional morality and social mores. That is not to say, of course, that he could not be made to fear them.

Initially, Shūsei's affair with Soyo was brief, for she was soon shoved into the background by the dynamic and provocative presence of Yamada Junko. Yamada Junko came from a wealthy family in Akita Prefecture and had married a Toyko University law graduate in 1920 at the age of twenty. She had definite hopes for a career as a writer, however, and so she soon left her husband to come to Tokyo where she was to meet Shūsei who was a book editor for *Fujin no Tomo* (Woman's Companion) at the time.

This first trip to Tokyo came to nothing and Junko returned to her husband in Hokkaido where they lived together
for a time and she had a child. By the fall of 1924, however, Junko was back in Tokyo, where she managed to have her book *Nagareru mama ni* (As It Flows) published with prefaces by Shūsei, Kikuchi Kan, Kume Masao, and Toki Aika. During this second stay in Tokyo her husband's bankruptcy occurred, which led to their divorce soon afterwards. She was living with the poet and painter Takehisa Yumeji, but she returned to the north when she learned that Yumeji had another woman. When she learned of the death of Hama, the ambitious Junko returned to Tokyo and moved into a boarding-house near Shūsei's place, where she was a frequent visitor thereafter.\(^{113}\)

Shūsei fell passionately in love with Junko and she left her mark on his literature, as she was to inspire a whole category of Shūsei fiction, later termed the Junko-mono, or "works treating Junko." "Shinkei suijaku" (Nervous Prostration) (March, 1926) begins a string of some twenty-odd Junko-mono which Shūsei produced up until about January, 1928, all dealing with heroines modeled on Yamada Junko. (They were apparently called Aiko-mono at the time.)\(^{114}\) She was also the model for the heroine Yōko in *Kasō jimbutsu*, and judging from the events of the story, one may say that their relation was a passionate one--on occasion Shūsei was even to slap her.\(^{115}\)

At the latest, Shūsei's involvement with Junko was finished by mid-1928, and even so he was never able to monopolize her affections. He was fifty-six and she twenty-six
at the beginning of their affair in 1926, and she seems to have become involved with five men in addition to Shūsei in a period of a little over two years. \( ^{116} \) Japanese critics seem unable to find any sympathy for Junko's position and she is characterized by them as lewd \( ^{117} \) and inordinately ambitious, but given the male domination of Japanese literary criticism as well as Japanese society this assessment is no doubt predictable. Noguchi concludes that Yamada Junko was one of those people who loved the bunDan more than she loved bungaku, \( ^{118} \) that is she loved the men of the bunDan more than she loved their literature.

Junko's affair with Shūsei and her hold upon him were widely resented among members of the literary establishment as well as the press. The Futsuka kai ([January] Second Group) was formed on the first anniversary of Hama's death with more than twenty members, nearly half of them women, as a literary group centered on Shūsei. The Futsuka kai was eventually to evolve into another literary circle, the Arakurekai (The Roughneck Group). Junko's presence at meetings and her relationship to Shūsei caused a good deal of dissen-

sion among the members. \( ^{119} \)

Junko and Shūsei were to inspire the anger of such writers as Masamune Hakuchō, Uno Kōji, and others, and despite Shūsei's denials of any romance with her it was known through the newspapers by June, 1926. \( ^{120} \) Shūsei had at first taken Junko in as a literary pupil, but attracted by her beauty he was soon confusing his feelings towards her
with his professional responsibilities towards her.

Whether viewed as lewd or ambitious, Junko must certainly have been an extraordinary woman who was endowed with a character that might have been admired rather than resented in another society or another age. Noguchi finds four major reasons why the affair infuriated people: firstly, the fact that it began right after Hama's death; secondly, the fact that Shūsei produced many stories right along with the development of the affair; thirdly, the fact that it easily became a matter of gossip for magazines and newspapers at the time; and, lastly, the fact that the mores of the times could not condone the impropriety of the fact that although she was so young he was in his mid-fifties. 121

Shūsei's reputation suffered during this period, for his only noteworthy writings were the Junko-mono, which were regarded as works of questionable value. 122 The Junko-mono seem to have led him to a dead-end in his productivity, and beginning in 1927 there is a decline in the quality and quantity of his writings. This is the beginning of Shūsei's "silence."

The Junko-mono stopped about January, 1928; in 1929 his works were not notable; in 1930 and 1931 he was producing only one or two stories a year, and in 1932 nothing. 123 The repressive political climate after about 1931 must have played some part in his silence. The growth of proletarian literature and the suicide of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, the champion of art-for-art's-sake, in July, 1927, provide a
background for Shūsei's apparent loss of interest.

The death of Akutagawa came as more of a shock than that of any other writer ever had, because the intellectuals of the day immediately realized that it marked the death not only of a man but of an era as well. His death provided a symbolic ending to the literary approach of the Taishō-period bundan, which as we have seen perhaps reached the height of its social influence and visibility through the Katai Shūsei seitān gojūnen shukugakai in November, 1920.

The process of the intrusion of social thought upon the world of literary thought that began with the first organizational meeting of the Nihon shakaishugi dōmei in December, 1920, continued throughout the 1920's. In November, 1926, at the second meeting of the first truly national literary organization for proletarian literature, the Nihon puroretaria bungei remmei (Japan Proletarian Literary Arts League), which had been formed the previous year, the united front that had prevailed heretofore gave way to an assertion of leadership by the Marxists which resulted in a change of name to the Nihon puroretaria geijutsu remmei (Japan Proletarian Arts League). Many such left-wing literary and cultural groups were to form and dissolve in the next few years, so that from about 1927, the year of Akutagawa's death, until 1933, the year the most prominent of the leftist writers, Kobayashi Takiji, was murdered by police in jail in August, left-wing literary organizations, individual writers, and publications were extremely active in Japan.
Such new preferences for a literature that was intended to serve the common good were opposed to Shūsei's very personal style of writing, which cannot have been encouraging to him at a time when his literary creativity appeared to be faltering for the first time in his writing career. Even closer to Shūsei as a possible reason for his literary silence may have been the illness of his third son, Sansaku, who contracted caries in the fall of 1928 and finally succumbed to it at the age of nineteen in May, 1931.

That Shūsei was distracted by the times may be inferred from the fact that he even considered an attempt at political candidacy for a seat in the Lower House (Shūgiin) of the Diet as a Social Democrat in February, 1930. He was even serious enough about his candidacy to take a trip to Kanazawa to assess his chances before abandoning the idea because of lack of support and finances. The fact that Shūsei, who described himself as an idle dreamer who never touched upon reality, could become involved in such a political adventure, however briefly, shows him to be a man of puzzling contradictions. 126

Such involvement in politics by famous men of letters was not uncommon, however, during the early Shōwa period. Kikuchi Kan had been a candidate of the Social Democrats in the Tokyo municipal elections in 1927127 and again in the elections for representatives to the Diet in 1928. Kagawa Toyohiko was a candidate of the Social Democrats for the Diet from Tokyo in 1930. 128 The social democratic philosophy
like that of the Communists, attracted many intellectuals. The Social Democratic Party seems to have been one of the more left-wing of the legal political parties. It also differed from such illegal parties as the Communist Party in that, unlike the latter, it supported the "emperor system" (tennōsei). Thus, in this period of general political polarization and increasing politicization of literature during the late 1920's and early 1930's in Japan, it is not surprising perhaps that Shūsei, along with many other intellectuals and men of letters, could be attracted to the progressive but legal stance of the social democrats. The Social Democratic Party reached the zenith of agrarian support for its candidates in 1930, so that it may be assumed that Shūsei expected to find signs of such sentiment during his visit to Kanazawa in February. That sufficient agrarian support never materialized there can be assumed from the fact that there was no candidate from the Social Democratic or any other left-wing party in basically rural Ishikawa Prefecture in 1930.

Shūsei's literary decline from 1926 to 1931 can be seen as a result of his private life. Society would not forgive him for his relationship with a woman thirty years younger than he, and Shūsei, who was still under the spell of Junko, tried to escape into a life of dissipation. Many of Junko's lovers had been wealthy and influential, one had even been a member of the Diet, and Shūsei was aware that he did not have the means to compete for her. His friends
saw his decline, and in late 1931 they formed the Tokuda Shūsei Kōenkai (Tokuda Shūsei Supporters Association) to aid him. He was to enrage these good people by increasingly indulging his new addiction to dance halls at the same time he was receiving support from his own kōenkai. 133

Shūsei was finally to free himself from the spell of Yamada Junko through another young woman, Kobayashi Masako, whom he had met in a dance hall in 1931 and who was to provide the model for yet another group of stories, the Shōkōmono, or "works treating Shōko." Like O-Fuyu she was a prostitute with a varied past, having been sold to be made a geisha at the age of sixteen owing to some family misfortune and having known many other men along the way. She moved into Shūsei's study, where Yamada Junko had lived, in the summer of 1932. She was twenty-eight and he was sixty-one.

Shūsei's family life presents a curious picture as he never seems to have hesitated to move his women into his house where Hama had lived and died and where their children still lived. Shūsei's oldest son, Ichiho, was a writer himself and in his late twenties in 1932. Ichiho, too, was to bring home a girl of doubtful reputation to live with him at the same time that there was talk of marrying a girl with a considerable dowry. Shūsei described his feelings about his son's conduct in "Futatsu no genshō" (Two Phenomena), of uncertain date, by stating that he did not feel such conduct
was good for the family but that his own weak nature and his gradual adoption over the years of a more tolerant and positive attitude towards life helped him cope with it. His oldest living daughter, Kiyoko, was apparently the mainstay of the household after Hama's death, and Shūsei seems to have realized that she was the principal victim of the scandals he involved himself in and that with her marriage, which occurred in 1936, they would lose the most important stabilizing force in the family.

Masako lived with Shūsei until the summer of 1934 when they quarrelled and she moved out. A fellow writer, Naka-mura Murao, seems to have helped them resolve their differences, and Masako opened a geisha house in late 1934, where Shūsei often stayed and where he was a kind of master helping with the accounts and other tasks. Masako's stay with Shūsei must have settled his uneasiness which began with the unhappy ending to his affair with Junko, for in 1933 Shūsei began to write again and entered upon the period of his greatest fame and literary prominence.

The work which reestablished Shūsei was "Machi no odoriba" (The Town Dance Hall) (March, 1933), a brief story but his first serious work of literature in two years. He had lost so much confidence in himself that he had several of his friends read the story before he would submit it for publication. "Machi no odoriba" may be seen as one of his milestones together with "Yabu kōji" in 1896 and Shinjotai in 1908, inasmuch as his success with it encouraged him to
continue writing. Had "Machi no odoriba" been a failure, such works as Shukuzu and Kasō jimbutsu might never have been written. 138

"Machi no odoriba" was autobiographical, telling of his visit to Kanazawa in August, 1932, to attend the funeral of his second eldest sister, Futoda Kin, and he was to write several more autobiographical stories in 1933. "Wakai" (Reconciliation) in June concerns Shūsei's reconciliation with Izumi Kyōka after more than twenty years. Their settling of their differences was brought about by the serious illness of Kyōka's brother Shatei, whom Shūsei had moved with wife and family into an apartment he had recently built. Shūsei was to take care of the funeral arrangements in March when Shatei died. "Shiro tabi no omoide" (Memories of White Tabi) in August was inspired by memories revived by Shūsei's visit to his old friend, the ailing Mishima Sōsen, who was finally to die of cancer in March, 1934. 139

Noguchi sees Shūsei's new activity as part of a kind of broad literary renaissance in 1933, and he points to the writings of Tanizaki Junichirō (Shunkinshō) (A Portrait of Shunkin), Kawabata Yasunari (Kinjū) (Of Birds and Beasts), Uno Kōji ("Ko no raireki" and "Kareki no aru fūkei") (A Life History of a Child and A Landscape with Withered Trees, respectively), and Ozaki Shirō ("Jinsei gekijō") (The Theatre of Life), as well as to the inauguration of the publication of the periodicals Bungakkai, Kōdō, and Bungei. 140 The death of Kobayashi Takiji is also mentioned as being of
significance. There does indeed seem to have been a bit of a change in the air, a turning to literature as art, a shy-ing away from politically controversial topics after the military take-over in late 1931, but the emotional stability of Shūsei's relationship with Kobayashi Masako probably accounts for his new literary vigor as much as any external social or literary forces.

Shūsei continued his activity with the writing of his Shōko-mono based on the life of Kobayashi Masako beginning with "Hitotsu no konomi" (A Single Pleasure) in March, 1934, and she was to be the main source for his fictional models for the rest of his career. There followed "Hitokuki no hana" (A One-stem Flower) (July, 1934), "Inazuma" (Lightning) (October, 1934), "Kanojotachi no minoue" (About These Women) (January, 1935), "Heya kaishō" (Dissolving the Arrangement) (March, 1935), "Tabi nikki" (Travel Diary) (April, 1935), "Razo" (Nude Statue) (September, 1935), "Ikita bonnō" (Living Lust) (January, 1937), "Futatsu no genshō," and others. The story of how she became a geisha and her other early adventures until about 1923 are the subject matter of Shūsei's last important long work, Shukuzu, published in 1941.

He was to have one of his most productive years as a writer in 1935, for in addition to the above Shōko-mono he produced the novel Kasō jimbutsu, which seems the only liter-arily successful story dealing with Yamada Junko with the exception of "Moto no eda e" (Back to the Original Branch). He also wrote the highly successful story "Kunshō" (The
Order of the White Paulownia), which is also the most important of the three stories by Shūsei translated into Western languages. 142

In his "Tokuda Shūsei-ron" (Discourse on Tokuda Shūsei) which appeared in his Bundan jimbutsu hyōron (Critiques of Characters of the Literary World) (July, 1932), Masamune Hakuchō, who was to attain prominence as a literary critic even surpassing his reputation as a major naturalist writer, had been quick to point out and lament the author's increasing proximity to his material and loss of objectivity in the earlier Junko-mono. In discussing "Haru kuru" (Spring Comes) (1927) Hakuchō observed that it raises the serious problem of how a disciplined and experienced writer such as Shūsei could lose his fictional objectivity, become too fond of and, in Hakuchō's words, "stuck to" (betazuite iru) his material through the love of a woman. Hakuchō felt anger and humor in reading the exchanges between Shūsei, a novelist for thirty years, and the young Junko who, he felt, knew nothing. He felt it sacrilegious to art. 143

Hakuchō was to criticize the Shōko-mono "Hitokuki no hana" in the same way he criticized the Junko-mono "Haru kuru," saying that Shūsei was too close to his subject matter. Shūsei replied to Hakuchō's criticism this time by saying that he found it strange to see Hakuchō comparing his works from the Ashiato era with his present ones in terms of their objectivity, and he noted that literary objectivity was not necessarily the same as the scientific objectivity
one would expect from astronomy or physics.

Hakuchō continued to attack Shūsei's objectivity in his works, and Shūsei finally countered with the curious appeal to Hakuchō, his "former honored friend," to stop his attempts to hinder his writing, the "source of livelihood of an old man." Clearly Shūsei's naturalism had come a long way from Shinjotai and Kabi, having evolved into the mellow recreations from memory of an old man, engaging and illuminating at best, frivolous and inconsequential at worst.

The fact that Shūsei's daughter Kiyoko was married on February 26, 1936, the day of the abortive coup attempt by the Imperial Army's Imperial Way faction, is a fascinating coincidence. January, 1936, marks the appearance of the literary journal Bungei Konwakai (Conversations for the Arts), a publication by an organization of the same name. The Bungei Konwakai had been initiated in 1934 with funds made available by a right-wing cultural group, the Nihon Bunka Remmei (Japan Culture League), which was headed by the former head of the Bureau of Civilian Defense (keibōkyoku), Matsumoto Manabu. Its members ranged from such noted older writers as Tōson, Hakuchō, and Shūsei to such notable younger writers as Yokomitsu Riichi and Kawabata Yasunari. The appearance of their journal was symptomatic of an increasing amount of government involvement in literature, as in all facets of Japanese life, which would ultimately affect all Japanese writers, Shūsei included. It was at the first meeting of the Bungei Konwakai in January, 1934, that Shūsei
expressed his scepticism of such government involvement, declaring that literature was a product of the common people and that it was strange for government to want to support it at such a late date or even to have time for literature. 146

Despite Shūsei's own scepticism of the Bungei Konwakai, it was to award its second prize for literature to him in July, 1936, for his collection of short stories, published under the title *Kunshō* in March, 1937. In April, 1937, Shūsei was to become a member of the government-sponsored Teikoku Geijutsuin (The Imperial Academy of Art), although others such as Nagai Kafū, Masamune Hakuchō, and Shimazaki Tōson were to decline. Tōson chose to decline because he maintained the position that government support of literature was unnecessary, as literature was something that grew through its own strength. Nonetheless, Tōson, as well as Hakuchō, did finally become members of the Teikoku Geijutsuin when invited again in August, 1940.

Shūsei, it seems, was not at all enthusiastic about joining the Teikoku Geijutsuin. He refused at first, but finally decided to join. No one seems to know why Shūsei decided to join, as he was in touch with both Hakuchō and Tōson, especially the latter, concerning his decision, and of course neither of them joined when he did in 1937. His joining might be explained in terms of his fatalistic attitude that would lead him to think that joining was inevitable or that it made no difference ultimately. Be that as it may, most critics do not see any evidence in his attitudes and
statements during the period of the rise of proletarian literature to support the contention that he was a supporter of fascism. On the contrary, although he was not one for ideology, he was seemingly even sympathetic to left-wing causes. The sympathetic Noguchi again rationalizes Shūsei's philosophy at the time of the war as an "Oriental" one which did not deal in absolutes and sought a course of "no action" (mui), one that would allow him to be an observer of the war enthusiasm but not a real emotional participant in it.

Throughout this period Shūsei was bothered by a variety of illnesses. His health problems and the increasingly bad state of the political situation must have taken away some of the satisfaction he derived from his happy home life and his literary success. From October, 1936, through December, 1937, his complete works to date, the Shūsei zenshū (The Complete Shūsei Anthology) was appearing in fifteen volumes from the Hibonkaku. The Shūsei zenshū is not totally complete, true to the usual custom of Japanese "zenshū" that some works can be omitted at the discretion of the author or publisher for a variety of reasons.

In 1939, he suffered a number of afflictions, including two weeks in a sanitorium for tuberculous adenitis of the helminium as well as a painful rectal operation. These illnesses were to mar the enjoyment of an otherwise happy home life. His son Ichiho had married a girl named Masako, whom they called Ko-Masa, or Little Masa, to distinguish her
from Shūsei's woman, who was called Ō-Masa, or Big Masa. Shūsei was now more than ever a man of the people, one of the few Japanese writers who never attended a university, equally at home doing the accounts in Big Masa's brothel as at a meeting of the P.E.N. Club.

Shūsei's last short story was "Kuwareta geijutsu" (Art Devoured), published in January, 1941; his last major work was the novel Shukuzu. Shukuzu had been begun but soon discontinued due to illness in 1936, and in June, 1941, Shūsei resumed it from chapter twenty-eight. In a preview announcement he stated that he would continue writing the story as honestly as the times permitted, noting that there had been a great change in the times since he had first begun the work.

Shukuzu was discontinued by order of the Board of Information on September 15, 1941, after eighty chapters had been serialized in the Miyako Shimbun, and replaced, without explanation or even the information that it was an unfinished story, by a more suitable story, Torahiko tatsuhiko (Tiger Boy, Dragon Boy), by the noted writer of children's stories Tsubota Jōji. Presumably Shukuzu, which as we have seen was based on the events surrounding Kobayashi Masako's becoming a geisha at the age of nineteen, was felt to be too frivolous or decadent for the Japanese reading public of 1941 and was replaced by a more edifying story. Rather than continue writing privately, Shūsei chose to stop Shukuzu in the middle of a sentence, although there is some evidence
that he started another story later which, had he been able to complete it, would have represented a new attitude of cooperation with the authorities. 152

It is unfortunate that Shūsei had to end his career during the war amidst such moral confusion and intellectual oppression. Whether one prefers to find in Shūsei a weak man who cooperated with the government or one who resisted in his own passive Oriental way, as Noguchi does, it is hard to imagine what such a nonconformist man of the people could have in common with the militarists or their aims. Shūsei walked out of the first annual Dai Tōa Bungakusha (Greater East Asia Writers) convention in November, 1941, to which Kume Masao gave the opening address, muttering to himself that it was boring, that they were speaking of trivialities. 153 In the light of his long and productive career—his Ken'yūsha period to 1903, his post-Ken'yūsha period, his naturalist period of 1908 to 1915, his post-naturalist period of 1916 to 1923, his subjective period of 1924 to 1932, and his final flowering from 1933 to 1941—his opinions on the militarism of the late-1930's and the war, as well as his reactions to them, seem minor questions in judging his writing.

From July, 1942, his health gradually deteriorated. His illness was diagnosed as cancer of the pleura, and he died on the morning of November 18, 1943. In May, 1942, the Nihon Bungaku Hōkokukai (Japan Patriotic Literature Society) had been formed, and Shūsei was made the head of the
Division of Fiction (shōsetsubu). Shūsei had tried to refuse, using his failing health as a pretext for declining the dubious honor, but characteristically he finally was unable to resist the social pressure he felt was exerted upon him to accept.154 His funeral arrangements were undertaken by the Division of Fiction of the Nihon Bungaku Hōkokukai, which designated Kikuchi Kan and Nakamura Murao as the members in charge of the ceremony. There were numerous memorial addresses delivered to the gathering of friends and official government representatives. Thus, the funeral of Shūsei the nonconformist was attended by government bureaucrats, who had probably never read any of his works and who arrived in official cars, as well as by his friends and literary colleagues who truly knew him.155
Although not the notorious nonconformist that Tokuda Shūsei was, Masamune Hakuchō was another extremely important figure in the Japanese naturalist movement who was in every sense an individualist and his own man. That is not to imply that they bore any striking resemblance to one another as writers or as men. Although they were generally on good terms with one another, as friends and literary colleagues, despite their well-known literary differences in the late 1920's and early 1930's, the only common ground that they truly shared was their involvement in the naturalist literary movement.

Whereas Shūsei shocked his friends and colleagues with his frequent well-publicized affairs with younger women, Hakuchō, despite some early experience with geisha, was for most of his life a happily married man and faithful husband. Whereas Shūsei was primarily a story-teller who made no pretense of having an underlying philosophy or literary theory for his fiction, Hakuchō might be characterized as more interested in the philosophical content of literature than in stylistic or aesthetic considerations. Shūsei seemed
content to remain in Japan, as he confined his activities largely to the brothels, dance halls, and publishing houses of Tokyo, but Hakuchō was to make two extended journeys to the West as well as trips to Sakhalin and China. The contrasts extend conveniently even to the size of their families, for unlike Shūsei, who had seven legitimate children, Hakuchō and his wife were childless.

Photographs of Hakuchō at all ages show a countenance that manifests intelligence and character, a quiet man, hair cut short, with heavy-lidded eyes and a square face, more often than not calmly gazing directly at the camera. The shots of Shūsei usually included in his books, on the other hand, often reveal a man who seems to epitomize the type of writer who would be at home in bars and bordellos and have little patience with the social and philosophical concerns of more academic literati. A cigarette in his right hand, Shūsei, unlike the clean-shaven Hakuchō, sports a somewhat distinguished mustache on his slender, handsome face and somehow often manages to look as if he is eyeing the camera obliquely even when actually facing it directly. Whether in Japanese dress or a Western-style suit, Shūsei's clothes seem tasteful, and at his best he must even be characterized as dapper. Hakuchō's clothes, however, seem chosen more for comfort than appearance—he's indifference to style seems to have been a legend—and it was not until after his return from his first trip to the West in 1929 that he began to appear in public in Western dress as convention had already
begun to demand. Even so, he may well have been the last man of his class to persist in wearing gaiters; one photograph in the *Masamune Hakuchō-ron* (A Study of Masamune Hakuchō) (1971) by Ōiwa Kō shows Hakuchō in his gaiters in December, 1953.

Most critics would probably be compelled to declare Shūsei a better novelist than Hakuchō, but in fairness to Hakuchō the comparison should not end there. For aside from his novels Shūsei has only his colorful life to offer. Hakuchō, on the other hand, was also a playwright whose timeless skills Japanese critics have begun to appreciate only in the last decade or so, as well as an eminent literary critic and chronicler of the age of literary naturalism. Moreover, perhaps most significant of all is the fact that Hakuchō was one of the first twentieth-century Japanese critics to acquire a real understanding of the classical and Christian traditions that form the bedrock of Western culture, and thus was in a position to interpret Western literature and thought more incisively than most Japanese critics. The problem of the West seems to be the most frustrating question that has confronted the Japanese, the common man as well as the intellectual, for the past century, and that is all the more reason Hakuchō's prodigious knowledge of Western thought must not be overlooked.

Whatever Masamune Hakuchō may have lacked in personality or literary genius he made up for in character and philosophical depth. He was a reliable and sincere critic and
thinker whose presence enriched the Japanese literary scene for more than sixty years. Although this study will of necessity emphasize his earlier years, specifically his role in promoting the naturalist literary movement during its heyday from 1907 to 1911, it must be remembered that any final assessment of his contribution to Japanese literature and thought must consider the effect of his entire career. As will be seen, a study of his naturalist period may indeed be far less flattering to Hakucho than one focusing on his later work.

The problem of religion seems to be of little import in the story of Tokuda Shūsei, but the effects of Hakucho's involvement with Christianity and the question of the extent of his Christian thought are central concerns for any study of Hakucho's life and thought. However, they are not the only concerns of a biography of the man. In his late teens and early twenties Hakucho embraced Christianity only to leave the faith abruptly as he turned his attention to more worldly concerns. Hakucho never lost his interest in the fundamental philosophical questions that led him to Christianity, however, and after nearly sixty years as an avowed religious skeptic he apparently returned to Christianity in the last few years of his life.

That he was returning to Christianity was not fully appreciated by many of his literary colleagues in 1962, so that the news that Hakucho had died a Christian at eleven o'clock on the morning of October 28, 1962, caused a
considerable sensation among his friends and colleagues, and the Japanese literary world in general. \(^3\) Stories of a dramatic death-bed conversion were current, and articles soon began to appear, with various critics either disputing his return to Christianity entirely or else contending that there was no cause for surprise as Hakucho had in fact been a Christian all along. Perhaps it is simply in the nature of things, but the attention given to the mystery of his death has come to obscure somewhat the achievements of the man and the significance of his long career. The superb biography of Hakucho, Masamune Hakucho: bungaku to shōgai (Masamune Hakuchō: His Literature and Life) (1966), by Gotō Ryō, quite naturally begins at the end, so to speak, by opening with the question of Hakucho's disputed conversion. This study will resist that temptation to follow suit and begin at the end, however, in an attempt to put that one year in a long life of over eighty-three years into better perspective.

Masamune Hakuchō, whose original name was Tadao, was born in Honami village\(^4\) in Okayama Prefecture on March 3, 1879. Honami is a small village on the Inland Sea of Japan, which at that time depended partly upon fishing and partly upon agriculture. The Masamune family was an old one with a history of well over two hundred years, whose members had been engaged in the marine transport of lumber for five generations. Hakucho's great-grandfather and great-great-uncle had been noted enthusiasts of kyōka (comic waka), haiku,
tanka, painting, and calligraphy. For the following two generations, however, no male heirs were born in the Masamune family, and as a result the family line had to be continued through two adopted sons until finally Hakuchō was born.

Being the long-awaited son, Hakuchō was pampered as a child. His grandfather, also without sons, had used his wife's barrenness as a pretext for keeping a mistress, and as a result Hakuchō's grandmother was all the more fond of her new grandson and all the more eager to pamper him. To complicate matters, soon after Hakuchō was born a son was born to his grandfather's mistress, too. As a result all communication between the two houses seems to have ceased and the young Hakuchō lived in an atmosphere of embattled tension in the family house which looked out upon Honami Bay, the inlet that was often used in Hakuchō's fiction in such stories as "Irie no hotori" (By the Inlet) (1915) and "Kokyō" (Home Town) (1917). His possessive grandmother guarded the child Hakuchō jealously, protecting him from poisoning or the other threats she seems to have feared from his grandfather and his grandfather's mistress.

As a baby the pampered Hakuchō sometimes fainted and had to be revived by having cold water splashed on his face; as a child he was frail, irritable, and easily upset, so that he began early in life to try to learn how to control himself. He seems to have had a vivid imagination even as a child, for he was often frightened in his sleep by dreams...
of monsters. Life with his bizarre, intense grandmother seems to have stimulated his imagination, too. When Hakuchō was about three, during the period of her greatest fears that her grandson would be poisoned by her husband and his mistress, Hakuchō's grandmother suddenly cut off all her hair and began daily recitations of the Kannon Sutra every morning before the family Buddhist altar, often accompanied by her little grandson, who would try to mouth the words of the sutra, too. At other times Hakuchō would importune his grandmother to tell him stories, but he seems only to have remembered the frightening or macabre ones. Ōiwa Kō characterizes these stories as often containing "Buddhist superstition" (bukkyōteki meishin) and notes that Hakuchō himself would some day come to question the wisdom of telling such stories to an innocent child.

Finally more sons were born to the Masamunes, as Hakuchō was to be followed by nine other children, seven of whom survived childhood to live long lives. The young Hakuchō was no longer the recipient of the exclusive attention of his parents and grandmother. He was later grateful for the fact that he eventually became just the first of ten children, for he was thus able to escape being overly sheltered as an only child by his family.

At age five Hakuchō went off to a primary school which was located at a Buddhist temple. His first exposure to Christianity was in primary school, for the primary school texts were direct translations of American texts, which
unwittingly introduced Christian notions. The Japanese government in its haste to introduce Western thought ordered books to be used that not even the instructors in Hakucho's school fully understood. The students simply learned the alien material by rote in traditional fashion, although at the same time Hakucho began to wonder just what those books meant when they referred to such things as God (kamisama) and the Lord of Heaven (tenchi no shusai).

Hakucho's father Uraji was a practical man. He was the principal of an elementary school, the village head, and a moneylender. He was intelligent as well as practical, however, and was noted for his skill not only with the abacus but with the writing-brush as well. Uraji had been adopted into the Masamune family, but apparently there were many businessmen and scholars in his own family of birth, so that Hakucho was always to feel that his scholarly bent came from his father's side of the family. His father insisted that he study Japanese and Western history, but his first reading of the Hakkenden (The Biographies of Eight Dogs) (1814-1841), by Takizawa Bakin, seems to have been the first scholarly pursuit to excite him. He read the Hakkenden at about age ten; he had begun reading kanazoshi (kana story-books) when about eight or nine, of which typically he remembered only the grotesque parts in later life, but the thrill of his first reading of the Hakkenden remained with him throughout his life. When asked as a child who the greatest man in Japanese history was, Hakucho supposedly
answered Bakin. 21

Hakuchō's mother, Mine, was small, thin, tenacious, and proud of her samurai heritage. Her father had been a teacher of Chinese writing (kambun) for the Tadotsu clan. She had a sister and a brother living in Osaka whom Hakuchō, as we shall see, was to visit. The brother in Osaka was rather notorious in the family, for he was married off at about age sixteen in the hopes of putting an end to his promiscuity. Hakuchō believed that what interest in sex he did have was inherited from his mother and her family. Hakuchō's Osaka uncle, who was the model for the father of the troubled boy Akiura in the story "Jigoku" (Hell) (1909), was to provide considerable help for the studies in classical literature of Hakuchō's favorite brother, the second son Nobuo.22 It was also on a trip to Osaka with his grandmother that the young Hakuchō was first attracted to kabuki, which was to be a life-long passion.23

When ten years old Hakuchō was the smallest child in the village procession to school every day, being told to hurry along by the larger children at the back of the line.24 Hakuchō was a small man all of his life, apparently weighing but about one hundred pounds at most.25 At fourteen he entered an old and venerable former han school, where for a year and a half he received a classical Chinese education. He left the school because he disapproved of the rough ways of the older students.26 He seems to have been an affable boy in his teens. He seems to have enjoyed taking part in
the singing and dancing during the Bon festival, although indulgence in such youthful pleasures was soon to be inhibited by his growing interest in Christianity which forbade such amusements.

Hakucho was first introduced to Christianity through the essays of Tokutomi Sohō and those appearing in the Komumino tomo which he read when he was a student at the former han school. His attraction to the Western faith was such that by the time he was sixteen he was attending sermons regularly although the church, to which he walked, was five miles away; he owned a Japanese-language edition of the Bible, which he read despite his inability to comprehend the contents fully.

An American Protestant missionary was having considerable success gaining converts in Okayama City, and Hakucho enrolled in his small mission school there. Although he had resisted the spell of the dynamic American when he first visited Honami to preach, Hakucho soon came to feel, as many of the other parishioners did, that "the clear blue eyes of the American were eyes that saw Heaven." In Okayama Hakucho was even to come to find the missionary's "two blonde, blue-eyed daughters with their white skin to be visions of the Holy Mother." It is interesting to note how from the beginning Hakucho's interest in Christianity, although here obviously immature and sentimental, was bound up with his interest in the West.

Hakucho was plagued by poor health at this time and
this visit to Okayama in 1894 was originally undertaken in order to seek better medical attention than he could find in Honami. The trip is of greater significance, however, because it provided him with his first supervised Bible study and the beginnings of a closer association with the Christian religion. The school soon closed and Hakuchō went home to rest and try to regain his health. He was to find truer religious motivation in 1894 in his first exposure to the writings of Uchimura Kanzō in the Kokumin no tomo. As we shall see, the example of this great Japanese Christian was to be one of the principal factors influencing the course of Hakuchō's life and thought.

Hakuchō spent most of the year 1895 at home reading. He read Kokumin no tomo, the works of Uchimura Kanzō, and the literary periodical Bungakkai, where he was to be awakened to the attraction of Western literature through his reading of Washington Irving's Rip Van Winkle. He apparently read a great deal of fiction, but it is important to point out that, as Ōiwa Kō notes, Hakuchō was fond of the works of such Edo writers as Bakin, Santō Kyōden, Shikitei Samba, Ryūtei Tanehiko, and Tamenaga Shunsui, and that his fondness for these Edo period writers as well as for the kabuki suggests that Hakuchō was never so infatuated with Western literature that he lost his love for the products of his own culture. While at the private school near Honami he also expanded the scope of his reading to include such Chinese classics as the Shui Hu Chuan (All Men Are Brothers),
the *San Kuo Chih* (The Romance of the Three Kingdoms), and the *Han Ch'ü Chun T'an* (Military Tales of the Han and Ch'ü). 37

Hakuchō was attracted more to the writings of Uchimura Kanzō than to those of Tokutomi Sohō or any of the others he was reading. He grew restless at home and longed to leave for a more stimulating environment. At first he considered going to Kyoto because he was an avid reader of *Dōshisha Bungaku*, the literary journal of Dōshisha, a Christian university in Kyoto, and also because Uchimura was in Kyoto at the time. 38 In the end, however, Hakuchō decided that only Tokyo could provide him with the intellectual stimulation he craved; 39 he felt Kyoto, although it did have Dōshisha University, was too old a city. 40

Goto Ryo feels that Hakuchō wanted to go to Tokyo to study, to hear the great Christian preachers, to see kabuki, and to read foreign novels. 41 Similarly, to Ōiwa Kō, Hakuchō had three motives for going to Tokyo: to study Christianity; to study English; and, to see the kabuki performances of the famous actors Danjūrō and Kikugorō. 42 Unlike Shūsei, Hakuchō did not come to Tokyo to become a writer.

His father did not warm to the idea of the sickly Hakuchō going to Tokyo, and it was only with the help of his grandmother that Hakuchō obtained his father's permission. 43 In the process of persuading his father to approve of his trip Hakuchō was to agree to give up his right to succeed to the headship of the family, and this hasty move, as we shall
see, was to return to haunt him later in life. Nonetheless, in late February, 1896, at the age of eighteen, Haku-chō left Honami for Osaka to visit his relatives there on his way to Tokyo.

1896-1903: Christianity; Waseda

After seeing his relatives in Osaka, Haku-chō soon boarded a cold night train to Tokyo. He arrived in Tokyo at Shimbashi Station and was led to a boarding-house in Ushigome by a friend who had met him at the station. The boarding-house was but a block away from the home of Ozaki Kōyō, who had just begun to serialize the novel Tajō takon (Tears and Regrets) in the Yomiuri Shimbun. But passing by the place where the Kōyō-juku was beginning to develop or reading Kōyō's name plate caused no particular excitement in the young Hakuchō. Rather, a speech by Tokutomi Sohō which he heard at the Kanda Y.M.C.A. only two days after his arrival in Tokyo was the first thing to arouse his interest, aside from his first view of the bustling Ushigome area. Sohō spoke on "The Power of Youth in the Modern Age" (Gendai ni okeru seinen no seiryoku); the young, impressionable Hakuchō not only forgave Sohō his somewhat inferior speaking style, but was completely taken by the speech and appearance of Sohō who was clad in a rumpled suit.

From a guidebook to Tokyo's universities he learned for the first time of such giants of Western literature as Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, and Goethe, and he was seized by
a strong desire to read as many of these Western classics as he could. Thus, Hakuchō soon began the preparatory course in English at the Tokyo Semmon Gakkō (later to be renamed Waseda University) to ready himself for enrollment in the regular course; there were but five other students in his class. He next found a church of his liking, attracted to it by the sermons of the pastor, Uemura Masahisa; he was also practicing judo to build up his weak constitution.

He struggled with his poor health in the spring of 1896, but his spirits revived when he took a summer course from Uchimura Kanzō. Uchimura seems to have lectured on Thomas Carlyle that summer; Hakuchō used the opportunity to get as close as he could to Uchimura. Uchimura and Uemura were to light the way for Hakuchō as he drew closer to Christianity.

Soon after the satisfying experience of the summer course Hakuchō returned home to Honami, where he was suddenly to fall seriously ill. The country doctor who attended him was uncertain whether Hakuchō was suffering from pneumonia or pleurisy. For several weeks Hakuchō was near death and at this time he discovered that he could find great consolation through prayer. Still weak, he returned to Tokyo after over two months in sickbed. The recovery of his strength took about half a year from the fall of 1896 to spring, 1897. His illness had finally been diagnosed as pulmonary tuberculosis; he moved to a temple in Koishikawa (a former ward now a part of Bunkyō-ku).
Hakuchō occupied himself studying the Bible while at the temple. After he had finally regained his strength, he decided to be baptized. He hesitated and deliberated before deciding to be baptized, for he did not want to become a convert lightheartedly. He considered his baptism a serious step.

In 1897, at the age of nineteen, Hakuchō was baptized by Uemura Masahisa. He was more under the spell of Uchimura than Uemura, however, whose ideas failed to stimulate Hakuchō greatly, but Uemura was then, as he would always be, an important factor in his life. Every Sunday he attended services at Uemura’s church, and he often visited Uemura’s house, too, for personal instruction. For a couple of years after he was baptized Hakuchō was a Sunday school teacher; he even considered becoming a minister.

In 1897 Hakuchō was an insatiable reader of the writings and translations of Uchimura, but Hakuchō’s relationship with Uchimura was of a different nature than his relationship with Uemura. As Ōiwa Kō puts it, Uchimura moved Hakuchō towards the Christian faith in the same way an actor might move his audience, but Hakuchō’s relationship with Uemura was of a different quality, being a special and intimate one between pastor and parishioner. With Uchimura there was only one-way communication, whereas with Uemura there was a genuinely reciprocal relationship, allowing Hakuchō to exchange information and opinions with his religious mentor. Uemura was perhaps not as exciting an
individual as Uchimura Kanzō, but he was a warm person who also possessed a keen understanding of literature. He was especially fond of such works as the poetry of Robert Browning.59 Despite his brilliance, Uchimura, on the other hand, had his unpleasant side as a person; he seems to have been extremely emotional,60 a trait which many Japanese would probably find offensive. Uchimura was losing the loyalty and support of some of his employees at his magazine, the Tokyo Dokuritsu Zasshi, and this new attitude towards Uchimura, which was at least partially the result of his financial problems, seems to have provided the occasion for Hakucho to drift away from Uchimura, too.61 In the late 1890's, however, Hakucho was still totally enamored of the thought, writings, and lecture style of Uchimura.

From January, 1898, Hakucho attended Uchimura's weekly lecture at the Kanda Y.M.C.A. on such diverse and fascinating literary topics as Carlyle, Dante, Goethe, American poetry, South American poetry, the Bible as literature, and Cervantes. Uchimura's lecturing style was rather low-key and undramatic, but sincere and effective. Uchimura was to open Hakucho's eyes to the treasure-house of Western literature; in his diary there is soon mention of such writers as Dante, Milton, and Zola.63

In 1898, at the age of nineteen, Hakucho got up early every morning and read the Bible from seven to eight, in addition to going to church services and prayer meetings.64 Living his austere life, he was only rarely able to see
kabuki, which was one of the things that had brought him to Tokyo in the first place, for theatre was considered sinful by the Japanese Christian of his day. He did go to kabuki performances occasionally, but the guilt that he felt whenever he did made his visits infrequent, so that he was never able to see either Kikugorō or Danjūrō, which he was to regret the rest of his life.

Hakuchō's English program at Waseda was closed after one year because of too few students, so he next entered the history program, which soon suffered the same fate. Finally he entered the literature program. In 1898 he made the acquaintance of the writer Chikamatsu Shūkō, then a fellow Waseda student. His friendship with Shūkō is of especial interest, inasmuch as Shūkō and Hakuchō would both become important standard-bearers of the movement of literary naturalism within a decade. Hakuchō was to say that of all the myriad figures of the Japanese bundan he knew Kamitsukasa Shōken, Tokuda Shūsei, and Shūkō best of all.

After entering the literature program at Waseda in 1899 Hakuchō's life was apparently little different from that of any other diligent student or zealous Christian for the next two years. As time wore on, however, he began to undergo a profound change in his attitude towards life and religion. The first phase of this change seems to have been occasioned by a change in his opinion of Uchimura Kanzō, whom he had hitherto regarded almost as the thirteenth apostle of Christ. The beginning of this erosion
of his admiration for Uchimura is usually cited as the cessation of publication of Uchimura's magazine, the *Tokyo Dokuritsu Zasshi*, in July, 1900. Uchimura had begun the magazine as a vehicle for his Christian thought in April, 1898. When it failed after two years of publication, Hakucho, who had read every issue, began to drift away from Uchimura, ceasing to read his works and to attend his lectures at the Y.M.C.A. Hakucho even seemed to lose some respect for the man.

Hakucho seems to have been coming out of his shell, so to speak, in the years 1900 and 1901. He became more interested in matters of this world, so that his religious fervor naturally began to wane. After his graduation from Waseda in June, 1901, he drifted away from religion and reading to devote himself to learning about the world, that is, to *shakai tankyū*, or "social research," as Ōiwa Kō puts it, which in time led him from newspaper reporting to cavorting with prostitutes.

Gotō Ryō discerns two definite reasons Hakucho lost his religious faith. Firstly, as Hakucho himself later wrote, Christianity lost out to a youthful desire to follow his natural instincts and his own human nature. He came to feel that such worldly phenomena as the theatre possessed greater reality than the Christian religion, which he came to regard as false. Also, as a young man in his twenties he could not adhere to the Christian prohibitions against *kabuki* and *yose*, which he loved so much, or to the Christian
prohibitions against consort ing with prostitutes. He was at this time an avid reader of Chikamatsu Monzaemon's plays, and Gotō feels that the love suicides of Chikamatsu fanned the flames of his interest in women.\textsuperscript{73}

Secondly, as Gotō notes, Hakuchō stated late in his life that as a student he came to feel that Christianity was a severe religion, which held that since Christ carried a cross every believer had to carry one, too. He felt Christianity, despite the gentle tone of much of the Bible, was austere and expected one to ignore the beauties of nature, to be content with singing hymns in praise of the Lord.\textsuperscript{74}

Hakuchō found the Christians of his day to be little different from Shin Buddhists, for both groups contented themselves with anachronistic religious philosophies, knew nothing of beauty, and made no effort to study the "new knowledge" (shin-chishiki) or "serious subjects" (gakumon). Hakuchō was also incredulous at the Japanese Christian prohibition against drinking alcohol, for he noted that in Germany, for example, a student could drink as much beer as he wanted and that a little drinking seemed to be a part of a scholar's life.\textsuperscript{75} In this instance, however, Hakuchō's youthful indignation at the restraints imposed upon him by his religion is rather ironic in view of the fact that in later life he was to become a well-known teetotaler.

Hakuchō felt, in 1901, that he knew nothing of the world of industry and commerce or even of the geisha. He wanted to expand his horizons and learn as much as he could
of the "new knowledge." He found it regrettable that although he had been in Tokyo for five years, he knew only the world of the student well. He felt that contemporary novelists knew only a little of the world and that the poets viewed Japan as if "from the bottom of a well," but this view of Japanese writers did not prevent him from attempting to join their number.

As we have seen, Hakuchō had not come to Tokyo to become a writer. As the story goes, while studying English at Waseda he heard the story of how Samuel Johnson had written "Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia" in one week to raise money to pay the expenses of his mother's funeral and this shining example of filial piety apparently inspired the young man to write. This response to the anecdote about Johnson attests to the innocence and purity of Hakuchō, then nineteen, and these personal qualities may have prompted Ogawa Mimei to label him a "romantic." The two became acquainted in 1899, when Hakuchō was twenty. Hakuchō submitted several stories to the Manchōhō, which at that time was awarding ten yen each week for a worthy story by a new writer, but he never received so much as an honorable mention. When he compared his writings with those of his other classmates, he found that his own were vastly inferior; he felt his style to be crude and his plots dull. Hakuchō gave up on himself as a writer and concluded that he would be content doing translation to earn a living.
for their own "circulating magazine" (kairan zasshi), but, as Hakuchō later recounted, he neither wrote for the magazine nor read it. He read Kōyō's works and Kyōka's "Yushima mōde" (A Visit to Yushima) (1899), and he concluded that he could never write of geisha and the sensual life as they did and therefore could never hope to become a writer.  

He did know Shōyō, however, for as a brilliant student Hakuchō was beginning to make contacts. Upon his graduation in June, 1901, he and Chikamatsu Shūkō were invited for a social evening at Shōyō's home, where Shōyō gave them much fatherly advice on making one's way in life. After dinner they were treated to music by Shōyō's wife and dancing by his adopted son. Hakuchō's experiences at Shōyō's place form a distinct and, one is tempted to say, characteristic contrast with those of Tokuda Shūsei during his visit there.  

What launched Hakuchō's career as a writer, at least of criticism, was his inclusion while still a Waseda student in Shimamura Hōgetsu's "gappyō," or "critical symposia," in his column Getsuyō bungaku, or "Monday Literature," which appeared every week in the Yomiuri. Hakuchō's first contribution, a critique of Kyōka's "Chūmonchō" (The Orderbook), which had just appeared in the April Shinshōsetsu, was carried in the April 22, 1901, issue of the Yomiuri. Hakuchō continued participating in the gappyō until December of 1901, when its publication was terminated as a result of Hōgetsu's leaving the Yomiuri staff. Hakuchō's first
contribution was brief, barely fifteen hundred characters, and Hōgetsu does seem to have gone over his works with him, but this participation in Hōgetsu's symposia was to clear the path for Hakuchō's entry into the bundan. The symposia membership consisted of Hōgetsu, Hakuchō, Chikamatsu Shūkō, and two lesser known men; they did not limit themselves to literature but treated theatre, music, and sculpture as well. Apparently Hakuchō was included primarily on the strength of his outstanding academic record at Waseda.

As a Waseda student and later as a young Waseda graduate, Hakuchō quite naturally came under the influence of Tsubouchi Shōyō. Hakuchō had joined the Waseda publications division in September, 1901, and it was while employed there that he came close to realizing what seemed yet another golden opportunity for his young career. For while working at Waseda he was asked to join the Hakubunkan publishers. Since the Hakubunkan was putting out the periodicals Bungei Kurabu and Taiyō, he was naturally very eager to go, but as a pupil of Shōyō he could raise no objection when Shōyō recommended Chikamatsu Shūkō in his place, because Hakuchō, unlike Shūkō, already had employment at Waseda. Shūkō was to return to Waseda after barely two months at the Hakubunkan, having been dissatisfied with the menial nature of his duties. Shūkō soon found his way into work at the Waseda publications division, where his notorious indolence galled the conscientious Hakuchō, who soon quit Waseda as a result.
Hakucho had become well-known by 1901 for his considerable facility with English. Takayama Chogyu had enhanced Hakuchō's reputation by telling various members of the literary establishment how Hakuchō had at times pointed out Chogyū's mistranslations when Chogyū was lecturing at Waseda on English poetry. The general consensus was that a young genius had appeared at Waseda. Ōiwa Kō sees Hakuchō's ability to correct Chogyū's mistakes as attributable to his familiarity with the Bible which facilitated his identification of the many Biblical quotations and allusions found in English poetry.

