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The "Real" Underlying the Ideal: Tsuge Yoshiharu's Critique of the Rural Image

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An abstract of
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Abstract

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In in the late 1960s and 1970s, Japan was well into its postwar economic boom, bringing with it rapid changes to all segments of Japanese society. Along with these changes came in some a sense of lost national identity and social harmony, which many believed could be found in rural Japan. One artist who was drawn to rural Japan as a place where one could attempt to escape this sense of urban oppression was Tsuge Yoshiharu, a little-studied manga artist who became a major Japanese cultural figure in the late 1960s.

Among artists who felt this draw, Tsuge is also one of the earliest to also criticize this line of thinking. Through close readings of a number of his works from the 1960s to the 1970s, one can see a consistent theme of presenting rural Japan as a place that is wholly alien to an outsider, suggesting that such a return to the past through rural Japan is an impossibility. As time passed and this draw towards rural Japan became increasingly commercialized, Tsuge's works also began to change in appearance, focusing and strengthening its criticisms. While his earlier works contain idealized elements of rural Japan, these later works deromanticize the rural through bleak depictions that Tsuge described as "*Riarizumu*" (*Realism*). However, his underlying message, that urban and rural Japan are fundamentally different places and that an urban interloper cannot integrate into rural Japan, remained the same.

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Table of Contents

Introduction……1

Chapter 1: Background……8

Chapter 2: Social Solitude and Mental Oppression in Tsuge's City Stories……..25

Chapter 3: Early Rural Works: Criticized Idealism……41

Chapter 4: Later Rural Works: A Refocused Criticism……..55

Conclusion and Directions for Further Research……...72

Endnotes……..……..73

Works Cited and Referenced……..…76

List of Figures

Figure 1: Dense, confining paneling in "Chiko"……....29

Figure 2: Separation between the lead characters in “Umibe no Jokei”……33

Figure 3: The final image in “Umibe no Jokei”…….33

Figure 4: Faceless characters and empty backgrounds in “Yume no Sanpo”……....37

Figure 5: The final panel of “Yoru ga Tsukamu”……..39

Figure 6: Dense, detailed, near-alien foliage in "Akai Hana"……49

Figure 7: The protagonists of "Akai Hana" (left) and "Mokkiriya no Shōjo" (right)……52

Figure 8: Sayoko in "Akai Hana" (left), Chiyoji in "Mokkiriya no Shōjo" (right)……52

Figure 9: The opening image of "Nejishiki"……..60

Figure 10: Modern and rural collide in “Nejishiki”……...60

Figure 11: Tsuge's imagined inn and the inn of "realism" in "Riarizumu no Yado"…….63

Figure 12: Tsuge's protagonist as observer……69

Introduction

In in the late 1960s and 1970s, Japan was well into its postwar economic boom, bringing with it rapid changes to all segments of Japanese society. These changes, coupled with the drastic shift in the Japanese social and political landscape following the nation's defeat in World War II, gave rise in some to a sense of lost national identity, manifesting itself in a wide array of forms. Social movements, advertising campaigns, and new academic discourses appeared in the wake of this perceived crisis, all of which addressed and responded to it by trying to reclaim and rediscover Japanese national character. Many of these responses focused on rural Japan, contrasting it with rapidly modernizing cities in order to identify the countryside as a place where "Japaneseness" could still be found. One artist who was drawn to rural Japan as a place where one could attempt to escape the oppressiveness of the city was Tsuge Yoshiharu, a manga artist who became a major cultural figure in the late 1960s. While this attraction to rural Japan was not uncommon among artists during this period, Tsuge stands out as an interesting figure, as his works not only depict the Japanese city as an oppressive, sometimes even unlivable place, but also present rural Japan as a place that is wholly alien to an outsider, suggesting that such a return to the past through rural Japan is an impossibility. I would like to examine Tsuge's works, focusing on themes of interpersonal relationships and realism versus idealism, in order to detail the nature of this early criticism of the brand of nativism that would quickly grow during the 1970s. I will also examine how his works are highly reflective of the historical period during which he worked, especially through examining their ongoing dialogue with popular images of rural Japan. Through this examination, I hope to both

establish Tsuge as a Japanese artist whose complex body of work is worthy of critical and academic attention, and also to explore how his works act as significantly early anticipations and criticisms of the image of the rural within Japanese urban discourses in the 1960s and 1970s.

