Doctoral Dissertation

Glimpses Across the "Garden of Battle":

Three Case Studies of Japanese War Haiku from

the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945)

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Dedications

I dedicate this to Kiyo. Thank you for everything. This dissertation was done thanks to you. Thank you for always been there for me.

To my mother, Sara Cervantes. Thank you for all your love and support.

To my father, Ladislao Gutierrez, for always being there for us.

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To Melissa, Sofia, and Mia. This was the reason I could not see you all grow.

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To all my friends from Guadalajara. I miss you all.

To all my friends in Japan. We are in this together.

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Introduction

This dissertation is a literary-historical analysis of Japanese war haiku published during the second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) to the first years of the Greater East Asian War (1941-1945). The reason for this scope is that most haiku poets from this period considered the Second-Sino Japanese War, or, as it was called at the time, the China Incident (支那事変, *shina jihen*) and the Holy War (聖戦, *seisen*), as the event that triggered the birth of war haiku. The first years of the war were the formative years of war haiku. During this period, the themes and imagery of war haiku were codified and emulated by haiku poets, regardless of the aesthetic circle they belonged to. This can be appreciated in the publication of two special issues of the haiku magazine *Haiku Kenkyū* (俳句研究): the November 1938 issue had a special section titled *3,000 Haiku From the China Incident* (支那事變三千句, *shina jihen sanzen ku*), while the April 1939 issue had the special section *3,000 New Haiku From the China Incident* (支那事變新三千句, *shina jihen shin sanzen ku*). Both special issues compiled their haiku from more than 200 haiku magazines that were published during wartime.

Leif Morton describes Japanese war poetry "on the grounds of both content and form, as poetry that supports a fascist totalitarian ideology or actively rejoices in the imperial myth, or that deliberately utilizes an archaic style or the specialized military

jargon sanctioned by the authorities.” (Morton 2007, 394) This view can be applied to the haiku used in this dissertation. Thus, all analyses featured in this study will start from the premise that the authors presented in each chapter composed war haiku and that said haiku was published to support the war. The present dissertation is an analysis of the debates over war haiku aesthetics during a period of transition in the development of haiku. The analysis of the haiku will be conducted through close readings of the poems themselves. Paratexts such as introductions, letters, essays, opinion pieces, and reviews will be considered to contextualize the analyzed works. The publishing history of these pieces and the materiality of the original publications will also be discussed as I argue that said elements contributed to shaping the public perception of the authors and their works.

As Japanese war haiku reflects the ideologies and lexicon mentioned by Morton, this signals a shift from the traditional subject matter and aesthetics of haiku poetry, particularly from Masaoka Shiki (正岡子規，1867-1902) who modernized haiku by advocating for the use of *shasei* (写生), “sketching from life,” to compose haiku through objective and direct observations of nature and life. Furthermore, it should be noted that in many essays and opinion pieces on war haiku written by wartime poets, like Hino Sōjo (日野草城 1901-1956), Higashi Kyōzō (秋元不死男,1901-1977), or Watanabe Hakusen (渡辺白泉 1913-1969) to name a few, *shasei* is nowhere to be found. Instead, terms like

"experience," "indirect experience," and "emotion," are used for describing the source of inspiration for composing war haiku, as well as the parameter for appraising war haiku as effective or successful at conveying the war. This tendency can be noticed particularly when discussing poets that composed haiku through the mediation of news reports or war accounts, like the case of like Hino Sōjo. This poses the following questions:

- How important was direct observation of war considered by haiku poets when composing and appraising war haiku?
- How did haiku poets approach the creation of war haiku and its appraisal during a time when not all poets could witness the war?
- How did haiku poets construct and present themselves through their poems during wartime?
- Why did *shasei* disappear from the haiku discourse of haiku poets during wartime?

Countless studies discuss Japanese wartime literature and poetry. However, most of them do not include haiku poetry. In *Japanese Writers and the Greater East Asia War*, Donald Keene claims that "almost all varieties of traditional literary forms shared the wartime boom of the tanka, though the haiku, possibly because it was considered insufficiently dignified to report the glories of the war, tended to be left out of the limelight" (1964,

214). However, according to Hajime Kawana, during the Second Sino-Japanese War there were at least 255 haiku-related publications, including newspapers that regularly published haiku (2020, 169). For his study of war haiku, Kawana took data samples from what he considered the most popular 17 haiku magazines that published war haiku regularly between 1937 and 1939 (2020, 169-170). *Haiku Kenkyū*, one of the most important haiku magazines of this period, published issues with special sections compiling thousands of war haiku that appeared in magazines at the time. The haiku was composed mostly by amateur poets both in the warfront and the home front, which suggests the popularity of the subgenre during wartime.

To some extent, it seems that Keene was referring exclusively to renowned authors, although most acclaimed poets from the period did write war haiku and discussed the subgenre in articles, essays, and roundtables, which in turn suggest how the poets from major haiku circles saw the subgenre as relevant. The approach of this dissertation differs from studies like Keene's because it does not focus on the haiku canon, but rather on authors that are not included in the canon due to their condition as amateurs, or renowned authors whose war haiku is not discussed on haiku-related studies.

Studies in English and Japanese that focus on literature and propaganda during wartime, might not include categorical sentences such as Keene's, regardless, these

studies seldom mention war haiku and how haiku poets reported and supported the war through their poems. Thus, though there are great selections of case studies regarding war novels, war reportages and wartime censorship in Japan, war haiku is not featured as a case study to illustrate how haiku poets portrayed war or supported the nationalistic agenda through their poems.

Recently, there is a new interest in the wartime period and in war haiku by Japanese scholars as news studies and compilations are being published. However, war poetry collections tend to lack literary analysis, comments on the poems, and even basic biographical information about the authors. On the other hand, there are few changes in how contemporary Japanese scholars approach war haiku. Most studies focus on poets whose wartime poetry could be interpreted as antiwar or authors that never set foot on the war front but that were active during wartime. An example of this is Tarumi Hiroshi's 2014 *War Haiku and Haiku Poets* (*Sensō haiku to haijintachi*). The book focuses on four major wartime poets that did not go to the warfront: Yamaguchi Seishi (山口誓子), Hino Sōjo (日野草城), Nakamura Kusatao (中村 草田男), and Katō Shūson (加藤 楸邨), whose overall haiku career was not centered around war. Tarumi explains that the reason for selecting these four poets is that they surpassed their masters during wartime, created their views on haiku, and led new generations after the war (弟子であった彼ら四人は、

まさに戦時体制が全国体を覆っていく中で、師を乗り越え、自らの俳句観を確立し、終戦後も含め次代の指導者として成長していく過程にあった）. This is an example of how scholars that study war haiku tend to disregard or minimize the impact that haiku poets that went to the war front had on the haiku world during the period.

Another aspect of contemporary studies is the tendency of resorting to either critical bibliography or to literary biography approaches to wartime haiku and poets. The Modern Haiku Association's *New Style Haiku Anthology: What Was New About it* (*Shinkō haiku ansoroji*—*nani ga atarasikatta no ka*, 2018) is another study that, despite providing historical and biographical insights regarding wartime Japan and haiku circles, falls short when analyzing the actual war haiku contained within its pages. On many occasions, when looking into different sources, I have found how authors refer to haiku sequences (連作, *rensaku*) only to present them in excerpt, and without even mentioning the original amount of poems that form them. Likewise, when commenting on haiku it would often be from a biographical standpoint without a critical approach to the haiku. Exceptions to this tendency exist, such as Hajime Kawana's 2020 book *War and Haiku (Senso to haiku)*, where the author presents a study of Tomizawa Kakio's (富澤赤黄男 1902-1962) war haiku and war diary drafts versus their published versions.

There are several reasons why haiku poets that went to the war front are not considered when discussing wartime haiku. Firstly, from the last stages of the war to Japan's defeat, several poets and novelists were swift to express their regret for their choices, some of them even offered public apologies and separated themselves from their wartime writing. Precisely, several poets actively "erased" or "toned down" their wartime haiku from their postwar collections. Hasegawa Sosei (長谷川素逝,1907-1946), the focus of the second chapter of this dissertation, included only three of his most innocuous haiku that he composed on the war front in his "definitive edition" of his haiku (Sato 2018, 175).

Nowadays, other poets' editions of their complete works or reprintings of their wartime poem collections may or may not include their wartime poems like in the case of Mitsuhashi Takajo's (三橋鷹女 1899-1972) complete works published in 1989. This is due to either the poets' or the poets' family wishes, or even due to the publishing houses' attempt to avoid the subject altogether. On the other hand, it would seem that some poets like Hasegawa Sosei fell into obscurity because their non-war haiku was not exceptional enough, while poets that are now part of the modern canon, like Hino Sōjō, have a more diverse haiku production. Finally, one possible explanation as to why some poets' war haiku is still included in modern editions of their works may be due to a tendency to re-

interpret the poems as anti-war expressions, rather than examples of nationalistic wartime discourse in haiku poetry.

2. The Media Context of Wartime Haiku

Wartime *haijin* drew from the reigning pro-war discourse that was present in the news media and other forms of state-sanctioned war literature when composing their haiku. Thus, haiku poetry was also a participant in the war discourse. I argue that despite haiku magazines being not particularly policed by the state and military during wartime, haiku circles and their magazines internalized and assimilated the regulations imposed upon the media, collaborating with war propaganda efforts.

Regardless of being amid a military conflict that would quickly evolve into an imperial expansion campaign, at the beginning of the conflict most of the Japanese population had a rather indifferent position regarding war, as everything was developing in distant lands. According to Barak Kushner, the Home Minister held meetings in 1937 to organize entertainment for influencing the masses' support for the war (2006, 97). However, the ministry realized that regardless of the type of entertainment, from a musical revue to children's *kamishibai*, artists were aiming for the lowest common denominator. In the eyes of authorities, artistic expressions were losing quality, being crude, unpolished, and even immoral, to the point that, due to their rather amateur nature,

they could be counterproductive to the efforts to mobilize the public toward war support (Kushner 2006, 97).

Journalist quality also suffered. Benjamin Uchiyama's study, *Japan's Carnival War: Mass Culture on the Home Front, 1937–1945*, gives numerous examples of the media using sensationalistic titles and content to raise sales during wartime. Newspapers reported on kill-count reports, for example. An infamous case was the "Hundred Man Killing Contest", covered by the *Tōnichi* newspaper. The newspaper covered the report in four installments where they informed about the ongoing competition between two Japanese officers racing to see who could be the first to kill 100 Chinese soldiers with a sword. For Uchiyama, stories like this one focused on the killing of Chinese soldiers in a whimsical way, trivializing violence by turning it into a game for the readers (2019, 47).

The apparent decadence of the media and arts prompted government and military agencies to take different measures to control war narratives. In March 1938, the Diet passed the National Mobilization Law, allowing the government to exert power on the sale and distribution of publications, including the ability to ban publications and even reorganize or abolish media companies (Uchiyama 2019, 63). For its part, in September 1938 the Cabinet Information Bureau and the Army Ministry called for writers to create the "pen platoon", whose members were sent to different locations on the war front to

report on the war. Music platoons and poetry platoons were also formed (Kushner 2006, 80-81). The CIB was one of the main sources of war reports and news, giving proscriptive and prescriptive guidelines to publishers, not to mention outright orders regarding what they could divulge. The CIB also had its publications like *Photographic Weekly Report*, thus serving as the government's mouthpiece during the war by circulating information and creating their news to reach the public (Earthart 2008, 89).

For some reason, though, haiku poets were not included in government plans, which contributed to the identity crisis that haiku was experiencing since the beginning of the twentieth century that started when Masaoka Shiki called for the modernization of haiku. Shiki proposed changes like the adoption of Western aesthetics and abandoning collective writing and master-disciple dynamics in pursuit of haiku as the creation of an individual. The proposed reforms created a schism in haiku, leading to traditional and avant-garde factions, all trying to define the genre, its forms, and themes.

When the Second Sino-Japanese War broke, haiku poets from both factions were more concerned about how to write war haiku, rather than discussing if war was an admissible haiku topic at all. However, this promptly changed as they realized that war novels and stories were gaining popularity and that haiku was becoming irrelevant. Just as the government considered the media and arts crude and amateurish, the haiku world

had its share of amateur poets, who were both the result of the previous collective writing system, and the new democratic view that proclaimed that any individual could compose haiku. For poets from the *Hototogisu* group, this represented a depreciation of haiku as art, which could only be remediated through the rise of exceptional individuals that could set and standard. However, as war broke, prompting the surge of war literature, the haiku world needed poets that were not only exceptional but also soldiers that could fight on the war front and compose about it, to compete with the rising fame of wartime writers such as Hino Ashihei (火野葦平,1907-1960), a writer that server on the warfront and published a novel based on his experiences.

Most of the major haiku magazines of the time published war haiku in a periodical manner. The two major publications were *Hototogisu* (ホトトギス), the beacon of traditional haiku, and *Haiku Kenkyū*, the promoter of experimental haiku. Despite this apparent breach between the magazines' aesthetics, most of the major poets of the period were featured in both publications regularly, as a large number of poets from *Haiku Kenkyū* originally belonged to the *Hototogisu* magazine haiku circle. It was normal, for example, that *Haiku Kenkyū* included columns of selections of poems that were previously published in *Hototogisu.* This previous fact was one of the determining factors for choosing these two magazines as primary sources for this dissertation. Aside from

major, renowned poets, both magazines were also venues for amateur *haijin*, as even the subscribers were encouraged to submit their haiku for publication. Japanese poets residing outside of Japan would also appear in these magazines, particularly in *Hototogisu*.

Magazines of the New Style Haiku wave, such as *Haiku Kenkyū* were the main venues for home front *haijin* to publish their works during wartime, while traditional-style haiku magazines such as *Hototogisu*, prioritized war front haiku poets. According to Hajime Kawana, between 1937 and 1939, *Hototogisu* featured at least 152 poets that went to the war front. In contrast, *Haiku Kenkyū* featured only four (2020, 187). This suggests how particularly conservative haiku groups promoted warfront haiku during the first years of the war. In his study, Kawana reports a total of 509 haiku poets that went to the war front and that appeared in the 17 most popular magazines during the Second Sino-Japanese War.

Poets on the war front would send their haiku and letters to the home front for publishing. However, only a handful of them became renowned or published a war haiku collection. The most notables are Hasegawa Sosei (1907-1946), Tomizawa Kakio (1902-1962), Katayama Tōshi (片山桃史，1912-1944), and Yamada Yoshihiko (山田吉彦, ?-?).[1] The most important figures of the haiku world remained in Japan, though, and

[1] Hasegawa Sosei was the first haiku poet to publish a haiku collection formed exclusively by war haiku in 1939. Half of Katayama Tōshi's 1940 haiku collection, *Northern Corps*, is formed by war front haiku.

informed themselves by the news media in order to find inspiration to compose war haiku. Haiku poets would also write essays and opinion pieces discussing war as a topic for composing haiku, while never discussing the actual geopolitical events surrounding the conflict. Regardless, war as a topic was not something extensively covered by haiku magazines of the time. Instead, war haiku and essays regarding war haiku would appear amongst the usual content of the magazines. Perhaps the most notable exception resides in the *Hototogisu* magazine, which had a section that published letters written by soldier-poets on the war front. The section appeared in the magazine from 1937 to 1945, but it rarely featured haiku, focusing solely on the letters of soldier-poets telling their experiences on the war front.

Aside from haiku publications, the Japanese wartime book-publishing industry was enormous and kept printing all kinds of publications from the beginning of the war to its late stages. To put things in perspective: Ben-Ami Shillony claims that by 1942, despite paper shortages and the morale of the Japanese people decreasing, 15,200 new titles were published in Japan. Of these, 1,907 were novels and plays, 863 poetry books, and 459 books dealing with war affairs. Likewise, 2,739 different magazines existed by

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The same happens with Tomizawa Kakio's 1941 haiku collection, *Heavenly Wolf*. Yamada Yoshihiko published his war haiku collection *Firearm* in 1941. At the moment of my research, I do not have any biographical information of Yamada Yoshihiko.

this period with a circulation of around 6.5 million (1981, 110-111). With these kinds of numbers, it is easy to understand the level of competition between publications to attract readers and raise sales while supporting the national agenda. Thus, even from a marketing standpoint it makes sense for haiku magazines to publish war haiku within their pages and to endorse poets that composed about war.

3. National Identity and Wartime Haiku

According to David Stahl and Mark Williams, individuals that create artistic representations of traumatic events and experiences are either involved as perpetrators, victims/survivors, and witnesses, while others were not present at the time or place of the events (2010, 4). On the other hand, there should also be distinctions regarding the time frames of production and consumption, and whether the artists did their creations during a conflict, during the context of defeat and occupation, or even decades after the events. Similarly, the socio-political circumstances of the consumers should be considered as "in all such cases, nationality, subject position and social, political and cultural context will affect both production and reception." (Stahl and Williams 2010, 4) For this dissertation I selected war haiku that was published during wartime by both poets who experienced the war first-hand on the war front and haiku poets that resided in Japan during wartime.

It has been established that the Japanese government and military were aware of the importance of producing propaganda and controlling the war reports spread by the media. Another aspect that the authorities deemed important was the actual content and the narratives of wartime narratives in the media and literature. One of the prime objectives of government entities was to raise morale amongst the general population through the media by drawing upon Japanese traditions: politics, history, society, and culture (Earthart 2008, 9). In this fashion, what agencies like the Cabinet Information Bureau decided to show or not to show to the public was in line with the aesthetic and social values that the Japanese government decided to project as "unique" to Japanese traditions (Earthart 2008, 9). At the same time, the government called for a realistic, austere, but raw depiction of the conflict, to encourage the people on the home front to experience the war vicariously (Earthart 2008, 9).

The Second Sino-Japanese war was, by no means, the first time that haiku poets resorted to war to compose poems. Masaoka Shiki advocated for the use of war as a topic for haiku. Shiki, prompted by the rise of nationalism in Meiji Japan, composed haiku about soldiers since 1892. In 1895, Shiki wrote an article titled *Haikai and Martial Matters* (*Haikai to buji,* 俳諧と武事) where he discussed Yosa Buson's (与謝蕪村 1716-1784) hokku about martial matters, which were poems that referred to battles from

the past or used swords and spears as a topic. As it will be discussed on Chapter II of this dissertation, Shiki's interest for war drove him to the war front of the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) to report it as a journalist and compose haiku about it. The Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) also prompted haiku poets to discuss the war through their poems. Segawa Sozan (瀬川疎山, 1880-1942), a businessman and politician, scoured haiku about the Russo-Japanese War that was published in newspapers and magazines and compiled it in a collection titled *War Haiku* (*Sensō haiku*, 戦争俳句). The collection was published before the war ended. Interestingly enough, in his foreword, Sozan expresses that war is a tragedy and that it was distasteful to gloat over the death of enemies. However, he acknowledges that he understand why poets found war interesting as a topic, explaining that he preferred war haiku that did not used violent images or celebrated death.

State propaganda's content would vary according to the sector of the population that it was aiming for. An example of this is wartime propaganda aimed at women. As most of the Japanese female population stayed on the home front, the government and the military created women's associations to mobilize women on the home front and give them more active roles in supporting war efforts, all within the limits of traditional gender roles. Members of *Kokubō Fujinkai* (国防婦人会) were told in 1938: "You could say that the kitchen is the Home Ministry, the Finance Ministry, the Education Ministry, the

Welfare Ministry of the household.… The heroic figure of the housewife who works at the center of that household is revealed by the apron [of *Kokubō Fujinkai*] (Wilson 2006, 222).”

The emphasis on the vicarious experience of war was maximized with the advent of photographic reports and cinema newsreels, which contributed to the viewer's experience, transporting them to the war front itself, or at least the version of the war front that the government allowed to be shown. According to Earhart, visual media was used as “photographic proof that the war was an expression of Japanese values and a means of fulfilling national and racial destiny” (2008, 9). Regardless, people on the home front were not able to witness war directly. This was one of the challenges for haiku poets in Japan during wartime, as they wanted to use the war as a topic and attempted to find ways to convey what they knew about the conflict. Most poets on the home front soon faced severe criticism, as some critics considered that haiku was too short to convey war and that haiku poets should not resort to other people’s experiences to create war haiku, as that was superfluous and unauthentic.

The ideas of tradition and national identity came into play when haiku poets attempted to justify the relevance of haiku during wartime. Poets like Naitō Meisetsu (内藤鳴雪,1847-1926) would resort to the idea of the Japanese people as a race of poets, and

haiku as the most suitable form for them to express themselves.[2] All haiku factions defended their aesthetics as the most valid for depicting war. Conservative poets believed they had the higher ground as their traditional aesthetics were in line with the centuries-old, imperial-sponsored poetry collections. On the other hand, avant-garde and experimental haiku poets regarded war almost as a novelty that did not fit with the use of old practices such as seasonal words. Regardless, both sides of the debate seemed to willfully ignore the fact that war as a topic has been present in haiku poetry since the times of Matsuo Bashō.

Haiku poets became aware of the necessity of having a poster boy figure to represent them during the war, particularly after realizing the constant flow of amateur war haiku that was compiled by haiku magazines. This poster boy had to be a poet and had to double as a soldier in order to fit with the narrative promoted by government agencies. Benjamin Uchiyama did a thorough study where he explores how the soldier icon transitioned from a godlike figure at the beginning of the war to humble everyman as the war continued without an end in sight. Uchiyama points out how there was a shift

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[2] Meisetsu taught Masaoka Shiki Chinese poetry (*kanshi*), and in turn he learned how to compose haiku from Shiki. Meisetsu was later considered a haiku master on his own right and published several books about haiku composition. Along with Kyoshi and Shiki, Meisetsu was respected as a master of the *Nihonha* haiku school.

in wartime mass culture, going from depicting soldiers as awe-inspiring heroes to portraying them as courageous, yet sensitive, vulnerable individuals in need of comforts from the home front to keep fighting the war (Uchiyama 2019, 106). In the present dissertation, we can see this shift in the haiku and letters that Hasegawa Sosei sent from the war front where he portrays the vicissitudes that the soldiers experience while on duty. Likewise, the poets that reviewed Hasegawa's war haiku portrayed him as a hero, while also expressing sympathy and admiration towards him for enduring the extreme situation that he experienced on the war front.

The necessity of studying the material context of literary works about war and their paratexts, such as prefaces, postscripts and promotional materials like reviews, is highlighted by authors like David M. Rosenfeld (2002), whose study about the novelist Hino Ashihei (1907-1960) demonstrates how the writer used paratexts to shape the truth behind his military status to influence the public's perception of his works. Aaron William Moore (2013) argues that soldiers, even in private texts such as letters and diaries, would resort to public discourse, inviting the state, the military, and mass media to define who they were (Moore 2013, 12).

As it is important to consider that government and military organizations enforced censorship, it is just as important to observe individual's proactive support of state

programs. Likewise, it is critical to acknowledge that state forces were active in intimate spaces such as diaries, letters, and literature produced on the war front (Moore 2009, 194). The prevalence of said forces and their discourses encouraged individuals to select materials to compose their subjectivity, which ironically contributed to said individuals believing that they were unwillingly dragged into historical events and that they were not responsible for their actions.

4. Media Censorship During the Second Sino-Japanese War in Japan

During the Second Sino-Japanese War, censorship was internalized by editors and artists due to the censorship activity that was exercised in previous decades by both the state and the military. Censorship was followed by the politics of propaganda which urged citizens and artists to contribute to war efforts. To better understand how the news media and wartime authors were able to publish their war accounts amidst the very war they were narrating, it is important to discuss the relation between the wartime Japanese government and the press during this period. For Leith Morton, "virtually all literature written during the war years, including poetry, was subject to censorship, although the kind and degree depend upon the particular circumstances and the period in which publication took place." (2014, 392) Though Morton was specifically referring to non-traditional poetry forms (I.E., free verse poetry) during wartime in Japan, his words could not be more fitting for

the topic of this dissertation. Since the Meiji Restoration period, the Japanese government designed laws that allowed it to censor and even terminate a newspaper. Such were the now infamous series of laws known as the Public Security Preservation Laws, also known as the Peace Preservation Law (治安維持法, *chian iji hō*), enacted from 1894 to 1925, not to mention the Control of Subversive Documents Law of 1936, and the Military Secrets Law, which was strengthened in 1937.

Jonathan Abel argues that the peak for explicit and visible work of state censors occurred between 1928 and 1936. After this period, the censorship mechanism became internalized, reducing the intervention of the officers (2012, 12). Loyalty, self-control, and support for the war were things that the Japanese government expected from the newspapers and the media in general. Jay Rubin makes a similar argument, explaining that just as military censorship increased, publications reached a point in which they just started to police themselves (1984, 256-78). Additionally, Donald Keene expresses that there was no literary resistance to the war in Japan, with most writers celebrating Japan's military victories (1971, 209), implying to some extent that there was no reason for censorship due to the compliance of the press and writers in general.

Studies like Abel's regarding censorship during wartime in Japan, mainly focus on war novels and short stories. Abel particularly discusses the use of redaction marks (伏字,

fuseji) by publishing houses and editors for censoring potentially problematic passages before publication. Abel proposes a timeline where he marks the period between 1927 and 1936 as the point where redaction marks were decided by editors and writers (2012, 149). After this point, according to Abel, the *fuseji* began to fade, unlike censorship, which was always present. In Abel's words: “self-censorship is not born when an office of censorship tells writers and producers that it prefers them to patrol themselves but is already present at times when censors work more explicitly.” (2012, 149) In other words: the lack of even the trace of a *fuseji*, implies self-censorship from authors that, in order to prevent any kind of admonishment they would simply choose not to write a certain word, phrase, or passage altogether. I must stress that studies like Abel’s, albeit highly thorough and informative, analyze the presence of censorship and redaction marks in wartime prose published in magazines or books while disregarding the same phenomenon in poetry publications.

So far, in my quest for primary sources for my research, I have yet to encounter these marks in war haiku published in major haiku magazines during the Second Sino-Japanese War. In very few cases I have found *maru* marks (◯) used for redacting out the name of the Chinese location from where a haiku was sent. In other selected cases, the name of the poet’s military unit is redacted with the *maru* mark. However, I have not

encountered these redaction marks *within* the body of haiku whether in magazines or haiku collections during this period. This is particularly important, as one of the main sources for my research is *Haiku Kenkyū*, a magazine that was published by the *Kaizō* publishing house. This company owned the literary magazine of the same name: *Kaizō*, which, during the height of the use of *fuseji*, had as many as 6 redaction marks per page (Abel 2012, 60). Hino Ashihei's bestseller war novel *Wheat and Soldiers* was first published in 1938 within the pages of *Kaizō*, lacking redaction marks. However, by 1939, Hino would add or "restore" passages to the novel, implying that said passages were not present during the novel's debut due to their problematic content (Abel 2012, 128-129).

The original release *Wheat and Soldiers* lacked redaction marks, which makes it difficult to determine the nature of the added passages. Did those passages were part of the original draft? Did censors eliminate those passages? Did Ashihei eliminate them himself only to add them later? Or did Ashihei make those additions later to increase the impact factor of his novel? These questions regarding the presence of censorship in Ashihei's novel are relevant to my dissertation, as the war haiku of Hasegawa Sosei, the subject of Chapter II, was originally published in a magazine, with no traces of redaction marks. The poems were later compiled into a collection that included more than 100 unpublished haiku. This begs to question of whether Hasegawa originally did not send

those poems to the magazine due to self-censorship or if the editors of the magazine were the ones restraining themselves from publishing some sensitive poems, not to mention the possibility that Hasegawa himself added the poems later to meet the necessary number of poems for a collection. Just as with Ashihei's case, there is no way to know the extent of self-censorship in the haiku world and its wartime publications.

David C. Stahl and Mark B. Williams observe that when reporting war through literature and media, much of the importance regarding a conflict "has been systematically suppressed, ignored, denied, distorted, avoided, naturalized, neutralized, silenced and rendered 'taboo' in public, national and international discourse." (Stahl and Williams 2010, 2) Artists, being survivor-narrators or individuals with no direct experience of war, resorted to language and image in an attempt to reconcile marginalized historical realities to make them more approachable. These representations have ramifications for contemporary conceptualizations of past and even present and future geopolitical events.

However, it is a misinterpretation to portray the media during this period in Japan as completely oppressed: though the government would often fine or stop the circulation of publications, media outlets would have a secondary publication as a backup, taking

advantage of legal loopholes to continue their business, which suggests some degrees of leniency by the censors and authorities.

5. Japanese Wartime Propaganda and Wartime Literature

Censorship was indeed part of the reality of wartime Japan, but so was propaganda. The Japanese government not only understood the need for propaganda, but it also understood that said propaganda would not work just by being issued and enforced by the government's directives: a relationship with the people ought to be established first. In order to do so, according to Barak Kushner, the unity between battlefront and home front was chosen as the common ground between the government, the military, and the people (2006, 9). As a result, propaganda campaigns would often originate from the people rather than from official mandates.

According to Kushner, "the agencies that actually drafted, produced, and distributed Japanese wartime propaganda consisted of well-intentioned intellectuals, rural women, [...] and other average Japanese eagerly participating in a society that wanted to support the war. The entire propaganda structure was grounded outside of the government." (2006, 9) That is not to say that the government and the military did not contribute to the cause with their agencies. However, scholars agree that these agencies often competed between them, producing confusing or contradictory messages.

Orbaugh defines propaganda produced by a government at war as a dominant frame that affirms or denies practices of war. Through domestic propaganda, citizens of a nation can learn what is expected from them, from material practices to even new roles for their bodies to fill (Orbaugh 2013, 51). In order to mobilize citizens, propagandists would resort to the spread of incomplete information or even deceitful messages disguised as “good causes” to “sell” the war to people through manipulation (Orbaugh 2013, 51).

The general public had a positive view of war, contributing willingly and openly to the distribution and consumption of propaganda. The government even organized “national propaganda exhibits”, one held in 1937, with the aims of better educating the people, creating an environment in which the Japanese people felt like participants in a bigger cause, something that Kushner describes as “democratic fascism.” (2006, 26) The term “propaganda” (宣伝, *senden*) did not have a negative connotation during this period and it rather seem like a means to cultivate values and attitudes in order to make them appear innate and not imposed. The government thought that propaganda should spread truths and not lies, and accordingly, increased their efforts to inform the public about their endeavors in China. Japanese wartime propaganda was successful despite the lack of central authority running it. The multiple organisms that took it upon themselves to spread

propaganda did it by promoting the cultivation of cultural values that would be appreciated by the public as innate rather than imposed (Tansman 2009, 12).

But what happened then in the case of intellectuals? Ben-Ami Shillony, explains that intellectuals that opposed the regiment were suppressed or silenced by the Special Higher Police (特別高等警察, *tokubetsu kōtō keisatsu*), also called "the thought police" (思想警察, *shisō keisatsu*), who dealt with "seditious" acts (1981, 120). This special police would often force a "conversion" (転向, *tenkō*), particularly on scholars, writers, artists, and performers who had joined leftist causes. This kind of persecution was rampant, particularly after the Manchurian Incident in 1931. Conversions were rarely voluntary, only occurring after being coerced and even tortured by the thought police. Morton, for his part, argues that in some cases this conversion to pro-military values was a sort of "camouflage" used by intellectuals in order to avoid further penalizations (2007, 395). Furthermore, aside from well-established authors that could live on of their incomes from royalties and sales of reprints, the average literati would only have the choice to write for publications that followed the government guidelines. Keene also points out that, as writers grew as public figures, their opinions were constantly requested for both literary and non-literary matters, such as war, regardless of how informed they actually were about these topics (1964, 210). As the Japanese press and the literati had both the pressure

from the government and the public to report on war, it was only pragmatic to answer those demands to not only attain economic gains but also avoid potential penalizations due to a lack of patriotism.

However, as Shillony expresses “for the more nationalistic intellectuals, the war was the fulfillment of a dream,” producing a “stream of nationalistic literature (1981, 113).” For his part, Barak Kushner explains that “frequently wartime propaganda appealed to rational intellectuals because it reflected Japan as a civilizing force in a backward Asia (2006, 36).” Many intellectuals believed in the idea of Japan as the leader of Asia, projecting said ideas in their literary works and magazine articles. Tansman points out the irony that the literati, the ones whose livelihood depended on their writings would use a language that approximated, while also creating distance from the rhetoric of propaganda that they might have been expected to resist (Tansman 2009, 8).

The government and the military recognized how important literature was as an instrument to inspire the people from the beginning of the war to its last stages. In 1942 the Information Bureau sponsored the establishment of the Japan Literary Patriotic Association (日本文学報国会, *Nihon bungaku hōkokukai*). According to Shillony, “membership was not obligatory, but most of Japan's 3,100 novelists, playwrights, critics, and poets chose to join in, either out of patriotism or out of fear that non-membership

would damage their publication prospects.” (1981, 116) Takahama Kyoshi (高浜虚子, 1874-1959), Masaoka Shiki’s successor, was the haiku representative of the haiku section of the association.

Despite the presence of dissenting voices during wartime, the reigning discourse amongst intellectuals and artists that never undergo a “conversion” during wartime was unequivocally pro-war and pro-empire, even when artists pretended that their works were apolitical. According to Tansman, “Japanese fascism was fueled by a literary sensibility” (Tansman 2009, 1). Literary works would share similar aesthetics to represent the world. This aesthetics could be interpreted as fascist, even when not directly addressing politics. Tansman argues that precisely, “fascist moments” that were embedded in aesthetic works such as a novel or an essay, would be interpreted as apolitical by writers and readers alike (Tansman 2009, 2). Thus, certain images that are present in Japanese wartime haiku should be read as political due the contexts in which they were written.

6. Wartime Haiku Categories

Even though most haiku magazines never created a proper war haiku “section” during wartime, their issues would constantly include war haiku, alongside “normal” haiku. Likewise, sections reviewing haiku would include both non-war haiku and war haiku. Magazines like *Hototogisu* and *Haiku Kenkyū* would sometimes publish numbers with

special sections compiling thousands of war haiku that professional and amateur poets submitted for publication. Is precisely within these special sections and in the review sections that we can find how war haiku was categorized by the haiku world during wartime. The two main categories were War Front haiku (戦前俳句, *sensen haiku*) and Home front haiku (銃後俳句, *jūgo haiku*). A third category, Haiku that Yearns or the fires of War (戦火想望俳句, *senka sōbō haiku*), was later introduced as a subcategory of Home Front haiku. Some poets would make other sub-categories such as "Seasonless War Front Haiku" in contrast with "Traditional War Front Haiku." Regardless, war haiku was categorized by the place where it was allegedly composed, and these terms appear systematically in reviews, essays, and opinion pieces.

War Front Haiku was composed by people on the war front. As was mentioned before, Hajime Kawana reported that during the Second Sino-Japanese War 509 poets went to the war front and were published in the most popular haiku magazines of the time. It should be noted that most of those poets were not professionals nor renowned. Similarly, not all of the war haiku that was sent from the war front was produced by soldiers. Some of the people on the war front in China, for example, were there for other reasons, such as business or as settlers in the areas controlled by the Japanese Empire. Regardless, War front haiku was supposed to describe the realities of war such as battles, losing comrades,

and other vicissitudes experienced by soldiers on the front. This “raw” factor of War Front haiku was greatly praised by critics on the home front as these compositions made by people that witnessed the war first-hand were considered inherently realistic. War Front haiku introduced military terms into the haiku lexicon, such as the names of weapons and soldiers’ attire, along with other military jargon.

Home Front Haiku, for its part, was composed by poets residing in Japan during wartime. As most of the renowned and influential poets of the period were not dispatched to the front, they wrote this kind of haiku. Home Front Haiku would discuss the impact of war on the population in Japan. Home Front haiku was not limited to portraying the socio-economic problems of wartime Japan: the celebration of military victories or finding comfort while working as a community in activities that contributed to war efforts were also topics usually found in this kind of haiku. Similarly, the psychological toll of war on the Japanese citizens was also a common theme in Home Front haiku. Expressing anxiety or grief related to the fate of male relatives on the war front was not frowned upon. Poets would also look for inspiration for their compositions in war reports, newsreels, and any other media that covered the conflict, going as far as to make haiku where they would report the events of a battle that they did not witness in person.

The haiku that described battles that their composers never witnessed was called Haiku that Yearns or the fires of War. Poets on the home front would resort to news reports and to their imagination to compose this kind of haiku. However, many poets and critics disapproved of this kind of haiku due to its lack of realism, to the point that some considered it pointless or even disrespectful to the people that actually experienced the war. The debate regarding the authenticity of Haiku that Yearns for the Fires of War as poetry that could report the war will be discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation.

As war literature gained momentum during the first years of the Second-Sino Japanese War, haiku poets began to theorize about war as a haiku topic. Month by month, haiku magazines and newspapers would publish essays from haiku poets where they would discuss their concerns regarding war and haiku. It must be noted that in most instances, the authors would not discuss any actual details of the ongoing war. Most of the essays regarding war haiku would treat war as a mere topic, discussing it detached from the current events affecting both the war front and the home front. Some poets would be more direct regarding their support for the war and the empire in these writings, but in many instances, the focus of these essays would be to argue in favor of haiku as a suitable medium for reporting war.