On his own now, Hakuchō supported himself translating from English in 1902. He translated from English versions of the Iliad and some other classics, as well as from works by such writers as Balzac. When he published a translation of an episode from The Arabian Nights, Shōyō read it and suggested to him the possibility of his developing into a writer of children's stories; Hakuchō politely declined. He gained some publicity from Yamada Bimyō's vindictive criticism of Hakuchō's translations, which Bimyō published in the Yamato Shimbun. Bimyō referred to them as Shōyō's translations, for Hakuchō was a student of Shōyō. Bimyō had been forced to leave Waseda because of an incident involving a woman and he blamed Shōyō for the disgrace. His attack upon Hakuchō's translations was generally interpreted as an attempt at revenge against Shōyō, but the result was to make Hakuchō's name better known.
In 1904 Hakucho was to become embroiled in one other incident involving one of his translations, which, like Bimyo's attack upon him, only served to make his name all the more familiar among the members of the literary establishment. This affair sprang from the publication of a Hakucho translation of a Balzac story in Bungei Kurabu, which had published a translation by Baba Kocho of the same Balzac story the year before. This incredible mistake on the part of the magazine publisher shows the easy-going practices of publishers in Meiji Japan, to be sure, but the indignant Kocho soon published a review of the Hakucho translation in which he pointed out a few of Hakucho's mis-translations and hinted that the Hakucho version was full of mistakes. Hakucho soon published a reply to Kocho in which he apologized to him for his errors. Hakucho's light-hearted apology and Kocho's subsequent reply were widely discussed.

Hakucho's translations soon began to appear in the periodical Taiyo, and, thanks to an introduction by Kosugi Tengai, in Teikoku Bungaku, too. One day in 1903 Hakucho was at the offices of the Hakubukan to deliver a translation of his. Tayama Katai happened to be there and he told Hakucho about an opening for an "arts reporter" (bijutsu kisha) at the Yomiuri. Ishibashi Shian, who was the editor of the Hakubukan publication Bungei Kurabu, immediately called the Yomiuri on Hakucho's behalf and Hakucho was hired. Although the salary was ridiculously low—fifteen
yen, or barely the salary of a rickshaw-puller of the day—the move was to begin a new era for Hakuchō. He would now begin to see more of life, as he had craved, and he would now have the opportunity to write, which would sharpen his narrative style. This writing experience plus his keen observation of the grimmer side of the world of the newspaper office would in time combine to make possible his first truly successful work of fiction, the short story "Jin'ai," or "Dust" (1907), which established him as a writer.

1904-1907: Yomiuri; Naturalism I

To Hakuchō 1903 was a year of change in fiction and theatre in Japan, a year which saw the passing of much of the old. Köyō and Danjūrō died in the fall of 1903; Chogyū had died the previous year and Kikugorō died the following spring. In June Hakuchō began work with the Yomiuri.

Hakuchō's first assignment was to cover the world of art, which gave him an opportunity to view the forceful personality Okakura Tenshin. Hakuchō was delighted to work in the two-story brick building at Ginza Itchōme, which gave him the chance to view a broad spectrum of society. With the presentation of Tsubouchi Shōyō's play "Kiri hitoha," or "Paulownia Leaf," in March, 1904, Hakuchō began his career as a drama critic.

In his knowledge of the technical aspects of the theatre Hakuchō did not, in the opinion of Gōtō Ryō, measure
up to the established drama critics of his day—among them, Miki Takeji (the younger brother of Mori Ōgai), Ihara Seiseien, Sugi Gan'ami, Oka Onitarō, and Matsui Shōyō (later Shōō). Although Hakuchō was not versed in theatrical techniques, he did learn much from contact with such men. As an outsider his criticism was generally impressionistic, but he was free to criticize where one more intimately bound up in the theatrical establishment might dare not do so. His criticism often brought him abuse, but likewise it often brought him praise.

As a drama critic Hakuchō was able to spend about ten days a month at theatres; he was thus often able to escape what soon became for him the monotonous atmosphere of the newspaper office. Hakuchō was apparently lavish in his praise for those actors who impressed him favorably, but he was outspoken when criticizing those who did not. His savage criticism of actors sometimes brought pressure against him upon his employers from the influential patron of an outraged actor. His criticism of drama and fiction brought him heated confrontations with both the dramatist, critic, and theatrical producer Matsui Shōō, and the writer Iwano Hōmei. Later in life, upon reading of his earlier career in Yoshida Seiichi's Shizenshugi no kenkyū in 1956, Hakuchō regretted his generally uninformed and brash attitude as a young man as well as his resultant general unpopularity at the time.

In the incident of Hakuchō's strongest criticism, that
of a stage performance by Ichikawa Sadanji, there is some possibility that personal motives may have influenced his opinion. As we have seen, Hakuchō was in general indifferent to his dress; on fifteen yen per month he could not be expected to accumulate much of a wardrobe. The first time he visited a geisha house, probably in late 1903 or early 1904 during the early days of his newspaper career, when the madam saw him standing boldly at the entrance to her establishment, small and unseemly in his dirty kimono, she judged him a pauper and refused to admit him.103 (He had another similar experience during his newspaper days when he was admitted to a geisha house in Kyoto through the introduction of a friend and was reviewing the girls before choosing one, when suddenly the madam reversed herself and refused him despite his pleas that he had money.)104 The fact that Sadanji's wife was the geisha, Sakae, whom Hakuchō had called for when he suffered the earlier embarrassment, may have entered into the formation of Hakuchō's hostile opinion of Sadanji.105 The fact that after World War I the Ichikawas and the Masamunes became friends through summers at Karuizawa, however, plus the fact that Hakuchō was seated next to Sadanji's widow at a memorial service for Sadanji in March, 1956, is sufficient evidence to Hakuchō's friend Ōiwa Kō that there were probably no secret motives for Hakuchō's critical opinions.106 Whatever the facts may be, it is clear that for Hakuchō the leap from the Christian circles of the Kanda Y.M.C.A. and the student world of Waseda.
to the sophisticated arena of the theatre was a great one.

Hakuchō's career as a drama critic was to be brief but turbulent. The great actor Danjūrō had died in September, 1903, and Ichikawa Sarunosuke got the opportunity to play the part of Benkei in the performance of the drama "Kanjinchō" that was to follow a memorial service for Danjūrō in late September, 1905. This was a performance that could determine the course of Sarunosuke's career, and according to the custom of the time he sent small gifts to all of the theatre critics, including a small box of sweets to Hakuchō. Hakuchō was not usually one of those who received such presents, and he happened to be out when the actor whom Sarunosuke had directed to deliver his gift arrived at his home. The present was left with Hakuchō's landlord and when he finally did receive it, not having heard the explanation of the gift, he misinterpreted Sarunosuke's intentions.

The gift included fifteen yen and Hakuchō proceeded to write a bitter article denouncing Sarunosuke for what Hakuchō took to be a bribe attempt. He was soon visited by another member of the theatre troupe who explained that Sarunosuke had originally intended to extend his kindness though Hakuchō's mentor Shōyō, which completely dispelled Hakuchō's previous suspicions. The article was already being printed, however, and "Benkei to jūgoen to gekihyo" (Benkei, Fifteen Yen, and Theatre Criticism) appeared September 24, 1905, in the Yomiuri.

Hakuchō's rash article upset his fellow drama critics
severely, not to mention his editors and fellow reporters at the Yomiuri. Somehow, however, Hakuchō survived this amazing faux pas. Hakuchō facetiously attributed his good fortune to his small stature, which he felt aroused more pity than ire, although in later years he admitted that he was simply totally inexperienced in his Yomiuri days. Hakuchō was certainly guilty of a gross error in judgment, but it must be noted, as Gotō Ryō points out, that the sum of fifteen yen given to Hakuchō was the same as his starting salary at the Yomiuri and decidedly a large one. Hakuchō gave up drama criticism after this incident.

Hakuchō was exposed to the worlds of art and the theatre while at the Yomiuri, but he also turned his attention to the academic world. He reviled such men as the philosopher Inoue Tetsujirō, referring to them as literary impostors and servants of conventional morality, although at only twenty-six Hakuchō did not have the education and qualifications to make such scathing academic criticisms. Hakuchō himself was to admit that he simply embellished rumors and negative criticism in forming his own criticism, being in effect a "so-called yellow journalist." Not all of Hakuchō's experiences during his early days as a reporter were negative; some of his steps were in the right direction. One day, for example, the affable editor of the periodical Shinshōsetsu, Gotō Chūgai, jokingly told Hakuchō to stop criticizing everyone else's fiction and to try writing something of his own. Hakuchō soon became
captivated by the idea of writing himself, so that he finally produced the short story "Sekibaku," or "Solitude." According to Kamitsukasa Shōken, whom Hakucho met after joining the Yomiuri, Hakucho became absorbed in his story and apparently revised it many times. Hakucho's friends and colleagues were surprised at the news that he of all people was writing a short story, but it created no excitement whatsoever when it appeared in the Shinshōsetsu in November, 1904. He was not satisfied with it either, although he could not identify the problem. He had read such works by Kōyō as Tajō takon (Tears and Regrets) (1896) any number of times, but he himself simply could not write like Kōyō.

Hakucho's alleged motivation for writing "Sekibaku" was to raise some money to pay to have some new bedding made, but Gotō Ryō feels it is safe to assume that Hakucho, inspired by his reading of the works of Chekhov and Turgenev, also was trying to breathe some new life into the deteriorating literary scene in Japan in 1904, a time when even the supposedly better magazines were carrying stories ghost-written for famous writers. Gotō finds the contents of the story useful in understanding Hakucho as well.

"Sekibaku" concerns an aspiring young painter and his hedonistic colleagues. The young painter struggles and finally secures a wealthy patron, which allows him to devote himself to his art. Somehow, however, he tires of art and comes to the conclusion that living for pleasure and taking
each moment as it comes is perhaps a more worthwhile pursuit for a man than worrying over art, fame, and the type of immortality they can bring. At the beginning of the story is a sketch of the young painter's masterpiece, a painting entitled "The Conscript," in which a church with a cross looms in the distance behind the conscript. Gotō finds this church with its cross quite portentous, for he feels that the church and cross are in the background not only of the painting in "Sekibaku" but of all of Hakuchō's works as well. As we will see, Hakuchō was always concerned with the fundamental questions of the nature and meaning of his existence. Because of his early religious training, he would generally, although not exclusively, probe these questions within a Christian context. That is, the philosophical questions he raised in his essays and fiction were often expressed in essentially Christian terms, which set him off from his less philosophical or less Christian colleagues. Thus, it is indeed, as Gotō notes, of interest and significance that Christian symbols appear even in his first work of fiction. The noted literary critic Kobayashi Hideo, who was to become well acquainted with both Hakuchō and his writings, was one critic who classified Hakuchō as a religious writer, and quite justifiably. For a religious element courses through the entire career of Hakuchō, which asserts itself to different degrees in different periods of his life but finally emerges as perhaps the essence of his thought and art.

Hakuchō wrote no fiction in 1905. In the more than
one year between his first story and the appearance of his second, "Hachō heichō," or "Discord and Harmony," in Shin-shōsetsu in February, 1906, Hakucho busied himself with his newspaper work and his amusements; no one approached him about writing a second story in 1905, for the memory of his first was apparently still fresh in everyone's mind. What made Hakucho determine to put his failure behind him and try again was the appearance of the Doppo-shū (The Doppo Anthology), by Kunikida Doppo, in July, 1905.

The drift of Hakucho's taste towards more realistic fiction can be seen in his criteria for praising the Tokuda Shūsei story "Gubutsu," or "Simpleton," in the Yomiuri on July 15, 1905. Hakucho found "Gubutsu," along with Katai's "Kaijō niri" (Two Ri at Sea), to be the best of the recent fiction he had seen, and he spoke of Shūsei's style as being always refreshing and placid, praising "Gubutsu" as a simple, unfanciful story that gives the reader cause to reflect afterwards that he has gained a glimpse of life. The Katai story Hakucho found to resemble a Western story in its conception and to be admirably tight in structure. That same month when Hakucho happened to discover the newly published Doppo-shū, which Doppo had helped to publish with his own money, he soon praised it lavishly in the article "Doppo-shū o yomu" (On Reading the Doppo-shū), which appeared in the Yomiuri on August 2, 1905. Although Tōson followed a month later with a similar article praising the Doppo collection, Hakucho may be credited with discovering
the genius of Kunikida Doppo. 121

Hakuchō was now addressing himself for the first time to the problem of devising a theory of fiction. In speaking of the Doppo-shū he noted that if the dispassionate depiction of the actions of various characters and the objective revelation of social phenomena were the object of fiction, then many of Doppo's stories with their characters drawn entirely from the author's imagination could not be considered fiction. 122 What is of interest here is that Hakuchō is already assessing fiction in terms of its ability to re-create objective reality. Although the term "naturalism" was not in wide use until the appearance of Hakai in March of the following year, 123 it can be said that the Doppo-shū was what turned Hakuchō's attention to naturalist-style fiction and in a sense determined his career as a naturalist writer. 124 Hakuchō immediately followed his praise of Doppo with an article on August 6, 1905, in which he assailed the former literary idol, the great romantic writer Ozaki Kōyō, claiming that Kōyō lacked the fictional power to portray convincingly the transformation from scholar to usurer of the character Kan'ichi in Kōyō's Konjiki yasha (The Gold Demon). 125 (Kōyō wrote this unfinished melodrama from 1897 until his death. The hero, the student Hazama Kan'ichi, loses the girl he loves, Miya, to a wealthy rival, Tomiyama. He forsakes his studies to try to gain wealth through usury, so that he may somehow exact revenge. Konjiki yasha has maintained its appeal even to today's
audiences; it has been frequently adapted for the stage, television, and film.) As we have seen, Japanese literature was in a period of transition from the Ken'yūsha to the naturalist eras; literary attitudes were gradually beginning to change. Hakucho had never found a model, an example to follow in beginning his own career, in any previous Japanese fiction, including any of the earlier proto-naturalist works of such men as Katai, Tōson, or even Doppo. He did not consider himself a writer and his failure with "Sekibaku" in 1904 had reinforced his reservations. It was only when he read the Doppo-shū in July of the following year that he began to perceive the new writing style that was in the air, which freed him to write fiction.

One event that must be mentioned in discussing Hakucho and his relation to the literary scene in 1905 is the return from abroad of Shimamura Hōgetsu in September, 1905. Hōgetsu had been away in England and Germany since March, 1902; Hakucho, like many of his colleagues, placed great significance upon Hōgetsu's trip. The money needed to finance his trip had been considerable, but a wealthy patron had materialized, and the young genius Hōgetsu, who was Shōyō's right-hand man, left Japan for the West to a great degree carrying the hopes and expectations of the entire Wasdea literary coterie. Hōgetsu's going-away party (sōbetsukai) had been an important cultural event, which, although on a far less lavish scale, united the bundan in much the same way the Katai Shūsei seitai gojūnen shukugakai would nearly
twenty years later. In addition to all of the Waseda literati it was attended by Kōyō of the Ken'yūsha, Ueda Bin and Tobari Chikufū of the Imperial University group, Kosugi Ten-gai, Kunikida Doppo, and others.

While Hōgetsu was abroad, the Russo-Japanese War began and ended, Kōyō and Chūgai died, and the literary scene gradually deteriorated, but many often said that things would begin to happen when Hōgetsu returned, for he would bring something new and revolutionary back from the West. Hakuchō agreed, however, with Tōson's typically acid prediction that Hōgetsu, who was already straight-laced and academic, would become even more so in the staid atmosphere of England. Hakuchō felt that Tōson's observation was accurate, for Hōgetsu did not really bring back anything new and revolutionary. In his "Torawareta bungaku" (Captive Literature), which was a sort of outline of Western literature written in the old ornate style of Japanese (bibunchō), as well as in his later essays, Hōgetsu presented nothing new and nothing to tell Hakuchō and the others what direction the new literature was to take. As Tōson had predicted, Hōgetsu had become more academic and he did not point to any new specifics of a new literature, but simply dealt in generalities or praised the works of Shakespeare or the buildings at Versailles, which did little to stimulate Hakuchō and the other young writers.

What Hōgetsu did do was to form the Bungeika Kyōkai, or Literary Men's Association, and to revive the journal
Hōgetsu and his followers Sōma Gyofū and Katakami Noburu would thus join in the naturalist literary movement of Katai, Tōson, and Hasegawa Tenkei, who was the editor of the journal Taiyō. Although Hōgetsu never did get along well with Katai and Tōson, to Hakuchō's mind because these latter two did not appreciate Hōgetsu's true worth, this formidable alliance would assure the recognition of the naturalist movement. Naturalism was still a year away, but with Hōgetsu back activity began at Waseda.

When Hakuchō met Hōgetsu at the pier upon his return from the West, he confessed to Hōgetsu that he had done nothing all the time Hōgetsu was away. Hōgetsu asked him why, to which Hakuchō replied that he did not know what he was to do. Clearly Hakuchō and the others in the wake of the demise of Ken'yūsha literature were uncertain which direction literature would now take and were looking to Hōgetsu to lead them after his return. With the example of the Doppo-shū and the general excitement caused by the return of Hōgetsu, Hakuchō himself now returned to writing fiction.

Hakuchō's second story, "Hachō heichō," appeared about six months after he became convinced that he could write like Doppo. In that story the handsome young hero hears that the woman he has always loved, who has returned from an unsuccessful marriage, is immoral. This leads him to go ahead and marry the homely daughter of a rich family, whom his parents had encouraged him to marry. He soon becomes addicted to his family routine and a "slave to his abacus and
his account book."\(^{135}\) His first love is left alone and bitter. Despite the title and some of Hakucho's comments on his hero's situation, however, to Ōiwa Kō this second story is without the striking revelation's of life's sad and seamy side that would mark Hakucho's naturalistic fiction. \(^{136}\) What ties there are with his later works seem significant, nonetheless. The irresolute character of the hero, Kiyoshi, calls to mind that of a later Hakucho hero, Suganuma Kenji of "Doko-e"; the helplessness of even such a strong female character as O-Suma, the woman Kiyoshi loves who was supposedly an adulteress, is repeated in that of the heroines of "Bikō" and "Doro ningyō." There is already a feeling of inevitability in "Hachō heichō," which is expressed in more traditionally fatalistic, rather than the so-called scientific deterministic, terms one encounters later with the beginnings of naturalism. Kiyoshi is being pressured to marry the rich girl in order to save his mother and younger sister from the insurmountable debts accumulated by his irresponsible late father. Kobayashi, the father of the rich girl, is their creditor; Kiyoshi's old fashioned uncle is always about reminding Kiyoshi of his duty to his mother, his sister, the name of his late father, and even to Kobayashi, who had helped finance Kiyoshi's education. When he declares his love to the divorced O-Suma, however, she encourages him to have strength and to face the abuse of their relatives and society together with her. They are on the point of escaping to start a new life together, when a
meddlesome but well-meaning friend tells Kiyoshi that adultery was the cause of her divorce. Kiyoshi had known that her husband was a thoroughly despicable person, and also that there was some suspicion about her and her handsome brother-in-law, but he had never believed the worst. She herself had been evasive about the reason for her divorce, but she had warned Kiyoshi of the recklessness of his meddlesome friend, so that one could also interpret events as the friend slandering O-Suma, whose relations with her brother-in-law may have been innocent after all. Be that as it may, after Kiyoshi receives a letter from O-Suma saying that she will hate him for the rest of her life because he believed his friend rather than her, Hakucho sums up things very quickly in a manner and tone which will be repeated in such later stories as "Jin'ai" and "Doro ningyō." Hakuchō notes that Kiyoshi has become a slave of middle-class routine—he leaves for work at eight each morning and returns each day at four; O-Suma, Kiyoshi has heard, has become the mistress of a certain gentleman (shinshi). Kiyoshi assumes she lives in sorrow, reviling the cruel world.

What limits the success of "Hachō heichō" to some extent is the first person point of view, which seems to restrict the narrative flow. For it is the story of O-Suma as well as of Kiyoshi, which might have been told more easily by an omniscient third-person narrator. Hakuchō also includes scenes featuring Kiyoshi's uncle, mother, and sister, as well as many which develop the character of his
meddlesome friend. It is a long story, forty-two pages as it appeared in Shinshōsetsu, but it does develop and maintain a light hold upon the reader's interest, for the strong-willed beauty O-Suma is fascinating and the reader is never certain until the next-to-last page whether Kiyo-shi will have the sense to throw caution to the wind and run off with her. (Were this a later Hakuchō story, one would not entertain such hopes and would expect a characteristic-ally gloomy ending.) "Hachō heichō" contains many descriptions of street-scenes and of nature that are somewhat ornate and more typical of earlier fiction than the naturalism that was to come. It is not until "Jin'ai" that Hakuchō evolves an economical, direct style, free of such digressions. Likewise, it is in "Jin'ai" that Hakuchō creates his most successful first-person story, a tight work focusing on just two characters.

Hakuchō's first two stories appeared in Shinshōsetsu, which prompted Hōgetsu to ask why he never submitted his work to Hōgetsu's own Waseda Bungaku. Hōgetsu and the Shinshōsetsu editor Chūgai had been good friends as classmates at Waseda, Hōgetsu graduating first and Chūgai second in their class. The fact that the promising Hakuchō was writing for Chūgai's publication was not well received by the Waseda contingent (Waseda-ha), however, for Chūgai had come to lose favor with them because of his association with the more romantic writer Kōyō. Hōgetsu felt he could expect loyalty from Hakuchō as the younger writer's sempai (older colleague),
and for his part Hōgetsu had always helped promote Hakucho's career when he could. Later Hakucho was to count Hōgetsu as one of his four onjin (those to whom he owed a debt of gratitude: his benefactors), along with Katai, Takita Choin, the editor of the Chūō Kōron from 1912 until his death in 1925, and Ashitake Kokuō, the editor-in-chief of the Yomiuri during Hakucho's days as a reporter.


In "Nikai no mado," there is a scene in which one character tells another that one cannot find reality depicted in the works of Sir Walter Scott, that one must turn to the works of the shizen-ha, or "nature school," for that. Ōiwa notes that it is impossible to tell whether Hakucho was referring to naturalism in the sense of shizenshugi literature, but that his reference to depictions of reality makes it certain that he is thinking in terms of the same literary principles. Ōiwa also sees the thoroughly believable plot of "Nikai no mado" as providing a model for Hakucho's naturalistic fiction, for in "Nikai no mado" Hakucho calmly and evenly depicts simple domestic situations and un-romantic love affairs.

"Nikai no mado" is another story told by a first-person narrator, but it is a decidedly different type of story from "Hachō heichō," nevertheless. It begins on graduation day at the university where the narrator has just completed his third year of study. He says of himself that
he has no relatives, little money, and must spend yet another long summer in his lodgings although all of the other students have gone elsewhere for the vacation. His whole world consists of what he can see from the window of the second-story four-and-one-half mat room he rents. Looking out his window he can see Mt. Fuji, the lightning rod of his university, another second-story window, and the smokestack of a factory. Below he can also spy on the comings and goings of the poor people of his neighborhood. More is told about the problems of these people he observes than about himself. To dispel his loneliness he spends his mornings reading the romances of Scott. The novelist who lives in the room below is the character who chides him for reading such fantastic literature. He tells him that what he sees on the street is reality, but what he reads in Scott's novels is meaningless fantasy. The romance of Scott is contrasted with the seamy reality of life on the street. But when the married couple across the street, whose frequent quarrels had been the object of much of his attention, move away, he buries himself in more reading of Scott to survive the hot summer. Exactly what, if anything, this is supposed to mean is unclear, but the implication is that such romantic literature is no more than an escape from life's reality. "Nikai no mado" is another stage in the development of the fictional style and philosophical attitude that would characterize "Jin'ai." Interestingly, there is even passing mention of the notion that environment (kyōgu) may shape a
Hakuchō's fourth story, "Kyūyū," "An Old Friend," appeared in Shinshōsetsu in September, 1906, along with Sōseki's Kusamakura (Grass Pillow). To a great extent "Kyūyū" was a literary regression for Hakuchō to the more Kōyō-like fictional style of his first two stories. The story concerns a brilliant painter who leaves society, so to speak, by leaving Tokyo to hide away working in a museum in Nara. A friend comes from Tokyo to persuade him to rejoin society—underlying all this is the usual assumption that in the modern age true genius can flower only on the Kantō Plain—and he is amazed to find the painter living an inactive, ambition-free life in Nara. There is mention of the hero's grief over his shame, presumably over his wife having had a lover before their marriage, but is is never entirely clear why he is in Nara. He does say, however, that he is now under the sleepy spell of the ancient capital.142

Although "Kyūyū" was not in the style that would bring Hakuchō real fame, it was received well by some of his colleagues. Not everyone was impressed by the story, however. On one occasion Hakuchō visited Sōseki on some Yomiuri business in the fall of 1906. The authority on nō drama Sakamoto Setchō happened to be present and he praised Hakuchō's "Kyūyū" lavishly. Hakuchō noted, however, that all the while Sōseki sat by listening silently and never once offered a word on the subject of Hakuchō's fiction.143 Whatever comments Hakuchō might have expected from him, Sōseki's
handling of the situation seems commendable. A polite si-

lence was perhaps the most Hakucho could have hoped for--
Hakucho does not seem to have considered the possibility
that Soseki had simply not read "Kyuyu"--and such silence
was certainly preferable to unnecessary criticism or false
praise. For it is too much to expect that Soseki, who had
already produced the major works Wagahai wa neko de aru,
Botchan, and Kusamakura, would be impressed by the twenty-
seven-year-old Hakucho who had only written four short sto-
ries to date--and none of them particularly notable--and
who was still in the process of changing his image from the
rustic who had disgraced himself as a theatre critic to a
formidable member of the literary establishment. Hakucho
had done little yet to indicate to Soseki or anyone that
some day in his own way he would begin a sincere and impres-
sive intellectual confrontation with the basic questions of
human existence, as Soseki soon would in his more philo-
sophical later novels.

Hakucho followed "Kyuyu" with two stories that are all
but forgotten now: "Chikamatsu-kai," "The Chikamatsu Group,"
which appeared in Shumi, a Waseda-connected periodical which
had recently appeared,144 and "Shifu," "Ugly Woman," which
appeared in Shinshosetsu in January, 1907. The stage was
set now, as it turned out, for the appearance of Hakuchos
seventh short story, "Jin'ai," or "Dust," which appeared in
Shumi in February, 1907. The intense realism of this story,
which will be dealt with in Section Three, marked Hakucho
as a writer of note. One day in 1907, after the appearance of "Jin'ai," Hakucho encountered Tokuda Shûsei on the street, and, as the story goes, Shûsei complemented him on his fiction, saying, "You've really improved." From now on the members of the bundan would be forced to take Hakucho seriously. He was now the author of "Jin'ai" and not simply a rustic who worked for a newspaper.

Hakucho's writings in 1907 include two other short stories that are of importance; "Anshin" (Relief) (June, 1907) and "Yōkaiga" (Ghost Picture) (July, 1907), both of which appeared in Shumi. "Anshin" deals with a young Christian who is tormented by the sinfulness of his uncontrollable lust for a beautiful woman whom he sees at prayer meetings and church services. He is finally given some consolation when at the deathbed of his beloved minister he hears him speaking deliriously of his own lust for the same married parishioner. The consolation and "relief" the young man experiences come from his conclusion that at least he will not be going to hell alone.

"Yōkaiga" tells of a young painter living a lonely life in mean surroundings, who does not love nature, who finds no consolation in drinking, and who even takes pride in scorning nature and human companionship. The only people he ever sees are his old cleaning-lady and her imbecilic daughter; he uses the wraith-like daughter as the model for his ghost paintings. The painter, Moriichi, is described as knowing the true face of life better than older men, and
as having penetrating vision. He lives simply for his painting with no ambition for worldly success. One day a beautiful female reporter, who desires Moriichi, attempts to seduce him. He is suddenly struck by the resemblance between her and his father's concubine, whom he had seen as a child. In his confusion he knocks the woman down, bolts out the door, and that night impulsively has sexual relations with the idiot girl. He then decides to wipe out his hideous memories of his father and his childhood by ending the family line by first killing the girl, who might be carrying his child, and then himself. Just as he is getting his pistol, however, the girl comes into his room, takes the gun away from him, and kills him. Hakucho adds the ironic postscript that a painting of the girl by a friend of his was later shown at an exhibition and praised as a masterpiece. 147

Gotō Ryō associates the bizarre nature of this story with what he calls the "sick visions and stagnant atmosphere of late Meiji." He notes that "Yōkaiga" appeared a year before Kafū's Amerika Monogatari (Tales of America) and three and four years, respectively, before Tanizaki Junichirō's similarly bizarre stories "Shisei" (The Tattooer) and "Himitsu" (The Secret). 148 The subject matter of both "Anshin" and "Yōkaiga" are perhaps of more importance for what they say about Hakuchō than for what they tell us of his age, however. The central problem of "Anshin" is essentially a religious one. Not only is the fact that Hakucho's Christian
faith was still with him in 1907 indicated by the setting of the story, but the modern nature of the resolution of the age-old Christian problem of one man's guilt is significant as well. The lust of the young Christian is as natural as the subsequent guilt he feels, because of the conflict between his human inclinations and the dictates of his religion, and the reasonable doubts that seem to be the bane of all thinking Christians. The problem of faith and doubt was to become a major preoccupation for Hakuchō in later life. In speaking of the modernity of Hakuchō's fiction one must note the interesting resemblance, at least a superficial one, between "Anshin" and the existential Spanish story "Saint Emmanuel The Good, Martyr" (1930), by Miguel de Unamuno. In both stories sensitive doubting men achieve the satisfaction of finding out, and from their own lips, that the respected religious leaders of their respective communities are but men after all, being subject to human doubt, in "Saint Emmanuel," and lust in "Anshin."

The unusual subject matter of "Yōkaiga" is instructive in preparing Hakuchō's readers for similar flights of fancy in his later works. Throughout his career Hakuchō turned out bizarre stories, fascinating at best, ridiculous at worst. One can link this unusual imagination with his childhood experiences--the influence of his Buddhist grandmother--with his early absorption in kusa-zōshi or even with his early reading of the Bible and his lifelong attachment to Dante's Divine Comedy. Gōtō's contention that such an
atmosphere was in the air and that "Yōkaiga" was thus symptomatic of the times is no doubt valid, too. Whatever the source of this bizarre strain that runs throughout his fiction, Hakuchō, one of the few Japanese writers of his day to make frequent thematic use of murder in his fiction, was never just another naturalist writer or "I" novelist. Hakuchō's fiction is also usually far removed from that of Tokuda Shūsei.

Hakuchō was very active in 1907, publishing several other short stories in addition to the above: "Makuai" (Between the Acts) (Waseda Bungaku, March), "Kōjimbutsu" (A Nice Person) (Waseda Bungaku, July), and "Shukō" (Rainbow) (Shinshisō, December). Now along with such writers as Mayama Seika, Hakuchō was in the forefront, the flag-bearer, of the naturalist movement. Naturalism had appeared to fill the void left by the demise of Ken'yūsha fiction. Hakuchō's daily arts column and the Monday special arts section of two full pages in the Yomiuri, together with Hōgetsu's Waseda Bungaku and Tayama Katai's Bunshō Sekai, came to be considered the prime vehicles of the naturalist literary movement. Hakuchō had watched intently the reception of Doppo's fiction in 1905 before committing himself to writing in earnest, but after the celebrated appearances of Hakai in 1906 and Futon in 1907 the times were obviously ripe for the new literature. Once when he was still merely a youth obsessed with literature--presumably in the late 1890's--Hakuchō visited Katai, and Doppo happened to
be present. Both Doppo and Katai were opposed to the artistic stance of Shōyō and his Waseda followers. Hakuchō tried to defend Shōyō's point of view, repeating what he had heard in the classroom that the Waseda "descriptive" (kiju-tsushugi) approach to literature was valid, because one had to read biographies and know the background of a writer before one could understand his works. Katai and Doppo both objected to this academic approach to literature, which they saw as typified by the attitude of Shōyō, for they preferred to talk of what they conceived of as life and death matters, of philosophy, of literature and reality.¹⁵² Now, however, Hakuchō, who had once defended the conservative approach of Shōyō, was himself a leader of a bold and controversial new literary movement. Hakuchō later stated that the move of the young Waseda literati towards naturalism was in the tradition of Shōyō's resistance to the old literature in his Shōsetsu shinzui (The Essence of the Novel) (1885) and his "Botsurisō-ron" (Loss of Ideals Debate) controversy with Mori Ōgai in 1891 and 1892, whether Shōyō appreciated the fact or not.¹⁵³

Although Shimazaki Tōson was never to declare himself a naturalist writer, never to study Western naturalists or even to admire them especially,¹⁵⁴ as we have seen, the term "naturalism" suddenly came into widespread use with the appearance of his Hakai. No one is certain who first began to speak of naturalist attitudes and modes of expression, but such terms were soon on everyone's lips. The bundan
had been alive with rumors that the poet Tōson had left the provinces and was busy writing a long work of fiction while living in poverty in a Tokyo suburb. Something unprecedented was expected, so that when it finally did appear, Hakai was discussed widely and praised as a masterpiece of Meiji fiction not only by the Waseda group but by such writers as Fūyō and Sōseki as well. To Hakuchō its realism and sincerity seem to account for its spectacular reception, but although he himself praised the work at the time, he was later to find it artificial and unrealistic.

With the appearance of Hakai it was as if the bunndan had suddenly found what it had been groping for in the darkness; when Katai adopted naturalism and began to espouse it, new life was breathed into the tired state of literature. With the appearance of Futon the movement was established. Although Hakuchō, as we have seen, joined in the praise of Futon, as he had for Hakai, he was likewise to become disenchanted with Katai's famous work. He noted that at the same time that there is something epoch-making in Katai's attitude towards life and art in Futon, the work is also absurd and ludicrous in its excessive honesty. The question is, however, why Japanese intellectuals were so receptive to such an incredibly honest work at the time. Hakuchō's answer is that after the Russo-Japanese War there was a period of striving for self-knowledge among intellectuals, that they had lost much of their naïveté and that with an attitude much like that of Hōgetsu, who was bored with the
dullness of his family life, they were willing to identify with the curious hero of Futon. Katai saw the coming of an age of confession; he called for the abandonment of artifice and deception. With Katai's "Rokotsu naru byōsha," the essays of Tenkei, and the resultant spread of such terms as "disillusionment" (gemme-tsū) and "exposing reality" (genjitsu bakuro), naturalism was established. Naturalism was in command of the literary scene, but severely criticized, for it was misinterpreted as dull and vulgar. Ueda Bin was to say in a Kyoto classroom that literature had fallen into the hands of a group of juvenile delinquents. Naturalists were scorned by both philosophers and academicians. Such writers as Katai and Hōmei were attacked by the academicians for their presumption in trying to establish a new school of fiction even though they were not university graduates.

The naturalist literary movement is often characterized as one led by rustics. Whereas early Meiji writers such as Kōyō and Kōda Rohan often came from Tokyo and were sophisticated urbanites, the naturalists and those late Meiji writers who sought to reshape Japanese literature were often provincials. It was natural that they would turn to the model of the West for inspiration, for they had no literary tradition of their own to outstrip that of Tokyo. Many of the naturalists formed the Ibsen-kai (Ibsen Society), which included Katai, Hōmei, Tenkei, Osanai Kaoru, Kambara Ariake, and Hakuchō. These naturalists ridiculed such things
as Gotō Chūgai's unreserved praise of the shintaishi (new style poetry) of Rohan or the Bungei Kyōkai of Waseda choosing Hamlet as the first play to be shown to inaugurate a theatre movement at Waseda. The naturalists went through an iconoclastic period in which they denied many of the old masters, such as Dante, Goethe, and Shakespeare. This is interesting in the light of the fact that on June 19, 1905, Hakuchō had bought his beloved English translation of The Divine Comedy at the Maruzen bookstore in Tokyo, which he would some day begin to carry with him whenever he traveled and of which he would say, when he finally wrote on Dante, in 1927, that there was no foreign book he enjoyed more.

Hōmei was in the forefront of the iconoclasm of the naturalists, however, and he never went beyond his iconoclasm. Gotō Chūgai, the editor of Shinshōsetsu, had become a firm anti-naturalist; Izumi Kyōka, who scorned the naturalists' lack of art, was to join forces with him.

The naturalists read Futabatei's translations of Turgenev; the Ibusen-kai became enamored of Chekhov. They read Maupassant's short stories; Flaubert and the Goncourts were prized. Katai admired the impressionistic technique of the Goncourts immensely. Balzac was not read too much, and the psychological novels of Stendahl were not esteemed much either. Curiously, writers whom one would not necessarily expect to appeal to the naturalists, such as Poe, Baudelaire, and Verlaine, were appreciated, for the tastes of the naturalists were eclectic. The endorsement of one well-known writer was enough to send the lesser writers scurrying to read something new. Dostoyevsky's Crime and
Punishment was known in Japan from the Meiji 20's (1887-1896), but it was treated as a detective story at first, although its true value as a psychological novel was gradually appreciated. Katai and the others felt that although a work such as Crime and Punishment was in some ways a perfect work of literature, it was not faithful to reality and as such not what the naturalists sought. It was in a way heretical to their literary doctrines. Even Sōseki did not care for Dostoyevsky at first, although he did come to value him highly in his later years. Dostoyevsky's literature, Hakucho felt, did not appeal to Japanese.  

Tolstoy's large-scale masterpieces such as Anna Karenina and War and Peace were appreciated. Short stories such as "The Death of Ivan Ilyitch" and "The Kreutzer Sonata" were prized and regarded as models for naturalism. These two stories were praised for their penetration into human psychology and their exposition of man's attitudes towards death and love. Chikamatsu Shūkō is said to have consciously imitated "The Kreutzer Sonata" in his "Giwaku" (Suspicion) (1913). However, Tolstoy's stories tended to end with his own style of Christian resolution, whereas the naturalists preferred their works to be open-ended. They found great meaning in Ibsen's works which ended without a resolution.

The age of naturalism was also the age of Natsume Sōseki. The naturalists never thought lightly of Sōseki or his literature. Only Shimazaki Tōson was openly hostile towards Sōseki, refusing on one occasion in 1906 to be
introduced to him at a social function when Sōseki had indicated a desire to meet Tōson. Gradually, however, the opinion that Sōseki's literature was not serious in intent, that it was dilletantish, sprang up among the naturalists. Sōseki's books outsold those of all the naturalists not only because he produced more interesting works than they, but also because at the time, strange as it may seem today, as the graduate of a public university (kangaku) he was taken more seriously than the graduates of a private school such as Waseda. 171

The naturalists felt that Sōseki's realism and his way of handling real life models for characters in works such as Wagahai wa neko de aru was frivolous (asobi). Hakuchō saw the difference between the naturalists and Sōseki on their respective use of material from real life as the difference between a desire to re-create reality in art on the part of the former and a desire to make art out of reality on the part of the latter. 172

Doubt, as we have seen, was the central attitude of the naturalists. Högetsu had said that although believing in something offers one a kind of peace, the age no longer permitted the continuation of belief. The age permitted only doubt and confession. It was felt that all thought beyond that failed to penetrate the essence of reality. Doubt was not the end in itself, for Högetsu held that in doubt there still remains in some form or other the desire and endeavor to know the limits of doubt. Högetsu saw the
paradoxical desire to know the unknowable as the essence of creation. Hakuchô and the other naturalists agreed with Högetsu's sceptical conclusions about the nature of knowing and human existence. 173

Hakuchô noted that although in Sōseki's earlier works there was no doubt, when Sōseki later began the newspaper novels he expressed even more doubt than many of the naturalists. 174 It is difficult not to agree with Hakuchô, however, when he warns against overstressing "isms" and the differences in literary schools during the period. Hakuchô points to the example of the very naturalistic story "Baien" (Soot and Smoke) (1909), by the Sōseki monjin Morita Sōhei, which Hakuchô feels Sōhei himself would have been content to have labeled naturalistic had he not been a follower of Sōseki, who of course was well-known as an opponent of literary naturalism. 175

Another important writer of the day, Nagai Kafū, similarly had an ambivalent relationship with the naturalists. At first Kafū was close to the naturalists in his fictional spirit, or at least is sometimes thought of in those terms. He might even be labeled one of the proto-naturalists, for he studied the works of Zola and in his epilogue to Jigoku no hana (Hell Flowers) (1902) he specifically expressed his belief in such notions as the animal nature of man. His fictional philosophy was basically one of art for art's sake, however, which is a definite contrast to the desire of the naturalists to re-create reality in art. Nonetheless, he
was never an enemy of the naturalists, even when readers tired of the gloomy fiction of the naturalists, and Kafū saw his rise in reputation as a writer of kanraku (hedonistic, or art-for-art's-sake) fiction. He was a friend of Hōmei and Osanai Kaoru, and he also contributed to Hakuchō's arts column in the Yomiuri. His later pose as an anti-naturalist was apparently the result of the subsequent patronage and encouragement of Ōgai and Ueda Bin. Kafū's collection of short stories, Kanraku, or Pleasure, was even honored as one of the best books of 1909 by the supposedly strictly naturalist journal Waseda Bungaku. The critic Abe Jirō, a Sōseki monjin, criticized the inconsistency of the naturalists in praising Kafū, but the naturalists only praised Kafū all the more, so that in Hakuchō's opinion Kafū, who was well-versed in the works of Zola and the Western naturalists, simply lost respect for the Japanese naturalists. Since it seems that in Japanese literary circles a basic conflict in ideology could always be overlooked to accommodate simple personal loyalties, Kafū's association with Ōgai and Ueda Bin seems the most compelling explanation for his disenchantment with the naturalists, while the affection of such naturalists as Hōmei and Kaoru for Kafū no doubt accounts in great part for the persistent praise of the naturalists for Kafū.

A farewell party was held for the forty-four-year-old writer Futabatei Shimei as he prepared to leave for Russia as a correspondent for the Ashai Shimbun in June, 1908. Apparently his friends who were organizing the party could
not find many writers who actually knew Futabatei, so that it was decided to make the party an occasion for the bundan to honor the great pioneer of modern Japanese fiction, rather than a simple gathering of Futabatei's friends. 178 This was the peak of the influence of the naturalist movement, which Hakuchō would see as reached at about the time of the death of Kunikida Doppo in Tokyo on June 23, 1908, and after which young writers began to change their interest to literature written in the art-for-art's-sake vein (kyōrakushugi bungaku). 179 Sōseki, Ōgai, and Rohan did not participate in the party for Futabatei, but Shōyō and all of the naturalists did. Unlike the farewell party for Hōgetsu in 1902 and the Katai Shūsei seitan gojūnen shukugakai in 1920, this was not an occasion for a show of unity among Japanese writers. The naturalists, the Waseda rustics, were in command of the literary stage, and the Imperial University Edoites, the followers of Ōgai and Sōseki, temporarily at least were on the outside looking in as the brash young naturalists lionized Futabatei, the man who had written Japan's first modern novel.

Futabatei had never identified himself with the naturalists, but then he had never stirred up their animosity either. At the banquet he was to dismiss offhandedly Doppo's stories as moralistic, but Hakuchō was to come to agree with this criticism eventually anyway. 180 Doppo meant a lot to Hakuchō and the naturalists, however, and Hakuchō is perceptive enough to see that his irreplaceable loss tilted
the scale against the naturalist movement. Although his career was certainly not as important to the movement as a whole as that of Tayama Katai, we have seen how it was the Doppo-shū that gave Hakuchō new hope in the summer of 1905. Doppo is generally considered one of the precursors of Japanese naturalism, although he was also a poet and his earliest writing was influenced by the spirit of Wordsworthian romanticism. A look at one of his last stories, "Take no kido" (The Bamboo Gate) (Chūō Kōron, January, 1908), reveals the common ground of Doppo and the naturalists, as well as what might have caused Futabatei, and later Hakuchō, to dismiss his works as moralistic.

In "Take no kido" a poor gardener, Isokichi, and his young wife, O-Gen, live in a hovel in back of the middle-class household of Oba Shinzō. The title refers to the bamboo gate Isokichi erects to fill the opening in the hedge between the two houses, which he has received permission to make in order to create a short cut for his wife O-Gen when she goes to draw water. The poverty of the gardener and his wife is contrasted with the easy affluence of Shinzō and his family. The characterization of Isokichi is thin, which detracts from the effect of the story, but his laziness and general indifference are given as reasons for their wretched poverty. Both O-Gen and Isokichi are led to stealing charcoal, she from Shinzō's yard and he from in front of the store. It becomes obvious to O-Gen that her thefts from the Obas have been detected, and that they have not openly
confronted her with their discovery only in order to avoid any troublesome scenes or legal complications. They move their charcoal inside their house and are obviously prepared to forget the whole affair, but the shame O-Gen feels plus the horror of her realization of the hoplessness of her life lead her to suicide. The postscript—which seems to have been an almost obligatory device for short story writers of the day—tells us not only of the suicide but also that the gate was soon removed, that the hedge grew back in, and that in a few months Isokichi married another young woman who is now living in another place in the same poverty to which O-Gen was subjected. What would have pleased the naturalist writer is the way in which one event inevitably leads to another, the way in which the impoverished O-Gen and Isokichi are trapped in their situation and are forced to steal in order to survive. Their situation, their "environment," is different from that of their more comfortable neighbors, who live but a few feet away, and this accounts for the differences in character and behavior. There are descriptions of the poor gardener and his wife huddling together under their only blanket in their flimsy home at the mercy of cold winter winds, of Isokichi pouring hot water, rather than the customary tea, over his evening rice, and of the bickering and baiting—like two dogs fighting to protect their territory—between O-Gen and the maid of the Obas, O-Toku, who likewise is of humble origins. What distinguishes this work from those of the naturalists, on the other hand, is O-Gen's
suicide and what it implies within the context of the story. O-Gen is a victim and the tragedy of her death becomes the focus of "Take no kido." In deterministic terms, she is too weak to survive in life, but it does not end there in Doppo's story, for clearly there are moral implications. Someone is to blame for her death: her husband, perhaps, or society, or the maid O-Toku, whom O-Gen may have overheard denouncing the theft to the Oba family in a loud voice and who makes it clear by her manner towards O-Gen that the theft is known. In a typical naturalist story of the period, the same material might be presented in such a way that the reader would not feel the need to look for reasons or explanations. He would just say that such is in the order of things—such is "reality"—and seek to go no further. Both the naturalist and Doppo share an attitude of pessimism, but that of the former is more self-contained, whereas that of the latter is of a different, perhaps higher, order which calls for an answer beyond those to be found in simple, objective reality.

Doppo was certainly important to Hakuchō and the naturalists, but too much must not be made of the significance of Doppo's death in the decline of the movement, for the naturalists were to enjoy several more years in the literary limelight. Their decline was perhaps steady, but it was not sudden.
In January, 1908, Hakuchō's brief story "Tamatsukiya," or "The Pool Hall," appeared in Taiyō, admittedly inspired by Chekhov's "Sleepy" (January, 1888). The Chekhov story is one of a thirteen-year-old girl who is forced to baby-sit, who is overworked and deprived of her sleep. The Hakuchō story describes some midnight pool players who keep insisting on just one more game, thus forcing the young cue boy to work on although he desperately wants to close the hall and get some sleep. Nothing really happens in "Tamatsukiya," although it is a splendid, but brief, sketch of a pool hall, which does give the reader the mood of the mindlessness of the persistent pool players and the frustration of the helpless boy. The gas lamp flickers, the cold north wind howls outside the window, the boy is asleep on his feet--it is a slow Saturday night, but what do the older players have to go home to? "Tamatsukiya" was praised by Hōmei and others; it resembles the Chekhov story in that the respective protagonists are about the same age and both dream of their home town while dazed from a lack of sleep. However, Goto Ryō, while noting that the critic Itō Sei found "Tamatsukiya" to be skillfully done and not just a copy of the Chekhov story, feels the Chekhov story to be markedly the fresher of the two. He also sees the Chekhov story as influencing not only "Tamatsukiya" but later stories by Hakuchō as well.

"Tamatsukiya" was followed by one of Hakuchō's most
important and best known stories, "Doko-e" (also read as "Izuko-e"), or "Whither?," which appeared in Waseda Bungaku from January through April, 1908. Waseda Bungaku was to select "Doko-e" and Tōson's Haru as the best stories of 1908, a year which saw Shūsei's Shinjotai, Katai's Tsuma, and Sōseki's Sanshirō appear as well. The hero of "Doko-e," the world-weary, blase Suganuma Kenji, who preferred to be scorned rather than loved, seems to have appealed to the Japanese intellectual of the day immensely. The period following the Russo-Japanese War was an age of disillusionment which saw the appearance of a "lost generation" in Japan, and Hakuchō's creative sensibility seems to have been perfectly in tune with the mood of the times.

Gotō Ryō does not see "Doko-e" as the best of the fictional output in 1908 nor does he feel that the selection of "Doko-e" was due to the favoritism of the Waseda faction. Rather he sees it as an indication of the difference between then and now in critical standards and audience appeal. Ōiwa Kō, on the other hand, likes to stress the autobiographical possibilities of the story. He cannot agree with such a critic as Ara Masahito who holds Kenji to be a composite of the two heroes of two nineteenth-century Russian stories, Rudin of Rudin (1855) by Turgenev and Pechorin of A Hero of Our Time (1840) by Lermontov, for he does not see Hakuchō as imitating any of the foreign writers with whom he was then infatuated. He characterizes Hakuchō as a man who never fought against his own nature and never tried to
change those aspects of his character that needed changing, so that he resembles the hero of "Doko-e." Actually Hakuchō was losing respect for the great men of society as he saw them more and more in his capacity as a reporter and he had been thinking of writing a story such as "Doko-e" for some time. Some see a link between Bunzō of Futabatei's Ukigumo and Suganuma Kenji. Hakuchō disclaimed that he himself was the model for Kenji, saying simply that he was influenced by "some Russian story." This vague, off-hand admission by Hakuchō plus the fact that Lermontov's A Hero of Our Time is credited as being the work that first opened Hakuchō's eyes to the dark philosophical and introspective possibilities of literature make it impossible to ignore the similarities between the dark and egoistic philosophies of Lermontov's Pechorin and Hakuchō's Kenji. Such a resemblance and the fact that Hakuchō knew A Hero of Our Time well do not compel a judgment of slavish imitation of the one by the other, however. Pechorin should be seen as a part of Hakuchō's education and not as a model for Kenji because Hakuchō had no need of foreign models. Models were all about him in the disillusioned post-war world of late Meiji Japan.