When discussing the history of manga as an expressive medium, Tsuge Yoshiharu's[1] name is inevitably mentioned as an artist whose work was crucial in establishing "manga expression as an art form" and who "paved the way for a more serious literature style in the manga industry."[2] Despite being considered a "singular genius"[3] and an individual whose works have been "hailed by the intelligentsia" of Japan[4], there is a wide gulf between the amount of writing published about him in Japanese and in English, in particular writing that focuses on his individual works.

In Japan, Tsuge has consistently been an artist of interest since his first exposure to the artistic world, which occurred after his breakout work “Nejishiki” (Screw Ceremony”) was published in June 1968. Many books and articles have been published on Tsuge and his work from a number of perspectives, from his editor's memoirs to collections of close readings of his works, to the point that manga researcher and translator Frederik Schodt muses that "he has probably had more written about him than he himself has created."[5] Perhaps in order to satisfy his "cult following among intellectuals,"[6] Tsuge's one-time editor Takano Shinzō has written a number of articles about his time working with Tsuge, collected in the volume *Tsuge Yoshiharu 1968* (2002). These recollections act as a patchwork biography of the rather private Tsuge, and offer valuable direct and paraphrased quotes on what Tsuge thought or said about his works.

More critical approaches to Tsuge's work are also available in Japanese, such as Dostoyevsky scholar Shimizu Masashi's books *Tsuge Yoshiharu wo Yomu* (*Reading Tsuge Yoshiharu*, 1995) and *Tsuge Yoshiharu wo Toku* (*Deciphering Tsuge Yoshiharu*, 1997), both of which undertake extremely close readings of Tsuge's comics, breaking the stories down and analyzing each individual panel. While Shimizu focuses on individual works rather than larger trends in Tsuge's career, his insights and analysis of these works are invaluable companions when reading Tsuge with a critical eye. Critical and popular interest in Tsuge are both present in the March 1982 issue of *Yuriika* (*Eureka*), a monthly journal of "poetry and criticism." This issue of the long-running magazine, which chooses a different artistic or intellectual figure to focus on each issue, devoted the majority of its pages to discussing Tsuge from critical, historical, and personal perspectives, coming before an issue on Herman Hesse and after an issue on Ray Bradbury. As *Yuriika* is not strictly an academic journal, in addition to academic articles, the issue contains articles that are personal retellings of experiences with Tsuge, including one by his aforementioned editor Takano, but also by individuals who have never met Tsuge, such as artist and Akutagawa prize winner Akasegawa Genpei, whose "Tsuge Yoshiharu to Boku" ("Tsuge Yoshiharu and I") precedes the other articles on Tsuge. While the article is a highly personal one, detailing how Akasegawa first came in contact with Tsuge's works as well as his own thoughts regarding what makes Tsuge's works interesting to him, it illustrates in a larger sense the impact that Tsuge's manga had on adult readers, many of whom had previously not considered manga to be an artistically viable medium. Other non-critical material also appears in the volume, such as an interview with Tsuge, as well as a timeline of Tsuge's life and works. As the issue was published in 1982, the vast majority of Tsuge's

biographical "life stories" had yet to be published, and so the two themes most often discussed in the collected critical articles are the themes of travel and of dreams, to the point that one author notes that it is "well known" that his works are categorized in these two ways.[7] Various perspectives are applied to Tsuge's works, such as film theorist and critic Satō Tadao's comparison of Tsuge's storytelling style and perspective to the Japanese I-novel in "Mesen no Nukumori" (“The Gaze’s Warmth”) or author Hayano Taizō's psychoanalytical readings of Tsuge's dream stories in "Yume no Ryōgisei" (“The Ambiguity of Dreams”)

In English, the "underrated"[8] Tsuge receives short, mostly biographical coverage in Frederick Schodt's seminal manga primer *Dreamland Japan* (1996) as well as in Amano Masanao's survey of manga artists *Manga Design* (2004), and is discussed in a similar manner in Paul Gravett's extensive manga survey *Manga: Sixty Years of Japanese Comics* (2004). Philosopher Tsurumi Shunsuke also writes briefly about Tsuge in *A Cultural History of Postwar Japan* (1987), saying that Tsuge's works "grope for images that will enable him to reach the umbilicus of uncertain existence," and that he became a "symbol of youth culture" as his works represented a reaction against the contemporary "rule of another cult of science."[9] When Tsuge's works are discussed, the focus is normally on his breakout work "Nejishiki," which helped launch him into the spotlight outside of the world of manga, while very few of his other works are given consideration.