Yamaguchi Seishi, for example, pointed out that war reports tended to be incomplete and that it was necessary to wait a long time for them. For Seishi, war was something difficult to understand, hence, it was necessary to resort to different areas of knowledge such as history or social sciences to approach the topic. Perhaps, this is Seishi's way to imply that haiku is just another resource that could be used to understand war. Regardless, he believed that composing war haiku was not about talking about "the war that we could see" and "the war that we could not see", as the war was the sum of that with shape, that which was shapeless, and the individuals. Thus, Seishi expresses that war haiku should explore topics such as disease, fighting for the emperor, the homeland, patriotism, and the Japanese spirit (239).

For Seishi, war haiku was supposed to convey something that was beyond the individual: their relationship with their country, their sentiments as a citizen, and their Japanese spirit, which Seishi calls "Yamato spirit (240)." One of the main obstacles to war haiku, in Sesihi's view, was the seasonal world and seasonal topics. Though not completely opposed to the reference to seasons, Seishi considered that it was difficult to find a balance between seasonal topics and the citizen's sentiment in a poem. Seishi believed that on many occasions the citizen's sentiment would lose to the seasonal topics. On the other hand, adding war vocabulary to a traditional-style haiku would not add value

to it. Most haiku poets during this period discussed the same points as Seishi, with similar opinions regarding the use of seasonal words and the aspects of war that could be used as a theme for composing war haiku.

8. Chapter Contents

This dissertation is divided into 3 chapters. Each chapter focuses on a representative case study for each of the 3 war haiku categories: war front haiku, home front haiku, and Haiku that Yearns for the Fires of War.

Chapter I discusses the critical reception of the haiku adaptation of *Wheat and Soldiers*, a novel written by Hino Ashihei (1907-1960) and published in August 1938. The adaptation of the novel was made by 3 haiku poets: Hino Sōjo (1901-1956), Higashi Kyōzō (1901-1977), and Watanabe Hakusen (1913-1969) who were commissioned by one of the editors of the *Haiku Kenkyū* magazine. The haikuzation was published in September 1938 and was heavily criticized by other poets. As *Wheat and Soldiers* is allegedly based on the real-life experiences of Hino Ashihei on the war front during the Second Sino-Japanese War, and none of the 3 poets that adapted it into haiku were witnesses of the events of the novel, the haikuzation falls into the Haiku that Yearns for the Fires of War category of war haiku. The adaptation shows the limitations of haiku during wartime and ignited a debate regarding realism and authenticity in war haiku

composed on the home front, where the role of haiku as a medium for reporting the war was questioned. The chapter is an analysis and comparison of selected haiku from the adaptation with passages from *Wheat and Soldiers*, but also an in-depth view of the three poets' views on war haiku and the criticism that their adaptation received.

Chapter II is an analysis of the publishing history of the haiku that forms Hasegawa Sosei's (1907-1946) *Hōsha* (*Gun Carriage*), a collection of 214 haiku he composed while serving as a second lieutenant in China between 1937 and 1938, amidst the Second Sino-Japanese War. *Hōsha* was released in April 1939 and is considered the first war haiku collection written by a single author. When published, *Hōsha* was regarded as the most representative example of war front haiku. Nowadays, it is seldom mentioned in studies regarding wartime haiku. A portion of *Hōsha*'s haiku was published from December 1937 to April 1939 in the pages of the *Hototogisu* haiku magazine, along with Hasegawa Sosei's letters from the war front. Both the magazine and the book version of the haiku were critically acclaimed by haiku poets. Sosei was welcomed in Japan as a war hero by his peers, and as the savior of haiku as wartime literature was dominated by the success of *Wheat and Soldiers*. The chapter focuses on Hasegawa's military campaign in China, and the critical reception of his haiku. The chapter also dwells on the publishing

history of the poems and letters of the author to elucidate how Hasegawa depicted war and how he presented himself as a soldier-poet within his works.

Chapter III is a study of the themes that dominated war haiku composed by wartime Japanese female *haijin* on the home front, and how these female poets constructed the image of wartime Japanese women in their poetry. Traditional views on women prevented the Japanese female population from going to the war front and being active participants in the conflict. At the same time, official propaganda asked women to "fight" on the home front by supporting the troops and the remaining civilian population through voluntary activities that contributed to war efforts. The home front haiku composed by female *haijin* portrays the realities that women faced during wartime and reflect several of the messages aimed at them through propaganda. From taking care of their households, missing their male relatives after sending them off to war, participating in communal activities to support war efforts, praying for military victory, and dealing with death, the haiku featured in the chapter provides a glimpse into the lives of women on the war front, their worries, struggles, and the social expectations imposed on to them.

Chapter I

Longing For the Fires of War: The Haiku Adaptation of *Wheat and Soldiers*

Wheat and Soldiers (*Mugi to heitai,* 麦と兵隊), a novel written by Hino Ashihei (1907-1960) while he was serving at the war front in China during the Second-Sino Japanese War (1937-1945), was originally published within the pages of the prestigious general-interest *Kaizō* magazine in August 1938.[3] One month later it was released in book format, becoming an instant best-seller with an estimated 1.2 million copies sold. The publishing house that owned *Kaizō* also owned the magazine *Haiku Kenkyū*, which they used to promote *Wheat and Soldiers*. According to Tarumi Hiroshi (2014), in anticipation of the success of the novel, the famed literary critic Yamamoto Kenkichi (山本健吉), who was part of the editorial department of the *Haiku Kenkyū* magazine, requested three poets, Hino Sōjo (1901-1956), Higashi Kyōzō (1901-1977) and Watanabe Hakusen (1913-1969), to compose a haikuzation of *Wheat and Soldiers*.[4] The haikuzation was titled *Haiku: Wheat and Soldiers* (俳句「麥と兵隊」) and appeared in the September 1938 issue

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[3] The publishing house that owned *Kaizō* was also named *Kaizō*.

[4] Higashi Kyōzō was the former pen name of the poet Akimoto Fujio (秋元不二雄), who later changed his pen name to Akimoto Fujio (秋元 不死男), written with different characters from his real name.

of *Haiku Kenkyū*, the same month of the publication of the book.[5] Hino Sōjo composed 56 haiku, while Higashi Kyōzō did 50 and Watanabe Hakusen only 15 haiku. Hakusen's number of produced haiku suggests how these adaptations were not made to reflect the entire content of a novel.

While Hino Ashihei's novel became a literary and commercial phenomenon, the haikuzation was heavily criticized by the poets' peers and now is only mentioned by scholars as an example of the popularity of *Wheat and Soldiers*, if ever. Saitō Sanki, one of the poets' peers and a haiku poet himself, criticized some poems of the haikuzation by pointing out that war was not present in them, which is understandable as none of the three poets was sent to the war front. Likewise, commentaries and reviews from that period on the haikuzation would always compare it to the novel, rather than based on the poems' own strengths and weaknesses. The poet Nishijima Bakunan, for his part, questioned if there was any point in translating something from a novel into a short poetic form such as haiku.

In the present chapter, I intend to analyze the haikuzation of *Wheat and Soldiers* as an example of how haiku poets resorted to the media, in this case, a novel, to inform

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[5] Tarumi also states that Yamamoto Kenkichi later declared that perhaps the poets worked too hard producing so many haiku for a request that sounded, at least for him like a prank (自分がいたずらっ気もあって依頼した) due the time limitations.

themselves about the war. The reception of the haikuzation shows the ongoing debate that wartime haiku poets were having regarding how to compose war haiku on the home front without any real war experience. On one hand, some poets celebrated the rawness of the amateur poets that sent their haiku from the war front, finding them authentic and realistic, while arguing that war haiku could only come from direct experience. On the other hand, renowned poets on the home front informed themselves from the news media and war literature, prioritizing technique and advocating for the use of "indirect" experiences as the source of inspiration for their haiku, arguing that direct experience was not a guarantee of quality haiku and that people on the home front informed themselves about war through the news media and literature. This last group was often criticized for their lack of first-hand war experience. As it will be shown in this chapter, works like the haiku adaptation of *Wheat and Soldiers* were considered an ethical issue regarding the use of haiku to report the war through someone else's experiences.

Background of the Haikuzation and its Authors

The three poets responsible for the haikuzation of *Wheat and Soldiers* were prominent members of different haiku circles and even founding members of haiku magazines before the war. As the war broke out in July 1937, haiku magazines promptly began to publish haiku composed by people on the war front. Haiku came by the thousands and

were also compiled into dossiers and proper anthologies. However, most of them were amateur poets, unlike Hino Ashihei who was a laureate novelist and an active-duty soldier. Ashihei cast a shadow upon other artists. Haiku poets on the home front, particularly, feared that their craft was losing relevance as there was no poet that could properly represent war haiku in the same fashion as Hino Ashihei represented war novels.

At the home front, haiku poetry was undergoing a sort of "identity crisis" as conservative and avant-garde circles discussed reforms on the genre, with particular attention to the topics that should be deemed worthy of being treated by haiku. As the war continued, several poets proposed news media as a source of inspiration for war haiku. The haikuzation of *Wheat and Soldiers*, a novel that upon release was regarded as an authentic war account, could be interpreted as an example of haiku poetry composed by renowned poets that were inspired by war news media instead of by their own experiences.

The haikuzation was published without any foreword or introduction of any kind. The three poets used different titles for their adaptations. Thus, Hino Sōjo named his section *Longing for the Fires of War* ― *From Hino Ashihei's「Wheat and Soldiers」*―. For his part, Higashi Kyōzō called his section *War Diary,* adding the following note: "Corporal Hino Ashihei's *Wheat and Soldiers* ―*A Diary of the Military Battle for Xuzhou*― a simple, yet strong war diary without ornaments that, once read, will take

your breath away. I attempted to compose my haiku and managed to do it up to May 16th of the account.” Finally, Watanabe Hakusen went with the more pragmatic title: *Composed After Reading Wheat and Soldiers*.[6]

The three poets were part of the *Shinko Haiku Movement*, a movement that was heavily featured in the *Haiku Kenkyū* magazine.[7] From the three, only Hino Sōjo previously belonged to the *Hototogisu* haiku magazine circle.[8] By the Second Sino-Japanese War, these three poets were already well-established figures, being published in several magazines while also being founding members of literary magazines themselves. Hino Sōjo founded his magazine *Flagship* (旗艦, *Kikan*) in 1935, and was one of the founding members of the *Kyōdai Haiku* magazine (京大俳句, *Kyōdai Haiku*) in 1933. Watanabe Hakusen joined the *Kyōdai Haiku circle* in 1939 while being the founding member of two magazines *Wind* (風, *kaze*) in 1937 and *Public Square* (広場, *Hiroba*)

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[6] The titles in Japanese go as follow:

- Hino Sōjo. 戦火想望　ー「麥と兵隊」（火野葦平）に拠る)　ー
- Higashi Kyōzō. 戦争日記 (一兵火野葦平の「麥と兵隊」ー徐州会戦従軍日記ーは粉飾なき素朴強靭なる戦争日記なり。一読して肺腑を突かる。即ち一連の作を記録せんとして、五月十六日迄を俳句に試む。)
- Watanabe Hakusen. 麥と兵隊を讀みて作る

[7] According to Tarumi Hiroshi, Yamamoto Kenkichi was not fond of the *Shinkō Haiku* Movement.

[8] Hino Sōjo was expelled from the circle in 1936 by Takahama Kyoshi after Hino “constant” scandals such as publishing an erotic haiku sequence in 1934 titled *Miyako Hotel*.

in 1938. Higashi Kyōzō, for his part, was a contributor to the magazine *Foundation* (土上, *Dojō*) since 1930.

Hino Ashihei and *Wheat and Soldiers*

To understand the haikuzation, it is important to first understand Hino Ashihei's rise as a writer and the commercial phenomenon of *Wheat and Soldiers* upon release, as I argue that the haikuzation was planned as a form of advertisement for the novel. Before being drafted as a soldier at the rank of corporal during the Second Sino-Japanese War in September 1937, Hino Ashihei, whose real name was Tamai Katsunori, was enjoying a modest career as a writer. In November 1937, his novel *Tales of Excrement and Urine* (糞尿譚, *Funnyōdan*) was published in the literary magazine *Bungaku Kaigi* (文学会議). The book was well received by literary critics and in March 1938, Hino Ashihei was awarded the sixth Akutagawa Prize. The award was presented to him in Hangzhou, China, where he was stationed after he fought in the siege of the city. As he became a literary laureate, his status on the war front changed: Hino was transferred to the army's Information Corps (軍報道部, *gunhōdōbu*),　becoming an accompanying writer (従軍作家, *jūgun sakka*) a non-combatant that was assigned to follow a unit for a set amount of time in order to take notes for publication.

At this point, it is crucial to consider that the success and popularity of Hino Ashihei were not only due to the recognition he got from his award, which was presented to him by the famed literary critic Kobayashi Hideo (1902-1983).[9] Barak Kushner argues that Mabuchi Itsuo (1896-1973), commander in the intelligence section in Shanghai and central China during the conflict, was a "key figure in the link between military and civilian propaganda operations in China and Japan (2006, 77)." Mabuchi was instrumental in supporting the career of many wartime writers and was present during the award ceremony for Hino in Hangzhou. Hino wrote articles about the war for the *Kaizō* magazine, the articles would later be released as *Wheat and Soldiers* in 1938.

Mabuchi Itsuo, for his part, insisted on promoting war literature, and soon the Japanese military prompted the Cabinet Board of Information to call for writers to join war efforts. The announcement was released on August 22, 1938, Kikuchi Kan (1888-1948), editor of the prestigious literary magazine *Bungei Shunjū* (文藝春秋) backed the call. Twenty-two writers signed onto the project, and joined the group of Writers' Military Attachments, commonly known as the "Pen Platoon." (Kushner 2006, 80).

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[9] Kobayashi was a wartime propagandist himself. In November 1937, he published the essay *On War* (戦争について, *Senso ni tsuite*) in the *Kaizō* magazine. In the essay, Kobayashi admonishes the intellectuals that opposed war, reminding them about their duties as subjects of the emperor.

Wheat and Soldiers was a commercial success, selling around 1.2 million copies upon release. It was acclaimed as Japan’s “first real work of war literature” (Rosenfeld 2002, 24). Hino went on a nationwide lecture tour sponsored by the *Asahi Shinbun*. However, the commercial success of *Wheat and Soldiers* was not limited to the literary world and book sales: the novel was promptly adapted into radio dramas, plays, and movies. Not to mention the 1938 song *Wheat and Soldiers*, performed by Fujita Masato. Likewise, due to the popularity of the novel, and its following prequel and sequel, several commercial products emulated Hino’s title formula “__ and Soldiers”: “Chocolate and Soldiers” and “Canned Food and Soldiers” are but two examples of this phenomenon. David M. Rosenfeld mentions that Hino was offered a lifetime supply of beer to write a book titled *Beer and Soldiers*, but he refused (2002, 52). This commercialization and consumption of the figure of the soldier fit with Benjamin Uchiyama’s interpretation of wartime Japan where existed a carnival-like atmosphere surrounding war, said atmosphere “provided outlets for the masses to therapeutically vent pent-up grumblings; momentary celebrations of life which one might interpret as superficially transgressive for it only reinforced the stability and legitimacy of state authority (2019, 20).”

Even though the haikuzation of *Wheat and Soldiers* was published the same month as the story was released in book form, it is not farfetched to assume that the haikuzation

was planned as a tie-in product to the novel. After all, the *Kaizō* publishing house owned both the *Kaizō* magazine and the *Haiku Kenkyū* magazine. Furthermore, by considering how Hino Ashihei as a war novelist was the product of the joint efforts of the military and the literary world, it is not difficult to imagine that the editorial department of *Haiku Kenkyū* was more than aware of the valuable asset that Hino Ashihei's novel represented.

Simone Murray emphasizes the importance of book production as the result of book industry dynamics, contrary to the myth of the isolated, individual author. Furthermore, Murray argues that books are "demonstrably as much the product of institutions, agents and material forces (2013, 13)". Thus, authors, despite some assumptions, are not completely free about what they write about, as a number of complex economic considerations come into play when planning a new release, as Murray explains:

> these considerations all come into play prior to contracting; thereafter the book will also be extensively costed, edited, designed, proof-read, marketed, publicized, rights-shopped at book fairs, [...] public sphere, and readers' perceptions of the work will have been extensively mediated through networks of reviews, book prizes, writers' festivals, book signings, [...]. A complex literary economy

therefore governs the production and dissemination of books from their earliest phases (2013, 13).

Hino Ashihei's rise to fame was the result of multiple factors. Indeed, receiving the Akutagawa award immediately elevated his status as an author, but the fact that he was awarded while being on the war front and that the prize was delivered to him in China, by the hands of an acclaimed literary critic, during a ceremony sanctioned by the military, should be taken as clear proof of the external forces that Murray argues that decide how a literary work comes into fruition. *Wheat and Soldiers* is clearly a product of the union between the literary world and the military during wartime in Japan that saw in Hino Ashihei an opportunity to produce and spread propaganda to the masses. This can be furthermore proved as the original edition of the novel, came with several photographs of the Japanese soldiers while on campaign, and even some of the pictures portrayed captured Chinese soldiers, not to mention that said edition also contained propaganda cartoons and Chinese banners.[10] Rosenfeld claims that initially, *Wheat and Soldiers* was planned for release within the pages of the "mass magazine" *King*, according to the military authorities' wishes (2002, 33-34). However, Hino Ashihei asked a superior

[10] 33 photographs in a volume of 230 pages.

officer to intercede for him and allow his novel to be published in the *Kaizō* magazine, which was more respected literary-wise, regardless of its long history of censorship from the government. [11]

Tales of Excrement and Urine was, despite what its title may or not suggest, a story about the struggles of a farmer that sells manure. And yet, this novel that was heavily influenced by proletarian literature was awarded the Akutagawa prize during wartime. Hino's shift of subject matter from proletarian literature to war literature cannot be only explained as the result of the author's change of line of work. Evidence suggests that it was actually a sign of the trend reigning by the period, as Aaron William Moore explains: "By the 1930's, Japanese authors portraying the experiences of servicemen had learned to assimilate the language of proletarian fiction in order to move a mass audience (2013, 44)". Likewise, Rosenfeld observes that Hino's identification with the common folk "seemed to be transferred in his wartime writing to the *heitai* (2002, 7)".[12]

As proletarian fiction was popular amongst the general public, to award a novel such as Hino's *Tales of Excrement and Urine*, and then to ask its author to become an accompanying writer and to report war seems like a sound marketing strategy from the

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[11] (2009, 56) points out how the magazine was censored 5 times in 1920 alone, due to the content of different novels within its pages.

[12] Rosenfeld also stress how the use of the word heitai (兵隊, soldier) is akin to the use of the term G.I.

literary world in order to cater to the masses. Thus, Hino Ashihei's ascension as a literary star during wartime served different interests: the army's need for propaganda, and the literary world's need to obtain commercial gain and its need to show support to the war that the state was promoting. Likewise, the military and the literary world pandered to the masses by presenting Hino Ashihei as a humble *heitai*, an everyday man fighting the Holy War, despite his actual literary pedigree.[13]

Now that it is established how Hino Ashihei and *Wheat and Soldiers* were, in several degrees, manufactured products of institutions, and other forces, it is time to tackle the haikuzation done by the three poets under the request of the *Haiku Kenkyū* magazine editorial board, parting from the premise that the haikuzation was originally intended as promotional material to advertise Hino Ashihei's novel.

As this chapter is a study of the haiku adaptation of a novel, it is necessary to understand the novel first: identifying its plot, topics, themes, and symbols in order to contrast it with the haikuzation and determine if the poems reflected or not the novel's content. Therefore, I will proceed with a summary of Hino Ashihei's novel. The concept of adaptation will also be discussed in this section.

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[13] Hino Ashihei studied English literature at Waseda university, read Marx's works and published poetry for several magazines before writing novels and obtaining the Akutagawa prize.

Wheat and Soldiers is a novel presented in the form of a diary that covers the events that Hino Ashihei allegedly lived from May 4th to May 22nd, 1938, as his company advanced towards the battle for the city of Xuzhou, one of the major battles during the Second Sino-Japanese war, This is present in the subtitle of the novel: *A Record of the Campaign of the Battle of Xuzhou* (徐州会戦従軍記).

The protagonist, who narrates in first-person, remains unnamed during the entirety of the book. Most of the entries in the diary are highly uneventful, the narrative focuses on the vicissitudes experienced by the soldiers: the inclement weather, the lack of food, the physical toll of marching, etc. The landscape is often described by the protagonist and wheat plains are present almost in every diary entry, hence the title. During the narrative, the protagonist highlights the sense of camaraderie amongst the Japanese soldiers, depicting them in many instances as playful kids, only to later become fierce and valiant heroes. On the other hand, the protagonist depicts the Chinese civilians through patronizing lenses: they are pure and ignorant, worthy of protection.

The protagonist identifies the Chinese people with the land they farm, and he believes that they could not care less about the military conflict or the government that they are under because they only desire to work the land in peace. Through different points of the narrative, the protagonist discusses his moral and psychological insights

regarding war, revealing an inner conflict: the fear of losing his humanity and becoming a demon.

The climax of the novel occurs on May 16th, the longest entry, where the protagonist's company is ambushed in the walled city of Sunping. The protagonist witnesses how the soldiers that stayed outside the wall attempt to repel the enemy's fire while planning the rescue of the Japanese soldiers trapped inside the city walls. The protagonist leads a group of injured soldiers to a nearby first-aid station as he describes the carnage surrounding him and the heroic acts performed by his fellowmen attempting to break through the city walls. This entry is the only one that describes a battle in the book. On other days, the protagonist would mention the sight of corpses and the distant sound of battles being fought.

The last days of the diary show the protagonist safe and sound, celebrating the news of the fall of Xuzhou, their original objective, as they were not able to reach the city and participate in the battle due to the ambush they suffered. Historically the city fell on May 19th, 1938, and this is reflected in the diary. During the last parts of the account, the protagonist's unit visits different locations, being received warmly by the locals and witnessing the plight of the refugees.

The plot of Hino Ashihei's novel, without any doubt, presented a problem for the three poets that composed the haikuzation: as most of the book's passages describe uneventful daily-life activities, such as traveling, resting, or cooking, one should ask what elements of the plot should be taken in account for an adaptation? It is important to note that there is no information regarding what kind of instructions the three poets received about how to proceed with the haikuzation, nor if they were asked individually or as a group. Similarly, we do not know if the three poets consulted with each other in order to divide the chapters of the novel between themselves, or if the chapters were assigned to them. Furthermore, as it would be explained later, Hino Sōjo, Higashi Kyōzō, and Watanabe Hakusen were not the only poets to receive the request to adapt Hino Ashihei's novel, but rather they were the only ones to meet the deadline, which just increase the questions regarding how the project was organized and executed.

In consequence, the haikuzation would be discussed on an author-to-author basis, not without addressing the common elements between the three adaptations. Hino Sōjo and Higashi Kyōzō share most of the book chapters, with both stopping on May 16th, though they do not describe the same events in their haiku. On the other hand, all three of the poets disregarded the passages of the novel that dwell in the protagonist's inner turmoil.

Thus, the psychological themes, such as the protagonist being worried about becoming a desensitized monster, or the protagonist's reflections about the Chinese civilians being one with the land their work, are completely absent from the haikuzation. Likewise, several key events from all chapters are also not present in the haikuzation. Evidently, most of these differences between versions are due to the change in genre and format. Haiku is a type of short-form poetry, which suggests a number of limitations when attempting to translate something as a passage from a novel. This would be further discussed in this chapter. Another reason may lie in the fact that the poets did not experience first-hand the emotional distress that Hino Ashihei experienced, and it became difficult to translate those passages into haiku. Regardless, the fact that the psychological themes and several passages from the novel are not reflected in the haikuzation could help to understand its reception upon release.

Another factor that could help to understand the elements of the novel that were adapted by the poets lies in the fact that due to the short period of time between the magazine version of *Wheat and Soldiers*, the haikuzation and the book version of the novel, there were close to none reviews that could affect or influence them. The poets could not possibly predict the literary phenomenon that Hino Ashihei's novel would become.

An adaptation often implies a change of medium, however, in our case, the medium is the same: we have a text that was transformed into text. We have a shift from one genre to another: from a novel to haiku poetry. It should be noted that Hino Ashihei himself had very specific ideas regarding how to classify *Wheat and Soldiers*. The author referred to his work as "war accounts" (戦記, *senki*) and "campaign accounts" (従軍記, *jūgunki*). Likewise, he was not fond of *Wheat and Soldiers* being considered a novel (小説, *shōsetsu*). Rosenfeld argues that this was merely due to Hino Ashihei's reluctance to be associated with literature during wartime, as the term could carry some notions of fiction, though it was not necessarily an expectation for the genre. To further his argument, Rosenfeld notes how Hino Ashihei used forewords and afterwords to insist on the authenticity of his war accounts, this, in sum with the use of photographs, maps, and other illustrations, would push the categorization of *Wheat and Soldiers* as a "record" (記録, *kiroku*) of the war rather than as a literary work (2002, 36).

During the postwar period, Hino Ashihei would reverse his position and categorize his works as literature, in order to distance himself from the accusations of being a collaborator of the military during the war. Thus, it is difficult to take into account authorial intention in this particular case. The modern consensus categorizes *Wheat and Soldiers* as a novel, but during the period that it was released, it was indeed considered

by many as a journalistic piece or a true account/record of the war. The same happened with the other two parts of the trilogy, though after the war Hino would admit that *Flowers and Soldiers* included several fictional elements (Rosenfeld 2002, 31).

The fact that *Wheat and Soldiers* was regarded as a journalistic account may cast some light on its haikuzation, as the haiku world was striving to remain relevant within the rising genre that was war literature. During this period, a number of haiku poets and critics held the belief that haiku poetry was on par with journalism and could be effectively used for reporting on the war. Perhaps, the editorial board of the *Haiku Kenkyū* magazine thought that requesting some of their most famed poets, particularly Hino Sōjo, to compose haiku based on a "true war account", would help the case for war haiku.

Rather than focusing on the debate regarding genres, it would be more fruitful to focus on what is an adaptation. Linda Hutcheon (2013, 8) describes adaptation as a process that includes the following:

- An acknowledged transposition of a recognizable other work or works
- A creative and interpretive act of appropriation/salvaging
- An extended intertextual engagement with the adapted work

First, we can affirm with all certainty that Hino Ashihei's novel was acknowledged by the three poets in the titles of their respective haikuzation. However, as the novel was

released one month ago within the pages of *Kaizō*, and in book form during the same month as the haikuzation was published, it is difficult to determine if the *Wheat and Soldiers* was recognizable by the general public, though Hino Ashihei was already awarded the Akutagawa prize.

Due to the brief time between the release of the novel and the haikuzation, it is possible to discard the notion of "salvaging" Hino Ashihei's account as a motivation behind the haikuzation. Instead, the poets presented us with a transposition, a "transcoding" of Hino Ashihei's work as they made "a shift in ontology from the real to the fictional" (Hutcheon 2013, 8-9). Though the three poets made sure to state that they composed their haiku based on the novel, it is undeniable the number of changes and omissions that they made to the original text. The most evident is the lack of the main character and his inner monologue, which provided nuance to the novel as the protagonist questions himself if he is losing his humanity and becoming a "demon" due to what he has witnessed during the war. Thus, one of the most significant differences between the novel and the haikuzation is the lack of psychological and moral qualms that the protagonist experiences.

As was noted by Hutcheon, an adaptation also implies an intertextual engagement with the adapted work. One aspect that is quite ignored when discussing an

adaptation is that the adapter of a work was also a receptor of it. Thus, as adapters are not only interpreters and (re) creators of a work, it should be taken into account how the text might have resonated with them and how they experienced it. Higashi Kyōzō's lengthy title for his haikuzation, which includes the phrase "a simple, yet strong war diary without ornaments" is evidence of how this poet experienced Hino Ashihei's work. Higashi Kyōzō was the only one of the three poets that included the dates from *Wheat and Soldiers*, reflecting the diary structure. He also included explanatory notes along the dates to provide some of the novel contexts. Nevertheless, Higashi Kyōzō did not manage to cover all the days included in *Wheat and Soldiers*. On the other hand, Watanabe Hakusen did not respect any chronological order in his haikuzation, and the first poems that he presents in his adaptation come from the last part of the novel.

Usually, when talking about the process of reception, in particular, concepts such as the "spirit", the "style" or the "tone" of the original work is a content that the public tends to take into account when discussing an adaptation, something that Saitō Sanki mentioned when discussing Hino Sōjō's haikuzation. However, those three concepts are equally elusive and subjective to theorize (Hutcheon 2013, 10). Thus, it is not possible to argue if the three poets reflected the spirit of the novel in their haiku, but it is possible to

argue that the three of them were engaged with *Wheat and Soldiers* enough to respond to it in an intertextual manner.

Undoubtedly, an adaptation cannot be never literal, transposition from one medium to another demands changes, which implies gains and losses. This can be observed in the haikuzation. Furthermore, it could be argued that adaptations could be regarded as devices for enhancing the experience of reception and authenticity as they can add or reinforce the ideas and themes of the original text, even when they do not reflect it in their entirety. In this fashion, adaptation works as the haikuzation fall into the category of "companion texts", released to draw attention to the original work or to enhance the receptive experience of the public.

Elements in Common: The Haikuzation of May 9th and May 16th

The haikuzation of *Wheat and Soldiers* was done by three different poets. As each poet covered different parts of the novel in their own style, their works should be analyzed and discussed separately. However, there are some elements that the three adaptations have in common that suggest the impact that the novel had on the poets. This is visible, particularly with some passages of the novel that all three poets adapted into haiku. Perhaps the most unique example is the "bloody stool" episode from May 9th. The

episode starts with the protagonist looking for a place to relieve himself during the morning between the wheat fields:

> As I made my way from the scene of my morning performance, I took good care where I trod. It gave my stomach a wrench to notice that some fellows had been passing out blood. But this was nothing new to me for we had the same experience during the days when we advanced down at Hangchow and at that time fellows were even urinating blood. [...] When I had first noticed this terrifying phenomena, I was afraid that I had contracted piles and was very much relieved when I found that almost all my comrades were in the same condition. With the improvements in conditions, however, we soon started to function in a normal manner.[14]

These are the haiku composed by each poet:

Hino Sōjō

青麦にいづれも赤き糞を置く

Aomugi ni izuremo akaki fun wo oku

In the ripe wheat they place some red feces[15]

[14] Lewis Bush, *Barley and Soldiers*, p.47.

[15] Sōjo Hino, "Wheat and Soldiers Turned Into Haiku," *Haiku Kenkyū,* September 1938, 58.

Higashi Kyōzō

麦の穂を握り血便を地に落とす

Mugi no ho wo nigiri ketsuben wo chi ni otosu

Grasping the ears of the wheat, dropping a bloody stool on the soil[16]

Watanabe Hakusen

戦場へ兵隊の糞赤し赤し

Senjō he heitai no kuso akashi akashi

The red, red excrement of the soldiers going to the battlefield[17]

As should be expected due to the space limitations of haiku, each poem lacks the context of the episode. The mention of blood in the urine, and the fact that the protagonist is not afflicted with any condition during the episode are also absent in the haikuzation. Regarding the subject matter, Higashi Kyōzō is the only one that uses a more "clinical" sounding term out of the three poets, which potentially carries the nuance of an affliction. Watanabe Hakusen and Hino Sōjō**,** on their part, used the same kanji (糞), but Sōjō used the more standard reading that can be translated as "feces", while Hakusen chose a rather colloquial reading for the same kanji. It is also worth noticing how both Sōjō and Hakusen

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[16] Kyōzō Higashi, "Wheat and Soldiers Turned Into Haiku," *Haiku Kenkyū,* September 1938, 68.
[17] Hakusen Watanabe, "Wheat and Soldiers Turned Into Haiku," *Haiku Kenkyū,* September 1938, 73.

resorted to color as a motif, with Hakusen stressing it by using repetition as a literary device.

Regarding how the episode was rendered, Hino Sōjō, presents us with a fairly casual approach to the passage, without any particular addition, while Higashi Kyōzō conveys a sense of struggle in his haiku with the use of the verb "to grasp" (握り, *nigiri*). Both poets also made sure to remind us of the wheat fields, which are omnipresent in the novel. Watanabe Hakusen, on his part, changed the setting from the wheat field to the battlefield. Hakusen is the only one that mentions the soldiers directly and uses the possessive making explicit that the stools are theirs.

This episode from May 9th is not, in any way, the focus of the entry in the novel, so, was it only adapted by the poets due to its intrinsic shock value? One thing is clear: the three poets did not attempt to romanticize the events from the novel. It is of utmost importance to understand that during the Second Sino-Japanese War, the Japanese population was quite informed about the events occurring on the war front thanks to newspapers and newsreels. However, as it should be expected, the media was heavily controlled and censored by the military and the government, having strict limits regarding what could be shown. War literature, which, as it was noted previously, was promoted by the military as means of propaganda, was also subject to censorship. However, it was

acceptable to describe some of the inconveniences and hardships of being in a military campaign, along with some graphical depictions, as long as they were approved by the censors.[18] This was one of the appeals of war literature: it would show to the readers aspects of war that event newsreels and photographs could not show. Hence why *Wheat and Soldiers* became a bestseller, as it was a detailed account of a military campaign written by someone at the war front and therefore held the same level of authenticity as the news media of the time. Furthermore, as can be appreciated with the haikuzation, there are some elements in war literature that would be considered more attractive to the public: the use of color. In an era of photographs and newsreels in black and white, prose and poetry could evocate vivid images that the technology used by the news media could not. Hence the particular attention to the color red in Hino Sōjō's and Watanabe Hakusen's haiku based on May 9th.

The climax of the novel, May 16th, has several passages that are worthy of mention, and the poets focused on different events that occurred during the ambush,

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[18] Jonathan E. Abel (2012, p.130) explains the case of Ishikawa Tatsuzō whose 1938 novel *Living Soldiers* was heavily censored due to its depictions of violent acts performed by Japanese soldiers. Ishikawa was dispatched as a reporter and witnessed the Rape of Nanjing. The author at first tried to justify his narration by designating it as fiction but later, when taken to court to defend his depictions of the horrors of war he affirmed that his novel was factual and that the Japanese population should be aware of the truth of war in order to "realize the emergency state of affairs and take a firm attitude."

leaving out the first pages of the chapter. This date of the diary was the last that Higashi Kyōzō used for his haikuzation. The poet, adhering to the diary format, wrote the following title for the entry: “May 16th. A struggle for more than a dozen hours under the rain of mortar shells in Sunping, against the counterattack of the remaining enemy.” (五月十六日。孫圩にて残敵の逆襲に遇い、迫撃砲弾の雨下に十数時間苦闘す). Higashi Kyōzō composed 10 haiku based on the last part of the entry, starting with the episode of a man that was shot in the arm. Hino Sōjō also covered this particular event within the 11 haiku that he composed based on the May 16th entry. The passage of the novel goes as follows:

> A body slumped against my back and hastily catching hold of the man I dragged him to a trench near the wall.[...] As I loosened his puttees he said: “For God’s sake bandage me quick!” I shouted for an orderly but they were all gone, probably busy elsewhere, and then feeling for his wound felt my fingers sink into a sticky mass of torn flesh. His arm had been almost stripped to the bone. There were no bandages about and although it was ridiculous to bind such a wound with a handkerchief, yet I did so in order to set him at ease. His arm was paralyzed and I knew that it would not pain him as long as he did not see it. He had another wound

in his leg which I cleaned out with a piece of cloth torn from my uniform. In the faint light I saw that my hands were dripping with blood.[19]

These are the haiku that the 2 poets composed for the episode:

Hino Sōjo

裹まざる骨にさはりぬ戦友を抱き

Tsutsu mazaru hone ni sawarinu tomo wo daki[20]

The fleshless bone uncovered; holding my brother-in-arms

肱を撃たれ皮肉も骨もあらざりき

Hiji wo utare hiniku mo hone mo arazariki

The shot elbow without flesh, without bone[21]

Higashi Kyōzō

腕削がれくにゃりと肉のあたたかく

Ude sogare kunyari to shishi no atataku

The warm flesh of the chipped, limply arm...[22]

傷兵を抱き傷兵の血に染まる

Shōhei wo daki shōhei no chi ni somaru

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[19] Lewis Bush, *Barley and Soldiers*, p.135.

[20] Sōjo Hino, "Wheat and Soldiers Turned Into Haiku," *Haiku Kenkyū,* September 1938, 62.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Kyōzō Higashi, "Wheat and Soldiers Turned Into Haiku," *Haiku Kenkyū,* September 1938, 71.