Hakuchō wrote several other stories in 1908, for he was now writing at that prodigious pace that usually distinguishes a successful Japanese writer. Nearly every month a new story by Hakuchō appeared, including "Satsuki nobori" (Maypole) (Chūō Kōron, March), "Sekennami" (The Average)
Hakuchō's next major work was to be the story "Jigoku," or "Hell," which appeared in Waseda Bungaku in January, 1909. "Jigoku" concerns a young school boy who grows progressively paranoid and isolated and eventually breaks down in the classroom before his classmates. The subject matter and the mood of the story are decidedly modern--this is not the work of a Shikitei Samba or Takizawa Bakin--but it is debatable what success the story achieves and what it has to tell the reader. Insanity had appeared earlier in Hakuchō's works, in "Yōkaiga" and "Shukō," and would be used again in his literature in "Hito o koroshita ga" (I Killed a Man, and Yet) (1925) and "Jinsei no kōfuku" (The Joys of Life) (1924), but "Jigoku" must have seemed an exciting and modern story when it first appeared. Whatever its shortcomings for the present-day reader, it does tell a lot about the unusual psychology of Hakuchō the man and Hakuchō the writer.

Much of "Jigoku" is frankly autobiographical, that is, there are too many parallels between the life of the young hero Akiura and that of Hakuchō ever to be dismissed as coincidence or irrelevant. Both are sixteen when they transfer to a mission school run by an American missionary with
enchanting young blonde daughters to escape the rough ways of the students at a rural school. Both are troubled by a mysterious affliction that cannot be diagnosed; both had been subject to fainting and irrational fears since babyhood. Both are intelligent, but small and weak. Hakuchō was, of course, never a psychotic paranoid as a child or at any time in his life, but the inspiration for the fictional Akiura certainly came from the weak, neurotic youth Hakuchō.

With such stories as "Doko-e" and "Jigoku" Hakuchō was writing the kind of story with which the naturalist movement came to be identified. In this sense of the naturalist writer as a prophet of psychological doom and portrait artist of despair, Hakuchō was an even more typical naturalist than Shūsei. Hakuchō would of course continue in this vein, producing "Akuen," or "Evil Destiny," for the Chūō Kōron in April, but two other stories, both bearing the same title but by different authors, appeared in the meantime, two stories that by their differences indicate the direction literature was taking and what sort of definition of naturalist fiction was appearing.

"Tandeki," or "Indulgence," by Oguri Fuyō appeared in the Chūō Kōron in January, 1909; "Tandeki" by Iwano Hōmei appeared in Shinshōsetsu in February, 1909. As the titles indicate, both stories involved dissipation and degeneration; both were to a degree autobiographical. They were, quite naturally, often compared with the critical consensus being that the "indulgence" in the Hōmei story was modern,
new-style dissipation while that in the Fūyō story was old-style. The difference seems to have been a difference in the authors' powers of self-examination of their actions rather than in the nature of the actions themselves. Be that as it may, the former story was considered naturalistic and the latter not. Hömei was being typically honest and unaffected when he gave his story the startling title "Tandeki." The term came into wide use among the naturalists, which encouraged a misunderstanding of naturalism not only by laymen but by literati as well, for the naturalists came to be associated with drunkenness and womanizing. Such misunderstandings plus the animosity stirred up by the naturalist domination of the literary scene often led to personal attacks upon naturalist writers for their alleged immorality.

Hömei's "Tandeki" is a significant story, the importance of which in modern Japanese literature generally seems to be yet unappreciated. A claim might even be made that the appearance of the hero Tamura marks the appearance of the existential hero in Japanese fiction. In some ways Tamura seems to continue the world-weary, Russian-style hero created by Hakuchō in "Doko-e," but there is something different about Tamura. Perhaps it is only the increased depths of Tamura's degradation over that of Kenji, which includes sins of fact and deed as well as fancy and omission, that make one feel a new type of fictional hero has emerged. But the image of the drunken, unkempt intellectual, leaving his
wife and children to languish at home in Tokyo while he is off in the provinces, toying with syphilitic prostitutes in a vacuum of passion that might make even Lermontov's Pechorin blanch, does not seem to find a parallel in Japanese literature until the appearance of the works of Dazai Osamu decades later. Something new and startling is to be found in scenes containing Tamura's description of the mother of his mistress Kichiya as a "pig's body with a human head." We see something new also in his happiness only in the midst of decadence when he visits Kichiya and delights to hear sounds of love-making coming from upstairs, and in his expression of a complete lack of pity for Kichiya, who requires hospitalization for her syphillis-ravaged eyes but lacks the money.

Not only is Tamura a departure from Kenji of "Doko-e," the so-called nineteenth-century Russian superfluous hero, but he is something quite different again from the thirty-six-year-old hero of Katai's Futon, the home-grown Japanese confessional hero. They are both about the same age—as were Katai and Hōmei—but their attitudes towards life and society seem worlds apart. As Hirano Ken points out in his Sakkaron-shū, compared to the timid hero of Futon, the hero of "Tandeki" is bold, frank, and exhilarating. Hirano sees the influence of Futon in the fact that "Tandeki" deals with the "second love" of a middle-aged man, although in his preface to "Tandeki" Hōmei makes it clear that he does not believe in "fragmenting a human being," a reference to
Katāi's notion of kanshō (observation) and jikkō (performance, or, by extension, participation). Hirano finds the hero of "Tandeki" to be innocent and honest rather than just bold and he makes a strong point of his compulsive, immature behavior. Tamura is innocent and honest in that he is true to his essential nature; he is open, rather blatant, in his anti-social activity whereas the hero of Futon is furtive and deceptive. What makes Tamura modern, however, is that in conventional terms at least his nature is evil, but he only deigns to hide his evil when it is expedient in furthering his selfish aims. Tamura looks at the nature of society and he rejects it, whereas the appeal of Futon and "Doko-e" lies in the fact that the respective heroes, particularly that of Futon, are still bound up in the machinery of society. By virtue of their unorthodox behavior and views of life, the heroes of Futon and "Doko-e" are trapped and squirming on the inside of society, while Tamura is trapped and kicking on the outside.

Although Hakuchō was able to praise the prose of such a non-naturalistic writer as Nagai Kafū, he himself continued down his own fictional path. He had begun the serialization of his first newspaper novel, "Rakujitsu," or "Setting Sun," in the Yomiuri in September, 1909, but the next major work was the critical success "Torō," or "Wasted Effort," which appeared in Waseda Bungaku in July, 1910.

In "Torō" Hakuchō continues his interest in the theme of insanity, although one senses that what success Hakuchō's
use of the theme achieves depends in large part upon whether insanity can become a metaphor for the "sick age" Hakucho is depicting. Again the problem is paranoia—the "modern" disease—and again there is use of autobiographical material. The autobiographical nature of "Torō" seems of much less importance to the discussion of "Torō" than to that of "Jigoku," however. The story centers upon Sokichi, a thirty-four-year-old former political science student who has never worked a day in his life. Sokichi's twisted psychology is a mixture of Christianity—he surrounds himself with statues of Saint Peter, pictures of the Madonna, rosaries and medals—and unlikely political masterplans—he is convinced the world can be saved only under the rule of a Russo-Japanese Empire. The autobiographical element of the story is mainly found in the fact that Sokichi insists on giving the headship of the family over to his brother Shinzo, which when matched with the facts of Hakucho's life of course makes Hakucho again the model for the paranoid.

We may exaggerate the autobiographical nature of Hakucho's early stories, for, unlike Shusei, Hakucho felt free to stray from the bare facts of real life in his stories as the rule rather than the exception. What is important in "Torō" is Hakucho's copious references to Christian-ity. In "Doko-e" Kenji is greatly impressed by the earnest nature of the evangelizing of some street-corner Salvation Army people. Indeed that is about the only external stimuli to which he ever seems to respond. He is impressed because
he sees that, unlike himself, they are really absorbed in what they are doing and convinced that they have the answer.\textsuperscript{199} In "Jigoku" Akiura is linked with the Christian idea of an avenging God. There is mention of the Biblical story of Sodom and Gomorrah; Akiura believes that the one responsible for his unhappiness is the almighty, omniscient God.\textsuperscript{200} Part of the insanity of the dreamer Sōkichi centers on his grandiose altruistic dreams. All of his illogical political schemes are prompted by a desire to save the world. He thinks of others and not himself. Such selfless altruism, the doing of good for others, is at the core of Christian ethical philosophy. This is the example of the life of Christ. In the last years of Meiji Hakuchō can only express such sentiments in the context of insanity. None of the above three fictional heroes fits into society; all three are impressed by Christianity. The progression in their relationship to Christianity is from the admiration of the sincerity of the believer by the socially superfluous Kenji to the rage and despair of the weak and threatened Akiura to the eager acceptance of the harmless madman Sōkichi. Only the insane characters believe. Hakuchō is echoing metaphorically in his fiction what the naturalists had been stating categorically in their essays that the age did not permit belief. The view of Christian faith in particular and of the notion of belief in anything in general grows progressively dimmer from "Doko-e" to "Jigoku" and finally "Torō." The believers--the Salvation Army people--in "Doko-e" may
appear absurd and their message may go unheeded, but they are a part of life, nonetheless. It is the hero, Kenji, who is alienated. In "Jigoku," although the female caretaker proves to be a sinner and Akura is driven mad in part by his Biblical obsessions, Christianity is still not totally discredited. There remains the example of the peace and contentment of the foreign missionary and his family. But, as foreigners, they show that the Christian faith is becoming more remote from and less relevant to Japanese life in Hakuchō's mind. The climax is reached in "Torō," where the Christian Ōkichi is the only character who is totally removed from reality, a madman who prowls about the house at night looking into dark corners. Hakuchō is showing in his fiction that belief, which for him meant primarily belief in Christianity, had lost its relevance for him and for late-Meiji Japan.

The bleak view of life and the paranoia expressed in Hakuchō's stories are not far-fetched when one considers the events of the year 1910 in his life. It may be a romantic view, but the artist is often thought of as a visionary or a prophet; his sensibility is such that he can see things around him--forces at work, trends taking shape--to which the politician, the educator, or working man is blind. He expresses what he perceives through metaphor or symbol, his own special language which is unfortunately a tongue most are slow to comprehend. The political and institutional mentality in Japan was so far removed from the mentality of the works the
naturalists were reading and the thought they were absorbing and trying to express in their works that communication seems to have been impossible. This was a period of the estrangement of literature from the mainstream of society, at least as far as the naturalists, the mainstream of literature at the time, were concerned. As Hakucho noted, only Iwano Hōmei had spoken of a new religion and a new morality springing from the naturalist rejection of all existing ideals and philosophical solutions, but none did. 201

Hakucho had been labeled a nihilist by the naturalist critic Hasegawa Tenkei. The level of consciousness among non-literati at the time was such that when the literary critic Higuchi Ryūkyō mentioned that fact to an acquaintance of his, who was the Chief of the Metropolitan Police, Hakucho was put under police surveillance and followed during the period of the Kōtoku Shūsui Incident from the fall of 1910 until January, 1911. Hakucho was back in Honami from the fall until the end of 1910 when he visited his mother's village. On the day of the execution of Shūsui and twelve other anarchists Hakucho was confined to his home by the police. All of this came about because Hakucho's reputation as a nihilist somehow made him suspect as an anarchist in the minds of the police, although he had no connection with Shūsui and apparently had given no indication that he was one of his followers in any way. 202

Hakucho had once had a similar problem with comprehending authority when during the Russo-Japanese War he
submitted a story to the Yomiuri comparing Nicholas II with Hamlet. Hakucho was neither for nor against the war, although he did assume that Japan might well lose due to her small size. As a result of the story he was severely reprimanded by the editor of the Yomiuri, almost as if he had written a renunciation of the war.203

With the death of the editor of the Yomiuri in the summer of 1910, the former ambassador to Russia Homma Ichirō was appointed new editor, and in June, 1910, Hakucho was fired. Presumably this occurred because under Hakucho the Yomiuri had become a major vehicle for literary naturalism, which was frowned upon generally in Japan, although it wielded great influence in literature. The change of editors provided the Yomiuri a good opportunity to dissociate itself from naturalism.204 Hakucho noted that the editor did not like Tōson's Ie, which was being run in the Yomiuri, nor the fact that the weekly arts page Hakucho headed included works by such writers as Shūkō and Hōmei.205 Hakucho did not appreciate his comments, but, as Mori Ōgai noted in his letter to Ueda Bin, the firing of Hakucho and his replacement with Yokoyama Kenkō was an important literary event. Hakucho sees his firing, which led to the exclusion of frequent contributors Shūkō and Hōmei, and Katai's leaving his editor's post at the Hakubunkan because of a budget cut as the end of the naturalist literary movement.206

Although Ōgai is often thought of as applauding Hakucho's demise at the Yomiuri, Gotō Ryō feels that there is
insufficient evidence to support this view, and that, on the contrary, such facts as Ōgai's charitable characterization of Ōishi Kentarō, who was modeled on Hakuchō, in Seinen (Youth) (1910) show that he did not disdain Hakuchō. He attributes Hakuchō's negative interpretation of Ōgai's letter to Ueda, in which Ōgai mentions the probable fall of Hakuchō, to the fact that Ueda had dismissed the naturalists as "juvenile delinquents," which led Hakuchō to assume arbitrarily that Ueda's friend Ōgai felt likewise. 207

The loss of his steady income from the Yomiuri put more pressure upon Hakuchō to write. He responded with "Torō" in July, 1910, and soon followed that success with another chūhen (long short story, or récit), "Bikō," or "Faint Light," which appeared in the Chūō Kōron in October, 1910. Hakuchō wrote the story in a week, although he would have written more had the approaching publisher's deadline allowed him more time. 208 The subject matter, a young prostitute who clings to an impossible dream of finding true love some day, was a great departure for Hakuchō. In a sense the story represents a unique tour de force for Hakuchō, inasmuch as it is a successful story of the demimonde which he dashed off in but a week. Such a story was never really close to Hakuchō's heart, but it shows the skill as a writer, or at least as a technician, that he had acquired. Hakuchō felt that the story was too much of a popular story, too conventional (tsūzoku), and noted that Shūkō and Shūsei apparently felt so, too. Nonetheless, with "Bikō" even some
of Hakucho's detractors took another look at him, because the heroine was a prostitute.

Shūkō's failure to praise the work was natural, inasmuch as in effect Hakucho had stolen the model for the heroine of "Bikō" from Shūkō. Shūkō had once taken Hakucho to the gay quarters and called for the girl, but she had been unable to come. Later Hakucho went back alone, called for the girl, and met her several times thereafter. In time he was to keep her for a short while. While the girl is O-Kuni in "Bikō," she is the prostitute O-Miya in Shūkō's "Wakareta tsuma ni okuru tegami," or "A Letter to My Former Wife," which appeared in Waseda Bungaku in April, 1910. Her patron in the Shūkō story, Osada, who is portrayed as an evil character, is Hakucho.

To some critics Hakucho's portrayal of women is uninspiring. Gotō Ryō points out that one reason Hakucho's women do not come alive as characters is that he pays no attention to their appearance or to descriptions of their clothing. He notes that in "Bikō" O-Kuni is always described as in "crepe or serge," or a "stylish bathrobe," and that this compares unfavorably with the precise descriptions of women's clothing in Shūsei's Shinjotai or Katai's Sei. He feels that Hakucho did not know women and that he feared them because he was brought up in the country and because of his early interest in Christianity, although it was natural for him gradually to come to know more of them in his urban environment. In his later years Hakucho professed to know
little of women and love because he had never been that interested in them, although he did feel that true love had to be something that was blind and total. 213

To understand the spirit of the naturalist movement, their refusal to believe in religion or ideals, their striving for truth and reality, their compulsive urge to confess, one need only look at the marriage of Masamune Hakuchō. In April, 1911, at the age of thirty-three, through the mediation of the dramatist Nakamura Kichizō and his wife, Hakuchō married the twenty-year-old Tsune. Hakuchō had been in no hurry to marry, for he was not attracted to married life as he saw it in visits to the homes of his Yomiuri colleagues or friends such as Hōmei. However, by this time he was tired of carousing and decided it was time to marry. 214 His wedding announcement to his family was a simple card, which did not tell his family anything about the girl, such as her age or how he met her, or about the girl's family. 215

Three months after the wedding, in July, 1911, the story "Doro ningyō," or "Clay Doll," appeared in the Waseda Bungaku. Hakuchō himself later said that he rushed into marriage blindly in an attempt to put some emotional order into his muddled life, but he found that traces of his muddled life remained with him even after his marriage, so that he was unable to enjoy his honeymoon because in that context the girl he had happened to marry was simply in the way. 216 All of this is apparent from the frankly autobiographical "Doro ningyō," for, as Hakuchō admitted, with the
exception of a few details the story is a straight autobiographical account of his wedding experiences. The hero of the story, Jūkichi, finds his virginal young wife, Tokiko, to be boring and insufferable, so that he spends the first week of their marriage out on the town every night looking for some diversion, while his despairing wife waits at home in sorrow and confusion.

In "Doro ningyō" Tokiko turns more and more to Buddhism for consolation, whereas Jūkichi is never able to accept the ordinary, rather slow-witted but harmless girl as the wife he had waited thirty-three years for, so that he comes to consider her a doll, a lifeless, meaningless object. Nevertheless, Hakuchō and his wife were to have a long and happy life together. He would become famous for his affection for his wife. He was habitually kind to her, buying sweets for them to eat together, and always meeting her and seeing her off at the train station, regardless of the weather. Perhaps Tsune influenced and mellowed Hakuchō over the years, for in 1964 Mrs. Masamune was to say that his attitude towards her when they were first married was exactly as it is exhibited in "Doro ningyō," although she was not too clear in 1964 whether he actually stayed out at night the first week. Even if he had, she said, there was nothing so strange in that, for she found such behavior characteristic of young men, so that she was quite assured that the reason the story impressed its readers was that it was so factual. Be that as it may, there were many critics who complained of
the bad aftertaste the story left and its general unpleasantness, such as Hirotsu Kazuo, who felt Hakuchō's treatment of the innocent heroine to be cruel, sarcastic, and provoking. 221

Hakuchō's widow described him as adrift at the time of their marriage. 222 Ironically, his marriage, which inspired "Doro ningyō," helped to anchor Hakuchō somewhat, for, as he himself later noted, his string of successes—"Torō," "Bikō," and "Doro ningyō"—brought him financial and emotional stability. A little fame brought him considerable peace of mind. 223 One fact that his widow Tsune, who eventually became an ardent Christian, vehemently denies is that she ever went to a temple and prayed to Buddha to make Hakuchō love her. She claims that she made no special effort to win him over when first married. 224 Whatever the facts, Hakuchō was fortunate to find such a patient woman as Tsune, for there is no evidence that she ever made things especially difficult for Hakuchō when he published the cruel "Doro ningyō." 225

The age of literary naturalism was now at an end. Hakuchō would continue to write stories that were more or less naturalistic for several years, but at the same time he would do other things as well; Shūsei would survive as a naturalist writer for decades. Hakuchō later considered Shūsei's uncompleted Shukuzu (1936, 1941) and Tōson's incomplete Tōhō no mon (The Eastern Gate) (1943) as the last works of naturalism. 226 Hakuchō was to feel that had there
been more genius among the naturalists, he might have learned more from his association with them. But Hakuchō, who saw portraying life exactly as it is as the height of art, also felt that inasmuch as the naturalists were ordinary men writing ordinary literature, they were able to approach reality to a degree impossible to more inspired writers.

Hakuchō may have felt that portraying life exactly as it is constitutes the ultimate goal of art, but he also felt that to be perhaps impossible for man. He noted that even Tokuda Shūsei, who was looked at askance for his rapid writing for profit and who seemed to take his writing so lightly, came to feel the difficulty of writing in his old age. Hakuchō felt the truism that the reality of a work of fiction is at best only the author's reality and not all of reality was underscored by the fact that even Shūsei, who could put more of his life into his writings than any other autobiographical writer, felt the need to keep a diary to express his innermost thoughts. Hakuchō felt certain that even Shūsei regarded the world of fiction as another world separate from that of his life.

Hakuchō would come to feel that literature was of the second order, that it leads one away from reality and religion, which are the things of the first order of importance. Katai, Tōson, and Hōmei, as well as Hakuchō, admired Futabatei Shimei as a precursor of naturalism and they were under the influence of his translations. Futabatei's scepticism linked him with the naturalists, although he felt
that literature was simply a matter of technique, so that no matter how great the literary skill one could not express reality. He felt that even if one understands reality in one's mind, words are insufficient to express what one understands, for words betray reality. Hakucho in later life would agree with Futabatei's assessment of literature as being inadequate to express reality.\(^\text{232}\) Thus, it seems as if the naturalists were trying to do the impossible. Even if they perceived the true nature of reality, the vehicle of language would be by nature inadequate to express their perceptions. Most other modern theories or schools of art seek to create a subjective reality; the romantic poet, the surrealist writer, or the cubist painter--none of these concerns himself with an exact re-creation of objective reality in his works. Or at least not until recently would an artist honor such an approach. The interesting thing about naturalism is that, despite the many artistic prejudices against it, it is surprisingly modern when reviewed and reconsidered, for it seems an earlier attempt to pin down reality by artists caught in an age of bewilderingly rapid change, such as Japan after the Russo-Japanese War, or even France in the 1870's and 1880's and America at the turn of the century. Industrialism, new social mobility and uncertainty, the breakdown of traditional loyalties—all of these created a rapidly changing physical and social reality which artists in the age of naturalism reacted to instinctively by trying to find out scientifically just what
lay behind it all. The naturalist approach in a sense is akin to a whole spate of more avant-garde approaches to art, ranging from the soup cans of recent American pop art and the journalistic fiction of a Norman Mailer or Truman Capote to the cinema verité of contemporary European film.

The Japanese naturalists were cursed by two facts of their times and their literary movement: they never produced a true masterpiece that could stand proudly alongside the great works of other approaches and other ages of their own culture, let alone those of the world; and, their literary reputation, which even at its height was mostly confined to one segment of the bun-dan, was such that they alienated not only their non-naturalist literary colleagues but the very social and political machinery whose dull oppression they were instinctively, although often subconsciously, reacting against as well. After the Kōtoku Shūsui Incident the Japanese government established a literary prize of a considerable amount of money (over one thousand yen) and awarded the first one to Tsubouchi Shōyō for his translations of Shakespeare. The government was not trying to encourage young writers but to control them, because it felt that the naturalist writers had gone against the traditional grain of Japanese literature and thus needed regulating and suppressing. For this reason the government, the Katsura Cabinet, chose literati as Yosano Akiko, whom Hakuchō regarded as old-fashioned, to be judges involved in awarding the prize.
Another incident involved the Useikai (Voices in the Rain Society), a literary academy promoted by Prince Saionji, when Saionji requested the election of replacements for two deceased members. So much was naturalism hated that Nagai Kafū received nine votes, Emi Suiin four, and Hakuchō but three—presumably those of Katai, Shūsei, and Tōson. Such an environment, when combined with the appearance of literary talents such as those of Tanizaki Jun'ichirō and Akutagawa Ryūnosuke and the flowering of the genius of Natsume Sōseki, was too much for naturalism to survive. Naturalism was dead by the end of 1911, but few outside the movement mourned its passing.

1912-1919: Post-Naturalism: Literary Decline

Hakuchō, who in his morbid youth had never thought he would live to see thirty, was thirty-three years of age when his first play, "Shirakabe," "White Wall," appeared in the Chūō Kōron in April, 1912. In all Hakuchō was to write forty plays, but most of these were done between February, 1924, and May, 1928. Hakuchō had long admired kabuki plays, and in particular the works of Kawatake Mokuami, for their poetic beauty and the charm of their Edo emotionalism, and in the last years of Meiji the theatre scene in Japan was also alive with productions of Western works by such playwrights as Hauptmann, Strindberg, Ibsen, Rilke, Shaw, Gorki, Gogol, and Chekhov, in addition to such native works as "Nambanjimon-mae" (Before the Gate of the Temple of the
Southern Barbarians) and "Izumiya somemonoten" (The Izumiya Dyers) by Kinoshita Mokutarō, "Gogo sanji" (Three in the Afternoon) and "Kawauchi Yohei" by Yoshii Isamu, Ōgai's "Kamen" (Mask), and "Bokushi no ie" (The Pastor's House) by Nakamura Kichizō. Hakuchō's own entry into this theatrical activity, "Shirakabe," was a work modeled on his father and grandfather, and concerned the hero's division of the family property and erecting of a barrier between the two tracts of land to insure his solitary existence. This notion of psychological division among people occasioned by the physical division of property, here symbolized by a fence, appeared often in Hakuchō's life and thought.

Writing plays was one way that Hakuchō sought to respond to the changing literary scene as naturalism became passé. The content of "Shirakabe" shows how the play differs in mood and conception from Hakuchō's fiction of the years 1907 through 1911. The title refers to the white-washed walls of the old storehouse situated near the ancestral home of the Aikawa family. This storehouse has been in the family for generations and inasmuch as for years it was the first and only white-walled building in the little fishing village in the Chūgoku area on the Inland Sea, it was for a long time an identifying landmark of the town for sailors to spot from at sea. The Aikawa family has been prominent in the village for more than ten generations, but at last they have lost their wealth and energy although they are still the most respected family in the town. The last
heir of the family, Hisakichi, is a tormented young man in
his twenties, who lives with his wife and mother in the
family home. During the course of the play Hisakichi comes
to change his thinking about his family line and ancestral
property, so that he comes to feel that the huge, gloomy
house is robbing him of his energy, of his will to go forth
and see the world. He feels that he is rotting with the
house. His mother, on the other hand, seems to be kept
alive only by memories of the past, and she loses herself
in rituals of ancestor worship and Buddhist prayer. It is
mentioned briefly that Hisakichi's real father had died
years before in Kyūshū, but he still must contend with his
step-father, who seems to have begun the family decline and
who lives in another house near the family house. Hisakichi
and his step-father have recently quarreled, which resulted
in the erection of a fence between the two residences.
This is the first barrier cutting Hisakichi off from his
past. He finally decides to sell the family home, despite
his mother's objections, to a fish wholesaler, a man who is
without education and family heritage, a man who is truly
nouveau riche. He is the richest man in the town, and he is
willing to pay anything for the home of the oldest family
of the village, in order that he may feel that he is indeed
the most important man in the town. The sale of the house
to such a man is a delicate matter, but a compromise is
finally proposed: that Hisakichi keep the white-walled store-
house as a gesture of propitiation for his many generations
of proud ancestors; Hisakichi agrees to this rather cynically. As the play ends, the negotiations are interrupted by word that there has been a stabbing involving a jealous man from another village and the step-father's mistress. Everyone goes off to the scene of the incident, leaving Hisakichi, his mother, and his wife alone. His mother asks him in desperation, "What shall we do?" to which Hisakichi answers, "So things have come to this." This final incident is included as one last indication of the depths to which the family fortunes have fallen.

In "Shirakabe" Hakuchō concerns himself with the decline of a proud family, a subject which certainly differs from those usually appealing to the naturalist writer. The play succeeds in creating a sense of life in a small fishing village by the Inland Sea, but in a rather wistful, almost romantic, rather than naturalistic, way. The brief second and final act is set outside the Aikawa home on a bright moon-lit night, which is an important factor in establishing such a wistful mood. Conversation with a travelling actor is included in the first act, and there is frequent mention of the excitement caused in the village by his performance, which is being held that night as it is almost every year. Hakuchō's handling of the dialogue seems skillful, especially for a first effort, and there are a few lyrical passages, which definitely distinguish this play from most of his recent fiction. The one obvious shortcoming of the play is that nothing happens, that there is no action,
but this is compensated for somewhat by Hakucho's skill in the characterization of Hisakichi, his mother, and the old family friend, Senji, who acts as an intermediary between Hisakichi and his step-father, and Hisakichi and the fish wholesaler.

Another role Hakucho adopted in the wake of the age of naturalism was that of newspaper novelist, but this was to be a far less satisfying one than that of playwright. As we have seen, he had written his first serial, Rakujitsu, for the Yomiuri in 1909, and this was followed by Doku ( Poison), which appeared in Kokumin in seventy-five installments from November, 1911, to March 3, 1912. Hakucho did not like writing for newspapers, for he felt that pure literature was not something requiring the immediacy of newspaper writing where something is written one day and forgotten the next. As early as August, 1908, he noted that the newspapers of his day were becoming increasingly commercial and sensational, so that they were no longer eager to accept serious fiction. He felt that no full-length masterpieces were being produced in Japan because of the demands of newspaper serialization. He felt that the phenomenon of such works as Toson's Haru and Katai's Sei appearing in newspapers would be short-lived, for the newspapers would have to lower the level of their fiction in order to attract the common reader. 240 Hakucho was of course correct to some extent, for in fact he was predicting his own doom at the Yomiuri. However, for decades to come, many worthwhile novels, such as
Sōseki's great works, Tōson's *Ie*, and Tanizaki's *Tade kuu mushi* (Some Prefer Nettles) (1928-9), would first appear in newspapers in Japan.

*Doku* concerns a gloomy hero who is losing interest in everything and everyone. He has a secret fear of one of his *sempai*, for he fears this older man has the ability to see through him and read his innermost thoughts. This man is having an affair with his own wife's younger cousin; the hero also becomes attracted to this cousin of his *sempai*'s wife. He manages a tryst with the young woman after which he suddenly loses his general fear and timidity and inexplicably regains his health. As in "Shirakabe," nothing much happens in *Doku*, but it has a peculiar air and its gloom and melancholy link it with later works such as "Jinsei no kōfuku" (1924) and "Hito o koroshita ga" (1925). Hakuchō suppressed the republication of all of his newspaper novels except *Doku*, so that they are rarely seen now. Mostly they are autobiographical stories that show little evidence of any attempt by Hakuchō to stimulate reader interest by evolving a newer, more exciting writing style.

Hakuchō was to serialize five other novels after Raku-jitsu and *Doku*: *Ikiryō* (Ghosts of the Living) in the Asahi Shimbun in 1912; *Arashi* (Storm) in the Osaka Asahi in 1913; *Natsu kodachi* (Summer Grove) in the Fukuoka Hibi in 1916; *Nami no'ue* (On the Waves) in the Asahi Shimbun in 1916-1917; and *Shin'en* (Abyss) in the Asahi Shimbun in 1919. Arashi began appearing in the Osaka Asahi on New Year's Day, 1913,
and ran for forty installments. It has never appeared in book form; today even the title is missing from most Hakuchō anthologies. It concerns a twenty-four-year-old newsman, who is expecting to marry a respectable girl but who is more attracted to a prostitute. The story traverses many twists and turns in the plot as the young man is treacherously fired by the newspaper, he begins a secret affair with the respectable girl while her mother unwittingly tries to interest him in another daughter of hers, and so on. The story progresses to the point where he realizes he holds the power to determine the happiness or unhappiness of the girl's family. He goes to visit them with this new realization foremost in his thoughts, and the young girl answers the door. No one knows where Hakuchō's story was leading, for it was discontinued at that point, apparently because of unfavorable reader response.

After the discouraging halt to Arashi Hakuchō was forced to produce manuscripts at a rapid pace, so that he wrote more than twenty short stories in 1913 and 1914, in addition to the play "Himitsu" (The Secret) (August, 1914). His next important work, however, was the story "Irie no hotori" (By the Inlet), which appeared in Taiyō in April, 1915. "Irie no hotori" is a good example of Hakuchō's kyōdo-mono, or works set in his home town. The memorable character in the story is the hero's younger brother, who is a teacher in an elementary school, a solitary, friendless fellow whom the hero, who is somewhat of a success in Tokyo,
feels he might even have come to resemble had he stayed home. For that reason the hero is drawn to his younger brother. The story is autobiographical and the model for this younger brother is Hakucho's fourth younger brother, Ritsuyō, who is also the model for the story "Rii niisan" (Brother Rii) (1961). The view of the inlet described in the story is the one seen from the second-story room of the family home where Hakucho would stay during visits. "Ushibeya no nioi" (The Smell of the Cowshed), which appeared in the Chūō Kōron in May, 1916, is another interesting example of Hakucho's kyōdo-mono. The woman Kikuyo lives alone with her aged and infirm grandmother and her blind mother in a cowshed. Her first husband had been executed as a deserter, while her second husband, disliking ties and responsibilities, had run off to Korea to look for work. Kikuyo tries to earn a living peddling dried foods and fruit, but for some reason she cannot sell much. One day her husband returns and she tries to steal some money for them to use in alleviating their situation, but they are caught. The cowshed that inspired "Ushibeya no nioi" still stands near the Masamune household; the model for the heroine is now in an old people's home. From his room Hakucho could hear the conversation from their "house"; from all evidence it appears Hakucho used their actual conversation exactly as he heard it.

This sad family also appears in Hakucho's "Higan zengo" (Before and After the Equinox) (1918), although in
"Higan zengo" Kikuyo does succeed in running off with a man.\textsuperscript{250} In writing such a story Hakuchō shows that he is still a naturalist writer, for depiction of such destitution and squalor is typical of naturalists, who find the poor and unfortunate much better subjects for illustrating man's animal nature and the fight for survival than the wealthy and leisured who seem to defy natural laws. One might wonder why Hakuchō did not build these unfortunate people a house or help them in some way—the son of the blind old lady lived in the shed until the roof collapsed in 1964—\textsuperscript{251} but that is perhaps expecting too much. Hakuchō's relation to the reality of their squalid existence is merely that of an observer; here he is the naturalist writer, the scientist of novelists, observing life and noting the details so that he might re-create reality in his art. Only in this frozen form is a reality as stark as that of the people in the cowshed approachable. Hakuchō's instinctive interest in such unfortunate people as his lonely brother described in "Irie no hotori" and the woman in "Ushibeya no nioi" shows his innate sensitivity to the suffering of others. Perhaps something in his retiring personality or in his nature as a Japanese conditioned towards non-involvement prevented him from reaching out to such people. One wonders at the possible interaction in his psychology between what might conveniently be termed his Oriental fatalism, that which might see the plight of his brother Rii and the people in the cowshed as inevitable, and the dictates of
the alien religion, Christianity, which warns "Though I speak with the tongues of men and angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal." 252

"Umebachisō," or "Grass of Parnassus," appeared in the periodical Shinshōsetsu in October, 1916. Hakuchō had followed "Doro ningyō" with many autobiographical stories centering upon his life in Tokyo as well as his travels to such places as the resort Ikaho. These stories included "Kyūsuke no tabi" (Kyūsuke's Travels) of uncertain date, "Kawatatsu no kao" (The Face of Kawatatsu) (Shinchō, May, 1912), "Yūnagi" (Evening Calm) (Chūō Kōron, November, 1912), "Majinai" (Divination) (Shinchō, July, 1913), "Dōraku Sōro-ku" (Profligate Sōroku) (Chūō Kōron, July, 1915), and "Umebachisō." 253

"Umebachisō is one of those stories primarily of interest for what it tells of the lives of prominent or colorful characters of the bundan. In this instance the reader is given a look at the contrast between Hakuchō and his wife on the one hand and Shimamura Hōgetsu and the actress Matsui Sumako on the other. Hakuchō had been married several years and he was now gradually becoming the sober, serious figure with whom most Japanese are familiar. Hōgetsu and his mistress Sumako were nearing the pinnacle of their romance and the tragic end of their lives. The story is set in Ikaho, where one day the hero (Hakuchō) encounters Mr. S (Shimamura Hōgetsu) and the actress M (Matsui Sumako). The great Mr. S
and the actress M are leading a gay party and are surrounded by hangers-on and prostitutes. Later in the day Hakuchō ends up in the room next to the one occupied by their party at a restaurant and he cannot help but overhear their gay, frivolous but witty conversation. Later near the restaurant Högetsu and Sumako pass by in their palanquin and shout a happy greeting to Hakuchō and his wife. This picture of Högetsu and Sumako shows their happy life together but ends on an ambivalent note, somehow seeming to presage their tragic end two years later when Högetsu died and Sumako, unable to bear the loss, hanged herself. The superb contrast between the quiet Hakuchō and his wife standing soberly in the street and the image of the flamboyant Högetsu and the actress being borne by wrapped in the fragile gaiety of the resort town shows the increasing depths of Hakuchō's artistic sensibility as well as his philosophical melancholy.

Hakuchō was to write little of interest for nearly five years, as he enters a period of literary silence. Nami no ue appeared in the Asahi from December 16, 1916, until March 25, 1917; "Higan zengo" appeared in Waseda Bungaku in April, 1918, and "Rōsō no kyōkun" (The Teachings of the Old Priest) in the Chūō Kōron in June, 1918. His last newspaper novel, Shin'en, was serialized in the Asahi in ninety-eight installments from January 31 to April 15, 1919. He wrote several other stories during this period, but the above works are the sum of his major achievements, for during this
period he grew increasingly tired of the life of a writer, and from 1916 through 1920 he thought constantly of giving up literature altogether. From 1915 through 1917 he was afflicted with a variety of stomach and other ailments, which only increased his weariness. One reason that Hakuchō stopped writing may have been related to his naturalist style. As a man who lived in the world of his own thoughts paying little heed to society, Hakuchō may have exhausted his store of experiences that could be turned into fiction. Unlike Tokuda Shūsei, who lived a sexually adventurous life, Hakuchō became more and more a thinker living in a world of books and concepts than a bon vivant. He had exhausted his well of inspiration for stories drawn upon the life of the demi-monde with "Bikō" and "Shinjū misui" (Attempted Double Suicide) (Chūō Kōron, January, 1913). One can understand Hakuchō's hesitation to follow the pattern of Shūsei and many other Japanese writers by replenishing his supply of "real life" experiences, when one considers that Hakuchō apparently had contracted syphilis as a result of one of his adventures. He had begun to frequent brothels during his newspaper days, but he now began to stop such amusements. During this period he began to feel that his life was somehow sordid and went alternately to the mountains and the sea in an effort to break the spell of his unsatisfying style of life. The fact that he and his wife never had children is apparently attributable to Hakuchō himself; he claimed that his wife was not
This bitter reminder of his more youthful profligacy could only have served to darken further his already gloomy, introspective nature.

Gotō Ryō finds the story "Rōsō no kyōkun" to be Hakucho's most frightening work. The hero is an old, partially paralyzed priest, past seventy, who is deserted by his parishioners and the young man whom he had adopted and raised as his successor. For thirty years he had been watched over and cared for by the wife of a sailor he had befriended many years earlier, but when he thought he was about to die he gave his temple over to his adopted son and gave away all of his accumulated possessions and fortune to whomever wanted them, only to find himself living on and on, still alive, unable to die, penniless and neglected by the world. The old man lives on in his filth, for he is now helpless and uncared for, while the sailor, who had long burned with hatred because of the priest's sexual relations with the sailor's wife many years before, prays secretly for the priest's long life and a prolongation of his sufferings. The image of a man unable to care for himself and stripped of all human dignity in his helpless condition is indeed a depressing one, which shows the extent of Hakucho's spreading gloom in 1918. Hakucho is not writing a story about just one unfortunate man who contrasts with most of more fortunate humanity; he is making a statement about the essential powerlessness of all humanity through the symbolic life of the old man, who was not only a vigorous young man.
once but a priest, presumably a man of deep religious feeling, as well.

In the newspaper serial Shin'en Hakuchō presents a married couple, an English teacher and his wife, who have lost their only child. This bereavement rekindles their interest in Christianity, which they have long neglected. They go to church and they read the Bible, so that they begin to create new stability for themselves. They then ask their niece to become their adopted daughter as they are still lonely and have no one to love. Soon after the entrance of this young woman into the family, the wife's nephew becomes attracted to this adopted daughter. He tries to win her, but the husband's nephew appears and steals her away from him. Somehow this throws the wife into a fit of despair which she cannot endure, so that she kills herself. Shin'en was obviously not a success; the glaring mediocrity of his own story, in this age of Akutagawa, Tanizaki, and Shiga Naoya, aggravated his growing lack of confidence in his writing ability. Finally, in mid-November, 1919, Hakuchō gave up his house in the Azabu area of Tokyo and returned to his home town of Honami.

1920-1929: Oiso; Literary Criticism and Drama; Voyage to the West

Hakuchō had always felt that if his ability or desire to write stories ever deserted him, he could "retire" to his home town to spend the rest of his days. He was not happy at home, however. At first since he was well-known with his.
name appearing in magazines and newspapers, he was looked up to by his many younger brothers and sisters, but even though his parents were healthy and prosperous he soon came to find it humiliating to live there idly. He soon realized that he was in effect a nuisance. By May, 1920, he felt that he had to return to Tokyo. During his six months in Honami he had produced about one story per month; he was encouraged by the fact that one of these, "Hakai-zen," or "Before the Destruction," which appeared in *Kaizo* in April, 1920, was praised by Akutagawa Ryūnosuke.

When he returned to Tokyo, he was unable to find a suitable house to rent, so that he spent a month of the rainy season in Ikaho and then from mid-summer until early October he lived in Karuizawa. When he returned to Tokyo once again, he found the difficult housing situation unimproved, which led him to the little town of Ōiso on the advice of the head of the *Chūō-Kōron*, who had a villa there. He found an attractive, old thatch-roofed house in Ōiso, but after a little more than a month he again changed houses in Ōiso before moving on to his wife's place in Kofū in March, 1921, and then back to Tokyo again, where they were unable to find a place. The most significant event of this migratory phase of Hakuchō's career was his participation in the *Katai Shūsei seitan gojūnen shukugakai*, which we have described. He felt indebted to Katai for help in the early days of his literary career and he was on good terms with Shūsei at the time, so that he was glad to attend the
celebration, although he reacted to the idea of giving a speech as if, in his words, he were being "exposed before the prison gates." Hakuchō survived the ordeal of his address before the assembled throngs at the shukugakai; by June, 1921, he and his wife were back in Ōiso.

This time Hakuchō was to stay in Ōiso for twelve years, before moving back to Tokyo in 1933. His recent experiences had completely dispelled his long-cherished fantasy that he could return to the womb of his home town any time things became too difficult to manage in the bundan, so that he now set to work, once settled, writing more diligently than ever before. His story "Dokufu no yō na onna," or "Wicked Woman," (Chūō Kōron, September, 1920), which was a new version of his second story "Hachō heichō," of fourteen years earlier, had been well-received. His reworking of this story is a good illustration of the fact that, as Hakuchō himself said, his literature was the product of labor, not of genius or inspiration. It is with "Hito samazama" (Various People) (Chūō Kōron, September, 1921), however, that Hakuchō at last evolves a new literary style to replace, partially at least, the outmoded naturalist style. This new style involved the expression of his views of life and humanity in the context of a fictional narrative based upon material taken from his own experiences and surroundings. These new stories were in effect philosophical autobiographical sketches; Goto Ryō sees the link between "Hito samazama" and Hakuchō's later similar works, such as "Nenashigusa"
"Hito samazama" is based on Hakuchō's experiences when he first moved to Ōiso and then left for Kōfu. Hakuchō portrays his wife and himself as having few friends, so that his childless wife was at pains to divert herself. She was very attentive to her husband, and as such she soon formed an accurate opinion of his character and how others thought of him, that he was unreliable, dull, spoiled, egotistical, and secretive. She soon came to compare his opinions with the facts and saw that he was often mistaken and often lacked common sense. In later years Hakuchō's wife professed that he was reliable, sincere, and honest, but in 1921 she no doubt held a different opinion of him as they moved from place to place because of his restlessness.

Hakuchō's final move to Ōiso was an important one for his writing and philosophy. In Ōiso Hakuchō had solitude for the first time and was able to concentrate on his studies and the writing of plays, criticism, and essays. The move to Ōiso brought about a return of his interest in extensive reading, which had waned steadily since his graduation from the university. Ōiwa Kō divides the long chronology of Hakuchō's spiritual life into five periods: firstly, the period surrounding his conversion to Christianity, from 1891-2 to 1901-2; secondly, the period when his faith was dormant, from 1902-3 to 1921; thirdly, his skeptical
period, from 1922 to 1943-4; fourthly, the period of his return to the faith, from 1945 to 1956-7; and, lastly, the period of the profession of his faith, from 1958 at the age of eighty until his death in 1962. 277

When Hakucho moved to Oiso he resumed his reading but not his Christian faith, although he did begin to treat essentially religious matters usually from the point of view of the skeptic, which culminated in such works as "Dante ni tsuite" (On Dante) (1927) and in the post-war publishing boom works such as "Uchimura Kanzō" (1949). Ōiwa notes that Hakucho's move to Oiso signaled a change from a realistic to an existential writer, as his inner eye came into focus on more philosophical problems. Ōiwa uses the term "existential" in the sense that Hakucho's philosophy was characterized by deep searching into and concentration upon the problems of death and eternity.279

Although less crucial perhaps than a definition of "existential," Ōiwa is not as specific in his definition of "realistic," although he does say that Hakucho's realistic fiction can be said to end with his story "Shisha seisha" (The Dead and the Living) (Chūō Kōron, September, 1916).280 The point is, however, that in Oiso Hakucho found an environment which, free of the distractions of his relatives in Honami and the bundan in Tokyo, afforded the calm needed to turn his thoughts further inward to achieve further depth in his writings. His writings turned from mere descriptions of objective phenomena to description that tried to point to
the philosophical significance that might lie behind such objective reality.

The story "Sendannoki-bashi," or "Chinaberry Tree Bridge," appeared in Shinshōsetsu in February, 1922. This was yet another Hakuchō story dealing with insanity, as so many of his works did. Hakuchō had an aunt who died insane in 1939, who also appears in "Kiseki to jōshiki" (Miracles and Common Sense) (1939), as well as an unusual uncle, found in such works as the essay "Mōrōtaru shinkyō" (A Hazy State of Mind) (1939), who had been an army doctor in the Satsuma Rebellion and who would occasionally suddenly peel off his clothes and run outside into the street. To Goto Ryo the presence of these two, plus one other insane relative of Hakuchō, accounts for the many insane characters who appear in his earlier works. But even granted that Hakuchō had insane relatives and that he watched people living in a hut within earshot of his home, the question remains why he chose those aspects of his experience and environment to write about rather than the love and success he might have witnessed.

This inexplicable something in Hakuchō soon manifested itself again in his story "Meimo," or "Illusion," which appeared in Kaihō in May, 1922. It is a very "Oriental" story, one that any Western reader would find exotic. In "Meimo" an old man, who seeks the way, leading a contemplative life in a hut by an old pond where frogs croak, has despaired of finding peace or answers to his deepest questions. One day
the god of water (mõryõ) appears before him to tell him that all great men past and present have had a sixth sense that enables them to see into men's souls and to know the secret of the universe. The god says, however, that the old man does not have that sense. The man replies that having a sixth sense does not make one an almighty god, and that the more developed one's senses the more one is to be pitied. Another god appears, one who has been turned into a tree for having killed himself and who is fated to have his internal organs eaten by a filthy monster, that is, fated to have body and spirit separated forever. He had killed himself, nor for the usual reasons, but because he believed death superior to life and sought peace in death. He says that all he believed, all that the poets say, is wrong; you cannot kill the spirit with the body. God is a capricious character who abuses his creatures eternally. The old man says that since there is no way to destroy one's spirit oneself and no road to peace, the wisest thing to do is to have blind obedience to God and beg his mercy. The second god replies to that that one cannot expect mercy from God.

Finally a third god appears who resembles the old man himself. He tells the man that inasmuch as he says he wants the destruction of his spirit, now is the time to decide whether he really desires that. The old man is at a loss. Then as the spirit tries to strangle the old man, the spirit too seems to be strangled. The story ends as the whole hut and garden are suddenly engulfed in flames from which come
screams and shrieks. In the beginning of "Meimō," a poem by
the sixth-century Chinese recluse and poet Han Shan is
quotted:

If you are looking for a place to rest,
Cold Mountain is good for a long stay.
The breeze blowing through dark pines
Sounds better the closer you come.
And under the trees a white-haired man
Mumbles over his Taoist texts.
Ten years now he hasn't gone home;
He's even forgotten the road he came by.283

Japanese critics like to point to the obvious affinity
between Hakuchō's "Meimō" and the story "Mōsō" (Delusion)
(1911) by Mori Ōgai, which also contains an old recluse con-
templating time and existence. To Gotō Ryō "Mōsō" is a "bio-
logical scientific perception," while the Hakuchō story is
a "metaphysical existential conclusion."284 Just exactly
what this existential conclusion is Gotō does not say, al-
though he does find the story to be the beginning of Haku-
chō's "existential tendencies."285 Presumably, Gotō saw the
symbolic ending of "Meimō" as a metaphor for the loosely
existential notion that when the body dies the spirit dies
as well. Ōiwa Kō notes that the Hakuchō story was inspired
to some extent by the Ōgai story, and he too sees it as the
beginning of Hakuchō's existential writing.286 He feels
that "Meimō" is Hakuchō's metaphysical statement, and as
such might well be prefaced by Hakuchō's assertion that he
can only write about the fear of death and the abhorrence of life. He sees the success of "Meimō" as attributable to Hakuchō's skill in putting Asian garb on Western thought.

