

# Cultural Assimilation of American Child Drama Concept by Shoyo Tsubouchi: The Formation Process of the First Treatise on Child Drama in Japan

Takeo FUJIKURA

## Abstract

Shoyo Tsubouchi was the first person in Japan to acknowledge the educational value of drama by and for children. His concept of “Kateiyo Jigogeki” or “Child Drama for Domestic Presentation” was one of the earliest and most influential theories affecting the development of Japanese child drama. It was a child-centered, process-oriented, drama activity utilizing age-appropriate materials. It was designed to be performed by children with only family members as the side-coaches and audience.

Many of his ideas were drawn from American predecessors such as Alice Minnie Herts, George P. Baker, and G. Stanley Hall. Armed with their empirical knowledge and scientific rationalizations, Tsubouchi created his unique configuration of child drama for domestic presentation.

This paper examines the formation process of Tsubouchi’s child drama concept, “Kateiyo Jigogeki” or “Child Drama for Domestic Presentation” with reference to how each element of his concept was invented, or imported, and shaped by social, cultural or historical conditions. I will also examine the sources that served as Tsubouchi’s inspiration and reference. My examination will focus on three main categories: inception of child-participation drama, the age-appropriate content, and the new configuration, namely, child drama for domestic presentation. By investigating the original source of each element, and comparing it to the final outcome in his concept, I will show the motivations and expectations behind his child drama theory.

Dr. Shoyo Tsubouchi (1859-1935) was a revolutionary theorist, a critic, a playwright, a director, a teacher, and above all, a distinguished

Shakespearian scholar. He is recognized as the person who endowed the novel with an independent aesthetic value in Japan with his 1885 literary theory, *Shosetsu Shinzui (The Essence of the Novel)*. As a passionate theatre pioneer, in 1906, he organized Bungei Kyokai, the first literary society of Western drama in Japan. Later, in 1909, he reorganized the group into the second Bungei Kyokai and started a theatre-training conservatory that incorporated Western acting techniques through which he introduced Shakespearian and Ibsenian plays to the Japanese stage. In addition to these achievements, he translated the complete works of Shakespeare for the first time in Japan. He is far more often recognized for these accomplishments than for his endeavor in the field of child drama.

Nevertheless, he was the first person in Japan to acknowledge the educational value of drama by and for children. He formed an original concept called “Kateiyo Jidogeki,” or “Child Drama for Domestic Presentation”, one of the earliest and most influential theories affecting the development of Japanese child drama. It was a child-centered, process-oriented, drama activity utilizing age-appropriate materials. It was designed to be performed by children with only family members as the side-coaches and audience. These were totally unprecedented factors of child drama in Japan.

During the Taisho New Education Movement, new ideas and concepts were imported from the West and assimilated into unique Japanese products. Tsubouchi's concept was no exception and many of his ideas were drawn from American predecessors. This paper examines the significance and the context in which Tsubouchi assimilated American predecessor's works in the field of child drama and modified their theories to accommodate Japanese values. I will explore the ideas behind Tsubouchi's child drama concept, “Kateiyo Jidogeki” as culminated in *Jidokyoiku to Engeki (Child Education and Drama)* with reference to how each element of his concept was invented, or imported, and shaped by social, cultural or historical conditions. I will also examine the sources that served as Tsubouchi's inspiration and reference.

My examination will focus on three main categories: the inception

of child-participation drama, the age-appropriate content, and the new configuration, namely, child drama for domestic presentation. By investigating the original source of each element and comparing it to the final outcome in his book, *Jidokyoiku to Engeki*, I will show the motivations and expectations behind his child drama theory.

Tsubouchi started devoting his energy to the development of child drama in 1921 at the age of 62. For the first time, Tsubouchi stated what the ideal child drama should be in two of his 1921 articles, “Engeki to Seinen Kyoiku” (Drama and Youth Education) and “Bunkaryoku Toshiteno Dowa Oyobi Dowajutsu” (Children’s Folklore and the Story-telling Technique for Cultural Enrichment). Tsubouchi, declaring his intention to bring drama into the school setting, maintained that drama for children must be “pure, harmless, and sound, but at the same time it should not be too didactic or a simple reinforcement of ‘shushin’ (moral education); it always had to maintain an aesthetic quality” (“Engeki to Seinen” 491). He also insisted upon child participation: “a child drama that can be performed by children in such places as home, kindergarten, elementary schools, and women’s high school” or “a child drama that can be easily executed by children themselves ... within the home setting” (“Bunkaryoku” 447).

These articles demonstrate that Tsubouchi sensed that the time was ripe for him to embark on his child-participation drama activity, once thought of as infeasible.<sup>1</sup> In the Meiji Era, there was considerable prejudice and discrimination against dramatic activity.<sup>2</sup> Theatrical presentation was often associated with such notions as corruption and degradation and often became the target of government censorship and the subject of public controversy. Ordinary people were skeptical about those who associated with dramatic activity. They would associate such dramatic behavior as acting on a stage, putting on rouge, and making an affected voice with insincerity, pretentiousness, and immorality.

Certainly the society had changed by the end of the Meiji Era (1912) with an influx of new Western thoughts and the awakening of Japanese self-identity. Yet these remarks also suggest that Tsubouchi was still cautious about the inception of his activity. He contended that, because

of the existing social prejudice against drama, if the child-participation drama was to be realized, it would need to assert “new content and a new configuration that were totally different from the prevalent fixed Japanese notion of drama” (“Engeki to Seinen” 490).

The two conditions that Tsubouchi proposed in order to bring drama into educational settings, the new content and the new configuration, were the most essential constituents of Tsubouchi’s ideal child drama. The new content was age-appropriate drama that contained material supported by prevalent child psychology, and the new configuration, child participation drama within a domesticated configuration wherein its content was protected and nurtured. With these primary qualities in mind, he finally embarked on his child drama dissemination.

Tsubouchi’s concept of child drama developed into a lecture titled “Lecture for Waseda Women’s Higher Education” in 1922. From this lecture came his text *Jidokyoiku to Engeki (Child Education and Drama)*, the first treatise on child drama in Japan. The ideas in this work were developed through five main articles: 1) “Engeki to Seinen Kyoiku” (Drama and Youth Education) in January 1921, 2) “Bunkaryoku Toshiteno Dowa Oyobi Dowajutsu” (Children’s Folklore and the Storytelling Technique For Cultural Enrichment) in September 1921, 3) “Shin Fujin no Shigoto toshiteno Katei Geki” (Domestic Drama Activity as a Mission for New Women) in February 1922, 4) “Jido Geki no Sanshurui” (Three Kinds of Child Drama) in September 1922, and 5) “Kyoikujo ni Okeru Yugi no Shokunou” (Educational Significance of Play Activity) in September 1922.