Holding the wounded soldier. Soaked in the wounded soldier's blood[23]

撃ちて叫ぶ傷兵に水を與ふなと

Uchite sakebu shōhei ni mizu wo atauna to

"Don't give water to the screaming-shot soldier!" He shouted[24]

Both poets focused their attention on the nature of the wound inflicted on the soldier, giving descriptions as graphic and shocking as the ones from the novel. One element that is worth noticing is how the poets refer to the soldier. In the novel, Hino Ashihei limits himself to refer to the character as (the) "soldier" (兵隊). Higashi Kyōzō calls him (the) "wounded soldier" (傷兵), maintaining his status as a member of the military, but stressing the fact that he is injured. Hino Sōjo, for his part, conveys some degree of emotiveness by using the term "comrade-in-arms" (戦友), which I decided to translate as "brother-in-arms" as in Japanese the word should be read as *senyū*, however, the poet changed the reading of the word for *tomo* which means "friend", thus implying an emotional bond between the characters that does not exist in the novel. This is one of the few cases where there is an attempt in the adaptation to establish a relationship between characters, as the protagonist of the novel constantly mentions his comrades and superiors by their names.

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23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.

As for Watanabe Hakusen, he composed a single haiku based on a different event that is described in the May 16th entry of *Wheat and Soldiers*. As the battle of Sunping intensifies, an armored car comes to the aid of the Japanese soldiers. The driver, a sergeant-major, volunteers to attempt to break through one of the city gates. Yoshizawa, a soldier that was able to escape the ambush before the gates were closed, gathers other 8 men and ask for hand-grenades, as they volunteer to escort the armored car:

> As the car was preparing for a final assault, Yoshizawa rushed out over to the line of cars. He had a Japanese flag tied round his neck which hung down his back, and as I watched him I felt a lump in my throat and became hot all over. Both he and the car were immediately lost in the haze of dust [...]. Amid the explosion of hand-grenades and the guns we suddenly heard the roar of a full throated war-cry.[25]

This is the haiku composed by Watanabe Hakusen:

日の丸を背に手榴弾掴みて去る

Hi no maru se ni shuryūdan tsukamite saru

With the Japanese flag on his back and a grenade in his hand, he goes away[26]

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[25] Lewis Bush, *Barley and Soldiers*, p.126.

[26] Hakusen Watanabe, "Wheat and Soldiers Turned Into Haiku," *Haiku Kenkyū,* September 1938, 73.

Yoshizawa, one of the few named characters in this chapter, along with the other 8 men, died, according to the sergeant-major. Watanabe Hakusen's haiku exhibits the bravery described in the passage from the novel. The haiku is purely descriptive, and yet, evocative with its display of a fairly romantic and heroic view of a desperate act. However, the haiku lacks a grammatical subject, as the person performing the action is only implied due to the mention of his "back." Thus, in the haikuzation Yoshizawa is absent and his heroic act is attributed to a nameless soldier. Arguably, by disregarding the names of the characters of the novel, the events described in the haikuzation become universal and easier to relate to for the reader; however, this can be viewed also as a sign of disrespect towards the comrades that Hino Ashihei included in his novel.

Not all the haiku from the adaptation are lacking specific information from the novel, though. Watanabe Hakusen, for example, composed this haiku that appeared after the one about Yoshizawa's sacrifice. This is the only poem in the three haikuzations that mentions the city of Sunping:

寝て忘れずあゝ孫圩の黄塵を
Nete wasurezu aa sonkan no kōjin wo

Can't forget it even when I sleep…Ah! The dust of Sunping...![27]

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[27] Ibid.

Out of the three poets, Watanabe Hakusen was the least literal with his adaptation of *Wheat and Soldiers*, as many of his haiku are difficult to associate with a particular passage from the novel. However, due to the mention of Sunping (Sonkan in Japanese), and dust, which appears several times on May 16th, as it can be appreciated in the passage of Yoshizawa's sacrifice, it is only fair to assume that this haiku was composed based on said chapter, despite the main character not mentioning something like what is described in the haiku during his narration in the novel. This haiku from Watanabe Hakusen is highly significant as it acknowledges the place where the climax of the novel actually happened, as the subtitle of *Wheat and Soldiers* is clearly intended for creating an association with the military victory that represented the Battle of Xuzhou for the Japanese. This haiku is also one of the few ones from the haikuzation that acknowledges the inner turmoil of the main character of the novel.

As can be appreciated from the previous examples of the haikuzation of *Wheat and Soldiers*, the three poets attempted to replicate the action that was portrayed in the novel. However, once again, it should be stressed how several passages from the novel were disregarded, particularly from the climax. Between Yoshizawa's sacrifice and the episode of the injured soldier, the protagonist of the novel actually goes into a mental state where panic, anxiety and anguish dictate his actions as he comes to the realization

that he does not want to die there. Alternating with his inner monologue, he describes "unconscious" actions that he performs while taking cover, such as writing on the soil with his finger "Mother and Father", as well as the names of his wife and kids. Some passages later he also contemplates suicide: "I did think for a moment that it would be better to die by my own hand and actually put my revolver to my head." [28]None of the poets composed haiku based on moments like those, which raises questions regarding the poets' reception of the novel, its elements and themes.

This does not mean that the haikuzation failed to convey some of the symbols used in the novel. Higashi Kyōzō, for example, selected an episode of May 16th, where a white donkey is caught by the enemy fire and gets mortally injured:

> One of them, a white creature, suddenly swayed and then subsided on to its legs, and from its lower quarters blood gushed forth and soon formed a pool in the dust. [...] The withe donkey came to almost twenty yards from us and sat down and proceeded to lick its wounds[...] Its companion approached it, rubbed its nose against its neck [...] the soldiers threw pebbles and finally drove it away so that its mate might die in peace. [...] I had seen something truly horrible [...] One by one the donkeys died.[29]

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[28] Lewis Bush, *Barley and Soldiers*, p.132.
[29] Ibid, 114-115.

The haiku goes as follows:

> 牝牡の驢馬撃たれ恋い寄りて死す
>
> *Hinbo no roba utare koi yorite shisu*
>
> A couple of gunned donkeys caressing in death[30]

As it can be appreciated, the novel does not mention the gender of the animals, while Higashi Kyōzō uses the word *hinbo* (牝牡) which literally means "male and female." Likewise, the haiku evokes a tender image as the wounded donkey's mate comforts him in death, adding a degree of pathos to the scene. The passage from the novel and the way that Higashi Kyōzō adapted it into haiku is significant as Rosenfeld argues that:

> "the recurring treatment of the beasts begins to suggest that the horses and donkeys are being used as stand-ins for the soldiers themselves, in their helpless acquiescence to the demands of conscription, their uncomplaining willingness to keep marching ahead, their docility and vulnerability (2002, 45)".

Rosenfeld explains that this parallelism between the soldiers and some of the animals featured in the novel is supposed to be taken as a compliment to them, rather than a cynical observation. As a matter of fact, Lewis Bush added the following lines to his translation of the passage: "I had seen something truly horrible; the suffering of poor dumb beasts

[30] Kyōzō Higashi, "Wheat and Soldiers Turned into Haiku," *Haiku Kenkyū,* September 1938, 71.

entirely innocent of participating in the war, at least of their own will" (1939, 115). Bush's addition is perhaps an attempt to clarify Hino Ashihei's intentions.

Just as with the case of the use of color in order to enhance the image constructed in their haiku, the poets also wrote harsh and gruesome descriptions that, in some cases, do not necessarily reflect the language used in the novel. However, despite this intent to recreate some of the events that transcurred during the climax of the novel, it is evident that even by reading the haiku of the three poets it is quite challenging to make any sense of such a fragmented narrative. This poses the following question: would the contemporary readers of the haikuzation could learn anything regarding what was happening at the war front by reading the haikuzation?

The *Haiku Kenkyū* magazine was, as its name implies, a magazine dedicated to haiku poetry and its readers were most likely haiku enthusiasts. Evidently, there is no way to know how many of the *Haiku Kenkyū* readers were also readers of the *Kaizō* magazine. The readers of the haikuzation that might have been aware of the novel, could interpret the haiku poems as complementary materials to the novel. However, many of the readers that experienced the haikuzation of *Wheat and Soldiers* might have not been aware of what was *Wheat and Soldiers* in the first place, as the story was first published in the *Kaizō* magazine and released as a book almost simultaneously to the haikuzation. Finally,

a reader that was aware of the novel, but that was yet to read it, could not possibly understand the plot of the novel by reading the haikuzation alone.

However, the events of the war front were actively covered by the media and, though the information was controlled, there was a constant influx of reports, photographs, and newsreels for the general population to consume. If any, war literature and, in this particular case, the haikuzation of *Wheat and Soldiers* as an example of war haiku, could potentially be interpreted by civilians as a confirmation or even a continuation of what they knew regarding the current events at the war front. The battle of Xuzhou ended on May 19th, 1938, while *Wheat and Soldiers* was released in August 1938. The literature born from this particular military event was not released in order to report on current events, but rather to add a different angle, a series of details that could help the general population to complete or even broaden the picture that they already had from the news media.

The previously analyzed passages and haiku suggest how the three poets had similar reactions to some passages from *Wheat and Soldiers*. However, the coincidences between the three haikuzations are far and between, as each poet adapted different events from the novel. The following three sections will cover each poet's approach to adapting *Wheat and Soldiers* into haiku.

Hino Sōjō's Haikuzation

Hino Sōjō was the poet that composed the most haiku out of the three, with 56 poems. The title he chose for his adaptation, *Longing for the Fire of War* (戦火想望, *senka sōbō*), is a term that later appeared in the *Haiku Kenkyū* magazine's April 1939, special section *The New 3000 Haiku Poems of the China Incident* (支那事變新三千句, *Shina jihen shin san-sen ku*). The term *senka sōbō* was used to name the section that included fictional war haiku inspired by the China Incident. It is believed that Hino was the person who coined the term *senka sōbō* that was used then and now to refer to this subcategory of war haiku. [31]

Hino Sōjō's choice of a title directly addresses the fact that the haiku he is presenting to the reader is not based on his actual experiences. Though Hino Sōjō admits the fictionality of his compositions with his title, he is, out of the three poets, the one that is the most faithful to the order of events presented in *Wheat and Soldiers*, almost on a page-by-page basis. However, even though the poet followed a chronological order in his haikuzation he did not make any marks or divisions between dates. Nevertheless, many of Hino Sōjō's haiku are virtually direct quotes from the novel, with slight changes in grammar and the order of the elements within a phrase, making it easy to identify the

[31] Authors like Kiyoko Uda (1995, 163) make this claim.

passages from the novel that he used as inspiration. Hino Sōjō covers the novel from the beginning until May 13th. After that he skips to the climax, May 16th, ending his haikuzation with a single poem that corresponds to May 17th, disregarding the last days of the diary.

Some of Hino Sōjō's choices about what to adapt from the novel can be perplexing, to say the least. One example of this comes from one passage from May 5th, the second day/chapter of *Wheat and Soldiers*: "No farmers were to be seen but sometimes white herons flew out of the barley and swooped along with our train."[32] Which prompted Hino Sōjō to compose the following haiku:

青麦を起ち白鷺となりて翔る

Aomugi wo tachi shira sagi to narite kakeru

From the ripe barley: white herons rise and soar[33]

The same happens with the haiku composed from this passage on May 9th: "We stopped for the midday meal at a village where there were many mulberry-trees already bearing fruit and acacias in bloom."[34]

アカシアのあはれに白き花咲ける

Akashia no aware ni shiroki hana sakeru

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[32] Lewis Bush, *Barley and Soldiers*, p.10.
[33] Sōjō Hino, "Wheat and Soldiers Turned Into Haiku," *Haiku Kenkyū,* September 1938, 57.
[34] Lewis Bush, *Barley and Soldiers*, p.51.

Acacias pitifully blooming in white[35]

Why would Hino Sōjō take such inconsequential lines from the novel and adapt them into haiku? One aspect that characterizes the haiku composed by Hino Sōjō's based on *Wheat and Soldiers* is that a good part of it is fairly traditional, much in line with the conservative style promoted by the *Hototogisu* magazine haiku circle, from where he was expelled in 1936. Hino Sōjō was known by his experimental and erotic haiku, but his haikuzation of Hino Ashihei's novel is rather tamed and measured. Perhaps this is due the subject matter: *Wheat and Soldiers* was after all a war diary, allegedly, a realistic and authentic depiction of war written by a soldier, nonetheless, which could have deterred Hino Sōjō from being more experimentative with his compositions. Be that as it may, Hino Sōjō seems to be trying to imitate the structure of the novel, however, as the title of his haikuzation indicates, sometimes he would alter the content of a passage.

During the entry for May 8th, the protagonist of *Wheat and Soldiers* describes the following:

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[35] Sōjō Hino, "Wheat and Soldiers Turned Into Haiku," *Haiku Kenkyū,* September 1938, 59.

> Machine-guns were barking and shells screamed overhead but the drone of our airplanes gave one a heartening, reassuring sort of feeling. [...] Near the end of the village there were two poles about eighteen feet high connected by a rope on which were hung small packages. Airplanes would fly low over this contraption and would hoist up the packets by means of a hook. They were thus able to communicate with the forces and receive instructions without having to land.[36]

Hino Sōjō composed the following haiku:

> 爆撃機爆弾を孕めり重く飛ぶ
>
> *Bakugekiki tama wo harameri omoku tobu*
>
> A bomber flying low, with its belly full of munitions[37]

It is interesting that in the haiku the plane carries munitions and not packages, particularly because machine-guns were just mentioned in the passage from the novel. Likewise, both in the English version of the novel and in the original Japanese, the vehicle is referred as a "plane" (飛行機) and not as a "bomber" (爆撃機).

By the end of the same entry of the war diary, the protagonist describes his difficulties for falling asleep, as humans, animals and weapons alike are producing all kinds of disrupting sounds: "...soldiers were sleeping soundly, snoring, grinding their

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[36] Lewis Bush, *Barley and Soldiers*, p.42-43.

[37] Sōjō Hino, "Wheat and Soldiers Turned Into Haiku," *Haiku Kenkyū,* September 1938, 58.

teeth, grunting. [...] A wireless was buzzing out messages, the frogs were still croaking and machine-guns still rattling out…"[38] Which inspired Hino Sōjō to compose this haiku:

大陸の蛙鳴き日本兵の鼾

Tairiku no kaeru naki nihonhei no ibiki

The cries of Chinese frogs... and the snores of the Japanese soldiers[39]

In terms of content, Hino Sōjō is perhaps the most faithful to the novel, despite some of his additions. However, this faithfulness also works against his haikuzation as he is the one that took less risks with his compositions, making it difficult to find a justification for his adaptation, as it takes too much from the novel and does not add, nor complement anything to its narrative.

Higashi Kyōzō's Haikuzation

Higashi Kyōzō, for his part, composed 50 haikus for his haikuzation, 6 less than Hino Sōjō. Kyōzō was the only poet out of the three that attempted to emulate the format of the novel that he was adapting. This is evident right from the title the he chose for his haikuzation: "Corporal Hino Ashihei's *Wheat and Soldiers* ー*A Diary of the Military*

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[38] Lewis Bush, *Barley and Soldiers*, p.46.

[39] Sōjō Hino, "Wheat and Soldiers Turned Into Haiku," *Haiku Kenkyū,* September 1938, 58.

*Battle for Xuzhou*ー a simple, yet strong war diary without ornaments that, once read, will take your breath away. I attempted to compose my haiku and managed to do it up to May 16th of the account." With this excessively long title, Kyōzō clearly establishes his source material and credits the original author, while also praising the novel and expressing the impact that it had on him.

Kyōzō created divisions in his haikuzation by writing the dates from *Wheat and Soldiers* that he used as an inspiration for his haiku. Aside from the dates, he also wrote short summaries of the chapters that he used before presenting his haiku. It is evident that one of the reasons for this is to establish, without any reasonable doubt, that he was basing his compositions on Hino Ashihei's novel. However, he only used 9 entries of the diary out of 19.[40]

Higashi Kyōzō's constant references to the content of chapters from the novels can be interpreted as the poet's way to establish some level of authenticity for his adaptation. Curiously enough, though, Higashi Kyōzō is less literal than Hino Sōjō in his haikuzation, often altering the order of events or the elements of the original narration. This can be appreciated in what Higashi Kyōzō adapted from the entry for May 11th. The poet used the following description for the entry: *May 11th. Having reached*

40 Higashi Kyōzō's haikuzation goes from May 5th to May 16, skipping May 4th, 10th, 13th and 14th in the process.

Wangxizhuang we proceeded toward Shojixu where yesterday's fierce battle took place. There are many abandoned corpses of mixed units such as the university students' army. (五月十一日。王西庄に至り昨日の激戦地逍家集に赴く。大學生軍等の混成部隊の遺棄屍體多数あり). For this entry, Higashi Kyōzō composed 6 haiku based on different events described in the chapter. One of the events comes from the following passage where the protagonist finds the corpses of two Chinese soldiers, one of them having a watch in one of his pockets:

> ...in a ditch by the roadside we found bodies of two Chinese soldiers. [...] I had always thought of the Chinese as thin, slightly built men, more like children, but these had been fine well-built fellows [...] They had not been dead so very long for the blood from their wounds had not then congealed and flies were swarming all over the corpses, and around them were hand-grenades and unspent ammunition. [...] (the watch) was stained with blood but putting it to my ear I found that it was still going and gave me the correct time.[41]

These are three haiku that Higashi Kyōzō composed based on the passage:

> 遺棄死体双翅の蝿が飛び歩み止り
>
> *Ikishitai sōshi no hae ga tobi ayumi tomari*

[41] Lewis Bush, *Barley and Soldiers*, p.66.

A double-wing fly swirls over corpses, walks and stops[42]

大学生髪やわらかく戦死せり

Daigakusei kami yawarakaku senshiseri

The soft hair of the college student...killed in battle[43]

服血ぬれ秒針今もまわりまわり

Fuku chi nure by*ōshin ima mo mawari mawari*

Clothes drenched-in-blood; the second hand of the clock still
going around...around[44]

There are some elements that evidently do not come from the passage, for example, no one's hair is mentioned in the entirety of the chapter. On the other hand, the university students' army is mentioned some pages later, where a lieutenant describes the contents of a Chinese staff diary that he found after a battle: "From what I gathered from the diary and the various papers I found they were men of the crack unit of the 37th division mixed with the university students."[45]

Higashi Kyōzō merges some elements from the novel in his adaptation. In this case, he characterized one of the corpses that the protagonist found as an university

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[42] Kyōzō Higashi, "Wheat and Soldiers Turned Into Haiku," *Haiku Kenkyū,* September 1938, 69.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Lewis Bush, *Barley and Soldiers*, p. 68.

student, despite that Hino Ashihei did not imply that in his narration. Just as with the case of Hino Sōjō, Higashi Kyōzō altered elements of the original narration, which is understandable as this is a literary adaptation, however, unlike Sōjō who followed the order of events passages, while changing details, Kyōzō merged passages, altering the order of events and the details within it. In the particular case of the previous three haiku, the reason for these changes is quite clear: to create an endearing image of the found corpse. While in the novel the protagonist is surprised by the sturdy body of the dead soldier, the poetic voice of the haiku seems to mourn the loss of such a young person to war, reinforcing the discourse that the Japanese Imperial Army was in China to help the civilians and save them from oppression. It is worth noting that in both versions of the event it is not discussed who caused the death of those soldiers.

Another example on Higashi Kyōzō's particular way to make a poetic adaptation comes from a different haiku that he composed based on the climax of the novel, May 16th, where the protagonist witnesses how some war correspondent's cars were hit by the enemy's fire:

> None of the cars and trucks had escaped the enemy bullets and when the Domei car started to smoke, two of the Domei men, Takasaki and Sudo, rushed out under the enemy fire to try to rescue their belongings.

> [...]
>
> The Asahi's newspaper's bus which had had such difficulty in keeping up with us a few days previous was nearest the wall beside a truck, and in between our house and the walls was a black painted car. All were riddled with bullet holes and looked like gigantic bee-hives.[46]

This is Higashi Kyōzō's haiku on the event:

フィルム燃え「大朝」の青きバス撃たる

Firumu moe daichō no aoki basu utaru[47]

Film on fire; Asahi's blue bus was shot[48]

For some reason, Lewis Bush left the bus's color out of his translation, even though it is mentioned in the Japanese original. However, the word "film" is nowhere to be found in the novel, including in the Japanese original. Higashi Kyōzō was surely familiar with the media that was sent from the war front and with the newspapers mentioned in the novel and ended up assuming that the war-correspondents lost their films during the attack. As can be appreciated from the haikuzation, some of the differences between the content of *Wheat and Soldiers* and the haikuzation seem to be due to what the poets knew about the

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[46] Ibid, 115- 116.

[47] *Daichō* was the abbreviation for Osaka Asahi Shinbun.

[48] Kyōzō Higashi, "Wheat and Soldiers Turned Into Haiku," *Haiku Kenkyū,* September 1938, 71.

conflict. As the three poets did not go to the war front, their opinions and knowledge of the conflict came from the news media. As a matter of fact, several poets in the home front considered it reasonable to compose haiku based on newsreels and photographs, which of course helps to explain why the three poets of the haikuzation had no problem composing haiku based on a novel, as all the media they received from the war front was deemed as reliable.

Watanabe Hakusen's Haikuzation

Watanabe Hakusen's title for his haikuzation, *Composed After Reading Wheat and Soldiers*, is the shortest out of the three poets. It is also the most direct regarding the nature of the haikuzation as it clearly states that the poems were composed after reading the novel. In his adaptation, Hakusen gives little to no hint respecting what days of the diary he used for composing his haiku. Nevertheless, the first 5 haiku, out of the 15 that form his haikuzation, were composed as a sequence, whose contents can be tracked to a passage from the May 20th entry of *Wheat and Soldiers*:

> The refugees poured into the house and its compound in increasing numbers until there was hardly room to move. Old women, babies, and bobbed-haired girls who covered their heads with towels and hid their faces, or had smeared them with dirt;

some of the old women with bound feet, and legs so thin that they resembled bamboos.[49]

Hakusen is the only one that features the displaced Chinese refugees in his sequence:

難民の笑い地平の町に邑に

Nanmin no warai chihei no machi ni mura ni

The refugees' laughter in all towns and villages in the horizon

難民の笑い就中母の笑い

Nanmin no warai nakanzuku haha no warai

The refugees' laughter; but above all, the laugh of the mothers

難民等青麦原の前に笑う

Nanminra aomugibara no mae ni warau

The refugees face up the ripe fields of wheat… laughing

難民の老婆なり更に男なり

Nanmin no rōba nari sara ni otoko nari

The refugees: old women and even men amongst them

難民の娘の顔の汚穢のままを

Nanmin no ko no kao oe no mama wo

[49] Lewis Bush, *Barley and Soldiers*, p.195.

Refugee women, and their filth- covered faces[50]

The quoted passage from May 20th is not the only one to mention the refugees, nor the only time where the Chinese people are mentioned. However, in most cases, the people that the main character encounters are referred to as “locals” (土民). Thus, even though some of the haiku from Hakusen’s sequence do reflect the quoted passage from the novel, it would seem that the poet composed his sequence based on different moments in the novel where the Chinese civilians are mentioned. It is also apparent that Watanabe Hakusen took some poetic liberties with his sequence, particularly with the use of the image of the laughing refugees. This image gives a sense of eeriness if the haikuzation is read as a complimentary material for the novel, as in the same chapter the Japanese soldiers force the locals to accept sweets and tobacco from them, while brandishing their weapons. The civilians accept the offer “smiling all the while in a queer ingratiating manner.”[51]

Watanabe Hakusen’s focus on the refugees' laughter, along with the references to their villages and fields, are in line with many of the musings that the protagonist of *Wheat and Soldiers* do about the Chinese civilians being just simple people that only want

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[50] Hakusen Watanabe, "Wheat and Soldiers Turned Into Haiku," *Haiku Kenkyū,* September 1938, 72.

[51] Lewis Bush, *Barley and Soldiers*, p.192.

to work the fields. According to Rosenfeld, “the primary characteristics of most of the Chinese Hino encounters, accordingly, are poor hygiene, childishness, and gratitude to the Japanese troops. Hino and his soldiers respond with dismay and amused condescension, but with a kind of patronizing affection as well (2002, 45)”. One of these reflections is present in the May 20th entry: “Their gestures of service towards us, or even towards their own armies were not, I feel sure, inspired by motives other than to get us away from their beloved fields as quickly as possible and to let them live and work in peace.”[52]

Taking in account the contrast between what the protagonist thinks and what the Japanese soldiers do, it is difficult to understand the tone of Watanabe Hakusen’s sequence. On one hand, it seems to fall in line with what is described in the novel, conveying some aspects of the character’s psychology. On the other hand, the sequence could also be read as a cynical take on how the Chinese locals are depicted by Hino Ashihei. Cynicism and irony are words that critics and scholars alike would use to describe Watanabe Hakusen’s style, particularly for his wartime haiku. Another of his compositions for his haikuzation seem to come from this passage from the May 19th entry of *Wheat and Soldiers*:

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[52] Ibid.

> The sight of the long columns of men going out to fresh battles being incomparable in its glory and beauty. [...] I had gazed with amazement upon the tremendousness of the plains of barley and the enormous immovable power of life within the the earth, and as I watched our men sweeping forward through those fields, a feeling like that of a heavy weight pressed into my breast as I realized the magnitude of their power of life.[53]

Watanabe Hakusen's haiku goes as follow:

戦場へ一本の列が生きて動く

Senjō he ippon no retsu ga ikite ugoku

A living column marching towards the battlefield[54]

The Reception of The Haikuzation of *Wheat and Soldiers*

After the publication of the haikuzation, some reviews were promptly released. These reviews raised some issues regarding war haiku composed on the home front: from questioning authenticity and realism in haiku to confronting craftsmanship and the adaptation of news into haiku. Each of these arguments reveals to us different aspects of the debates surrounding war writing during wartime in Japan. One of the most interesting

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[53] Ibid, 182- 183.

[54] Hakusen Watanabe, "Wheat and Soldiers Turned Into Haiku," *Haiku Kenkyū,* September 1938, 73.

reviews comes from one of the colleagues of the three poets: Saitō Sanki (1900-1962). Sanki, collaborator to various haiku magazines, and a founding member of the *Kyōdai Haiku* circle published his review *Wheat and Soldiers Turned Into Haiku* (俳句になった麥と兵隊, *Haiku ni natta mugi to heitai*) in the *Haiku Kenkyū* magazine's October 1938 issue, just one month after the haikuzation was released.

In the first paragraphs of his review, Sanki reveals that he was also asked to write haiku based on Hino Ashihei's novel, but that he was not able to meet the deadline (Saitō 1938, 263). This begs the question of how many poets were actually asked by the magazine to compose the haikuzation of the novel. Sanki identifies the three poets as part of the *Shinkō Haiku* Movement, which is important as many poets from this movement defended the composition of war haiku based on consumed media rather than by direct experience of the battlefield.

In his review, Sanki comments on each poet's haikuzation individually, starting with Hino Sōjō. Sanki first urges his readers to take one hour and read the original novel in the August issue of the *Kaizō* magazine (一時間を貸して八月號「改造」の原作を讀み給へ).[55] From there, Sanki greatly praises Hino Ashihei's novel, asserting that the novel's value resides in how naturally arouses the interest of the youth to become soldiers

[55] Sanki Saitō, "Wheat and Soldiers Turned Into Haiku," *Haiku Kenkyū,* October 1938, 263.

themselves (青年はどこにでも要る。「麥と兵隊」はこれら、どこにでも居る青年群れに、彼等もまた極めて自然に兵隊になり切れる安心を与えた。これが「麥と兵隊」の価値である).[56] For Sanki, Hino Sōjō limited himself to express the scenes of the novel just as they appear in it (「麦と兵隊」から現象を求めた).[57] As Sanki's review was published in the same magazine as the haikuzation, Sanki urging the readers to read *Wheat and Soldiers* suggests the possibility that the review might have been part of the efforts to promote the novel.

After promoting *Wheat and Soldiers*, Sanki begins to make commentaries on selected haiku from Hino Sōjō. Sanki's tone in this piece is fairly casual and blunt, to say the least, as he wrote comments like "this clumsy haiku is nowhere to be found in Sōjō (previous) work" (こんな不器用な俳句草城氏の歴史にない), or "(these ones are) too mediocre" (平凡すぎる).[58] Sanki actually quotes two paragraphs from the novel in order to show how little did Hino Sōjō add to the haikuzation. Out of 12 haiku, Sanki only made positive comments for two. Sanki finished his review on Sōjō's haiku by saying that "regrettably, it is difficult for me to express that these are good compositions" (遺憾ながら上乗の作とは申し難しいのである).[59]

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[56] Ibid, 264.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid, 265.

It is worth noticing that while commenting on Sōjō, Sanki made the observation that the three poets did a haiku about the novel's bloody stool episode. After quoting that particular passage from the novel, Sanki actually proceeds to show to the reader his own take on that episode:

兵隊の糞赤し戦争の赤き糞

Heitai no fun akashi sensō no akaki fun
The soldiers' feces are red… the red feces of war…[60]

Regardless, Sanki does not make any comment about the other three poets' compositions about the bloody stool episode, nor about his own take on the episode.

After commenting on Sōjō, Sanki proceeds to examine Higashi Kyōzō's haikuzation of *Wheat and Soldiers*. Sanki begins with the affirmation that these haiku are the first poems that Kyōzō has ever made about war.[61] After this, he presents us with 8 of Kyōzō's haiku, all which Sanki considers poor pieces (愚作, *gusaku*). Once again, Sanki provides us with several blunt and brief comments about each, such as: "there's no war (in this one)" (戦争がない); "too obvious" (当たりまえのこと), "I don't get the meaning (of this one)" (意味不明); "(this one's) content is too mediocre" (内容平々凡々); "sloppy" (だらしない); and "I simply don't understand what (this one's) about"

[60] Ibid, 264.
[61] Ibid, 265.

(何のことかサッパリ判らぬ).[62]

Sanki provides the reader with 7 haiku from Kyōzō's adaptation that he believes are good pieces (佳作, *kasaku*). However, Sanki barely comments on why they are successful haiku, aside from saying that one of them "includes war" (戦争があれば佳作だが). Sanki finishes his review on Kyōzō by commenting on one last haiku, which content he believes is good (佳い), but the choice of words is clumsy (下手糞).[63]

As expected, Sanki's review on Watanabe Hakusen's haikuzation is the briefest, as Hakusen only composed 15 haiku for the occasion. Sanki starts his review by stating that perhaps Hakusen "over- digested" (消化し過ぎてしまった) Hino Ashihei's novel. To Sanki, Hakusen's sequence about the Chinese refugees is good (佳作) but does not elaborates on it.[64]

Sanki closes his piece by admitting that maybe he said too much (少し口が過ぎた), and recognizing that after all, he is criticizing the works of other people, despite the fact that he could not write his own pieces for the occasion.[65] Sanki's review recognizes the haikuzation of *Wheat and Soldiers* as three separate works and comments on them accordingly. The poet does not dwell too much on technical aspects, nor does he

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[62] Ibid, 265-266.
[63] Ibid, 266.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.

discuss the topic of war thoroughly. His comments on *Wheat and Soldiers* are the closest to the prevailing discourse on war and patriotic duty during the period in Japan, particularly the veiled admission of the novel as propaganda for the youth to enlist and contribute to war efforts. Nevertheless, it is evident that Sanki does not see said values reflected in the haikuzation made by the three poets as he goes as far as to promote the novel instead right from the beginning of his piece.

At first glance, it is difficult to establish if the harsh tone of Sanki's piece is due to the alleged poor craftsmanship of the poems or due to the fact that the poems are an adaptation and thus not born from actual experiences of the poets. To elucidate an answer, it is noteworthy to mention that Sanki himself was part of the *Shinkō Haiku* Movement and composed war haiku without going to the war front, not to mention that he fervently exhorted his peers to write about war.

In the December 1937 issue of the *Kyōdai Haiku* magazine, Sanki wrote: "If the youth don't write war haiku (using) the seasonless trend, then who the hell is supposed to do it? (青年が無季派が戦争俳句を作らずして、誰が一体作るのだ？)" (Tajima 2005, 81-82). **S**anki's words are evidently directed at young poets, to whom he urges to compose haiku about war, rather than to actually go to the front, quite different from his opinion of *Wheat and Soldiers* as a novel that inspires the youth to become soldiers. Sanki

exclusively refers to the seasonless haiku as the most fitting form for composing war haiku. Though the *Shinkō Haiku* Movement was by no means exclusively seasonless, it was "flexible" enough to allow such resources when necessary.

Sanki was particularly worried, as many other poets were, about how the seasonal world could obfuscate the reality of war. For example, in his 1937's piece, Sanki criticizes how haiku with a seasonal word would feature war haiku using expressions such as "summer-silkworm" (夏蚕) or "white socks" (白足袋) and questions what kind of terms should seasonless war haiku use to portray the war (Tajima 2005, 82). Sanki started his review of the haikuzation of *Wheat and Soldiers* by establishing that the three poets were part of the *Shinkō Haiku* Movement, but it is obvious that they did not meet Sanki's expectations, even though most of the haikuzation is in fact seasonless, particularly Watanabe's sequence about the refugees. Regardless, Sanki does not make any comments on seasonal words during the review.

As Sanki never criticizes the poets for not going to the war front, nor for not writing about their own experiences, then it is fair to assume that, at least for Sanki, the haikuzation failed due to poor craftsmanship, as the poets' technique was not able to shine, most likely because they worked under the pressure of a deadline.

Some pages before Sanki's review in the *Haiku Kenkyū* magazine's October

1938, issue, the poet Nishijima Bakunan (1895-1981) wrote a piece for the section *Commentaries From The Haiku Establishment* (俳壇時評, *Haidan jihyō*) titled *On Mainland and War Front Haiku* (内地＊戦線俳句に就いて, *Naichi sensen haiku ni tsuite*). Bakunan tone is rather objective, regardless, he did not review the haikuzation *per se*. Rather, Bakunan focuses on admitting that some poets compose their haiku based on the media about the war that they consume and proceeds to quote the infamous bloody-stool passage from *Wheat and Soldiers*.[66] Then, Bakunan places the haiku that the three poets made about said episode and questions the point of translating something from a novel into a short poetic form (短い詩形に抄訳することにいったいどういう意義があり何の価値があるのであろうか) and whether if this is an endeavor suitable to any artist (人及び芸術家としての良心にかけてなさるべき仕業がこれでああってよいのであろうか).[67] Bakunan echoes an argument that was present at the time regarding war literature and particularly war haiku: is it possible to write about the war front without actually experiencing it?

The answer, at least to Bakunan is fairly evident: to rely only on one's imagination and some information about the war, without actually having experienced the

[66] Bakunan Nishijima, "On Mainland and War Front Haiku," *Haiku Kenkyū,* October 1938, 261.
[67] Ibid.

war front, would not amount to good war haiku (戦争の現地を一歩も踏まないで、単に僅かな資料と限られた想像によってのみなされる戦線俳句の制作を完全に可能ならしめる筈がないこと作は、茲に一々を挙げるまでもなく自明の理でなからねばならない).[68]

In October 1938, the haiku poet Katō Shūson (1905-1993) also released a review of the haikuzation, titled *On The Haikuzation of Wheat and Soldiers* (「麦と兵隊」の俳句化について, *Mugi to heitai no haikuka ni tsuite*), this review was published in the *Shinchō* magazine. Shūson at that time was one of the members of the *Ashibi* magazine circle, and the disciple of Mizuhara Shūōshi. He would later be recognized as a Japanese literature expert and critic.

Shūson's review of the haikuzation is quite brief but poignant. Just like Sanki and Bakunan, Shūson dedicates some lines of praise to Hino Ashihei's novel, stressing that the novel was the account of a soldier's experiences between life and death (死生を体験した一兵卒の体験記であって), which indicates that he was already familiar with the novel.[69] Shūson expresses right at the beginning of his review that an adaptation is not supposed to be about how the adapters reproduce the source material, but rather how they

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[68] Ibid, 262.

[69] Shūson Katō, "On The Haikuzation of Wheat and Soldiers," *Katō Shūson Hyōronshū,* 1992, 150.

interpret it. (いかに写真の如く再現されたかではなくて、ある作家によっていかに解釈されたかである) and for that, it is important to question what the adapter felt after reading the source material (作者がいかに感じたかが問題).[70]

For Shūson, adapters should take the source material and create something new from it (原作を素材とする新創作が提供せらるべき).[71] However, Shūson reaches the conclusion that since *Wheat and Soldiers* is an on-site report of the war (原作が現地報告といったものであるから) there is barely anything new that haiku could add to it (俳句として新しく加えるところが希薄になりやすい).[72] Thus, for Shūson the haikuzation does not work because of a lack of fidelity to the source material, but due to poets seemingly over-relying on the source material. Likewise, Shūson does not imply in his review that haiku might not be a suitable vessel for an adaptation.

However, Shūson's general conclusions regarding the haikuzation are not necessarily reflected in his comments on each of the three adapters. Starting with Hino Sōjō, Shūson comments how his haikuzation seems to rely too much on Hino Ashihei's experiences, following his steps almost to close (作家のすぐ足もとの体験を頼りとして).[73] For Shūson, some of Hino Sōjō's haiku based on *Wheat and Soldiers* ended up

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[70] Ibid, 150-151.
[71] Ibid, 151.
[72] Ibid, 154.
[73] Ibid, 151.

coming along with an "empty echo" (虚しいひびきが伴っているようである) of the actual experiences of soldiers.[74] Shūson exhibits 9 of Hino Sōjō's haiku in his reviews but does not make any comment on any of them.