Goto points out that the inspiration for the second god in Hakuchō's story undoubtedly comes from the similar fates of the souls in the wood of Christian suicides in Canto XIII of the Inferno of Dante's Divine Comedy, and that the image of the spirit suffering his internal organs to be eaten by a monster is inspired by the Greek myth of Prometheus bound and suffering by having his liver to be eternally eaten by a vulture. Whatever the various sources, Hakuchō seems to have created a work of great imagination, whose debt to Western literature or Ōgai should not be emphasized to the point of distracting the critic from an appreciation of the story's artistic merit or its value as a key to Hakuchō's psychology. Hakuchō himself felt that Ōgai was a man who was satisfied with objective reality, with just what he saw before him. Ōgai would fear death only when it was before him. Although it may seem strange coming from a naturalist writer, Hakuchō claimed to have envied Ōgai his world view, one that was much less distressing than Hakuchō's deep concern for what might lie behind and beyond the surface of human reality.

Hakuchō's "Meimō" and Ōgai's "Mōsō" differ considerably. "Meimō" is a fantasy, whereas the Ōgai story is more of an apology for Ōgai's life. We have seen the elements of fantasy in "Meimō," which may have been borrowed from such
sources as The Divine Comedy or Greek mythology. "Mōsō," however, contains no supernatural elements. On the whole it is a summation of Ōgai's intellectual and spiritual development, an outline of his reading, more or less, from the time of his study in Germany (1884-1888). It is prefaced and followed, however, by a sketch of an old man, who is more of a retired gentleman scholar than a passionate seeker of the meaning of life such as the hero of "Meimō." The old man in the Ōgai story seems but a metaphor for the philosophical detachment that Ōgai, whose personal reminiscenses constitute most of the story, has achieved after decades of thought and study. Ōgai notes that the old man (Ōgai himself) spends his days "With the feeling of an unfinished dream, without fearing death, without longing for death." Their respective philosophies aside, the image of the hermit in the Ōgai and the Hakuchō stories is one of a retired scholar in the Confucian mold in the former and one of a Taoist recluse reminiscent of Han Shan and Shih-te in the latter. Both stories are artistically tight, for the most part, although Ōgai's "Mōsō" does seem to bog down somewhat towards the end, as he apologizes for his many controversies, social as well as artistic or philosophical. Ultimately, the resemblance between the two stories seems to be something to be mentioned but briefly, for, as we have noted, dwelling on Hakuchō's debt to Ōgai only distracts one from an appreciation of "Meimō," which differs basically from "Mōsō."
It may be futile to attempt to pin down the meaning of the fantasy in "Meimō," but the three water gods may be seen as creations of the old man's mind. They allow him (Hakuchō) to conduct a metaphysical dialogue with himself. The man answers the first apparition in Buddhist terms, telling the god that not only is a sixth sense not desirable, but the senses are the source of human suffering. The man answers the second apparition in Christian terms, telling that god that since life after death is inescapable one can only trust in the mercy of God (kami no jihi). It is significant in understanding Hakuchō's attitude towards Christianity at this time (1922) that, in reply, this second spirit points out the futility of expecting mercy from God. (This echoes the psychology of Akiura in "Jigoku," whose paranoia is linked with his fear of the merciless, avenging Christian God.) The limitations of Buddhism and the contradictions of Christianity mean that they can offer the old man no consolation, so that he is left with confronting his self, the third god who resembles the hermit. Whereas Ōgai's hero can live on in quiet solitude with his "books...a small Loupe...a Zeiss microscope...[and], a Merz telescope," Hakuchō's more intense hero knows neither peace on earth nor life after death and must perish, both body (the old man himself) and soul (or "self," the third water god). Hakuchō's philosophical conclusion is bleak, and it reflects the uncertainty we have seen building in both his life and his art. It is in this sense that both Gotō and Ōiwa see "Meimō" as the
beginning of Hakucho's so-called existential writing, and that Oiwa can decide upon 1922 as the exact date for the beginning of Hakucho's long "skeptical period."

On the day of the Great Kantō Earthquake, September 1, 1923, the Masamune home in Ōiso was partially destroyed, but fortunately no one was injured. On August 22, 1923, Hakucho had gone to Tokyo for what was to prove to be his last look at the old Tokyo. He had gone to Tokyo to have some of his writing proofread, presumably "Umazarishi naraba" (If I Had Not Been Born), which came out, delayed by the earthquake, the following year. In Tokyo Hakucho encountered Chikamatsu Shūkō, and, as they went about together, everywhere people were talking of Arishima Takeo's death, although Hakucho was already tired of hearing about it. Arishima and the woman Hatano Akiko had killed themselves at dawn on June 9, but their badly decomposed bodies were not discovered until July 6.

The events in Tokyo during the summer of 1923 only continued to add to what might be called Hakucho's gloom, but is more properly termed a deepening sense of the transiency of life. In 1920 Arishima Takeo, Kuriyagawa Hakuson, and Hakucho had been judges in a fiction contest sponsored by the Osaka Asahi, and as such one rainy evening they all had had occasion to gather at the Kōyōkan in Shiba. They were born in 1878, 1880, and 1879, respectively, and with the discovery of Arishima's suicide in July and Kuriyagawa's being crushed to death in the Great Earthquake, Hakucho
wondered how long he himself might live. Hakucho felt that only religion could dispel such melancholy—he was a great admirer of the blind faith of the people of medieval times, the so-called "dark ages," a time when daily privations were trifles to true believers in eternal life. But although in 1924 he was finding the Bible interesting reading as history, as a Japanese he saw no necessity for attaching special meaning to it. At the time Hakucho preferred Tolstoy to Christ, finding him much more profound, while also admitting parenthetically that his opinion may have been influenced by the fact that Tolstoy lived so much longer than Christ. 296 Such surprising views make it clear that Hakucho was unable, or did not feel compelled by any religious beliefs, to think of Christ as any more than a simply historical figure. No matter how much he might respect and admire the humanism of Tolstoy or the thought of any other similar historical figure, the believer in Christianity would never be capable of such a statement. Thus, reference to this time in Hakucho's spiritual development as merely his "skeptical period" (kaigi-ki) seems an understatement, for, from a Christian point of view at least, it might better be called his atheistical period.

With the earthquake the publishers and theatres suffered along with everyone else and many were predicting bad days for the arts and thinking of leaving Tokyo, but all had recovered with surprising swiftness. 297 With the earlier establishment of such theatrical groups as the Bungei-za,
the Shingeki Kyōkai, and the Shunju-za, as well as the appearance of the theatrical periodical Geki to Hyōron (Theatre and Criticism), there had already been signs of a surge in theatrical activity, but in January, 1924, the periodical Engeki Shinchō (New Currents in Drama) appeared, and in February the inaugural performance by the Dainiji Geijutsu-za (The Second Geijutsu-za) was held. In June the Tsukiji Shōgekijō (Tsukiji Little Theatre) opened under the direction of Osanai Kaoru. 298

Hakuchō rode this wave of activity by renewing his career as a dramatist. As we have seen, his first dramatic work was "Shirakabe" in 1912 and his second, "Himitsu," in 1914. He felt that the content of his plays would probably be about the same as that of his fiction, being after all by the same man, but he was tired of *shōsetsu* and also enjoyed the challenge of writing with the aim of making characters come alive on the stage. Hakuchō was referring to the stage of his mind's eye, however, for he stated that he did not write his plays expecting them to be performed in a theatre, and that if they were it would simply be a matter of luck. 299

Be that as it may, Hakuchō, who had written "Kagebōshi" (Silhouette) in February, 1924, was soon to see his "Jinsei no kōfuku," which he wrote in April, 1924, produced by the Shingeki Kyōkai. The play was well received, and praised by many, including the recent graduate of Tokyo Imperial University, Kawabata Yasunari, who called him "Tensai Hakuchō," or Hakuchō the Genius. 300
In "Jinsei no kōfuku" a man is troubled by life and feels that his own younger sister, who is young and virginal, would be better off dead than alive, for when she grows up she will have to avenge her dead mother. The insane brother and virginal sister are of different mothers, and the girl's mother had been destroyed by the mother of the son, so that he feared the revenge of his younger sister and thus sought to kill her. As it turns out the sister ends up killing her older brother, but she is not discovered as another brother who had committed another murder confesses to his sister's crime as well. The sister looks at her dead brother after killing him and says that maybe now in death he has found happiness. At the end of the play the girl meets a philosopher to whom she makes her first confession of her guilt; he concludes that she is now the same as her dead brother was, that is, tormented.

As in most of Hakuchō's plays, dialogue is more important than action in "Jinsei no kōfuku"; there is action only in the somewhat incredible scene where the brother tries to strangle his sister only to end up strangled by her instead. To Goto Ryō "Jinsei no kōfuku" and all of Hakuchō's dramas are poor in language, for he finds it a little too stilted for the stage. He does note, however, the existence of the theatre group Kaze, or "Wind," which apparently appeared in the early 1960's and specializes in the presentation of Hakuchō's dramas. The modernity of his plays, Goto feels, lies in the fact that Hakuchō was not
trying for any topicality but rather probing something essential and fundamental to the human condition. To Ōiwa Kō, who is more appreciative of Hakuchō's dramatic skills, the central theme of "Jinsei no kōfuku" is the awareness of sin, and he stresses the Christian confessional aspect of the play. Ōiwa notes that the notion of the sins of the father falling upon the heads of the children is continued from "Umazarishi naraba," which was finally published in March, 1924. He sees "Umazarishi naraba" as the first fiction in Japan truly Christian in concept, and "Jinsei no kōfuku" as the first such play.

As striking, perhaps, as the "Christian confessional aspect" of "Jinsei no kōfuku" is the possible philosophical link with the earlier "Meimō." Toyojirō, the older brother, wants to kill his sister in order to spare her the pain of existence. She, likewise, justifies her murder of him by saying that he is happier dead than alive, for in death he is free of the gloomy thoughts he was obsessed with while alive. In assuming that human existence is painful, Hakuchō is disagreeing neither with Buddhism nor Christianity: much of the thought of the former proceeds from the assumption that life is suffering, while the notion of the pain of temptation and sin is central to that of the latter. The point where Hakuchō may differ from Buddhist and Christian thought, especially the latter, is his apparent denial of life after death. As in "Meimō," death means the extinction of the self. The dead, Toyojirō in this case, are presumably
happier than the living, not only because they are free of the care of the world but also because they have ceased to exist. Kayoko, Toyojirō's sister, is left with her guilt, for as the play ends she expresses her confusion and sorrow. The denial of the existence of life after death is never spelled out in "Jinsei no kōfuku," so that there is another more Christian interpretation of the play also possible. That is, that Toyojirō is a Christ-figure, for there are several references to such facts as that he submitted to death meekly and that he has also certainly forgiven his murderer. Like Christ, he has expiated his sin through the sacrifice of his life. He has forgiven his murderer, Kayoko, because she murdered him out of the understandable human desire to avenge her dead mother. Kayoko's comments leading up to the murder show her suddenly aware of the human role she must play as an avenger of her abused late mother, as she is transformed from an innocent nineteen-year-old girl into a murderess. (This variation of the familiar Japanese theme of the vendetta runs throughout the play, and as such could offer yet another point of entry for interpretation.) Even with a Christian interpretation, there is no clear resolution in "Jinsei no kōfuku," no optimism in the ending, no positive note of self-discovery for Kayoko who is left behind with her guilt and her sin. Hakuchō leaves the sinner to live and suffer.

Hakuchō wrote six plays in 1924; eight in 1925; five in 1926; and, eight in 1927.308 One of the more interesting
of these, "Azuchi no haru," "Spring at Azuchi," was performed in May, 1926. This historical play shows Hakucho's great interest in the sixteenth-century Japanese conqueror Oda Nobunaga; in later years Hakucho also wrote "Honnōji no Nobunaga" (Nobunaga of Honnōji Temple). Hakuchō may well have been attracted to Nobunaga because of his well-known toleration of Christianity, which contrasts with the eventual fate of Christianity at the hands of the Tokugawas, and because of Nobunaga's general facility for absorbing the new. However, an additional and more typically Japanese explanation for his great interest in Nobunaga may be that there does seem to be a definite possibility that Hakuchō was a genealogical, but not blood, descendant of the great warrior. Though the fact of that relationship may be impossible to verify, it does appear that Hakuchō heard such a story, which was probably an honored treasure of the family lore, from his mother from childhood and was under the impression that it was true.

In "Azuchi no haru" the character Nobunaga says that although the tales of the foreign priests may be of more interest than those of the Japanese priests, he is incapable of belief in either. In answer to a question whether he believes the teachings of the missionaries, Nobunaga says that he has heard their sermons several times and would consent to a wrestling match with Jesus, but the idea of his going on his knees to Jesus and begging His mercy is outrageous.
language of "Azuchi no haru" with Nagai Kafū, who objected to Hakuchō's use of archaic terms instead of more accessible modern ones. Hakuchō defended his choice of words by confidently pointing out their historical accuracy. 313

Hakuchō was now in the period of his greatest activity as a playwright, but this period is also of interest as the time he truly established himself as a literary critic as well. Hakuchō had begun as a critic, but as he began writing shōsetsu and drama, the volume of his literary criticism fell off. In late 1925, however, the new editor of the Chūō Kōron approached Hakuchō to write something and they came up with the idea of the "Bungei Jihyō" (Literature Today), which began to appear in the Chūō Kōron in January, 1926. Hakuchō was free in his column to comment on his reading, whether new or old, after discussing any new works briefly in a few lines. He stressed criticism, and the "Bungei Jihyō" fostered literary debate as his opinions of various writers and works called forth rebuttals from Nagai Kafū and others. 314

Hakuchō wrote his "Bungei Jihyō" for a year; these were collected and published as Bungei hyōron (Literary Criticism) in February, 1927, and again as Gendai bungei hyōron (Modern Literary Criticism) in July, 1929. They were again re-edited and again published in Bundan jimbutsu hyōron (Criticism of Literary Figures) in July, 1932. The culmination of this collecting of Hakuchō's criticism of the period was the expanded Sakkaron (Studies of Authors) in two
volumes, which appeared in August, 1941, and January, 1942, respectively. This work is today perhaps the one of Hakucho's which is most widely read. 315

Thirty-seven authors were to be taken up as topics in Hakucho's "Bungei jihyō," although in the course of his discussions many more were treated where relative. Many interesting studies, such as ones on Shiga Naoya and Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, are unfortunately not included in Sakkaron. 316 Many of the truisms of modern Japanese literary criticism had their origins in Hakucho's opinions. For example, prior to 1926 Kyōka was idolized while Hōmei was held in low regard, whereas today thanks to Hakucho the opposite is more often the case. 317 Goto Rya sees the chief characteristics of Hakucho's criticism to be a strong "backbone" and deep insight, a keen cutting edge to his critical opinions, and the inclusion of a wealth of literary gossip. He sees this tendency towards gossip to be a natural result of his newspaper days when as a critic he met almost all of the figures of the literary establishment and knew them well, thus reducing the distance between himself and the authors he criticized. 318

In order to illustrate Hakucho's critical technique, we might examine at least one of his more substantial essays, "Natsume Sōseki-ron" (A Study of Natsume Sōseki), which appeared in the Chūō Kōron, June, 1928. Hakucho's study treats each of Sōseki's novels from I Am A Cat (Wagahai wa neko de aru) (1905) through Light and Darkness
(Meian) (1916). It is composed of seven brief chapters, which often begin abruptly with such sentences as "Recently I read Gubijinsō for the first time," \(^{319}\) "I have reread Sore kara," \(^{320}\) and, "I have just read Mon for the first time." \(^{321}\) This direct, personal tone is maintained throughout the essay. Hakachō discusses Sōseki's works biographically--how they relate to the man and his life--autobiographically--recounting some of his own encounters with Sōseki--and, as art. In the first chapter Hakuchō finds Gubijinsō (The Red Poppy) (1907) to resemble modernized Bakin in its conventional morality and sophisticated tone (monoshiriburi), as well as the writings of Kyōka, in which Hakuchō found little to admire, in its general affectation. Hakuchō likewise dismisses Sanshirō (1908), saying only that he has read it six or so months before, but can recall only the great difficulty of finishing such a dull work. The characteristic literary gossip referred to earlier begins in the second chapter.

One day about the time Morita Sōhei's "Baien" was running in the Yomiuri (it began in January, 1909), Hakuchō, Hōmei, and Katai were discussing it. Hōmei replied in response to some negative comments about "Baien" that "at least it's not as bad as Sōseki," \(^{322}\) to which both Katai, verbally, and Hakuchō, silently, agreed. This reminiscence leads Hakuchō to a digression while he treats what he considers to be the literary shortcomings of Kyōka. He finds Kyōka, unlike a writer such as Hōmei, to be in a dream
Hakuchō even apologizes for his own youthful praise of Kyōka's writings in Hōgetsu's "gappyō," for, as he notes, Kyōka was the rising star on the literary horizon at the turn of the century and it was difficult for a young man such as Hakuchō to avoid the influence of popular opinion. This digression serves a purpose, for one finds that Hakuchō's standards for fiction involve a consideration of a work's realism. Kyōka's work, Hakuchō notes, is known for its lack of realism, but Hakuchō claims that he is unable to appreciate such writing and that few other readers would be, either. A frequent charge that he levels at Sōseki's works is that they do not create reality (sesō). He asserts repeatedly that he would not deny that Sōseki was a great writer, but he finds him to be concerned with plot above all and to rely upon contrived situations and literary devices (karakuri). Hakuchō seems to admire Mon (The Gate) (1910) more than any of Sōseki's other novels before Kokoro (1914), for he feels that in Mon Sōseki is not trying to please his newspaper readers as in Gubijinsō and Sore kara, but standing before them unadorned and undisguised. But, for Hakuchō, the excellence of Mon is spoiled when the reader finds that the hero and heroine have an unusual past. Hakuchō is satisfied simply with the depiction of the sad lives of Sōsuke and O-Yone, so that he is disappointed to discover the sub-plot of Sōsuke having stolen O-Yone from a classmate. Hakuchō feels as if he is reading a continuation of Sore kara, which has a similar plot. To Hakuchō, Sōsuke's
visit to a Zen temple is a rather frivolous addition to Mon. He finds it typical of Sōseki to make such inclusions to please his readers. This type of motivation Hakuchō calls Sōseki's "shokugyō ishiki" (his "awareness of himself as a professional writer"), and he sees the fact that Sōseki was writing for newspapers, which must compete for fickle readers, as relevant.

The work that Hakuchō sees as Sōseki's best is Kororo. Hakuchō notes that the misanthropic pessimism (zonin ensei) that had been apparent here and there in Sōseki's earlier works is carried to its extreme in Kokoro and results in self-hatred. Sensei states that he has come to hate mankind, which leads of course to his suicide. To Hakuchō Kokoro represents the pinnacle of Sōseki's examination of human psychology, and he stresses that it contains none of the ornate language that adorned some of his earlier works.

Hakuchō admires the realism of the autobiographical Michikusa (Grass on the Wayside) (1915), as well as that of the unfinished Meian. To Hakuchō it is unclear both how Sōseki intended to conclude Meian and what his original conception of the work was. But, in Hakuchō's view, Meian's realism compensates for its tediousness, for it is free of the attempts at lyricism and the romantic flourishes which mar many of his earlier works. Hakuchō finds Meian significant for it shows that Sōseki had at last awakened from his Kyōkaesque dreams and could see reality, for example, as would be seen through a comparison of Meian's believeable
female characters, whom Hakucho admires greatly, with the poetic heroine of a work such as *Kusazakura* (The Three-Cornered World) (1906).

Hakucho agrees with Soseki's biographer Komiya Toytaka that Soseki's serious illness late in his life was a psychological turning point, but he feels that rather than becoming warmer and more tolerant of humanity, his later works, *Kojo* (The Wayfarer) (1913), *Kokoro*, *Michikusa*, and *Meian*, show that his spirit was becoming darker and uglier. The bright, frivolous mood of such earlier works as *Botchan* (1906) gives way to deep doubt. Hakucho sees spiritual doubt and darkness in his later works, but no sign of "the light of a transcendent consciousness" (*chOdatsu shita gosei no hikari*). That is, there is no sign of hope to enable Soseki to transcend his suffering.

Hakucho's essay is well-conceived and well-written, but in any summary such as the above, no matter how lengthy, it is impossible to convey the seriousness with which Hakucho approaches his topic, in this case the view of life motivating Soseki in his novels. Hakucho could bestow praise on such works as *Wagahai wa neko de aru*, *Botchan*, *Mon*, *Kokoro*, *Michikusa*, and *Meian*, but he could be almost merciless with works such as *GubijinsO*, *SanshirO*, *Higan sugi made* (Until the Vernal Equinox) (1912), and *Kojo*, most of which he found to be more or less failures. His knowledge of Western literature allows him to add a comparative dimension to his criticism. He devotes considerable space to
discussion of the similarities between the world views of Soseki and Swift, as well as to the differences in their styles. He finds Sōseki's study of eighteenth-century British literature to be a brilliant work of scholarship, and can make the somewhat startling statement that he wishes Sōseki had forsaken some of his novel-writing in order to produce similar studies of other eras of British literature. But perhaps of the most interest within the context of our biography of Hakuchō is the fact that realism, which would in time be of less importance in his own writing, was still what he expected from fiction.

In his long and productive career his criticism would range from Homer and Dante to such contemporary Japanese writers as Ariyoshi Sawako and Ōe Kenzaburō. As we have seen in Section One, his criticism of Tokuda Shūsei in 1931, after having criticized him a few years earlier, was for Shūsei the final straw. This break in relations between the two apparently brought tears to both men, at least according to one account. Hakuchō was to wrangle again with Nagai Kafū as well, when he asserted that Kafū's delving into the lives and histories of obscure Edo period writers of kokeibon and sharebon was in imitation of Ōgai's researches into the lives of obscure Edo scholars. What called forth Kafū's indignation was Hakuchō's contention that for Kafū, who had been such an interesting writer, to take such a turn called to mind a "faded beauty applying powder to her wrinkles."

Goto Ryō notes that considering the range of their quarrels,
the fact that Hakuchō insisted all of his life that he liked Kafū shows considerable control on his part.326

Ōiwa Kō describes this aspect of Hakuchō's criticism by the English term "negative capability." This term was "used by Keats to describe the objective and impersonal aspect of Shakespeare...and has since been applied to the qualities in an artist's work which enable him to avoid in it the expression of his own personality."327 Ōiwa feels this term applies to Hakuchō's criticism more than to that of any other Japanese critic.328 Such a trait is especially noteworthy in the light of the fact that most Japanese critics seem inclined towards a biographical approach to literary criticism, one that links aspects of a literary work with those of the author's life or personality; we have seen how even Hakuchō frequently included much gossip. What may have set Hakuchō off from many other Japanese critics, however, was his sense of the vast possibilities of literature and of a higher critical standard for literature derived from his familiarity with the example of such Western masters as Dante and Tolstoy. Hakuchō's detachment and his lofty standards combined with his unflinching courage, recklessly displayed in his early days as a theatre critic, to produce a critical attitude that recognizes only true art and bestows praise begrudgingly.

In discussing Hakuchō as an intellectual and critic, one must of necessity devote great attention to his unique relationship with Western thought and culture, but it is
also pertinent to look at his relationship to his own Japanese classical literary tradition. Hakucho grew up in an age when the spirit of the Rokumeikan of the 1880's and the early Meiji bunmei kaika (the cultural awakening, or "flowering") was reaching even such areas as Honami. The attitude towards the study of classical Japanese literature then was that to do so was a mark of stupidity and lack of ambition, of being behind the times. The times favored the study of English or German literature; the study of Latin or Greek was seen as of more use than the study of classical Japanese. Hakucho was the product of such an atmosphere, but he does seem to have appreciated some of his classical tradition. The tradition never seems to have been as much of a source of inspiration to him as it was to writers such as Tanizaki Jun'ichiro, Mishima Yukio, or Kawabata Yasunari, but that is not to say that Hakucho never responded to his tradition. He did respond, but less often and not as fully.

Hakucho seems to have appreciated the realism of Sai-kaku and the poetic beauty of the Heike monogatari. We have seen his deep love of kabuki as well as how as a youth he was a great reader of Edo fiction. Of the most interest, however, is his relationship with the most important product of the Japanese classical tradition, the Genji monogatari. Much can be learned of the make-up of Hakuchō's intellect from the simple fact that Hakuchō was unable to respond to the Genji monogatari until he decided to read the famous English translation by Arthur Waley. He was full of praise for
Genji after this experience, for he came to realize the breadth of world literature, that fiction was not just Dostoevsky or Balzac. In this tale of the Heian nobility lost in romance, music, and poetry, Hakuchō perceived the limitless variety of human life. He said that the experience was "like standing on the heights and gazing at the broad blue star-filled sky." He was most impressed with the "Kashiwagi" and the two "Wakana" sections, as well as the ending of the "Bridge of Dreams." Upon comparing the English version with the Japanese original, Hakuchō found that while the Waley translation was a work of genius, the original was also to be admired for its cleaner, terser style. Hakuchō appreciated the fictional style of the Genji monogatari, but he found it extremely difficult to read in the Heian Japanese original.

Hakuchō's reaction to the Waley version of Genji and not the original may be simply an indication that he understood modern English better than classical Japanese. But then again it may be some indication of feelings of cultural inferiority towards the West. It may be a facet of the cultural syndrome that fails to recognize the fact of native genius until it has proved itself by its acceptance abroad. In the light of Hakuchō's lifetime involvement with Christianity, which is in many senses one of the cornerstones of Western culture, and the fact that his stated motive for buying the English version on the spur of the moment one day in 1933 in the bookstore in the lobby of the
Imperial Hotel was that he had heard what a reputation it was enjoying in the West, speculation that a cultural inferiority complex of sorts entered into his opinion is perhaps appropriate. It is admirable that Hakuchō was one Japanese critic who conceived of fiction in terms of a world literature, but regrettable that until 1933 he did not fully include his own literary tradition in such considerations. One might also speculate, however, that his reaction is an indication of the sometimes alleged superiority of the Waley translation over the Japanese original. Or, perhaps, Hakuchō’s rereading of the classic in English just chanced to be the occasion for his finally appreciating *Genji* for the masterpiece it is.

From 1924 through 1927 Hakuchō was engaged in the writing of plays and literary criticism, but he also wrote several stories. The most important of these was the *chūhen* "Hito o koroshita ga," which ran in the weekly *Shūkan Asahi* from June 21, 1925, to September 27, 1925. Adjectives such as "bizarre" and "unusual" can be applied to Hakuchō's stories with monotonous repetition, and "Hito o koroshita ga" is no exception. The hero is a man separated from his wife, who is in love with another man's wife. The other man dies, presumably his wife's victim. The hero visits the woman, only to overhear the dead man's brother arguing with her and accusing her of dealings with yet another man. When this brother happens to discover the hero eavesdropping in the garden, there is a confrontation
and the hero kills the brother. The "other man" in the woman's life is charged with the crime, but since he has a good alibi the crime goes unsolved. The woman had been unaware of the scene in the garden, but by now she has figured out who the murderer is. Her reaction is one of gratitude towards the hero, for now she is rid of the problem of her husband's death; she pledges her love to him. He is troubled by guilt, so that in front of the others he confesses his crime to a naive young girl he has happened to meet. Everyone thinks he is joking, however, and they refuse to believe he is a murderer. Time passes and he murders an old family friend. He confesses his responsibility for this crime to another friend, who just laughs in disbelief. He tries to kill this friend to prove even to himself that he really is a murderer, but his young friend shoves him aside easily. The news reports of the old friend's death are brief and routine, giving the cause of the death as a cerebral hemorrhage. The final scene finds the hero listening to his mother tell how worn with worry she has become the past months. He gazes at her tired face, thinking how he would like to help her by sending her to her final resting-place. The story ends as she notices the frightening look in his eyes and shudders at their foreboding cast.334

In "Saiban no kan" (Thoughts at Year's End) (December 7, 1925) Hakuchō recounts the anguish involved in writing what for him was a long work, "Hito o koroshita ga," which he composed with excruciating effort and concentration only
to have it criticized as a work of pure fancy totally lacking in realism.\textsuperscript{335} Criticism of this story has since run to extremes. Some have inveighed against the story as typical of the imbecilic, Philistine art that arises out of bourgeois decadence, while some dismiss it as a detective story that has been granted the elevated status of "pure literature" (\textit{jumbungaku}, better but less faithfully translated as "high-brow literature"). Others find it a unique Japanese story, which creates a special world, a story to be proud of, the hero a Japanese Raskolnikov.\textsuperscript{336}

Hakucho's story is thought to have been inspired to some extent by the example of \textit{Crime and Punishment}.\textsuperscript{337} Gotō Ryō goes into great detail linking Hakucho's fascination with the historical figure Napoleon, the fact that Raskolnikov had hallucinatory visions of Napoleon, and the fact that Raskolnikov's original reason for murdering the old woman was that he felt history to show that the extraordinary man could always sacrifice the ordinary man without hesitation, having in mind the greatest example he knew of that phenomenon, Napoleon.\textsuperscript{338} Hakucho had been fascinated by historical biographies and the lives of heroes as a youth, and he was attracted to the figure of Napoleon most of all. He also seems to have bought several biographies of Napoleon about the time he was writing "Hito o koroshita ga" in 1925.\textsuperscript{339} In 1930 Hakucho was to state that the mass of humanity would probably be better off without the appearances of heroes.\textsuperscript{340} Gotō very incisively notes that there are indeed three
similarities between the Hakucho and Dostoyevsky stories: in both the crimes are without a clear motive or reason; both killers feel no remorse afterwards; and both make unnecessary confessions of their crimes even though they feel no remorse. Where the works differ is in their scope and psychological complexity. We have seen that to Hakucho, even at this time, the most damning charge that could be leveled at a work of fiction was that it lacked realism, that it was unbelievable or improbable. The Christian resolution of Crime and Punishment aside, the Russian work would seem to be more probable, truer to life, than Hakucho's story. In Crime and Punishment there is but one crime, which provides the beginning for Dostoyevsky's study of Raskolnikov's abnormal psychology. In "Hito o koroshita ga" there are two murders by two different characters, one male and one female, an attempted murder, and yet another murder hinted at as the story closes. To some extent at least, Hakucho would seem guilty of one of the critical charges with which he was to reproach Soseki, namely, that of losing oneself in an intricate plot.

Hakucho had labeled his literature "hon'yaku bungaku," or "translation literature," which meant that he felt that his literature, like that of his Japanese contemporaries, was lacking in originality, that it was, in short, imitative. All eager aspiring Meiji writers were impressed by the foreign literature they were suddenly exposed to and seized with a desire to write such fiction themselves. Thus, in
Hakuchō felt that the creativity of a Dostoyevsky was something totally beyond his reach and he admitted that freely in 1933 at the age of fifty-four. Ōiwa Kō sees Hakuchō's admission of his own limitations as a sign of strength, that is, a vigorous act although basically a negative one. As Hakuchō put it in 1926, with a work such as his "Hito o koroshita ga" he felt he was "at least scratching with his fingernail on the face of eternity." As Ōiwa Kō notes, he was doing what he could with his literature as best he could. He might not be a Kafū, but he was capable of some enduring work nonetheless.

Despite Hakuchō's long study of Western literature and philosophy, unlike such figures as Sōseki, Kafū, Ōgai, and Hōgetsu, Hakuchō had never visited the West. His relationship with the West was with the written products of its culture, an intellectual one with no human dimension derived from personal experience. The nature of his understanding of the West would soon change with his first trip around the world, which forms one of the most entertaining interludes in his life.

In the fall of 1928 Hakuchō and his wife were vacationing in Nikkō. One day in Nikkō Hakuchō was getting a haircut when he happened to notice some gray in his hair in the barber's mirror. As he later recounted it, the sight of his graying hair made him realize that he was getting old, so that he concluded, "if I'm ever going to do anything, now is
the time." He knew he should do something, but the question was what. He finally decided on a sightseeing trip to the West. Hakuchō had long wanted to go to the West. In 1911 at the suggestion of Mori Ōgai one of the plans of the newly-established, government-sponsored Bungei Iinkai (Committee of the Arts) was to send some young novelists abroad. Hakuchō and Osanai Kaoru were selected for the trip, but as luck would have it the plan was ultimately never carried out. Osanai was so eager to go to the West and see Western stage productions for himself that he travelled to Europe at his own expense in December, 1912, but Hakuchō was never able to finance his trip.

Hakuchō had begun to accumulate property after his move to Ōiso; in 1923 he received one-third of his family property. Now that he had made up his mind to travel he moved quickly and had his preparations completed in little over a month. He was helped out by a partial advance for an empon (a "one-yen book," or cheap paperback of the time) he was to write for the Kaizōsha; he was also able to contract to write travel sketches while abroad for the Osaka Asahi, Yomiuri, and Chūō Koron. The travel sketches he wrote for the Chūō Koron, such as "Ikyō no kokyō" (Home and a Strange Land) and "Ryokō no inshō" (Travel Impressions), have been collected, but the twenty-seven pieces he wrote for the Osaka Asahi and the Yomiuri have not been included in collections of his works.

Hakuchō and his wife sailed from Yokohama on a Japanese
mail steamer, the Korea-maru, on November 23, 1928. They were treated very cordially by the captain and crew, being invited to dine at the captain's table. One day, in an amazing coincidence, the captain informed Hakuchō that one of his sailors was the son of Shimamura Hōgetsu. Hakuchō had heard that Hōgetsu's boy had put out to sea, but he was startled nonetheless. Hakuchō became fond of the young, slender Shimamura, a softspoken and evidently sincere man who bore a very close resemblance to his father. When Hakuchō went around the world a second time eight years later, he asked the young Shimamura to be caretaker of his house, with the unfortunate result that in running off with a young woman the young Shimamura carted off many of Hakuchō's belongings to sell them for cash. This error in judgment on Hakuchō's part, Gotō Ryō notes, had the effect of making Hakuchō, who already was generally unwilling to trust people, even more of a misanthrope.348

The Masamunes stayed at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, when they arrived in Hawaii, where they were free of the rolling seas and finally able to eat as they pleased—they both had fought sea-sickness all the way from Yokohama. Soon they were off to San Francisco, Hakuchō wearing Japanese clothes most of the way despite the new suits he had made for the trip. In San Francisco they stayed at the elegant Fairmont Hotel, attracting considerable attention as they entered the lobby in Japanese dress. Some people asked them to pose for photographs. There were reporters from the San
Francisco Examiner and San Francisco Chronicle asking the newly arrived "Japanese writer" what sort of things he wrote and why he had come to San Francisco. The newspaper accounts of his arrival the following day were full of inaccuracies and not his but his wife's picture was carried with the caption identifying her only as the wife of a Japanese playwright. As Goto Ryo puts it, their "first impression" of this "civilized nation" was formed when Mrs. Masamune had her handbag stolen in the sumptuous lobby of the Fairmont Hotel.

The next stop on their journey was Los Angeles; it is difficult to imagine what thoughts went through the minds of the Masamunes, who were alone as passengers on board the bucking triplane, with deafening engine noise and air-sickness worse than the sea-sickness they had not conquered until beyond Hawaii. They were greeted by a group of Japanese welcomers at the entrance to the Biltmore Hotel, where they stayed in Los Angeles. They were to receive a complete tour of the city from the Japanese quarter (presumably First Street), where Hakuchō was to feel the subconscious tension the Japanese felt living there surrounded by whites, to a Hollywood studio, where Hakuchō was overawed by the fair-skinned beauty of a young actress he saw, so much so that twenty-four years later he was still recalling her beauty in his essays. Through various incidents in Los Angeles Hakuchō and his wife were to have their eyes opened to the pervasiveness of white discrimination against Orientals.
They spent Christmas in San Diego, having gone there because they wanted to cross the border into Mexico. From the Japanese language newspapers they learned of the death of his friend Osanai Kaoru. They crossed over the border into Tijuana, where the abstemious Hakuchō, as a mere sightseer, picked his way through the drinking and vice of Americans on holiday from Prohibition. Hakuchō spent New Year's Eve in San Diego before returning to Los Angeles. He joined a party of Japanese on a drive to Yosemite—a friend of Hakuchō's took the Masamunes and another man, a medical doctor, in his new Packard. Hakuchō was reminded of the insignificance of man in relation to nature, as he viewed the vastness of the California scenery. Ultimately, however, the whole party came to find the spacious but often barren landscape tedious and not worth a second look. They went back to Los Angeles by going along the Pacific Coast, where just when Hakuchō was beginning to conclude America was notable only for its desolate views, they were surprised to discover the beauty of such places as Monterey, which somehow reminded them of Nara, San Luis Obisbo, which reminded them of the hot springs in Yugashima in Izu, and the beaches and bays around Santa Barbara, which were unlike any they had seen in Japan. The Masamunes next traveled to Chicago, where at a performance of Das Rheingold Hakuchō was incredulous that the loud singing and exaggerated gesturing of Wagner's Niebelungelied could constitute high art, then to Niagara Falls, and finally New York City, where he first
went to the Metropolitan Museum of Art only to find the religious paintings—he was drawn most to the medieval religious works—to be dull and vastly inferior to Japanese Buddhist art.

In New York Hakuchō was to see even more of the other side of American life than he had in California and the Midwest. He noted the American's worship of the dollar and how everything was appraised in terms of its financial worth. He toured the impoverished East Side; he noted how mansions were built facing a prison across the East River. All in all, however, Hakuchō came away with the feeling that the slums of New York with their solid Western-style buildings were more splendid than many of Japan's streets. Hakuchō saw many movies, plays, musicals, and operas—he even saw Show Boat, which was in its second successful year—but he was, characteristically, most impressed by Ibsen's gloomy Hedda Gabler. One day Hakuchō went to Philadelphia expressly to see Independence Hall, which he had heard of since childhood. He was greatly disappointed in its small size and the poverty of its furnishings, but finally satisfied himself that it was preserved in all its poverty as a testimony to the material progress America has made since Washington's time.

Every traveler has his share of disagreeable experiences, and the foreigner is perhaps always at a disadvantage, but Hakuchō, who created a sensation of sorts strolling into the lobby of the Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco in his
Japanese dress, seemed particularly unprepared for travel at this time and destined for minor misadventure. While in New York, the singularly individual Hakuchō refrained from riding elevators, because he would have to tip his hat, as he felt custom demanded, to the elevator girls, which he found irritating. One day in a New York barber shop the barber asked him if he worked in a laundry. Hakuchō replied that he did not, which prompted the question whether he worked in a restaurant. Hakuchō answered he did not work in a restaurant, either, that he had come to America for academic purposes. The barber was markedly more deferential to him and proceeded to give him a deluxe treatment with his haircut, one that fitted his station and ended up costing Hakuchō well over four dollars.¹³\³

On March 14, 1929, they sailed for France. One night aboard the ship there was a costume parade, which was a contest in which various passengers in costumes and disguises paraded before the judges. Hakuchō and his wife were watching innocently when someone noticed her Japanese dress and insisted she parade, too. This she did reluctantly, only to win first prize for her "costume," to her and her husband's chagrin. When he landed in France, he felt somewhat rejuvenated by the train ride to Paris through the fields of Normandy. He took in the usual sights of Paris including the Arch of Triumph; he had been greeted as usual by a delegation of Japanese upon arrival in Paris. Three days after arriving in Paris he entered a Japanese restaurant, the Tokiwa,
and unexpectedly encountered Nakamura Seiko, who had come to France in May, 1928, to study French literature and folk art, returning to Japan in June, 1929. Hakuchō's wife and Nakamura were both from Yamanashi Prefecture. When Hakuchō's marriage was being arranged, the matchmaker Nakamura Kichizō had entrusted the investigation of her background to Seiko. Their talk was of Tayama Katai, who had recently been hospitalized with a cerebral hemorrhage (he was to die the following year), and of the death of Osanai Kaoru.

Hakuchō was struck by the resilience (kowasa) and shrewdness of the Parisians. As in America he felt the Westerner's politeness to the Japanese was based on shallow feeling. Hakuchō's interpretation of many of his dealings with Westerners seems to have been that their attitude towards him as a Japanese, or as a Japanese writer (a "great Japanese writer"), was ultimately condescending. He had been struck by the dinginess of what he saw in France, from the dirty train he took to Paris to his dark, frigid hotel room and the squalid room a condescending French woman introduced to him as an apartment. He was finally able to locate a small, clean hotel in the Montparnasse. He sought out the famous tavern, the Caveau des Oubliettes, probably because Dante was supposed to have passed a night in the entranceway to this cellar during his wanderings, which fact brought even the temperate Hakuchō to order some drink. This experience was to result in the story "Dokuro to sakaba" (The Skull and the Cafe) (1931).
In May they left their luggage behind in Paris and traveled by train to Switzerland, where predictably he was finally moved by the beauty of the scenery for the first time in his foreign travels, and Italy. In Switzerland, as he had been in New York and as he would be on a train from Rome to Naples, he was amazed to hear The Tale of Genji praised lavishly. It Italy he was pleased by the food for the first time. It was not tasteless as he felt the food in New York and Paris had been; one did not have to season it heavily to eat it, for it depended on good ingredients for its flavor. The fish was especially good, although of course not as good as in Honami village on the Inland Sea of Japan. One of his reasons for coming to Italy had been to see in Milan Leonardo da Vinci's "The Last Supper," which he felt was the greatest work of religious art he had seen in his travels. He was moved to tears, however, when strolling minstrels played "Santa Lucia" for him on violins and mandolins in a cafe near the ruins of Pompeii and followed it with a rendition of the Japanese national anthem, "Kimmagayo."

In late May they returned to Paris, where they stayed for about ten days while Hakuchō had some clothes made, and then they were off to London. Hakuchō and his wife made the rounds of the museums, theatres, and the zoo, and it was only the London Zoo that Hakuchō found especially interesting, for it was clear to him that in terms of art and theatre England was decidedly inferior to France. Hakuchō
traveled to Scotland and the lake country described in Scott's *Lady of the Lake*. Returning from Scotland, he visited Glasgow, Liverpool, and Shakespeare's birthplace Stratford on Avon. Hakuchō was next off to Belgium to escape the heat of London and high prices of the British resorts. They then toured the Rhineland, where he was moved by the sight of the cathedral at Cologne and by the legends surrounding its construction. In early August they returned to Paris from Germany, and waited about a month and a half in Paris for the Kagoshima-maru to dock in Marseilles in mid-September. They had seen all they wanted to see in Paris, but they could not summon the enthusiasm for a trip to Austria or Spain, neither of which they had seen yet.359

In late September they sailed from Marseilles, stopping at Cairo, which was too hot for them to enjoy, and then sailed for Colombo, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Shanghai, where they were gradually rid of most of the Englishmen, who had been lording it over the Japanese aboard as if it were a British and not a Japanese ship. On the night of the costume party, many of the British became drunk and broke lights and the phonograph, as well as attacking Japanese passengers on the decks late that night. On the last leg of their journey to Kobe the British aboard were considerably outnumbered by the Japanese and considerably more polite. They docked in Kobe on December 21, 1929.360

Hakuchō saw a great deal and learned a great deal about the attitude of the individual Westerner towards the
individual Japanese in 1929 which should have discouraged him. However, there is no indication that Hakuchō, the master of "negative capability," ever confused the artist with his art, so to speak, by allowing his individual reactions to Westerners and their racial prejudices to color his appreciation of the Western literary and philosophical ideals that had long impressed him. One would be selling Hakuchō short ever to suppose that he would undergo a reaction against Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Dante, or the Bible simply because of the shabby treatment to which he was often subjected as a Japanese tourist to America and Europe in 1929. Other more prominent Japanese literary figures might become culturally reactionary and champions of traditional Japanese aesthetic values against the threat, real or imagined, of Western aesthetic tastes after a youthful infatuation with the West, but Hakuchō's intellectual development, even considering the problem of his Christianity, was linear rather than elliptical.

Hakuchō's West, the great alien tradition that he tapped so successfully in helping him confront the problems of his existence, was a spiritual tradition, one of ideas, and not a material tradition, one of things. Materially Hakuchō was apparently disappointed in the West. As Gotō Ryō notes, Hakuchō had travelled through much of the Western world, through such citadels of Western culture as Paris, Rome, Florence, Pompeii, Stratford on Avon, and Hollywood, but the thing that seemed to impress him most was how bad
the food tasted. 361

One last incident from Hakucho's journey to the West should be reported, for it is illustrative of Hakucho's character and the nature of his communication with the West and indeed all of humanity. When Hakucho was finally preparing to leave Paris in September, he went to say goodbye to the old desk clerk at the hotel where they had long stayed, of whom he had grown quite fond. When Hakucho told the man he was about to leave for Japan, the old man immediately asked him if he had paid his bill. When Hakucho replied that he had, the old man said simply, "Très bien," and that was the sum of their farewell. Hakucho thought of this old man fondly later, for, as Goto points out, Hakucho had found an old man like himself even in Paris. 362

1930-1962: The War; Return to Christianity

While Hakucho was away in Europe the literary scene in Japan had undergone a change, as the proletarian literature movement was now at its height, with the appearance of Kobayashi Takiji's Kanikōsen (The Crab Canning Ship) and Tokunaga Sunao's Taiyō no nai machi (A Street Without Sun) in May and June, 1929, respectively, while Hakucho was on his way from Switzerland to Italy. 362 On August 11, 1929, Hakuchō's travel essay "Rondon nite" (In London) was flanked ominously in the Yomiuri by an article by Katsumoto Seiichi-rō comparing Kanikōsen to Upton Sinclair's The Jungle. 363

Hakuchō had expected to be beseiged by requests for
travel stories when he returned, but in the new literary climate this never materialized. Instead he had to settle for a request for one story and the resumption of his "Bungei jihyō" in the Chūō Kōron. The story was "Aru Nihon no yado" (A Japanese Hotel), which concerned his experiences in Chicago and appeared in January, 1930. The following month he did a story on request from the periodical Bungei Shunjū, "Koronji engi" (The Origin of the Cologne Cathedral). The Bungei Shunjū request was from the editor, who owed Hakuchō a favor for a political speech Hakuchō had been reluctantly persuaded to deliver on the editor's behalf. It seems that even the basically apolitical Hakuchō was touched by the phenomenon of the increasing involvement of men of letters in political activity. In June, 1930, another travel story, "Rokujō no tenarai" (Learning at Sixty) appeared in Kaizō; "Sekaijin" (Man of the World) appeared in Bungei Shunjū in January, 1931.

From January to April, 1931, Hakuchō serialized "Machibito kitarazu" (The Caller Didn't Come) in Fujin no tomo. Gotō notes that it was not so unusual for Hakuchō to write for a woman's magazine, having done so before, but that Shūsei pioneered this field, so to speak, and that Kikuchi Kan was the king of the women's magazines. "Machibito kitarazu" does not seem to have been a success; the publishers were not happy with it. It treats a scholar hero, his ailing revered teacher, the teacher's daughter whom the hero pursues, and the hero's cousin who was like a brother
to him and who longs for the death of his own suspicious wife. It was later renamed "Machibito" (The Awaited Caller) and made the title story of a collection of Hakucho's short stories that appeared in 1941.367

In April, 1931, his "Meiji bundan sōhyō" (General Comments on the Meiji Bundan) appeared in the Chūō Kōron, and he began his serialization of his "Bungei jihyō" in the Bungei Shunju. This was followed by the "Meiji gekidan sōhyō" (General Criticism of the Meiji Drama) (July, 1931) in the Chūō Kōron, "Dokuro to sakaba" (The Skull and the Cafe) (August, 1931) in Kaizō, and "Seiyō no bungō to josei" (Western Literary Giants and Women) (October, 1931) in the Chūō Kōron. In 1932 came the plays "Ureshigaraseru" (To Make Someone Happy) and "Antonii to Kureopatora" (Anthony and Cleopatra) (April) in the Chūō Kōron. He produced a great deal of criticism, the bulk of it in the form of various ron (a discourse, or essay) on a variety of authors. He produced such works as the "Shimazaki Tōson-ron" (March, 1932), "Nagai Kafū-ron" (April, 1932), "Tanizaki Jun'ichirō to Satō Haruo" (Tanizaki Jun'ichirō and Satō Haruo) (June, 1932), "Tayama Katai-ron" (July, 1932), and "Kubota Mantarō-ron" (August, 1932), in the Chūō Kōron at a rate of about one per month. In 1933 and 1934 rather than fiction he relied upon sketches of authors and contemporary criticism, writing among other things "Yokomitsu Riichi-ron" (February, 1933), "Yamamoto Yūzō-ron" (January, 1934), "Uno Kōji-ron" (March, 1934), all in the Chūō Kōron, and the Chehofu-ron"
In 1933 Hakucho had finally left Oiso and moved to a Western-style house, built by a German, in Tokyo; in April, 1934, his father died in Honami. Hakucho went to Honami to be at his father's bedside, and he turned his sad experience into the short story "Kotoshi no haru," or "Spring This Year," which appeared in Waseda Bungaku in June, 1934. In it we see his mother worn from nursing her husband during his illness of some eleven years—the onslaught of his infirmities in 1923 had been the occasion for Hakucho's receipt of one-third of the family property—and Hakucho himself forced to watch his father linger in increasing pain for over twenty days. In "Kotoshi no haru" the hero Ichiro (Hakucho) sees his father's suffering as the suffering of all men. Religion is of no comfort to the dying man. He can hardly talk, so that he writes in the air, "I want to die, but I can't." With his father's death Hakucho inherited the headship of the Masamune family.