A notable exception to this trend due to its breadth and detail is French manga scholar Beatrice Marechal's "On Top of the Mountain: The Influential Manga of Tsuge Yoshiharu," published in *The Comics Journal 2005 Special Edition*, which follows Tsuge's development in both his personal life as well as in his artistic works. In the article,

Marechal characterizes Tsuge's works as ones that portray a character "motivated by a contradictory desire for separation and reconciliation," who attempts to cure a personal malaise by rejecting his "self" and disappearing, thus separating himself from society. [10] Ultimately, though, this character reconciles himself with nature and his family by identifying himself with them. Marechal also outlines three categories in which Tsuge's works from the mid-1960s on are most often placed: Travel stories, dream stories, and life stories, all categories which authors in *Yuriika* refer to. Travel stories make up some of his earliest works during this period, and draw from his own experiences traveling through rural Japan and the people he met on his trips, "mingling documentary, the real places and fictional characters (sic)."[11] Dream stories find their roots in the author's own dreams, the first and most famous one being "Nejishiki," and are generally more abstract in nature than his travel stories. Finally, life stories are drawn in part from Tsuge's own life experiences and struggles with depression, and began in the mid-to-late 1970s.

I will also draw on these well-worn categories of Tsuge's work as a starting point, especially when detailing the historical background and cultural commentary contained within Tsuge's travel and dream stories. However, through this process, I hope to make a significant contribution to the sparse amount of English-language scholarship on an influential figure in the artistic development of manga through a much more detailed and comprehensive look at his individual works and how they diverged from manga conventions and standards of the time. I will also make an argument for Tsuge's importance in the wider realm of Japanese artistic expression in the late 1960s and 1970s as an early artist who deeply felt the alienating effects of rapid modernism but also criticized

the idea that a remedy for this alienation could be found in rural Japan, examining in detail a theme often hinted at throughout writing on Tsuge.

Before beginning my analysis of Tsuge Yoshiharu's works, I would like to devote a chapter to provide background information on three topics. First, I will look at the literature written on the social-economic climate of postwar Japan, with a focus on its rapidly growing economy and the rapid modernization and westernization of Japan that resulted from it. Next, I will also examine the literature regarding national, social, and commercial movements in the 1960s and 1970s that sprung from this rapid change, especially those that identified rural Japan as a place where lost national identity could be located. Finally, I will provide a biography on Tsuge Yoshiharu as well as information about *Garo*, the manga magazine where his breakout works and many of the works that I will analyze were published. Tsuge's social and intellectual influences are important to understand as they implicitly and explicitly inform the manga works that I will be examining, while his overall biography is important to better understand his many semi-autobiographic works.

Chapter 2 will examine Tsuge's stories that focus on urban life and on individuals who live in modernized Japanese cities. These stories share a deep sense of despair and dread, feelings which manifest themselves in a number of fashions, ranging from a number of stories featuring individuals who are unable to meaningfully relate to each other to stories depicting city life as actively hostile and violent to those who live within it. These works are important in establishing Tsuge's place within the intellectual milieu that felt pressured to find alternatives to the modernization and Westernization taking place in Japan during the 1960s and 1970s.

Chapter 3 will examine Tsuge's manga in the 1960s that focus on rural Japan. These early manga present rural Japan as a place that is closely tied to nature, in many ways like the idealized images of rurality that were beginning to emerge as a possible alternative to the modern Japanese city. However, these works suggest that this impulse is a misguided one, as they present a rural Japan that is incompatible with individuals coming from the Japanese city.

The final chapter will focus on Tsuge's later works on rural Japan. These works depict rural Japan as a dilapidated place, though Tsuge finds this quality of these places "realistic" and attractive. Tsuge's grittier, realistic depiction of rural Japan in these later works contrast with his earlier more idealized illustrations of rural Japan and can be understood as a response to the increasing commercialization of rural Japan taking place during this period.