The most interesting section of Shūson's reviews is without question his review of Higashi Kyōzō. The reviewer stresses how Kyōzō is a member of the *Shinkō Haiku* Movement and that he wanted to convey the style of the movement, but Shūson believes that Kyōzō did not achieve that with his haikuzation, and he even mentions that the poems are not Kyōzō-like, thus he concludes that there was no haiku that he could review for the occasion (私はこの作家の今度の作品の中から食指は動きつつも良い作品を選び出すことを敢えてしない).[75] Shūson indeed did not include any of Kyōzō's haiku nor did he make any comment attempting to relate Kyōzō's haikuzation with *Wheat and Soldiers*, and rather expresses that he will wait for Kyōzō's next work (京三ではなくてはならぬ仕事を見せて貰いたいからである).[76]

Finally, Shūson comments on Watanabe Hakusen's haikuzation. As should be expected, his review on Hakusen is the briefest. Shūson states that Hakusen's haikuzation does not deviate from the style that he used in his previous war haiku. For Shūson,

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[74] Ibid, 152.
[75] Ibid, 153.
[76] Ibid.

Hakusen's haikuzation does not reflect war events (ありそうな事象を描かず), but he gets close to the essence of what constitutes an armed conflict (その内面のあるものを掴もうとしている).[77] However, for Shūson, Hakusen's style is too intellectual and lacked simplicity, making it difficult to understand (知的な構成が単純性を欠いて明瞭ではない憾みがあった).[78] Shūson included 4 of the 5 haiku of Hakusen's sequence about the refugees, but he does not write any comment on them.

The reviews of the haikuzation provides us with different approaches of how to assess war haiku based on a soldier's account. Sanki's review prioritizes craftmanship above all. Shūson, on his part, believed that poets should not rely too much on the source material and that they should attempt to create something new from it. Bakunan stands on the other extreme of the argument as he advocated for the use of direct experience when composing war haiku, finding no value in compositions like the haikuzation.

Hino's, Kyōzō's, and Watanabe's Views on War Haiku

Just as war haiku written on the home front had its detractors, many other voices also raised arguments to defend the poets that composed war haiku without having experience on the war front. The three authors of the haikuzation were among the groups that advocated for "indirect" experiences as a source of inspiration for war haiku. Higashi

[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.

Kyōzō and Hino Sōjō in particular, wrote opinion pieces in response to the criticism that they received from adapting *Wheat and Soldiers* into haiku. Watanabe Hakusen, for his part, wrote a piece titled *Harvest of War Front Haiku -In New Style Seasonless Haiku* (戦線俳句の収穫ー新興無季俳句に於けるー *Sensen haiku no shūkaku shinkō muki haiku ni okeru*) in the April 1938 issue of *Haiku Kenkyū*, months before the release of *Wheat and Soldiers.*

In his piece, Watanabe argues that both people that participated at the war front and people that are on the home front can write outstanding war haiku. (優秀な前線俳句の制作は、(illegible）にこれを現地へ赴いた作家の手にのみ俟つべきものにあらず、銃後にあって常途の生活を営んでいる作家の手によっても亦、優れた作品が制作されるべきものであるとなす).[79] Watanabe considers that people on the home front can use their imagination to portray reality with more detail and that their compositions tend to be more free and original (銃後の作家には想像の世界があり、此方に写実の精確に恃み得るの利があれば彼方に自由奔放の構想を肆にし得るのが長である).[80]

Watanabe actually raises the point that artists from the war front could be lying

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[79] Hakusen Watanabe, "Harvest of War Front Haiku -In New Wave Seasonless Haiku," *Haiku Kenkyū,* April 1938, 167.
[80] Ibid, 168.

about some of their experiences (出征作家必ずしも嘘を吐かぬとは言えず).[81] This argument is virtually absent from the essays, opinion pieces and articles of poets and literary critics that condemned home front haiku for its lack of authenticity. Evidently, Watanabe putting into question the veracity of poets from the war front was an unpopular opinion, to say the least. However, this does not necessarily mean an anti-nationalistic view from Watanabe nor an open attack on the poets serving at the war front. Watanabe is somewhat concerned about craftsmanship, as by this moment most of the haiku received from the war front was composed by amateurs. This can be further confirmed as Watanabe defends home front haiku by asserting that poets that create this kind of haiku do more than only "steal" from news and photographs as they also must use their brains and technique in order to make their compositions (銃後の作家は、優れた前線俳句を制作するためには、これらを単にニュース映画や事変写真帳などから「盗みとる」のみにとどまらず、進んでこれを各自の脳髄自体の内部から剔抉し出すの工夫をもまた必要とする場合のあることを心得るべきであろう).[82]

One month after the publication of the haikuzation, Hino Sōjō published a piece in his own magazine, *Kikan*. The piece was titled *The Experience on the War Front and the Technique on the Home Front* (戦線の体験と銃後の技術, *Sensen no taiken to jūgo*

[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.

no gijutsu). For Hino, it is clear that the writers on the home front get their inspiration for writing war haiku through the media (銃後作家の前線俳句は、例外なく映画や写真又は軍記や戦話による間接体験の話である).[83] Hino acknowledges that some writers think that all artistic production from the war front is inherently good, but to him it is evident that that there are good quality works both on the war front and the home front, as he prioritizes their artistic value (結局、分り切ったことではあるが、前線と銃後とを論ぜず、いいものはいいのである。要は藝術として成立すればいいのである).[84]

One thing that is clear through Hino's piece is that he considers that war haiku should leave a deep impression (感銘, *kanmei*) on their reader and that is not supposed to be a record of the war (戦争によって触発された感銘を定型に於て表現したものが戦争俳句である。従って戦争俳句は決して今事変の記録としの責任を分担すべきものではない).[85] In this piece, Hino talks about the success of *Wheat and Soldiers*, and how the novel inspired him to compose the haiku for the adaptation, stressing that his experiences were indirect as he was informed through the novel.

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[83] Sōjō Hino, "The Experience on the War Front and the Technique on the Home Front ," *Shin kōro*, 1940, 265.

[84] Ibid, 265.

[85] Ibid, 265.

For Hino, writers on the home front should not limit themselves to the experiences on the home front. Likewise, experience from the war front is not always direct. Hino holds technique above any other aspect when composing war haiku. Thus, obtaining inspiration from the news media is admissible in his eyes, as long as this indirect experience is presented through a well-honed technique (銃後作家は銃後の素材にのみ止まって居るべきでは決してないのである。平生鍛錬し研磨して来た技を今こそ活用すべきである。「前線の機験」と「銃後の技術」とが協力し合一すべ時と今である。前線の体験は直接であることを要しない。間接體驗であってすこしも差支ない映画、軍記、戦話、その他何でもよろしい、前線の体験を如実に伝ふるものに據って銃後の技術を百パーセント活用すべきである).[86]

Hino does not directly address the criticism that he received for his adaptation. It is evident that he mentioned *Wheat and Soldiers* because he saw the novel as a medium for indirect war experience, just like the news media. To Hino, successful war haiku is the result of technique and experience, but indirect experience of war was also acceptable to him. Thus, for Hino, where and when war haiku was composed was irrelevant if the haiku was able to leave an impression on readers. Hino does not say that his haiku

[86] Ibid, 266-267.

adaptation of *Wheat and Soldiers* has that effect, but he implies as much as he justifies in his piece why someone of the home front could compose war haiku through indirect experience provided by the news media.

One year after the haikuzation, in April 1939, Higashi Kyōzō published a piece titled *Fake Haiku* (嘘の俳句, *Uso no haiku*) in the magazine *Dojō*. Kyōzō wrote the piece in response to an opinion piece written by the haiku poet Kuribayashi Issekiro (1894-1961), who also belonged to the *Shinkō Haiku* Movement and was famous for composing proletarian haiku. In his piece, Kuribayashi heavily criticized poets that composed war haiku without having experience on the war front and also criticized the haikuzation of *Wheat and Soldiers*. Kuribayashi referred to this type of haiku as "fake." Kyōzō, on his part, rebutted almost all of Kuribayashi's arguments while also adding his own experience regarding the composition of the haikuzation.

Kyōzō expresses that he got his inspiration to experiment with war haiku for the first time from reading the novel, feeling as if he himself was exposed to war by reading Hino Ashihei's account. Kyōzō even thinks that he felt more immersed in war by reading the novel than by reading other "indirect" accounts like news about the war (私は「麦と兵隊」を努力して作った。原作を読んで私は幾度も私自身戦火を浴びる思いに引きこまれた。ニュースその他で間接に知る戦争と兵隊のことに較べて、こんなに

も身につまされて感じたことはなかった。それを試作するまで、私は一度もいわゆる戦争俳句なるものをつくらなかったにも拘わらず、それを作ってみたのはそのためであった).[87] Kyōzō credits *Wheat and Soldiers* as his source for knowing the war and the experiences of soldiers on the war front (その私が見たこともない戦争俳句作ったというのは、原作「麦と兵隊」を通じて戦争や兵隊が幾分でも真実に見得られたからにほかならなかった).[88] Similar to Hino, Kyōzō mentions on different occasions through his piece how haiku should express emotions (感情, *kanjō*) and no only reflect the reality.

From the writings of the three poets regarding war haiku, it is possible to conclude that they all considered news reports about the war as valid sources of inspiration for composing war haiku. The three of them, in different degrees, questioned the idea that a poet must have first-hand experiences of the war in order to compose haiku about it. Before the haikuzation, Watanabe Hakusen was already questioning the veracity of war accounts written by people that served on the front. Hino, on his part, questions the technique of the war front poets, as it was known that most of them were amateurs. One element shared by Hino and Kyōzō is how they express how *Wheat and Soldiers*, and also the news media, were indirect sources for experiencing war. For them indirect

[87] Kyōzō Higashi, "Fake Haiku ," *Akimoto Fujio Haibunshū*, 1980, 265.
[88] Ibid.

sources, as they called them, were just as valid as direct experience on the war front. Evidently, their critics heavily disagreed with this notion, but poets of the home front had no other way of knowing about the war, and most o them, whether due to genuine nationalistic sentiment or due to social pressure, felt the need to compose war haiku.

The three poets that composed the haikuzation did it on a request, however, after the failure of the adaptation, none of them used this fact as a justification for their apparent shortcomings. If any, Hino Sōjō and Higashi Kyōzō defended their adaptation of *Wheat and Soldiers* and advocated for war haiku composed from "indirect" experiences obtained by consuming the news media and literature. By reading the haikuzation and the writings of the poets regarding war haiku from the home front we can conclude that they considered technique and the effect on the reader as the most important factors to determine if war haiku was good or not. Similarly, it is also evident that the three poets were greatly impacted and moved by Hino Ashihei's novel, to the point that they felt motivated to compose war haiku.

Like most poets on the home front, the authors of the haikuzation of *Wheat and Soldiers* justified their war haiku by celebrating and acknowledging their sources, the "true" war accounts. But they also attempted to make the case for the appropriate use of technique and the evocative function of language in poetry in order to trigger a reaction

in their readers. To them, war was real and haiku should resort to realism, without neglecting emotions. Marking a clear line between journalism and literature. This is evident in Hino's and Kyōzō's pieces where they place *Wheat and Soldiers* over the news media.

Conclusion

The adaptation of *Wheat and Soldiers* represents a fascinating case study of war haiku during the Second Sino-Japanese War. The haikuzation of Hino Ashihei's novel, in the first place, can only be understood as a marketing ploy: the haikuzation was released either as an advertisement for the novel or as a companion text for the novel planned by *Kaizō* in anticipation to *Wheat and Soldiers*' success. Likewise, the existence of the haikuzation can only be explained if it is seen as part of the literary and commercial phenomenon that was *Wheat and Soldiers*. To a certain degree, the adaptation is a product, subordinated to the novel, a promotional material to an authentic account of the war.

By analyzing selected examples of the haikuzation back-to-back with the passages from the novel, I demonstrated that the three poets did not always reflect the themes and symbols present in *Wheat and Soldiers*. Instead, the haikuzation focuses more on conveying the moments that impacted or moved the poets the most. Though the poets

resorted to poetic license to a certain degree, most of the haikuzation follows the order of events and details from the novel, adding nothing to Hino Ashihei's work.

The editorial reasons behind the haikuzation, the opinions of the three adapters about war haiku, and the critical reception of their work represent a glimpse into the debates surrounding the haiku world during wartime. As the news media constantly bombarded the home front with news and literary works controlled by the state, haiku poetry was losing its standing in the literary world, despite war haiku being published by the thousands. Veracity, experience, and technique were terms often discussed during wartime by haiku poets on the home front, who could not go to war and wanted to compose war haiku. However, as it was possible to appreciate through this chapter, "veracity" and "experience" were concepts that haiku poets tied to the news media and literary war accounts.

Critics disregarded the haikuzation for not being the product of direct experience because it was based on a war diary that the three poets did not write. But to the adapters of *Wheat and Soldiers* into haiku, the experiences, and the emotions that they felt while reading the novel were as valid as Hino Ashihei's war account itself. To them, their longing for the fires of war, their haikuzation, is their attempt to reflect their reality on the home front where they experience the consequences of a war that was so far from

them and so close to the pages that they read every day. To compose Home Front haiku was not enough for them, they had the need to be participants in the events of the war. This "longing" for the war expressed by haiku poets on the home front, raised several issues regarding the ethics of composing haiku about the war on the home front. Namely, the degrees of authenticity regarding composing war haiku from first-hand experiences on the war front versus composing war haiku on the home front from media accounts. As some haiku poets were criticized for resorting to their imagination and the news media, the rest of the haiku world turned their heads to the war front, patiently waiting for a soldier-poet who could overcome the shadow cast by Hino Ashihei and claim a place for haiku within war literature. Their expectations were met with the rise of Hasegawa Sosei, the author of the first war front haiku collection composed by an individual.

Chapter II

The War Front Haiku of Hasegawa Sosei

Introduction

In April 1939, *Hōsha* (砲車, *Gun Carriage*) was released in Japan amidst the Second Sino- Japanese War (1937-1945). The book was a collection of 214 haiku written by Hasegawa Sosei, the pen name of Hasegawa Naojirō (1907-1946), a poet who had just returned from the war front after being discharged due to complications from contracting beriberi. The poems in *Hōsha* were based on Hasegawa's experiences while serving in China as a second lieutenant in field artillery between 1937 and 1938. These experiences were promptly made available in the form of haiku and letters written by Hasegawa on the war front and published first in the *Hototogisu* haiku magazine. Hasegawa's writings were consumed by the Japanese public, who were eager for any news related to the war.

Hōsha is credited as the first haiku collection formed exclusively by war haiku composed by a single author. As the poetry collection was written *in situ* by an actual soldier during the conflict, and most of its poems were published in the *Hototogisu* haiku magazine within months from their composition, *Hōsha* became the example of how haiku poetry could report war with veracity. The haiku world found in Hasegawa Sosei the perfect poster boy to represent them and haiku during wartime. This need for a symbol

came at a moment when many artists feared being judged as unpatriotic for not supporting war with their art. *Hōsha* was praised and advertised as a fine example of war haiku, and even as an "immortal memorial of the China Incident" (支那事変不滅の記念塔) due to its, alleged, authentic depiction of war. Nonetheless, Hasegawa Sosei, once revered as a war hero and an accomplished poet by the haiku establishment, has been seemingly forgotten, along with his revolutionary *Hōsha,* by poets and scholars alike. Matsui Toshihiko's book *History of Showa's Haiku World* (1979) briefly discusses *Hōsha* within its pages. The same happens in Taniyama Kaen's book *War and Haiku* (1984). Recent haiku studies like Tarumi Hiroshi's *War Haiku and Haiku Poets* (2014) only dedicates 4 pages to Hasegawa Sosei near the end of his study, commenting on an essay that Sosei wrote about war haiku. *Hōsha* is not mentioned *even* o*nce* in those pages, but rather it is referred to in a subchapter dedicated to Hino Sōjō. Other studies like Kawana Hajime's *Inspection of Showa's Haiku* (2015) also mention Sosei in a brief fashion. The most recent study on Sosei is an article published in 2023 by Yoneda Keiko where she discusses the reception of Sosei's war haiku by *Hototogisu* and and the *Kyōdai* haiku group.

As was mentioned in the introduction of this dissertation, studies like David M. Rosenfeld's book on Hino Ashihei, shows how the material context of wartime literary works and their paratexts shape the perception of the public on an author. Similarly,

Aaron William Moore argues that soldiers resort to public discourse, such as propaganda and the official training that they received by the military, opened the possibility of the state, the military and the mass media to define who they were (Moore 2013, 12).

For the purpose of this study, I intend to analyze the haiku of *Hōsha*, as it appeared in both the *Hototogisu* magazine and in its poetry collection form. This is because Hasegawa Sosei's haiku from the war front in China was released in two different publications: one being the original run of the poems in the *Hototogisu* magazine for 10 months in 1938, while the other is the poetry collection published in book form in 1939. These two publications offer to us the readers, two different readings: one that is heavily fragmented, disjointed, and dispersed through multiple magazines, while at the same being accompanied by the author's letters; and another reading that is neatly organized, with multiple additions to its structure, content, and presentation, but lacking the complement of the author's letters. Through Hasegawa's writings, it is possible to appreciate how he presents himself as a brave soldier, ready to give his life for his country, while also admitting his vulnerability and weaknesses, not to mention his fondness for haiku poetry as well. These elements match Benjamin Uchiyama's argument of wartime Japan's depiction of soldiers, which went from portraying them as heroes to showing them as humans with fears and needs (Uchiyama 2019, 106).

The literary reviews that the poetry collection received at its release would also be considered because Hasegawa's contemporaries considered his war haiku as a source of information about the war and an accurate depiction of war. Said reviews heavily focused on the fact that Hasegawa was a soldier in active duty on the war front, praising him for his bravery rather than praising him for his haiku technique. I argue that by doing a close reading of Hasegawa's letters and poems, and the reviews that he received by his peers, it is possible to make an approach on how the figure of Hasegawa Sosei, the soldier-poet, was constructed during wartime by the poet himself and the rest of the haiku world.

The Two Versions of Hasegawa Sosei's War Front Haiku

It is important to note the differences between the two versions of Hasegawa Sosei's war haiku, and their publication history, starting with the letters and haiku that were published in *Hototogisu*. In total, 16 letters written by Hasegawa, from November 1937 to December 1938, were published in one section of the *Hototogisu* haiku magazine called *From the Battlefield, etc.* (戦地より其他, *senchi yori sono ta*), along with the letters of other *haijin* at the war front. The section was actually a subsection of *Foreign Countries Haiku-Haikou á L'Etranger* (外国の俳句- *Haikou á L'Etranger*).[89] Some of the letters

[89] The section's name appears in the magazine in Japanese with its French translation written in the Roman alphabet.

featured in *Others from the Battlefield* would include haiku, however, that was not the case with the letters of Hasegawa that were published in the magazine in 1938.

During this period, the usual structure of an issue from *Hototogisu* would include essays about haiku, short stories in *haibun* format, featurettes on individual poets, reviews of previously published haiku, sections with haiku submitted by readers, transcriptions of roundtables, and *Haikou á L'Etranger* as the second-to-last section of the magazine. *Hototogisu* did not have a proper war haiku section. Instead, Hasegawa's war haiku would appear in the last section of the magazine, which was called *Miscellaneous* (雑詠, *zatsuei*), the section was formed of poems selected by Takahama Kyoshi (1874- 1959) himself.[90] Kyoshi was the leader of the *Hototogisu* magazine haiku circle, editor-in-chief of the magazine, and Hasegawa's mentor. Hasegawa's war haiku appeared in the *Miscellaneous* section of 13 issues from January 1938 to March 1939, amounting to 53 haiku. These 53 haiku would later be part of *Hōsha*. The other section where Hasegawa's war haiku would sometimes appear was the *Miscellaneous Verses Review* (*Zatzuei ku hyōkai*), where different poets from the magazine would appraise haiku from the previous month's *Miscellaneous* section.

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90 Most of those issues would feature 4 of Hasegawa's haiku from China in the *Miscellaneous* section of *Hototogisu*.

The *Miscellaneous* section of *Hototogisu* would usually be more than 40 pages in length, featuring a large number of poets. In honor of its name, the *Miscellaneous* section did not offer any reasoning for the order of its contents, sometimes having the haiku from a Japanese poet residing in Hollywood next to the haiku of one living in Tokyo. However, Hasegawa's war haiku appeared on the first page of the *Miscellaneous* section on 9 occasions before the release of *Hōsha*, which indicates how highly regarded his haiku was by Kyoshi. It should be mentioned that before the publication of *Hōsha*, Hasegawa's war haiku was also published in the *Haiku Kenkyū* magazine, a publication that was ideologically apart from *Hototogisu* as its writers, though respecting most of haiku tradition, advocated for more experimentation with the genre.

For its part, *Hōsha* was released in April 1939. The poem collection was formed by 214 haiku. The book received positive critical assessments from literary reviewers and it was praised at its release by major figures of the haiku establishment, namely Takahama Kyoshi, virtually the leader of the haiku world at that period. The de facto leaders of the Newly Rising Haiku Movement (新興俳句運動, s*hinkō haiku undō*), Mizuhara Shūōshi (1892-1981) and Yamaguchi Seishi (1901-1994), also commended the poem collection.[91] Yamaguchi showed his interest in the poems prior to the book release, writing a review

[91] Both were former Kyoshi's proteges and members of the *Hototogisu* haiku circle, breaking from it by 1935.

of the *Hototogisu* haiku magazine's version of the haiku. The poems composed by Hasegawa cover a variety of events: arriving in China, advancing through extreme cold and dry fields, sleeping while anxiously waiting for the next battle, advancing through extreme heat, the death of comrades, battles, the pursuit of guerrilla groups, a cholera epidemic, etc. The poetry collection also includes some major historical events of this conflict, namely the Fall of Nanjing, the Battle of Xuzhou, and the 1938 Yellow River flood.

These two publications differ greatly, as the *Hototogisu* magazine published a handful of Hasegawa's haiku each month, amounting to 53 poems, versus the 214 haiku that form the book version. The differences do not end there: some verses in the book are accompanied by an introductory note, while their magazine counterpart lacks this element. Likewise, *Hōsha* does not include any of the letters sent by Hasegawa from the war front to the *Hototogisu* magazine, devoiding the book from a context that was provided within the pages of the magazine. Finally, perhaps the most considerable change between the two publications resides in how the poems published in *Hototogisu* appear out of order, often mixing topics, places, and seasons, while the book arranges the poems in sequences with a clear chronological and geographical order, concatenated into something similar to a narrative. This sequential nature of *Hōsha* set it apart from virtually any other haiku

collection published until that moment as, even though *rensaku* haiku (連作俳句, serial haiku) became popular during the first decades of the twentieth century in Japan, it was not common for a haiku poet to publish a collection formed exclusively of *rensaku*, let alone a collection of sequences that were concatenated.

Hasegawa's *Hōsha* appeared at a moment when the haiku word needed it the most: the haiku establishment was questioning the status of haiku as a poetic form in relation and its place in literature, along with this debate, the question regarding how haiku poets and their craft should show their patriotism and support for the current war. As this debate progressed so did the Second Sino-Japanese War. Soon, the haiku establishment could not keep pace with the other arts, like in the case of novels or tanka poetry, which promptly sported artists like Hino Ashihei (1907-1960) whose 1938 novel *Wheat and Soldiers*, based on his experiences at the war front, was an instant best-seller. Poets from the conservative *Hototogisu* haiku magazine circle like Uebayashi Hakusōkyo (1881-1971) proclaimed *Hōsha* as the very first war haiku collection ever, and urged the rest of the haiku establishment to show their respect and gratitude towards Hasegawa, as he contributed with both his service to the army and with his haiku to war efforts, and, perhaps even more importantly, to the improvement of the status of haiku poetry during wartime.

Hasegawa Sosei's Journey

In order to understand Hasegawa Sosei's war haiku, it is paramount to understand his life and career as a poet, as well as the events that led him to serve on the war front and how he reported his experiences. From this section on, Hasegawa's journey as a Japanese soldier, his letters, and haiku will be discussed in detail. Hasegawa Sosei was born in Ōsaka on February 2, 1907. His father, Hasegawa Higekichi, worked as an engineer for an ammunition factory in Ōsaka. When Higekichi went into retirement they moved to his birthplace: the city of Tsu in Mie prefecture. Hasegawa later moved to Kyōto to enroll at the Imperial Kyōto University to study Japanese literature. By 1930, Hasegawa joined the *Hototogisu* haiku circle under Takahama Kyoshi's wing, being already familiar with several major haiku figures from different circles and participating in several haiku composition gatherings. In February 1932, Hasegawa was enlisted in the Mishima Heavy Artillery Regiment where he was an officer candidate. He was discharged in November of that year and got married.

In 1933 he was a founding member of the *Kyōdai Haiku* circle (Kyoto university); however, he continued contributing to the *Hototogisu* magazine, regardless of the ideological differences concerning haiku that both groups held. In 1934, Hasegawa started working as a middle school National Language teacher in Tsu, being considered

by his friends as a “spartan” teacher due to his strict character. As Hasegawa grew fond of traditional haiku, he decided to leave the *Kyōdai Haiku* circle in 1936 and stay under Kyoshi’s guidance, adhering once again to the style promoted by the *Hototogisu* magazine haiku circle.

As the Second Sino-Japanese War broke in 1937, Hasegawa Sosei was called to arms and commissioned second lieutenant in field artillery for the 16th Division of the 22nd Artillery Regiment, due to his previous candidacy at the Mishima Regiment. Hasegawa was deployed to China on September 10th 1937, from Ōsaka by ship. The very first haiku poems of the collection are set in Japan while preparing for departure and boarding the ship. A very brief letter of Hasegawa announcing his deployment was published in the November 1937 issue of *Hototogisu*. The poem that opens the book was celebrated by Mizuhara Shūōshi for how well it conveyed, in his opinion, the sense of nervousness and tension experienced by someone being deployed.

夏灼くる砲車とともにわれこそ征け[92]

Natsu yakuru hōsha to tomo ni ware koso yuke

Burning summer. Alongside the gun carriage, I march forth[93]

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[92] It should be noted that the verb at the end of the poem (征け, *yuke*) has both the meaning of setting off for a journey and also to go to war. The translations of the haiku from Hōsha were done by the author of this study. The Japanese version of the haiku comes from the 1939 edition of the book.

[93] Sosei Hasegawa, "Natsu Yakuru", in *Hōsha*, (Tokyō, Sanseidō, 1939), 1.

Hasegawa's regiment traveled by ship and landed in China on September 17th, 1937, in the port of Dagu, in Tianjin, a city partially occupied by the Japanese since July of the same year. Immediately after landing, Hasegawa participated in a battle at the Ziya River in the province of Hebei, before advancing to its capital Shijiazhuang. The first poem of *Hōsha* that is set in China is also the first one to refer to a battle and also the first one to be accompanied by a note.[94]

Landing, fighting immediately, advancing towards Shijiazhuang

ゆたかなる棉の原野にいまいくさ

Yutakanaru wata no gen'ya ni ima ikusa[95]

On a plain of rich cotton, a battle now rages[96]

Just like the former example, on many notes the speaker mentions, in an almost telegraphic fashion, exact information about the current location of Hasegawa's unit and the orders that they are following, however, the poem that comes with the note seldom reflects the provided information.

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[94] Out of 214 poems in *Hōsha*, 36 have an introductory note, particularly, but not limited to, the ones that open a section or a sequence. The notes are exclusive to the *Hōsha* version of the poems, as they do not come with a note in their *Hototogisu* magazine counterpart. It is not clear who decided to add the notes to the poems of the book, though it is very likely that Hasegawa added them for the final draft of the book.

[95] On most occasions in *Hōsha*, the word in Japanese used to refer to a battle would be *ikusa* (いくさ), written in hiragana only, which is more impactful, according to Japanese writing conventions.

[96] Sosei Hasegawa, "Yutakanaru", in *Hōsha*, (Tokyō, Sanseidō, 1939), 3.

The Road to Nanjing

After their first battle, Hasegawa's division traveled south using the Beiping-Hankou Railway, an operation that was not authorized by the Imperial General Headquarters. They went to the Yellow River's North Bank, where they were stationed at the city of Xinxiang. From this point, the mobilization continued to the Jiangsu province where the battle of Nanjing occurred. Through the *Jiansgu Section* of *Hōsha,* there are many mentions of the poetic voice getting close to a fortified/walled city. The expectation of the speaker in *Hōsha* builds as he and his company approach this particular landmark, famous for its colossal walls:

城市遠く枯野の波のかなたかな
Jōshi tōku kareno no nami kanata kana

The fortress city is far… beyond the wasteland waves…[97]

In the same fashion, during the *Jiangsu Section*, 5 notes are used to announce the proximity to Nanjing, the notes are located in different parts of the section and are part of different sequences, the constant in them being the speaker's expectation as he and his unit approach the city. The last note in the *Jiangsu Section* that refers to Nanjing is in the last sequence of the section. This sequence describes a battle that ends with the destruction

[97] Sosei Hasegawa, "Jōshi tōku", in *Hōsha*, (Tokyō, Sanseidō, 1939), 14.

of a wall, which suggests that this is where the protagonist describes his participation in the battle of Nanjing.

They say that Nanjing is 2km away. The battle is getting more and more violent.

寒夜くらし暁けのいくさの時を待つ

Kan'ya kurashi ake no ikusa no toki matsu

Cold, dark night; waiting for the battle at dawn

地図をよむ外套をもて灯をかばひ

Chizu wo yomu gaitō wo mote hi wo kabai

Under a coat, covering his lamp, he reads a map

雪くろくよごれ砲兵陣地なり

Yuki kuroku yogore hōhei jinchi nari

Blacken snow; the artillery men at the encampment

観測は屋根の傾斜の雪に臥し

Kansoku wa yane no keisha no yuki ni fushi

Overwatch, lying down in the snowy slope of the roof

砲据うとかつかつ凍てし地を掘る

Hō suu to katsukatsu iteshi tsuchi wo horu

Setting the guns; shovels clanging as they dig the frozen ground

凍土揺れ射ちし砲身あとへすざる

Tōdo yure uchishi hōshinn atoesuzaru

The frozen ground trembles; the barrel of the gun fires and pulls back

凍土揺れ砲口敵を獲つつ急

Tōdo yure hōkō teki wo etsutsuskyū

The frozen ground trembles; in a frenzy, the enemy is hunted down by the guns' muzzles

凍て土に射ちし薬筒抛られ抛られ

Itetsuchi ni uchishi yakutō horare horare

Firing at the frozen ground, the empty cartridges are thrown away

北風すさびたまととび瓦ふるひ落つ

Kitakaze susabi tamato tobi kawara furui otsu

The northern wind advances; bullets fly, the roof tiles shake and fall

壁射たれ凍てたる土をこぼすなり

Kabe utare itetaru tsuchi wo kobosunari

The wall gets blown: the frozen soils comes spilling out[98]

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[98] Sosei Hasegawa, "Kan'ya kurashi", in *Hōsha*, (Tokyō, Sanseidō, 1939), 28-33.

The first verse of the sequence comes along with the note that announces the proximity of Nanjing, which is the next section of the book.[99] It is necessary to mention that there are other battle sequences in *Hōsha* before this one, however, there are several aspects that set it apart from those others. For starters, the previous sequences that include a battle start and end in very abrupt ways, almost as if they were surprise attacks. The action in those sequences is swift, but also blurry to the extent that the opposite party is never mentioned directly, nor the use of weapons. In contrast, this last sequence of the *Jiangsu Section* starts by announcing that both, the city of Nanjing and a battle, are approaching, allowing the reader to experience the same expectations that the soldiers are building.

This sequence also heavily features weaponry: gun barrels, muzzles, cartridges, and bullets. Before this section, only the proverbial gun carriage appears twice; while a sword and gunshots are mentioned each only once. Thus, the content of this particular sequence is the closest to what both, contemporaries of Hasegawa and modern readers, would consider "war haiku", not only because weapons and shots are featured in 6 verses

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[99] The verse appeared alone, without the rest of the sequence and without the note, in *both* the March 1938 and April 1938 numbers of the *Hototogisu*. In the March number, the poem is reported as being sent from Nanjing, while the April issue does not disclose Hasegawa's location. It is not clear why this particular poem was published twice. In many of his letters from China, Hasegawa would express being worried that his letters and poems might not be reaching Japan, therefore he decided to send the same poems in different letters. Nonetheless, that does not explain Kyoshi's editorial decision to publish twice the same poem.

in a row; but also, because the speaker addresses the preparations taken for the battle. At the same time, haiku poets would argue that the use of said war-related words was too obvious for war haiku and that poets should focus on other aspects of war, which explains why Hasegawa used the first half of the sequence to set the psychological tone of the anecdote.

As readers, we can get a sense of some of the planning and strategy used by our protagonist's unit on the battlefield. The speaker clearly sets three moments for this sequence: we have the expectation, the planning, and the actual confrontation divided into 10 verses, which shows Hasegawa's skill for telling a story with considerably few linguistic resources and metric restrictions. After 5 verses (expectation and planning) we have an ellipsis that brings us right to the middle of the battle. Hasegawa resorts to repetition with the expression *the frozen ground trembles* (凍土揺れ, *tōdo yure*) almost recreating the echoes produced by the gunshots on the battlefield. By framing three verses in a row with the same opening phrase, Hasegawa both freezes time, which allows the reader to focus on a particular narrative moment, and sets several simultaneous actions, providing us with the confusion that characterizes war.

Another aspect that sets this sequence aside from previous ones is that it is here that for the first time in the poetry collection the term "enemy" (敵, *teki*) appears.[100] This sequence is one of the few occasions where the speaker acknowledges directly that there is someone else on the other side of the trenches. Previous to this point, the presence of the enemy would be only subtly hinted at by the grammar used by Hasegawa, if ever. Aside from those instances, attacks on the protagonist's unit would seem to come out of nowhere and performed by no entity whatsoever, almost as if the aggressions were a natural phenomenon just like rain. However, it is very interesting that, due to the phrasing used during this sequence, we have a certain level of personification of the guns, as if they were beasts chasing down the enemy.

The sequence started announcing a battle at dawn, the battle and its bullets came, but the dawn is nowhere to be found during the sequence. The different elements repeated during the 10 poems prolong the dark, cold night where the protagonist starts his account. Just as the note said, the combat grows in intensity and violence. The road to Nanjing as it is described in the *Jiangsu Section* is gruesome due to the weather and the constant attacks. In different poems, the speaker also mentions other kinds of inconveniences such

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[100] The term appears only in 4 poems out of 214 in the book. Before this sequence, the speaker used once the term "enemy" but with the plural form of a different word in Japanese: かたきら (*katakira*).

as his boots not preventing his feet from freezing, or the soldiers sleeping on the ground only to be woken up by gunshots and getting dressed on the spot. Another sequence features a friend getting shot. It is clear that the campaign is taking a toll on the speaker's mental state, as he grows fatigued under the inclement weather and the constant fighting. Despite this, it is also evident that most of the sequences in *Hōsha* do not describe in detail most of the events that the speaker witnessed. The constant use of ellipsis, particularly when talking about a battle or a harsh moment, can be further interpreted as avoiding the subject matter, rather than resorting to a rhetorical figure. This avoidance seems to reflect the mental state of the speaker as he copes with the extreme weather, exhaustion, constant attacks, and the death of comrades.

Hasegawa Sosei at Nanjing

The Japanese military reached the gates of Nanjing on December 9th, 1937, demanding the Chinese army to surrender within 24 hours. As negotiations did not start, the Japanese decided to initiate the assault. The city fell on December 13th, 1937. Hasegawa, who entered the city by the 17th, was assigned to patrol duties and stayed in Nanjing until January 22nd, 1938. During his stay in Nanjing, Hasegawa wrote 4 letters to Takahama

Kyoshi. The letters were published months later in Hototogisu, 3 of them in the March 1938 number, and the fourth one in the April 1938 number.[101]

The first letter that was featured in the March 1938 number of *Hototogisu* has the date of December 19th, 1937. In it, Hasegawa is happy to inform Kyoshi that now they are allowed to disclose the fact that they are in Nanjing (今南京に居ることを国の人に知らせてもかまわないとの許がありました).[102] Hasegawa describes several episodes in the first paragraphs of this letter: from fighting many battles on their way to the city**,** lamenting the death of one of his friends at the front, to sharing some sweets with his comrades (大切にしまっておいたお菓子を出して), talking about the beautiful red-purple vegetation surrounding the city, and keeping an ammunition shell fragment that exploded at his feet as a keepsake (足もとにその破片がとんで来ました、記念に

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[101] In the third letter published in the *Hototogisu*'s March 1938 issue, Hasegawa explains to Kyoshi that he sent a letter before *this* one, but since it was sent by ship, it would probably not arrive on time. Hasegawa's calculations were right: this third letter is chronologically the fourth and final letter that he was able to send from Nanjing. Thus, the March 1938 issue of *Hototogisu* published the first, second and *fourth* letters of Hasegawa from Nanjing, while the April 1938 issue published the *third* letter. This was not clarified in the magazine.