Hakucho's father, Uraji, died on April 10, 1934. "Kotoshi no haru," which appeared in June, was written in mid-April, or early May at the latest, right after Uraji's death, but it makes no mention of the struggle for the family headship that went on at the time and which first came to light in "Den'en fūkei" (A Rural Landscape), which appeared in Gunzo in October, 1946, twelve years later. In "Den'en fūkei" Hakucho tells of how he was especially close to his next brother, Atsuo. When as a youth Hakucho was
becoming interested in Christianity, this younger brother would listen intently, also, to the stories of the preacher who visited the house to talk of Christianity with Hakuchō.\(^{371}\)

After his father's death Hakuchō waited and waited for official certification of his inheritance of the family headship. One day the younger brother said to Hakuchō, however, that perhaps the headship would pass to him, because the official registration had Hakuchō listed as "retired" (in-kyo). As a youth Hakuchō had been taken off the family register. Judging from the 1934 story, we may think that his father wanted Hakuchō to remain in Honami after his death; he was apparently worried over a possible rift between the two brothers up to the very end. According to "Den'en fūkei," Hakuchō was unaware that his brother was the family head until his father's death. As we have seen, Hakuchō had actually relinquished his rights to the family headship in February, 1896, in order to obtain his father's permission to go to Tokyo, but now he preferred to disregard that detail.\(^{372}\) It is sometimes thought that Hakuchō was cold to his father and brother, but Goto quotes effectively from Hakuchō's letters to refute this view.\(^{373}\) Originally Hakuchō had gotten along well with all of his brothers, but they began to drift apart in the Taishō era (1912-1926). The tension between Hakuchō and his brother was finally resolved when Atsuo agreed to allow Hakuchō to assume the family headship.\(^{374}\)

In June and July, 1935, Hakuchō and his wife toured
Hokkaïdo and Sakhalin. Their experiences are reported in "Hokuyūki" (An Account of Our Northern Journey), which appeared in the Chūō Kōron in August, 1935. Hakuchō was struck by the barren lives of the natives of Sakhalin. He observed that even though they have no culture or writing system, they resisted the efforts of the Japanese to "educate" them, but he did admire the dignified bearing and physical beauty of the people. 375

Having returned from this trip, the Masamunes soon set out again in the fall for Seoul, Mukden, Hsinking (the capital of Manchukuo), and Peking. Hakuchō had never had a great interest in Chinese civilization and there were few places he especially wanted to visit. In his "Pekin inshōki" (A Record of Impressions of Peking) (Chūō Kōron, December, 1935) Hakuchō describes the buildings at Wanshushan as "idiotic." He had gone there in the first place because he had been fascinated by the accounts of it in the "Ode to the Afangkung," or Afang Palace—built by the Emperor Ch'in Shih Wang—in the Wen chang kuei fan; a Sung dynasty work used as a model for prose for candidates for government office. The treasures there during the Dowager Empress Tzu Hsi's day had been plundered or destroyed and the place had the aspect of a ruin, but it did not inspire the same sentiments as did those in Rome. Hakuchō found the red and blue paint preposterous. Later he was to be pleased by some of the other spots he visited near Peking, mainly due to the impact upon him of the fact that men could raise such
buildings in the midst of that great plain, but his account
still wears a bored, melancholy air. 376

In the 1930's Hakuchō is now more important as a liter-
ary critic than as a writer of fiction or as a playwright.
He had established himself as a formidable critic in the
late 1920's, so that with the changing literary scene some-
what discouraging to him as a novelist he settled naturally
and comfortably in the role of literary critic. Perhaps as
famous as his Sakkaron is his lively literary debate with
the critic Kobayashi Hideo in the first half of 1936, the so-
called "shisō to jisseikatsu," or "thought and real life"
debate. Kobayashi Hideo was thirty-four at the time and
having assumed the editorship of the periodical Bungakkai
and having published a good deal of impressive literary
criticism, he was riding a wave of success. Hakuchō, on the
other hand, was in a bit of a writing slump in 1936 and
planning his second trip to the West. 377

The first shot, so to speak, in the debate turned out
to be Hakuchō's essay "Torusutoi ni tsuite," or "On Tolstoy,"
which appeared in the Yomiuri in January, 1936. In the
essay, as in an earlier one with the same title (1926),
Hakuchō tells of how the long life of this man of great in-
tellect, attainments, and zest for life dissolved into trag-
edy in his last years on account of his jealous wife. In
"On Tolstoy" Hakuchō found Tolstoy's fleeing his house and
dying of pneumonia in a rural train station during his lone-
ly journey to be tragic but at the same time absurd. As in
his earlier essay, Hakuchō saw Tolstoy's unbearable wife to be the reason he left home, not his search for aid for his metaphysical anguish over the human condition as was apparently commonly believed in Japan at the time (1910).378

In his "Sakka no kao" (Portrait of the Author) (January, 1936) in the Yomiuri, Kobayashi Hideo objected that had Tolstoy not been consumed by such a spiritual anguish over the fate of man, he would have had no need to fear God (a fact Hakuchō had noted from Tolstoy's diary) in the first place. Kobayashi states that when a great writer dies, the thought that he has spawned and nurtured has a separate existence, which allows his rebirth through his presence as a writer, that is, through the art he has created.379

Hakuchō took up the challenge and responded with the essay "Chūshōteki kumon," or "Metaphysical Anguish," which appeared in his "Bungei jihyō" section of the Chūō Kōron in March, 1936. Tolstoy's diary was again referred to, as Hakuchō used it to show that Tolstoy's anguish was closely bound up with his inability to cope with his wife.380 In response to this reiteration of his point on Hakuchō's part, Kobayashi wrote "Shisō to jisseikatsu," or "Thought and Real Life," which appeared in Bungei Shunju in April, 1936. Hakuchō had said that Tolstoy's hatred of his wife was "as plain as day" (kagami ni kakete miru gotoshi), but Kobayashi did not see how Hakuchō could see the truth (shinsō) of human reality simply in the facts of Tolstoy's life. Kobayashi argued that in War and Peace Tolstoy had removed the mantle
of legend from his heroic characters and shown that all men were mere mortals, but that, significantly, Tolstoy was never satisfied with just this revelation. His exposure of human reality was carried to its conclusion in Anna Karenina, as Tolstoy broke down his characters into their "various non-human elements" (hiningen-teki samazama-na genso), so that to say that simply Tolstoy's real life marital quarrels provide a mirror to the truth of human reality is an incomplete and disconcerting way of looking at things. Kobayashi felt that thought cannot be separated from life, it cannot exist separate from life, but thought without sacrifice is not worthy of the name. The coloring and shading of reality is in proportion to the depth of the sacrifice. \(^{381}\)

Hakuchō countered in his own "Shisō to jisseikatsu" ("Bungei jihyō," May, 1936) that Kobayashi's notion that thought had no power if the time did not come that it attained a separate existence from the "real life" that produced it was a meaningless and empty contention. Hakuchō saw a link between the hysterical actions of Tolstoy's wife and the man's active intellect and abstract thought. \(^{382}\)

The final episode in the exchange consisted of Kobayashi's "Bungakusha no shisō to jisseikatsu," or "Thought and Real Life for the Man of Letters," which appeared in Bungei Shunjū in June, 1936. In this essay Kobayashi defined chūshōteki (abstract) by saying that the abstract functions to extract the superfluous from nature, not to add more superfluous matter to it. It serves the function of laying
bare the skeleton of nature. After discarding any conceptual confusion the abstract transcends the now (call it "real life" or "theory") to achieve a separate existence. Kobayashi sees Tolstoy as unwilling to take the time really to examine his relationship with his hysterical wife, because of his unhealthy absorption in his own thought. 383

Hakuchō, who was a product of the age of literary naturalism, saw thought as just another phenomenon of life, the abstract as just another manifestation of the concrete. Abstract reality cannot exist without the concrete reality upon which it depends. The younger Kobayashi saw thought as something that can exist independently of real life, something that can even precede real life, as in the example of Tolstoy's "unhealthy absorption in his own thought" which prevented an understanding of his wife. It is of interest that Hakuchō, the realist, although he of course understood and answered Kobayashi's rather far-flung abstractions, was led by his philosophical instincts to keep his feet on the ground, so to speak, by not budging from his original pragmatic contention. Kobayashi attempts to reason with a cold precision, but curiously one finds mention of what seem essentially romantic notions, such as the contention that thought (or perhaps "true art") that is worthy of the name is the product of sacrifice. He hints at such nineteenth-century notions as that "art arises from suffering" on the one hand, while defining chūshōteki so exactly on the other. Kobayashi's main objection to Hakuchō's ideas seems
to be to the implication that man is just another animal, so that Tolstoy's thought is determined by his physical experiences, that is, his environment. Kobayashi mentions suffering, in the sense of mental anguish, as that aspect of the human experience that distinguishes man from animals. Thus, Kobayashi was fencing with the ghost of the Zolaist, naturalist thought of the immediate post-Russo-Japanese War period. Although Hakucho's line of reasoning seems simpler and less inspired by comparison with that of Kobayashi, it contains little contradiction and is quite defensible.

Although the above is the sum of the "thought and real life" debates, Kobayashi and Hakucho were to collide frequently throughout the remainder of Hakucho's career. Although the rivalry might be characterized by some as a friendly one—Kobayashi's tone in some of the later exchanges when they were actually brought together to converse ranged from playful to intellectually pugnacious--the prospect of confronting Kobayashi always seemed an unpleasant one to Hakucho. Hakucho felt that he and his old rival could never agree with one another, because Kobayashi was a drinker and Hakucho a teetotaler. Hakuchō admitted that he himself in his younger days was often rash, but he felt that Kobayashi's apparent acidity was of a nature different from what Hakuchō's own youthful aggressiveness had been, so that he found Kobayashi to be an incorrigible literary adversary. Hakuchō also speculated that perhaps they could not communicate because of the great disparity in their ages, but at
times he admitted that no one, not even Šūkō or Šūsei, had ever criticized his literature with such scrutiny.

Hakuchō and his wife embarked on their second trip to the West in July, 1936, touring Russia, Northern Europe, France, Germany, and the United States, before returning in February, 1937. Hakuchō was again restless, having made trips to Sakhalin, Korea, and China, and now a second voyage around the world. His Western-style house in Tokyo was of sturdy construction and more comfortable in many ways than his home in Oiso had been, but with the inheritance of his considerable family fortune and his dallying with such time-consuming amusements as golf, Hakuchō seemed to lose much of his creative energy. He seems to have been unable to divert himself through his travels during this period, either.

Home again in 1937 the political situation in Japan would continue to worsen until it affected every facet of Japanese life. The fighting that began with the incident between Japanese and Chinese troops at the Marco Polo Bridge near Peking on the night of July 7, 1937, would lead to destruction, defeat, and atomic holocaust eight years later in the summer of 1945. Hakuchō's career would follow a similar downward course, as his output of fiction and criticism began to decline in 1937 and decreased annually to the point where he produced next to nothing from 1943 through 1945. He seems to have engaged in what literary activity was permitted by the government in the early 1940's, but it was of
the most sterile form, that of literary meetings and speech-making rather than literary publication. In 1937, however, men of letters still had the freedom, short-lived though it proved to be, to refuse to participate in government-controlled literary organizations. As we have seen, Hakuchō was one of the many who declined appointment to the government's Teikoku Geijutsuin (The Imperial Academy of Art). Hakuchō declined in June, 1937, although Shūsei had inexplicably accepted in April. Hakuchō did not become a member until urged to reconsider in August, 1940. 

Hakuchō seems to have contented himself with his activity in literary organizations during the war. With the deaths of Shūsei and Tōson in 1943 and Shūkō in 1944, Hakuchō had become a grand old man of letters, being in his mid-sixties during World War II. Thus it is little surprise that he was to become the president of the Japan P.E.N. Club in 1943 and the head of the Nihon Bungaku Hōkokukai (Japan Patriotic Literature Society) in 1944. He had been named a director of the Kokumin Geijutsu Gikai (National Arts Council) in February, 1940.

From the late Taishō period Hakuchō often summered in Karuizawa. In July, 1940, he bought a spacious lot there on which to build a modest villa. In early August he moved in, bringing his seven-year-old nephew, Yūzō, whom he had adopted. In late September, on the day before he was to return to Tokyo, he was visited by a representative of the Yomiuri, who told Hakuchō that because of the change in the times the
Yomiuri would no longer be able to publish his writings. The Yomiuri had long been publishing his works, so that this was a great blow to him. He felt that this would probably mean not only the end of his association with the publication with which he had had the longest association but the end of his publication elsewhere as well. 390 However, in 1941 Hakuchō was occasionally called upon for a story by Chūō Kōron, Shinchō, and Kaizo. In January, 1942, Hakuchō began serialization of the long work Nenashigusa (Duckweed) in Nihon Hyōron, although it was discontinued after eight months. It is a story based upon his memory of his childhood and adolescence. Goto sees it as notable for revealing the origins of what Goto calls Hakuchō's "fear of his own psychology." In other words, the external threats that Hakuchō had perceived as a very small child—the monsters and dreadful things that he feared were after him—are now internalized, so that the adolescent Hakuchō comes to fear his own gloomy thoughts, which originate his irrational fears. However, Goto finds the treatment of the problem to be shallow in Nenashigusa, noting that it degenerates into vague yearnings for the Meiji era. He sees it as lacking in penetration and never quite taking shape; Uchimura and Uemura are mentioned by name but Hakuchō himself is simply the "intelligent B Sensei who went to a certain school." 391

From August, 1944, as the war situation deteriorated, Hakuchō lived in Karuizawa, not as a man summering in a villa but as a member of a neighborhood association taking part in
air-raid drills and doing farm labor, while his wife and Yūzō bicycled about taking care of the food-hunting chores. He did the housekeeping and cooked for himself and for about one year had no opportunity to write. The life that the militarists had led the Japanese to in the last year of the war allowed no time for art; there was only survival. While in Karuizawa, however, Hakuchō was presented with a copy of Tanizaki's Sasameyuki (Thin Snow, but also known abroad through the title of its English translation as "The Makioka Sisters"), of which Tanizaki had had about two hundred copies printed at his own expense. Tanizaki had been forbidden by government authorities to continue its publication in the Chūō Kōron with a caution to keep the book's publication as discreet as possible. Hakuchō was an admirer of Tanizaki's literature and he read the work right away, later remarking that it contained a charm not found in post-war fiction. However, Hakuchō's appreciation of the work was tempered by the feeling that such a work was inappropriate for the times. This seems a logical objection given the straits the Japanese found themselves in during the last years of the war, and the glaring contrast to that presented by the bourgeois pastimes depicted in Sasameyuki.

Gotō finds Hakuchō's unhesitating post-war admission of his wartime reservations about Sasameyuki to be admirable in view of Hakuchō's early life and experiences, such as the reprimand by a publisher during the Russo-Japanese War who felt he had expressed anti-war sentiments in his writings.
Hakucho was safe physically during his evacuation to Karuizawa, but he was to lose his home and property in Tokyo to incendiary bombs on May 25, 1945. For Hakucho, who was unable to accept *akirame* (resignation) as a philosophical attitude, it was a perplexing problem why his home was burnt to the ground while those of some of his friends, for example Kamitsukasa Shoken, survived unscathed. The war made Hakucho feel his isolation as an individual, that is, to feel that he was a unique human being ultimately, in spite of the superficial resemblances all men share. Hakucho, like most other sensitive writers, was introduced by the war to the mood of alienation from society and one's fellow man, the wall of non-communication, that would begin to characterize Japanese fiction now more than at any period in the past. The post-war literary scene would be an active one that would bear little resemblance to the literature of the 1920's or the lifeless literary arena of the late 1930's and the war. The new forces in literature would be shaped by writers such as Sakaguchi Ango in his "Hakuchi" (The Idiot) (1946) and "Daraku-ron" (A Study of Decadence) (1946), Dazai Osamu in Shayo (Setting Sun) (1947) and Ningen shikkaku (No Longer Human) (1948), and Mishima Yukio in Kamen no kokuhaku (Confessions of a Mask) (1949). That even such a lyrical writer as Kawabata Yasunari was adapting to the new mood is evident from the alienation of the hero of Sembazuru (A Thousand Cranes) (1949). A further example of the change in mood would be provided by a comparison of the psychology of the
protagonists of Tanizaki's *Sasameyuki* with those of his *Kagi* (The Key) (1956).

With the resumption of publication of magazines after the end of the war, the first one to approach Hakucho was *Shinsei* (New Life), for which he wrote "Bungakujin no taido" (The Attitude of the Man of Letters), which appeared in the first issue of the magazine, October 1, 1945. His essay "Waga shōgai to bungaku" (Literature and My Life) appeared in the issue of November 20, 1945. This was republished in February, 1946, in booklet form, using the same crude pulp magazine format as *Shinsei*. Goto sees "Waga shōgai to bungaku" as part of a progression of works from "Bundanteki jijoden" (A Literary Biography) (1938) through the later *Shizenshugi bungaku seisushi* (A History of the Rise and Fall of Naturalist Fiction) (1948), *Futettei naru shōgai* (An Inconclusive Life) (1948), and *Bundan gojūnen* (Fifty Years of the Bundan) (1954), all delving into his relationship with literature and the effect of literature upon his life and psychology. *Shizenshugi bungaku seisushi* was begun as a memorial to the deceased Tōson and Shūsei; it took months to complete. Hakuchō felt that inasmuch as Shūsei and Tōson were recognized as the most accomplished and representative naturalist writers, with their deaths naturalism died, too. With the funeral of Kamitsukasa Shōken, who died on September 2, 1947, Hakucho was struck by the realization that he alone survived from the naturalist movement, that all of his literary comrades were gone. Shūsei, Tōson, and
Shūkō all died before the end of the war; as Hakuchō notes they did not even live to see the air-raids on Tokyo. Hakuchō was thus the last person alive who could give a complete history of the movement from an insider's point of view. This fact plus his accomplished critical skill account for the success of this valuable work of literary history.

Hakuchō entered a new period of intense literary activity in the late 1940's. He hit his writing peak in 1949 and 1950 at ages seventy and seventy-one. He described his war-time existence in Karuizawa as having been "hell," but with the new freedom to publish which peace brought he flourished. In mid-1947 he first saw the Edogawa Apatō (Edogawa Apartments) building in Tokyo. He liked the building and requested a room; about a year later he began to rent one on the sixth floor which he used for his monthly and bimonthly visits to Tokyo until the summer of 1956. He had his adopted son Yūzō live alone in Tokyo, and when in Tokyo Hakuchō would stay by himself in his apartment. Having the three members of his small family staying in three different places was uneconomical and rather lonely, but he felt that only when he was alone could he reflect upon things of philosophical significance. For amusement he enjoyed walking about among the crowds in Tokyo, present as an observer rather than a participant in life. Hakuchō would stay five or six days in Tokyo during each visit to submit his manuscripts and collect his remuneration from his publishers.
"Ningengirai" (The Misanthrope) appeared in Ningen, a new post-war magazine, from January through June, 1949. It is an episodic chūhen describing his lonely life as an evacuee in Karuizawa in the last days of the war and its devastating effect upon his spirits. He deals with such things as his conviction that if he died the world and the whole universe would be destroyed, too; his regret that he did not write anything during the war that he could have sold afterwards; his feelings that it was natural for men to hate one another; his wife's conversion to Christianity; her voting for the Communists; and his anger and embarrassment at being made the model for a story by Dazai Osamu. Clearly the uncertainty of life during the war and the years that followed had a demoralizing effect upon the already introspective Hakuchō. To Hakuchō the privations of war made one the embodiment of greed and heightened one's sense of possession and general paranoia towards "others." Contrary to his attitude as a youth, Hakuchō came to feel annoyed at the thought that his brothers would receive a single tree or even a dish that was part of his rightful inheritance.

The first eight chapters of "Nihon dasshutsu" (Escape from Japan) appeared in Gunzō in January and April, 1949. The remaining portions were serialized in Kokoro from March to December, 1950. After a period during which the publication of Kokoro was suspended, the eleventh chapter appeared in Kokoro in March, 1953, with a notice that more of "Nihon dasshutsu" was forthcoming. The story was discontinued,
however, at that point. "Nihon dasshutsu" was written between 1948 and mid-1950. It is a long, uncompleted work, which is styled an "otogibanashi," or "fairy tale," and appropriately absurd, although it is valuable in illustrating the extremes of his fancy and his spiritual gloom. The story is set in Karuizawa during the war and contains a treatment of the defeat of Japan, but it is a story of fantasy not fact, describing such things as voyages to lands where the inhabitants have human bodies but the heads of birds, encounters with beasts such as the nose-less, ear-less, mouth-less, one-eyed monster Yami (Darkness), and the transformation of the principal travelers, the grass-cutter and the girl Midori, into such beasts. Gotō sees the work as a sort of chronicle of Hakuchō's reading, with Bakin's Hakkenden, The Iliad, The Divine Comedy, Swift and Strindberg all leaving their marks upon it. Hakuchō had stated that the inner life rather than the external life should be valued, and he decried the tendency of Japanese writers to detail at random the complications of their personal lives. "Nihon dasshutsu" was the longest work among the more than four hundred pieces of writing Hakuchō produced after the war. Another of Hakuchō's biographers, Hyōdō Masanosuke, finds the length of the work accentuating the general lack of structure. To Hyōdō, Hakuchō seems to have written at random, letting his imagination carry the plot in different directions day to day with no unifying sense of the plot as a whole.
Hyōdō does not object to the idea of an "otogibanashi" itself, but he sees "Nihon dasshutsu" as riddled with inconsistences and failing ultimately to delight by its fantasy. The work merits so much attention because its author is Hakuchō, and because its fantasy throws light upon the thought of Hakuchō himself. The important question is why Hakuchō chose to write such an unusual work, which seems a great departure from his previous style. Hyōdō skillfully and convincingly quotes from Hakuchō's other writings during the period he was writing "Nihon dasshutsu" to place the story in context and show that it was not such a surprising departure as is usually imagined.

During the late 1940's Hakuchō was becoming distressed with the direction Japanese fiction was taking. Specifically, he deplored the rampant eroticism and what he took to be a lack of self-examination in fiction. He had had high hopes for post-war fiction, but he felt his expectations betrayed by works such as those by one of Dazai's followers, Tanaka Hidemitsu; Hakuchō felt even the small literary periodicals were pandering to the low standard of public taste and scurrying to publish whatever would sell.

Hakuchō was undergoing a major change in his attitude towards literature at this time. He no longer felt that the re-creation of objective reality was the highest purpose of fiction. He now felt such strict adherence to reality would lead literature to a creative impasse. He had begun to feel the need to abandon entirely the naturalistic approach, which
he felt had been typified by the works of Shūsei. 415 Hyōdō notes that Hakuchō had departed from a strictly realistic approach to literature in "Jinsei no kōfuku" and "Hito o koroshita ga," but he had seldom indulged in the pure fantasy of "Nihon dasshutsu" in his pre-war works. Hakuchō now wanted to make the world of fantasy his world. 416

To Hyōdō the interest in "Nihon dasshutsu" is not in its quality as a fairy tale, but in Hakuchō, the septuagenarian man of letters abandoning himself totally to fantasy and imagination. 417 It was Hakuchō's final step away from the defunct naturalism; it was a bold work of imagination but a failure. 418 The failure of "Nihon dasshutsu" may be due in part to the paucity of Hakuchō's powers of imagination, but it is even more the result of his basically nihilistic nature, which led his thoughts inevitably to stagnation. 419

In 1949 Hakuchō produced not only "Ningengirai" and "Nihon dasshutsu," but the major essay "Uchimura Kanzō" as well. "Uchimura Kanzō" appeared in Shakai in April and May, 1949. The influence of Uchimura upon Hakuchō is detailed in this essay on the man who had been Hakuchō's religious mentor fifty years before. In his writing Hakuchō relied upon biographies of Uchimura as well as upon his memory for the first part of his essay. At the same time he was reading Uchimura's complete works, and this carried him through four chapters and brought him to a rediscovery of Uchimura's writings on the Second Coming of Christ and the Resurrection
of the Dead, which rekindled his appreciation of Uchimura as he began the fifth chapter. In writing this fifth chapter Hakucho relied upon the Bible itself, in particular Paul's Epistle to the Romans. As Oiwa Ko notes, this was not strange in view of the fact that Uchimura emphasized Paul's works and that Uemura, who also was a great influence upon Hakucho, was a Presbyterian minister. Calvin had emphasized the value of Romans for gaining an understanding of the Bible, and the Presbyterians were a Calvinist denomination.

Hakucho struggled to appreciate Uchimura's theories on the Second Coming and the Resurrection of the Dead with limited success. However, Hakucho not only did not take Uchimura to task for his belief in the infallibility of the Bible, which flies in the face of the rationalism of the modern scientific age, but he even expressed general sympathy with such blind faith. He could not bring himself to view death as a gift from God, like life, as Uchimura did, however.

Hakucho felt that no matter how advanced science and scientific philosophy become, man will still cherish the desire for a life after death. But to Hakucho a belief in Heaven and eternal life was man's way of diverting his attention from the pain of realizing that with death man slips away into nothingness. Hakucho was trying to lay bare the essence of Christian thought, as well as of the teachings of Uchimura, through many Biblical quotations and an intense application of his analytical powers. Critics such
as Kawakami Tetsutarō have concluded that "Uchimura Kanzō" is the work of a believer in Christianity, so that they do not find Hakuchō's purported death-bed conversion a conversion at all.\textsuperscript{423} Others such as Gōtō Ryō disagree, however. Gōtō notes that Hakuchō points out that if one believes that Christ died to save all mankind, one must also believe the whole of Christian belief as found in the Bible, even His Second Coming and the Resurrection of the Dead, which were beliefs often questioned by Japanese Christians of Uchimura's time and frequently ignored even by Uchimura himself. Hakuchō points out that Romans may be seen as the center of that belief.\textsuperscript{424}

Hakuchō felt that expressing belief or disbelief in the notions of Uchimura or the apostle Paul about the miracles of Christianity was futile, for it was like dealing with the logic of dreams. Hakuchō stresses that in the final analysis Paul's beliefs were fantasies that defied real understanding.\textsuperscript{425} Hakuchō saw Romans and the Bible, like all of science and art, to be based upon dreams (yume), that is, imagination. He agrees with Uchimura that Christianity is the greatest belief a man can have, but finds it ultimately like "a castle resting on sand" in that it is in the last analysis a product of man's imagination. Hakuchō says that in Uchimura's writings one feels the non-believer is menaced by God, that rather than man reaching out for God, God is trying to draw man nearer to bestow His love upon him. Although it is a wondrous thing, Hakuchō feels that one like
himself, who no matter how much he reads or strains his imagination cannot bathe in God's love, must feel like one abandoned. Thus, it is clear to Gotō at any rate that in the light of these statements Hakuchō was not at that time a believer in Christianity. To anyone who appreciates the total belief in the existence of God and His mercy that is expected of the true Christian believer, such a conclusion should seem obvious.

Hakuchō closes "Uchimura Kanzō" by noting that he feels overlooked by God when he compares himself to Paul and Uchimura, but that his envy of their faith must be due to the lingering influences of his youthful period as a Christian. Gotō sees the passion in Hakuchō's "Uchimura Kanzō" as something genuine, not something to be dismissed as simply nostalgia for the earlier belief which had given him consolation more than fifty years before when he was sick and near death in Honami not long after his first encounters with Uchimura. Rather, to Gotō, Hakuchō was now near death and building his own castles in the sand, trying to find something to believe in, something that would offer hope.

Hakuchō's remarkable longevity of service to literature and amazing vitality and literary activity were given official recognition when the Japanese government awarded him its Cultural Medal (bunka kunshō) on November 3, 1950. Hakuchō knew of the award before it was officially announced—he was to receive it together with the poet Tsuchii Bansui—but he was greatly upset by a delay in the official
notification. Tanizaki and Shiga Naoya had received their awards the previous year, but Hakucho took little consolation from the fact that their notifications were late in arriving, too. Hakucho seems to have been selected because of his having become at seventy-one the reigning patriarch of the bundan rather than for any great masterpiece of fiction such as Shiga's An'ya kōro (A Dark Night's Journey) or Tanizaki's Sasameyuki. No "social value," like that of Sasameyuki which was a metaphor for the decline of a genteel tradition in Japanese life, could be claimed for Hakucho's philosophical and critical works. At least there was nothing obvious to arrest the attention of the bureaucrats and committees involved in selecting recipients for such awards in 1950.429

In the 1950's Hakucho began a steady drift away from art and literature and in the direction of a primary interest in philosophy and religion. He seems to have come to realize that his philosophical speculation was his central concern and that art had functioned primarily as a tool for understanding the nature of his existence.430 In his essay "Bungaku no yukue" (The Direction of Literature), which appeared in Gunzō in December, 1952, Hakucho expressed his dissatisfaction with literature. He emphasized the effect of the defeat of Japan upon the consciousness of the post-war writer. He had come to feel that such pre-war writers as Sōseki, Ōgai, and Tōson, who never went through the re-examination of their conception of reality that total defeat
in war brings, had in fact not known the true nature of humanity. He now found them presumptuous (mottaibutta) and labeled them mediocrities for the ultimately low level of their ideals and social criticism. His observation is acceptable in the sense that with the defeat every Japanese must have had to reassess the implications of his Japanese-ness, whereas those Japanese, writers as well as average citizens, who never knew defeat were spared such self-examination. However, it is difficult to agree with the implication that pre-war and post-war experience was fundamentally different on the existential level, for no man is spared a knowledge of pain, fear, and death, certainly not the three giants of Meiji literature Hakucho mentions. Such extreme pronouncements can perhaps be regarded as symptomatic of Hakucho's growing disenchantment with literature. He expected a revolution of sorts from post-war Japanese literature. Further, in his book Bundan gojūnen (Fifty Years in the Bundan), which appeared in November, 1954, he stated that the reality of literature is an inconclusive one. In the 1950's he came to feel that he had lived his life without true philosophical satisfaction, so that he would probably die dissatisfied as well. Hyodo Masanosuke sees his subsequent yearnings for Christianity as growing out of the void created by this new disappointment in literature.

The new literature that he had hoped for never materialized, so that he simply became more disenchanted. In March, 1957, a collection of his essays, Kaigi to shinkō,
or Doubt and Belief, appeared, which contained pieces from as early as September, 1953, and as recent as January, 1957. The bulk of the essays, however, are from the year 1956. This was a period of world-wide concern over the dangers of the atomic bomb and the threat of a third world war between the Communist world and the so-called Free World. It was also a time when there was considerable reaction by the Japanese public to the alleged moral dangers posed by some recent works of literature, most notably Tanizaki's novel of middle-aged sexual adventure, Kagi (Key) (1956), and Ishihara Shintarō's novel of rebellious youth, Taiyō no kisetsu (Season of Violence) (1955). Many of the essays comprising Kaigi to shinkō are topical yet read quite well even now. His concern ranges from such eternal matters as art and religion to current phenomena such as Billy Graham, the new religions of Japan, eroticism in fiction, white prejudices against non-whites, debates over capital punishment, and above all nuclear weapons. The cloud of the atom bomb casts its shadow over much of his thought in Kaigi to shinkō.

Hakuchō had visited Hiroshima to view the ruins of the atomic blast during the rainy season in 1953. On his way back to Tokyo he visited the Kokedera (Moss Temple) and Katsura Detached Palace in Kyoto, but declared himself most impressed by the Honnōji where Oda Nobunaga had been treacherously slain on June 2, 1582. As we have seen, Hakuchō seemed to believe he was a genealogical descendant of Nobunaga; his visit to the Honnōji in 1953 resulted in
"Honnōji no Nobunaga" (Nobunaga at the Honnōji), which appeared in Gunzō in September, 1953. He had written the story soon after conceiving of it on a night train on the last day of his sight-seeing. In it Nobunaga is described as looking at the rainy sky one day and saying: "On a day like today I'd like to kill somebody." One can imagine how the visit to the ultimate symbol of man's inhumanity to man, the site of the nuclear holocaust at Hiroshima, must have interacted with his impressions of the scene of the assassination of the great warrior Nobunaga.

When speaking of the new religions that were burgeoning in popularity in Japan at the time, Hakuchō declared that delusion in religion, solace through belief in the improbable, such as meeting departed loved ones in the great beyond, was a natural and useful fact of human nature. Although he would not condemn the new religions out of hand, he was impatient with the meanness of their coercion of members and general materialism, which he saw as like the attitude of that other modern religion--science--which has produced the atomic bomb to threaten mankind. He issues a challenge to the leaders of the new religions to prove they are as great as they pretend by working miracles to rid the world of the threats posed by the bombs of science. He felt that the old religions, Buddhism and Christianity, had lost their prestige. Buddhism had lost its vitality and Christianity, which he saw as still valid in its Western context, did not seem to suit most Japanese. Even in the West, though,
Christianity was not working as it should, for he felt that a true Christian would pray for the Second Coming of Christ rather than cling to the essentially political hope that the United States and the Soviet Union would agree to ban the use of nuclear weapons. The preeminence of the practical over the spiritual was to Hakuchō an indication that the faith of Western Christians had deteriorated. Hakuchō was an admirer of the blind and total faith of the medieval Japanese Buddhist and European Christian, so that his disappointment in the religious faith of contemporary man is not surprising.

Hakuchō saw the loss of vitality of traditional organized religion to parallel a similar decline in literature. In the same way that the new religions appeared to play upon the insecurities of the common man, a shoddy pseudo-artistic literature had arrived to fill the literary vacuum. In the essay "Shinkō-shūkyō ni renkan shite" (Pertaining to the New Religions) (July, 1956) he concludes that it is not his purpose to ridicule the new religions, but that he only hopes a second Christ or Buddha will appear to lead men to some new deception (usono sekai, or "false world"). In another essay in Kaigi to shinkō, "Bungaku to dōtoku," or "Literature and Morality" (April, 1956), however, Hakuchō is not so kind to the sensational novel Taiyō no kisetsu. He finds it without the originality and artistic force of a Chikamatsu drama, and seems to imply that one could get more out of jamming into a stadium to hear Billy Graham preach
than from a reading of one of the so-called avant-garde writers. He even quotes an especially bizarre passage from Taiyō no kisetsu, in which an erect penis pokes its way through a paper door, and details how that activity was nothing new in his day as a student in Honami to illustrate his point that there is little truly original in Ishihara's work.\textsuperscript{438} In another essay, "Waisetsu to kentō" (Obscenity and Combat) (August, 1956), although he is not particularly unkind to Tanizaki's Kagi, he states that one reading of it will suffice for his lifetime, for at his age he has no need of concern for sex.\textsuperscript{439} He concludes "Waisetsu to kentō" by noting that although tales of valor and romance have been the stuff of literature since Homer's time, he has lost interest in such things. This essay seems to be an important part of his farewell to literature, for he notes that he is incapable of breathing the much-needed life into literature by writing interestingly on something else.\textsuperscript{440}

Ōiwa Kō, who was a friend of Hakuchō from the 1940's and who last saw him in the fall of 1961, a year before his death, notes that from about 1957-1958 Hakuchō began to speak often of death.\textsuperscript{441} In the essay "Mata ichinen" (Another Year) (December, 1956) Hakuchō speaks of his thoughts at year's end. He notes that if he lives yet another year—-he was now seventy-seven—he will no doubt read and experience various things, but his faith will not deepen nor his doubt increase. And he will draw no closer to the crucial problem of the meaning of existence.\textsuperscript{442}
Oiwa sees Hakucho as preparing for the eventual profession of his Christian faith by writing the various essays concerned with religious questions that are contained in the two volumes *Kotoshi no aki* (The Autumn of This Year) (May, 1959), which won the Yomiuri Prize for Literature in 1960, and *Hitotsu no himitsu* (One Secret) (November, 1961). The story "Kotoshi no aki," an autobiographical account of the recent death of his brother, had appeared in *Chūō Kōron* in January, 1959. In "Kotoshi no aki" Hakucho speaks of the blessings of baptism. In *Hitotsu no himitsu* there is admiration for Christianity and envy of the solace faith can give one at death. Oiwa sees *Kaigi to shinkō, Kotoshi no aki,* and *Hitotsu no himitsu* as links in a chain of concern over the question of how Hakucho should face death, and his important speech "Bungaku seikatsu no rokujūnen" (Sixty Years of Literary Life) (April 12, 1962), which appeared in the *Chūō Kōron* in December, 1962, as an intensification of that concern.

In "Kotoshi no aki" Hakucho treats the death of his brother, although painful to Hakucho, as a learning experience. Apparently his brother's deathbed baptism was forced upon him by a Catholic priest from the girls school in Ookayama where Tadao worked; Hakucho felt that through his baptism his dying brother was happier than he, the survivor. The question that torments Hakucho in "Kotoshi no aki" is whether he will call upon Christ when he himself is about to die. Hakucho does not say specifically what he learned from
his brother's death, but to Hyōdō Masanosuke it was to believe in Christ unconditionally, as he was to profess to the minister Uemura Tamaki on his own deathbed, as we shall see.\(^{445}\)

In his lively speech in the Yomiuri Hall in Tokyo on the night of April 12, 1962, Hakuchō said that he had reached no conclusions about the nature of human existence, that no matter how long he lived he could get no satisfactory answers to the problem of existence. Even in the novels of Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky he could not find what he was seeking; literature was only momentary consolation. He felt his life and work amounted to nothing; he had tried to resign himself to those facts, but somehow he could not fully.\(^{446}\) He said that he felt grateful for the life of Christ, and found His coming to earth as an ordinary mortal especially noble. But Hakuchō wondered why he could not be blessed with the miracle of faith and lose his anguish through its consolation. Hakuchō felt that his art was doomed to despair. Although he realized that one might win praise for one's literature of despair, he also wondered why there was no one who wrote a literature of faith. In concluding "Sixty Years of Literary Life" he speculated whether man with his limited powers can hope to attain that wonderful something for which he is destined in life; Hakuchō confessed that he was constantly beset by that question--can man hope for spiritual peace?\(^{447}\)

Ōiwa Kō sees Hakuchō's speech as a balance sheet for his life,\(^{448}\) He stresses that Hakuchō was affirming the
fact of peace eventually coming, and only having doubts about when man can expect it. Hakuchō had constantly said that he could not be an ordinary man, that is, a believer, but to Ōiwa Hakuchō at the very time he expresses these concerns is already one of the believers. 449 It is clear now that Hakuchō did not find fault with Christianity itself and its believers, but rather with himself for being different from the mass of humanity and incapable of belief. It may seem strange to say Hakuchō was different from the mass of humanity because he could not believe in Christianity, for he was after all Japanese and the percentage of Christians among the total population of Japan is minute. But in Hakuchō's case such narrow cultural and national limitations must be suspended, for we have seen that Hakuchō's intellect was sophisticated and well-grounded in an appreciation of the aesthetic values and religious principles of the Western tradition. Whatever barriers his Japaneseness might have placed in the way of an acceptance of Christianity seem more than compensated for by his uncommon knowledge of its power to console its believers. As we have seen in the discussion of Kaigi to shinkō, Hakuchō had a high standard for true religious belief. Indeed he may have expected the impossible from himself and twentieth-century Western Christians in hoping for the total faith characteristic of medieval times. Modern man, especially in this century, has been subjected to a rule of science and rationalist thought, as Hakuchō himself recognized, that has permeated his social institutions.
and individual thought processes in a way medieval man could never have conceived of. Hakuchō was educated in the 1880's and 1890's, a time when Western scientific method and pragmatic thought were being officially encouraged and widely accepted in Japan. It is impossible to think that Hakuchō escaped the influence of the scientism of the Meiji era. It is ironic to think how he was also introduced to Western Christianity, whose tenets and miracles seem difficult to believe when removed from their Western historical and cultural context, in this atmosphere of pragmatic Meiji worship of scientific study and industrial growth.

In the summer of 1961, the year before he was to die, Hakuchō told a friend that he wanted his funeral according to Buddhist ceremony. In the spring of 1962, however, he told the Reverend Uemura Tamaki, the daughter of his former pastor Uemura Masahisa, that he would like his funeral according to Christian ritual. This was on March 29, 1962, at the funeral for the poet and novelist Murō Saisei. Hakuchō was aware that he had no religion of his own, so that on April 1 he visited Uemura Tamaki to ask her to conduct his own funeral. She hesitated to commit herself to a definite promise, however, for she wanted to affirm Hakuchō's faith in Christianity.450

On April 18 Uemura visited Hakuchō's home and held Christian services there. The Masamune and Uemura families had been close since the end of the war. According to an account by one of those present, Honda Akiyuki, Hakuchō said
amen when Honda finished a prayer. Surprised at this, Honda asked Hakuchō if he believed in Christ, to which Hakuchō answered, "I do" (shinjimasu). Ōiwa Kō feels that Honda was perhaps mistaking the content of Uemura Tamaki's funeral address, in which she relates how Hakuchō said amen on his deathbed, with the events of the prayer meeting. Ōiwa feels that the communication between Hakuchō and Uemura at the prayer meeting was, as Hakuchō reported, non-verbal. As Ōiwa reconstructs it, listening to her sing hymns that her father had loved, Hakuchō thought of her father and felt as if she were telling him through her actions that she would agree to conduct his funeral after all.451

As was illustrated in Kurosawa Akira's film "Rashōmon" (an adaptation of the Akutagawa short story "Yabu no naka," or "In a Grove"), life holds as many realities as there are sentient beings to perceive them, so that there are as many points of view in the retelling of an event as there are versions. At times many of the events of Hakuchō's last year resemble a scene from "Rashōmon," as facts and opinions appear to blur or put into focus one's conception of the events. As is related in Hakuchō's "Kansō dampen" (Shreds of Thoughts), which appeared in the Tokyo Shimbun on May 7 and 8, 1962, there were a number of participants in the prayer meeting besides the Masamunes and Reverend Uemura Tamaki.452 Gotō Ryō obtained an interview with one of the women present at the meeting, and she reported that Hakuchō suddenly withdrew from the gathering in silence when Uemura Tamaki
announced that they would begin and she stated that any writer, no matter how great, is powerless in the presence of the Lord. Mrs. Masamune was left behind to cover her embarrassment with profuse apologies. The one thing that is certain is that there was no opportunity to discuss Hakucho's funeral arrangements at the prayer meeting; no definite agreement was made between Uemura and Hakucho, although Hakucho did state in "Kansō dampen" that he felt as if there was an unspoken one. 453

Hakucho seemed to be acting upon this unspoken agreement which he felt he had with the Reverend Uemura Tamaki, for he seemed more of a Christian now in the orthodox sense. In mid-May he attended services at a Christian church near Keiō University in Tokyo, perhaps because he wished to have his funeral held there; 454 in August he visited a Christian church in Karuizawa. 455 In the summer of 1962 Hakucho's health deteriorated rapidly, so that in early August he went to Karuizawa to remove himself from the stifling heat of Tokyo, which was making his stomach pains increasingly acute. About August 20 there were signs that his condition had suddenly taken another turn for the worse; on August 25 he returned to Tokyo for treatment. He weighed less than eighty pounds when he entered the hospital; exploratory surgery on September 5 revealed cancer of the pancreas. 456

After the operation Hakucho's appetite returned and he relaxed by reading Gibbon's The Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire, but about September 20 he lost his appetite again. 457
According to his wife Tsune's "Byōshō nisshi" (Daily Report by a Sickbed), published in Bungei in January, 1963, Hakuchō told her on October 6 to have Uemura preside over his funeral, a simple funeral with just a few relatives present. 458 On October 11, Tsune visited Uemura and asked for her help should the worst come and she readily agreed. On October 12, Uemura began her daily visits to Hakuchō's hospital room, where she sang hymns and prayed. On one occasion, his wife reports, he grasped Uemura's arm firmly and looked up at her in gratitude. 459 The entry of Tsune's "Byōshō nisshi" for October 16, 1962, states that Hakuchō had told her he was not a large (tairyō aru) enough person to abandon everything and follow Christ. 460 Yet on October 25, Hakuchō said that he wanted his funeral held in a church. To Ōiwa Kō the fact that Hakuchō wanted a Christian funeral so badly and the fact that Uemura Tamaki made daily visits to his hospital room constitute important corroborative evidence that Hakuchō considered himself a Christian. 461 He also sees Tsune's firm faith and her praying for his recovery as undoubtedly influencing Hakuchō to come back to the Christian faith. 462

Hakuchō died on the morning of October 28, 1962; an account of his last hours by Uemura Tamaki, who was at his bedside, appeared in the Asahi Shimbun on October 29. She had asked Hakuchō if he believed in Christ. His reply was broken, but he said that he had done many wrong things, but since Christ had forgiven him, he could go to Christ's side.
Oiwa Kō quite correctly points to the significance of Hakuchō's saying explicitly that Christ had forgiven him; Oiwa even holds the extreme view that this is the first appearance of such a sentiment in the history of Japanese literature. Oiwa notes that Doppo, Tōson, Hōmei, and Arishima Takeo all broke away from their faith, and that writers with an interest in Christianity such as Hori Tatsuo, Akutagawa, and Dazai Osamu could not be expected to understand that their sins were atoned for through the crucifixion of Jesus.

When Uemura had finished praying by his bedside, Hakuchō clearly added, "Amen," which would indicate that he was participating in the prayer. Given Hakuchō's familiarity with the Bible and Christianity it can be assumed that he understood the Christian use of the word "amen" to indicate agreement with what has been said, usually the content of some form of prayer. Oiwa sees this utterance as indicating that Hakuchō indeed was agreeing with the statement of the prayer and thus professing his Christian faith. He points to the fact that Hakuchō had prayed with Uemura Tamaki's father and that the daughter had made a score of visits to Hakuchō's bedside.

Hakuchō asked to have a simple funeral and confessed that he had been unkind to many people in his lifetime and wanted to apologize to those he had wronged. Uemura Tamaki saw that as Hakuchō's last will and testament. To Oiwa Hakuchō was apologizing to his wife more than anyone. He finds
truth in Usui Yoshimi's point that when Hakuchō lay dying and said amen to Uemura's prayer his spirit was at its weakest it had been during his life. What Ōiwa finds the most convincing in his argument for Hakuchō's profession of Christianity is Hakuchō's desire to reconcile himself with everyone before dying, to leave this world with his ledger clean, which although not exclusively Christian is nevertheless extremely central in Christian thinking. The Christian must leave this world without sin, he must have repented and forgiven his transgressors. This is an attitude of humility which the Christian seeks in emulation of the example of Jesus who willingly died on the cross and asked God's forgiveness for His murderers. Ōiwa's arguments are compelling, for this is certainly the feeling one gets about Hakuchō's attitude from the information and descriptions of his last days available.465

As Gotō Ryō reconstructs Hakuchō's last days, one day about October 22 Hakuchō took Uemura's hand as she was praying and told her how Kunikida Doppo, when he was dying, had called for his father and told him to pray, lamenting that he himself could not pray.466 In 1954 Hakuchō had written in "Yokubō wa shi yori tsuyoshi" (Desire Is Stronger Than Death) that, like Doppo, he too would probably be unable to pray when his time came.467 Uemura recounts that Hakuchō then said, "Amen," looking at her intently. Uemura said, "You do not doubt now, do you?" And when she echoed the words of Jesus to Thomas that those who believe without
seeing are blessed (saiwai), Hakuchō said that he had become simple (tanjun), that is, wholehearted in his belief, that he believed, that he would follow Christ, and great relief showed upon his face. Goto comments that the famous surgeon and the others who attended Hakuchō came to admire his strength in the face of death.468

In the light of Hakuchō's activities and attitudes during 1962 it is difficult to account for the tremendous reaction to Uemura Tamaki's revelation of Hakuchō's Christian faith. The whole furor that followed—Hyōdō Masanosuke's bibliography has about thirty entries from October 29, 1962, through February, 1963, nearly half of them specifically alluding to his death or Christianity in the title—may be seen as one indication of the stature of Hakuchō in the minds of his literary colleagues. It is customary to eulogize a departed writer widely in Japan, but rarely does a novelist die a natural death, as opposed to suicide, and cause a sensation. Most of the debate was over the exact time Hakuchō returned to Christianity and not a dispute about whether he did indeed die a Christian. However, some felt compelled to assert that Hakuchō never returned to the faith.

Hyōdō's account of these debates is the most complete. As he notes, Kobayashi Hideo and Takami Jun had in a sense resolved the problem in advance. After participating in a zadankai (round-table discussion) with Hakuchō and Hirotsu Kazuo in late 1961 they concluded from the opinions he
expressed that he had to be a Christian. Hirotsu Kazuo, who from his youth knew Hakuchō, was not certain, however, in his article in the Chūō Koron, "Hakuchō-san no omoide" (Memories of Hakuchō) (December, 1962), whether Hakuchō was a believer or not. Senuma Shigeki likewise doubted Hakuchō's conversion. We have seen Usui's opinion that all that is known for certain is that Hakuchō was in a helpless state on his deathbed. Funabashi Seiichi felt that it was preposterous to conclude that the great "realist" Hakuchō was signifying blind faith in Christianity by simply capping a prayer with "amen." He attributed Hakuchō's cooperation to a weakened condition of the thought processes, that is, to brain damage. He saw it as a physiological rather than a philosophical problem. Okuno Takeo likewise does not take Hakuchō's amen at its face value. In "Hakuchō no shi" (The Death of Hakuchō) in the Yomiuri on November 5, 1962, he asserts that Hakuchō was merely expressing openly the idealism and romanticism he had kept hidden for so long. In other words, he was finally dropping his nihilistic, naturalist pose.