Most of Tsubouchi’s basic principles for his child drama theory were presented in small increments with some concrete ideas within these articles. However, such concepts as the domestication idea were still being developed. Nevertheless, Tsubouchi did have a basic outline of his notion of child drama. Tsubouchi had borrowed and incorporated much of the empirical knowledge and other theories accumulated by American predecessors to bolster his original ideas. Thus, such concepts as child-centered orientation and age-appropriate content were delineated with concrete examples and rationalizations.

Out of these borrowings came Tsubouchi's unique scheme of domesticated child drama, the child drama practiced in the closed home-setting involving only family members as the side-coaches and audience. This was by far the most unique strategic contrivance Tsubouchi developed wherein he attempted to protect the purity and legitimacy of child drama from not only the censorship of the government but also from the prejudiced notion of adult drama. This idea seems to have been partly inspired by Partridge's and Wyche's concept of family storytelling. Most importantly, the gradual shift, and frequent oscillation of Tsubouchi's definition of this domestication concept becomes a key to understanding his intention as well the consequences of his attempts.

### **Tsubouchi's New Child Drama Concept and Its Goal**

In his 1922 article, "Jido Geki no Sanshurui" (Three Kinds of Child Drama), Tsubouchi discussed the ultimate goal of his child-participating drama endeavor. He insisted that it was to "contribute to both the formation of the future culture of the nation and to nurture the emotional cultivation of children by fostering their innate artistic impulse and creative instinct in the right direction" (471). With this statement, he defined the crucial difference between the prevalent child drama designed only for children's appreciation and his ideal child-participating drama. Tsubouchi contended that while the first dealt with "children simply as a passive audience, giving them temporary, shallow entertainment and inculcating morals and knowledge in them," his child drama would "let them actively participate in the learning through self-initiated activity" (471).

Here a clear influence of Alice Minnie Herts's theory in *Children's Educational Theatre* is reflected. Tsubouchi's concept of nurturing the "emotional cultivation of children by fostering their innate artistic impulse and creative instinct in the right direction" along with the concept of encouraging children's learning in "the self-initiated operation" clearly resonate with Alice Minnie Herts's notion of dramatic instinct wherein she stated:

...dramatic instinct is a primitive impulse, so deeply rooted that its fostering in the right direction may be organized to any and every educational result. I saw the great opportunity not to impose upon people an ideal from without, but to help people to create an ideal from within. (4-5)

Tsubouchi was incorporating Herts's idea of triggering children's instinctive impulse without any inculcation of adult morals or ideals. Although his child-centered policy was not new in his educational career<sup>3</sup>, Tsubouchi, for the first time, began using such terms as "innate artistic impulse," or "creative instinct." It is quite probable that Tsubouchi, being cautious of the Japanese prejudice against the word "drama," preferred to use terms such as "artistic impulse," or "creative instinct" instead of "dramatic instinct."<sup>4</sup> Thus, although the child-centered approach was not new to Tsubouchi, his methodology was certainly reinforced by borrowing the idea and vocabulary from Herts.

He then proceeded to explain his goal that starting from the principle of operating in the home-setting wherein children could be easily engaged in simplistic dramatic activity, constantly avoiding adults' intervention, and gradually "it [ideal child drama] should be directed toward holding an event such as a garden pageantry or family pageantry" ("Jido Geki no Sanshurui" 472-3). He maintained that this corresponded to his former vision of a pageantry movement, which he hoped to see promoted, because it demanded "a cooperative engagement" and thus it was "an all family engaging aesthetic operation" (473).

Thus, Tsubouchi's original ambition for the pageantry movement coincided with his child drama wherein he attempted to familiarize ordinary people with dramatic events by exposing them in intimate dramatic context dealing with local history and events. By doing so, he attempted to reunite contemporary people in a dramatic cooperative cultural venture. Western liberal ideas which encouraged individualism were then a threat to the traditional Japanese family ethics and group-oriented culture.<sup>5</sup> As a man strongly influenced by Confucianism, which encouraged the cooperative harmony of society, Tsubouchi constantly

questioned and lamented this prevalent individualistic behavior and attitude of Japanese society.

This dismay can be seen in his 1922 article, “Kyoikujo ni Okeru Yugi no Shokunou” (Educational Significance of Play Activity).<sup>6</sup> In this article, Tsubouchi lamented the backwardness of the Japanese people who were preoccupied with their individualistic affairs and materialistic pursuits: “how to succeed in the society, how to choose a marriage partner, how to manage a newly-owned house, and the like” (402). He deplored the fact that as compared to “the heatedly debated contemporary social issues like class, labor, and sexual or gender problems, children are left out” and insisted that social reformation has to begin with “directing the future beings [children] in the right direction” (403).

Thus, one of his main goals of child-participating drama can be defined as an attempt to regain the value of community spirit via the collaborative nature of drama. This was his expression as a Confucian advocator, who treasured the preservation of peaceful harmony in society.<sup>7</sup>

There is one more significant incident to be noted as a key to understanding Tsubouchi’s dramatic venture with children. Tsubouchi began his child drama endeavor right after he suffered disappointment in his experience with professional Kabuki actors for his Kabuki innovation in 1920. Clinging to conventional methodology, those actors not only failed to understand Tsubouchi’s efforts in theatre innovation but even rebelled against his new style of direction, interrupting the production with hooting during the performance of his new Kabuki script *Nanokorino Hoshi Tsukiyo* (*Farewell at the Moonlight Night*) on May 26, 1920.

According to Tsubouchi’s diary on the day he saw the performance, he wrote that he, “fled the theatre after the second act. My last hope was thwarted” (*Shoyo Nikki*: Taisho 9 - Showa 11). After this disappointment, Tsubouchi felt an urgency to lay a strong cultural foundation and “cultivate people’s discriminating taste” (Kikuchi, Gedai 3-4). It is evident that his child drama endeavor was also a step toward exposing children to dramatic experience before they encountered conventional theatrical style namely kabuki; he also hoped that this rather generic educational purpose would prime the Japanese public for future

theatre innovation. Indeed, the ultimate goals of this child drama endeavor were multifold.

Tsubouchi defined the ideal design of his child participation concept in “Jido Geki no Sanshuru” (Three Kinds of Child Drama). He stated that his concept was not just limited to children’s participation as actors and actresses on stage. Everything regarding the production had to be devised “out of children’s own initiative” (470-471). By “child-participation drama,” he meant to include children in all aspects of stage production just as Alice Minnie Herts attempted with her children in the Children’s Educational Theatre. Herts had also stressed the importance of regimented group work wherein children experience various aspects of production, ranging from acting parts to being stage hands.<sup>8</sup>

In addition, Tsubouchi insisted that once children grow out of the introductory phase, “even the script itself could be created by the children with a few suggestions from adults and, if necessary, could be later modified by adults to produce it” (471). It is quite remarkable that he even aimed at inducing children’s initiative to create drama itself. He saw child participation, as a holistic process through which children would learn multiple aspects of life. He insisted that even the performance itself should be done in closed settings so that children would not be trapped in their exhibitionism and would “enjoy the process” (“Kateiyo Jidogeki ni Tsuite” 194). It is clear that by child-participation drama, Tsubouchi was envisioning an integrated process-oriented education in the multiple disciplines of theatre production.