Chapter 1: Background

Postwar Japan and the GNP Boom

By the mid-1960s, Japan was well into its postwar "economic miracle" of unprecedented economic growth, and with it came a rapidly expanding modern, city-based middle class, backed by both government and industry support. Prominent Japanese historian Andrew Gordon contrasts this period with the 1950s, the last decade of what he terms the "transwar" period, as many years of this decade were marked by social and labor structures not unlike those that existed during the pre-World War II period.[12] While there was a dramatic migration of individuals from the countryside to major cities during this period, education remained highly hierarchical, with half of the country's students ending their education after graduating from middle school as late as 1955. At the same time, labor remained extremely diverse, with over half of Japan's laborers being "family members working on a family farm or fishing boat or in a small family-owned retail, wholesale, or manufacturing shop."[13]

However, Japanese leaders in the postwar period worked to move the rapidly growing "new middle class" toward "more standardized patterns of middle-class social life,"[14] which in large part was dependent on the promotion of the consumption of consumer goods. Most famously, it was said in the 1950s that the "three sacred regalia" of modern life were a television, a washing machine, and a refrigerator, but by the mid-1960s, "upwards of 90 percent of the population possessed these items,"[15] and the mass media switched to talking about the "three Cs or Ks," the car, the air conditioner (*kūra)*, and the color television. By the early 1970s, these three items of middle-class accomplishment had

become the "three Js," jewels, overseas vacations (*jetto)*, and a home (*jūtaku*)[16], all far cries from the standard consumer goods of the 1950s: "electric lighting, radios, record players, and telephones."[17] As Japan moved in twenty years from a country where the rural population was living in homes with thatched roofs and plowed their fields with oxen[18] to one where the same group was "approaching affluence in terms of their material belongings,"[19] lifestyles of individuals throughout all facets of Japanese life began to converge. As a result, both leisure and consumption standardized among "blue-collar and white-collar workers, large and small to medium enterprise workers, and rural and urban inhabitants,"[20] a large part of which was a Westernization of consumption across all fields of goods.

Accompanying this growth in personal consumption was also an incredible leap in Japan's GNP, a statistic which the government focused strongly on, seen in policies such as Prime Minister Ikeda Hayato's Income Doubling Plan, and his presentation of "GNP first" as a "new national goal towards which all Japanese could and should aim"[21] throughout the 1960s. The plan ultimately succeeded, and by the early 1970s, 90% of Japanese considered themselves as part of the middle class.[22] By no means, though, was resistance to the "powerful cultural images of Japan as a land of a homogeneous people, where virtually everyone could share to some degree in the growing bounty and security of a modern, middle-class life"[23] absent; social and political protest was present throughout the 1960s and 1970s in a number of forms. Explicit criticism of the Japanese government's policies towards increasing GNP was common by 1970, with the *Asahi Shinbun* newspaper publishing a series of articles called "Down with GNP" in 1970, articles which "reflected a new consciousness of the social and environmental costs entailed by the drive towards

industrial growth."[24] Simultaneously, cultural critics attacked "the exaltation of GNP growth at the expense of building social solidarity, protecting the environment, or cultivating local culture and the self."[25]

These criticisms of "GNP first" also point to a deeper underlying concern held regarding the way that these changes affected society and culture. Liberal critics such as Maruyama Masao wrote as early as 1960 about how "the pursuit of material desires generated a 'privatized' spirit of 'indifference' that proved 'very convenient for the governing elites who wish to 'contain" political activism,"[26] linking the growth of Japanese consumer culture to a general political malaise in the Japanese people. Other critics extended this idea of the pursuit of material goods and new technologies being detrimental to political activity to societal activities as a whole. Such ideas are evident in statements made by poet and philosopher Yoshimoto Takaaki, such as his criticism of Japan's "continually increasing burden of a sensibility gripped with an amorphous sense of boredom, enjoying a bloated material life and a relatively improved standard of living, but an absolute impoverishment."[27] Fukutake Tadashi, a Japanese sociologist, also made criticisms along these lines in 1962, stating that democracy imposed onto Japanese culture from outside forces lead to a dissolution of formerly-held values[28], writing that "The new emphasis on self-indulgence and pleasure-seeking also has a pronounced effect on the nation as a whole." Tadashi also criticized commercial capitalism when he wrote that the consumption of "popular amusements" produced by the "agents of commercialism of all kinds" work to "stimulate the pleasure hunt of the people," leading to an "escape from the realities" of social interactions and a life “devoid of any sense of intimacy.” [29]