Hyōdō traces two lines of thought in Hakuchō's previous statements on the subject of his Christianity. On the one hand Hakuchō often said he could never regain his faith, while on the other he said he could never lose his faith. In 1924 he found nothing particularly admirable about the Swedish playwright Strindberg's return to the Catholicism of his childhood in his old age, which Hakuchō saw as a result
of his senility. In 1948 Hakucho said that he was not one of those who becomes religious with approaching age. In 1954, 1958, and 1961, he said that he was incapable of a return to religion in old age or on his deathbed. However, as we have seen, in 1955 he said that Tsune's Christianity was probably a result of his influence. In 1957 he stated that although it is usually said that he abandoned religion after graduation from Waseda, he could never really abandon it. In 1959 Hakucho said that he stopped going to church, but the spirit of Christ was still in him, that he loved the Bible and could not forsake Christ. Thus goes the puzzle of just what Hakucho believed. This conflict between doubt and faith which characterized his later thought no doubt accounts for the wide range of interpretation of the meaning of his death.

Some of the more extreme interpretations of Hakucho's death can be discounted. Hyōdō Masanosuke, for example, refutes Funabashi's thesis by noting that there is no evidence of any brain impairment in Tsune's "Byōshō nisshi" from the time Hakucho entered the hospital until his death. Until there is evidence of a female conspiracy to pass the dying atheist Hakucho off to the world as a Christian, the accounts of Tsune and Uemura Tamaki will have to be trusted. All that remains are some comments on the nature of his Christian faith; in this connection the opinions of Kitamori Kazō, the most prominent Protestant theologian of present-day Japan, are of interest.
Kitamori sees Hakuchō's fear of death leading him to Christianity. What was impressed upon him by Uchimura Kanzō was that every Christian must bear his cross (no cross, no crown). Every Christian had to have resolve in the faith and this required the resolve to face death. Hakuchō was unable to accept death, and his realization of this forced him in his essential honesty to abandon Christianity. Nonetheless, he never completely deserted the Christian sphere, but continued, in Kitamori's words, to orbit the faith like a satellite. Kitamori notes that in discussing the difference between the Buddhist and Christian approaches to salvation, Hakuchō once said that whereas Buddhism takes one in gently, Christianity is severe and makes its converts shoulder their crosses and go off to battle. He sees Hakuchō's mention of Christianity's severity as a result of his own religious suffering in trying to accept Christianity.475

Kitamori claims to have predicted for many years before Hakuchō's death that he would one day return to the fold and to have surmised that the most likely time for Hakuchō's reaffirmation of Christianity would be as death approached. To Kitamori what courses through the sixty years of Hakuchō's thought from his early twenties until his death is his fear of death, which led him initially to Christianity and then forced him away. What Hakuchō wanted to write about more than anything was the ugly spectacle of man consumed with desire as though death were not lying before him. His first consideration was not literary skill but the depiction of the
puzzle of human existence. He concludes that Hakucho liked the works of Tōson best of any Japanese author, because this puzzle is dealt with so realistically in his works. 476

That Hakucho's "fear of death" (one might substitute "anxiety over the nature of the human condition") courses through the entire sixty years of Hakucho's thought must be emphasized. Hakucho's Christianity provided the context, a philosophical framework, in which he discussed his existential concern. Literature was for most of his life the vehicle he found most suitable for commenting upon the nature of human reality; naturalism was the literary philosophy which freed him from facile philosophical assumptions and gave him strength to doubt. One must reiterate that although the drama of his deathbed conversion is compelling, it came almost as an anticlimax to a long and singleminded literary career that is unique in the history of twentieth-century Japanese literature. Hakucho was never a poor man, so that he was seldom under the financial pressure to write that Shūsei often was. But Hakucho was never a dilettante, either. He knew that he would never be a Tolstoy or Dostoyevsky, a Sōseki or Tōson, or even a Katai or Shūsei, but that was never his purpose. He sought only to illuminate a corner of human reality in his writings and ask the question he was to despair of ever answering—why?
SECTION THREE

NATURALIST FICTION OF HAKUCHÔ AND SHÛSEI, 1907-1911

1907: Hakuchô's "Jin'ai," Japanese and Western Naturalism

It is hoped that the story of the naturalist movement in Japan has taken shape through the biographies of Tokuda Shûsei and Masamune Hakuchô. As we have seen, it was a movement whose dominance was short-lived but whose influence was pervasive. We have noted that the critic Hakuchô considered that naturalist fiction was being produced by Shûsei and Tôson as late as the early 1940's. With this historical framework as the backdrop we can now turn to an examination of the significant naturalist fiction written by Hakuchô and Shûsei during the naturalist period of about 1907 to 1911.

Inasmuch as Hakuchô was the first of the two to emerge as a naturalist writer, we may begin with a discussion of "Jin'ai," which is usually said to have established Hakuchô as a naturalist writer in February, 1907.

"Jin'ai" is a brief story, which is remarkable for giving the reader a revealing look at two characters who manage to come alive through Hakuchô's short narrative. The story is set in a dingy newspaper office crowded with reporters. The time is a few days before the New Year, a time when Japanese traditionally tie together the loose ends of
the old year by repaying their debts and preparing to make
calls on their friends and family. The gray mood of the
story contrasts with the more festive air the Japanese read­
er would expect during the approach of the holiday season.

The cinematic, modern nature of the story is evident
from the opening paragraph. It begins with the page two
editor shouting that the copy is ready and continues with a
description of the stifling atmosphere of the crowded office
stuffy from the heat of the stove in winter. As in a 1930's
Hollywood movie, atmosphere is produced by the inclusion of
superfluous characters, the reporters, whose frivolous ban­
ter about a sensational murder is reported verbatim. The
central symbol of the story, the dust of the dirty streets
of Tokyo, is introduced early by one of these superfluous
characters. There is the notion that the unhealthy atmos­
phere gradually destroys everyone. They are all simply
"withering in instalments," for most people are denied the
tragic beauty of an early death, and are fated to wither,
to grow old and die.

The story is told in the form of a first-person narra­
tive by a young proofreader, who we are told will be twenty­
five with the new year. He describes his general insignifi­
cance and low social position, as well as how he had once
tried unsuccessfully to emigrate to South American but still
has far-fetched dreams about a bright future for himself.
He is contrasted with another character, fellow proofreader
Ono, an older man of drab appearance and taciturn manner who
has been with the newspaper more than thirty years.

The central incident of the story consists of the young man inviting Ono to have a few drinks with him after work. After another conversation between a couple of reporters in which one, who is described as usually jovial, relates the futility of his work—he works hard, but all he gets are colds and diarrhea—the young man and Ono go out drinking. The bleakness of winter and the cause for reflection on what one has achieved that the year's end brings seem to cast an air of melancholy over everyone's thoughts.

When they are finally settled in an inexpensive restaurant—when asked where he would like to go Ono answers only some place cheap—the young man notes how Ono is like a lifeless statue. His eyes are dull and he seems totally enervated by his decades of monotonous and meaningless work at the newspaper office. The sake they drink allows Ono to relax and to become more communicative, however, so that he is able to relate how he had had hopes for his life as a young man but is now little more than an automaton in the employ of his newspaper. Ono has been completely destroyed by the routine of his work, and the young narrator seems perceptive enough to see Ono as an image of what he himself would be like were he to resign himself to a lifetime of proofreading.

Masamune Hakuchō, as we have seen, is often described as an existentialist writer. The whole philosophy of "Jin'ai," and especially the characterization of Ono, is a good
example of what might lead Japanese critics to refer to Hakuchō's writings in existentialist terms. After presenting his bleak situation and philosophy to the narrator, Ono says of himself, "I keep thinking that the only thing I have to be thankful for is that I'm alive." The following day when the two meet again at work Ono is his old laconic self, wrapped in his attitude of resignation and indifference. The narrator must perform his monotonous tasks again that day as usual; he closes his story with the comment, "I consolated myself thinking I have a future."

The lifeless Ono seems to represent the reality of despair, whereas the young first-person narrator embodies the illusion of hope. We know that the story is to some extent autobiographical; we could give in to the temptation to view the narrator simply as Hakuchō. But viewing the story as a separate fictional reality, we can only assume that the odds are against the young hero really escaping the dust of the grimy workaday world Hakuchō describes. He still has his hopes for the future to console him, but Hakuchō tells us little about him to indicate that he is different from the mass of humanity, that he will succeed in escaping the process of "withering in instalments" where others have failed. When one considers that this is a Meiji story, a product of an age often characterized as optimistic and buoyant, one can feel the psychological and philosophical effects of the post-Russo-Japanese War disillusionment and doubt referred to earlier.
At this point we may compare briefly Japanese naturalism and Western naturalism. If a story such as "Jin'ai" is an example of naturalist fiction, then in what way is it naturalistic and is it universally naturalistic in the sense that it forms part of a world literature of naturalism? To avoid a confusion in literary terms, we might first examine the question of what is meant by naturalism in the West.

Naturalism in the West grew out of literary realism, but there seems to be considerable uncertainty about exactly where the one movement ended and the other began. This historical problem is compounded by the fact that the term "realism" is one of the vaguest terms in the Western critical vocabulary, signifying different things in different contexts. For this reason Professor Harry Levin asserts that realism is "a general tendency, and not a specific doctrine." But he also notes that "of the successive generations that have been shaken by literary revolution, only one—the middle generation of the nineteenth century—claims the explicit label of realism." As a "movement" realism belongs primarily to France in the 1850's; it was the painter Gustave Courbet who first willingly accepted the label of realist and the term was soon used in literary contexts as well. In the 1850's Balzac (1799-1850) was recognized in retrospect as the premier realist, although he lived during the earlier romantic period; the greatest masterpiece of the realist movement was Flaubert's Madame Bovary (1857).

The two primary theorists of the realist movement were
Edmond Duranty, who edited seven issues of a literary periodical, *Realisme*, from November, 1856, through May, 1857, and Jules Fleury-Husson, who produced a volume of criticism, *Le Réalisme*, under his pseudonym, Champfleury, in 1857. Both men "followed rather than led" the realistic trend that they perceived, but they did attempt to articulate a "philosophy" of realism. In his magazine Duranty expounded the realistic "theory of the meticulous reproduction of contemporary reality without point of view, personal opinion, or moral bias." Duranty described the probable results of realism as "the exact, complete, sincere reproduction of the social milieu and the epoch in which one lives." Realism was an attempt to make artistic expression reflect a more objective reality than literature was in the habit of expressing, to eliminate what were seen as the fanciful excesses of romanticism. Of the theories of realism of Champfleury Levin notes:

His own laconic definition of realism, "sincerity in art," was based upon one of the most elusive words in the critical vocabulary; but it meant something against a context of artistic affectation, and against the constant enthymeme that the lower classes were more rewarding than upper-class subjects because they were more sincere.

The appearance and growth of realism can be seen as the reflection in art and literature of a general impetus towards democratization in France following the social upheavals of 1848. The result in literature was to expose wider areas of society and human endeavor to the view of the serious novelist.

Realism was established in literature by 1858, but in
the 1860's and 1870's it was altered and redefined with naturalism as the final result. Foremost in the early stages of this alteration of realism were the brothers Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, whose most notable naturalistic novel, *Germinie Lacerteux*, appeared in 1864. The Goncourts were attracted to realism, but their "main preoccupation" became "a highly-wrought, artificial style calculated to act directly upon the reader's nerves like the glare and din of a modern city." Flaubert rejected the label of realist, because he "believed that the Realists perceived only the exterior of things and did not concern themselves with the interior; while he considered that what an external phenomenon meant was more important than its appearance." Of especial interest in the light of the theories of literature that the Japanese naturalists developed is Flaubert's contempt for photography. Flaubert rejected the realists, because he "thought that the Realists merely copied without choice, as a photograph registers things...The camera is incapable of choice, and he considered that the value of an artist lay in his power of choice." Flaubert never restricted himself to just one artistic approach as a true realist would do; he adapted his style to fit his subject matter. He used a realistic style in *Madame Bovary*, because he felt it was the style most appropriate for such a novel of real life. However, as Lafcadio Hearn remarked in one of his lectures to the students of Tokyo University, Flaubert "thought that an
irregular, fantastic, highly coloured prose was best suited to romance of an exotic character, and in this style he wrote his "Salammbô," which is a story of ancient Carthage.\(^{16}\) Thus, it is in the writing of the Goncourts that the spirit and impetus of realism was continued in the 1860's. To their work was soon added that of Émile Zola, who was to become the greatest literary theoretician and exponent of naturalism and the man usually associated with the naturalist movement.

Zola's first significant work of fiction was the novel Thérèse Raquin (1867). The novel was not really an example of the clinical, naturalistic dissections of an area of society that Zola soon would be identified with, for it dealt with an adulterous love triangle and contained many non-naturalistic, even romantic elements such as impressionistic description, symbolism, humor,\(^ {17}\) and the unmistakable "imprint of the author's personality."\(^ {18}\) However, the public and critical reaction to the sexuality and the general low-class, animal crudity of the characters of the novel led Zola to write a preface to the second edition of Thérèse Raquin in 1868, in which he defends himself against the charges of obscenity by claiming that his "object has been first and foremost a scientific one."\(^ {19}\) This preface contains much of the style and thought that would always characterize Zola. He is now the scientist of novelists writing the literature of the future; his answer to his critics takes the form of the characteristic Zola fusillade of abuse for
not only his critics themselves but for nearly all of mankind, as when he says, "At the present time there are scarcely more than two or three men who can read, appreciate, and judge a book," referring, of course, to Zola himself, and one or two unnamed others. Zola was one of those literary figures who was larger than life, a legend in his own lifetime, and known more as a literary figure and celebrity than a creative literary genius. He was dynamic and vocal in his championing of his theories of naturalism, although he "admitted in cynical moments that it was mere publicity."21

Zola's greatest achievement as a novelist was his immense series of twenty novels, the Rougon-Macquart series,22 which appeared at the rate of one novel each year (except 1879, 1881, and 1889) from 1871 through 1893. This series forms the heart of French naturalist fiction and includes such famous works as L'Assommoir (1887), Nana (1880), Germinal (1885), L'Oeuvre (The Masterpiece) (1886), and La Terre (The Earth) (1887). These novels are linked through the frequent reappearance of characters in earlier works in later works; they are an attempt at a fictional exposition of nearly the whole of French society of Zola's day from the point of view of his naturalist theories. The longest, most complete presentation of his theories of fiction is found in his Le Roman experimental (The Experimental Novel) (1880). Although this essay is generally regarded as a pretentious failure--Angus Wilson says of it that "There are few literary manifestoes of such poor quality"23--it tries to be explicit
concerning the tenets of literary naturalism. However, Zola's essay is an illustration of the problems that occur whenever one leaves one's own field of competence, that is, when one tries to justify one's stand in one area of thought, in this case literature, relying solely on references to another area of thought, namely medicine. Claude Bernard's Introduction à l'étude de la médecine expérimentale (An Introduction to the Study of Experimental Medicine) had appeared in 1864, the same year, as Levin notes, that the Goncourts prefaced Germinie Lacerteux with the declaration that "The public likes false novels: this is a true novel." In The Experimental Novel Zola relies almost exclusively on Bernard's treatise, which Zola considered to be a monumental scientific study establishing once and for all the validity and primacy of the experimental method. He frequently quotes Bernard at length, asking the reader to "Put the word 'novel' in place of 'medicine,' and the passage remains equally true." The essay is thus in many places a confused jumble with the reader uncertain whether Zola is talking of literature or medicine, but through the repetition of his thoughts certain ideas for literature surface clearly.

Zola recognizes that the nineteenth century is an age of science; he proposes to write the literature of the scientific age. To Zola, what characterizes this scientific age is the experimental method, that is, "the substitution of a scientific criterion for a personal authority." "Experimental reasoning is based on doubt, for the
experimentalist should have no preconceived idea, in the face of nature." 28 What is perhaps most surprising is that Zola insists on a distinction between an "observer" and an "experimentalist." 29 The latter does not just observe natural phenomena without design or purpose, but seeks "a result which will serve to confirm the hypothesis or preconceived idea." 30 The "experimental novel" modifies nature, rather than simply copying it. 31 Exactly how a novel can modify nature never quite becomes clear in Zola's essay, although, of course, how medical discovery can effect nature requires no explanation. Zola declares that he is seeking a formulation of "the laws of thought and passion" in his novels; 32 he stresses the importance of heredity and environment and pays brief homage to the theories of Darwin. 33 What is most striking about the essay is its militant tone, which may be just another example of Zola's bravado born of his feelings of inferiority due to his modest education and cultural attainments, 34 but seems significant, nonetheless. Since the experimental novelist can modify nature, he can never be dismissed as a fatalist. 35 He has a moral purpose 36 and, through his alliance with the march of science, the strength and morality of "working with the whole country toward that great object, the conquest of nature and the increase of man's power a hundredfold." 37

Of style Zola says that "Rhetoric, for the moment, has no place here." 38 He feels that the critics of his day pay too much attention to stylistic considerations, and notes--
rather ironically in view of the style of his essay--that "the excellence of a style depends upon its logic and clear-
ness."39 His comments on the range of a novelist's subject
matter are far from epoch-making, but they are important as
a critical statement of literary prerogatives that he and
the Goncourts had already assumed. He says of himself and
his fellow novelists, "We have not exhausted our matter when
we have depicted anger, avarice, and love; all nature and
all of man belong to us, not only in their phenomena, but in
the cause of their phenomena."40

Fortunately for Zola and French literature, naturalist
fiction in general and that of Zola in particular amounted
to much more than Zola's theorizing did. As for what nat-
uralism finally was in distinction to realism, Levin notes
the effects of Zola's attempts at a scientific examination
not only of the bourgeoisie but of the proletariat as well.

A novel, though it might be impeded by political bar-
riers, was free to lose itself in the uncharted contexts
of nature. But the naturalistic novel also involved
certain deterministic premises that realism ignored,
that inhibited freedom of action and relieved the char-
acters from responsibility for the degrading condition
in which the novelist found them. The novelist himself
was now a passive observer, a rigorous compiler of what
Edmond de Goncourt first termed "human documents."41

Although such a critic as Arnold Hauser may find it "to be
absolutely useless from a practical point of view" to insist
upon a distinction between realism and naturalism in the
light of the fluid boundary between the two,42 Levin's point
that fictional characters, being simply examples of human
animals, are no longer accountable for their actions may be
the most significant characteristic of naturalism in literature that can be used to distinguish it from realism.

The development of realism and naturalism in the United States was different from that in France, but it is definitely of some interest. "It was not till the eighties that the movement of realism began to excite wide interest" in America, but it soon replaced romanticism as the dominant fictional attitude. American realism "was a native growth, sprung from the soil, unconcerned with European technique," but American naturalism, like that of Japan, was influenced by that of Europe. The two greatest early proponents of naturalism in America were Stephen Crane, whose *The Red Badge of Courage* (1894) was inspired by the example of Zola's *Le débâcle* (The Downfall) (1892) as well as by Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, and Frank Norris, of whom his brother said, "'He was never without a yellow paper-covered novel of Zola in his hand.'" Like Japanese naturalists, Norris and Crane were attracted to the example of Zola but created their own characteristically American brand of naturalism. In the third volume of his *Main Currents in American Thought* (1927), Vernon Louis Parrington has listed the 'criteria of naturalism' much more succintly than Zola was ever able to do, and they should be of help in our discussion of Western and Japanese naturalism:

1. Objectivity.

2. Frankness.

3. An amoral attitude toward material.
4. A philosophy of determinism.

5. A bias toward pessimism in selecting details.

6. A bias in selection of characters. The naturalist commonly chooses one of three types:
   a. Characters of marked physique and small intellectual activity--persons of strong animal drives.
   b. Characters of excited, neurotic temperament, at the mercy of moods, driven by forces they do not stop to analyze.
   c. An occasional use of a strong character whose will is broken.47

It is not the purpose of this study to demonstrate that Japanese naturalism was the same as Western naturalism (or to confuse American with French naturalism), but certain similarities definitely exist between Japanese and Western naturalism that are too obvious to go unmentioned. The problem of "objectivity," just what it means in fiction and how to distinguish it from subjectivity, may prove insolvable, but at least a superficial comparison of Japanese naturalism with Parrington's criteria of American naturalism should be fruitful. After noting that the Japanese naturalist fictional hero is nearly always of the "excited, neurotic" type (rather than the other two which Parrington lists), it must be agreed that Japanese naturalism can be described to some extent by all of the above criteria. The fact that much of Japanese naturalist fiction is autobiographical does
not alter that fact, because what is done with the writer's material seems of more importance in literary criticism than what that material is and where it was obtained.

In Japan as in the West "naturalism represents more a constant wrestling with the spirit of romanticism than a victory over it." But, in speaking of the "anti-romantic and ethical features" of nineteenth-century European naturalism, Arnold Hauser—we have seen that he treats realism and naturalism as one fluid fictional process—lists the following in *The Social History of Art*:

> the refusal to escape from reality and the demand for absolute honesty in the description of facts; the striving for impersonality and impassibility as the guarantees of objectivity and social solidarity; activism as the attitude intent not only on knowing and describing but present as the sole object of consequence; and, finally, its popular trend both in the choice of subject and in the choice of public.

We have seen the activism of which Hauser speaks in our discussion of Zola's *The Experimental Novel*; this didactic emphasis upon the scientific method that Zola found so important seems to have been lacking from the attitude of the Japanese naturalists. In *The Experimental Novel* Zola even proclaims the nobility of novelists in their role as "pioneers;" perhaps the closest parallel is found in the uncompromising attitude of some Japanese naturalists such as Katai and Hōmei. Some other of Hauser's "features" of nineteenth-century European naturalism are, likewise, difficult to ascribe to Japanese naturalism. "The striving for impersonality and impassibility as the guarantees of
objectivity and social solidarity" would seem an inappropriate description of the Japanese naturalists relation to their fictional characters in the light of the frank autobiography of much of their fiction. The Japanese naturalists did exhibit a "popular trend" in the choice of their subject matter, however, particularly in such stories as Shūsei's Shinjotai. Furthermore, as provincials writing autobiographical fiction such a popular trend was, perhaps, to some extent inevitable. The popularity of their choice of public seems to present a variation from that of Western naturalists, however. The Japanese writer in the Meiji period was writing for an exclusively Japanese, rather than an international, audience. The naturalist writer, as we have seen, knew that his writing, unlike that of a widely popular writer like Sōseki, would appeal to and be read by only a small portion of the reading public, namely other writers, intellectuals, and, presumably, some students. The homogeneous nature of this audience may account, to some extent, for his willingness to ignore and to assume the social and cultural environment of his fictional characters. 51

This, plus the even more important ideological considerations which led the naturalist to a close examination of his own life in an attempt to re-create reality in his writing, seem to explain the usually narrow social scope of most Japanese naturalist fiction.

What seems especially true of Japanese naturalism is "the refusal to escape from reality and the demand for
absolute honesty," at least in theory. This is certainly the case in Hakuchō's "Jin'ai." Hakuchō is concerned with the here and now reality of the obscure proofreaders. He tries to re-create that reality through a faithful and objective delineation of the facts as he perceives them. Hauser speaks of the European naturalist's desire "to keep to the facts, to nothing but the facts," and that attitude is obviously true of Hakuchō's "Jin'ai," too.

The attempt at an objective inclusion of factual details in order to re-create reality scientifically is thus a characteristic of much of Japanese as well as of Western naturalism. Although one is tempted to stress the differences between Japanese and Western naturalism, to point to the uniqueness of Japanese naturalism, to do so can be misleading. The best general definition of naturalism that applies to that of Japan as well as to that of the West holds that "Naturalism is pessimistic realism, with a philosophy that sets man in a mechanical world and conceives of him as victimized by that world." If one can leave aside for the moment the persistent bugaboo of objectivity versus subjectivity—which leads to the equally troublesome question of fact and fiction in literature—and consider naturalism as "pessimistic realism," the discussion of the similarities between Japanese and Western naturalism seems simpler.

Even the biographical and autobiographical tendency of Japanese naturalism, the "I" novel, has its approximate counterpart in Western naturalism. The hero of the novel
Les Hommes de Lettres (Charles Demailly) (1860) by the Goncourt brothers, Edmond and Jules. The real life confidences of Mario Uchard were used without his consent by the Goncourts in Charles Demailly.\(^5\) We have seen how Japanese critics prefer to explain Haukchô's frequent treatment of the theme of insanity biographically, without much reference to the fact that as an often hereditary affliction it would naturally attract the attention of the naturalist, Japanese or Western. Charles Demailly contains descriptions of insanity that were once thought to be masterpieces of scientific realism.\(^5\) Zola's novel L'Assommoir contains a memorable account of insanity in the form of the delirium tremens and death of a hereditary alcoholic. What seems uniquely Japanese is the strict biography of much Japanese naturalist fiction, but Japanese critics, perhaps of necessity, seem to be highly biographical in their approach to fiction, too. For this reason the Japanese critic does not seem inclined, as the Western critic would probably be, to conclude that an interest in such themes as insanity is one characteristic of Japanese naturalism.

Novels on prostitutes and kept women such as Haukchô's Bikô and Shûsei's Tadare also have their counterparts in Western naturalism. La Fille Elisa (1877) by Edmond Goncourt was originally begun by both the brothers in October, 1862, as a book about a prostitute which would surpass Hugo's Les Misérables. In 1863 they did much note-taking in dance...
halls to gather material for La Fille Elisa, which certainly calls to mind the forays of Shūsei and Hakuchō into the brothels of Tokyo to "gather material" and "learn about the world." The Goncourts "even shared for a while the same mistress—a midwife called Maria—though it should be added that much of the time they spent with her was devoted to eliciting information about her profession to be used in their novels."  

Perhaps the greatest portrait of the destructive power of a beautiful courtesan is found in Nana (1880) by Émile Zola; a predictably more wholesome but nearly as effective American version of the naturalist fallen woman is Sister Carrie (1900) by Theodore Dreiser. The process of moral degeneration as described by Japanese naturalists does not always bring the complete physical degeneration usually depicted by Western naturalists, but the phenomenon in both cases is essentially the same. The degeneration of characters in such works as "Jin'ai" and many other works we have mentioned by Hakuchō, Shūsei, Katai, and Hōmei often seems more personal, however, than in the West, because of the frequent autobiography and the tighter focus of the more limited scope of the Japanese works. Nonetheless, this interest in moral decline is matched in the West by that found in such works as Zola's L'Assommoir, Nana, Germinal (1885), Dreiser's Sister Carrie, and McTeague (1898) by Frank Norris. The social position of the naturalists also presents many parallels with that of naturalists in the West. We
have seen how the Japanese naturalists became estranged from the rest of the *bundan* and from the Japanese political and social structure as well. In discussing the social position of French naturalists in the nineteenth century, Hauser notes that the ruling classes recognized that art which describes life without bias, which the naturalists set out to do, is revolutionary. The conservative critics of the 1850's cloaked their prejudices with aesthetic objections to naturalism.

Levin notes how the fact that the realists and naturalists were opposed during their day by the representatives of convention is generally overlooked today, and warns that we must not forget how often—during the nineteenth century—they were damned by critics, ignored by professors, turned down by publishers, opposed by the academies and the Salons, and censored and suppressed by the state. Whatever creed of realism they professed, their work was regarded as a form of subversion, and all the forces of convention were arrayed against them.

This parallels the reaction of the Meiji government to naturalism in the last years of Meiji as well as perhaps the reaction of the Imperial University conservatives Mori Ōgai and Ueda Bin. We have seen how the naturalists were attacked by academics for their presumption in trying to establish a literary movement even though many of the naturalists were not college graduates. Hauser speaks of how two trends evolved in European naturalism: the Bohemians and "the 'rentiers,' the Flauberts and the Goncourts." Hopefully it is not too facile to divide Japanese naturalists similarly into Bohemians such as Shūsei and Hōmei (especially
the latter), and "rentiers," or "men of means or property," such as Hākuchō and Katai. In Europe progressive artists such as the naturalists became estranged from the contemporary world; to Hauser naturalists such as Flaubert, Zola, and the Goncourt brothers represent the "spirit of criticism" of the Second Empire (1852-1870) in France. As we have noted, the Japanese naturalists, especially Hōgetsu and Hōmei, envisioned themselves as the skeptics of their age; their principal contribution to Japanese literature might be seen as an insistence on realism and verisimilitude in fiction which did much to hasten a reduction of the romantic excesses of earlier fiction.

An ironic footnote of sorts to the discussion of the parallels between Japanese and Western naturalism is the fact that there may well have been a decided Japanese influence on some of the earliest Western naturalists. In The Goncourts Robert Baldick notes of the brothers that their admiration for modern Japanese art, with its miniature effects, had a marked influence on their visual sense, and hence on their works, which depended in great part on visual observation. Just as their novels are built up piecemeal, so their descriptive passages reveal a distaste for large-scale effects and an obsession with details which are both picturesque and significant. When they began their novel Germinie Lacerteux in 1864, the Goncourts complained of the "public from which the truth in all its crudity has to be hidden," asking, "What right has it to insist that the novel should always lie to it, should always conceal the ugliness of life from its gaze?" Near the end of his life Jules de Goncourt noted to his brother
that their greatest contributions to art and literature were
the initiation of "the three great literary and artistic
movements of the second half of the nineteenth century,"
namely, "the pursuit of truth in literature, the resurrection
of eighteenth century art, and the triumph of things Japa-
nese." Baldick notes that "None of these claims can be
allowed to stand in its entirety today, yet there is some
justification for them all." Japanism was to be important
for its influence on Impressionism, rather than a great ar-
tistic movement of itself. While "the triumph of things
Japanese" is an example of earlier Japanese influence on the
West, "the pursuit of truth in literature" was to be of sub-
sequent influence on Japan.

"Jin'ai" is a naturalist story in that it is Hakuchō's
re-creation of reality. We have seen Hakuchō's distinction
between the desire of the naturalists to re-create reality
in art and Soseki's attempts to create art out of reality.
We have also seen how Hakuchō in later years came to feel
the impossibility of the objective scientific approach of
the naturalists, which he felt would always be betrayed by
the inadequacy of words. Be that as it may, if naturalism,
in Japan as well as in the West, is to be described as
"pessimistic realism," then "Jin'ai" is obviously a naturalist
story. Whether or not one agrees with the negative philoso-
phical conclusions pointed to by Hakuchō in "Jin'ai," it
must be admitted that this particular pessimistic re-creation
of nature (or reality) is a success. It is accurate and
believable with an unmistakable ring of truth to it. Today as then one could easily find such men as Ono, not only in Tokyo but in any large modern city of the world. The modernity of the story is a result of the credibility of Ono and the young narrator, which is made possible by the new literary priorities of naturalism.


That naturalism does indeed represent "more a wrestling with the spirit of romanticism than a victory over it" is evident from Hakucho's next significant work, "Doko-e." The hero of "Doko-e," Kenji, is a misunderstood young man, but he does not seem to want to be understood. He was the clown of his class in college, who neglected his studies but somehow managed to graduate. After graduation he had worked three months as a high school teacher, but for the past year since quitting he has been a reporter for a magazine. He lives with his father and mother and two younger sisters, Chiyo and Mitsu. His friends include Oda Tsunekichi, a responsible young man who struggles with translation work to earn money for his family, and the scholar Katsurada, a dryly serious man of about forty, and Katsurada's wife. Oda has an attractive young sister of marriageable age, O-Tsuru, whose future figures prominently in what action there is in the story. Oda repeatedly encourages Kenji to marry O-Tsuru, but Kenji, who is not at all interested in marriage, tries to promote a match between her and a more responsible suitor,
Minoura. We know that Kenji often buys the company of prostitutes, a certain O-Yuki in particular, but his only real communication seems to be with Mrs. Katsurada, a sensitive and intelligent woman who is withering away as the wife of the unapproachable scholar.

Kenji takes life easily, but his only problem is not whether but how to enjoy himself. He drinks a lot and sports with women, but this does not satisfy him, so that he often thinks of pleasures and stimuli beyond his reach, such as opium. On one occasion his sister Chiyo accuses him of lending money to Oda simply because he wants to marry Oda's sister. Nothing could be further from the truth; to escape this uncomprehending reality he fantasizes being blown to bits as a soldier in a revolutionary army or being hanged as a mountain bandit. He notes that human endeavors such as wars, revolutions, and arctic expeditions are man's way of relieving his boredom. Entering into the whirlpool or climbing the precipice leave one no time for yawning. 66 The extreme world-weariness of the hero, his lack of stimulation, a situation in which perhaps even a rash act would not arouse him from his ennui—is this not a somewhat romantic attitude being taken by the "scientific," "naturalistic" author? Kenji's intellectualizing and his awareness of himself remind one of the young hero of "Jin'ai," but their situations are significantly different. Kenji lacks the other man's freshness, the impression of unaffected interest in his own fate that makes it appropriate for the hero of "Jin'ai" even to
ask whether there is any hope for him. The "I" of "Jin'ai" is a man with little or no opportunities, whereas Kenji throws away his opportunities in favor of self-pity. In "Doko-e" there is no evidence of the notion of "man in a mechanical world and...victimized by that world," but in "Jin'ai" the young hero, and certainly Ono, seem to have no hope of controlling the effects of their environment upon their lives.

Kenji's father is a respectable but ultimately insignificant man, who is a bit of a romantic looking forward to retirement and learning to ride horses. He wants Kenji to hasten his marriage, which is taken as a necessary adjunct to a young person's settling down in life, so that there are the demands of the traditional virtue of filial piety hanging over Kenji's head as further reason to go against his instincts and marry. In one scene Kenji is being urged by his sister Chiyo to marry Oda Tsuru for the sake of filial piety, that is, in order to lighten his father's familial responsibilities. She says that the Odas are taking it for granted that Kenji and his family have consented. Kenji counters by insinuating that Chiyo wants him to marry O-Tsuru to get her out of the way and thus leave the field open for Chiyo herself to marry Minoura.67

Kenji has no real communication with anyone. His father, who is also ill, waits up for Kenji each night hoping for just a chance to talk to his son and trying at the same time not to alienate him. Kenji is aware of his concern,
but it only serves to irritate Kenji. Kēnji finds himself wandering around Oda's neighborhood in an attempt to avoid his father.68 When Oda appears one day, happy over his new job compiling a dictionary and the fact that he has just finished a full-length translation, Kenji congratulates him, but in fact feels it a pity that Oda works so much just for his fat wife and his family.69 Kenji views Professor Katsu-rada and his wife as living in a grave with the wife writhing. Kenji does not feel the need for a wife, but thinks Minoura should marry. To Kenji a woman is a lump of flesh; human beings are parasites.70

As "Doko-e" ends, it looks as if Oda has decided to give O-Tsuru in marriage to someone other than Kenji, namely Minoura. Although he had tried to avoid marrying her, this too upsets Kenji. He wanders off, but to where?

Although the success of "Doko-e" in 1908 is perhaps attributable to its great appeal to the intellectual mood in Tokyo at the time, it is of autobiographical interest as well. That is, there are definite links with other Hakucho stories and with Hakucho's struggle with his personal philosophy. We have seen how Kenji is intrigued by some sidewalk Salvation Army preachers because they believe they have found a philosophical answer. We know that the naturalists felt that the times did not permit belief, so that the blind faith of these popular Christians must have seemed incredible to Hakucho and Hakucho's more sympathetic readers. This is the blind faith that Hakucho admired in the medieval man of
Japan and Europe. There are other links between "Doko-e" and Hakucho's life, such as Kenji's mention of Napoleon.

Hakucho notes that the more Kenji is loved the more lonely and isolated he feels. Kenji wants to be wounded and afflicted; he prefers to wallow in self-pity. Kenji's make-up is different from that of Bunzo in Futabatei's _Ukigumo_. For whereas Bunzo's stubborn pride and complex psychology immobilize him and prevent him from showing his affection for his aunt O-Masa and the young girl O-Sei, Kenji is more of a poseur, being almost Byronic or, if not that, at any rate a self-pitying young man who seeks justification through social persecution. We know that Hakucho was capable of selfish and unkind behavior when he married in April, 1911, and that he mellowed in his relations with people as the years went by. In that light it is not hard to see how the mood of the times, Hakucho's reading, and his own personality could make a story such as "Doko-e" possible in 1908.

It is of interest that Hakucho again uses the symbol of the dust of the Ginza in "Doko-e." He notes that stories of romance and adventure no longer excite Kenji. Kenji has no sense of romance; he sees only the dust (hokori) of the Ginza. This "dust" to Hakucho seems to be a symbol of a naturalistic, concrete, objective reality, which contrasts with the romantic, imagined, subjective reality of books, art, religion, people's hopes and dreams. Kenji may be an unconscious romantic in his agonized pose, but he is also
one who faces life's grim reality directly. In his Marxist critique of Western naturalism in *The Necessity of Art*, Ernst Fischer states that "Naturalism revealed the fragmentation, the ugliness, the surf of filth of the capitalist bourgeois world, but it could go no further and deeper to recognize those forces which were preparing to destroy the world and establish socialism."73 Fischer's socialist resolution aside, this statement hints at much of the dilemma of Kenji in "Doko-e" and that of all of Japanese naturalism as well. Kenji, like the naturalists, feels the mood of alienation in his society and sees its mechanical ugliness, but he has no solution but psychological detachment and dispassionate observation. As Fischer notes in discussing the over-concentration of the Western naturalists on details, their photographic recording of conditions in effect supported the status quo—"The artist had lost 'the whole.'"74 However, Kenji's human reaction to the prospect that Minoura would indeed finally receive the hand of Oda Tsuru—the news staggers him—and the open-ended finish of the story may indicate that Kenji's (and certainly Hakuchō's) estrangement from belief and hope was not total and irreconcilable.

We have seen much of the autobiographical character of Hakuchō's next important story, his study of insanity "Jigoku," which appeared in January, 1909. "Jigoku" opens with the cold late autumn wind at B Gakuin, a Christian missionary school on the outskirts of a little town in the Chūgoku area of Japan (which of course includes Hakuchō's
native Okayama Prefecture), some "fourteen or fifteen years ago." Even the time corresponds with the facts of Hakucho's life. The hero is a sickly sixteen-year old boy, Akiura Otokichi, who does not follow the advice of his doctor, but then blames his doctor for his failure to recover. He finally stops going to the hospital, for he fears the medicine will poison him. He fears being crazy like his grandfather or fainting and dying like his grandmother. His earlier childhood fear of strange creatures and demons has been replaced by upsetting thoughts about the laws of heredity, physiological laws, which might threaten him; solitary reading is his only refuge from his fears.

The other characters include the missionary P and his wife and daughters, who do not take an active part in the action of the story, but simply function as "happy people" to be mentioned in contrast with the troubled Akiura. During the course of the story Akiura becomes the friend of another student, Sano, who is remarkable for drawing unflattering caricatures of Akiura in class, abusing Westerners, and making fun of their religion, Christianity. Another young fellow is Yonematsu, who is the son of a landlord and a youth with a checkered past. He says that he only wants money, that any job that makes him rich will be fine. He talks of geisha, chides Akiura for studying too much, and rattles on about how he will get away some day, to sail away and be a pirate.

A more important character is the woman referred to as
the female caretaker, who although not so old lives alone separated from her husband. Akiura begins to visit her and to rely upon her. She becomes his reluctant confidante. She is apparently a devout Christian and very loyal to the foreign missionary and his family, but Akiura tries to convince her she has been duped by them, that she should give up her nun-like existence and go out into the world. Akiura feels that if there were no people, there would be no pain and hardship, and also no hell. She is often startled by Akiura's strange ideas, but she hesitates to oppose him, because she is aware of his peculiarity and fears upsetting him. He becomes increasingly isolated until he reaches the point that he is even suspicious of Sano's innocent invitation to take a walk at school. He resists Sano's talk of how Yonematsu, who we know has been visiting the female caretaker, has been having sexual relations with her, but this seems to precipitate Akiura's final emotional collapse. In the end he sees something threatening on the mountain by the school and cries, "It's come!" The next day in school he finally breaks down and tells the class that they are all in danger, but that it is too late to stop it; they conclude that he is insane. He feels "they" will get him no matter where he goes.

Christian notions are interjected into the story of Akiura, but exactly how they are meant to function is a bit unclear. Akiura is impressed by the Biblical story of Sodom and Gomorrah, and his fear of people seems tied in with his
fear of the wrath of God. This idea is intriguing, but there is not much detail on the interaction between the frightening character of the Biblical God and Akiura's psychology. One general criticism of "Jigoku" would be that it is perhaps impossible to depict the insanity of a supposedly intelligent and complex character such as Akiura in a story of less than half the length of "Doko-e." Zola required a full-length novel to delineate the decline of Coupeau and Gervaise in L'Assommoir, as did Frank Norris for the deterioration of McTeague and Trina in McTeague. Hakuchō gives a wealth of facts but an even greater accumulation of facts seems necessary to treat such a subject by facts alone. Zola and Norris are successful because they follow the lives of their characters over a period of years, so that even without great psychological insight the changes in their characters are clear and believable through the weight of facts alone. Hurstwood and Carrie in Dreiser's Sister Carrie is another case in point. The medium of the short story would seem inadequate for what Hakuchō attempts in "Jigoku," but despite such criticism of the shallowness of the treatment of the story, the limited focus of "Jigoku" does make it an effective portrait of Akiura. Though it may not tell us how he got that way, it is an impressive portrayal of his psychology; it answers the question what, but not the question why.

The hero of "Torō" (July, 1910), Sōkichi, like that of "Jigoku," is insane. Sōkichi is described as a dreamer to
whom ten years are like a day as they pass before his eyes. He had heard voices of gods and devils ten years before, saying, "Go to America! Get rich and save Japan with the money! It is the mission of Sawai Sōkichi." He had spent his youth in Chūgoku, including a few months in a mental institution. Since then he has been studying Catholicism, while all the while cherishing his idea of a "relief station for the poor." He envisions this as a many-faceted operation, so that after purifying his heart through religion (Catholicism), he now proposes to study political science again. He is undaunted by the ridicule with which others greet his idea of Japan and Russia controlling the world through one great empire. Sōkichi's thoughts are filled with such political notions as well as a jumble of phenomena from popular Catholicism. His change purse is filled with holy medals, and he treasures his statue of St. Peter, a picture of Mary, and his rosary. These are all of course no indication of psychosis, but he is also frequently bothered by the feeling that he is being followed, that there are political agents of sorts following him to thwart his plans. He fears being seen through his window; he sometimes hears voices. On one occasion he is in a sort of daze or trance, and he sees foreign multitudes and hears voices praising him and praying.

Sōkichi has given his younger brother Shinzō his right of family inheritance. Shinzō is part of the general domestic turmoil in their family, as he opposes the idea of his
sister going to school, for he feels education is wasted on a woman. Their mother is tormented by her husband's extramarital affairs, both past and present, and resentful of Shinzō who condones his father's womanizing as ultimately harmless. She tries to engage the sympathy of her daughter to turn her against her father. Shinzō finds his mother's presence invariably depressing; he assures her that his father is not one to throw away the family fortune on some other woman. Against the background of this domestic confusion is the figure of Sōkichi, who persists and grows worse in his monomania and paranoia.

Sōkichi has acquired a job. He describes himself as a reporter but his duties at the newspaper mainly involve delivering papers and collecting from subscribers. As he becomes absorbed in his imaginary persecutor, he forgets about going to work. He refers to this person as strange and dangerous, perhaps a man or maybe a woman who has been following him around. He had thought he had one friend who understood him, Higasa, but this fellow too soon begins to tire of Sōkichi and his absurd ideas. Towards the end Sōkichi has his mother stay with him, to his mind so that he may protect her. At times he sits in a daze making the sign of the cross and waving his hand as if warding off something. He is obsessed with the thought that his mother, brother, and sister have something like snakes entwined about their wrists. When he goes from his rented room to his parents' place to live, he stays up all night walking about lighting
matches and guarding the place. His monomania even eventually loses out to his paranoia, as he says he will let Higasa take care of his great political and social operation for a time, while he himself deals with his tormentor. Finally Sōkichi is prowling about the house with a lamp one night, checking every nook and cranny, when his mother wakes up and screams at the sight of her son. His father takes the lamp; Sōkichi assures them they need not worry as he will keep "them" out. He takes his statue of St. Peter and makes the sign of the cross respectfully. Sōkichi makes his rounds every night. His father is exasperated at the decline and the loss of this son he had raised, but he does not have him committed.

Sōkichi is a peculiar character, and as a creature of pure imagination he shows the breadth of Hakucho's fancy. The Christian elements of "Toro" are presented almost as if Hakucho were trying to disparage the religion by associating it with the absurd Sōkichi. Sōkichi certainly has none of the intensity that marked the character of the boy Akiura in "Jigoku." But on closer examination perhaps some of Sōkichi's apparently insane notions are not so absurd in the context of the Japan of 1910 after all. We have seen briefly how the political atmosphere of the times was somewhat repressive, or at least for those whose ideologies, philosophical as well as political, were suspect. It might be going too far to suggest that Hakucho was consciously using the paranoia of his story as a metaphor for the political
paranoia of the day, but such a supposition is tempting in the light of the government repression of the right of free speech and of freedom of thought in 1910. Although such a view of Hakuchō's intentions cannot be proven factually, it seems naive to suppose that Hakuchō was unaware of and unaffected by the repressive political climate.

Sōkichi's notion of a Russo-Japanese Empire points to the major role their recent enemy Russia played at the time in the popular consciousness of the Japanese. Most intriguing, of course, is the way grand altruistic thoughts must be the notions of a madman in the disturbed literary context of "Torō" and in that of post-war skepticism, as we have seen. No one today is a stranger to the tension between the practical priorities of the modern world and the often obscured moral demands of its nominal religions. No doubt such contradictions as those between the moral dictates of Buddhism and Christianity and the political and social policies of Japan and the West encouraged writers such as Hakuchō in their doubt and nihilism. Although the purely literary success of the characterization of Sōkichi is limited, he stands as one writer's odd but telling comment on the political and intellectual landscape of Japan in 1910.

"Bikō" (October, 1910) is a remarkable story when one considers that it was written in a week. The heroine, the concubine O-Kuni, is a traditional stock character in this type of fiction about prostitutes and kept women, the core of the so-called floating world. When sixteen, O-Kuni had
run away with a man named Suzuki. This was not to be a per-
manent infatuation, as he is described as a smooth, big
talker, who soothed her with little presents but who was foul
when drunk and in fact despicable under his veneer of ami-
ability. Once she had pawned all of her things and gone to
the Yoshiwara to look for him. Her child she entrusted to
the care of others soon after its birth, although she often
feels the pain of not being able to care for and raise her
own child. Her lovers come to include Kawazu, who we find
asking her to renew their old relationship although he had
hoped to stop his profligacy now that he was out of school,
and Asakawa, who is now keeping her.

She has an ailing mother and an older sister, both of
whom she often thinks of helping by selling herself to the
Yoshiwara. Her eldest sister in Honjo had caused her to be-
come the mistress of a hateful fellow a few years before by
refusing to lend O-Kuni the paltry sum of thirty yen. Her
principal communication is with a lad of fifteen or sixteen,
Katta, who seems genuinely to like her and not look upon her
simply as an object of lust. Another character, the pro-
prietress of the brothel Yoshiya, lurks in the background
and emerges from time to time to tempt O-Kuni with talk of
new and profitable patrons.

Hakuchō reveals many facts about O-Kuni's psychology
and character, which are consistent and effective in creat-
ing a believable heroine. We know that she loves her mother
and the older sister who has been kind to her. Her unselfish
concern for her ailing mother shows both her essential goodness and her sense of duty and filial piety. When she visits her home town, however, she is embarrassed at the thought of her sisters questioning her about her life and activities; she just wants to get away from them to avoid such painful scenes. She is unable to accept the full reality of her demeaning situation as a concubine, so that she fantasizes herself as a beautiful young nun while kneeling before the family Buddhist altar. On one occasion she feels threatened by a man in the street staring at her, but when Katta goes out to investigate he sees no one. This is an example of the strain that her shame at her life and position cause her; Hakuchō mentions that she is afraid of crowds, but she is also afraid of being alone. On another occasion Asakawa arrives to find her sitting alone in the dark. Although the institution of concubinage (mekake) is traditional in Japan, it is never totally condoned, so that O-Kuni must withdraw and turn inward in the face of the social censure she receives.

Men are the cause of her suffering, but at the same time they offer the only possibility of a better situation. Not unexpectedly she is fatalistic and morbid and often thinks of death. She conceives of an ideal death in the traditional terms of a double love-suicide, dying together with the man who truly loves her. But there is no one who really seems to love her, for none of the men she is involved with seems able to take her seriously and they treat her merely
as a plaything. She is aware of this, and ironically in this context her despair at ever finding true love and communication is the one thing that seems to keep her alive. She has been leading a humdrum existence for two months as Asakawa's mistress, with her only diversion his occasional appearance once or twice a week.

O-Kuni tries to explain her ideas of love-suicide to Asakawa, but he chides her for being so hopelessly romantic. He had acquired her as a mistress through the offices of the proprietess of the Yoshiya. Gradually he gives O-Kuni less and less money to support herself, and is wary of her motives and of redeeming her entirely. She pawns her clothes to help pay her expenses; we see her alone every day writing letters to Asakawa, who replies that he is too busy to come and see her. In the end O-Kuni decides to give into the pressure of the woman from the Yoshiya and go there to meet yet another patron, who she assures O-Kuni will support her better than Asakawa has. She bids a sad farewell to Katta; it is noted that she wants him and every man to think well of her. Asakawa comes late, causing her to miss the time she is supposed to be at the Yoshiya. He accuses her of being unfaithful, and she asks him in reply whether she looks like that kind of woman. Asakawa decides to let her do as she pleases, to let the woman at the Yoshiya take care of her or whatever; he seems more or less unconcerned. When Asakawa points out that her room is the scene of their last farewell, she becomes melancholy and morbid and speaks of
dying. To that he says that he will be able to die when the time comes, but that he is in no hurry. He tries to put their separation off until later. In the end she asks Asakawa to wait for her and she goes off to the Yoshiya wondering what is awaiting her there.