Although Tsubouchi’s design for children’s script writing seems overly idealistic at first glance, he was conscious of its difficulty, later saying, “Despite the ultimate ideal, for the time being the script will have to be created by adults” (“Jidogeki no Sanshuru” 473). He also acknowledged that temporarily there had to be some side-coaching of adults for other aspects as well, because children were not at all accustomed to participating in drama. He advised how to initially approach child drama:

Parents and elder siblings should simply explain the meaning

of the play and leave the rest to the children teaching neither about line-delivery nor gestures. (“Bunkaryoku Toshiteno Dowa Oyobi Dowajutsu” 448)

With parents and elder siblings as side-coaches, Tsubouchi hoped to get children acquainted with expressing themselves at an early age. In this respect, he was realistic about the condition of contemporary Japanese children in that they were not yet ready for total independence. Furthermore, we can speculate that one of the major intentions behind his new configuration of child drama, the domestication concept, was to protect them from the preconceived notion of dramatic activity. This will be discussed later in the section on the domestication concept.

### **The New Content: Age-appropriate Content**

As Tsubouchi stated in one of the earliest declarations of his child drama practice, one of the most necessary elements of this innovative child drama was “the new content” (Tsubouchi, “Engeki to Seinen Kyoiku” 490). With this proposal, Tsubouchi encouraged playwrights for young audiences to pay attention to child psychology. Referring specifically to the book *Adolescence* by G. Stanley Hall, he demanded that playwrights acquire a broad understanding of children’s psychological development and give special consideration to each specific age group (444).

Thus, the main pillar of “the new content” of his child drama can be defined as age-appropriate content in age-appropriate language with consideration given to children’s cognitive level and interest as endorsed by the knowledge of child psychology. Certainly, Stanley Hall’s genetic psychology, especially the elaboration of stages of child perception development explained in *Adolescence*, seemed to have been Tsubouchi’s original source for age-appropriateness. Nevertheless, when he elaborated on the concrete content of the age-specification issue, Tsubouchi resorted to *Storytelling in School and Home* by Emelyn N. Partridge and George E. Partridge, and *Some Great Stories and How*

to *Tell Them* by Richard Thomas Wyche. These two books had been influenced by Hall's genetic psychology; the authors specifically attribute their inspirational source to it (Partridge "Preface"; Wyche 70). Tsubouchi's frequent allusion, especially to the Partridges' book, without necessarily directly quoting it, is noteworthy.

For example, drawing on the Partridges' suggestions in their book, Tsubouchi described the appropriate theme for each age group. He contended that from age 4 to 5, "Such stories as fairy tales, wonder tales, and nature-personified tales are most appropriate"; however, around age 7 to 11 or 12, "The vocabulary can be increased" and its content should be derived from "myth, legend, and historical stories with relatively realistic and yet simple storylines." He maintained that when children reach the age of 13 to 14, "romantic stories with some life complications" hold the stage. He also suggested for this age group "the world's great epic poems, harmless heroic stories, higher myth with spiritual meaning, impressive lessons from history, or great biographical stories" (444-5).

After the publication of Hall's *Adolescence* in 1904, the view of children's developmental growth in perception of and interest in the world was incorporated into many fields related to children. Naturally this age-specific categorization, in general, was prevalent and widely used among the followers of Hall's genetic psychology, namely the proponents of Recapitulation Theory.<sup>9</sup> Another book Tsubouchi referred to, Katherine Dunlap Cather's *Educating By Storytelling*, followed the same developmental categorization for suggesting stories for children, namely, "Rhythmic," "Imaginative," "Heroic," and "Romantic Period" (Cather v). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that Tsubouchi's wording of each suitable kind of literature as well as its order almost exactly corresponded to what the Partridges suggested in their book. Both Partridges' and Tsubouchi's stages go in order of "the imaginative age (age 5-6 on)," to "the period of heroic story (from age 7 to 12)," and then to "adolescence (from age 13) " (Partridge 72-75).

A close examination of Tsubouchi's diary and his personal copy of the Partridges' text further demonstrates the Partridges' influence on

Tsubouchi. According to Tsubouchi's diary, the article, "Bunkaryoku Toshiteno Dowa Oyobi Dowajutsu," was completed on July 31 in 1921. Three days before this, on July 27, 1921, Tsubouchi wrote, "Read a book on storytelling by American writers. For the article of *The Japanese Woman*. Partridge's *Storytelling in School and Home*" (Tsubouchi, *Shoyo Nikki*: Taisho 9 - Showa 11). Thus, without doubt, Tsubouchi had referred to Partridge's book before writing this specific article for *The Japanese Woman*.

The Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum at Waseda University carries Tsubouchi's own book collection in a special section. Among them is the Partridge book that he actually used in the above-mentioned article. On the pages where the Partridges elaborated on characteristics of each age group and its appropriate literature, his handwritten comments both in English and Japanese are extensive. For instance, pages 72 to 76 are the main pages in which the Partridges elaborated on this developmental issue. Following Tsubouchi's handwritten notes in order, the comments translate, "rhythmic, three to four years old," "repetition of phrase and idea;" "five or six years old," "fairy tales;" "seven to twelve years old," "realistic stories;" "fourteen years old," "higher myth," "epic story," "biographical stories," "can be subjective." These notes suggest that Tsubouchi himself was processing the information of these developmental stages and their appropriate literature (72-76). This demonstrates the degree to which the Partridges' elaboration on age-appropriate literature impacted Tsubouchi.

In fact, allusion to this specific part was to be repeated later in the beginning of Chapter 1 of Tsubouchi's *Jidokyoiku to Engeki*. He began his book discussing the characteristics of each era, alluding to the Recapitulation Theory of Stanley Hall, as stated by the Partridges in *Storytelling in School and Home (Jido Kyoiku to Engeki* 13-15). Since Tsubouchi had been an advocate of age-appropriate educational materials for a long time, this specific indication of perceptual bearings by children in each developmental stage as well as the concrete examples of respective literature supported by child psychology must have been quite appealing to him. Tsubouchi's article unveils the influence of the

Partridges and Wyche. This influence will be discussed later in the section of “The New Configuration of Child Drama.”

In addition to elaborating on the age-appropriate content for his child drama, Tsubouchi also limited the target age for his child drama to pre-adolescence.<sup>10</sup> One possible reason for this age limit was to avoid potential problems arising from romantic relationships between boys and girls. Tsubouchi maintained that “one has to make sure that he is well prepared to grapple with the issue with much consideration and discreetness ...” (“Engeki to Seinen Kyoiku” 491). Thus, he was aware that by beginning drama activity with pre-adolescent children in their home setting, it was much safer and easier to minimize any potential for romantic complications.