Letter number 1 is the only one with a date: December 19th, 1937. In letter number 2, Hasegawa says that they are 3 days away from the New Year. In letter number 3 (chronologically the fourth one) Hasegawa says he is leaving Nanjing "that night", which probably means it was written on January 22th, 1938. Letter number 4 (chronologically the third one) was written "twenty days after the fierce battle", which positions the letter already in January 1938, before leaving the city.

[102] Sosei Hasegawa, "From the Battlefield, etc," *Hototogisu,* March 1938, 64.

ポケットに入れて保存しています).[103] He finishes the letter by informing Kyoshi that he will start thinking about what kind of haiku he will write from the city (これから句を考えます).[104] The sudden and constant shifts in tone of the letter suggest the mental state of Hasegawa, who mentions how he and his comrades received a great number of bullets from the enemy (私たちは澤山のタマを敵からうけました), but also that he is looking forward to receiving a new number of *Hototogisu*, as the last he read was from October.[105]

The other two letters that appeared in the March 1938 issue of *Hototogisu* are very brief and come without dates. In the third letter, Hasegawa mentions that it seems that they are being deployed to a very cold place and that he may end up writing cold haiku verses (こんどのところ大変寒いところのようですから、寒い寒い句が出来るかもしれません).[106] Hasegawa reports his joy of being able to read the December number of *Hototogisu* and that he is sending some haiku along with the letter. Regarding the haiku, Hasegawa is worried that he may be the only one that can understand the verses he wrote (自分だけにしかわからぬように思うわれる句が多くて不安に存じます).[107] In this letter, Hasegawa also "reports" in which battles he has participated so far: Changshu,

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[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid, 69.
[107] Ibid.

Wuxi, Changzhou, the Plan for Nanjing, and the Sweeping Operation inside Nanjing (常熟の戦闘。無錫の戦闘。常州の戦闘。南京戦略戦。南京城内掃蕩戦).[108]

In the fourth letter, published with no date in the April 1938's edition of *Hototogisu*, Hasegawa says that twenty days have passed since the fierce battle (はげしきいくさの日から二旬を経ました).[109] Hasegawa informs Kyoshi that they have access to water and electricity at Nanjing and that the enemy planes are no longer coming. He feels enthusiastic and optimistic about future battles. Suddenly, the tone of the letter changes as Hasegawa comments on the funeral of another friend, where he read the eulogy.[110] As Hasegawa says how all his comrades cried, he expresses his resolution to never forget what they felt that day (この気持ち、忘れぬつもりです).[111] Almost at the end of the *Nanjing Section* of *Hōsha* there is a sequence that describes this, the following two poems are part of it:

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[108] Ibid.

[109] In this paragraph Hasegawa also mentions that his hand "is better than compared to that time" (あの時とくらべると手などもすっかりもとの通りになりました). It is not clear what he is referring to as he did not mention any issues with his hand in previous letters. Hasegawa might be talking about an injury or even a tremble due the distress experienced in battle, as in the same paragraph he also mentions that his body has rested.

[110] Sosei Hasegawa, "From the Battlefield, etc," *Hototogisu,* April 1938, 214.

[111] After this, Hasegawa mentions that he received a letter from a friend, named Toshio. The letter included some lines written by Toshio's daughter, where she asks Hasegawa not to get hit by a bullet (ハセガワサンノオヂサン、タマニアタッテハイヤデス). Hasegawa wrote that he cried after reading it. (というのをよんで、涙が出ます).

かの丘にこれの枯野に友ら死にき

Kano oka ni koreno kareno ni tomora shiniki

On that hill, on that withered field, our friends died

彼をうめしただの枯野を忘るまじ

Kare wo umeshi tada no kareno wo wasurumaji

That withered field where he is buried… How could we ever forget it?[112]

Hasegawa also mentions in his letter that they are getting along with the Chinese people in Nanjing and that the Chinese even help them with different tasks, such as fetching water for them. He goes as far as to say that the Chinese seem to be happier now (支那人もいまの方が幸福でしょう).[113] This passage from the letter is rather surprising as the third haiku in the *Nanjing Section* of *Hōsha* reads as follows:

We are staying for a while in Nanjing for patrolling

南京を屠りぬ年もあらたまる

Nankin wo hofurinu toshi mo aratamaru

Nanjing has been slaughtered. The year changes anew.[114]

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[112] Sosei Hasegawa, "Kano oka ni", in *Hōsha*, (Tokyō, Sanseidō, 1939), 44.

[113] Sosei Hasegawa, "From the Battlefield, etc," *Hototogisu,* April 1938, 214.

[114] Sosei Hasegawa, "Nankin wo hofurinu", in *Hōsha*, (Tokyō, Sanseidō, 1939), 38.

This haiku was not featured in any issue of *Hototogisu* from 1937 to 1939. Without any doubt, what stands out from this poem is Hasegawa's use of the verb 屠りぬ (*hofurinu*) which can be understood as "to massacre", "to slaughter", "to slay" or even "to butcher". In the Japanese original, there is no grammatical subject in the verse. Who slaughtered Nanjing? Is this a "we", or a "they"? Or this "just came to happen"? Is the speaker celebrating or shocked? On the other hand, this verse uses the resource of the synecdoche: it is not specified what was massacred, it is only alluded to by mentioning the city, and there is no mention of the people. But the reason for this omission might not obey literary reasons. The verb used by Hasegawa in his composition is indeed very telling, and yet Hasegawa tells very little about the Japanese army's actions in Nanjing. The distance that the speaker puts between him and what he reports from the front is evident. Whether this is due to avoidance or trauma or even censorship regarding what happened in Nanjing is up to discussion. The speaker blends in a nonchalant fashion a note explaining their staying for patrol duties in the city with the massacre that just occurred and the advent of the new year, creating a grim collage.

The *Nanjing Section* of the book contains 16 poems, but only 2 of them make a direct reference to the atrocities that happened there: one is this haiku that features the word "slaughtered"; while the other poem refers to the "ruins of a fire" (やけあと,

yakeato).[115] Hasegawa stayed in the city for at least 6 weeks, and yet, aside from these two poems, and the ones about his friend's funeral, he did not compose any other haiku regarding the massacre or the battle. He, on the other hand, made haiku about cherry blossoms, dandelions, and bird nests in Nanjing. What is historically understood as the siege and rape of Nanjing is never fully featured in the narrative of *Hōsha*, despite his writer being present in the city during the infamous historical event.

It is worth noticing how absent war is from the *Nanjing Section* of *Hōsha*, particularly when taking into account that occupying Nanjing represented a major victory for the imperial army and that the event itself was widely covered, reported and celebrated by the news media even before the actual battle occurred. In his first letter from Nanjing Hasegawa explicitly tells Kyoshi that they are now allowed to talk about Nanjing, heavily implying a sort of gag order from the military regarding their operations in China. Hasegawa's letters and poems, as well as the letters and poems from other poets in the front, that were published in *Hototogisu* always appeared in printed text; thus, manipulation, edition, and censorship of their contents cannot be overruled.[116]

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[115] やけあとに民のいとなみ芽麦伸ぶ (*yakeato ni tami no itonami memugi nobu*), *In the ruins of a fire, the people grow wheat buds.*

[116] It is possible to appreciate within the pages of *Hototogisu* that sometimes some letters or poems from contributors were published in a facsimile fashion, featuring the handwriting of the authors or even some

On a different note, Hasegawa describes the Chinese people as happy and cooperative in one of his letters from Nanjing. It is important to note that the Japanese invasion occurred at the same time as China was amidst a civil war, where some factions did indeed see the Japanese Army as allies and even saviors. However, the modern consensus is that the massacre and looting of the city lasted at least 6 weeks, starting from December 13th. This is almost the same length as Hasegawa's stay at Nanjing, which cast doubts over what Hasegawa describes in his letters.

The poem alluding to the massacre is brutally honest with its choice of words, and yet incredibly measured with the information it shares. Just as measured as the entire *Nanjing Section*, that comes as dull even for Hasegawa's contemporaries. Yamaguchi Seishi, for example, did a review of the war haiku that Hasegawa sent to the *Hototogisu* magazine. After greatly praising him, Seishi does admit that some of Hasegawa's poems from the front seem to have been composed "two or three steps afar from the war itself" (戦争そのものから二歩も三歩も退いて詠ったもの), to criticize how sometimes Hasegawa drifts away from the war as a subject.[117] As an example of this,

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displays of calligraphy. However, this was not the case with Hasegawa's letters from the war front that were published between 1937 and 1939 in the magazine.

[117] Seishi Yamaguchi, "Hasegawa *Sosei No Sakuhin*" in *Yamaguchi Seishi Haiku Shoron* (Tokyo: Kawadeshobo, 1940), 278.

Yamaguchi uses one of the poems that first appeared in the March 1938 issue of Hototogisu and that later would appear in the *Nanjing Section* of *Hōsha*:

Outside Nanjing walls.[118]

たんぽぽやいま江南にいくさやむ[119]

Tanpopo ya ima Kōnan ni ikusa yamu[120]

Dandelions; the battle at Jiangnan now ceases[121]

Jiangnan is the geographical area south of the Yangtze River, where Nanjing is situated. The speaker creates a rather idyllic atmosphere by mentioning the dandelions, and, just as Yamaguchi pointed out, the speaker clearly makes a distance between him and the battle, almost as if he did not participate in it.

At the end of letter number 4 from Nanjing, Hasegawa says that soon they would be deployed again, but he does not know where to (どこへ行くのかわかりませんが).[122] He finishes the letter by wondering if the other *haijin* in China are using their

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[118] The *Hototogisu*'s version of the poem comes without the note.

[119] Sosei might referencing to the Chinese poet Du Mu's (杜牧 803–852) famous poem *Spring in Jiangnan* (江南春). In his poem, Du Mu describes the peaceful landscape of *Jiangnan* during the Spring.

[120] Dandelions, though often associated with Spring, are also featured in Winter-themed haiku. In his second letter from Nanjing, Hasegawa mentions that the city "was terribly cold both yesterday and today, now the snow flurry scatters away." (南京もきのうきょう大変寒くなりました、今風花が散って居ります). The word that Hasegawa uses in the letter for the snow flurry is *kazabana* (風花) which is a compound of the *kanji* for "wind" and "flower" which might explain why he used dandelions for this haiku,

[121] Sosei Hasegawa, "Tanpopo ya", in *Hōsha*, (Tokyo, Sanseidō, 1939), 41.

[122] Sosei Hasegawa, "From the Battlefield, etc," *Hototogisu,* April 1938, 214.

experiences on the war front to compose haiku, as he is unease about the possibility of only him being over-emotional when composing (俳人、どんな句、作ってられるでしょうか。戦場での俳句、ものになっているでしょうか、いつも心配です。自分だけで感動しすぎているのではないかということが不安です).[123]

Though some sense of distress and uneasiness is conveyed in his letters, Hasegawa does not mention the massacre or any other of the horrors performed by the Japanese Army. Instead, sometimes the letters show Hasegawa as a poet waiting for inspiration rather than a soldier that just participated in a major battle. Censorship from the military might have been a factor that contributed to both the content of the letters and the poems that Hasegawa wrote in Nanjing, but it might be possible that Hasegawa himself was trying to avoid certain topics. Due to this, the *Nanjing Section* of *Hōsha* is perhaps the most disjointed of the book, with some poems, like the dandelions one, breaking the flow of the narrative. There is only one short sequence in the section that refers to a funeral, most likely, an allusion to the funeral mentioned in Hasegawa's letters. After that sequence, the speaker of *Hōsha* decides to walk alone and goes to a place where he observes falling leaves. The second to last poem of the section reads as follows:

落葉ふかしけりけりゆきて心たのし

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[123] Ibid.

Ochiba fukashi kerikeri yukite kokoro tanoshi

Kicking falling leaves to my heart's content[124]

The last poem of the *Nanjing Section* just describes cherry blossoms and wheat buds emerging. After leaving the occupied capital on January 22nd, 1938, Hasegawa's company went back to the province of Hebei.

The Battle of Xuzhou

From January to the beginning of April 1938, Hasegawa's unit was assigned to patrol duties in different cities in the province of Hebei, being his second time there. They also patrolled neighboring provinces. At the same time, the Japanese Imperial Army put into motion their plan to take the city of Xuzhou in the Jiangsu province, by means of an encirclement. The 16th Division, part of the North China Area Army, was mobilized by train towards the city of Jinan, in the Shandong province, arriving on April 26th, 1938. The *Shandong Section* is the tenth in *Hōsha* and comes before the *Xuzhou Section* and is also one of the shortest with only 5 haiku poems. In the poems of this section, the speaker mentions freight cars and intense heat.

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[124] Sosei Hasegawa, "Ochiba fukashi", in *Hōsha*, (Tokyō, Sanseidō, 1939), 46.

In a letter dated July 17th, published in the September 1938, issue of *Hototogisu*, the poet explains how they left the city of Jinan in the Shandong province.[125] As Hasegawa describes in his letter, they pursued the enemy along the west coast of the Weishan lake, in the Shandong province, as they performed a rear attack on Xuzhou (微山湖の西側の敵を追いながら徐州の裏から攻めたんです).[126] The *Shandong Section* of *Hōsha* includes a poem with a note that reads: "Participated at the front in Xuzhou" (徐州戦線に参加).[127]

They reached Jiulishan mountain, situated northwest of Xuzhou by May 18th. Xuzhou fell on May 19th, 1938. The name of the mountain appears on a note of a poem that uses the word "mountain" (山, *yama*) in the *Xuzhou Section* of *Hōsha.* In his letter, Hasegawa claims that they have not rested since the fall of Xuzhou and are constantly on the move, indicating that the letter was written after Xuzhou was taken. However, it is necessary to note that in the *Xuzhou Section* there is a note that read as follows: "I have heard about Xuzhou being surrounded" (徐州の包囲成りしと聞く).[128] Some pages

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[125] The letter does not provide a location. Instead, Hasegawa's name appears next to 北支 (*kitashi),* which was understood as "Northern China", however it seems to be the case that this is actually the abbreviation for the Japanese North China Area Army. As with the former example, some of Hasegawa's letters and poems, as well as the ones from other people writing from the front, appeared in *Hototogisu* with the regiment's or division's name instead of a geographical location, perhaps due to not being allowed to disclose their exact location.

[126] Sosei Hasegawa, "From the Battlefield, etc," *Hototogisu,* September 1938, 49.

[127] Sosei Hasegawa, *Hōsha*, (Tokyo, Sanseidō, 1939), 80.

[128] Sosei Hasegawa, *Hōsha*, (Tokyo, Sanseidō, 1939), 87.

later, a different note reads: "Thus, Xuzhou has fallen. That night we advanced West" (かくて徐州は陥ちぬ。その夜われら西進).[129] This suggests that Hasegawa never entered the city, for reasons that we would see later. The beginning of the *Xuzhou Section* focuses on the speaker's unit dragging the gun carriage through a mountain road; the vehicle is mentioned directly only twice, though.[130] As the speaker describes this, they are suddenly attacked, which triggers the next sequence which closes this section:

石ころとあか土と灼け弾痕焦げ

Ishikoro to akatsuchi to yake dankon koge

Scorching pebbles and red soil: a burn bullet wound

汗に饐えし千人針を彼捨てず

Ase ni sueshi senninbari wo kare sutezu

Reeking of sweat; yet he won't cast aside his *senninbari*

彼を負ひ彼の汗の手前に垂れ

Kare wo oi kare no ase no temae ni tare

Carrying him over my back: his sweat drops over me

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[129] Sosei Hasegawa, *Hōsha*, (Tokyo, Sanseidō, 1939), 96.

[130] Through the 21 verses that comprises the *Xuzhou Section* there are some terms that appear constantly: "wheat" (麦, *mugi*), "sweat" (汗, *ase*) and terms related to the heat such as "sweltering heat" and "intense heat" (炎熱, *ennetsu*, 酷暑, *kokusho*). These terms will be carried to the next section of the book.

汗は目に傷兵の銃と二つ負ひ

Ase wa me ni shouhei no to juu futatsu oi

With sweat in my eyes, I carry the wounded soldier's rifle and mine

血を止めんと軍医は汗を地におとす

Chi wo tomento gun'i wa ase wo chi ni otosu

Trying to stop the bleeding; the army surgeon drops his sweat onto the ground

横たはり酷暑の血しほかわく胸

Yokotawari kokusho no chishio kawaku mune

Lying down in the intense heat; blood dries on his chest

かをりやんの葉もて担架の顔を覆ふ

Koriyan no ha mote tanka no kao wo oou

With sorghum leaves I go to the stretcher and cover his face

月落ちぬ傷兵いのち終りしとき

Tsuki ochinu shouhei inochi owarishi toki

The moon sets as the wounded soldier's life comes to an end

Thus, Xuxhou has fallen. On that night we marched to the west.

風あつくいくさのにはの夜を吹く

Kaze atsuku ikusa no niwa no yoru wo fuku

Hot wind blows at night over the garden of war[131]

This sequence is one of the rare instances where Hasegawa allows us to glimpse into the personal effects of the soldiers. In other verses, Hasegawa would mention some elements of the army uniform such as an overcoat or boots, but here he introduces the *senninbari* (千人針, lit. "Thousand-person-stitches") a piece of cloth decorated with 1000 stitches that became popular as a charm against harm amongst Japanese soldiers since the First Sino-Japanese War. Though there are different versions of it, the one featured in this sequence is most likely a headband. The mention of this amulet is very poignant as the makers of *senninabari* would ask Japanese women to contribute to war efforts by adding a stitch to the cloth, hence its name. Therefore, the amulet is a reference to the wounded soldier's bond with his people.

Another interesting aspect of this sequence is the comrade that carries the wounded soldier. Though it is not directly written in the Japanese text, the grammar suggests that the speaker is the one who helps the wounded man, their sweat mixing as the verses continue, passing from them to the army surgeon, whose sweats drop onto the ground. What is really fascinating is that this is not the first time that the image of dripping

[131] Sosei Hasegawa, "Ishikoro to", in *Hōsha*, (Tokyō, Sanseidō, 1939), 92-96.

sweat onto the ground (汗を地におとす, *ase wo chi ni otosu*) is used during this section of the book. Before this sequence we have two verses that use a similar image:[132]

地図の上に汗を落して命令聞く

Chizu no ue ni ase wo otoshite meirei kiku

My sweat drops onto the map as I listen to the orders[133]

砲車はをどり砲手は汗を地におとし

Hōsha wa wodori houshu wa ase wo chi ni otoshi

The gun carriage handler drops his sweat onto the ground[134]

Then, as we continue, the sweat is exuded by the wounded soldier, the protagonist and, finally, the surgeon. Thus, "sweat " helps to maintain the narrative cohesion of this section of the book. As it passes from one character to another it works not only as a reminder of the intense heat but also of the hardships that the protagonist and his unit endure, creating a sense of unity between the soldiers, not to forget the cohesion between sequences. However, the wounded soldier soon switches from profusely sweating to profusely

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132 The first example appears at the beginning of the *Xuzhou Section* before the mobilization of the gun carriage, five verses later the second example appears, right before the attack where the soldier gets wounded.

133 Sosei Hasegawa, "Chizu no ue ni", in *Hōsha*, (Tokyo, Sanseidō, 1939), 85.

134 Sosei Hasegawa, "Hōsha wa wodori", in *Hōsha*, (Tokyo, Sanseidō, 1939), 89.

bleeding, announcing his impending fate.[135]

The last verse of this sequence shifts to the battlefield, almost like panning away from everything that just happened. In this verse, Hasegawa writes in katakana the expression いくさのには (*ikusa no niwa*), that corresponds to 軍の庭 (*ikusa no niwa*), an expression for the battlefield that literally means "the garden of battle/war." The expression is rather poetic and dates from the 13th century. It is difficult to tell if Hasegawa intends to be ironic with this expression or not, as "the garden of war" might as well be a wasteland full of corpses in Hasegawa's eyes by this point in the narrative.

The encirclement planned by the Japanese Army was not entirely successful: a large number of Chinese troops found their way through gaps in the Japanese lines and escaped towards the west, some of them forming guerrillas, hence why in the last note of the *Xuzhou Section* the speaker explains that they are moving toward the West.[136]

Unlike in his letters from Nanjing, Hasegawa does not mention the death of a comrade in his letter published in September 1938 in *Hototogisu*. But, just as in the

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[135] For a book about war, the word "blood" only appears 3 times in *Hōsha*, 2 of those occasions are in this sequence; while the first use of the word occurs earlier in the book when another soldier (the speaker refers to him as "friend") is also wounded. In contrast, the word "sweat" appears 13 times in the book.

[136] The persecution of these groups is also mentioned in further sections of *Hōsha.* The speaker refers to them using the kanji 匪 which can be translated as "ruffian", making a distinction from the Chinese Army. The kanji appears 5 times in the poetry collection.

Nanjing letters, there is a sudden shift in the tone as Hasegawa writes about how happy he is as he got correspondence from his friends as well as the May and July issues of *Hototogisu* (ホトトギス五月六月と同時に入手しましたし、友人たちの手紙もかためて手に入れることが出来ました).[137] The magazine and his constant worries about his haiku not being delivered to Japan are present in most of his letters from the front, and Hasegawa clearly expresses feeling comfort from reading it, as is obvious that it serves as a distraction and coping mechanism from the war.[138]

It is also in the letter published in September 1938 where Hasegawa mentions being sick while on the front, as he “did his best fighting while sick” (病気のままで頑張りつづけて).[139] He does not discloses what is his affliction, but states that he has not smoked for a month because of it, (いくさの途中、病気のままで頑張りつ続けて、そうでなくてさえくたくたのところへ病の衰弱と、それにたばこを一か月以上も口にせぬ今日この頃これが非常に私の心を元気にしてくれました).[140] Hasegawa always downplays in his letters his condition, even though admitting that he is tired and weak, in the end, it was due to his illness that he was discharged and sent back to Japan. The speaker of *Hōsha* does complaint, though, about being abstinent from

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[137] Sosei Hasegawa, "From the Battlefield, etc," *Hototogisu,* September 1938, 49.

[138] Hasegawa mentions the magazine in 8 of the letters published in *Hototogisu* in 1938.

[139] Sosei Hasegawa, "From the Battlefield, etc," *Hototogisu,* September 1938, 49.

[140] Ibid.

tobacco in one verse that appeared in the October 1938 issue of *Hototogisu*, later appearing in the *Henan Section* of Hōsha:

たばこ欲りあまきもの欲り雨季ながし

Tabako hori amakimono hori uki nagashi

Craving a cigarette, craving sweets. How long the rainy season is…[141]

The 1938 Yellow River Flood

In an attempt to halt the rapid advance of Japanese forces, the Chinese Government decided to destroy a dike on the Yellow River's south bank between June 5th and 7th 1938. The waters flooded into the Henan, Anhui, and Jiangsu provinces. Millions of civilians were affected, many perished, while others became destitute as they lost their lands. By this moment, Hasegawa was stationed at Henan, as part of the operation of pursuing the guerrilla groups that formed from the attack on Xuzhou. The 16th Division became isolated due to the flood currents and even was reported as missing on June 12th. Nevertheless, Hasegawa's post at Henan was the longest, leaving the flooded area by July 7th.

The *Henan Section* of *Hōsha* is the longest of the poetry collection, formed by 50 haiku. The section opens with a mention of the rainy season, (雨季, *uki*) a word that

[141] Sosei Hasegawa, "Tabako hori", in *Hōsha*, (Tōkyō, Sanseidō, 1939), 101.

appears 8 times during this part of the poetry collection. It is worth noticing that the Yellow River flood did coincide with the rainy season at that moment, however, it is not clear if Hasegawa and his unit were aware that the flood was man-made. Likewise, the flood is not mentioned in any of the letters from Hasegawa published in *Hototogisu* in 1938.[142] At one point of their stay at Henan the speaker of *Hōsha* mentions in one note that he is stationed for patrolling duties in Neihuang County, situated at the north of the province. 8 verses later this sequence appears:

Outside the city walls.

疫病は雨季の汚物とともに来ぬ

Ekibyō wa uki no obutsu to tomo ni kinu

The plague has come along with the rainy season's filth

日々死にて土民コレラを知らず怖づ

Hibi shinite domin korera wo shirazu otzu

Dying every day: the locals fear cholera without knowing what it is

コレラ怖ぢ土民コレラの汚物と住む

Korera oji domin korera no obutsu to sumu

Fearing cholera, the locals live with in its filth

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142 On the other hand, the word "quagmire" (泥濘, *teinei*) and "flood" (氾濫, *hanran*) appear 3 and 2 times respectively in the *Henan Section* of *Hōsha*. Evidently, the speaker of Hōsha provides no information regarding the sudden flood.

野に捨てしコレラにからす群れ駆くる

No ni suteshi korera ni karasu mure kakuru

Left in the fields...to the cholera and crows gathering in a murder

城門の出で入り厳にコレラ入れじと

Joumon no ideirii gen ni korera ireji to

People come and go through the sealed city gates...Surely cholera would not enter along with them[143]

The sequence starts not with a *kigo* but with the word “epidemic” itself (疫病, *ekibyō*) setting the tone for this particular episode. Hasegawa portrays this epidemic as something akin to the filth that is dragged by the flood currents. Nature is no longer a meteorological phenomenon but a disease. “Rainy season” (雨季, *uki*) seems to be the *kigo* for the first verse, reminding us of the intense summer that the speaker is experiencing. This is the last time that this word appears in the book. It should be mentioned that *uki* is a homophone with the word “sorrow” (憂き, *uki*); which could add to the dreadful atmosphere of the poetry collection. Most of *Hōsha*’s narrative focuses on the misfortunes of the protagonist’s unit, it is more akin to an unfortunate outdoor excursion than to a military invasion.

[143] Sosei Hasegawa, "Yakubyō wa", in *Hōsha*, (Tōkyō, Sanseidō, 1939), 117-119.

In this sequence, though, the speaker focuses on the Chinese people and how they are affected by the epidemic.[144] He says that they do not know that they are being afflicted by cholera. As in many other instances during *Hōsha*, it is difficult to tell if the speaker is being empathetic towards the civilians or if he is stressing their ignorance. During this cholera sequence, the speaker does not mention if his comrades share the same concerns as the Chinese regarding the epidemic nor if the Japanese soldiers are afflicted too by the disease. The other diseases that are mentioned in the book do afflict the Japanese soldiers, but it seems that the cholera epidemic has only come for the Chinese. Cholera is also not mentioned in the letters from Hasegawa published in 1938 in *Hototogisu*.

The third verse furthers this ambiguity between sympathy and animosity towards the locals as they are portrayed living amongst the same filth that carries the disease that they fear. Is Hasegawa showing us the precarious living situation of innocent civilians or is he displaying their ignorance? In many instances, the speaker of *Hōsha* seems to set a

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[144] In many instances in *Hōsha*, the speaker would refer to the Chinese as "(the) locals", either with the word "*tami"* (民) or with the word *domin* (土民) appearing 7 and 2 times respectively in the book. On one single occasion, the term "Chinese people/ the Han race" (漢民族, *kanminzoku*) is used. On other occasions the Chinese people would only be alluded to in a metonymic fashion such as in the verse: "Begging for food they extend their fingers numbed by the cold" (食を乞ふかじかめる掌の指ひらき, *Shoku wo kou kajikameru tenohira no yubi hiraki*). The use of this kind of nomenclature to refer to the locals contributes to the ambiguity of the speaker's stance on the Chinese people.

distance between war, the Japanese Army actions, and the suffering of the locals. Likewise, the speaker seldom mentions any direct aggression against the Chinese. Instead, the locals seem to suffer from extreme weather, famine, natural disasters, and diseases, anything but the actions of an enemy army, or in this case, their own government. Regardless, it is known that a portion of the civilians of the area ended up cooperating with the Japanese as they became enraged with the operation that destroyed their lands and killed their people, while other parts of the population decided to join the guerrilla groups and fight against the Japanese invaders.

Though it is evident that there is a distinction between combatants and civilians, it is difficult to say if the speaker feels sympathy or indifference toward the general population of China. At the same time, the speaker never acknowledges that the presence of the Japanese army may be a factor that exacerbates the civilians' misery, nor does he imply that the Japanese are helping them either. On the other hand, the speaker spends many episodes of the book describing how miserable his unit is as they march under the inclement weather. Thus, this sequence is one of the few examples in *Hōsha* where the suffering of the Chinese people is acknowledged by the speaker. In the case of Hasegawa's letters, he only talks about civilians in his 4th letter from Nanjing.

The Way Back Home

On August 23rd, 1938, Hasegawa Sosei was admitted to a hospital ship in Quingdao, a city in eastern Shandong province that was under Japanese control. A letter with that date was published in the October 1938 issue of *Hototogisu*. In this letter, Hasegawa mentions having problems with his left lung and that he also contracted the beriberi disease, the symptoms affecting his heart (左の肺尖が少々やられているのと、脚気で心臓が肥大しているんだそうです).[145] This disease appears in the *Henan Section* of the poetry collection:

おくれつつかをりやんの中に下痢する兵

Okuretsutsu koryan no naka ni geri suru hei

Amongst the sorghum, a soldier excreting diarrhea

脚気患者雨季のいくさを敢てゆく

Kakke kansha uki no ikusa wo aete yuku

The beriberi patient going daringly into the rainy season's battle[146]

Diarrhea is one of the risk factors for developing beriberi disease. It is worth noting that in the original Japanese the speaker seems to be speaking in the third person, which

145 Sosei Hasegawa, "From the Battlefield, etc," *Hototogisu,* October 1938, 148.
146 Sosei Hasegawa, "Okuretsutsu", in *Hōsha*, (Tokyo, Sanseidō, 1939), 100-101.

contributes to the distance put between him and the events that occurred in China. At this point in *Hōsha*, the speaker is not sick at all. Despite his dire condition, Hasegawa says in his letter that he has the conviction that he would go back to the battlefield (其うち間もなく第一線にもどれることを確信しています).[147]

The last two sections of *Hōsha* differ completely in tone from the rest of the collection as the events described occur in a hospital setting. The change of setting comes without any notice, as disease or injuries were not the focus of the narrative. Aside from the examples presented here, there is barely any hint that the speaker of *Hōsha* is sick. The last poem of *Hōsha* reads as follows:

> 夜は暑く看護師をよぶ聲あちこち
>
> *Yoru wa atsuku kangoshi wo yobu koe achicochi*
>
> The night is hot. Here and there, voices call for the nurses…[148]

The last letters that Hasegawa sent from China were written in the hospital ship and they were published in the October and December 1938 issues of *Hototogisu*, though Hasegawa returned to Japan on October 28th. War is never mentioned in these letters. Rather, we see a Hasegawa that is excited about receiving issues of *Hototogisu*, happy to see his haiku published in them (私の句がありましたのでうれしく存じま

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[147] Sosei Hasegawa, "From the Battlefield, etc," *Hototogisu,* October 1938, 148.

[148] Sosei Hasegawa, "Yoru wa atsuku", in *Hōsha*, (Tokyo, Sanseidō, 1939), 131.

した), bored for not getting new issues, to the point of having to read the same one over and over again (ひまなので九月號はすみから隅までもう読みつくしてしまいました).[149] He also talks about how many *haijin* are visiting him in the hospital, one of them, Mishino, taking special care of him, lending him his copies of *Hototogisu*.[150]

Hasegawa arrived first at Hiroshima. It is not clear if once in Hiroshima he stayed hospitalized in the ship or if he was transferred to a hospital in the city. After this, Hasegawa was sent to a military hospital in Kyoto in November 1938. He continued to be published in *Hototogisu* and in the *Haiku Kenkyū* magazine while hospitalized. During his stay in Kyoto, Hasegawa sent the draft of *Hōsha* to Kyoshi with a letter dated November 12th, 1938, where he asked Kyoshi to write the foreword for the poetry collection.[151] *Hōsha* was released on April 10th, 1939, while Hasegawa was discharged from hospitalization until June 6th, 1939.

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[149] Sosei Hasegawa, "From the Battlefield, etc," *Hototogisu,* October 1938, 149.

[150] In the October 1938 issue of *Hototogisu*, a letter from Mishino appears after Hasegawa's letters. He reports on Hasegawa's condition, saying that he was hospitalized due to the beriberi, but that the patient is in high spirits. Mishino comes sometimes with his wife and kids, who are with him in China. The poet also reports how happy Hasegawa was when he got one of the issues of *Hototogisu* (九月號のホトトギスも来るとすぐ持たせてやりましたら大変喜んでくれました).

[151] Sato Hiroaki (2018, 169) says that it was Kyoshi who selected the 214 haiku that form the collection, making it difficult to determine the narrative behind the editorial process of *Hōsha*.

The Reception of Hasegawa Sosei's War Haiku Published in *Hototogisu*

Hasegawa's war haiku was not only being published in *Hototogisu* as he sent them to Japan: some of his poems were also reviewed by other poets in the magazine. These reviews would appear in the *Hototogisu*'s *Miscellaneous Haiku Review* section. The fact that there are reviews of Hasegawa's war haiku before the publication of *Hōsha* shows how Hasegawa and his poems were not only becoming popular, but also were being deemed valuable as compositions that portrayed the reality of war. An example of this is the review of the following haiku:

みいくさは酷寒の野をおほひ征く[152]

Miikusa wa kokkan no no ōi yuku

The emperor's army, covering the extremely cold field with their march[153]

The haiku was originally published in January 1938, while the review was published in February 1938. Two poets did the review: Satō Yōjin (1885- 1977) and Ōhashi Ōhashi (1895-1971). Yōjin greatly praises the poem commenting on the sense of loneliness (さみしみ) that it displays. On the other hand, he also remarks how "extreme cold" (酷寒,

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[152] *Miikusa* is a term used to refer to the emperor's army. The expression appears written in hiragana in the haiku (みいくさ), the world's kanji form is: 御軍. The expression dates as far as A.D 720 and it also appears in the Man'yōshū written phonetically with *ateji*.

[153] Sosei Hasegawa, "Miikusa", in *Hōsha*, (Tokyo, Sanseidō, 1939), 53.

kokkan) serves a as powerful seasonal word.[154] He expresses having a great deal of respect toward Hasegawa for fighting in such cold weather (寒野に征する作家深き敬意).[155]

On his part, Ōhashi highly praises the poem, explaining that normally people can visualize the war front through the newsreels, newspapers, and photographs in magazines (ニュース映書によって、また新聞雑誌等の戦争写真によって屡々かかる場面を眼にした).[156] Ōhashi says that the moment he read this verse he was able to connect all the images provided by said media in his head, coming up with a clear image of the war front as if he were there. Regardless, he praises this particular haiku for its level of expression (表現力). And finalizing by saying that this verse was a gem amongst the compositions of the time. (まことに時局諷詠中の逸品と称すべきであろう).[157]

As it was mentioned previously, Yamaguchi Seishi wrote a review of Hasegawa's war haiku. The review titled *The Works of Hasegawa Sosei* (長谷川素逝の作品, *Hasegawa Sosei no Sakuhin*) was published in 1938, one year before the publication of *Hōsha*. In his review, Yamaguchi focuses first on the merits of war haiku in general,

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[154] The word can be translated also as "severe cold", "intense cold" or "depth of winter". It should be noted that the first kanji of the world means "cruel".

[155] Yōjin, "Miscellaneous Verses Review," *Hototogisu,* February 1938, 50-51.

[156] Ōhashi, "Miscellaneous Verses Review," *Hototogisu,* February 1938, 52.

[157] Ibid.

explaining that it has no value just by conveying war itself, instead, the poet should focus on an aspect of war that could be turned into a poem. However, Yamaguchi does acknowledge that poets could also drown their verses in too much poetic sentiment, concluding that there is a need for balance between lyrical technique and lyrical sentiment when composing war front haiku, the type of war haiku that he considered as “true” (「前戦俳句」が眞の「戦争俳句」だ) After this, Yamaguchi introduces Hasegawa Sosei as “an author that is currently at the front" and considers him “promising”. Yamaguchi does provide the reader with 6 verses from Hasegawa, without adding any significant comment or analysis on them, aside from presenting the first 4 as “severe poems of (what) occur at the war front” (これは、前線における「厳しい詩」である).[158] Yamaguchi discusses the balance between technique and sentiment in war haiku in general, but not in Hasegawa’s haiku. Yamaguchi seems to be more interested in how veracious Hasegawa's poems are and how they convey the reality of war.

These examples of some of the reviews that Hasegawa’s war haiku received as they were published while Hasegawa was on the war front shed some light on how war haiku was assessed during wartime. Though the reviewers do praise some of the content

[158] Yamaguchi, “Hasegawa Sosei No Sakuhin.”, *Yamaguchi Seishi Haiku Shoron*, 1940, 279.

of Hasegawa's war haiku, they tend to shift to praise Hasegawa himself for his military service, which occurs also in other reviews on Hasegawa published in *Hototogisu*'s *Miscellaneous Haiku Review* section. On the other hand, Yamaguchi Seishi's review shows how discussing Hasegawa's war haiku was an excuse to discuss war haiku in general. The reason behind this tendency of talking about Hasegawa as a soldier, or to discuss war haiku in general rather than reviewing Hasegawa's haiku might be related to the fact Hasegawa's first war poems were being published just as the war was developing. As the war started recently, so did war haiku, and the poets on the home front face the challenge of promoting war haiku at a time when haiku poetry was not relevant.