The "faint light" of the title seems to refer to O-Kuni's faint hopes which persist even in the face of her past misfortunes and failures and the whole morass of inevitability her present situation and environment represent. Hope is offered by her youth and persistent though usually ineffectual desire to end somehow her life of concubinage. She differs from a Nana in that she is not really a femme fatale full of every type of lust and malice, but a helpless young woman who is confused yet still not quite willing or able to recognize her fate. She is adrift in life and unable to find anything but straws of hope to clutch, whereas Nana is a woman who becomes aware of her power over her environment and, in particular, over the morally weak men she dominates. Nana ultimately destroys herself through her own excess, which weakness she no doubt inherited from her drunken father and her slatternly mother. In "Biko," however, the deterministic emphasis is on the effects of environment in shaping character rather than those of heredity, and there is no clear resolution of O-Kuni's predicament. Nana is a statement on the decay of the French aristocracy in the 1860's, whereas there is little explicit mention of the social context of O-Kuni's story, so that to make a case
for it as a conscious attack on the low position and ex-
ploration of women in Meiji Japan would be far-fetched.
Still the story has considerable incidental value as social
history because of its documentation of the favored position
of men in their sexual relations with women and the utter
dependence and helplessness of the latter. The most likely
conclusion that can be drawn from the intentionally ambigu-
ous ending is that O-Kuni will either go back to being Asa-
kawa's concubine, become a prostitute for the Yoshiya pro-
prietress, or be introduced to yet another patron through
the Yoshiya. In short, she will never escape her demoraliz-
ing way of life.

A woman is also part of the focus of "Doro ningyō" (July, 1911). We have seen the extensive autobiographical
element of this fictionalization of Hakuchō's marriage to
the young Tsune, that the title "Clay Doll" refers to the
immaturity and naivety Hakuchō found in his young bride.
Whether or not one is able to read the story as fiction
rather than as biography, as most Japanese critics seem un-
willing to do, the story is an effective portrait of the
psychological problems involved in the traditional Japanese
arranged marriage. The groom Jūkichi (Hakuchō) is past
thirty, but the bride Tokiko (Tsune) is but twenty. Such
disparity in age was not uncommon in Japanese marriages, but
this plus the fact that Jūkichi has been living for many
years in Tokyo, whereas his bride is fresh from the pro-
vinces, makes communication between the two impossible.
Jūkichi is experienced sexually and socially, but emotionally and intellectually Tokiko is but a child. There is a great contrast between his corrupt sophistication and her virginal purity.

Jūkichi is a former theatre critic, who still maintains his interest in theatre. In one of the first scenes of "Doro ningyō" he is at a play, and Hakuchō gives a very naturalistic, detailed description of the theatre. Jūkichi's attention is drawn to a beautiful young woman in the audience, a girl he had met the previous spring at Mrs. Yazawa's (Mrs. Nakamura Kichizō) house. He regrets that he has missed his chance with this young beauty. Jūkichi has an ideal of true love, but he has never been in love. He has been isolating himself since the summer of the year before, with visits to the Yazawa home his only socializing. Mrs. Yazawa has been trying to marry him off for seven years. On one occasion he thinks of a girl he might have married seven years before and of the happiness he might have missed with her. Mrs. Yazawa thinks that all of Jūkichi's problems will be solved with marriage. He thinks love is essential for a successful marriage, but Mrs. Yazawa thinks love comes naturally with marriage.

When Mrs. Yazawa comes up with an intelligent but naive twenty-year-old prospect, Jūkichi agrees to a miai with her but he is thoroughly indifferent about the whole affair. He has been unemployed for nearly a year and living a lazy life; he sees the practical advantages of marriage.
and even sees it as the only way of gaining some peace of mind, but he is disappointed in himself to discover his thinking so aged and practical. When he finally agrees to marry Tokiko, the whole business is somehow unreal to him, so that he feels as if it were someone else getting married and not himself. He seems to consent as a kind of atonement for all the trouble over his marriage he has caused for everyone. He soon regrets his assent to the marriage, however, and frets over the better girls whom he has let slip away. He finds it strange to think that a haphazard marriage could ever bring lifelong happiness. To Jūkichi his marriage is the end of his dream of finding the right woman for a mutual love relationship.

Predictably the marriage begins disastrously. She soon finds out that all the commendable things she has been told about him were lies. She is unable to sleep in Jūkichi’s silent house with a husband she cannot get close to, who snores loudly and talks in his sleep. Jūkichi will not even take Tokiko out for a walk; he tells her to go to see the cherry blossoms by herself, if she wants to see them. He leaves her at home alone and goes out stalking about the entertainment districts. He wants to "drown in tears of joy," but he does not know where or how. There must be something extraordinary (kawatta) about a relationship or the man and the woman have to love one another as if their lives depended upon it, in order to arouse Jūkichi’s interest. A diary entry by Tokiko is quoted to show her spending
a lonely night at home while Jūkichi is out.

Jūkichi ridicules his wife's immaturity, saying that if he were younger, he could make her his doll and they could play house. She has no experience with men; she does not talk much and does not know Tokyo, so that to Jūkichi she is just a doll. Jūkichi begins to become interested in her older sister. This older sister had been forced to marry a man of low intelligence, whom she had finally fled by returning to her mother's home only to be rebuked by her mother for her lack of perseverance. Tokiko is repeatedly told to endure whatever her husband does, so that she tells no one of her difficulties, believing it is a woman's duty to resign herself to whatever married life brings.

Tokiko learns a bit of Jūkichi's past adventures when he mentions the name of an old girl friend in his sleep, but she herself has never had a sweetheart. When she reveals to Jūkichi that she had once received a love letter but tore it up without reading it, he comments that that was a mistake, for such a letter may never come to her again. She wants to understand the psychology of men. When she asks the unhappy Jūkichi if anything is troubling him, he answers that his thoughts are not her concern, that it is enough if they just live together. He enjoys playing the role of the son-in-law, however, on a trip to Tokiko's home town, although their incompatibility is apparent to Tokiko's family. Tokiko's elder sister accuses Jūkichi of not treating Tokiko properly, but their mother simply warns Tokiko of the sad consequences
of leaving her husband and not accompanying him back to
Tokyo.

When Jūkichi points out to Tokiko that when she is
entered in the official family record (thus formalizing
their marriage) she will lose her freedom, she replies,
"Freedom? What freedom?" Her remark is of course meant to
be neither facetious nor sarcastic, but is given innocently
and in earnest. She feels fearful and lonely when she be-
gins to appreciate the permanence of her marriage. Both of
them take walks alone; Hakucho points out that she gets the
"dust" (hokori) from the streets in her face. She makes a
visit to a Buddhist temple to pray for her husband's health
and that he will grow to love her. While she tries to im-
press upon him the meaning of the fact that she is his wife,
he stares at her and thinks how strange it is that she could
really be his wife. He feels as if he is only baby-sitting
someone's daughter; now with his marriage he is able to
savor dissipation for the first time. The story ends on the
note that with his frequent absences, Tokiko makes repeated
visits to a Buddhist temple, so that, unbeknown to Jūkichi,
her visits become the talk of the neighborhood.

"Clay Doll" is one of Hakucho's more successful natural-
ist stories. The theme is one that is modern but at the
same time eternal. Hakucho's objective portrayal of the
facts of his initially unhappy marriage account for the
story's interest and credibility, although this same autobio-
graphical aspect was the reason for much of the critical
resistance to it when it appeared. But read now more than sixty years later, the character who seems the more cruelly portrayed is Jūkichi, Hakuchō himself, rather than Tokiko, Hakuchō's wife Tsune. The present-day reader has seen many other alienated heroes since Jūkichi's day, so that in that sense he can easily accept him and perhaps even identify with him. But Jūkichi is not a character who elicits the reader's sympathy. On the other hand, however, who can fail to sympathize with Tokiko? Her only crime is her simplicity, but she is caught between her sincere desire to do what she is told is her duty as a wife and her realization that to do so is almost impossible.

Tokiko's problems are not internal; they are all external. That is, there is nothing to indicate that she produces her own anxieties, that there is anything really wrong with her. Left alone she would no doubt function simply but admirably. The problem is the world she lives in, one that makes upon her impossible demands, which in her essential goodness she feels she must try to comply with. Jūkichi, however, is more complex and seems to create his own problems from within himself and project them onto others, such as the Yazawas and his wife. In a way of course, like Tokiko, he is at odds with his environment, but the physical and psychological demands upon him as a male and the husband are not nearly as great as those upon Tokiko. He always has the bars and prostitutes to escape to, while as a woman Tokiko has only prayer. Characteristic of these naturalistic
stories, the conclusion of "Doro ningyō" is open-ended, that is, we do not know what becomes of Tokiko and Jūkichi. We can look at it biographically and find that time and Tokiko's preserverance finally wear away the defenses of Jūkichi, but just the story itself leaves one with a sense of Tokiko's lack of freedom, her imprisonment in her role as a dutiful wife, and her hopeless unhappiness. As a naturalistic tract, it is a credible documentation of the awesome and irrevocable power of environment to shape the course of a man's or a woman's life.

**1908-1910: Shūsei's "Shussan," Shinjotai, And Ashiato**

Shūsei's "Shussan" appeared in the Chūō Kōron in August, 1908. Although not as widely discussed as some of his other works, it is an important transitional work and perhaps the first example of his naturalist fiction. It is a modest story, briefer than even Hakuchō's "Jin'ai," and no more than a re-creation of one episode from Shūsei's life. It is autobiographical in fact, but not at all autobiographical in form. The hero Tsutomu (Shūsei) is referred to in the third person, and there is no intrusion by a first-person narrator. As we have seen "Shussan" is an example of Shūsei's ability to treat autobiographical material with strict objectivity.

Tsutomu is described as in his thirties, already graying a little, an unshaven, listless, and almost sullen man. He lives with his pregnant wife and their two children, a
son Shin'ichi and a daughter Kiyo. His wife is about to give birth to their third child and is in considerable pain. They are on the point of calling a midwife, although they hardly have the money to pay her, so that Tsutomu volunteers to travel across town with some of their belongings to attempt to pawn them. This mundane trip is the central incident of the story. The structure of "Shussan," what there is of it, calls to mind that of "Jin'ai." As in "Jin'ai" there is one simple incident (Ono and the young proofreader going out to drink in "Jin'ai") framed by a scene in which the hero's environment is sketched briefly (the newspaper office in "Jin'ai"; Tsutomu's household in "Shussan"), and a closing scene which comments on the effects, if any, of the action upon the main character.

Shūsei describes the scene at the pawn-shop in "naturalistic" detail, including conversations between other customers and the head clerk and young apprentice. These details are again reminiscent of Hakuchō's reporting of the conversation of the reporters in the newspaper office, and similarly they do nothing to advance the action. The naturalist writer at this stage seemed inclined towards this sort of detail as one way of re-creating reality by creating a familiar, credible stage drawn from real life for his main character to perform on. In this scene Shūsei presents us with brief portraits of poverty, as he details the squabbling over money between the clerks and the customers, noting the perfunctory manner of the former and the frustration of the
After leaving the confusion of the pawn-shop, Tsutomu feels a sense of freedom now that he has some money after seeing the depths of the misfortune of the other customers. Instead of going home he goes to eat and have a few beers at a beer hall that he frequented in his college days. He does not recognize anyone there now, but he does a lot of drinking. We know that he leaves the pawn-shop at after eight in the evening, but does not head for home until about eleven. Tsutomu is unmoved by the danger that his wife, who has lost her youth, faces in childbirth. Shin'ichi and Kiyo were also born in poverty, but Tsutomu and his wife Toshiko had felt it was worth it before, whereas now all is changed and the warm feelings that had flowed between them have vanished, leaving "a desert." Tsutomu returns home to find his wife has given him another son, but not only is he unenthusiastic about his new child, he does not even want to see it. He says simply that he will be seeing the boy all of his life, and barely looking at him, he again sets about drinking at home with his brother-in-law.

With the exception of the above-mentioned fact that Tsutomu and Toshiko no longer share an emotional bond with one another, the action of the story is allowed to speak for itself. We have seen that during this period Japanese fiction saw a flood of alienated and world-weary characters, who represented something new in Japanese literature, although they were of course preceded and anticipated by Bunzō
in Futabatei's Ukigumo. Although not as well known as these other works, "Shussan" contributes Tsutomu to this list of heroes from such stories as Hakuchō's "Jin'ai" and "Doko-e," Katai's Futon, and Hōmei's "Tandeki." In nearly every society in almost any age a father would be expected to show emotion at the birth of his son, or at least that is the assumption one has to make to render Shūsei's characterization of Tsutomu effective. But Tsutomu has no real occasion for joy, since another child means in fact only increased parental responsibility and increased financial burden. We also know that Tsutomu's relationship with his wife has deteriorated, so that the child does not mean anything in emotional terms, either.

Shūsei would continue to write autobiographical fiction for the rest of his life, and although the "window of subjectivity" would be opened in his fiction in the mid-1920's, stories such as "Shussan" gave Shūsei his reputation as a writer of gloomy stories. However, as we have seen, Hakuchō's fiction from this period, as well as that of Katai and Hōmei, can also be characterized as gloomy. The works of this period of a non-naturalist writer such as Soseki—Sore kara (1909), Mon (1910)—can hardly be described as bright or uplifting, but even if such gloom is to be associated strictly with the naturalists, the point is that with "Shussan" Shūsei is now expressing the philosophical mood of his time. This gloom of the naturalists arises as a result of their philosophy of doubt. Their lack of a positive
philosophy, of belief, causes an indefinable anxiety which is expressed in the pessimism of their fiction. It seems safe by this point to infer the author's "real-life" attitudes from those of his "fictional" counterpart in the naturalist "I" novels we have discussed. The dissatisfaction of the heroes of Futon, "Doko-e," "Shussan," and Tandeki seems but the literary articulation of that of Katai, Hakuchō, Shūsei, and Hōmei, living with nothing that commanded their belief but of necessity feeling the psychological emptiness of the loss of belief.

Shinjotai (October through December, 1908) represents a departure from "Shussan" in several ways. As we have seen, it is an "I" novel only by the loosest of definitions of the genre. It also differs somewhat from "Shussan" in its general mood, for although it cannot be characterized as light in mood, its over-all effect is not as depressing as that of "Shussan." The significant link between "Shussan" and Shinjotai is the objectivity with which the material of both stories is handled. In that it is not an "I" novel it remains as one of the more distinctive stories in the body of Japanese naturalist fiction, for more than most naturalist works it calls to mind the works of Western naturalists. The central characters of Shinjotai, while comparatively subdued, remind one of similar troubled married couples in works by American naturalists, such as Trina and McTeague in McTeague and Carrie and Hurstwood in Sister Carrie. In its depiction of the urban lower classes, although on a much more
restricted scale, it shares a bond with such Western works as Zola's *L'Assommoir* as well as with *McTeague* and *Sister Carrie*. Nonetheless, the differences between *Shinjotai* and these Western works are perhaps as striking as the similarities, because *Shinjotai* offers none of the physical violence or drama and tragedy in its resolution that characterize these three Western novels. There is a definite link with the "domestic" (chanoma, or "parlor") fiction that distinguished Shūsei's works throughout his career. A believable and compelling domestic crisis is described in *Shinjotai*, but at no point is there the blind passion and frenzy described by Zola, Norris, and Dreiser. Passion and violence had their place in Shūsei's life and writings, but such scenes were never given the fictional attention of those of most Western naturalists. The uneventfulness and the lower middle-class domesticity of *Shinjotai* remind one more of the products of British literary naturalism, such as *Esther Waters* (1894) by George Moore, than those of French or American naturalists. A sense of propriety and the force of social pressure are clearly felt in both the Japanese society of *Shinjotai* and the British one of *Esther Waters*. These must certainly reflect the character of these two societies and are largely absent from such American works as *McTeague* and such French works as *L'Assommoir*. Be that as it may, one must not imply that Shūsei has re-created a social milieu in the way Moore does through his descriptions of life in a country manor, the excitement of the nineteenth-century
British race course, and the desperate existence of the impoverished London cockneys. Such considerations are outside of Shūsei's interest and perhaps beyond his fictional scope; characteristically, Shūsei limits his focus to the family unit. However, this limited focus does allow the hero and heroine of the Shūsei novella to achieve a depth of characterization equal to, if not surpassing, that of Esther and the many colorful but two-dimensional characters appearing in Moore's Esther Waters.

The hero of Shinjotai, Shinkichi, had come to Tokyo from the provinces at the age of fourteen. He had worked conscientiously for a sake wholesaler until at last his relentless diligence had brought him to the point where he could open a small store of his own, selling much things as sake, soy sauce, firewood, charcoal, and salt. He is described by Shūsei almost as a frightening parody of the hard-working small shop-owner. His every move is dictated by the economics of his business. He wolfs down his meals in silence; although strong and good-looking he is a cheerless person. Above all he is a miser. His chief amusement consists of figuring how much money he will have in a given number of years. When a friend broaches the idea of marriage and offers to help find a bride for him, Shinkichi resists the idea at first because he feels he is not established well enough to take a wife and he fears the economic burden of a wife and the inevitable children. He comes to change his mind, however, as over a period of months he calculates
how convenient it would be to have a reliable wife to mind
the store when he is off at the bath-house or out making
deliveries to customers. He approaches the prospect of
taking a wife much as he might the question of taking a new
business partner or hiring an assistant manager.

Shinkichi is in general insensitive to the feelings
and emotions of others, and this insensitivity is closely
tied in with his basically parsimonious nature. In this re-
spect he calls to mind some of the ruthlessly tight-fisted
Norman peasants of many of the stories of Maupassant, al-
though there is a great difference in the lengths to which
Shūsei and the Maupassant characters are led by their avar-
ice. Shinkichi is capable of cruelty, but his mistreatment
of others is more psychological than physical. Maupassant's
characters, on the other hand, are marked by the grossest
insensitivity and inhumanity as they put profit and material
gain above all other considerations. In "Pierrot" (1882)
the miserly Madame Lefevre leaves her little dog Pierrot to
face a horrible death by starvation in a hole where she had
earlier abandoned him, rather than pay a man four francs to
go down into the hole and bring the dog out. In "En Mer"
(At Sea) (1883) a fishing boat captain allows his own brother
to lose his arm, for he refuses to cut away and thus lose
the valuable fishing nets in which his brother's arm is en-
tangled. In "Le Petit Fût" (The Little Cask) (1884) an
avaricious restaurateur manages to turn a sturdy old woman
into an alcoholic, so that she drinks herself to death and
thus hastens his purchase of her farm. In "L'Aveu" (The Avowal) (1884) a peasant woman is outraged when her daughter tells her how she has been having sexual relations regularly with the coachman in the back of his coach in order to save the coach fare from the farm to market, but the woman's greed soon overcomes her outraged sense of decency, so that she advises her daughter, who is pregnant, to continue saving the coach fare until the pregnancy becomes obvious to the coachman. Shūsei never stretches the credibility of his stories as Maupassant obviously felt free to, so that although Shūsei's works never possess the ingenious plots and grotesque charm of Maupassant's stories, Shūsei's stories surpass those of Maupassant as believable re-creations of reality. Maupassant's realistic short stories call to mind the stories of Akutagawa and Tanizaki more than those of the Japanese naturalists. Also absent from such works as Shin-
jotai is the curious humor Maupassant sometimes achieved in his depictions of the extremes of human greed. In his "Toine" (Big Tony) (1885), for example, Tony, a huge, jovial tavern keeper, becomes paralyzed and confined to his bed. He is at first humiliated when his stingy, tyrannical wife forces him to place eggs under his obese body and hatch them with his body heat, but in the end the whole village is able to share in his delight in his strange paternity as the first chicks hatch. Although Maupassant is often mentioned as a major influence on Japanese literary naturalism—he was first introduced in Japan in April, 1893 and had been
translated extensively by around 1902–82 the fictional spirit of his realism seems somehow vastly different from that of Japanese naturalism. The joie de vivre that often surfaces in Maupassant's stories of Norman peasants seems without a counterpart in the stories of such Japanese naturalists as Shūsei and Hakuchō. For the Japanese stories consistently wear an obsessively serious air. Shūsei's Shinkichi displays none of the animation and charm that many of Maupassant's otherwise despicable characters do. His dullness reflects what Shūsei presents as the mentality of a greedy small businessman, who places finances first even when it comes to questions of love and marriage.

O-Saku is the girl Shinkichi's friend has in mind as a marriage partner for Shinkichi, and Shinkichi makes a trip to her home town, incognito, to do some investigating of her family background. Through a talkative waitress he learns that O-Saku's background is a modest and a poor one, but not especially objectionable in the light of his own present modest social situation as the keeper of a small store. At the misai, the formal pre-marriage meeting of O-Saku, Shinkichi, and their relatives and friends, Shinkichi and O-Saku are unable to get a good look at one another, because of their embarrassment and general reticence, but they both approve of the match. Once he has agreed to marry O-Saku, her relatives and his friends busy themselves with the wedding arrangements, and one of his friends, Ono, must overcome Shinkichi's objections to the expense of an ordinary wedding, pointing out to him the importance of keeping up
appearances. This is an important indicator of Shinkichi's psychological make-up and perhaps the greatest difference between him and the heroes of *L'Assommoir*, *McTeague*, and *Sister Carrie*, namely the strength of the hold upon Shinkichi of propriety and middle-class values in general. Shinkichi may or may not be a member of the lower classes, but his aspirations are essentially middle-class. Just being a shop-owner would seem to put him in the middle class. The decline of the heroes of these three Western novels results as part of their fall from social respectability, but for Shinkichi social respectability is his salvation. He has no sense of culture or refinement on the one hand, but he is incapable of sensuality or spontaneity on the other. He will force himself to go against his instincts and do what he does not want to, if he is convinced other people expect it of him and that it is thus good for business. As we have seen, Shinkichi's concern with social respectability is more reminiscent of such British works as *Esther Waters* than of French or American naturalists. Shinkichi's insensitivity, his ambition, and his respect for appearances also call to mind another British novel of the period, George Gissing's cynical study of the un-idealistic, mercantile literary and publishing circles of London in the 1880's, *New Grub Street* (1891). Shinkichi is given a much different nature than the flamboyant Jasper Milvain, who uses any means to prevail over his more idealistic literary colleagues, but the forces motivating the two--greed and ambition--are essentially the same.
Shinjotai contains a lengthy and on the whole entertaining description of Shinkichi's wedding. By this time Shinkichi is overwhelmed by the mounting costs of his wedding, but events are by now out of his control, so that the whole affair has only the reality of a dream to Shinkichi and he is assailed by the thought that even greater responsibilities are being foisted upon him. Shinkichi cannot comprehend the unbridled merrymaking of the wedding guests—on one occasion Ono interrupts a sober speech by Shinkichi, about how he is a respectable merchant and intends to work hard, shouting to him to stop talking about money and have a drink. The next morning Shinkichi awakes to feel "somehow saddled with an unforeseen misfortune, and he reflects that he had felt the same uneasiness when he had opened his store, except that before things had not been so dim, with a bit of light amid the dark." Shinkichi soon discovers that O-Saku is indeed no beauty, with a little nose on a round face, stubby fingers, and a short and stocky build, but for the first few months they live in happiness. The very morning after their wedding Shinkichi begins explaining her duties in the store to her, and the tone of their relationship and life together is established immediately, as he tells her how hard they must work and how much they must be willing to sacrifice. From the beginning she begins to fear him. There is no explicit mention of or even hint at any sexual relations on their wedding night, perhaps to some extent owing to the restrictive Press Laws we have alluded to
earlier (see note 78).

The first rift in their marriage relationship begins to appear when Shinkichi gradually sees that O-Saku cannot learn how to work properly in the store. Her inefficiency angers him, and she reacts to his anger with embarrassed giggling. When he finally gives up on her completely and, abusing her generally, orders her to stay in the back of the building and occupy herself sewing, she is in tears and calls herself a fool. From this time on, although she keeps up a brave front, she is unhappy and despairs of ever communicating her feelings to the stern Shinkichi. She is now in the habit of staring at her reflection in her mirror, and thinking how the happiness of her wedding day and the first few months of her marriage seem gone forever.

When in time O-Saku becomes pregnant, Shinkichi is dumbfounded at first and he treats his wife with surprising consideration thereafter. Soon, however, her increasing immobility on account of her pregnancy begins to anger him and finally he is treating her with open scorn. When O-Saku returns to her home town to have the baby, Shinkichi promises her he will come, too, when the baby is due. Alone now, Shinkichi feels some slight guilt for his mistreatment of his wife, but it is soon obvious that he does not care what happens to her and that although he has taken no action himself, he would not even object to a divorce. He sees his friend Ono often now, and they discuss the perils of arranged marriage and also Ono's attractive wife O-Kuni, who seems to
have been a geisha before marrying Ono. Shinkichi invari-
ably draws unfavorable conclusions about his own life, when he compares his situation with that of the seemingly care-
free Ono married to the attractive O-Kuni.

The story takes a turn when one morning O-Kuni arrives unexpectedly at Shinkichi's store to tell him that Ono has been arrested and to ask for Shinkichi's help. He does set about helping her with lawyers, apparently out of simple loyalty to his friend Ono. O-Kuni is at Shinkichi's place so often that soon she is actually living there. His wife off in the provinces, O-Kuni in effect takes her place as she does the housekeeping and cooking as well as helping with customers in the store. Unlike O-Saku she is active, confident, and good at everything she does. Shinkichi's house is cleaner than it ever was with O-Saku, and O-Saku's frightful cooking is replaced by O-Kuni's tasty dishes. Shūsei is not explicit about whether Shinkichi's relations with her are sexual, but if not, at least Shinkichi does seem to feel the temptation instinctively. He seems to resist O-Kuni's charm by a hardening of his disregard for her doubtful origins. He may resist her out of loyalty to Ono, but whatever his motives he feels smug in his attitude of moral superiority. He is protected by his middle-class self-righteousness. Whenever Shinkichi and O-Kuni quarrel, she goes off angrily and Shinkichi waits for her to return, worrying so much about her that it is obvious that he loves her. Shūsei tells us that through O-Kuni Shinkichi learns
for the first time "what it is like to be enveloped in that warm something that is a woman."  

Although the baby has not yet arrived, Shinkichi goes to visit O-Saku briefly. Before he returns to Tokyo, he promises her he will come back when the baby is born, but when she has a miscarriage he is in Tokyo. She is still weak and pale when he arrives. Shinkichi by now views the sensual O-Kuni as a slovenly and base woman, but he has yet to ask her to leave. At this point O-Saku finally confronts him with the impropriety of letting O-Kuni stay with him and she accuses him of putting O-Kuni above her. O-Saku is encouraged by her mother and other relatives in her stand against O-Kuni.

The story moves towards a climax when, in an interesting scene typical of Shūsei at his best, O-Saku and her sister-in-law arrive at the store ten days after Shinkichi has returned to Tokyo. Shinkichi happens to be out, but the two women find O-Kuni confidently in charge of things. O-Kuni's condescending attitude makes O-Saku feel like a guest and a stranger in her own home; she is struck by O-Kuni's beauty and realizes that she is no match for her in looks or personality. When Shinkichi comes home, he is surprised to see O-Saku, but says little. However, both O-Saku and her sister-in-law realize that given O-Kuni's advantages the unfathomable Shinkichi himself is O-Saku's only hope. At dinner O-Kuni monopolizes the conversation and talks of how desperate her situation will be if Ono must stay in jail for a
long time. Although in fact O-Kuni sleeps by herself in the store that night, O-Saku has a dream in which she tries to prevent Shinkichi and O-Kuni from sleeping side by side but they both merely laugh at her.

O-Kuni seems to have learned long before to think of herself first, so that when Ono receives a sentence of two years in prison, she evinces no sympathy for him and derides him for bringing her such misfortune. Finally Shinkichi resolves the matter by telling O-Kuni that she must leave. Predictably he uses as an excuse the fact that he is running a business and that the people in the neighborhood will think it improper if she stays in his house, which could hurt his business. There is a drunken farewell in which O-Kuni reveals that she does not intend to see any of her old friends and acquaintances ever again. O-Kuni leaves; later when Shinkichi tries to kiss O-Saku, her cheek is as cold as ice. To this ending Shūsei adds a brief postscript noting that Shinkichi is celebrating the third anniversary of the opening of his store and that O-Saku is pregnant again.

Shinkichi has avoided involvement in a complicated relationship with O-Kuni, although she is clearly much more desirable than O-Saku, and O-Kuni herself would have gladly taken O-Saku's place without a second thought about Ono. Shinkichi has clearly done the "right" thing, but his reward is a life with the cold O-Saku rather than with the feminine "warm something that is" O-Kuni. He has maintained his social respectability and his store will survive and no doubt
prosper. In Shinkichi Shūsei has created a thoroughly convincingly example of this type of mentality, which is as real today as it was in 1908. The reader can find some pity for Shinkichi, despite his meanness of spirit and general dullness, and one must certainly pity O-Saku, who is an innocent victim of the arranged marriage and the social powerlessness of women. Her victory over O-Kuni is a hollow one, for there is nothing to indicate she will ever have any more from life than the basic security of her marriage. The spoils of her victory are only material.

The story does lack psychological detail somewhat, for characterization is achieved primarily through the advancing of the plot and action. Still the characters are all simple types and their problems rather basic, so that the extent of Shūsei's character development seems appropriate on the whole. Shūsei has created an impressive triangle and a credible "slice of life." Although one must certainly avoid the impression of making any extravagant claims for Shinjotai as great literature, it does seem to be one of the more substantial stories produced by Japanese naturalists. It is not difficult to see how this was the work that caused his literary colleagues to take Shūsei seriously as a writer at last.

In the world that Shūsei creates in Shinjotai everyone must struggle to survive. Ono must steal to live the way he feels he should; O-Kuni must be prepared to find another man when her own is imprisoned. O-Saku must overcome her natural timidity and risk confrontations, first with Shinkichi
and then with O-Kuni herself, in order to reclaim what she feels is rightfully hers. Shinkichi is an unfeeling human machine with his emotions eclipsed by the demands of his business. All of the characters act out of selfish motives: Ono ruins his wife's position by stealing in order to live grandly; O-Kuni is ready at once to drop Ono for Shinkichi and feels sorry for herself rather than for her husband when she learns of his prison sentence; O-Saku is unwilling to forgive her husband even after he has banished her rival, indicating that she wanted to save her marriage in order to save herself rather than because of any love for her husband; and, Shinkichi marries O-Saku only to economize on the management of his business and restores his wife only in order to keep his good name, which is of course good for business. If one takes the ethics of *Shinjotai* to represent Shūsei's world view in 1908, it is apparent that, as we saw in our discussion of his life, Shūsei was in the midst of a difficult period. Certainly, *Shinjotai* is a true example of naturalist fiction under our definition of naturalism as "pessimistic realism, with...man in a mechanical world and... victimized by that world." Shinkichi is the focus of *Shinjotai* and he is such a part of the mechanical world Shūsei describes that he seems to be more of a machine himself than a man.

*Ashiato* (July through November, 1910) is the chronicle of the growth and education of its heroine O-Shō, who is based on Shūsei's wife Hama, as we have seen. The story
begins when O-Shō comes to Tokyo from the country with her father at about the age of eleven or twelve. The tone of both the story and of O-Shō's adolescence is established at the start as O-Shō is at the mercy of her drunken, carousing father, who makes a leisurely trip to Tokyo, even summoning geisha at stops along the way. In the country the household consisted of the degenerate father, grumbling mother, and five children. O-Shō's father would take the money her mother had earned from the silkworms she raised, and repair to the brothels for as long as ten days at a time.

In Tokyo her father is unable to find work, but he keeps up his drinking anyway. O-Shō pities her mother. There are quarrels between her father and mother; her childhood is marked by memories of her father making a fool of himself over prostitutes, taking the silkworm money and going off on drunken sprees, his drunken ravings that she had to endure, and the many times she had to watch him beat her mother. O-Shō notices that not all children are forced to endure the things she has to; she begins to feel a child's sense of resistance to her father's cruelty. Even as a twelve-year-old she is already disgusted at the sight of her father, whom she has seen pass out drunk at dinner.

As would be expected of a somewhat brief novel that follows the life of its heroine for over a decade chronologically, Ashiato is episodic. What emerges from all of the episodes is both a sense of inevitability and the notion that environment shapes character. O-Shō already has a part-time
job by the age of thirteen. She is surrounded by young men who are eyeing her meaningfully already, older women who have lovers much younger than themselves, and her father's mistress. Her father and his woman give her some money and tell her to take a walk in the park, so that they can be alone. The family disintegrates in Tokyo, and in the process O-Shō becomes a burden. There is always talk of what to do with her, of how to make the best use of her. Her drunken uncle works for a Frenchman (whose Japanese mistress is of course described as a brazen woman), and at one time there is even talk of putting the teenage O-Shō to work for a foreigner in the hope that she will meet a man who can take her abroad. Eventually her father puts O-Shō and her mother in lodgings, while he goes back to the country to have an affair with a widow, who runs a shop selling oil that comes to resemble more a restaurant featuring shamisen music and prostitutes than a simple store. When O-Shō is taken to work at a bustling household by the wife of a family friend, she is surrounded by the lecherous old master and young men who amuse themselves by such pranks as hiding her underclothes when she is taking a bath. Here she meets the maid O-Tori, who had arrived with no possessions or spare clothing and is an inveterate gossip. O-Tori forms one link in the chain of experiences and encounters, which binds O-Shō ever more tightly to a life of sexual experience and seems to keep her from the sort of placid middle-class emotional and financial security which Shinkichi attains in Shinjotai.
O-Tori encourages O-Shō to go with her to work in a tea-house in Asakusa. O-Shō visits her mother in Yūshima to explain this move and to ask her permission, but her mother only warns her that a mistake could sever her relationship with her family. The mother seems to function as the eye of the emotional storm of O-Shō's life, for she clings to the notion of family honor and social respectability in the face of the scandalous conduct of O-Shō's father and uncle. (This uncle is even more notorious than O-Shō's father until he is finally slowed down, first by inflammation of the testes and finally by tuberculosis.) When O-Shō does follow O-Tori to the place in Asakusa, she finds it run by a skinny, languid lady and a fat, half-naked old man. Everything looks cheap and dingy, but O-Shō is put to work at once. She is not particularly happy there, but she feels there is no use in leaving. The skinny proprietress is a cruel and violent woman, who had been a country geisha. When O-Shō visits her relatives in Yūshima, everyone is hostile to her because of her working and pouring drinks for customers in Asakusa.

O-Shō is born into the above circumstances and the nature of her environment forces her into socially reprehensible work in a tea-house. Or at any rate the alternative to such a course is the boredom and humiliation of work as a maid. She is also without a model of success to imitate. Her mother may still have her self-respect, but she is an unfortunate, pitiable woman ultimately, and even a bit of a fool. It is thus ironic that O-Shō's relatives should
condemn O-Shō for a situation that is in fact beyond her control. Given the influences she is subjected to as a child and adolescent, an environment which as a child she is in no position to reject, it is inevitable that a girl with her spirit takes the course she does. At least that is what Shūsei seems to be saying. The thesis that environment shapes character is not specifically alluded to or spelled out for the reader in clear and uncertain terms, but the workings of such a notion are too obvious in Ashiato to be missed or ignored. O-Shō is a strong girl, however, so that although Shūsei's objective treatment of his material does not allow any open expression of the author's sympathy for her, the reader not only pities her in her hopeless situation but admires her pluck.

O-Shō becomes a bit of a gypsy after she leaves the tea-house. She ends up with her relatives and much attention is given to a description of her aunt, who is about to have a child again after ten years. She has a miscarriage, becomes ill, and dies. O-Shō's mother abuses O-Shō, because she was having her hair done when her aunt passed away. Her aunt is a woman who tried to maintain her respectability while married to an incorrigible degenerate, and as such seems to symbolize the futility of ever hoping to escape one's fate.

Life goes on and O-Shō makes other moves and has more adventures, while her father and uncle continue their own adventures and her mother keeps up appearances as best she can.
When about eighteen O-Shō takes a lover, Isoya. She is willing to give him all of her affection, but she soon discovers he has dealings with other women, which he enjoys flaunting before her, and that he is often in great debt to finance his escapades. She is soon in competition for him with O-Masu, a young woman of about twenty-six who has had many men and who delighted O-Shō with stories of her love affairs. Isoya, O-Shō's lover, had become interested in O-Masu when O-Shō told him of the former's experiences. O-Shō is involved intermittently with Isoya for about three years.

O-Shō's troubles increase when her family and their friends insist that the best course for her is marriage. There is a miai with the twenty-four-year-old Hōtarō, whose mother had been a geisha. She seems to be a well-meaning woman, who only wants a wife to keep her spendthrift son in check. O-Shō does not want to marry Hōtarō, but she finally gives into everyone's urging and agrees. The groom does not appear at the wedding, but the go-between finally brings him in, drunk. His hands are shaking and O-Shō cannot even bring herself to look at his face. This is her new husband.

After her marriage O-Shō finds out that her mother-in-law is not Hōtarō's real mother, but only his father's concubine. His real mother had drifted away to be replaced by this woman. After the death of Hōtarō's father, a new man came into the household to take his place and, predictably, Hōtarō resents both him and his step-mother. O-Shō's mother-in-law fears the return of Hōtarō's real mother, if the family
headship and business are handed over to Hōtarō. O-Shō complain-
plains of her husband's bad manners and the general dis-
order of the household. She is told, however, that it does not matter whether she likes Hōtarō, for she and her mother-
in-law can maneuver to give him his share of the inheritance, send him on his way, and bring in an adopted son (yōshi) as O-Shō's new husband.

Understandably the atmosphere of the family is tense. Hōtarō is a drunkard, who takes whatever drinking money he wants from the family safe, disappears for days, and then reappears in a bad humor. Once while drunk and arguing he has even pulled a knife on his step-mother. When he is drunk he grumbles that one day he will steal all of the family money and run off, or that he will kill O-Shō and run away. One day Isoya appears as a customer in the family restaurant, hoping to see O-Shō. She waits on him, and finds him as irresponsible as ever; he asks to be introduced to her husband. O-Shō is moved by her meeting with Isoya, who she realizes might have become her husband had he been faithful to her, but she fears Hōtarō and does not permit a meeting. Isoya had appeared splendidly dressed in order to impress O-Shō, but characteristically O-Shō must help him pay his bill when he leaves.

O-Shō's life with Hōtarō continues to deteriorate un-
til one day she is rescued just when Hōtarō has her cornered in the house and is threatening her with a fish knife. She goes to stay with the go-between for a while, who continues
to try to reconcile O-Shō and Hōtarō even after she has moved again. The conclusion of all this comes when O-Shō manages to sneak all of her belongings out and escape to Yūshima, thus ridding herself of the go-between, her husband, and her step-mother, through this desperate act of courage. The story closes with the comment that O-Shō finally feels some peace chatting with her mother in Yūshima.

Like those of Shūsei's "Shussan" and Shinjotai and Hakuchō's "Jin'ai," "Doko-e," "Bikō," and "Doro ningyō" (and to a lesser extent "Jigoku" and "Tōrō"), the conclusion of Ashiato is open-ended. But despite all of the trials the reader has seen O-Shō through, it does not end on a note of despair, or even the implication of despair and hopelessness that characterizes these other works by Shūsei and Hakuchō. O-Shō seems to possess an instinct for survival, and being young and strong she can summon the strength to run away from a hopeless situation. Unlike the weak and passive O-Saku in Shinjotai, who must gain victory over her rival by default, leaving everything up to her husband to decide, O-Shō is capable of thinking and acting for herself. As a child of twelve she resists her father as much as discretion permits, and she has the courage to run away from her maniacal husband to return to the comfort and security of her mother's company. We do not know what will happen to O-Shō, but we feel that with her strength and cunning she will get along somehow.

What impresses one about Ashiato is not its pessimism but its vitality for a Japanese story of this period. It is
remarkable for its sexuality, which is of course not explicit by today's standards but clearly felt, nonetheless. The force that disrupts the tranquility of social and family life is sexual lust; the alcohol only fuels this fire and adds to the subsequent frustration of the male characters, whereas even some of the female characters, such as O-Shō, O-Masu, and O-Tori, seem to order their lives around it to a great extent. Still the question remains whether the misfortunes O-Shō is made to encounter are excessive and incredible. One can point out that her story is based on fact and therefore true and believable, but that seems somehow beside the point. The answer may be simply that the naturalist, for reasons of artistic temperament or philosophy, feels compelled to focus on these negative experiences; his own world-view permits him to ignore the successes and see only the defeats. Provincials such as Shūsei, to reiterate an earlier thought, could not assume success in their own lives and had little exposure to leisure and urbanity; theirs is a literature that springs from a different corner of life than that occupied by the Imperial University graduate. It is not that they can see more of life than their literary rivals, but that they are receptive to a different side of life.

Ashiato contains many of those descriptions of unseemly details of life that are typical of naturalism, especially in the West, and often distress the critic. To some, such details have no place in literature, but to the
naturalist they are often one of his devices for re-creating reality. The reasoning of the naturalist is that reality contains the sordid as well as the beautiful, so that to concentrate only on the beautiful is to misrepresent reality. *Ashiato* features such details as a description of pigeons cooing in a damp, dirty square littered with paper and cigarette butts, one of O-Shō walking off to answer the bell, rubbing her behind; O-Shō combing her mother's dandruff-filled hair; O-Shō taking a child on an outing, walking along crowded foul-smelling streets, baby on back, her back and thighs sweaty; the aunt's miscarriage and a description of the dead fetus with its swollen head, spongy festering sores, and bloodless lips; the image of the breeze drying the sweat at O-Shō's armpits (mentioned curiously in the same sentence as the sound of the cicada); and, mention of Hōtarō writing on O-Shō's "soft, white thighs," while she sleeps. Shūsei seemed especially fond of the words *kabi* (mold) and *tadare* ("festering," or "breaking out in sores"), which were to supply the titles of his next two major novels. In *Ashiato* the mother's room is described as *kabi-kusai* (moldy), as are some Utamaro prints O-Shō hopes to pawn near the close of the story. The word *tadare* is used to mean "inflammation" in the description of O-Shō's sick aunt, her hands and feet swollen with dropsy, the "inflammation" spreading. The eyes of this woman's mother are described as *hare-tadare* (swollen and inflamed), and the word is used again to describe the purple acne on
the dirty face of a clerk in the office of an ill-fated insurance company belonging to O-Sho's uncle. There seems to be no need to belabor the fact that Japanese naturalists, as well as their Western counterparts, felt no reason to hesitate in using such normally offensive images. One can easily imagine how startling and new they must have seemed to many readers in late-Meiji Japan. They must be seen as the manifestation in language and imagery of the revolution in Japanese literature that naturalism represents.

Ashiato seems to be a forgotten novel from among Shūsei's early full-length works. Kabi, Tadare, and Arakure are usually considered his earlier masterpieces, and Shinjotai is given attention for its historical importance as a pioneering work. Its episodic shortcomings would seem to justify ignoring Ashiato to some extent, but another reason it is usually overlooked by Japanese critics may be that they tend to emphasize Shūsei's role as an "I" novelist and find the autobiographical Kabi much more congenial for such discussion. For Shūsei himself does not appear in Ashiato and thus the factuality of the story is only of value in reconstructing the life of his wife Hama. In addition, many of the details of her life revealed in Ashiato are recapitulated in Kabi. For the typical Japanese critic who prefers a biographical approach to his subject, Kabi would thus seem of more interest than Ashiato. However, whether or not one is willing or able to read Ashiato as a story of a fictional girl rather than of Hama, the wife of the author, it is
successful to the degree that it is a believable fictional exposition of the insurmountable barrier of environment. And, on the whole, Ashiato is effective and believable, so that one feels the irrevocability of O-Shō's situation and the inevitability that her character will be formed to a large degree by her unhappy childhood experiences. As such Ashiato surpasses both Hakuchō's "Bikō" and his "Doro ningen-gyō." Nonetheless, Ashiato is marred by too many loose ends in the form of details that do not contribute directly to the advancement of the plot and a generally weak plot in the first place. Some unity is achieved by the focus on just one character, O-Shō, but the reader still finishes Ashiato feeling less intimate with her psychology and character than that of Shinkichi or O-Saku in the much briefer, but tighter, Shinjotai. What seems of more interest after all is the actual story of O-Shō's (Hama's) early life rather than Shūsei's uneven retelling of it.

1911: Shūsei's KABI

Japanese regard Tokuda Shūsei as one of the more important writers of his day. Although he is not given the status of Sōseki, Ōgai, and Tōson, he seems to be regarded as the best of the naturalist writers. Although not the intellectual or literary theorizer that a Hakuchō or a Hōmei was, he could write and write well. To date Western scholars and critics have ignored Shūsei, and Hakuchō as well for that matter, for they have understandably occupied themselves
with the truly major Japanese writers, those who have produced lasting works of art. And, conceivably, the relevance for today's reader of the type of domestic fiction that Shūsei produced is slight. When one does become absorbed in Shūsei's life and fiction, however, as many Japanese writers and critics have over the years, Kabi naturally appears as one of Shūsei's most fascinating and characteristic novels. Kabi stands as the consummate example of Shūsei's autobiographical fiction, it is without many of the structural shortcomings of Ashiato, and surpasses Shinjotai in psychological depth of its depiction of a marital relationship.

The "mold" (kabi) of the title seems to refer to the passivity of Sasamura, the autobiographical hero, and to his hesitant nature and the slow decay that marks his whole manner of life. Sasamura is, of course, a writer, who has become involved with his attractive but coarse young housemaid, O-Gin. When she becomes pregnant, he must deal with the consequences; he finally decides to marry her. Shūsei begins by noting that Sasamura completes O-Gin's registration as his legal wife at the same time the baby's birth certificate arrives. Sasamura does not want to marry her, but he finally decides that he will do the "right thing" (isagiyoku kekkon shiyō ka). He has been urged by his sister-in-law in Osaka to marry O-Gin; he had also grown tired of living alone in a rooming-house and therefore moved into a little house, where he invited his teenage nephew to stay with him
and employed O-Gin's mother, who in turn brought in O-Gin.

Sasamura is the master of his house, but he feels besieged by the insidious demands of his wife, in-laws, and delinquent nephew. Sasamura and O-Gin had found themselves living alone in his house for the first time, when O-Gin's mother went off and then Sasamura's nephew returned to the country to recuperate from beri-beri. After their affair is launched and his nephew has returned, Sasamura comes to realize that much of his money is going to his nephew and his hedonistic young friends. When O-Gin criticizes his nephew, Sasamura meekly blames his anti-social behavior on the bad influence of his friends. The boy becomes more of a drunkard and a carouser until finally during one of his disturbances he threatens Sasamura and tries to knife him. His nephew is the illegitimate son of his older half-sister; Sasamura realizes that he himself has not set a good example for the sixteen-year-old.

Sasamura lacks confidence in himself, as well as the courage to take the responsibility for his socially unconventional behavior. After his affair with O-Gin begins and she is obviously pregnant, he rarely leaves the house, for he is afraid of the reaction of his friends to his involvement with her. He makes plans for her to hide in a rented room until the baby is born, but O-Gin feels the room he finds is too cramped and says that she will be lonely there, since he has said that he himself will not be with her when the baby is born. The months roll by and she is still living
with him, for he cannot bring himself to make her move, which in that day in Japan a stronger man surely could have. When O-Gin tells Sasamura that the baby may be on its way, he is worried and upset; he thinks of how everything he has ever done somehow has been wrong, and of how defeat has always followed him.99

Sasamura does not want to keep the child. When O-Gin tells him how she worries over what kind of child she will bear, he tells her that it does not matter, because they are not going to rear him anyway.100 When the baby is born, Sasamura is out wandering about. He visits a doctor's assistant (daishin) to ask if he knows of a family willing to take his child right away. The man does know of willing families, but he advises Sasamura to reconsider, for he is certain that he will regret giving his child away. The birth of his son is a long and difficult one for O-Gin. Later when Sasamura looks at the week-old boy, he feels only pity and grief. When he tests O-Gin's determination by warning her that they had better give the child away before it becomes officially illegitimate, she answers that she will rear it herself without bothering Sasamura at all. To this Shūsei adds that in fact, however, she did not have the confidence or determination to rear the boy alone.101 When these questions come up again, O-Gin argues her position logically and effectively. She tells him of all the effort she has put into caring for him and his house, her financial contributions, how she has been subject to his whim, the
disgrace of her illegitimate child, and the fact that she has no place to go. She is persuasive, despite the dissatisfaction and gloom he feels at heart. Sasamura is caught in a trap of his own making.

Increasing Sasamura's frustration is the fact that he has no respect for O-Gin. From the beginning he has ambivalent feelings towards her. On one hand he is repelled by her crudity, as when he comes home one day to find her napping in the sunlight, she sits up smiling, her legs not in the "proper" sitting position, which makes him feel she is abandoned, corrupted. Sasamura becomes increasingly impatient with O-Gin. He accuses her of viewing their relationship with the mentality of a concubine, although he realizes that in fact he treats her more like a concubine than a wife and that he is just keeping her for his day to day amusement. On the other hand, however, he is fascinated by O-Gin's sexuality and her stormy past. O-Gin is described as having a firm body, a lack of grace and gentleness, but an unusual, fetching face. She knows men and is able to joke with Sasamura and encourage him when he is in a good mood.