This speculation concerning Tsubouchi’s age limitation for his dramatic activity is further endorsed by a particularly distressing experience just before he had embarked on his child drama activity. When he started his acting school for adults within the Second Literary Society, Tsubouchi had exerted strict rules to ban romantic relationships between the actors and the actresses. However, it turned out that the chief director of the Society and Tsubouchi’s favorite pupil, Hogetsu Shimamura, became romantically involved with the lead actress, Sumako Matsui. This relationship caused a discord within the group leading to the dissolution of the society in 1913 and ending with Matsui’s suicide in 1919 after Shimamura’s death from influenza the previous year. Her suicide caused a huge scandal widely reported in Japanese magazines and newspapers.

Considering this painful experience just before he embarked on the child drama endeavor, it seems clear that Tsubouchi wanted to avoid the potential of romantic scandal in dramatic activity while emphasizing drama’s educational aspects.

### **The New Configuration, The Domestication Concept Called “Kateiyo Jidogeki”: Its Inspirational Source, Objectives, and Strategic Ambition**

In a 1921 article, “Bunkaryoku Toshiteno Dowa Oyobi Dowajutsu”

for the magazine, *The Japanese Woman* (vol.9: 2), Tsubouchi for the first time elaborated on his new configuration of child drama, the domestic drama concept. As was the case of age-appropriateness, the major thrust of this article seemed to rely on Emelyn N. Partridge and George E. Partridge's *Storytelling in School and Home*, and Richard Thomas Wyche's *Some Great Stories and How to Tell Them*.

First, he discussed styles of storytelling and suggested that there should be a clear distinction between and, therefore, a different method for the school settings where stories were told to several people, and the home setting where stories were told to one or a few listeners. Pointing out the lack of this kind of research in Japan, Tsubouchi suggested that it was the home storytelling style that would be of great importance in the future (445). Expressing his hope that many people would actively engage themselves in this "home designed" storytelling, he described the process:

Sustaining the aesthetic quality, it [storytelling] should be accompanied with sincere and serious intention, and yet at the same time, it should maintain the merciful loving quality of parents and guardians, rather than the quality of skillful execution. It should be accompanied by the qualities of intimacy, tenderness, without much worry about making mistakes, being laughed at by children, or temporary loss of dignity. ... The storyteller herself should also be enjoying it without self-consciousness, and the moral of the story should not be imposed but it should be naturally felt....The voice and the gestures should be natural without any conscious deliberation... (446)

This was the first proclamation of artistic engagement in a closed home setting on which Tsubouchi overtly elaborated; it was to become the essence of his domestic drama theory.

This closed home-oriented artistic engagement was the result of his process-oriented search for the dissemination of dramatic usage for educational purposes. In essence, Tsubouchi was attempting to make a

clear distinction between the method of public storytelling, the conventional open drama performance that had been categorized as the business of outcasts, and a new method of storytelling, which would be a re-configuration of drama performance in a more personal way, closed off from the public within the home setting between parents and children. He was trying to promote drama's educational value without causing friction with the societal view at large, or with the authorities, specifically the Ministry of Education, under the Emperor-centered nationalistic policy of his day.

Among the ideas on educational drama assimilated into Japanese context to fit the ideological conditions, this domestic drama concept was probably the most unique one. In order to examine the essence of his domestic drama concept, attention must be paid to Tsubouchi's assertion in Chapter 7 of *Jidokyoiku to Engeki*. In Chapter 7, he responds to all the possible negative concerns about conducting of child drama and gives practical detailed advice for the child drama activity.

There are five main concerns that Tsubouchi anticipates from people in the society based on both his research on American situations and with his personal experience, which he lists in Chapter 7. While some clearly correspond to the concerns and solutions expressed by Herts and Baker in *The Children's Educational Theatre*, the particular solution for the risk of children's development of self-conceit and pretentious mannerism bears Tsubouchi's own unique idea, the domestication of drama. Thus, the ultimate goal of his domestication concept is expressed here.

The first concern Tsubouchi anticipates from people is that children might develop an urge to become professional actors and actresses. As the second concern, he speculates that people will worry that children might consider only trivial occupations when they grow up after being introduced to the lavish and flippant nature of drama. These two concerns are exactly the same questions which at first directors of the Educational Alliance posed when Herts announced her plan to undertake the child drama activity (Herts 14). As to the children's developing the desire to become professional actors and actresses, Baker also takes it

up as one of the three “reiterated objections” people usually have when they hear about children’s production of the plays of Shakespeare (Herts 113-114).

In response to these concerns, Tsubouchi draws on Baker’s assertion that serious productions demand much “assiduity, patience, and creative imagination” (Herts 114-5). Tsubouchi, thus, stresses serious drama’s rigorous discipline which most children will realize and give up their dream of becoming professional. He then insists that for this reason the drama operation has to be “serious with the guidance of an appropriate competent coach,” unlike “conventional trivial dissipation [drama activity] which is merely meant for pleasure-seeking” (*Jidokyoiku to Engeki* 133). Basically this answer is the same logical extension of Herts.

Tsubouchi’s third concern is that people might fear that children will get into the habit of conventional actors’ pretentious mannerisms of insincere and indecent behaviors (128). This kind of concern, wherein people associate drama and actors with pretentiousness, insincerity, and affected mannerisms can be described as a typical Japanese reaction against Kabuki infused conventional drama from a Confucian based perspective.

The fourth concern Tsubouchi anticipates is that children might become conceited and vain. As the fifth concern, Tsubouchi anticipates that people will worry that children will end up being puppets as a result of parents’ and teachers’ inculcation of their conventional opinions. These last two concerns along with the previously discussed concern about children’s desire to become professional performers are expressed as the three “reiterated objections” in George P. Baker’s article, “The Educative Value for Children in Acting Shakespeare’s Plays” in *The Children’s Educational Theatre* (113-114). For these two “objections,” Baker suggests “educative coaching,” wherein a coach should attempt to “draw out the children as thinkers, to help them to express their ideas of the emotions of others” (114).

Following Baker’s answer, Tsubouchi attempts to appease the concern for the issue of children’s becoming puppets of their leaders, insist-

ing upon his ideal child-centered style of coaching. However, in contrast to Baker's suggestion, for the concerns about the third and fourth issues, namely children becoming affected and conceited, Tsubouchi's answer takes on a different direction. He attributes this potential negative result to the nature of drama's product oriented operation (*Jidokyoiku to Engeki* 135). Denouncing the careless open performance, Tsubouchi insists upon dramatic discretion wherein parents and other coaches facilitate children's drama with a process-oriented focus in order to prevent the feared outcome. What becomes clear here is that Tsubouchi's main rationale for his domestication idea is to prevent children's development of these traits which have been especially associated with Kabuki theatre, and therefore with such words as "corruption," and "vulgarity."