The Structure of *Hōsha*: Sections, Foreword and Afterword

While Hasegawa was still hospitalized, *Hōsha* was released. The poem collection differed greatly from how Hasegawa's haiku were published originally in *Hototogisu*. The original 1939 edition of *Hōsha* has an 11-page foreword written by Takahama Kyoshi and a 3-pages afterword written by Hasegawa. The 214 haiku are distributed along 131 pages. The book has no index; however, the names of the Chinese provinces that serve as a setting for the narrative appear above the page numbers. Therefore, the book can be divided into sections, even though there are no marks to announce the change from one province to another. The sections of *Hōsha* are presented in the following order, reflecting

most of Hasegawa's route through China:

Title of the section	**Name of the Location in Chinese**	**Number of Poems Included**
内地 Inland (*Naichi*)	N/A	2
船上 Shipboard (*Senjō*)	N/A	2
河北 *Kahoku*	*Hebei*	15
江蘇 *Kōso*	*Jiangsu*	40
南京 *Nanking*	*Nanjing*	16
船上 Shipboard (*Senjō*)	N/A	3
河北 *Kahoku*	*Hebei*	32
山西 *Sansei*	*Shanxi*	5
河北 *Kahoku*	*Hebei*	16
山東 *Santō*	*Shandong*	5
徐州 *Joshū*	*Xuzhou*	21

河南 *Kanan*	*Henan*	50
山東 *Santō*	*Shandong*	5
船上 Shipboard (*Senjō*)	N/A	2

In his foreword, Kyoshi stresses Hasegawa's rank and how he fought in the severe heat and cold (酷熱酷寒と闘い) and wrote his haiku amidst "the gunpowder smoke and a rain of bullets"(砲煙弾雨の中を潜り).[159] Kyoshi laments how Hasegawa had to be hospitalized and sent home, while at the same time commends how the Haiku that Hasegawa composed based on the China Incident is the best example amongst all the poets that participated at the front (第一人者), recommended it as the best example of literature born from the war (戦争の生んだ文芸品の上乗なるものとして推奨する).[160] It must be noticed that by this moment in Japan, anyone that aspired to gain recognition as a *haijin* needed the approval of Takahama Kyoshi, either by having their works published in the *Hototogisu* magazine or, even better, by having a prologue for the poetry collections written by the master himself. Kyoshi's opinion was deemed so highly

[159] Kyoshi Takahama, "Prologue", in *Hōsha*, (Tokyo, Sanseidō, 1939), 2.

[160] Kyoshi finalizes his foreword by including 19 haiku written by Hasegawa's wife, Fumiko. Kyoshi describes Fumiko's haiku as "moving", and that her verses convey longing and quietness (思慕静居).

that fragments of Kyoshi's prologue for *Hōsha* were used to advertise the book. We can find examples of this in the ads featured within the pages of the June and November 1939 issues of the *Haiku Kenkyū* magazine, which speaks volumes of the weight that Kyoshi's sanction had amongst the poets of the period. The ad that appeared in the June issue includes 6 haiku examples from *Hōsha*, and the phrase "Written with a vigorous spirit and a noble tone; an important memorial of the China Incident!" (雄勁なる精神、高朗なる声調を以てつづる支那事変の一大記念塔!). The ad in the November issue does not include any haiku but comes with the phrase "Praised by the whole Haiku Establishment! An immortal memorial of the China Incident!" (全俳壇絶讃!　支那事変不滅の記念塔!).[161] These phrases illustrate how the so-called China Incident was sometimes casually used as an advertising strategy in the literary world.

In his brief afterword to his poetry collection, Hasegawa claims that most of his poems were composed while on horseback, writing over his map and in a notebook, where he used big letters. "The notebook now is worn down due to rain and sweat but is one of my dearest mementos." (この集の大部分の句は、馬の上で地図の上に走り書きし

[161] Both phrases are not part of Kyoshi's prologue and appear uncredited in the ads.

たり、まっくらな夜中、手帳に大きな字でさぐり書きしたりものが多い。その手帳は雨と汗でぼろぼろになっているけれど、私には一生の記念である。).

Hasegawa's afterword is the only instance in *Hōsha* where the author is present. Aside from that, Hasegawa is reduced to the figure of the speaker of the poems, blurring the line between him and his poetic persona. Kyoshi is the one that presents the poem collection and the one that briefly mentions the hardships that Hasegawa endured during his military campaign. Kyoshi does not mention in his foreword the existence of Hasegawa's letters, which were not included in *Hōsha*. Likewise, the book does not include maps or any paratexts that could help the reader to understand Hasegawa's journey.

As it should be expected, Hasegawa presents himself in a modest light. He does not discuss his military background, nor the hardships he endured in China. His notebook is the one worn down by the rain and sweat, not him. If anything, Hasegawa elaborates a rather romanticized image of his writing process: on a horseback or during dark nights. This romanticized vision heavily contrasts with his letters from China, where he mentions everything from battles to him breaking in tears due to the hardships of military life and his close encounters with death.

A noteworthy element of Hasegawa's afterword is the mention of the poet's notebook, which by all purposes should be considered the first draft of *Hōsha*. According to Aaron William Moore, all Japanese servicemen received pocket-sized "war notebooks" to use as field diaries. These war notebooks would include military ballads, Chinese phrases and all kinds of messages related to emperor worship and Shintoism (2009, 146). These notebooks would be subject to inspection, and soldiers could be required to destroy them if deemed necessary, however, inspections were not held at military hospitals.[162] Thus, most likely, Hasegawa wrote his haiku in a war notebook like the ones Moore describes. Hasegawa most likely was able to keep his notebook as he was hospitalized in China and returned to Japan on a military hospital ship.

When discussing how to analyze war diaries from the Second Sino-Japanese War, Moore argues that we should abandon assumptions behind concepts such as "privacy" and "authenticity" as extraordinary conditions come into play when producing texts like said diaries. *Hōsha* is by no means a war diary, but it is Hasegawa's war account, originally written in a war notebook provided by the army. Although the experience of war is indescribable, soldiers that wrote in the war front pushed language in an attempt to do so. Whether soldiers accounts were considered public or private, said distinction

[162] Moore explains that it is "not entirely clear what an 'inspection' consisted of", but scholars that research the topic acknowledge the existence of the inspection system, though they understand it poorly (2009, 169).

becomes nearly meaningless as servicemen reproduced official discourses in their narrative (Moore 2009, 75).

The Foreword and the Afterword of *Hōsha* provide us with different views and characterizations of Hasegawa Sosei. On one hand, Kyoshi stresses the idea of Hasegawa being a soldier that endured several vicissitudes on the war front. On the other hand, Hasegawa elaborates a romanticized view of his poem's composition process. Kyoshi starts his foreword for *Hōsha* by talking about his haiku master Masaoka Shiki's "unfortunate" incursion as a war correspondent in 1895 during the First Sino-Japanese War. The conflict was officially over the moment Shiki arrived in China, preventing him from seeing any actual battle (Takahama 1939,1). Comparing Hasegawa to the Great Master Shiki was indeed a bold move from Kyoshi, who declares in his foreword for *Hōsha* that Hasegawa was able, without even meaning it, to accomplish something that Shiki sought to do but was not able to (Takahama 1939, 2-3). However, it must be noted that Kyoshi is rather talking about Hasegawa experiencing war. Kyoshi never compares Shiki's haiku style to Hasegawa's, as it is evident that by no means Kyoshi would think that Hasegawa was a better *haijin* than Shiki. To some extent, Kyoshi is rather evasive regarding assessing Hasegawa's war haiku, focusing more on the themes of the poems and how they reflected Hasegawa's war experiences than on their literary quality.

There is an evident tension between *Hōsha*'s foreword and its afterword. While Kyoshi presents the case of Hasegawa as an exceptional poet and soldier composing haiku under harsh conditions, Hasegawa just introduces himself as any other average person that served at the war front with a story to tell. Regardless, in *Hōsha*, Hasegawa's voice as an individual and as an author is only present in his afterword. Hasegawa is basically reduced to the figure of the speaker of the poems, blurring the line between him and his poetic persona. Kyoshi, who refers to the poet as "our Hasegawa", is the one that presents the poem collection and the one that briefly mentions the hardships that Hasegawa endured during his military campaign. Kyoshi obtained his information from Hasegawa's letters, but he does not mention their existence, and they were not included in *Hōsha*.

The Critical Acclaim of Hasegawa Sosei and *Hōsha*

As Hasegawa Sosei returned to Japan, he was warmly welcomed by the haiku world. We can appreciate this as both, the *Hototogisu* magazine and the *Haiku Kenkyū* magazine heavily featured Hasegawa in their January 1939 issues. The fact that both magazines showcased his works during this period shows how poets from different ideological and aesthetic backgrounds unanimously celebrated Hasegawa's war haiku, not to mention that many poets that wrote for *Haiku Kenkyū* were friends with Hasegawa from his days at the *Kyōdai Haiku* circle.

The *Hototogisu* magazine published *Hospital Ship* (病院船, *Byōinsen*) an 18 pages story written in *haibun* style by Hasegawa while he was in the hospital ship that transported him to Japan.[163] On the same issue, in his *Letter From the Editor* section (消息, *shōsoku*) Takahama Kyoshi explained to the readers that Hasegawa was back in Japan and hospitalized and praised *Hospital Ship* by saying that he was moved by it. In the same section, Kyoshi also mentions that the poems sent by Hasegawa from the front would be soon published in a volume but does not announce its title. *Hospital Ship* would later be broadcast by AK Radio (Tokyo) on February 15th, 1939.

On their part, the *Haiku Kenkyū* magazine featured 3 different pieces on Hasegawa in their January 1939 issue. The first piece was titled *Battle* (たたかい, *Tatakai*) featuring 51 haiku written by Hasegawa in China that would later be part of *Hōsha*. Most of the poems are arranged in chronological and geographical order as they would later appear in *Hōsha,* with most of them being in sequence. The very last poem appears apart from the others and with a note that situates the action in Nanjing.[164] The poem would appear later in the *Nanjing Section* of *Hōsha* with a similar note but without the name of the city.

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[163] Hasegawa sent the draft of *Hospital Ship* from Kyoto on November 4th, 1938. The story does not contain haiku.

[164] All Hasegawa poems appear without notes in the *Hototogisu* magazine. The poem situated in Nanjing is the only of the 51 haiku published in the January 1939 issue of *Haiku Kenkyū* that comes with a note.

The second piece was *Record of the Interview to Hasegawa Sosei* (長谷川素逝会見記, *Hasegawa Sosei kaikenki*) where Inoue Hakubunji (1904-1946) makes a semblance of Hasegawa, mixed with some comments made by Hasegawa while being visited at the hospital in Kyoto by Hakubunji and other poets. In his piece, Hakubunji reports that the publishing house *Sanseid*ō would soon release Hasegawa's poetry collection and even announces the book's title. Hakubunji also reports that the book would feature poems that were not published before in the *Hototogisu* magazine, including poems from the war front and from Hasegawa's sickbed. It is worth noticing that Hakubunji starts his piece by explaining that he and the other poets visiting Hasegawa were friends due to being members of the *Kyōdai Haiku* circle. Hakubunji laments that Hasegawa left their circle and also stresses how Hasegawa is adamant about staying with the *Hototogisu* haiku circle.[165] Hakubunji's piece does not discuss any poem from *Hōsha,* nor does it dwell on any episode experienced by Hasegawa at the war front. However, Hakubunji does discuss how seasonal words were a priority for Hasegawa and his haiku, without any example of it.

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[165] Hakubunji states that at one point Hasegawa suddenly, and apparently unprovoked, shouted "I'm not leaving *Hototogisu!*" (突然に彼は叫んだ。俺は「ホトトギス」をでないよ). Hakubunji also stated that they were not trying to convince him to do so.

The third piece about Hasegawa featured in the January 1939 issue of *Haiku Kenkyū* is an 8 haiku sequence composed by Tanaka Ōjō (1885-1939), one of Hasegawa's first haiku masters, titled *Visiting Sosei* (素逝訪う, *Sosei tō*). The sequence is set in a hospital on a winter day. In one of the verses, Ōjō mentions talking about the "Emperor's army" (みいくさの話) with Sosei, referring to one of the famous poems from *Hōsha*. It is worth noticing that Ōjō's sequence appears with no introductory note whatsoever, the only context provided is the title and the constant mention of "Sosei" in the sequence.

Aside from this welcome, several poets reviewed *Hōsha*. Mizuhara Shūōshi, for example, published on September 1939 a review of *Hōsha,* titled *While Reading Hōsha* (「砲車」を讀みつつ, *Hōsha wo yomitsutsu*) in *Haiku Kenkyū*.[166] In his piece, Mizuhara writes that Hasegawa has "presented us with many excellent war front haiku (1939, 67)." Mizuhara points out how Hasegawa's haiku is abundant with vividness. Mizuhara comments on individual haiku from the collection, although all his examples come from different sections. In his comments, Mizuhara focuses on his very personal impressions

[166] Mizuhara starts his piece by observing that war tanka can express more than war haiku just because it is longer. Mizuhara does not directly say that war tanka is "winning" over war haiku, but his concerns are undeniable as he can only praise war tanka poets (1939, 65). Mizuhara also provides several war tanka examples before starting to talk about *Hōsha.* Nevertheless, Mizuhara believes that haiku poets are on the same level as tanka poets.

on the poems, repeating in many instances how he was moved by a certain phrase or word or what he imagined while reading the verse. For example, in one of the poems of the sequence about the cholera epidemic (コレラ怖ぢ土民コレラの汚物と住む, *Fearing cholera, the locals live with its filth*), Mizuhara explains that the poem portrays the ignorant locals as they tremble (飄然とするような土民の無知が描かれている) and that he can imagine the city walls, the dirty water, and the midsummer sun, something that he could not have imagined without reading the complete sequence (1939, 69). Mizuhara seems to be impressed by Hasegawa, but even though he provides examples of the poet's war haiku, he does not comment on the overall events depicted in the poetry collection. Mizuhara rather focuses on how the poems impact the reader's psyche and their power of expression. The poems in the review are detached from the sequences they belong to, thus losing their respective contexts.

Shūson Katō (1905-1993), Mizuhara's disciple, also wrote a very short comment on *Hōsha,* dated July 1939, titled "On *Hōsha"* (「砲車」について, *Hōsha ni tsuite*) In his piece, Shūson describes the poetry collection as a "lively haiku record full of Hasegawa Sosei's war experiences." (氏の戦争の体験を盛った生々しい俳句記録である) Shūson highlights the idea of this poetry collection as the result of personal experiences, and that is Hasegawa's "naivety" and "honesty", rather than his technique,

which makes this collection great. Shūson acknowledges that Hasegawa's war experiences might have been harsh for him, but at the same time for those who had expectations of him, it is of most joy to find these haiku being full of human expression.[167] As should be expected, the most detailed review on *Hōsha* comes from the *Hototogisu* magazine itself. In its July 1939 number, the magazine published a "roundtable" presided by Takahama Kyoshi himself where *Hōsha* and another poet's poetry collection were discussed. The article title was *Dayflower, Gun Carriage: a Round-Table* (「露草」「砲車」座談會, *Tsuyukusa, Hōsha zadankai*) and included the opinions of other 6 poets, all of them disciples of Kyoshi, and members of the *Hototogisu* haiku circle with published poetry collections of their own.[168]

Kyoshi opens the roundtable not by commenting on the poetry collection but by highlighting Hasegawa's rank as a lieutenant and how he was present in the armed conflict since its beginnings. Kyoshi also recycles many phrases that he wrote for the prologue of *Hōsha,* such as when he mentions that Hasegawa wrote his haiku amidst "the gunpowder

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[167] The reference to "Human expression" is very telling, as Shūson became one of the founders of the Human Inquiry School (人間探求派, Ningen tankyū-ha), a movement that attempted to explore humanism in haiku.

[168] The contributors to the roundtable were, in order of participation: Takahama Kyoshi, Akaboshi Suichikukyo (1874-1942), Kataoka Naō (?-?), Mashita Kitarō (1888-1965), Tomiyasu Fūsei (1885-1979), Uebayashi Hakusōkyo (1881-1971), and Yamaguchi Seison (1892-1988). The only person that did not make any comment about *Hōsha* was Naō.

smoke and a rain of bullets". Kyoshi also points out how under his guidance, Hasegawa was able to convey all his fervor into his haiku. Kyoshi does not comment on any verse or the overall style of the poetry collection, but he does conclude his participation by expressing that at that moment, he greatly admires Hasegawa and considers him the number one representative of the war-front *haijin.* As for *Hōsha* itself, Kyoshi states that "it is one the most admirable literary work that was born from the China Incident" and that all the readers of *Hototogisu* that read Hasegawa's haiku month by month would agree with him.[169]

The other poets coincide in many points, the most notorious being the way they stress how thankful the haiku establishment should be towards Hasegawa and *Hōsha.* Tomiyasu Fūsei, for example, believes that thanks to *Hōsha*, the status of haiku has greatly improved and that the haiku establishment should be grateful to Hasegawa Sosei for it (俳壇は素逝氏に感謝しなけらばならぬと思う).[170] On his part, Uebayashi Hakusōkyo is the one that affirms that *Hōsha* is the first war haiku collection ever and that both the literati and the public ought to reconsider their position on haiku.[171]

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[169] Kyoshi Takahama, "Dew Grass, Gun Carriage: a Round-Table," *Hototogisu,* July 1939, 13.

[170] Fūsei Tomiyasu, "Dew Grass, Gun Carriage: a Round-Table," *Hototogisu,* July 1939, 16.

[171] Hakusōkyo Uebayashi, "Dew Grass, Gun Carriage: a Round-Table," *Hototogisu,* July 1939, 17.

The participants of the table also make the case for some sort of Japanese poetic exceptionalism as they argue that Japan seems to be the only country with soldiers that manage to write poetry while fighting on the front. Akaboshi Suichikukyo, for example, ends his participation by stating that by this moment the world has come to understand that the Japanese not only excel at war but at literature as well.[172] Another unfounded claim, made by Mashita Kitarō, is that very few poems were composed during past conflicts such as the First Sino- Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, while, on the other hand, there is a large display of haiku composed in the current war front, and from all of them, Hasegawa's haiku is the brightest of all.[173] It is worth mentioning that only one participant of the roundtable, Yamaguchi Seison, provides examples of *Hōsha*'s haiku*,* though he does not make any particular comments about them, aside from being "moved" by them, nor does he provide any context for the haiku verses he quoted as they come from different sections of *Hōsha,* and they do not appear in chronological order either.

Without a doubt, the *Hototogisu* roundtable, despite its omissions about the poetry collection itself, showed a common front that promoted Hasegawa Sosei's work. A front led by the head of the traditional haiku style, and arguably of the whole haiku world at

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172 Suichikukyo Akaboshi, "Dew Grass, Gun Carriage: a Round-Table," *Hototogisu,* July 1939, 14.
173 Kitarō Mashita, "Dew Grass, Gun Carriage: a Round-Table," *Hototogisu,* July 1939, 15.

that time period. Kyoshi, along with his pupils served as spokesmen for Hasegawa Sosei as he was still hospitalized in Kyoto by June 1939.[174] However, most claims made by the contributors of the roundtable are never backed up: no matter how much they praised Hasegawa's depiction of war, they failed to provide a single example of it. None of the battles in which Hasegawa participated are mentioned, nor the letters that he sent from China and that were published in *Hototogisu* are mentioned by the poets. Another topic that is not discussed in the roundtable is how Hasegawa's haiku technique proved to be an effective and accurate report of war. The most the poets do is acknowledge that Hasegawa endured hardships at the front, offering words of sympathy, gratitude, and respect for Hasegawa, without offering any example of said hardships to the readers, perhaps because they assumed that by this point everyone has already read Hasegawa's contributions to *Hototogisu*. The participants of the roundtable do acknowledge Hasegawa's service both as a poet and as a soldier, Suichikukyo, for example, reminds every one of the struggles that Hasegawa underwent at the war front while not failing to display courage and loyalty for his country.[175]

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[174] Seison finalized his participation in the roundtable by expressing that he would keep his copy of *Hōsha* under his pillow, sending his thoughts to Hasegawa, who also, he presumes, had his own copy of his book under his hospital pillow.

[175] Suichikukyo Akaboshi, "Dew Grass, Gun Carriage: a Round-Table," *Hototogisu,* July 1939, 14.

It is also possible to say that the poets from the roundtable did not want to "spoil" the book to the readers, as many of the poems were published before by them. Even so, it is difficult to understand the lack of direct references to *Hōsha*, war events, and Hasegawa's technique in a roundtable that is making an argument about how great Hasegawa Sosei's haiku is at reporting the current war.

It is easy to appreciate how, even though all participants make sure to praise Hasegawa Sosei, the objective of their comments seems to be the defense of war haiku rather than reviewing Hōsha or Hasegawa's haiku. On the other hand, Suichikukyo explains that the war gave birth to Hino Ashihei from the prose world and Hasegawa from the haiku establishment.[176] Which shows how important it was for the haiku establishment to have someone to represent them as an exponent of war literature, as Ashihei Hino's 1938 novel was critically acclaimed. To some extent, Hōsha was the *Hototogisu* haiku circle response to the indisputable maximum exponent of war literature that was Ashihei Hino's novel, and that the roundtable objective was to re-assert haiku literary status during wartime, as said status was questioned even by *haijin* themselves as many reforms on the genre were proposed since the beginning of the twentieth century. Seison's contribution to the roundtable, for example, suggests how the limits of haiku as

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[176] Ibid.

a genre were being challenged as he intended to position poetry and reportage on the same level.

In 1939, Hino Sōjō did his own review of *Hōsha* in the form of four letters addressed to Hasegawa. The letters were published in Hino's haiku magazine *Kikan* from July to October 1939, under the title *To the Author of the Haiku Collection Hōsha* (句集「砲車」の著者へ, *Kushū Hōsha no chosha he*). Through his letters to Hasegawa, Hino comments on several of *Hōsha*'s haiku. Hino does not always have praise for Hasegawa's war haiku, on some occasions he would criticize the composition and suggest changes in the wording or the poems. Though this is supposed to be a review of *Hōsha,* and Hino does make assessments of Hasegawa's haiku, Hino does not discuss *Hōsha* in detail nor does he give a general appraise of the collection. However, in his second letter, published in August 1939, Hino raises two points regarding war haiku and its reception on the home front.

To some extent, Hino criticizes war front authors as they tend to write things that only people that experienced the war would understand. To Hino, people that experienced the war do not need literary expressions and objective expressions without any details are more than enough, so Hino questions why there is a need to write in haiku form. The reason, according to Hino, is that war front authors not only want to inform civilians on

the home front about the war and, but they also want to move them. In Hino's opinion, is valid for people on the home front to criticize or point out that they do not understand war haiku as they are, allegedly the intended audience.[177]

Regarding readers on the home front, Hino believes that they want to be informed about things they have not experienced, they want to know the circumstances surrounding war. To Hino, when it comes to war literature, literariness comes in second place, while "science" (objectiveness) comes first, as readers want fresh and shocking contents that only authors with experience on the front can express properly.[178]

Hino explains that haiku is a short-type poem, therefore it cannot express meticulous details (俳句の如き短小な形に於ては表現の委曲を悉すことが先天的に不可能であるから). War literature is supposed to report and inform about the war (報告性). However, when people want to be informed, they resort to news media, like newspapers and news reels, which are an indirect way to obtain war experiences (「知る」ことは、ニュース映画・新聞の報道・一般の記事や講演又は散文による戦争文學から供給を受け、これらの間接体験による知識の上に立って). According to Hino, what readers look for in war haiku is to be moved through literature (期待の殆ん

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[177] Hino Sōjō, "To the Author of the Haiku Collection Hōsha," *Tenbōsha,* 1940, 122-123.
[178] Ibid, 124.

ど凡てはそれの「文學性」にかかつてゐる。鑑賞者は成るべく「深く感銘」したがつてゐる). Thus, authors on the home front resort to the news media to compose their war haiku in order to move their audience.[179]

Hino assumes that Hasegawa might not be fond of war haiku written by home front authors, but to Hino, this kind of haiku is valid regarding its quality. As haiku, according to Hino, is inherently inclined to fiction, therefore it should not come as a surprise when authors use fiction to portray the war.[180] Points like this one makes Hino Sōjō's review on *Hōsha* quite unique from other reviews. Though he does make comments on individual poems from the collection, he seems to be more interested in making his defense for war haiku written on the home front, just as when he tried to justify his adaptation of *Wheat and Soldiers* into haiku.

Reviews and pieces about Hasegawa were not the only things released to promote *Hōsha*. In May 1939, one month after the release of the poem collection, *Haiku Kenkyū* published a piece written by Yoshida Genjirō called *The Emperor's Army — A Haiku Fantasy —* (みいくさ一俳句ファンタチー, *Miikusa haiku fantachi*). Yoshida used 5 haiku from *Hōsha* as the inspiration for 5 different pieces that would later be broadcasted

[179] Ibid, 124-125.
[180] Ibid, 125.

on the radio.[181]The title of the piece helps to illustrate the trivialization of war that often happened during this time period in Japan. On one hand, we have the reference to one of Hasegawa's most famous haiku from the war front, one of the few that make reference to the Emperor, while on the other hand we are presented with the word "fantasy", in English, no less. Some poets of the period would argue that this kind of literary work was disrespectful towards the people on the war front, while others would interpret it as an homage and a harmless contribution to propaganda and war efforts. Nevertheless, the publication of Yoshida's piece and its later radio broadcast suggests the level of popularity that *Hōsha* enjoyed at its release.

Once in Japan, Hasegawa Sosei was published in different haiku magazines in 1939. Some of his writings were narrations based on his experiences, but he also continued writing haiku about the war. Two particular haiku sequences were published in the June and November issues of *Haiku Kenkyū*. The June sequence has 35 haiku and was titled *The People of the Yellow River* (黄河の民, *Kōga no tami*) while the November sequence title is *Others From the Old Yellow River* (舊黄河その他, *Kyū kōga sonota*)

[181] The first piece is a singing solo (独唱) of the famous haiku about the Emperor's army. The second, third, and fourth pieces are each based on a different haiku from Hasegawa that Yoshida used as an inspiration for writing different genres: a recitation (朗読), a short story (物語), and a short drama play (戯曲). Yoshida intended for the final haiku he selected from *Hōsha* to be sing by a chorus (合唱).

and has 18 haiku. Both sequences heavily focus on the people of China and their vicissitudes. It is worth mentioning that both the flood and the cholera epidemic reappear as a topic during these sequences. Likewise, the speaker in the poems seems to be sympathetic towards the Chinese people, though they are portrayed as simple, ignorant, and helpless just as in *Hōsha*. One month later, in the same magazine, the poet and critic Yagi Ema would criticize Hasegawa for these sequences calling them "nothing more than mere report texts summarized in 17 syllables" (どれもこれも走らに十七字に纏めたに過ぎぬ単なる報告文). In his review, Yagi mentions *Battle*, the piece featured in the January 1939 issue of *Haiku Kenkyū*, explaining that in that piece Hasegawa's passion was still not cooled off. By comparing the two sequences with *Battle*, Yagi heavily implies that Hasegawa's war haiku had value because it was written at the war front, while his later compositions about war seem more like an afterthought, despite being based on actual experiences and using the same topics.[182]

Hasegawa Sosei's *Hōsha* as War Propaganda

At this point it is important to bear in mind the editorial context in which *Hōsha* was published. In August 1938, one year before the publication of *Hōsha*, Hino Ashihei's

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[182] There is also the possibility that some of the haiku of these two sequences were composed in China and that they were originally intended to be part of *Hōsha* only to not be selected by Kyoshi.

novel *Wheat and Soldiers* appeared on the pages of the *Kaizō* magazine, then it was published in book format in September 1938. Hino and his novel became an instant commercial phenomenon, increasing the demand not only for more material produced by Hino but also for war literature and anything war related. Months after the release of *Wheat and Soldiers*, in November 1938, *Haiku Kenkyū* published a special issue with the section *3000 Haiku from the China Incident*, the first compilation of its nature. All the featured haiku of this compilation were previously published in several other magazines.

Hasegawa Sosei's poetry collection was published in April 1939 with the help of Kyoshi and the poets from *Hototogisu*. In the same month, *Haiku Kenkyū* featured the special issue that contained the *New 3000 Haiku from the China Incident*. Aside from helping Hasegawa to publish his collection, Kyoshi also published his own compilation: *Collection of Haiku of the China Incident* (支那事變句集, *Shina jihen haiku shū*), released in October 1939, only a few months apart from *Hōsha.* The book contained 1233 haiku by 150 contributors that were previously published in *Hototogisu* from October 1937 to May 1939. In his very brief introductory remarks for the collection, Kyoshi explains that most of the contributors were serving on the front and that, when possible, the rank of the author would be included next to his poem. Poems written by non-military

amateur poets that were present in China at the moment of the conflict were also featured in the collection.

The publication of these special numbers, collections, and *Hōsha*, show how both Takahama Kyoshi and the *Haiku Kenkyū* magazine aimed to satisfy the demand for war-related content with their publications. At first glance, it would seem as if Kyoshi was wary regarding trampling over tradition while publishing war haiku**:** in the foreword for his *Collection of Haiku of the China Incident*, the leader of the *Hototogisu* magazine haiku circle clarifies that since the conflict started during summer, July 1937, to be more precise, the collection would start with haiku poems set during that season instead of Spring.[183] Likewise, by having so many contributors, most of them amateurs, the collections were divided into sections identified by locations in Mainland China, instead of doing so by author.

Hōsha was also divided into geographical locations and started with summer haiku. The order of war events evidently challenged haiku publishing conventions for the magazines to cater to their public.[184] To resort to a geographical distribution structure

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[183] Contrary to virtually all traditional poetry collections in Japan since the Nara period (AD 710- 794).

[184] To some extent this helps to explain why Hasegawa's haiku, as well as the haiku from other poets at the war front, were published in the *Miscellaneous* section of *Hototogisu*, as the poems arrived to Japan with months of difference making it impossible for Kyoshi to place them in a magazine issue with the same season.

would help to consolidate *Hōsha* as an accurate account of the war, akin to a reportage or even a chronicle. Furthermore, Hasegawa Sosei was virtually the first well-established *haijin* that published a war haiku collection based on his actual experiences on the war front, becoming the representative of war haiku as a subgenre of war literature in Japan.

By supporting the publication of *Hōsha*, Kyoshi indeed pushed the limits of the genre by arranging Hasegawa's war haiku according to geographical locations, helping to create a pseudo- journalistic account, a "live coverage" from the war front, as the poems referred to places that were being covered by newspapers and newsreels at the time, helping the public to "confirm" the narrative that was disclosed and sanctioned by the state.

As was mentioned before, in July 1939, *Hototogisu*'s roundtable on *Hōsha* focused on giving praise to Hasegawa and his book without providing clear examples of the need for said praise. Rather than a review, the roundtable functioned more like an advertisement of Hasegawa as well as an exposition of the reasons why war haiku was a valid form for reporting war. One of the participants of the roundtable, Yamaguchi Seison, instead of talking about Hasegawa, praises how some combatants on the war front managed to catch some breath to write in an objective manner despite the adversities.

Seison thinks that literature is not capable of this objective view, but forms like reportage, haiku, and tanka can do so.[185] Likewise, he explains that some war novels are just ambient at war (i.e. they are not based on experiences), and thus they cannot succeed as they are fake, thin, and weak (虚偽となり、軽薄となり、弱いものとなるからだ). "War is true power. War is truth" (戦争はまこと力だ。真実だ。) Seison says as he explains that war novels know true success once the war is over and people can manage to put distance between them and the conflict, just when people can catch a break, just as writers from the war front do when composing their works.[186] Thus, for Seison, the form, and structure that characterizes reportages, tanka, and haiku can portray war in a realistic way without falsehoods.

With his commentary, Seison implies the ongoing competition between journalism, tanka poetry, and haiku poetry, not to mention war novels such as *Wheat and Soldiers*. Seison does not mince words when talking about war novels in his attempt to demonstrate how relevant haiku could be.

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[185] By this period in Japan, poetry was not considered a part of Literature. Likewise, haiku and tanka were not considered part of "poetry". Nevertheless, it is possible to observe how some haiku poets sometimes referred to haiku verses as "poems" (詩, *shi*) when writing essays or haiku theory since 1900, showing how these ideas were evolving since Western Aesthetics were introduced to Japan.

[186] Seison Yamaguchi, "Dew Grass, Gun Carriage: a Round-Table," *Hototogisu,* July 1939, 17.

On the other hand, Seison recognizes that only amateurs are capable of writing about war as they can express a great level of reality as they experienced it at the front. This opinion was shared by the majority of poets of this period. Seison sees war as real, something that does not need pretense and thus cannot be created by writers, not even Hasegawa Sosei. Seison points out how novels need "thought" and "hypothesis" (i.e., rhetoric) thus, in his opinion, remaining in the realm of fiction. Still, haiku does not necessarily need those elements as it can be composed just as the poet experiences something, and the briefness of the genre, according to Seison, helps to convey war. Seison mentions how Hasegawa's haiku was born amidst the war, an event that presented itself to Hasegawa as the greatest of opportunities as one cannot convey war without being a participant in it. As Jonathan Abel explains: "the perception of whether a given work represents a truth of war decides its degree of acceptability both in wartime and after the war's end (2012, 130)."

As most of war haiku published during this time period was written by amateurs on the front, it is only natural that this fact added to the identity crisis that haiku poetry was experiencing at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is not difficult to imagine some level of discomfort amongst poets, as their craft was "trivialized" by anonymous amateurs, however, as the government organized numerous campaigns to generate and

sustain the support of the masses towards war, disqualifying them would represent a misstep. Therefore, Seison makes a compromise, as many did, by recognizing the common ground that was the war front and the need to report what was happening there.

The existence of government initiatives to send artists to the war front was addressed by Tomiyasu Fūsei, another participant of the *Hototogisu* roundtable about *Hōsha*. Fūsei comments on how many literati and artists were dispatched to the front by the Cabinet Information Research Office's orders. The cabinet officially sent all kinds of artists to the war front: from novel writers, popular media contributors, children's literature writers, screenwriters, calligraphy artists, and even comedians.

Fūsei mentions that there were rumors of a plan for including tanka and haiku poets as well, but it did not come to fruition. He greatly laments this as he thinks that folk poetry (民族詩, *minzoku-shi*) such as tanka and haiku should have been considered first.[187] The poet also expresses how regrettable it is that no one seems to truly understand haiku. However, thanks to Sosei's *Hōsha*, the great power of expression that haiku as a short-poem form holds has been greatly displayed, to the point that even the literati have acknowledged the value of this poetry collection and haiku as well.[188]

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[187] Fūsei Tomiyasu, "Dew Grass, Gun Carriage: a Round-Table," *Hototogisu,* July 1939, 15-16.
[188] Ibid, 17.

Indeed, government agencies, like the Cabinet Information Research Office, would call for writers and artists to join the war efforts with their craft. In the case of prose writers, for example, in August 1938 about 22 writers signed for a project to form a group called the Writers' Military Attachment, or more commonly, the "Pen Platoon" (Kushner 2006, 80). Aside from receiving a generous salary and elevating their literary status, these writers were able to profit by selling their reports to journals, magazines, and newspapers. As it was covered in the first chapter of this dissertation, Hino Ashihei was not originally part of this kind of program but was later incorporated after winning the Akutagawa prize.

In the case of Hasegawa Sosei, he was never part of any kind of military program for artists. He was drafted to the war front as a combatant. Nevertheless, he managed to contribute to war efforts both as a soldier and as a poet. Hasegawa represented a vindication for the concerns voiced by poets like Seison and Fūsei. On one hand, Hasegawa's war haiku was deemed as a valid form of representation of the reality of war, and as a valid source of information regarding the conflict, because it was composed on the war front. On the other hand, Hasegawa reported his experiences on the war front constantly, despite the government's apparent "negligence" to include haiku poetry in their plans,

The publication of *Hōsha,* along with several war haiku anthologies, and the countless amateur collaborators that were published within the pages of magazines like *Hototogisu* and *Haiku Kenkyū* provide evidence of how several haiku circles sought to support the propagandistic agenda promoted by the Japanese government during the Second-Sino Japanese War even when the government “neglected” to include them in said agenda.