In the latter half of Kabi Sasamura walks about the neighborhood where O-Gin had lived getting more of the feel of her youth, for even after several years of marriage he is still interested in the melodrama of her past. This represents an unusual change in the relationship between Shūsei, his story, and his readers, for the informed reader knows
that the detective work Sasamura is doing is a description of the real-life researches of Shūsei that resulted in the story he is reading. He goes to the restaurant where O-Gin had been, and asks whether the son of the family is still in jail—the waitress replies that he is—and what has become of his wife (O-Gin). Sasamura does not find out much about O-Gin's youth from the waitress, but he continues drinking and joking with her; he enjoys being there and imagining O-Gin when she had first come there and how her drunken husband must have looked on their wedding night. It is sometimes painful and tortuous to him, but Sasamura feels the compulsion to learn all that he can about his wife, to peel away all the layers of her past. The more he knows about her, the less satisfied he is with her until he knows everything.106

Sasamura is insecure sexually and financially—a devastating combination. He feels weak and sexually inadequate, and the contrast that O-Gin's raw sexuality represents produces a dangerous obsession with the details of her past loves, in particular Isotani (Isoya in Ashiato), the amorous fellow O-Gin (O-Shō) was involved with from about ages eighteen to twenty-one before her disastrous marriage. Sasamura knows that he is not as handsome as Isotani, but he feels he must verify this factually by getting a look at Isotani or by hearing about him from O-Gin. He knows that he is inferior, but he must know how inferior. Sasamura has such a low opinion of himself that when O-Gin becomes pregnant for
the first time, he finds it difficult to believe that a weak man like himself could father a child. 107

Sasamura's frustrations lead to a good deal of family violence, for his relationship with O-Gin is described as an emotional one. When the birth of their first child is nearing, they quarrel and Sasamura stays out all night only to be accosted by O-Gin again when he returns the next morning. 108 O-Gin seems to think Sasamura lives only to criticize her and her relatives. Their arguments are followed by regret and reconciliation, so that when he accuses her of thinking of herself as his concubine, he later repents and she again looks like the girl who had once attracted him. 109 There is a description of Sasamura striking O-Gin and the admission that he has now and then hit her on other occasions. He had even taken her comb from her hair while she slept, and broken it in two in his frustration and anger. She seems to fear his breaking her things more than being hit herself, so that when he appears to be becoming violent, she tries to stand in front of her belongings to protect them from him. During this argument which includes him striking her, she says that he is strange, that everyone says so. Later they make up, however, and she is moved to tears by talk of when they were first together and how they could not decide whether to have an abortion when she first became pregnant or to give the child away.

Kabi is an account of the psychological and physical domestication of Sasamura by O-Gin. We have seen his
reluctance, his hope to be free of her and independent again. After their son Shōichi is born, O-Gin tells Sasamura that they must buy more things for the house, for she is domesticating him and rapidly taking over as her position becomes more secure. Sasamura, on the other hand, although he is unwilling, sits back and allows her her way, too inert to oppose her. While off on a little trip together, Sasamura finds O-Gin's Western hair-do ridiculous from the back—he mumbles that she looks like a duck—but more significant is her comment in the disappointing hot spring hotel that "one's home is best after all." This indicates that she already thinks of herself as permanently installed in Sasamura's house. With her second pregnancy, Sasamura feels all the more victimized; he wants to escape the responsibility of parenthood more than ever. O-Gin perceives this and she is upset, too; she accuses Sasamura and all men of using women as playthings, of being shameless. They have by this time moved again, as he has found another house, old, musty (kabi-kusai), and dilapidated, but quiet, spacious, and off the beaten path. She objects to a house so far from a well and so old and moldy, although she does finally begin to get used to it.

In his new house as much as in his old one, Sasamura feels the pressure of his in-laws. With all of her relatives in the house Sasamura and O-Gin have only a four-and-a-half-mat (about nine feet square) room to themselves. O-Gin wants to move again as the birth of their second child approaches.
Sasamura plans to stay for a long time, but he meekly offers no resistance. When O-Gin's mother slips at the well and loosens two of her teeth, O-Gin's complaints about the house are renewed and increased, so that Sasamura retreats to his study coming out only for meals. His loathing for O-Gin is by now sufficient to negate all of her sexual charm; they often quarrel at breakfast or whenever they are forced to be together. As it becomes obvious that he has begun to find her loathsome, O-Gin begins to worry about her marriage and her future. Sasamura is sleepless and restless, while O-Gin is uncertain. An experienced friend consoles O-Gin, assuring her that all men are like that and reminding her of the difficulty of leaving Sasamura when she has children.

When Sasamura takes up with his old friend Miyama (presumably Mishima Sōsen) after two years without seeing him, O-Gin does not seem pleased, since he represents a link with Sasamura's days as a free and easy bachelor. Miyama brings new doubts about the past to Sasamura's mind, when he expresses surprise that Shōichi resembles Sasamura rather than Isotani. Miyama urges him to educate O-Gin and stresses that they have to adapt to one another, but Sasamura can still tell O-Gin that he wants to send her off on her way as soon as a way presents itself.

Both O-Gin and Sasamura are cut off from their pasts. He often suspects her of renewing her relationship with Isotani, and this motivates him to find out more of her past.
She has lost interest in her past to a great extent, although on occasion she savors her more pleasant memories of Isotani. But she also has vivid memories of how her former husband stabbed his step-mother right after she left him. This plus another incident in which a neighbor woman had died on their doorstep (while Sasamura was away, apparently a suicide because of maltreatment by her husband) increase O-Gin's general fear and timidity. Sasamura learns for the first time (at about the time of the birth of their second child) that she had seen her former husband once while she and Sasamura were out walking. It seems her husband, who was a dangerous fool when drunk, was hunting her. Likewise, O-Gin does not enjoy her memories of her father's heavy drinking. O-Gin has nothing to go back to, for her entire childhood and early adulthood were unpleasant, so that life with the moody Sasamura is almost peaceful by comparison. That Sasamura himself has no past to return to is shown him by his trip home before the birth of his second child.

Sasamura has not been home for four or five years, and all that has occurred since then makes him very anxious about the reception he will receive there. When he arrives in the gloomy city of his childhood, he thinks of how he would like to be able to turn away somehow from the many unpleasant memories. The aged faces of his mother and older sister show the struggles they have endured. He spends much of his time out walking to avoid his sad old mother, who wants
desperately to tell someone of the troubles she has had. Both Sasamura and his mother seem to realize the unhappy fact that they can never hope to open their hearts to one another. He asks her to come to Tokyo to live, but she refuses because she is apprehensive about O-Gin and finds it difficult to drop everything and move at her age. When his mother confronts him with the question of O-Gin's virginity and reputation, Sasamura denies that O-Gin was anything other than innocent when he married her. After that they avoid talking about it; when a letter comes from O-Gin asking him to come home, his mother does not even ask him to stay longer. These scenes of Sasamura and his mother are done with sensitivity and the effect is poignant. The poignancy of these scenes and others such as those of the illness and death of M. Sensei (Kōyō) place Kabi above such earlier works as Shinjotai and Ashiato.

The new life that Sasamura and O-Gin are sharing together may not be pleasant to either of them, certainly not to Sasamura, but they have nothing else. The depth of their involvement becomes somewhat apparent to Sasamura at the time of the serious illness and hospitalization of Shoichi, for they seem to forget their differences in their mutual concern over and absorption in the problem of the boy's recovery. Sasamura perceives that his life at this time is quite different from his usual moody, ill-tempered life. The tiring ordeal of the illness is like a nightmare, and causes Sasamura to think how his own mother must have suffered
raising him, a sickly child. 123

There is no easy solution in the lives of Sasamura and O-Gin. Sasamura is close to realizing his psychological dependence upon O-Gin, but that does not mean he is suddenly satisfied with her. His dissatisfaction leads finally to an affair with a "very young girl," that is not described in much detail but is a source of great anxiety for O-Gin, who tries to convince Sasamura he is making a fool of himself. The woman is rather slatternly, but he delights in hearing of her first love and other details of her checkered past, so that he visits her to escape O-Gin and the oppression of his household. 124

As the psychological struggle between Sasamura and O-Gin intensifies, he becomes all the more disturbed and uneasy. In the end he simply leaves. Leaving Tokyo for the first time in quite a while, he thinks less of his troubles at home as the train moves through the rain across the monotonous Kantō Plain. He goes to an inn in a quiet town, and there is mention of the stillness of his days in the lonely inn, his fatigue, and the upsetting sameness he perceives in all his experiences. 125 He wants to take advantage of the free time and his distraction-free environment to write something, but he is to spend ten fruitless days at the inn. One morning he wakes up and looks at the homely woman whom he had summoned the night before; she reminds him of his promise made during the night to take her with him to Nikkō. That afternoon he grabs his coat and goes to the
station; he arrives just in time to catch the next train to another hot spring resort town. With that the story ends.

Sasamura may have escaped Tokyo, O-Gin, and his in-laws, but it is futile for he has nothing to escape to. Kabi is yet another open-ended naturalist story, and thus it is not explicit that he will ever go back to O-Gin, but one feels that he must in the end, because the psychological alternatives are so bleak as to be unacceptable. He has never achieved satisfaction from dissipation and indolence; we know that his carousing with Miyama before meeting O-Gin was merely to dissipate the loneliness he felt living alone. A similar escape to Western Japan seven or eight years before had only impressed him with its dullness.

Nothing in Sasamura's childhood experience or his life since coming to Tokyo has prepared him for an easy acceptance of the conventional responsibilities of adult life, so that he seems doomed to a constant uneasiness about his life and his relationship to others. In terms of conventional morality he is weak; his weakness makes it impossible for him to resist a woman such as O-Gin in the first place and then also impossible for him to resist flight, the easiest apparent solution to the further complications life with her brings. Undoing the tangled threads of his thoughts about O-Gin and himself requires distance between himself and the source of the problem. That he will ever be free of his anxiety is highly doubtful, but that finally he will wander back to O-Gin and the morass that is his life in Tokyo seems likely.
The great achievement of Kabi is the characterization of both Sasamura and O-Gin. We have seen that an "I" novel is not necessarily a story told in the first person. In Kabi Shūsei makes use of an omniscient, although generally reticent, third-person point of view. One wishes there were more comments on the specific thoughts of Sasamura and O-Gin, the latter in particular, but there are enough to allow the two to take shape in the reader's mind as three-dimensional, "round" characters. They take shape early in the narrative, so that the reader never feels he is dealing with stereotyped personalities or caricatures. Both Sasamura and O-Gin have their own identities, clearer and more complete than those of Shinkichi and O-Saku in Shinjotai, as we have noted. Preceding a reading of Kabi with that of Ashiato may account for the depth of O-Gin's characterization to some extent, but she would seem to come alive even through a reading of Kabi alone. Shūsei seems to have felt free to ignore somewhat the depiction in detail of O-Gin and Sasamura's previous environments, and to assume that occasional references to O-Gin's troubled past and the skillful scenes of Sasamura's homecoming would suffice. The fact that he had already gone into great detail concerning O-Gin's past in Ashiato seems to account for the omission of copious details on her past, at any rate, in Kabi. However, there is detail, and what there is, in the final analysis, seems sufficient. Be that as it may, Kabi shows that a depiction of the effects of environment upon character does not
necessarily mean a detailed delineation of all of the facts of a character's environment. Certain facts about the pasts of O-Gin and Sasamura are revealed and then gradually expanded upon through their arguments, as well as through Sasamura's visits to his home town and to the restaurant where O-Gin had lived and worked when she was married. Thus, Kabi achieves a believability not found in Ashiato, in which facts are simply reeled off in the course of a more direct, less artistic linear narration. One gets the feeling of life happening in Kabi, a feeling that was absent from Ashiato.

The artistic reputation of the works of Japanese naturalism is so low that one invariably begins a naturalist story expecting the worst. When one does encounter an interesting piece of writing, as in "Doro ningyō," Shinjotai, and Kabi, to mention a few of the more successful examples, one is still hesitant to dwell on their merits and tends to join in the chorus of their faults. Of the stories we have discussed, Kabi seems the least likely to disappoint, if one knows what to expect. It is dark, but contains no tragedy; it is about an affair between a man and a young woman, but is without love and romance. It depicts a family in difficulty and in danger of breaking apart, but it does not tell us what becomes of them. It may seem a cliche to say that Kabi is inconclusive and thus "like life," but that seems to be exactly how its author intended it to be.
Postscript

The naturalist literary movement in Japan was an artistic failure, for we have seen that it produced no truly great art. Its importance seems to lie in its effect upon the course of Japanese fiction, in the fact that it freed literature from earlier restrictive conventions and helped spur on ultimately more creative non-naturalist writers. Like all great literary movements it embodied a definite philosophical stance as well, so that it will live on not only in literary history but in the intellectual history of the time as well.

Perhaps the real place of literary naturalism in the history of modern Japanese thought and literature would be even more fully revealed through the study of the fiction that followed the naturalist era--a study of the idealism of the Shirakaba-ha, the psychological realism of Sōseki's later works, and the aesthetic fiction of Akutagawa and Tanizaki. Just as the naturalist contribution to literary thought cannot be totally appreciated without some consideration of Kōyō and the romantic Ken'yūsha that preceded it, the implications of Taishō literature would seem to become clearer through an understanding of Japanese naturalism. Although only one part of the whole, the naturalist era was a major formative period in the development of the thought and art of Shūsei, Hakuchō, and the whole of twentieth-century Japanese fiction.
FOOTNOTES: SECTION ONE

1 Accounts of the Katai Shūsei gojūnen seitān shukugakai may be found in Noguchi Fujio's Tokuda Shūsei-den, Masamune Hakuchō's Shizenshugi bungaku seisuisshi, Hasegawa Izumi's Bundan shiji-ten, and Takami Jun's Shōwa bungaku seisuishi. The Bundan shiji-ten is perhaps the handiest and most complete reference to the event, while the account by Takami Jun is probably the most entertaining.

2 Hasegawa Izumi, ed., Bundan shiji-ten (Tokyo, 1972), pp. 75-76.

3 Noguchi Fujio, Tokuda Shūsei-den (Tokyo, 1965), p. 425. This book is virtually encyclopedic in its thorough coverage of the life and literature of Tokuda Shūsei, and Noguchi, who was associated with Shūsei from the days of the Arakure-kai, is explicit in detailing the methodology of his research, especially in connection with obscure or controversial points. The Tokuda Shūsei-den will provide the source of all the biographical information on Tokuda Shūsei found in this section, unless otherwise noted.

4 Ibid., p. 427.


6 The birthday celebration seems premature because the ages are being figured by the Japanese ashikake way of reckoning age, under which a child is considered one year old at birth and two at the next new year, gaining one year each new year thereafter. The ages in this study, however, will follow the usual Western way of reckoning.

7 According to the above Bundan shiji-ten, the thirty-three who contributed to the Gendai shōsetsu senshū were: Shimazaki Tōson (1872-1943); Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886-1965); Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (1892-1927); Masamune Hakuchō (1879-1962); Satomi Ton (1888- ); Nakamura Seiko (1884- ); Fujimori Seikichi (1892- ); Arishima Ikuma (1882- ); Kamitsukasa Shōken (1874- ); Sōma Taizō (1885-1952); Minami Takitarō (1887-1940); Tanizaki Seiji (1891- ); Kikuchi Kan (1888-1948); Kanō Sakujirō (1886-1941); Hirotsu Kazuo (1891- ); Yoshida Genjirō (1886-1956); Toyoshima Yoshio (1890-1955); Kubota Mantarō (1889-1963); Ogawa Mimei (1882-1961); Eguchi Kiyoshi (1887- ); Uno Köji (1891-1961); Kume Masao (1891-1952); Mizumori Kamensuke (1886-1958); Kasai Zenzō (1887-1928); Murō Saisei (1889-1962); Nakatogawa Kichi-ji (1896-1942); Katō Takeo (1888-1956); Chikamatsu Shūkō (1876-1944); Hosoda Tamiki (1892- ); Tanaka Jun (1890- ); Shiraishi Jitsuzō (1886-1937); Satō Haruo (1892-1964); and
Arishima Takeo (1878-1923). These dates were taken from the Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Yoshida Seiichi, ed., Kindai Nihon bungaku jiten (Tokyo, 1967).

8 Nakamura Mitsuo, Fūzoku shōsetsuron (Tokyo, 1958), p. 52.

9 Noguchi, Tokuda Shūsei-den, ibid., p. 140.

10 Ibid., p. 156. Noguchi is quoting the "unusual genius" of Shūsei's for objective self-portrayal from Itō Sei in his Kindai Nihon no bungakushi (1958).

11 Ibid., p. 427.

12 Takami, ibid., pp. 18-19.

13 Noguchi, Tokuda Shūsei-den, ibid., p. 428.

14 Takami, ibid., p. 19.

15 Noguchi, Tokuda Shūsei-den, ibid., p. 427.

16 Ibid., p. 69. Kiryū Yūyū (1873-1941) was the friend who further stimulated the young Shūsei's interest in literature. Shūsei had first been attracted to his brother Naomatsu's books—things such as The Poetry & Essays of the Restoration Patriots, adventure stories, and gesaku fiction—and eventually was reading modern novels such as Futabatei's Ukigumo and Shōyō's Tōsei shōsei katagi. Kiryū was one of his first friends in Kanazawa with whom he could talk of such literature. Shūsei's visit alone to Shōyō (see page 12 of this study) may be seen as the first indication that the two were to go their separate ways, as in their early days they were inseparable. Kiryū was never to achieve the success Shūsei did although he did persist in pursuing a literary career. He is mentioned in the Kindai Nihon bungaku jiten in connection with the haiku group the Tsukubakai (page 478).

17 Ibid., p. 169. There was the example of the writer named Kitamura whom Kōyō helped to get something published, but who did not come calling on the Sensei too often thereafter, as Kōyō felt was required. As a result of this disloyalty Kōyō used his influence to have Kitamura blacklisted with the important publishers. Kitamura's name does not appear in the Kindai Nihon bungaku jiten, so one may speculate on what Kōyō's wrath did to that one aspiring Japanese writer. Even his given name is obscure.

18 Ibid., pp. 79-80.

19 Ibid., p. 77. The koku is a Japanese unit of measure, which equals 4.96 bushels. The annual rice yield of a han
in the Tokugawa period was measured in terms of koku. Only the lord of a han producing 10,000 koku of rice or more annually could be styled a daimyō, so that the number of koku of a province was an important consideration in determining status. The Maeda daimyō of Kaga province could boast of an annual rice yield of over one million koku, the highest yield by far of any han in Japan with the exception of that of the Tokugawa clan itself.

20 Noguchi, Tokuda Shūsei-den, ibid., pp. 84-85.
21 Ibid., p. 97.
22 Ibid., p. 98.
23 Ibid., pp. 88-89.
24 Ibid., p. 108.
25 Ibid., p. 119.
26 Ibid., p. 127. The whole process of Shūsei's obtaining the Hakubunkan job is described in the Tokuda Shūsei-den, pp. 123-125.
27 Ibid., p. 140.
28 Ibid., p. 139.
29 Ibid., pp. 148-149.
30 Ibid., pp. 150-151.
31 Ibid., pp. 164-169, 172.
32 Ibid., p. 173.
33 Ibid., pp. 178-179.
34 Ibid., p. 159.
36 Ibid., pp. 179, 181.
37 Ibid., pp. 196-197.
38 Ibid., p. 182.
40 Noguchi Fujio, Tokuda Shūsei-den, ibid., pp. 201-203.
50 Ibid., pp. 243, 253. It must be noted that Noguchi is relying upon the plot of Kabi for a re-creation of events and characters in Shūsei's life during this period, 1902 to 1907.

51 Ibid., p. 239.

52 Ibid., p. 290.

53 Ibid., pp. 279-282.

54 Ibid., p. 257.

55 Ibid., pp. 388-389.

56 Ibid., pp. 271-272.

57 Ibid., pp. 329-332.

58 Ibid., pp. 314-315.

59 Ibid., pp. 316-317.

60 Ibid., p. 324.

61 Nakamura, ibid., p. 31.

62 Ibid., p. 46.


64 Ibid., pp. 152-153.

65 Ibid., p. 153.
The nine contributors to the "Futon gappyō" were: Oguri Fūyō, Matsumura Shibun, Katakami Noburu, Mizuno Yōshū, Tokuda Shūkō, Nakamura Seiko, Sōma Gyōfu, Shimamura Hōgetsu, and Masamune Hakuchō. For some unexplained reason the short selection by Hakuchō is the only one of the nine not contained in the Kindai bungaku hyōron taikei.


Masamune Hakuchō, "Futon gappyō" (A Joint Review of Futon), Waseda Bungaku, No. 23 (Oct. 1907), 41.

87 Ibid., pp. 375-377.
88 Ibid., pp. 394-395.
89 Ibid., p. 195.
90 Ibid., p. 400.
91 Ibid., p. 404.
92 Ibid., p. 194.
94 Noguchi, ibid., pp. 413-414.
95 Ibid., p. 416.
97 Ibid., pp. 689, 691.
98 Noguchi, ibid., pp. 429-430.
99 Ibid., p. 349.
101 Noguchi, ibid., p. 357.
102 Ibid., pp. 351-354. O-Fuyu was killed in a World War II air raid with her husband and all but one of her grandchildren on March 9, 1945, at the age of fifty-seven. The twin girls apparently are still alive.
103 Ibid., pp. 450-451.
105 Ibid., pp. 460-465.
106 Ibid., p. 447.
110 Ibid., p. 479
111 Ibid., p. 480.
112 Ibid., p. 481.
113 Ibid., p. 469.
114 Ibid., p. 468.
115 Ibid., p. 473.
116 Ibid., p. 478
117 Hasegawa, ibid., pp. 83-84. This account of "Tokuda Shūsei's love" is by Emoto Ryūji, who lists his own study "Tokuda Shūsei" (1971) as well as Noguchi's Tokuda Shūsei-den as his sources. Emoto's opinions are often cited in the Tokuda Shūsei-den.
118 Noguchi, Tokuda Shūsei-den, ibid., p. 485.
119 Ibid., pp. 487-488.
120 Hasegawa, ibid., p. 83.
121 Noguchi, Tokuda Shūsei-den, ibid., p. 478.
122 Ibid., p. 518.
123 Ibid., p. 490.
125 Ibid., p. 10.
126 Noguchi, Tokuda Shūsei-den, ibid., pp. 493-494.
129 Ibid., pp. 41-42.
130 Ibid., pp. 65-66.
131 Ibid., pp. 348-349.
132 Ibid., p. 417.
133 Noguchi, Tokuda Shūsei-den, pp. 494-495, 497.
134 Ibid., p. 503.
135 Ibid., p. 517.
136 Ibid., p. 519.
137 Ibid., pp. 512-513, 515.
138 Ibid., p. 504.
139 Ibid., pp. 507-511.
140 Ibid., pp. 503-504.
141 Ibid., pp. 499, 503.
143 Noguchi, Tokuda Shūsei-den, ibid., pp. 476-477.
144 Ibid., pp. 513-514.
145 Takami Jun, ibid., p. 244.
146 Noguchi, Tokuda Shūsei-den, ibid., p. 520.
147 Ibid., pp. 521-522.
148 Ibid., p. 525.
149 Ibid., p. 521.
150 Ibid., p. 527.
151 Ibid., p. 528.
152 Ibid., pp. 529, 532, 535. Five days before Shūsei rejected compromise with the Board of Information, on September
10, his lifelong friend Kiryū died. He had been in disfavor with the military since 1933, and his career consisted of having one magazine of his after another shut down by the authorities. The last order to cease publication was delivered to his family as they were observing his wake in the study.

153 Ibid., p. 536.
154 Ibid., p. 535-536.
155 Ibid., pp. 542-543.
FOOTNOTES: SECTION TWO

1 Ōiwa Kō, _Masamune Hakuchō-ron_ (Tokyo, 1971), p. 21. This is a partial biography, but a complete study of Hakuchō as a man and thinker. Ōiwa was a personal friend of Hakuchō, but although his sympathy for Hakuchō sometimes seems to obscure his critical judgment, the insider's view of Hakuchō hopefully will complement the more objective and complete study by Gotō Ryō, _Masamune Hakuchō: bungaku to shōgai_. These two works provide the bulk of the material in Section Two of this study. _Masamune Hakuchō-ron_ originally appeared in 1964 as _Masamune Hakuchō_ (Tokyo, Kawade Shobō).

2 _Ibid._, p. 23.


5 _Ibid._, p. 23.

6 _Ibid._, p. 23.

7 Ōiwa, _ibid._, pp. 30-31.

8 Gotō, _ibid._, p. 24.

9 _Ibid._, p. 29.

10 _Ibid._, p. 25.

11 Ōiwa, _ibid._, p. 31.

12 Gotō, _ibid._, pp. 27-28.

13 Ōiwa, _ibid._, p. 31.


15 Ōiwa, _ibid._, p. 34.

16 Gotō, _ibid._, p. 25.


18 Ōiwa, _ibid._, p. 16.

19 Gotō, _ibid._, pp. 29-30. Gotō feels that it is clear that Hakuchō's reading of such bizarre _kusazōshi_, which were
popular about 1887, was rooted deeply in his conception of human existence as something odious and ugly.

20 Ōiwa, ibid., p. 32.
21 Gotō, ibid., p. 30.
22 Ōiwa, ibid., p. 15.
23 Ibid., pp. 33-34.
24 Gotō, ibid., p. 31.
25 Ōiwa, ibid., pp. 22-23.
26 Gotō, ibid., p. 31.

27 Ōiwa, ibid., p. 20. Ōiwa feels that the unhealthy effects upon Hakuchō of too much reading gradually led to the development of his gloomy personality. Ōiwa notes that some of the psychology of this period is found in the unfortunate hero of his story "Jigoku." In "Kūsō to genjitsu" (Imagination and Reality) (1939) Hakuchō recalls that he was weak and never once had a fight with anyone. From the beginning he was worried over the fraility of life and these fears led him to Christianity and even, despite his weakness, to fencing.

28 Gotō, ibid., p. 31.
29 Ibid., p. 31.
30 Ibid., p. 32.
31 Ibid., p. 32.
32 Ōiwa, ibid., p. 37.
33 Gotō, ibid., p. 32.
34 Ōiwa, ibid., p. 37.
35 Gotō, ibid., p. 33.
36 Ōiwa, ibid., p. 36.
37 Ibid., p. 36.
38 Ibid., p. 38.
40 Gotō, ibid., p. 33.
41 Ibid., p. 33.
42 Oiwa, ibid., p. 41.
43 Gotō, ibid., p. 33.
44 Ibid., p. 274.
45 Ibid., p. 34.
46 Ibid., p. 34.
47 Oiwa, ibid., p. 39.
48 Gotō, ibid., p. 34.
49 Oiwa, ibid., p. 42.
50 Gotō, ibid., p. 35.
51 Ibid., p. 35.
52 Oiwa, ibid., p. 43.
53 Ibid., p. 43.
54 Gotō, ibid., p. 36.
55 Oiwa, ibid., p. 43.
56 Gotō, ibid., p. 38.
57 Oiwa, ibid., p. 193.
58 Ibid., pp. 193-194.
59 Ibid., p. 203.
60 Ibid., p. 200.
61 Ibid., pp. 200-201.
62 Ibid., pp. 196-197.
63 Ibid., pp. 45-47.
64 Gotō, ibid., p. 42.
65 Ibid., p. 43.
66 Oiwa, ibid., pp. 51-52.
67 Ibid., p. 49.
Masamune Hakuchō, *Shizenshugi bungaku seisuishī*, Gendai Nihon bungaku zenshū, Vol. 67 (1957), p. 382. Hakuchō characterized Shūkō as thoroughly lazy, unable to read English, and not very profound in his philosophy. He was one of the main exponents of the uninhibited "I" novel. He had little sense of responsibility and little perseverance. But he carved his niche in literature through his capacity for shameless revelation of his own weakness. (Shizenshugi bungaku seisuishī, p. 392).

The chronologies in the biographies consulted either have no entries for 1899 and 1900 or simply note that Hakuchō left the history course for the literature course in 1899 and that Uchimura's magazine ceased publication in 1900, which began a loss of respect for Uchimura on his part.

This information is contained in a letter to his brother Atsuo quoted by Gotō. It shows the confiding nature of Hakuchō's relationship with his brother.

---

68 Gotō, *ibid.*, p. 44.
69 Masamune Hakuchō, *Shizenshugi bungaku seisuishī*, Gendai Nihon bungaku zenshū, Vol. 67 (1957), p. 382. Hakuchō characterized Shūkō as thoroughly lazy, unable to read English, and not very profound in his philosophy. He was one of the main exponents of the uninhibited "I" novel. He had little sense of responsibility and little perseverance. But he carved his niche in literature through his capacity for shameless revelation of his own weakness. (Shizenshugi bungaku seisuishī, p. 392).
70 The chronologies in the biographies consulted either have no entries for 1899 and 1900 or simply note that Hakuchō left the history course for the literature course in 1899 and that Uchimura's magazine ceased publication in 1900, which began a loss of respect for Uchimura on his part.
73 Gotō, *ibid.*, p. 45.
75 *Ibid.*, p. 48. This information is contained in a letter to his brother Atsuo quoted by Gotō. It shows the confiding nature of Hakuchō's relationship with his brother.
81 Gotō, *ibid.*, p. 44.
92 Ibid., pp. 108-109. Gotō Ryō in his study asserts that the story in question was more likely by Chekhov than Balzac. The story criticized by Kocho appeared in Taiyō in July, 1904. Kocho criticized Hakuchō, Kakuda Kōkō, and Shūsei's friend Kiryū Yūyū as well. Gotō notes that Hakuchō's answer to Kocho's criticism was ineffectual. (Masamune Hakuchō: bungaku to shōgai, p. 62).

93 Ibid., p. 109.

94 Masamune, Shizenshugi bungaku seishuishi, ibid., p. 345.

95 Gotō, ibid., p. 56.

96 Ibid., p. 57.

97 Ibid., p. 58.

98 Ōiwa, ibid., p. 54.

99 Ibid., p. 63.

100 Ibid., p. 62.

101 Ibid., p. 61.

102 Ibid., p. 60.

103 Ibid., p. 23.

104 Ibid., p. 24.

105 Ibid., pp. 62-65.

106 Ibid., pp. 64-66.

107 Ibid., pp. 57-59.

108 Ibid., p. 59.

109 Gotō, ibid., pp. 59-60.

110 Ibid., p. 60.
136 Ōiwa, *ibid.*, p. 120.
137 Ibid., pp. 54, 120.


139 Ōiwa, ibid., pp. 121-122.

140 Ibid., p. 123.


142 Ōiwa, ibid., pp. 123-125.

143 Ibid., p. 125.

144 Ibid., p. 128.

145 Ibid., p. 125.

146 Goto, ibid., p. 69.

147 Ibid., pp. 69-71.

148 Ibid., p. 71.

149 Ōiwa, ibid., p. 129.

150 Masamune, Shizenshugi bungaku seisuiishi, ibid., p. 345.

151 Ōiwa, ibid., pp. 128-129.

152 Masamune, Shizenshugi bungaku seisuiishi, ibid., pp. 347-348.

153 Ibid., p. 349.

154 Ibid., p. 350.

155 Ibid., p. 352.

156 Ibid., p. 350.

157 Ibid., p. 351.

158 Ibid., p. 352.

159 Ibid., p. 352.

160 Ibid., pp. 352-353.

161 Ibid., p. 353.
162 Ibid., p. 389.
164 Ibid., p. 362.
165 Oiwa, ibid., pp. 197-198.
166 Ibid., p. 175.
167 Masamune, Shizenshugi bungaku seisuishī, ibid., p. 362.
168 Ibid., p. 378.
169 Ibid., pp. 366-367.
170 Ibid., p. 367.
171 Ibid., p. 363.
172 Ibid., p. 355.
173 Ibid., p. 367.
174 Ibid., pp. 367-368.
175 Ibid., p. 368.
176 Ibid., p. 368.
177 Ibid., p. 369.
179 Masamune, Shizenshugi bungaku seisuishī, ibid., p. 369.
180 Ibid., p. 358.
181 Goto, ibid., p. 79.
182 Ibid., p. 80.
183 Ibid., p. 81.
184 Ibid., p. 83.
185 Ibid., p. 81.
186 Oiwa, ibid., p. 172.
187 Ibid., p. 173.
188 Ibid., p. 140.
190 Masamune, *Shizenshugi bungaku seisushi*, ibid., p. 357.
191 Ibid., p. 358.
193 Ibid., p. 98.
194 Ibid., p. 100.
196 Ibid., p. 110.
197 Ibid., pp. 111-112.
198 Ōiwa, ibid., p. 179.
202 Gotō, ibid., p. 89.
203 Ibid., p. 90.
204 Ibid., p. 90.
207 Gotō, ibid., p. 91.
208 Ibid., p. 92.
209 Ibid., p. 93.
210 Ibid., p. 93.
211 Ibid., p. 94.
212 Ibid., p. 95.
213 Ibid., p. 97.
214 Ibid., p. 99.
215 Ibid., p. 100.
216 Ibid., p. 104.
217 Ibid., p. 100.
218 Ibid., p. 110.
219 Ibid., p. 104.
220 Ibid., p. 110.
221 Ibid., pp. 100-101.
222 Ibid., p. 118.
223 Ibid., p. 92.
224 Ibid., pp. 118-119.
225 Ōiwa, ibid., p. 183.
226 Masamune, Shizenshugi bungaku seishushi, ibid., p. 401.
227 Ibid., p. 402.
228 Ibid., p. 404.
229 Ibid., p. 402.
230 Ibid., p. 403.
231 Ibid., p. 402.
232 Ibid., p. 403.
233 Ibid., p. 405.
234 Ibid., p. 354.
236 Ōiwa, ibid., p. 141.
262 Gotō, ibid., p. 141.
263 Ibid., pp. 140-141.
264 Ibid., pp. 151-152.
265 Ibid., p. 152.
266 Ibid., p. 159.
267 Ibid., p. 153.
268 Ibid., p. 154.
269 Ibid., pp. 154-155.
270 Ibid., p. 159.
271 Ibid., p. 160.
272 Ibid., p. 160.
273 Ibid., pp. 160-161.
274 Ibid., p. 162.
275 Ōiwa, ibid., p. 142.
276 Ibid., pp. 141-142.
277 Ibid., p. 190.
278 Ibid., p. 189.
279 Ibid., pp. 140-142.
281 Gotō, ibid., pp. 164-167.
282 Ibid., pp. 166-167.
284 Gotō, ibid., p. 172.
285 Ibid., p. 171.
286 Ōiwa, ibid., pp. 146, 150.
287 Ibid., p. 150.
288 Ibid., p. 151.
289 Goto, ibid., p. 170.
290 Ōiwa, ibid., p. 187.
292 Ibid., p. 429.
293 Goto, ibid., p. 173.
294 Ibid., p. 174.
295 Ibid., p. 175.
296 Ibid., pp. 175-176.
297 Ibid., p. 177.
298 Ibid., pp. 177-178.
299 Ibid., pp. 178-179.
300 Ibid., pp. 177, 179.
301 Ibid., pp. 182-183.
302 Ibid., pp. 184-185.
303 Ibid., pp. 123, 185.
304 Ibid., p. 185.
305 Ōiwa, ibid., p. 158.
307 Ibid., p. 159.
308 Goto, ibid., p. 177.
309 Ibid., pp. 186-187.
310 Ibid., p. 187.
311 Ibid., pp. 313-315.
312 Ibid., p. 188.
313 Ibid., p. 189.
314 Ibid., p. 206.
315 Ibid., p. 207.
316 Ibid., p. 208.
318 Ibid., p. 211.
320 Ibid., p. 136.
321 Ibid., p. 138.
322 Ibid., p. 128.
323 Ibid., pp. 134-135.
324 Gotō, ibid., p. 324.
325 Ibid., p. 214.
326 Ibid., p. 215.
328 Oiwa, ibid., pp. 167-168.
329 Gotō, ibid., p. 219. Ironically, however, Hakuchō's second younger brother was a specialist of some note in classical Japanese literature, particularly the Man'yōshū.
330 Ibid., p. 220.
331 Ibid., p. 221.
332 Ibid., p. 220.
333 Ibid., p. 193.
334 Ibid., pp. 193-196.
335 Ibid., pp. 204-205.
336 Ibid., pp. 197-198.
337 Ibid., p. 200.
338 Ibid., pp. 200-201.
340 Ibid., p. 201.
341 Ibid., p. 200.
343 Ibid., p. 169.
344 Ibid., p. 170.
346 Ibid., pp. 230-231.
347 Ibid., pp. 231-232.
348 Ibid., pp. 232-233.
349 Ibid., pp. 233-234.
350 Ibid., p. 234.
351 Ibid., pp. 234-240.
352 Ibid., pp. 240-242.
353 Ibid., p. 242.
354 Ibid., pp. 243-245.
356 Goto, Ibid., p. 245.
357 Ibid., pp. 246-248.
358 Ibid., pp. 248-249.
359 Ibid., pp. 251-260.
360 Ibid., p. 261.
361 Ibid., p. 253.
362 Ibid., p. 262.
363 Ibid., p. 263.
364 Ibid., pp. 263-264.
365 Ibid., p. 264.
393 Ibid., p. 288.
394 Ibid., pp. 288-289.
395 Ibid., p. 292.
396 Ibid., pp. 292-293.
397 Ibid., p. 289.
398 Ibid., p. 290.

400 Goto, ibid., p. 290.
401 Ōiwa, ibid., p. 71.
402 Ibid., p. 67.
403 Goto, ibid., p. 294.
404 Ōiwa, ibid., p. 71.
406 Ibid., p. 291.
408 Goto, ibid., pp. 298-299.
409 Ibid., pp. 299-301.
410 Ibid., p. 302.
411 Hyōdō, ibid., p. 184.
412 Ibid., p. 187.
413 Ibid., pp. 193-194.
414 Ibid., pp. 195-197.
415 Ibid., p. 199.
416 Ibid., p. 200.
417 Ibid., pp. 201-202.
418 Ibid., pp. 203-204.
Ibid., pp. 238-239.


Ibid., pp. 217-218.

Ibid., p. 214.

Ibid., p. 218.

Goto, ibid., pp. 319-320.

Oiwa, ibid., pp. 228-229.

Goto, ibid., pp. 320, 322.

Ibid., pp. 321-322.

Ibid., p. 322.

Oiwa, ibid., p. 227.

Goto, ibid., pp. 322-323.

Ibid., p. 323.

Oiwa, ibid., p. 230.

Ibid., pp. 230-231.

Ibid., p. 219.

Ibid., pp. 230-231.

Ibid., p. 233.

Ibid., pp. 223-224.

Ibid., pp. 223-225.

Ibid., pp. 223, 225-226.

Goto, ibid., p. 323.

Oiwa, ibid., p. 225.


Hyödö, ibid., pp. 215-216.

Ibid., pp. 216-217.

Ibid., pp. 217-218.
472 Ibid., p. 213.
474 Ibid., p. 241.
476 Ibid., pp. 176-180.
FOOTNOTES: SECTION THREE


2 Ibid., p. 414.

3 Ibid., p. 414.


5 Ibid., p. 64.

6 Ibid., p. 68.

7 Ibid., p. 69.

8 Ibid., p. 69. Levin calls Duranty's periodical Réalisme; L. W. Tancock refers to it as Le Réalisme in the preface to the Penguin edition of Thérèse Raquin (p. 12).


10 Levin, ibid., p. 69.

11 Ibid., p. 70. Howard Hibbett, in "Tradition and Trauma in the Contemporary Japanese Novel" (Daedalus, 1966, Vol. 95, no. 4, p. 928), ascribes the "meandering reminiscence and confessionalist self-exposure" of the "I" novel to emphasis by "purist critics in Japan" upon "the transcendant virtue of sincerity." He notes that proponents of the "I" novel "have tended to equate fiction with falsehood, a Confucian prejudice." This may be true to a point, but one must take into account the realist and naturalist ideologies of such Europeans as Champfleury, Zola, and the Goncourts, who created the literature that the Japanese naturalists used as a model for their own writing, as well as the process described in Section One whereby such naturalists as Katai turned to autobiography to insure a re-creation of reality in art. At any rate, "sincerity" does not seem such a purely Japanese artistic criterion as is sometimes thought.

12 Ibid., p. 71.

13 Zola, Thérèse Raquin, ibid., p. 12.


15 Ibid., pp. 334-335.
Hearn, Lafcadio, Complete Lectures: On Art, Literature, and Philosophy (Tokyo, 1932), p. 430. This is a collection of Hearn's lectures to the students of Tokyo University from 1896 to 1902. Hearn may have played a part in the introduction of Western theories of realism and naturalism into Japan; he also lectured briefly at Waseda University, where he was well-received, in 1904. However, none of the biographies and studies consulted mention Hearn; he is only mentioned briefly in Yoshida Seiichi’s voluminous study Shizenshugi no kenkyū. In an article on Hearn in Contemporary Japan (September, 1933), "New Light on Lafcadio Hearn," Hakucho points to Hearn's role in the events of the cloudy years around the turn of the century, noting of Hearn that "his lectures on English literature were revelations to us, at once poignant and lucid. There is no understating the tremendous effect they had on his auditors who were destined to take wing soon afterwards as leaders of a new era of romance." In his Complete Lectures there are several references to Zola and naturalism, but Hearn nowhere advocates naturalism. He admits Zola's genius, but holds that Zola "is really a romantic." (p. 432) In Japan he referred to naturalism as "the so-called naturalism of Zola" (p. 433), as he apparently always had. In his newspaper essay "Zola's Au Bonheur des Dames" (New Orleans Times-Democrat, May 13, 1883) Hearn refers to naturalism as "the intensely realistic, or so-called Naturalist school" (Essays in European and Oriental Literature, New York, 1923, p. 113). Hearn was an advocate of idealism in literature and did not approve of Zola's pessimism. (see Essays in European and Oriental Literature, "Idealism and Naturalism," pp. 10-15). But he did not approve of the Victorian prudery that produced expurgated translations of the naturalists, so that he himself undertook translations of Zola's works. As Beongcheon Yu notes, "In spite of his personal objection to Zola's scientific determinism, Hearn demanded a full translation of the original with no expurgation." (An Ape of Gods: The Art and Thought of Lafcadio Hearn, Detroit, 1964, p. 5). Of all the realists and naturalists, Hearn bestows the greatest praise on Maupassant, whom he calls "the greatest realist who ever lived." (Complete Lectures, p. 431)

17 Zola, Thérèse Raquin, ibid., pp. 15-16.

18 Ibid., p. 15.

19 Ibid., p. 20.

20 Ibid., p. 23.

21 Levin, ibid., p. 72.

22 Wilson, Angus, Emile Zola: An Introductory Study of His Novels (New York, 1952), pp. 31-32. Wilson talks of
Zola's admiration for the works of Balzac and the fact that Balzac's own multi-volume fictional study of French society, the Comédie Humaine, was definitely the example that inspired Zola to begin the Rougon-Macquart. Wilson notes, however, that despite the similarities in the power and scope of the two series, "Comparisons between the Comédie Humaine and the Rougon-Macquart are not very fruitful; the whole social outlook of the two writers is so completely different, their views of the mainsprings of human conduct so remote from one another, their conceptions of the purpose of existence so alien."

23 Ibid., pp. 84-85.

24 Levin, ibid., p. 71.


26 Ibid., p. 23.

27 Ibid., p. 44.

28 Ibid., p. 3. It is interesting that both Zola and the Japanese theorists of naturalism such as Hakuchō and Högetsu isolate this concept of doubt as central to their thinking. We have seen how the January, 1908, issue of Högetsu's Waseda Bungaku contained five essays on naturalism, including one by Nakamura Seiko on the naturalism of Zola. There had of course been earlier studies of Zola in Japanese. It seems unlikely that the doubt of the Japanese naturalists, although very expressive of the mood of the day, developed completely free of the influence of the thought of Zola.

29 Ibid., p. 6.

30 Ibid., p. 7.

31 Ibid., p. 11.

32 Ibid., p. 17.

33 Ibid., pp. 19-20.

34 Wilson, ibid., p. 84.


36 Ibid., p. 30.

37 Ibid., p. 31.

38 Ibid., p. 48.
42 Hauser, Arnold, trans. Stanley Godman, The Social History of Art, IV (New York, 1958), p. 64. The most comprehensive treatment of Japanese naturalism to appear in English to date is "Naturalism in Japanese Literature" by William F. Sibley (Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 28, 1968). In determining whether Japanese naturalism is indeed naturalism in the Western sense Sibley concludes that "Insofar as the shizenshugisha remain preoccupied with 'detailed visualization' they might better be called realists than naturalists." But he also notes, "Yet we have also seen that they do not entirely neglect the 'conditioning effect of men's backgrounds on their lives' which Levin gives as a further implication of the term naturalism." (p. 168) Thus, Sibley concludes that "under the partial misnomer of naturalism, for the first time a whole group of writers succeeded in creating works free of undigested influences. Neither imitations of Western literature nor throwbacks to an eclipsed tradition, these works stand on their own." (p. 169) Sibley relies entirely on two works--Levin's The Gates of Horn and Wilson's Emile Zola--for his generalizations about Western realism and naturalism.


44 Ibid., p. 238.


46 Ibid., p. 329. From 1872 Zola's sensational novels were published by Charpentier as books with yellow covers. Levin notes of these books that "The yellow backs of Charpentier's editions became a trademark for these excessive books, each of them designed to 'make a killing.'" (Gates of Horn, p. 313)


48 Hauser, ibid., p. 65.

49 Ibid., pp. 65-66.

50 Zola, The Experimental Novel, ibid., p. 51.

433-445) by Etō Jun for a discussion of the intense self-focus of the "I" novelist. (pp. 435-436) Etō stresses the "internal psychological and cultural factors" that cause the Japanese writer to resist or to radically transform the Western culture to which he is exposed, so that the Japanese writer is content with self-examination in his writing at the expense of the broad social dimensions of his Western literary models. Etō is unsatisfied with what he describes as the usual explanation by Japanese critics of this phenomenon: "In Europe, they say that there is a mature modern society permitting a writer to create a novel with dramatic structure and with deep social perspective, while in Japan there has been only an immature modern society with immature individuals who can never be protagonists of social novels on a larger scale." (p. 436)

52 Hauser, ibid., p. 65.
53 Parrington, ibid., p. 325.
55 Ibid., p. 21.
56 Ibid., p. 33.
57 Ibid., p. 10.
58 Hauser, ibid., pp. 67-68.
59 Levin, ibid., pp. 72-73.

60 During the Meiji period, as now, graduates of Tokyo Imperial University (now simply Tokyo University) could assume certain social advantages and prestige. From 1895 to 1920 the Imperial University clique produced a literary journal, Teikoku Bungaku (Imperial Literature), which was very influential during the last years of Meiji and often in opposition to the literary journal of their rival university, Waseda Bungaku. Among the founders of Teikoku Bungaku were Ueda Bin and Takayama Chogyū. Other literary journals with Imperial University connections, such as Shinshichō and Shira-kaba, appeared in the last years of Meiji, so that the influence of the journal Teikoku Bungaku gradually waned. (see Kindai Nihon Bungaku Jiten, pp. 490-491.)

61 Hauser, ibid., p. 66.
62 Ibid., pp. 71, 94.
63 Baldick, ibid., p. 69.
Even the conservative Mori Ōgai was forced into action by the extremes of the Meiji government's restrictions on free speech. This is discussed in "Mori Ōgai's Response to Suppression of Intellectual Freedom, 1909-12" (Monumenta Nipponica, Volume XXIX, no. 4, Winter, 1974, pp. 381-413) by Helen M. Hopper. Apparently the exact criteria of the Press Laws "used to decide whether or not publications" were "corruptive of public morals" were vague. (p. 394) No explicit references to human sexual relations were tolerated, which certainly restricted the naturalist writer in his attempt to re-create reality. That the naturalists were considered the chief literary corrupters of public morals goes without saying, which led to the ironic turn of events whereby Mori Ōgai's novel parodying those of the naturalists, Vita Sexualis, was suppressed by the government because of its naturalism. As Hopper notes, "Ōgai's novella was branded 'naturalistic' and therefore 'subversive' and potentially 'corruptive' to the 'common people' and subject to be 'killed'." Ōgai was thus "condemned as a purveyor of 'dangerous thoughts.'" (p. 387) In this context see Hopper, pp. 381, 386-387, 394, 397-398.

Ibid., p. 137.


Ibid., p. 23.


Ibid., p. 22.

Ibid., p. 30.

Ibid., p. 32.

Ibid., p. 38.

Ibid., p. 75.

Ibid., p. 75.

Ibid., p. 23.

Ibid., p. 75.

Ibid., p. 37.

Ibid., p. 45.

Ibid., p. 85.
102 Ibid., p. 105.
103 Ibid., p. 82.
104 Ibid., p. 114.
105 Ibid., pp. 85-86.
106 Ibid., pp. 132-134.
107 Ibid., p. 89.
108 Ibid., p. 94.
109 Ibid., p. 114.
110 Ibid., pp. 129-130.
111 Ibid., p. 112.
112 Ibid., p. 116.
113 Ibid., p. 115.
114 Ibid., p. 123.
115 Ibid., pp. 126-127.
116 Ibid., pp. 128-129.
117 Ibid., pp. 116.
118 Ibid., p. 122.
119 Ibid., p. 118.
120 Ibid., pp. 118-119.
121 Ibid., p. 120.
122 Ibid., p. 137.
123 Ibid., p. 138.
124 Ibid., p. 143.
125 Ibid., p. 144.
126 Ibid., p. 128.
127 Ibid., p. 144.


A BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR SECTION TWO