To further explain his rhetoric on the domestication, Tsubouchi also sends out a warning against parents' "infusing the conventional concept or acting and directing methods" (*Kateiyo* 193). He is striving to avoid having the parents interpret Tsubouchi's dramatic activities in their conventional Kabuki idioms by emphasizing the importance of children's unforced creativity. Tsubouchi tenaciously gives such detailed warnings to his readers in order to protect his drama from foreseeable criticism as well as from the contamination of his ideal concept by practitioners themselves. It is evident that he is aware that these conventional Kabuki-based theatre concepts have been such a strong cultural norm among the contemporary Japanese people that his idealistic goals are not easily accomplished without much precaution.

Tsubouchi makes every effort to establish drama as a valid educational tool by eradicating its negative image in a closed setting, taking precautions not to evoke any government censorship. Thus, his domestication concept can be called his own method to adapt American educational drama into the uniquely conditioned Japanese society, to cope with social prejudice against conventional theatre, and also to seclude children from the conventional shackles of Kabuki theatre.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the Partridges' and Wyche's ideas contributed to Tsubouchi's concrete ideas. For instance, Izumi

Ogino speculated that Tsubouchi's inspiration for the domestic drama concept came directly from the Partridges' primary valuing of the storytelling exercise between parents and children at home (Ogino 10). Other supporting elements substantiate her contention. For example, the Partridges certainly stressed the then neglected importance of family education through storytelling in Chapter XIII of their book titled "Educational Storytelling." Two sections are worthy of attention:

Especially in the home should it [storytelling] be emphasized more than at present is done. ...*One might go so far as to say that the parent who does not know how to bring to the child the lessons of the race through the story is not completely a parent* ...The child is now too completely given over to the school, and the parent has trusted too much to books to give him culture. (82, Italics in original)

In another section, they wrote:

The home, too, ...has another opportunity which must be largely wanting in the school. In the home, storytelling may be applied to the individual needs of the child...Any parent who is equipped with a reasonably wide variety of stories for children, should be able to apply his knowledge to some extent to the needs of the child as an individual. (83)

Thus, the Partridges regarded home education through storytelling as a "wholesome and vital part of the relation of parent and children" (82). On these pages of Tsubouchi's personal copy of the Partridges' book, he handwrote several comments both in Japanese and in English. One of them translates, "Leaving everything to school and printing materials" right next to the first quote, side-lining the whole paragraph, and another translates "School vs Home" next to the second quote underlining "the individual needs of the child" (82). These comments clearly indicate the great influence that Tsubouchi's domestic drama concept derived from Partridge's writings. This initial inspiration was

eventually elaborated on and incorporated into Tsubouchi's domestic drama concept.

As Mark A. Jones contended, many parents of elementary school children were obsessed around this time with the idea of making their children superior students (*yutosei*), especially those from schools in metropolitan areas where the majority of families came from a new middle class stratum (Jones 121). Jones went on to state that these parents found this “a way to express important parts of middle-class cultural identity - its promotion of educational achievement as a social ideal, the close connection between ‘ability’(*jitsuryoku*) and ‘hard work’ (*doryoku*), and the importance of nurture over nature in the quest for educational success” (121). Elementary school children were constantly pushed to achieve academic success at school. Jones reported that such terms as “superior” (*yuto*), “superior student” (*yutosei*), and the terms of meritocratic evaluation became common language. The word “*yuto*” was for the first time included in such dictionaries as the 1921 revised edition of *The Gensen Encyclopedia* (121). This exemplifies how academically stressful elementary school life was. As an educator in this period, Tsubouchi must have found much truth in the Partridges' remarks; Tsubouchi found in the home a source to supplement what was lacking at school.

Many of the key words and phrases which Tsubouchi used within the first proclamation of his domestic concept, such as “aesthetic quality,” “sincere and serious,” “the moral should not be imposed,” and “natural gestures” match the Partridges' description of the methodology and essence of storytelling. In particular, they value “the aesthetic aspect” of the storytelling and repeatedly mention its importance in their book. In describing the nature of story, the Partridges strongly insisted “The story is serious in its intention. It is the heart of a people...” and it is “an essentially religious attitude” and “a reverence” that one finds in the story (7). These words were later echoed in Tsubouchi's insistence on the “sincere and serious” intention of his ideal child drama. Both Partridges and Tsubouchi also insisted that “What is precisely wrong” was “to strive to point a moral,” and that “To stop and interpose a moral, or

any personal interpretation” was “the worst of all intrusions” (36-37). As to gestures, they told the readers that “...there must be perfect naturalness on the part of the teller” (37-38). It is evident that these beliefs corresponded to what Tsubouchi had envisioned as an ideal dramatic education. It is possible that Tsubouchi, finding much resonance in the Partridges’ philosophy, was to a certain degree borrowing the vocabulary from their book. These key words and phrases were underlined by Tsubouchi himself in his own copy of the Partridges’ book.

Ogino pointed out Tsubouchi’s handwriting read, “Yoki hito,” or “An admirable person,” on the shoulder of a seemingly Partridge-like figure who was reading a story to children on the front page picture of Tsubouchi’s preserved book, *Storytelling in School and Home* (10). The picture and Tsubouchi’s handwriting clearly depict what he was envisioning: a family’s intimate gathering wherein a mother told stories to children with a sincere and honest attitude. Tsubouchi was attempting to incorporate this intimate, informal and affectionate give and take as the new style of child acting, thus divorcing its image from the entrenched notion of the “business of outcasts”.

Thomas Wyche’s book, *Some Great Stories and How to Tell Them*, is also echoed in Tsubouchi’s article of his first proclamation. Wyche’s name was mentioned in the articles as well as in others such as “Jido Geki no Sanshurui” (444). As to the issue of styles of storytelling that Tsubouchi pointed out in his article, it was Wyche’s book that introduced different styles of storytelling in various settings. In the chapter titled “Stories in The Home and Social Circle,” Wyche, too, insisted upon the significance of storytelling at home:

It is in the home that we come into the sweetest and divinest relations with children and with one another. ...There are many homes that cannot afford libraries and the rich adornments of art, but no home is so humble that parents cannot gather the children around the fireside on a winter’s evening or about the doorsteps in the twilight of a summer’s day and tell them stories. (70-71)

After asserting the importance of intimate relations in the home setting and representing the nostalgic image of family storytelling, Wyche described an ideal image and environment of family storytelling when he stated that “a simple fireside is a greater stimulant to the creative imagination than the wealth of a palace” (71). As if appropriating this allusion into the Japanese cultural setting, Tsubouchi suggested, after the proclamation, that what he envisioned in this home storytelling was a style “modified from a great grandmother’s traditional way of telling the stories of *Momotaro* and *Kachikachi Yama*<sup>11</sup> in the family kotatsu” (446). The kotatsu<sup>12</sup> is often the center of domestic life during the winter months; families huddle around the kotatsu to enjoy food and conversation, keeping their legs and feet warm under the cover. In this sense, the kotatsu is the Japanese equivalent of an American fireplace. Obviously, this image finds an echo in Wyche’s ideal image of storytelling.