It should be taken into account that not all haiku poetry in circulation was pro-war or pro-government. Robert James Tuck describes how since the Meiji period, newspapers would feature “topical haiku” (時事俳句, *jiji haiku*) discussing political matters, such as political intrigue or corruption. According to Tuck, newspapers like the Tokyo-based *Yorozu Chôhô* and the *Ôsaka Asahi Shinbun*, featured such verses in abundance, with relatively few “literary” haiku (2018, 86). Tuck’s observations help to illustrate how haiku poetry was being used to report and reflect on political or controversial topics even before the Greater East Asian War, despite the existence of censorship laws, which evidently does not imply that censors would not seek to regulate contents or even penalize publishers for featuring this kind of compositions. As Ben-Ami Shillony describes, press collaboration with the government's agenda during wartime was the product of both coercion and conviction (1981, 97).

As it was mentioned before, the only hint of censorship on Hasegawa's war writing occurred in one of his letters from Nanjing where he mentions that they are allowed to disclose that they are in the city. Aside from that, nothing similar is mentioned in any of the other letters published in *Hototogisu*. As these letters were sent from the war front, they all were surely checked by the military, and there is a high possibility that some of the content were edited out, but this cannot be determined by reading the *Hototogisu* version of the letters, which was the only version available to the public.

On the other hand, there are no censorship marks in any of the haiku that appeared both in *Hototogisu* and in *Hōsha*. It is necessary to be mindful of points mentioned in the introduction of this dissertation regarding censorship in wartime Japan. Censorship did exist and it was common either to add *fuseji* marks to a text or to stop and confiscate a publication. However, this was mostly the case for works that were considered subversive, pro-communism and against the figure of the emperor, not to mention obscene works and works that had gruesome depictions of violence. Rather than having censorship by government agencies, it was common for publishing houses and writers to self-regulate what they intended to publish in order to avoid penalizations. Furthermore, as Aaron William Moore explains in his 2013 study regarding war diaries written by Japanese

soldiers during this period, soldiers assimilated and reproduced official discourses in their writings.

In sum, considering the context surrounding the publication of *Hōsha*, there is no reason to think that Hasegawa's war haiku was subjected to censure. However, the possibility of Hasegawa deliberately not composing and publishing haiku that could be considered controversial cannot be discarded.

Conclusion

This chapter focused mainly on Hasegawa's letters and haiku that he wrote in China and that he sent with the purpose of being published in the *Hototogisu* magazine during his participation in the Second Sino-Japanese War, as well as his haiku as they appeared in the form of the poetry collection *Hōsha*. By focusing on said materials produced by Hasegawa on the war front it is possible to make an approximation of what pieces of Hasegawa's narrative the average reader of the *Hototogisu* magazine, and potentially the readers of *Hōsha*, had access to during wartime. Hasegawa Sosei and *Hōsha* were not the direct product of a military initiative to make war approachable to the masses on the home front, unlike other examples of war literature. However, the content of Hasegawa's letters and his war haiku were certainly in line with other examples of war literature produced

on the war front. Hasegawa Sosei is an example of the shift of depicting soldiers as heroes to portraying them as vulnerable humans with needs that Benjamin Uchiyama described.

The critical reception of Hasegawa's war haiku, on its part, provides us with some evidence of how highly regarded direct experience was as a source of inspiration for composing war haiku. Hasegawa's war haiku offers a fragmented narrative that highly relies on paratextual sources in order for the reader to grasp the sequence of events that are ostensibly portrayed. Said narrative fragmentation might be the result of several factors, namely: military censorship, self-censorship, Hasegawa Sosei's mental state at the war front, his stylistic and aesthetic choices, the intervention of Takahama Kyoshi as an editor, or even the limitations of haiku poetry as a genre, to a name a few. And yet, major figures from the haiku world highly praised Hasegawa's poetry collection for its accurate depiction of war, regarding it as a fine example of war literature and, as the advertisement for the book suggests, a memorial to the China Incident.

Hasegawa's haiku from the war front reflects his military campaign in China, but also reflects the internal turmoil of a soldier that experienced countless vicissitudes. However, most often than not, both of these aspects were neglected by reviewers, who rather focused on exalting Hasegawa's military rank and his presence on the battlefield. The critical reviews, particularly those from *Hototogisu*, used Hasegawa's war haiku to

advocate for haiku as a valid medium to report the war, alluding to the use of *shasei*. However, despite this apparent triumph of objective observation, the contents of Hasegawa's haiku, his journey through China, the battles he fought and the consequences of war on his physical and mental health, were never part of these reviews.

Chapter III
Women on the Home Front and War Haiku

Introduction

This dissertation has so far discussed how poets on the war front, such as Hasegawa Sosei, composed haiku from their experiences. On the home front, poets like Hino Sōjō and most poets of the haiku world would resort to their imagination to discuss the battles that were taking place afar. Home front haiku as a subcategory of war haiku that often appeared in wartime haiku magazines. The topics englobed in this category range from imagining battles, adapting the news reports into poetry, talking about visiting a soldier in the hospital, praying for victory, or even just mentioning how war is on everyone's mouth.

Japanese civilians would be bombarded every day with news reports about the war and propaganda, both heavily regulated by the military and the government, and spread by several organizations. One important element of the propaganda on the home front is that most of it was aimed at the elderly people, children and the female population, as it was expected that able-bodied men were serving on the war front. According to Earthart "a few examples from the mainstream press illustrate the psychological pressure on women, not only to conform but to outdo each other in showing patriotic fervor." (2008, 167) Women magazines would still provide makeup tips to their readers, but their advice

"stressed practicality, modesty, and conformity, virtues reflecting Japan's 'ideological' war with the selfish, hedonistic, individualistic West." (Earthart, 153). State publications like *Photograph Weekly Review* would also feature similar fashion advice to their readers within their pages. The official monthly magazine of the Great Japan Women's Association, *Japanese Woman* (日本婦人) would also featured archetypical images of womanhood in their covers, from women knitting clothes to making the preparations for an air raid (Earthart, 157).

As the government sought to regulate the behaviors and daily activities of the female population in order to assure their cooperation with war efforts, is only natural to assume that these messages were reflected in the literary works produced by women during this period, Michiko Suzuki argues that there is an increase of 1930s women's literature, allowing a better understanding of the decade, but there is a lack of exploration of works written from the late 1930s through the years of the Pacific War (1941-45). Thus, according to Suzuki, there are very few studies regarding wartime women's literature, compared with the number of studies of prewar literature and postwar literature (Suzuki 2013, 3).

This chapter aims to analyze the construction of the image of wartime women and their experiences through haiku composed by women during the first years of the war. To

do so, I will identify the subject matter of poems composed by women on the home front during that period to cast some light on how women poets reflected wartime in haiku form. Home front wartime propaganda was often aimed at the female population; therefore, it is natural to assume that female haiku poets reflected propaganda messages in their poems. However, I also argue that wartime female haiku portrays a certain degree of tension between the accepted language and narrative pushed by wartime propaganda and female poets' need to express themselves and show their reality on the home front through their poetry. The haiku analyzed in this chapter shows how women challenged, to some degree, the ideology, and roles imposed upon them.

Male and female poets on the home front would cover roughly the same topics in their poems. However, as Janice Brown observes: "an examination of women's poetry during this time reveals a close association between the national agenda and the concomitant shifting of corporeal bounds that defined female experience (2013, 7)." On the home front, several government policies were enacted in order to control the general population, especially women, since men were supposed to be serving at the war front. David C. Earhart notes that images of civilian men in the media gradually became nearly obsolete (2008, 167). This originated a media and propaganda environment almost exclusively aimed at the female population, where virtually all the responsibilities of

servicing the nation at the home front, from supporting the troops, cutting expenses, and even preparing for a possible invasion, fell into the women's shoulders. As Brown notices, the relation between the national agenda and female experience during wartime is observable in wartime women's poetry. However, there are few studies regarding this subject, particularly in English (Brown 2013, 29). Furthermore, even Brown's study does not cover examples of women haiku poets of the period.

For this analysis, I would use haiku composed by women that were published in two special issues of *Haiku Kenkyū*. The first is the November 1938 issue which had the special section *3000 Haiku From the China Incident* (支那事變三千句, *shina jihen sanzen ku*). The second is the April 1939 issue with the special section *New 3000 Haiku From the China Incident* (支那事變新三千句, *shina jihen shin sanzen ku*). The reason for this is that both represent a fascinating case study by themselves as they are the only two compilations of their kind during wartime. In both cases, the editors of *Haiku Kenkyū* compiled the haiku from more than 200 publications, including themselves. These special numbers are formed by the war haiku composed by a large number of poets that belonged to different haiku circles that held different aesthetic views. Despite the contrasting views regarding haiku poetry that existed during this period, these two "anthologies" represent the haiku world's efforts to build the canon of war haiku during wartime, perhaps as a

response to the rise of war novels. Both compilations show how themes and war-related vocabulary were shared by all the major haiku publications of the time.

In both, the *3000 Haiku from the China Incident* and the *New 3000 Haiku from the China Incident*, the haiku was compiled from different haiku magazines, and newspapers, that were circulating at the time. Furthermore, the selection includes both famous authors as well as amateurs, including female poems. In both cases, the special numbers divided the haiku into two major sections: *War Front Section* and the *Home Front Section*. The only difference is that in the 1939 issue the Home Front Section is titled *Life (on the) Home Front* (銃後生活篇, *Jūgo seikatsu hen*). Female poets are only present in the Home Front sections of each special number. Most of the selection of haiku analyzed in this chapter comes from these two special sections in those *Haiku Kenkyū* issues, but other examples from other sources would be used when thematically pertinent, with the purpose to show how the use of some themes persisted during the war.

The sections that form this chapter would attempt to follow the narrative of women's experiences on the Japanese home front during wartime: from sending off their male relatives to the war front, women's activities on the home front, the celebration of military victories, to the praise to the emperor and the souls of fallen soldiers. Something that should be noted regarding the selection of material for this chapter is that, despite

dealing with war haiku, death-related themes are not common in women's haiku, the closest being allusions to the souls of fallen soldiers. Depictions of soldiers' suffering and their deaths are common in war front haiku, but that does not seem to be the case in home front haiku, where injured soldiers are shown getting attention and medical care in hospitals.

Wartime Female *Haijin*

In the case of the haiku world, female haijin, though not rare, were always a minority in any haiku circle. Despite this, female poets appeared often along with their male counterparts in magazines like *Hototogisu* and *Haiku Kenkyū*. It should be noted that some female haijin were also highly respected amongst haiku circles, such is the case of the "4 Ts": Hashimoto Takako (橋本多佳子 1899-1963), Hoshino Tatsuko (星野立子 1903-1984), Nakamura Teijo (中村汀女 1900-1988), and Mitsuhashi Takajo (三橋鷹女 1899-1972), 4 female poets whose pen names all started with the letter "T". Other female poets would hold important positions within a haiku circle, such as the case of Hasegawa Kanajo (長谷川かな女 1887-1969), who during the 30s was credited on several occasions as the editor of the *Miscellaneous* section of *Haiku Kenkyū*.

Despite the existence of major female poets during the wartime period in Japan, studying wartime haiku composed by women represents a challenge due to the scarcity

of material. The most obvious reason for this is that women had to stay on the home front, away from any battle. As such, just like their male counterparts on the home front, they could only compose haiku about battles by using the news media as inspiration, a practice that many poets in the haiku world considered disrespectful towards both the men that were actively serving on the war front and the men that lost their lives while serving their country. Thus, the only war-related haiku that women could compose was home front haiku, by using their daily-life experiences as inspiration, or composing haiku to celebrate military victories. However, the same could be said regarding most male poets that were never drafted. Yet, it is true that during wartime, male poets composed a variety of haiku with war as a topic, and that there is more military jargon in their compositions than in the case of women's haiku.

Another reason for the scarcity of women's war haiku was the genderization of the home front. Sandra Wilson explains that the idea of the "home front, economic and otherwise, together with daily life and the efforts of women, was elevated to dizzying heights of status in wartime rhetoric" and that "Japanese women had been encouraged during that war to see the home as equivalent, for them, of the battlefront (2006, 222)". Women's view of the home front was quite different from the men's view of it. The state's propaganda encouraged women to take care of the spiritual and economic well-being of

their families, while also serving their communities and soldiers on the war front with voluntary labor. Thomas R. H. Havens argues that women “were the objects of both far-reaching governmental mobilization schemes and static, male-dominated outlooks expressed by Japan's military rulers and society at large. Most important, however, Japanese women were the victims of strong socioeconomic changes induced by war (Havens 1975, 914).” Thus, the reality that women would reflect with their home front haiku was often different from the reality depicted by men’s home-front haiku. That is if the women had the time to compose haiku as they were supposed to contribute to war efforts in more practical ways.

A more nuanced factor regarding the apparent scarcity of women’s war haiku is that, particularly during wartime, war haiku compositions must have had war-related or military-related words, not to mention words or expressions alluding to the imperial house. It must be stressed, though, that during wartime, all haiku poets, regardless of gender, never limited their haiku compositions to war topics. During this period, there are examples of haiku sequences written by women where they talk about visiting a shrine, which reflects government propaganda encouraging women to visit shrines and pray for victory. However, as these sequences are more often than not focused on the elements of nature present in shrines and do not include any war-related terms, nor do they mention a

particular battle of victory, it is difficult to classify them as war haiku even if they were composed and published during wartime. Moreover, war haiku anthologies of the period that include women haijin do not include these types of sequences that merely describe a visit to a shrine, therefore I decided that it was not pertinent to include them for analysis.

Another issue that arises when discussing war haiku composed by women is that many of the examples that we can find in anthologies and compilations were made by non-renowned female authors. In most cases, all that is known from them are their pen names.[189] Studies about war haiku tend to analyze the poems from a biographical perspective, therefore, on most occasions, these studies only include major poets from the period or poets that are now part of the haiku canon. In the case of renowned authors, most of the contemporary studies, as well as new editions of poem collections, would often lack any war-related content, "eliminating" war haiku from the poet, which further complicates the discussion and analysis of war haiku.

Topics such as visiting wounded soldiers at the hospital, saying goodbye to a relative being dispatched to the war front, lamenting the death of a soldier, or expressing how the war was present in everyday life conversations, to name a few, were covered by

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[189] Due to this limitation, some of the poets featured in this chapter only appear with their pen names, and without dates of birth and death.

home front haiku. Regardless of their gender, haiku poets that never set foot on the war front would attempt to convey what they knew about the conflict with their poems. Though there are notable exceptions, like the case of Yoshiya Nobuko (吉屋信子 1896-1973), who reported from the war front and that wrote both reportages and fiction about it, Japanese women stayed at the home front, contributing to war efforts by following the countless directions given by the government.

Due to the aforementioned limitations, this chapter, rather than being a single-case study, will be an analysis of the themes present in the wartime haiku composed by different women on the home front, to identify how the image of wartime women was constructed and presented in the women haiku of the first years of the war.

Women Haiku and Conscripted Family Members

The biggest contribution to war efforts made by civilians was offering their male relatives as soldiers. At least that was how propaganda portrayed this reality, as conscription was the norm, not to mention the great deal of social pressure for men to enlist in the military. However, the responsibility of taking arms and fighting for the nation did not fall only on men's shoulders. Sharalyn Orbaugh uses the example of *kamishibai* plays to show how the necessity and consequences of the war were framed in different ways for different demographic groups. Female *kamishibai* writers were tasked by the government to frame

war in their stories in a way that women could understand what kind of material practices, and feminine behavior were considered adequate and necessary for the war effort (Orbaugh 2013, 53). Similarly, wartime media would constantly show pictures of women praying at shrines, while displaying a calm, reserved demeanor. This portrayal of government-sanctioned feminine behavior increased as more husbands and sons went to the war front, and women's magazines began to publish stories about war suffering as casualties multiplied (Catherine Bae 2012, 123). These desired wartime feminine traits can also be observed in female war haiku, for example, when women were facing the departure of their male relatives to the war front. One sequence by Matsuno Kazujo (松野加壽女 1902-1982) reads as follows:

出征

Departure for the front

新妻の送訣(わかれ)の瞳夏寒し

Niitzuma no wakare no hitomi natsu samushi

A new bride's eyes went sending her husband off to war; summer chill

老い母も汗の小旗をうちふれり

Oi haha mo ase no kobata wo uchi fureri

His elderly mother too lays down a small sweaty flag

みぢか夜の千人針朱を捺せり

Mijikayo no senninbari shu wo oseri

Senninbari on a short summer night: sealed with her blood[190]

This sequence describes a newlywed woman sending her husband off to war. The brief sequence includes the husband's mother, and the making of a *senninbari*, an activity often associated with women. In the span of two verses, Kazujo portrays the reality of the women on the war front: newly-wed wives saying farewell to their husbands and assuming the responsibility of taking care of their newly-acquired mothers-in-law. The second haiku of the sequence portrays the atmosphere of celebration that characterized the send-off of the men by the townspeople at stations. At the same time, the haiku also conveys a sense of dread as reality seems to hit the elderly mother who realizes that she might never see her son again. Though not featured prominently, Kazujo also includes a *senninbari* in the sequence. In this case, the fabrication of the charm is presented as an individual activity. The woman, seemingly pricked her finger with the needle, leaving a mark on the cloth, akin to the vermillion seals (*inkan,* 印鑑) used by the Japanese. The presence of objects like the *senninbari* not only portrays the idea of the good luck charms as something that links the home front with the war front but also establishes a sense of responsibility for the people on the home front, as they should pray for victory and elaborate charms to ward off bullets.

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[190] Kazujo Matsuno, "3000 Haiku from the China Incident," *Haiku Kenkyū*, November 1938, 79.

Writing to their husbands on the war front was another common topic in women's wartime haiku. Here is an example from Dohi Tōjo (土肥董女):

戦地の夫へ

To my husband on the war front

我書きし文になみだす秋の風

Ware kakishi fumi ni namidasu akinokaze

I shed tears on the letter I'm writing… Autumn wind[191]

In this poem, the poetic voice describes how she cannot contain her tears as she writes a letter to her husband on the war front. Tōjo's haiku is fairly traditional, particularly with the inclusion of "autumn wind" as a seasonal word. Regardless, there is a level of authenticity in this simple and straightforward poem. The author relies on the title to convey the context that cannot be included in the haiku, such as the poetic voice status as a married person. Tōjo portrays the act of writing letters to the war front, one of the few mediums available for families to be in contact with their loved ones.

Another facet of wartime reality for women in Japan was not only being newlywed and alone on the home front but also being pregnant from a husband who she might never see again. Shiba Teiko (志波汀子) composed a short haiku sequence about this scenario:

天高く女は痩せて妊れる

[191] Tōjo Dohi, "3000 Haiku From the China Incident," *Haiku Kenkyū*, November 1938, 98.

Ama takaku onna ha yasete migomoreru

The sky’s so high… the pregnant woman is losing weight…

戦場の夫よ姙れる身の憂

Senjō no otto yo migoreru mi no yū

My darling on the battlefield: this is my anxious pregnant self![192]

Teiko provides us with a powerful poetic voice. The first haiku uses the seasonal word “high sky,” a term associated with Autumn when supposedly the sky looks higher than usual. As this haiku was published in 1939, it was most likely composed in Autumn 1938, the first year of the Second-Sino Japanese War. The poetic voice presents the contrasting image of a thin pregnant woman under the high sky. The second haiku gives a voice to the pregnant woman, who is thinking about her husband on the war front. The pregnant woman is full of anxiety, which might be the cause of her weight loss. Food rationing programs did start in 1938, however, food scarcity was not the norm in Japan during the first years of the conflict. Therefore, the author is rather reflecting the psychological reality of a pregnant woman whose husband is on the war front instead of criticizing food shortages.

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[192] Teiko Shiba, "New 3000 Haiku From the China Incident," *Haiku Kenkyū*, April 1939, 320.

Many war haiku used the departure of a loved one to the war front as a subject matter, however, we can appreciate several examples of female poets composing haiku about raising their sons to become soldiers or saying farewell to them once conscripted. These topics were common in wartime literature and media. Orbaugh notices how particularly adult women were told that it was their direct responsibility to raise patriotic sons, through the correct attitude, correct emotions, and the correct body behaviors. Women were supposed to accept and recognize that their son's duty to the nation came before the family's needs, and that women as mothers should show unconditional love, but also restrain, dignity, and composure when facing their sons' departures (Orbaugh 2013, 62). The following sequence by Takahashi Awajijo (高橋淡路女 1890-1955) illustrates these concepts:

子は兵に

As Sons Become Soldiers

子は兵にわが大いなる年迎ふ

Ko wa hei ni waga ookinaru toshi mukau

My son is a soldier; we welcome a fine new year!

逝く年や銃後の母はかく強き

Yuku toshi ya jūgo no haha wa kaku tsuyoki

How resilient are mothers on the home front; the year ends

出征旗床に古りつゝ年新らた

Shusseiki toko ni furitsutsu toshi arata

As the flag gets old on the floor; the new year arrives

一人子の征きし家とて門の秋

Hitori ko no yukishi ie tote kado no aki

My only son has left for war; what is our house but the same gate in autumn…

應召の晴れの門出に秋高し

Ōshō no hare no kadoide ni aki takashi

Late autumn: exiting the gate under a clear sky

征く子はもいとにこやかに爽かに

Yuku ko wa mo ito nikoyaka ni sawayaka ni

My son is off to war! Very cheerfully, wreathed in smiles[193]

The sequence seems to include different female poetic voices as they send off their sons to war. Different settings and seasons are also featured, hinting at how male family members could depart at any moment. The different poetic voices express maternal feelings toward their sons as they depart for the war. The first verse mixes the celebration of the new year with the event of a son becoming a soldier, setting a somehow cheerful

[193] Awajijo Takahashi, "As Sons Become Soldiers," *Haiku Kenkyū*, January 1940, 91.

tone. The second verse focuses on the home front mothers, boasting about how strong and resilient they are. This verse in particular highlights one of the "correct" attitudes that were "expected" from women on the home front: to raise their children into soldiers, to send them to war and be proud about it.

The sequence has a bittersweet tone as the poetic voices go from joy to contained sorrow. The third haiku features flags lying on the floor, which could be a reference to the aftermath of a farewell parade, having a tone very similar to the second haiku in Matsuno Kazujo's sequence. As trains depart and the celebration ends, townspeople, and mothers in particular, come to realize that their sons are gone. The last 3 haiku portray a different farewell. In this case, the poetic voice seems to stay in her house, not even approaching the gate, almost as if she were establishing that her place is at home, where she should wait for her son to return. In contrast to the mother's resignation, the last haiku shows the son as he departs with a youthful smile, showing the "correct" attitude of a soldier going to the front.

The topic of a mother sending off her son to war can be appreciated in the haiku of different female *haijin*, although not all cases are as stoic as the previous sequence. This small sequence by Sakakibara Kikuma (榊原鞠麿)focuses on the bond between a mother and her child:

母のうたへる

A Mother Sings

出でて征く吾子を産みし日思はるる

Idete yuku ako wo umishi hi omowaruru

My child goes to war; I remember the day I gave birth to him.

出でて征く吾子ひそかに触りゐし

Idete yuku ako hisoka ni sawariishi

My child goes to war; I covertly touch him[194]

Kikuma uses an evocative title that sets the tone of this short sequence. As her son marches away, the mother remembers when she gave birth to him. The first haiku overflows with melancholy and uncertainty as the mother can only see her son as a fragile newborn baby, contrasting with the adult man she is sending off to fight the war.

In the second haiku, as the mother sends off her son, she caresses him discreetly, almost as if she is trying to avoid embarrassing him. This act of secretly touching her son can be interpreted as the poetic voice rebelling against the publicly sanctioned ideal of the wartime Japanese woman: stoic, reserved, and almost detached from their sons. Women were supposed to raise soldiers to fight for the emperor, evidently, they were not

[194] Kikuma Sakakibara, "New 3000 Haiku From the China Incident," *Haiku Kenkyū*, April 1939, 322.

asked to stop loving their sons, but the state propaganda was clear about how soldiers' loyalty was to their country and their filial love for the emperor and not to their parents. Mothers should feel proud of their sons' determination and patriotism and encourage them to serve the nation.

In Kikuma's sequence, the poetic voice is sending off her son to war, but in contrast to wartime conventions, the poetic voice shows a strong attachment to her son, saying goodbye to him with a nurturing and discrete gesture that only the two of them would understand.

Female haiku about conscripted family members do not focus on sending off a male relative to the war front. On some occasions, they would also cover the grim reality of death. An example of this is the following short sequence by Fujita Tsukimi (藤田月心):

寡婦の唄

The Widow's Song

曼珠沙華燃えたり空しき身に燃えたり

Manjushage moetari munashiki mi ni moetari

The red spider lily burns…! It burns in this hollow body of mine…!

かりがねに征く子を育つわれは女

Karigane ni yuku ko wo sodatsu ware wa onna

The wild geese fly to war…We women are who raise the kids[195]

The title used by Tsukimi sets the tone for the two-haiku sequence as it identifies the poetic voice as a widow. In the first haiku, a red spider lily appears burning. These red flowers are an autumn seasonal word but are also heavily associated with the dead and even with ghosts. The poetic voice presents us with the harrowing image of her hollow self-filled with the fire of the burning red spider lily. Tsukimi contrasts the image of hollowness with the red flower on fire to portray the pain and despair experienced by those who have lost a loved one, almost implying that the fire would eventually consume what is left of the hollow body.

The second haiku goes away from the implied death of the poetic voice's husband to focus on child upbringing. The haiku starts with the image of the wild geese flying away. The wild geese and their crying are an autumn seasonal word, and it is strongly associated with melancholy and departure as these birds fly towards the north when winter approaches. During the first stages of the Second-Sino Japanese War, geese were often featured in haiku as Japan initiated its invasion of China through the northern regions.

195 Tsukimi Fujita, "New 3000 Haiku From the China Incident," *Haiku Kenkyū*, April 1939, 316.

Soon, geese were used as a metaphor for the Japanese soldiers going to the war front.[196] The second poem seems to make this connection, but then links the image of the geese with kids, the future soldiers. The poetic voice identifies herself as a woman, and at the same time identifies women as those who raise children. In this fashion, the second haiku seems to reaffirm and uphold the traditional idea, now enforced by government propaganda, that women's role is to raise children. However, the poetic voice seems to express distress and even disagreement with said idea, as now she is aware that the kids that she must raise might share the same fate as their father.

Another example of a female *haijin* dealing with death comes from Miyamoto Hiroko (宮本比呂子):

弟戦死して半歳

Half a year after the death of my little brother on the war front

夢に泣くおろかの吾よ夏の雨

Yume ni naku oroka no ware yo natsu no ame

I cry in my dreams…How foolish of me! Summer in rain[197]

The note before the poem announces that half a year has passed after the death of the poetic voice's little brother. In the haiku, the poetic voice seems to reproach herself for

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[196] Geese are also featured in the first sections of *Hōsha*.

[197] Hiroko Miyamoto, "3000 Haiku From the China Incident," *Haiku Kenkyū*, November 1938, 74

crying in her dreams. The seasonal word announces the time of the year but also suggests how the weather reflects the psychological state of the poetic voice: rain falls just like her tears. The poetic voice berating herself for crying reflects how wartime propaganda urged women to restrain their emotions and to remain strong when facing adversities. Losing control of their emotions was a sign of weakness, as wartime propaganda demanded for civilians to be on alert, to support the troops, and to prepare for a possible invasion. Hiroko's haiku, though less harrowing than Tsukimi's haiku, portrays mourning in a sincere fashion, showing how even with the passing of time, the death of a family member can still haunt one's psyche.

Shiba Teiko, on her part, composed a sequence that presents death during wartime from a different perspective:

戦地の夫を思いつつ死の床にある若き従妹よ

On her deathbed, my young cousin thinks about her husband on the war front

死の床に軍事郵便の封きられ

Shi no toko ni gunji yūbin no fū kirare

On her deathbed, she opens the letter with the military seal

死の床の静寂凱旋の靴ひびく

Shi no toko no seijaku gaisen no kutsu hibiku

The silence of her deathbed. The echoes of someone’s boots returning triumphantly

死の床の静寂爆音のうちにあり

Shi no toko no seijaku bakuon no uchi ni ari

The silence of her deathbed. Outside: the roar of explosions.

今日も又行くよ西へと行くよ二機

Kyō mo mata iku yo nishi he to iku yo niki

They are going again today! They are going towards the west! Two planes.

死の床のシーツに白きに堪へてあり

Shi no toko no shi-tsu ni shiroki ni taeteari

The white sheets of my deathbed. The only thing I can do is to withstand it.[198]

On the note that precedes the sequence, Teiko presents her cousin on her deathbed, thinking about her husband on the war front. This is fascinating, as Teiko introduces us to a woman on the home front that is facing death, while her husband is away on the war front. This represents a completely different facet of wartime women’s concerns and fears: to die alone, apart from their husbands. The sequence may be focusing on the bedridden cousin, but the first haiku adds a level of ambiguity as the woman opens a letter

[198] Teiko Shiba, "3000 Haiku From the China Incident," *Haiku Kenkyū*, November 1938, 97.

from the military on her deathbed. The content of the letter is not disclosed but the context suggests 3 possibilities: the husband has died; has been injured or discharged from service and he is coming back.

The second haiku seems to support the idea of the husband coming back. However, silence reigns in the woman's room. The silence is broken by the echoes made by the steps of someone triumphantly returning home. As these echoes seem to come from the outside, the person returning might be someone unrelated to the woman, which adds to her anxiety as her husband is still away from her. The third haiku repeats the image of the woman's room covered in silence but now this silence is broken by the sounds of explosions. As this sequence is from 1938, years before the air raids conducted in Japan by the allied forces, this haiku appears to be describing the mental state of the woman as she imagines the war front or even a possible reference to the contents of the letter that she received regarding her husband. This prevalence of silence suggests that the woman's husband has died on the war front.

The fourth haiku is the only one that does not mention the deathbed, breaking from the sequence's narrative. This haiku has a poetic voice talking in the first person, giving a voice to the cousin. The poetic voice describes how two planes are "again" parting to the west, where China is. The poetic voice seems to be lamenting the fact that

more men are being dispatched to the front, where they would probably face the same fate as her husband. In the final haiku, the poetic voice is back on her deathbed, where she realizes that there is nothing she can do from there. Her deathbed's sheets are white, like a shroud.

Shiba Teiko's sequence focuses on the forthcoming death of a woman on the home front, rather than on the fate of her husband on the war front, which remains ambiguous. Teiko portrays how death comes to both fronts but decides to give a voice to a woman on the home front. Showing that wartime stories did not need a soldier as the main character in order to be an effective tragedy. Life on the home front was full of adversities that, though not comparable to the war front, constituted the battles women faced during wartime in Japan. At the same time, the poetic voice appears to be informed about war events, as she is aware of the departing planes and the reality of bombs, which shows how intertwined was life on the home front with the events on the war front.

Women and *Senninbari*

Women on the home front were required to support the war through a variety of activities of different natures. One important activity related to the moral and spiritual support of the soldiers was the fabrication of the *senninbari* (千人針): charms to ward off bullets. They were made from cloths for soldiers to wear around their abdominal area, backs, or

foreheads. The reason for the charm's name, "thousand person stitches", was that it was supposed to have one thousand stitches, each made by a different person. Though the activity was not exclusive to women, wartime media often published pictures of women gathering to sew the charms. The female relatives of soldiers, particularly mothers, sisters, and wives, would often go near a shrine or station and ask passersby to contribute to the *senninbari*.

Sometimes, in order to meet the demand, the *senninbari* would be made in mass by women's associations and sent in batches to the war front, not always reaching someone from the actual community where it was fabricated. Sandra Wilson tells the anecdote of the members of a women's association from Mie that in 1938 made *senninbari* for military horses departing for the war front (2006, 213). This anecdote helps to illustrate how the elaboration was associated with women and also how women's associations would often choose sewing *senninbari* as an activity to involve the community to contribute to war efforts.

"*Senninbari*" was one of many war-related terms that made their way into haiku's lexicon and thus is also present in war haiku composed by men. However, while men would often talk about soldiers *wearing* the *senninbari*, we can observe how women *haijin* would compose haiku about the process of *making* the charms. Wartime women

poets would show in their haiku how making *senninbari* was a communal activity performed by women. This can be appreciated in the following sequence by Yamasaki Toyojo (山崎豊女), published in November 1938's *3000 Haiku from the China Incident*:

日支事變派遣兵の爲に

For the soldiers dispatched to the China Incident

千人針縫ふ炎天の女同士

Senninbari nuu enten no onna dōshi

Sewing *senninbari* under the scorching sun, the women

千人針縫ふすずしさの紅き糸

Senninbari nuu suzushisa no akaki ito

Sewing *senninbari*; the coolness of a red thread

千人針秋よる心結び合ふ

Senninbari aki yoru kokoro musubi au

Senninbari: hearts tie together as autumn passes by

千人針人減りし驛の夜寒かな

Senninbari hito herishi eki no yosamu kana

> *Senninbari*: there are fewer people at the station…How cold the night feels![199]

Toyojo starts her sequence with a note that establishes to whom the poems are dedicated, or for whom the *senninbari* featured in her haiku are, the titles hint at the possibility that the poetic voice does not know the soldiers that would receive the charms. The women work arduously under the scorching sun, but as their work continues, the red thread of the *senninbari* cools them down, almost giving them a sense of comfort and reassurance. The element that stands out the most in this sequence is the progression of the weather conditions, from the scorching sun to the cold station, all connected by the *senninbari*'s red thread. Particularly, the first verse in the sequence portrays the women working under extreme heat, implying the great effort they were doing on the home front in order to support the war.

The red thread is an allusion to the East Asian belief of an invisible red thread that bounds people that are destined to meet. In this case, the allusion to the thread seems to also imply both the connection between the women making the charms and the connection between the people on the home front with the soldiers on the war front. The presence of the thread for the stitches is clearly used to convey a sense of comfort, particularly in the

[199] Tokojo Yamasaki, "3000 Haiku from the China Incident," *Haiku Kenkyū*, November 1938, 67.

second and third verse of the sequence where the heat is replaced with a rather pleasant weather.

The last verse also presents a double reading: on one hand, when pointing out that there are fewer people in the station, the author might be referring to either the women that helped to make the *senninbari* or to the men that have left for the war front. In sum, Toyojo's sequence portrays the making of *senninbari* as a group activity that brings women together with their communities and with the soldiers on the war front.

Some pages later in the same issue, there is a shorter sequence composed by Onodera Kazuko (小野寺和子), who also uses *senninbari* as a theme:

汗くろく千人針のをみなたち

Ase kuroku senninbari no womina tachi

Covered in sweat and sunburns: the young women work on the *senninbari*

千人針縫へりそびらの街灼くる

Senninbari nueri sobira no machi yakuru

Stitching *senninbari;* the street behind them scorches

赤心の糸を結べり真日寂ぶる

Sekishin no ito wo musuberi mahi saburu

Tied with the thread of devotion… the sun wanes…[200]

Just like Toyojo, Kazuko depicts the *senninbari* thread as something that binds the community. Likewise, Kazuko also shows the women making charms amidst extreme heat. The heat does not fade until the "thread of devotion" makes the sun wane. Kazuko depicts the women almost as if they were working the fields under the scorching sun. The author pays special attention to the women's tanned skin and the sweat exuded by the women. Wartime media constantly urged women to practice self-discipline and restraint so as to participate fully in the sacrifices and hard work of war, (Bae 2012, 115). The government also pressured the urban female workforce into war work, as volunteer service to the nation, while in rural areas women were even used as substitutes for draft animals that were requisitioned by the military (Earhart 2008, 170).

Evidently, stitching charms is not as demanding as plowing the fields by hand. Still, the wartime narrative demanded their citizens be depicted as hard workers that dedicated every moment of their daily lives to contribute to war efforts. Another interesting element from the sequence is the use of the verb to tan/to burn (灼くる, *yakuru*). This verb appears in several war haiku, including the very first haiku in *Hōsha*,

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[200] Kazuko Onodera, "3000 Haiku From the China Incident," *Haiku Kenkyū*, November 1938, 89.

as the Second Sino-Japanese War broke during the summer of 1937. Soon, the verb was not only used to express a season, but also to express the "burning" fighting spirits of the soldiers going to the front. By using this verb, Kazuko integrates wartime tropes in her home front haiku.

A third example of a woman using *senninbari* as a topic in the November 1938 issue comes from Hasegawa Kanajo. This poet started composing haiku after Kyoshi himself encouraged her to join a female haiku circle. Kanajo was one of the first poets to appear regularly in the *Hototogisu* magazine's short-lived female haiku section *Kitchen Miscellaneous* (臺所雑詠, *daitokoro zatsuei*). Later, she also joined the *Haiku Kenkyū* circle, where she served as the editor of the *Miscellaneous* section on many occasions. Her sequence goes as follows:

露霜に強かれと縫ひし千結び

Tsuyujimo ni tsuyokare to nuishi sen musubi

One-thousand stitches sewn: be strong amidst the frost and dew!