It is interesting that Tsubouchi derived many of these ideas from storytelling books that were influenced by the then prevalent genetic psychology of G. Stanley Hall. As Thomas Postlewait contended, “... human motivations are seldom monistic, are usually mixed, often contradictory, and sometimes unconscious” (164). It is difficult to pin down one’s motivations for some specific remarks or comments, and I believe there are many clues to understanding Tsubouchi’s domestic drama conceptualization; however, it is my contention that his encounter with storytelling books such as the Partridges’ *Storytelling in School and Home* and Wyche’s *Some Great Stories and How to Tell Them* influenced the development of his domestic drama concept. Hence, the inspiration came from multiple sources.

As the years passed, Tsubouchi’s definition of his domestication concept, and his justification for it, went through various transitions. When Tsubouchi first introduced his domestication concept in the 1921 article, “Bunkaryoku Toshiteno Dowa Oyobi Dowajutsu,” he was not limiting the environment of children’s dramatic activity to the home setting. Rather, he announced his intention to bring drama activity into the school setting by changing its content and configuration when he described, “I want dowa-geki, or child drama, that can be easily per-

formed by children in such places as home, kindergarten, elementary schools, and women's high schools" (447-8). With this rather broad definition, Tsubouchi assigned both parents and older siblings as preparatory facilitators/side-coaches of children's creative activity. However, at this point, Tsubouchi was not excluding school settings as long as the drama was engaged in an intimate manner in a setting closed from a public audience.

In his 1922 article, "Shin Fujin no Shigoto Toshiteno Katei Geki," Tsubouchi began to re-direct the focus of his child drama activity as a mission for women, especially for young mothers. In the article, Tsubouchi encouraged women to participate positively in art and education. He referred positively to the situation in the United States wherein women were more actively involved in art and education as compared to politics and economics. He suggested that women were more "suited to," and, therefore, could be expected to advocate positively in, such fields as art, welfare, and education, as opposed to the fields of politics, labor movements, or social issues (3). With this assertion, Tsubouchi's "Child Drama for Domestic Presentation" was further defined as specifically women's work within the home setting. This was a clear shift of focus both with the facilitating agent and the location of its execution.

Finally, according to the content of Tsubouchi's three day lectures published as *The Lecture for Waseda Women's Higher Education* in November 1922, the central focus shifted slightly again from that of women to "katei kyoiku," or "home-education." Although women still remained important agents, the central key word for his rationale of child drama had become home education.

To reiterate, initially Tsubouchi's intention was to bring drama into the educational setting with facilitation at home by parents and older siblings. Then the facilitating agent shifted to women which moved the location of domesticity to the home setting, and finally he defined home education as the most intrinsic element. Gradually, the school environment was excluded and women and home education became the key words. An examination of these key concepts further reveals some of the reasoning behind his newly formed dramatic concept as well as

some of the socio-cultural factors that influenced the formation of his concept.

### **Role of Women in Tsubouchi's Child Drama**

In regard to Tsubouchi's new focus on women, Ogino contended that "Tsubouchi had answered to the call of women who were rapidly beginning to gain power," (11) pointing out a series of featured articles titled "Kotoshi no Fujinkai wo Furikaette" (Looking Back On; This Year's Women's Society) in the *Kokumin Shimbun* (*Kokumin Newspaper*) from December 16 to 26. The last issue of the article concluded:

On the whole, there has never been a time when women had been so active in the society as a result of the trend that allowed their improved position. It is an inevitable outcome that such phrases as "Women's Culture" have gained enough popularity to become a trend phrase. ("Genwakutekina 'Bunka' go ni youte")

I agree with Ogino's perspective in that Tsubouchi was well aware of women's advancement in the society and attempted to incorporate their energy and refocus it to his dramatic endeavor. As Tsubouchi reported in "Shin Fujin no Shigoto toshiteno Katei Geki", while researching the child drama movement he had discovered that the biggest part of the child drama movement in the United States, including the publication of books on the subject, had been conducted by women. This discovery must have given Tsubouchi the impetus to call for Japanese women's participation. Tsubouchi introduced many drama related books written by women, starting with Allis Minnie Herts's book, in order to encourage Japanese women to participate in promoting the child drama movement in Japan.<sup>13</sup> Praising these women's accomplishments, Tsubouchi insisted that there was some aspect in the quality of their work that "demonstrated women's excellence over men." ("Shin Fujin" 4).

There are two other possible factors that support this interpretation of Tsubouchi's call for women. In contrast to his previous positive

perspective of women given the context of Tsubouchi's time, the second factor, ironically, can be traced to a negative attitude toward the changes of the Japanese society, especially to the rapidly advancing position of women. Because the Meiji ideology of "enrichment of the nation and strengthening of the army" was successfully realized after World War I, Japanese society was experiencing an intense economic and cultural prosperity. Minami in his book *Taisho Bunka (The Taisho Culture)* stated:

The role of women in the family was drastically changing because of the streamlined household lives. ... in general, women were no longer confined within the household for the rest of their lives and started working outside in society. Around this time, some of the women even started working in areas that had been regarded as men's territory. (255)

Liberal ideas current at the time, such as the women's liberation movement and the reformation of household culture, and related ideas, such as contraception and free love, were feared by the government as a threat to traditional family ethics and culture. Minami contended:

"Indeed, these liberal aspects of the women's culture would lead to the denial and rejection of both the traditional patriarchal family and household ideologies.... Tsubouchi's preaching on the importance of domestic culture was the articulation of his disapproval of this tendency." (261)

Minami's words demonstrate the nationalistic and chauvinistic aspect behind Tsubouchi's idealism. It also suggests Tsubouchi's cleverly contrived strategy to connect women /mothers and the domestic drama ideal discussed in the previous article.

At the same time, Tsubouchi's attitude demonstrates his Confucianism influence with which he held the maintenance of a harmonious social order as the first and foremost priority. In fact, the women's

voices were clearly beginning to be heard in a political context and it had sometimes gone as far as inciting riots.<sup>14</sup>

As Tsubouchi stated in “Shin Fujin no Shigoto toshiteno Katei Geki,” he was discouraging women from getting too involved in fields like politics because “Women tend to be easily swept by emotional urges” (3). This remark clearly suggests his disapproval of recent trends wherein women’s voices started to cause social unrest.

The third factor relating to Tsubouchi’s attitude toward women can be traced to his upbringing. The impact of his mother’s upbringing seems to have influenced his own household art education. Because Tsubouchi had been familiarized with theatre so naturally from an early age by his mother, mothers’ educating children through art was something very familiar and natural for him. According to Tomita, “He [Tsubouchi] hired several art masters to teach his son and other young residents almost every day in his house, and he himself passionately watched and cheered, though he himself did not participate” (*Nihon Engeki* 124). It is reported that after every lesson, he would, with his wife’s assistance, let their children review everything they studied that day until late at night (Tsuno 34).

In contrast to his conservatism about women’s role in society, it was extremely liberal for a professor to be engaged in the art practice with his wife at home. Again, here, a mother’s mission as a home educator and the domestic drama concept were tightly unified. Tsubouchi’s focus of his child drama as a woman’s mission was the result of an accumulation of social, cultural, and historical inducements.

### **Significance of Home Education in Tsubouchi’s Child Drama**

Today, the word “katei” (home) is a commonly used word that refers to any family or home, usually centering on husband and wife, or parent(s) and child/children. It is generally acknowledged by many people in Japan to be of ancient origin. However, as Eric Hobsbawm contended, “Traditions’ which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented” (1). In fact, “katei” was an in-

vented word formed through various negotiations. The genealogy of the word “katei” reveals that it was an unfamiliar concept to the Japanese people until the late 19th century. As Jordan Sand maintained in his book, *House and Home in Modern Japan*, “The notion of ‘home’ as an intimate space sequestered from society and centered on parents and children was alien” to the early Meiji people and that it came from “[the] Victorian language of domesticity” passed down from such sources as Anglo-American texts and by Christian missionaries (21-22). Naturally, the term was infused by Christian ideology and represented the locus for Christian-toned moral nurturing as well as for a private and intimate joyful family gathering. Sand went on to contend that the word “katei” was invented as the result of “linguistic naturalization” of the English word “home” wherein the new style of domesticity was interpreted and modified by Meiji Era’s social reformers to “suit their own circumstances” (22).<sup>15</sup>

Through the long process of confrontation and negotiation between the native feudalistic and foreign concepts of the family, conciliatory ground was eventually discovered and Christian social reformers began to modify the priority of “katei” to fit Japanese circumstances. The proponents of “katei” began, as Sand pointed out in the case of Yoshiharu Iwamoto, a contributor for Tokutomi’s *Katei Zasshi* (*The Family Magazine*), “to stress the importance of the home as an educational environment for children” (24). Within this concept of “katei” as an educational environment, the significance of “katei” was stressed as the locus of moral meaning eliminating much of its Christian ideology. In place of gender role, the woman assumed the responsibility of both academic and moral mentor. Thus, “katei” became the center of child education and the mother was the domestic manager of the child’s education. A natural extension to the concept of “katei” was the concept of “katei kyoiku” (home education), which became an important issue around the turn of the century.

Interestingly, “katei kyoiku” was, as Ueno contended, “used as a counter concept to school education in contemporary discourse” and it “was not usually discussed independently from school education” (134).

This concept of “katei-kyoiku” as a supplemental positioning is an important clue to understanding Tsubouchi’s motivation for developing his “Domestic Drama Concept.” Ueno maintained that home was functioning as the school’s supplemental counterpart in two contexts, its content and its approach. Content-wise, home education was functioning as a moral or emotional supplement to the school’s knowledge accumulation orientation. In its approach, “katei-kyoiku” was cultivation of the individual as opposed to the school’s group discipline orientation (134).

The Partridge’s remarks on the nature of home story-telling in *Story Telling in School and Home* and Tsubouchi’s hand written comments on his copy of Partridge book reveal that the three had assumed the same rhetoric on home’s supplemental value to the school education. The Partridges were insisting on the importance of parents’ “imparting to the child great racial lessons” (82) and answering to the individual needs of the child at home, which the school was not capable of doing (83). Tsubouchi’s words also indicated his endorsement of the Partridges’ idea. This is further evidence that their suggestions played an important role in inspiring Tsubouchi’s concept of domestic drama.

For Tsubouchi, the katei environment was appealing for his ideal drama activity. The mothers in “Shin-Chukanso” (New Middle Stratum) katei were usually full-time housewives who could afford to commit themselves to non-profit activities like Tsubouchi’s idealistic child drama unlike the then typical husbands who provided the family’s financial support working full time.

Most importantly, these were young mothers, usually in a nuclear family living separately from their older generations. They could accept his ideas without the conventional prejudice towards drama in comparison to previous generations which had had only access to Kabuki and other limited conventional stylized dramatic forms. In other words, these mothers in katei were a timely and pertinent audience for Tsubouchi’s ideal concept. For Tsubouchi, the dissemination of his child-participating drama that once had looked impossible had assumed potential for acceptance.

Tsubouchi, after a long modification of drama education in the

school setting, finally had discovered seemingly secure and promising ground in “katei,” a supplemental counterpart of the school setting, from which he thought he could launch his child drama activity into the Japanese society. By defining it as a closed activity within family members, Tsubouchi was positioning the drama as a part of “katei kyoiku,” or “home education,” that was then being pursued by education-conscious mothers.

However, at the same time, elementary schools, especially in the major cities, were functioning like prep schools for advancing to the next level of schooling. This tendency was induced by the middle class assumption that better school education promised better positions in society. Mark Jones revealed the main concerns of these parents: “The two most regularly asked questions at elementary school parent-teacher meetings were how to achieve entrance into middle school or girls’ higher school and how to make the child review at home” (139). In other words, middle class parents, with their strong belief in a meritocratic rise in the society, and with education as a tool, saw “katei” as a counterpoint to the school wherein entrance examination-oriented preparation was the focus. Jones reported about these enthusiastic mothers:

While the formal connection between family and school occurred only a few times a year, enthusiastic mothers, seeking to learn the secrets of educational success by observing child and teacher, also practiced “the school visit” (*gakko sankan*) on a more regular informal basis. ...Mothers of the day imagined the school to be an extension of the home - a “second home” (*besso*) or “one’s own property” (*wagamono*) - and integrated the school into their everyday routine. (140)

Thus, even though on the surface the “katei kyoiku” (home education) was thought to be compensating for the rigidity of the school education, many education-conscious parents were striving to make “katei kyoiku” a reinforcing extension of formal school education. For Tsubouchi, at least conceptually, katei was an ideal environment to pursue

his drama activity purely for an educational purpose. At the same time, it is also true that “katei kyoiku”, was not so strictly censored and controlled by the government, as compared to the school environment.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, looking at it from another angle, “katei” could be read as a cover, a secure space for Tsubouchi to start dramatic experimentation with little government surveillance.