弾丸はじくお礼も秋深き

Dangan hajiku ofuda mo aki fukaki

Late autumn; giving thanks that he dodged the bullet…

千の女人の縫ふ千結び鶏頭燃ゆ

Sen no nyonin no nuu sen musubi keitō moyu

> A thousand stitches of a thousand women united: a blazing plumed cockscomb![201]

Kanajo avoids altogether the use of the word *senninbari* in her sequence. Instead, she alludes to the charm by using the verb "to sew" and by mentioning the dangers it wards off. The poetic voice of the sequence seems to talk directly to the *senninbari*, asking it to fulfill its purpose of warding off extreme weather and the enemy bullets. Kanajo does not mention the *senninbari* but does not forget to mention the thousand women that made the charm and how their hearts are connected, burning as red as a plumed cockscomb: an allusion both to the red thread of the *senninbari* and to the burning passion that was usually present in war haiku. Furthermore, women are depicted as possessors of something akin to a fighting spirit. Women cannot go and fight on the war front, but they can support by "fighting" on the home front by making the *senninbari* that would protect the troops. Thus, by making *senninbari* the women find an outlet for their fiery souls and their desire to actively participate in the conflict.

Interestingly enough, on the second page of the Home Front Section of *3000 Haiku from the China Incident,* there are two sequences composed by Mizuhara Shūōshi

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[201] Kanajo Hasegawa, "3000 Haiku From the China Incident," *Haiku Kenkyū*, November 1938, 62.

featuring *senninbari*. Mizuhara does not mention women or the making of the charms in any of the 11 haiku that form the sequences. Instead, Mizuhara focuses on soldiers wearing the *senninbari*, marching under the rain, or waiting for the battle during a cold night. Within *3000 Haiku from the China Incident*, some other male authors do mention women in relation to *senninbari* in their haiku, however, they would portray women differently from how female *haijin* did. Some of the male poets, for example, refer to women by using the term *otome* (乙女), which can be translated as "virgin" or "maiden". The term, evidently, has a nuance of frailty and even of infantilization of women. This is in sharp contrast to how female *haijin* portrayed women working together as a community, supporting the war, and the troops.

The sequences about *senninbari* reflect the mobilization campaigns organized by the government and women's associations. However, it is possible to appreciate how in the sequences the female poetic voices convey a sense of belonging to their communities. The *senninbari* sequences portray groups of women bonding through the fabrication of charms for the troops. The poetic voices describe the activity of making charms as exhausting, but at the same time satisfying and even comforting, as women appear more as part of a sorority or a family rather than part of a women's association.

Women's War Haiku and Allusions to the Emperor

Making good luck charms was far from the most important contribution to war efforts: families, and women particularly, were supposed to offer their sons and husbands to the Emperor's Holy War. The emperor represented everything that was sacred and thus, praises to the emperor were common in wartime literature. Families send their sons to the war front to fight for the emperor. This idea appears as the theme of the following sequence by Suzuno Migusajo (すゞのみぐさ女 1904-2006):

夫出征

My husband departs for the war front

菊咲けりよくぞ召されて人征きぬ

Kiku sakeri yokuzo mesarete hito yukinu

A chrysanthemum in bloom! The men called to service have left to war

菊咲けり大君のへに人征きぬ

Kiku sakeri ōkimi no he ni hito yukinu

A chrysanthemum in bloom! The men have left to war for the Emperor!

我家の柿をたうべて人征きぬ

Wagaie no kaki wo taubete hito yukino

Our family offers their persimmon! The men have departed to war

ばんざいのばんざいの底にゐて思ふ

Banzai no banzai no soko ni ite omou

“Banzai, banzai!” they say as they gather around me…I crouch down in my thoughts…[202]

The sequence depicts a chrysanthemum in bloom while the men already left for the war front. The poetic voice expresses that their family makes an offering to war efforts. The element that stands out the most in this sequence is the chrysanthemum flower, an allusion to the emperor himself. The chrysanthemum seal of the Japanese imperial house was present even on the swords and rifles of soldiers and sailors as a reminder that they were agents of the imperial will (Earthart 2008, 11). Likewise, the chrysanthemum flower also became popular in war haiku, as the emperor’s seal, or any suggestion on his person was synonymous with the entire history of Japan, the spiritual well-being of the nation, and the very land of Japan (Earthart 2008, 11). Hiroaki Sato notes that as censorship became harsher during the Pacific War, the use of common old *kigo* such as “withered chrysanthemum” (枯菊, *karegiku*) was avoided “because it might be judged to constitute lèse-majesté (Sato 2018, 178).”

Despite the title, the poetic voice’s husband is not mentioned directly in the sequence. Instead, the first two verses talk about the men already away from Japan, while

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[202] Migusajo Suzuno, "3000 Haiku From the China Incident," *Haiku Kenkyū*, November 1938, 82.

the chrysanthemum remains in Japan in full bloom, almost implying how pleased the emperor is with his subjects and their conviction for the cause. The second verse not only presents the chrysanthemum but the emperor himself, leaving no room for doubt regarding who the men are fighting for. Then, in the third verse, the poetic voice announces her family "offering" for the cause, their contribution to war efforts, a fruit from their garden: a persimmon.

As the chrysanthemum is used to allude to the emperor, it is possible to argue that the persimmon is used to refer to the poetic voice's husband who has left for the war front. The verb featured in this poem is *taubete* (たうべて) which appears in hiragana. This is the verb *taubu* (賜ぶ), which means "to offer food or a gift (to a lord)." Likewise, the kanji for the verb has the meaning of "gift", "fruit", and "the result of one's efforts."

Three out of four verses repeat the image of men that left the homeland. The repetition creates the image of a large number of men leaving Japan. The poetic voice's family offers one more man to be added to the multitude of soldiers. This element adds a sense of foreboding dread, creating a strong contrast with the seemingly prevalent celebratory atmosphere of the sequence, as Japanese families offer countless men to war efforts. As everyone else celebrates while sending off the soldiers, the poetic voice is let to herself and her thoughts.

Rika Kikuchi expresses that poems composed by women that include praises to the emperor are examples of *Ten'noism* of wartime Japan. Kikuchi notes how women poets would express a mother's deep sorrow and praise for the emperor in the same poem. Poetic voices could be sorrowful because of a male relative's death or suffering on the war front while feeling honored that the soldier died for the emperor. Kikuchi interprets the first feeling as instinct and the second as a "socially learned response (Kikuchi 2019, 36)." Migusajo's haiku sequence does not deal with death, but the tone implies that the poetic voice is aware of what awaits on the war front. However, the poetic voice also acknowledges that the men are marching for the emperor and thus praises his august person.

It must be noted that Kikuchi recognizes that some may interpret that it was necessary to praise the emperor to avoid censorship, but she notes that "the censorship was mainly for checking the words related to communism, socialism, anti-imperialism, and anti-ten'noism. Praising ten'no or having the word, banzai, was not necessary (Kikuchi 2019, 35-36)." Portraying the death of soldiers, or expressing sorrow for them, was not frowned upon as dying on the war front while fighting the emperor's Holy War was considered an honor. Proof of this lies in one of the war-related terms that were added to haiku: "spirits of war dead" (英霊, *eirei*). The term is a respectful way to refer to fallen

soldiers and also conveys the meaning of (deceased) war heroes. Migusajo would reappear in the April 1939 *New 3000 Haiku From the China Incident* with the following two-haiku sequence that features the spirits of war dead along with the chrysanthemum flower:

> 英霊還りぬ菊きいろなるゆふべ
>
> *Eirei kaerinu kiku kiiro naru yūbe*
>
> The fallen heroes have come back; the chrysanthemum turns yellow at dusk
>
> 英霊還りぬ月の明るき大欅
>
> *Eirei kaerinu tsuki no akaruki ōkeyaki*
>
> The fallen heroes have come back; the moon shines on a great Japanese elm…[203]

This short sequence has both haiku starting with the same image: the soldiers that lost their lives in the conflict and that have come back to the homeland in the form of ashes, as it is implied by the term *eirei*. The image is as tragic as it is solemn. However, the first haiku presents the chrysanthemum, the symbol of the emperor, turning yellow, almost golden with the light of dusk. The presence of the emperor offers solace to the departed

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[203] Migusajo Suzuno, "New 3000 Haiku From the China Incident," *Haiku Kenkyū*, April 1939, 321.

souls and to the people on the home front, as the chrysanthemum remains august and immutable. The dusk is followed by the night. In the second, haiku the moon illuminates a Japanese zelkova, also known as Japanese elm. These trees are known for their longevity and for growing up to 30 meters high. In this fashion, the second haiku puts in contrast the spirits of the departed with the figure of a tree that grows tall and sturdy even during the adversities of wartime.

Aside from seeing off soldiers to the war front and offering solace to those mourning their loved ones, the chrysanthemum flower can also be found in haiku about soldiers recovering from their wounds once back in the homeland. An example of this lies in this short sequence by Hasegawa Fumiko (長谷川ふみ子), the wife of Hasegawa Sosei, where she describes meeting her husband in a military hospital.

陸軍病院にて

In a military hospital

ここにして君と立つかな菊花咲く

Koko ni shite kimi to tatsu kana kiku hana saku

I'm standing here next to you…! The chrysanthemum flower blooms.

白衣著てあればしたしも菊かほる

Hakui kite areba shitashimo kiku kaoru

Wearing white robes…. Chrysanthemum's fragrance[204]

The poetic voice celebrates being standing side by side with her loved one. The chrysanthemum flower blooms and expels its fragrance, almost as if the flower was blessing the reunited couple. The note that precedes the sequence announces and establishes the setting of the military hospital, which helps to reinforce the imagery of the chrysanthemum flower as the emperor. *Haiku Kenkyū* credits Fumiko as *Hasegawa Fumiko. Second Lieutenant Hasegawa Sosei's Wife* (長谷川素逝中尉夫人), associating her with her then-famous husband. *Hōsha* was released in April 1939, thus it might not be a coincidence that Fumiko was included in *New 3000 Haiku from the China Incident* as a marketing ploy. Regardless, despite not being displayed prominently within the pages of this special number, Fumiko is the only female *haijin* whose name appears with her name and her husband's name and military rank.

The chrysanthemum flower was not the only way to refer to the emperor. Haiku poets also resorted to anachronisms that were associated with the mythical origins of Japan in order to show their nationalism. This can be observed in the following short sequence by Masaoka Kagerōjo (正岡陽炎女 1886-1967):

大八洲の霞にこもり祈ること

[204] Fumiko Hasegawa, "New 3000 Haiku From the China Incident," *Haiku Kenkyū*, April 1939, 310.

Ōyashima no kasumi ni komori inoru koto

Amidst Japan's mist: I pray

伏して祈れば霞晴れたり大八洲

Fushite inoreba kasumi haretari Ōyashima

As I prostrate to pray, the mist fades away: Japan[205]

Kagerōjo refers to Japan as *Ōyashima*, one of the country's archaic names. This mythical name can be found in both the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon Shoki*, texts that date back to the early 8th century. *Ōyashima* is closely tied to the creation myth of Japan as is a reference to the first 8 islands created by the gods Izanagi and Izanami, parents of the goddess Amaterasu, the mythical ancestress of the Imperial House of Japan. The use of traditional terms like *Ōyashima* was unambiguously nationalistic and in compliance with the idea of the divine nature of the emperor.

As if the inclusion of Japan's mythical name were not enough to show compliance with nationalistic propaganda, Kagerōjo includes praying in both haiku. This is a clear reference to what the Citizens' Total Spiritual Mobilization movement (国民精神総動員, *Kokumin Seishin Sōdōin*), launched in 1937. This patriotic program, along with

[205] Kagerōjo Masaoka, "3000 Haiku From the China Incident," *Haiku Kenkyū*, November 1938, 68.

countless other ones, would exhort civilians to serve the nation through activities such as visiting a Shinto shrine to pray for victory (Earhart 2008, 108). This was also reflected in the practical activities of members of women's associations, visiting shrines to pray for soldiers was one of the activities organized by these groups (Wilson 2006, 213). Women were also expected to guard the spiritual well-being of their families by taking care of the Buddhist and Shinto altars in their homes (Earhart 2008, 161). The poetic voice describes how the mist that surrounds Japan fades away through prayer, which can be interpreted as the poetic voice's worries going away, being replaced by peace of mind and confidence in Japan's victory.

Some would argue that jingoism in wartime literature and poetry was enforced and even required by the state. However, as it was commented on in the introduction to this chapter, female *haijin* were active during wartime and a part of their published works are non-war related. Nationalism in wartime haiku is but a reflection of wartime reality and most of the examples used in this chapter show how women dealt with and adapted to said reality and even echoed the messages that they received through propaganda.

Women Haiku, Military Victories, and Fighting the War from the Home Front

Female poets did not limit themselves to writing only about their experiences as mothers and civilians on the home front. They also composed *senka sōbō haiku* to describe and

celebrate the victories that the news media reported. An example of this is *Kamikaze*, a haiku sequence celebrating the Japanese victory in the battle of Pearl Harbor, composed by Mitsuhashi Takajo and published in the April 1942 issue of *Haiku Kenkyū*:[206]

神風/ *Kamikaze*

米太平洋艦隊撃滅

America's Pacific Fleet has been annihilated

凍天に東海に嗚呼神風吹きし

Tōten ni tōkai ni aa kamikaze fukishi

Ah! The kamikaze flies away! Towards the frozen sky, towards the Pacific

敵艦沈め冬白浪ぞ高鳴れり

Ada shizume fuyu shiranami zo takanareri

The enemy sinks, throbbing into a wintry white wave

還らじと還らじとゆきし凍天を

Kaeraji to kaeraji to yukishi tōten wo

They won't come back, they won't … they went into the frozen sky

凍天に魂を駈けらしをみな我等

Tōten ni tama wo kakerashi womina warera

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[206] Takajo published the sequence under her former pen name Azuma Takajo.

We women chase after those souls in the frozen sky

日の国の真冬真穹ををろがみ泣く

Hi no kuni mafuyu masora wo orogami naku

Land of the rising sun in midwinter… we weep, praying to the true sky…[207]

The most notable aspect of this sequence is the fact that the battle occurs in an ellipsis between the first and the second haiku. In just two verses, Takajo portrays the Japanese pilots departing for combat and the enemy screaming as they die. As the battle ends, there is a narrative shift: the poetic voice focuses on the women on the home front as they shed tears and pray for the soldiers that gave up their lives for the victory.

Takajo uses the "frozen sky" to establish cohesion between the verses of the sequence. The term is also used by the poet to refer to Hawaii, as Takajo assumes that since the battle occurred on December 7th, 1941, it must have been cold, just as it was the case in Japan, however that was not the climatic reality of Hawaii. As Takajo was in Japan, she could not avoid applying her own reality to the battlefield, after all, the

[207] Takajo Mitsuhashi, "Kamikaze," *Haiku Kenkyū*, April 1942, 4.

sequence ends up with the claim that the "true sky" is above Japan, in stark contrast with the war front's "frozen sky" where soldiers go to die.

The language used in the note that opens the sequence is quite similar to the titles used by Japanese magazines and newspapers when they covered the Pearl Harbor attack. Just like any other poet on the home front and Japanese civilians, Mitsuhashi Takajo was informed about the attack by the news media, which was heavily regulated by the government and the military. In the case of the Pearl Harbor Attack, the first photographs that were made available to the Japanese public were released by the Japanese Navy weeks after the attack and were first published in *Photograph Weekly*, a magazine published by the government (Earhart 2008, 221).

The note is not the only element of *Kamikaze* that has ties with the official discourse. Takajo's description of the women on the war front offering their prayers to the fallen soldiers is another reference to the Citizens' Total Spiritual Mobilization movement, just as with Kagerōjo's sequence.

Takajo's sequence, in sum, is a celebration of victory, but also a reminder of what was the role of women on the home front: to serve the nation through prayer. The sequence shows how internalized were the government's spiritual directives. Likewise, Takajo's *Kamikaze* is but one example of how mediated Japanese civilians and artists'

views on war through the news media. A short sequence by Matsuno Kazuko also illustrates this point:

如月のニュース海南島より来る

Kisaragi no nyūsu kainantō yori kuru

The news of the second lunar month come from Hainan Island

海南島ニュース映畫を雪今宵

Kainantō nyūsu eiga wo yuki koyoi

I watch a newsreel about Hainan Island; evening in snow[208]

This sequence appeared in the *Haiku Kenkyū* April 1939's *New 3000 Haiku from the China Incident*. The Chinese Island of Hainan was invaded by the Imperial Japanese Navy in February 1939, thus, this sequence by Kazuko was covering a fairly recent event. Unlike Mitsuhashi Takajo, Kazuko does not resort to *senka sōbō haiku* to imagine herself witnessing the battle. Instead, Kazuko stays within the limits of home front haiku and directly acknowledges that she is being informed by the news media about the recent events. The sequence alludes to the invasion and occupation of Hainan in a casual manner, almost as background noise that accompanies the falling snow. Another poet, Kamino

[208] Kazuko Matsuno, "New 3000 Haiku From the China Incident," *Haiku Kenkyū*, April 1939, 321-322.

Tomoe (神野ともゑ) has a similar short sequence that appears to be celebrating the victory over Nanjing:

戦捷のニュースに續き春の歌

Senshō no nyu-su ni tsutzuki haru no uta

The news about the victory keeps coming; spring's song

凱旋の三将の上に春の星

Gaisen no sanshō no ue ni haru no hoshi

Spring stars over the triumphant return of the general[209]

Tomoe's sequence, unlike Matsuno Kazuko's two haiku, is set in spring and has a celebratory tone. The poetic voice also mentions the news media as her source of information about the war. Another notable aspect of Tomoe's haiku is that she makes a direct reference to army members and their return to the home front. The short sequence has a fairly optimistic tone, almost as if the poetic voice considered war already over.

One year prior, in the *Haiku Kenkyū* November 1938's *3000 Haiku from the China Incident*, there is a two-haiku sequence by Hasegawa Kanajo that seems to be celebrating the fall of Nanjing:

戦勝の春

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[209] Tomoe Kamino, "New 3000 Haiku From the China Incident," *Haiku Kenkyū*, November 1938, 68.

Spring in Victory

國興す大きな音あり初御空

Kuni okosu ōkina oto ari hatsumisora

There's a great commotion invigorating the land! New year's sky.

松飾りして戦勝の民寧し

Matsukazari shite senshō no tami yasushi

I put the New Year's pine decorations; the victory gives the people peace of mind[210]

Kanajo does not mention Nanjing directly, mixing the victory celebration with the New Year's festivities. The sequence focuses on the New Year's tropes and prioritizes the morale and the mental well-being of the Japanese people on the home front. Dean Anthony Brink noticed that many examples of haiku celebrating the fall of Nanjing also used propaganda for the New Year, with the season words insinuating "an associative matrix [...] so as to bring gloating over ironies of military victories into a poetic discourse (2017, 95)." Indeed, Kanajo's composition shows Japan rejoicing in the first haiku and the Japanese people having peace of mind in the second, almost oblivious to the reality

[210] Kanajo Hasegawa, "3000 Haiku From the China Incident," *Haiku Kenkyū*, November 1938, 62.

of the Chinese civilians. In this fashion, the use of traditional seasonal words would reaffirm the official discourse that claimed the superiority of Japan over other nations, giving reassurance to civilians.

Some female poets would not limit themselves to reporting and celebrating military victories. Mitsuhashi Takajo was an interesting figure in the haiku world, as she expressed that she was not satisfied with traditional haiku. Takajo composed non-conventional, avant-garde haiku during her career and was part of different haiku circles. I previously commented on her *Kamikaze* as a haiku sequence with a rather traditional tone as it reflects official propaganda. However, that example comes from a later stage of the war. We can appreciate a different facet of Takajo as a female poet on the home front in two poems that were published in the *New 3000 Haiku from the China Incident* under her former pen name of Azuma Takajo (東鷹女):

凍てを行き兵を思へり誰もが思へり

Ite wo iki hei wo omoeri dare mo omeri

I think about the soldiers going away to freeze over… everyone does

爆撃機に乗りたし梅雨のミシン踏めり

Bakugekiki ni noritashi tsuyu no mishin fumeri

I would ride a bomber!... I step on the pedal of the sewing machine in the rainy season[211]

These two haiku, though appearing together, do not seem to form a sequence. In the first one, the poetic voice talks about how soldiers are portrayed in the public imagination: wandering extreme cold places on the war front. This view of the war front's environments was the product of the news media, such as newspapers and newsreels divulged images of the harsh conditions experienced by Japanese soldiers in China, particularly between December 1937 and the first months of 1938.

The second haiku is rather fascinating as the poetic voice fantasizes about maneuvering a bomber while using a sewing machine. In this haiku, Takajo combines the female-associated activity of sewing with the male-associated activity of piloting a military aircraft. "Bomber" (爆撃機, *bakugekiki*) was one of many war-related terms that were introduced to haiku during this time period. The poetic voice fantasizes about piloting an aircraft and probably going to the war front to fight. However, she is soon back to reality, back to performing one of the activities that the Japanese government, the

[211] Takajo Mitsuhashi, "New 3000 Haiku From the China Incident," *Haiku Kenkyū*, April 1939, 305.

military, and society in general, considered appropriate for a woman seeking to contribute to war efforts.

Wartime propaganda aimed at women made it clear that the home front was the fighting ground for women, and that their way of fighting was through domestic activities and communal service, among a plethora of activities to maintain a certain level of functionality for a society lacking "manpower." Women were engaging in activities outside the home through the patriotic associations from 1937, by the last years of the war, the government would announce the formation of "household factories" in cooperation with the Imperial Rule Assistance Association "in order to make the best use of the labor of housewives (Wilson 2006, 228)." Wilson notes that despite the rhetoric about the importance of women on the home front, the Japanese government "failed to maximize its use of home-front labor when it needed it most," due to the general belief that women should stay at home and to the fear of the family system collapsing as women's reproductive roles was in opposition to having a working life (Wilson 2006, 232).

While Takajo's *Kamikaze* provides us with the traditional state-sanctioned view of women as spiritual supporters of war, praying on the home front for the fallen soldiers, the 1939 haiku about the sewing machine gives voice to some of the frustrations that

women experienced during wartime. As the news media constantly reported military feats, a portion of the female population thought that their contribution to war efforts had less value than the sacrifices made by the Japanese men on the war front. This, combined with the state propaganda asking women to be brave, would have prompted some women to imagine themselves in the roles of soldiers fighting directly with the enemy.

Other poets would not go as far as Takajo and imagine themselves fighting on the war front. Ariga Kimuko (有賀きむ子) for example would show her commitment to fighting her battles on the home front:

耕に輝る陽よ銃後守る娘らよ

Kō ni hikaru hi yo jūgo mamoru musumera yo

The radiant sun on the fields! The women are guarding the home front![212]

This haiku by Kimuko reaffirms the idea promoted by the official propaganda that women were also warriors on the home front, but their battles had a different nature: nurturing the children, taking care of family business, working the fields, etc. Kimuko paints an idyllic vignette where the sun shines upon the fields. Interestingly enough, Kimuko uses the kanji for "to plow/to cultivate" (耕, *kō*) as a noun as she refers to the fields, perhaps in order to convey the idea of "hard work". Similarly, she changed the reading of "radiant"

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[212] Kimuko Ariga, "New 3000 Haiku From the China Incident," *Haiku Kenkyū*, April 1939, 312.

(輝く, *kagayaku*) to *hikaru*, which corresponds to a different kanji (光る), perhaps because the kanji she uses has an optimistic nuance. The second part of the haiku states that the women are protecting the home front. She refers to the women as "*musumera"* (娘ら), a plural form for "musume", a word that means "daughter", but that is also used when talking about young unmarried women. The reason behind this denomination might reside in the fact that women's associations wanted to reassure that when women were engaged in patriotic work outside the home, it was in safe roles, "with supposedly no sexual or sensual overtones (Wilson 2006, 227)." Kimuko portrays women as a group happily working the fields and protecting the home front. The poetic voice has a reassuring tone, suggesting how ready are the women to fight for the homeland in their own way, laboring under the sun, echoing the idea that endurance was "an attribute Japanese women were said to exhibit to a unique degree (Wilson 2006, 216)."

Non-conforming voices were not limited to haiku about deceased soldiers. Mitsuhashi Takajo gave us an example of how some women romanticized war. That, combined with the frustration of being relegated to passive and traditional roles to support the war, motivated some women to imagine themselves on the frontline, fighting for their country and gaining the admiration and glory that was reserved for the men. Women could not participate in battle, but they could celebrate military victories. The news media,

sanctioned by the government and the military, kept the population informed and involved with the conflict, making them participants in the events on the war front.

Conclusion

Wartime Japanese population on the home front faced socio-economic adversities that changed their lifestyles and family dynamics. At the same time, the government and the military were constantly reminding the civilians that they had responsibilities and roles to fulfill in order to protect the homeland and support war efforts. The wartime Japanese female population was particularly targeted by official propaganda, as the government sought to control women's activities during wartime. On one hand, the government aimed to promote traditional values and reaffirm the roles of women as caregivers and child-bearers. On the other hand, the government also attempted to mobilize the female population for labor as manpower decreased during wartime. A contradiction promptly emerged as “labor service activities might also undermine the ideal that women’s place was in the home (Wilson 2006, 227).” This back and forth between traditional values associated with femininity and the necessity of requiring women to contribute to war efforts through labor is consistently portrayed in wartime haiku written by female poets.

In their haiku, female *haijin* showed the association between the wartime national agenda and the female experience on the home front. One of the constants amongst the examples included in this chapter is the inclusion of stoic, strong female poetic voices that accept wartime reality, facing the absence of their husbands and sons, and taking care of the home front. Other haiku would have poetic voices praising the military and the emperor, showing pride and their love for their nation. Likewise, the sequences about *senninbari*-making are clear examples of wartime mobilization of women, as the government used women's associations to involve the female population with activities that would contribute to war efforts.

Some examples used in this chapter display non-conforming voices whose haiku acknowledges the consequences of war. Even if some of the cases were rather veiled regarding their concerns, uncertainty, grief, resignation, and sorrow are part of how women responded to wartime reality on the Japanese home front. These voices are also a reflection of the narrative presented by state propaganda: as war continued and casualties increased, the government and the military wanted for the civilian population to be psychologically prepared for scarcity, losing family members, and even a possible invasion. When facing these adversities, they would find comfort in the figure of the emperor, and in prayer and good deeds in name of the troops and the nation.

In sum, the examples of female wartime haiku used in this chapter display both the domestic and psychological realities that women faced on the home front. From bidding farewell to their male relatives, assuming household responsibilities, participating in communal activities such as praying or stitching charms, celebrating military victories, to mourning their sons and husbands while praising the emperor and his holy war. The female poetic voices present in the analyzed haiku reflect the ideals that were spread and idealized by wartime Japanese propaganda aimed at women, and how they reacted and engaged with said messages.

Conclusion

This dissertation presented selected case studies of early Japanese wartime haiku composed during the second Sino-Japanese War to the first stages of the Greater East Asian War. Haiku poets consider this period as the formative years of war haiku. Regardless, war haiku is often neglected from haiku studies, despite that most poets from modern canon produced this type of haiku as they lived and were active as poets during war time. Many reasons are used to justify not including war haiku in contemporary studies: from arguments that advocate for the lack of literary worth of war haiku due to their propagandistic nature, to apologetics and revisionism that either erase this kind of haiku, argues for subversive, anti-war messages in the poems, or for the innocence of poets, portraying *haijin* as artists that were forced to celebrate war in their poems under penalty of political persecution.

War haiku was part of a plethora of topics that were added to haiku during the first decades of the twentieth century and discussing it would not help to explain the Japanese wartime propaganda and censorship mechanisms, nor the psyche of the Japanese people during wartime, which was not the purpose of this study. However, as it was shown chapter by chapter, by discussing and analyzing war haiku it is possible to cast

light on the challenges that Japanese *haijn* faced when they attempted to continue with the process of modernization of haiku that Masaoka Shiki started before he died in 1902.

The presence of propagandistic messages and jingoism in war haiku is self-evident, and thus not subject to debate in this dissertation. Instead, with this dissertation I intended to study how resorting to war as a topic pushed haiku poets to question the limits of the genre as well as its core elements, such as the seasonal words, as haiku was associated to use elements from nature as their subject matter, these elements were rooted in a poetic tradition that was detached from war. This was one of the reasons why in 1937 Saitō Sanki advocated for the use of seasonless war haiku to report war, as he argued that the use of seasonal words would not help to convey the realities of war.

Haiku's brevity also represented a challenge for poets to report the war in only 17 syllables. *Rensaku*, haiku sequences, were often used by poets in an attempt to report the war despite the metric limitations of haiku. *Wheat and Soldiers* and *Hōsha* were used in this study as representative examples of the use of *rensaku* to create vignettes that allegedly portrayed the realities of war.

Precisely, one constant among the three case studies in this dissertation is the discussion regarding authenticity of war haiku as many poets on the home front advocated for adapting existing news reports and war accounts into haiku. Direct observation was

one of haiku's core elements that were proposed by Masaoka Shiki during his career. Shiki called this type of composition from observation *shasei*, "sketch from life." The word itself is conspicuously absent from the essays and opinions pieces written by poets like Hino Sōjō, Higashi Kyōzō, Watanabe Hakusen, Saitō Sanki, Nishijima Bakunan, Katō Shūson and others quoted in this study, such as the reviews of *Hōsha*, even the ones done by Takahama Kyoshi, the successor of Shiki.

Shasei as a word might be absent from the poets' and critics' opinion pieces, but the haiku world engaged in several discussions regarding direct observation and "real" experiences as parameters to define what constitutes authentic war haiku. The expressions that appear in wartime haiku publications to refer to this quality of "realness" are quite varied: stating if a poem has or lacks war (戦争がある/戦争がない); mentioning if the poet went to the war front (戦争の現地/戦線); composing from first-hand/direct experiences (体験) versus composing from "indirect" experiences (間接体験), such as getting inspired from news reports or war accounts; reporting (報告) about the war; or even stating if a war haiku contains "truth" (真実) or "falsehood" (嘘), etc. The terms used by reviewers, or by poets trying to explain what made war haiku authentic would invariably be related to the proximity of the poet to the war front. The three categories of war haiku, war front haiku, home front haiku, and haiku that yearns for the fires of war,

reflect the debate of haiku based on direct observation versus haiku based on indirect sources or based on the inner thoughts of a poet as a response to their environment and reality.

This emphasis on haiku composed on the war front through first-hand experiences was particularly pushed by traditional haiku groups, such as *Hototogisu*, as Kyoshi progressively grew strongly against the use of fiction in haiku. Non-traditional poets, like the ones from the *Kyōdai*, or the the different circles that represented New-Style haiku, tended to be more lenient to the inclusion of fiction or composing haiku from the media as many poets never went to the war front. Nevertheless, even poets that advocated for inspiration from the media, like Hino Sōjō, would celebrate war front haiku, as it was shown on Chapter II when discussing the reception of Hasegawa Sosei's war haiku.

The haikuzation of *Wheat and Soldiers* presented in Chapter I showed how haiku poets experimented with the boundaries of haiku by adapting a novel into verses. The heavy criticism that the poets received from some of their peers, particularly for composing haiku not based on direct experiences, is an example of how the concept of *shasei* as method of composing haiku from "objective" observations, was being challenged as many poets stayed on the home front during the whole conflict and could not report the war directly. Though news reports and war diaries were considered "direct"

accounts of war, they were not experiences that poets experienced. However, poets, like the authors of the haikuzation, considered that composing haiku from their reception of war accounts was not different from composing from direct observation.

On the other hand, poets like Hasegawa Sosei, the focus of Chapter II, who went to the war front and composed haiku, helped to secure haiku's place within war literature as they, allegedly, reported the realities of war in their poems. Hasegawa, a poet that was a founding member of a non-traditional haiku circle, recanted his position and remained a member of the traditional *Hototogisu* haiku circle. Hasegawa's war haiku was used to make the case for traditional haiku as a medium that could objectively report the ongoing war. Ironically, reviewers focused on celebrating that Hasegawa allegedly made direct, objective observations, without discussing the contents of said observations, as their priority was to exalt and promote war haiku and construct the image of the poet-soldier during a period when war novels and war reportages were acclaimed by critics and the public. Precisely, the fact that Hasegawa was received as a hero by both traditional and not-traditional poets suggests how highly regarded war haiku from first-hand experiences was.

Finally, the home front haiku produced by wartime female poets discussed in Chapter III provided us with a different perspective on haiku. Female poets reflected the

propaganda aimed at them in their haiku, while also reacting and engaging with said messages, constructing their image as women and civilians on the home front. The haiku in this chapter is an example of how poets used haiku as a medium to convey their emotions and psychological realities, in contrast to the traditional idea of haiku as a type of poem that observes nature and uses it as a topic. Female haijin use haiku as a tool to make their gender visible. Unlike their male counterparts, female poets make direct mention of their gender, as they aimed to portray their daily lives on the home front. The subject matter in female wartime haiku tends to dwell more in the effects of mobilization programs on civilians. From activities to support war efforts, such as the fabrication of *senninbari*, to saying farewell to the male relatives drafted to the war front, female wartime haiku explores topics that even male poets on the home front seldom touched. While poets like Hino Sōjō constantly tried to talk about battles that they did not witness, indirectly manifesting their anxiety as men that were not able to actively serve on the war front, women reported how they fought on the home front by abiding to the directions provided by the government. However, as I showed with the haiku of Mitsuhashi Takajo, some women would also express their desire to be on the war front and fight for their country.

Additionally, each of the case studies of this dissertation casted some light on the wartime media environment. Haiku publications like *Hototogisu* and *Haiku Kenkyū* published war haiku and war haiku-related opinion pieces on a monthly basis. Though these magazines continued with their usual content, war-related content also became a staple within their pages. These two magazines in particular would also contribute to the circulation, reflection, and assessment of war haiku from other circles, as they often compiled and reviewed war haiku featured in minor publications. The *Haiku Kenkyū*'s special numbers that contained the *3000 Haiku from the China Incident* and the *New 3000 Haiku From the China Incident*, are an example of this as they contained haiku compiled from hundreds of publications.

In consequence, haiku publications contributed to the spread of the state and military sanctioned narrative regarding the Holy War, as dissident voices were swiftly silenced, censored or "converted." Thus, haiku publications became part of the wartime propaganda machine, despite not being officially part of a military program. This was the norm with novelists too, as it was discussed in Chapter I with the case of Hino Ashihei when he received the Akutagawa prize on the war front. Publishing houses, critics, and artists' circles were swift in their efforts to offer war narratives and poster boys to the Japanese public, to show their support and compliance with the ongoing war. Literary

works replicated propaganda messages, but critical reviews did as well, and reviewers would either exalt a poet's military career or exhort their readers to contribute with war efforts.

This study focused exclusively on examples of war haiku, and related paratexts such as reviews or opinion pieces, as they were published and presented to the public during wartime. Several Japanese scholars, such Usami Toshio in his study of Hasegawa Sosei, resort to private writings such as letters or diaries that were either discovered or presented during the postwar period to explain war haiku. However, I decided not to use such sources as they were not available to the public that consumed war haiku. Furthermore, the reason why most scholars resort to wartime poets' private writings is to use them to write apologetics and argue for anti-war messages that were allegedly hidden in plain sight in wartime poetry. As these kinds of arguments tend to disregard several aspects of wartime editorial and censoring practices, not to mention the thematic trends of wartime literature and the use of traditional poetics associated with the figure of the emperor to evoke a nationalistic sentiment, I opted for not including such sources, though I acknowledge that they could be used to broaden our approach to the poets and their works. However, it also should be noted that authorial intent is virtually impossible to prove, as we cannot dive into an author's psyche.

My study instead focused on close readings of previously untranslated war haiku and literary reviews. I considered that a content analysis based on the face value of the publications and the media was the best approach to this material, as there are no modern editions of most of the haiku commented in this dissertation. In addition, when there is a modern reprint of a wartime poet's works, some, if not all, of their war haiku is not included. Thus, my research heavily relied on archival work done at the Tsuruma Central Library and the Aichi Prefectural Library, both in the city of Nagoya. Likewise I invested countless hours at the Japanese National Diet Library Digital Collections where I had access to most of my primary sources in their original editions. This constituted a different challenge, as Japanese publications from the 30's still used old character forms (旧字体) and old grammar, which I had to get use to in order to advance with my research. I must reiterate my gratitude to my academic advisor, Professor Dylan McGee, for his notes and recommendations regarding my translations of the haiku and wartime opinion pieces, reviews and essays quoted in this dissertation.

Future research should aim to explore other war haiku anthologies composed by individuals. Chapter II of this dissertation focused on Hasegawa Sosei not only due to him being historically the first poet to publish a war haiku collection, but also due to the critical acclaim that he was subject to, as critics not only compared Hasegawa with Hino

Ashihei, but also claims that Hasegawa was a hero that positioned haiku within war literature. As other soldier-poets that came after Hasegawa were related not only to different stages of the war, but also to different approaches to haiku composition during the same period, I consider that they should be considered in other studies.

On the same note, future research should also aim to explore wartime female voices in haiku, the spaces they have for the poetic production, their relation to haiku circles, as well as the critical reception of their haiku. Aside from the haiku itself, the study of opinion pieces written by wartimes poets regarding haiku, war haiku, and direct experience of war versus vicarious experiences should be delve into as it could potentially help to understand how particularly poets from non-traditional haiku circles shifted away from the concept of *shasei* to compose haiku based on fiction, indirect accounts of an event, or haiku based on emotions and psychological experiences.

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