## Conclusion

Tsubouchi rigorously attempted to stress the educational effects of dramatic activity by modifying its configuration and content in order to dodge both the social criticism and government intervention arising from conventional prejudice against drama in Japan. As exemplified by such American authors as Alice Minnie Herts and Constance D’arcy Mackay, American child drama was forming its foundational definition emphasizing both “education and social ends” in the early 1900’s (van de Water, 81). Drawing upon this American definition, Tsubouchi strove to legitimize children’s dramatic activity to “education and social ends” by incorporating American predecessors’ theories, domesticating the activity within the home setting, and excluding commercial theatre for children.<sup>17</sup>

Although I show only some of the examples in this paper, while many of their theories and ideas have been directly introduced with appropriately paraphrased narratives and Japanese examples, some of them were reinterpreted with the Japanese indigenous idioms. Some of the borrowed ideas bear quite a different connotation from the original sources when translated into Japanese. Besides this rather inevitable consequence of cultural assimilation, Tsubouchi also consciously attempted to adapt American theory into an original configuration to fit it in the Japanese social context dodging both the social criticism and government intervention arising from conventional prejudice against drama in Japan. The result was the domestication of child drama activity wherein the stress was put more on its process and sincere disciplinary aspect. Thus, Tsubouchi’s child drama for domestic presentation was

invested with a strategy derived from his experience as both a school teacher and a theatre practitioner.

It is true that due to his lack of practical drama experience with children, there were enormous gaps and contradictions between his ideals and the reality.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, his endorsement of child-participation drama in “Kateiyo Jidogeki,” along with his later demonstrational performances all over Japan, eventually provided courage and authority to many Japanese teachers who insisted upon drama’s educational value. As a result, there occurred an impressive school drama trend in Japan around this time, though most of the school performances were far from Tsubouchi’s ideal child drama.

Another important aspect of the school drama trend triggered by Tsubouchi’s endorsement was that, because of his new alternative, the domestication idea, child drama which had long been discussed only within the dualism of right and wrong, finally began to be perceived as having a variety of alternative forms and choices. Various teachers with their own eclectic perspectives were empowered to make various claims about the educational potential of their drama. As a result, many heated debates about child drama unfolded in newspapers and magazines. Thus Tsubouchi’s “Kateiyo Jidogeki” was an important reinforcing impetus for early developments in the Japanese child drama.

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1 Sazanami Iwaya (1870-1933), in his article, reported on his discussion with Tsubouchi about the possibility of practicing the child drama by children already in late 1800s. Nevertheless, at this point it was, as Iwaya stated, “infeasible” (“Doitsu no Otagishibai” 3). Obviously, there had been a crucial social condition, a strong antipathy against theatrical activity under which the materialization of ideal child drama was not realistically feasible. For further discussion, refer to Fujikura, “Reevaluation” 41-42.

2 For further discussion, refer to Fujikura, “Reevaluation” 18.

3 Tsubouchi’s policy both in ethics teaching and the Reader creation endeavor in the late 1890s indicated that his educational principle toward children, including age specific appropriateness and his preference of child-centered approach over imposition of knowledge, had been already established. For further discussion, refer to Fujikura, “Reevaluation” 51.

4 Later in *Child Education and Drama*, Tsubouchi began to use “dramatic instinct.” Thus, we can sense the development of Tsubouchi’s determination and his confidence so as to

- be more direct about his belief in dramatic education.
- 5 For this discussion, refer to Fujikura, "Reevaluation" 27.
- 6 "Yugi" in Japanese means pastime activity or play game, which can be interpreted as dramatic play only on a very rudimentary level.
- 7 Some of Tsubouchi's former students including Shiko Tsubouchi maintained, that the ultimate principle of Tsubouchi's ethics teaching as well as his own life philosophy lay in "the preservation of harmonious society based on Confucian ideology" (Inagaki and Oka 323-327). Thus, it is quite probable that this principle of "preservation of a harmonious society" would dictate Tsubouchi's decision making to a great extent.
- 8 For details of Herts' production configuration see Chapter IV of *The Children's Educational Theatre*.
- 9 G. Stanley Hall's Recapitulation Theory was an extended version of the Recapitulation Theory originally formulated by Ernst Haeckel, who asserted that embryological development repeats the developmental history of the species; thus, "Ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny." Drawing on this theory, Hall theorized further that child development, too, repeated the development of the human species wherein a child crawls on all-fours, gradually walks upright, then plays, engages in artistic activity, and refines his/her social behaviors.
- 10 Curiously, Tsubouchi defined "specific target age" different from article to article. It is either "under ten" ("Engeki to Seinen Kyoiku" 492), or from "four or five years of age to seven or eight" ("Bunkayoku Toshiteno Dowa Oyobi Dowajutsu" 447) or "from four or five to thirteen or fourteen" ("Jido Geki no Sanshurui" 470-471). Nevertheless, it was always before adolescence.
- 11 *Momotaro (The Peach Boy)* and *Kachikachi Yama (The Mountain KachiKachi)* are the oldest and among the most popular Japanese fairy tales.
- 12 The "kotatsu" is a small table with a heavy quilted cover that extends to the floor. A heavy dining surface holds the cover in place and underneath the table sits a heating device, usually charcoal.
- 13 These books included *Fairy Tale Plays* by Mrs. H. Bell, *Dickens's Dramatic Reader* by Fanny Comstock, *Dramatic Stories* by Ada Skinner, *Little Playbook* by Katherine Lord, *Little Plays* by Lena Dalkeith, *Fairy Plays for Children* by Mabel Goodlander, *Historical Plays* by Amice Macdonnel, and *Book of Plays for Little Actors* by Johnston & Barnum (Tsubouchi, "Shin Fujin no" 4)
- 14 For example, one of the most notable rice riots that broke out in July 1918 was initiated by fishermen's wives in a northern fishing village, Uozu, Toyama Prefecture. Angered by sharp increases in rice prices and rumors of rice merchants' hoarding amid the post-war inflation, fishermen's wives marched to the rice merchants and demanded reasonable rice and even succeeded in interrupting rice ship transportation from nearby harbors.
- 15 For further discussion on the discourse of "katei," refer to Fujikura, "Reevaluation" 99.
- 16 After Tsubouchi's Reader creation, the government, in pursuit of ideological control, began a State-designated textbook system by which all the existing textbooks including Tsubouchi's were excluded for school use in 1903. Since then, freedom in the creation of textbooks was totally taken away from individual publishers.
- 17 In Chapter 4 of *Jidokyoiku to Engeki* titled "Jidogeki no Shinka" (Evolution of Child Drama), Tsubouchi faithfully translated Chapter I of Mackay's book, "The Development of Child Drama," wherein she established the above specific narrative. Tsubouchi wove the Japanese counterparts into the translation of the child drama history and consequently perpetuated Mackay's narrative.
- 18 For gaps and contradictions, refer to Fujikura, "Child Drama" 117.

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