Large-scale social movements that focused on perceived injustices within the country also existed during this period, many of which also pointed to rapid modernization or Western influence as a source of these problems. The large-scale 1960 protests against the renewal of the United States-Japan Security Treaty (Anpo) were fearful that the renewal of the treaty would lead to a "nearly permanent 'subordinate independence' under American hegemony," as well as the "ongoing risk that Japan would be drawn into a larger war,"[30] fears which were again triggered when the United States began to escalate its presence in the Vietnam War. In response, grassroots citizens groups began to organize in a network known as Beiheiren in order to protest against "Japan's role as an American staging ground for the Vietnam War" and the automatic renewal of the Anpo treaty in 1970, and an estimated eighteen million people participated in anti-war protests between 1967 and 1970.[31] Social movements during this period were not limited to protesting the direct political influences of the period, but also included many movements against the rising amount of industrial pollution in Japan, such as the Minamata movement, which rallied behind victims of methyl mercury poisoning caused by industrial runoff. Japanese Historian Irokawa Daikichi characterizes both the Beiheiren and the Minamata movements as ones forwarding a "sharp critique of the deformed structures of Japanese society and of the original sins of 'modern' war and 'modern' industry,"[32] identifying modernity as the root cause of these issues. Other smaller-scale movements reacting to these changes in Japanese society also began to spring up during this period, many of which were not nearly as intimiately tied to national politics.

The Social and Commercial Rediscovery of Rural Japan

One way that various segments of Japanese society reacted to the rapid modernization and westernization of the country, especially of its major cities, was to attempt to locate and return to a Japan that had not undergone the changes that modernity had brought to the country. One such bastion of traditional "Japaneseness" was the countryside of rural Japan, a place identified as such throughout the 20th century by everyone from Japanese artists and writers, to bureaucrats and advertisers. In her article "It Takes a Village: Internationalization and Nostalgia in Postwar Japan" (1998), professor of anthropology Jennifer Robertson states that the concept of "internationalization" in Japan not only signifies the relationship between Japan and other countries, but also between Tokyo and the rest of Japan.[33] She also writes that "the increasing concentration of the functions of 'information capitalism' in central Tokyo has quickened the rediscovery and exoticization of the countryside (*inaka*) as […] a landscape of nostalgia"[34]. Here, she identifies a desire in city-dwelling Japanese to visit locations of "a more pristine, authentic, and Japanese lifestyle,"[35] in this case created and designated *furusato* ("old villages"). While Robertson's article discusses responses to this desire that manifested themselves primarily in the 80s and the 90s, this trend of the Japanese public's desire for nostalgia and tradition, brought on by modernizing forces, causing a movement towards rural Japan can be seen at times throughout the 20th century.

One early manifestation of this desire can be seen in the work of the folklorist Yanagita Kunio, who lived from 1875 to 1962. Yanagita's most famous work, *The Legends of Tono* (1910), is a work that mixes ethnology and literature in its retelling of

rural stories from the town of Tono "under the guise of transparently recording someone else's tales."[36] Written at the end of the Meiji period (1868-1912), another period of Japanese history when modernization and westernization was on the mind of the public consciousness, *Tono* is a "graphic presentation of the Japanese spirit in literary form, packed with traditional religious symbolism and spiced with theoretical explanation."[37] The book is also imbued with the author's desire to restore some of rural Japan's rapidly fading power by presenting it as "a nonmodern otherworld where tengu and kitsune and kappa[38] are still conceivable."[39] While *Tono* was not immediately popular, it became a popular text upon its republication in 1935, when nativist ethnology came into the public eye. Ivy notes that "it is significant that the republication of the *Tales* coincided with the moment of nativist ethnology's disciplinary consolidation and the moment of high fascism and militarism in the Japanese empire,"[40] as it "became constituted as the study of what was uniquely Japanese, that is, outside the corruptions of western modernity."[41] While Japan's social and political climate was clearly vastly different in the militaristic 1930s from the climate of the capitalism-driven 60s and early 70s, in both periods modernization had lead to a rapid expansion of Japanese power, whether that be political or economical, resulting in a desire to locate the traditional "Japaneseness" displaced by modernity.

It is, then, not surprising that a renewal of interest in Yanagita and his *yōkai* manifested itself in the 1960s, leading many Japanese to visit the Tono area.[42] During this period of renewed uncertainty about what could be considered "true Japaneseness," Tono, both the city and the book, could "both represent origins available for nostalgic recuperation *and* appeal to curiosity about the exotic, unknown, and strange aspects of yet another Japan."[43] Positioning itself as a "national-cultural sign of

modernity's losses" (100), the shrinking city began to make plans to construct itself as an "eternal rural city,"[44] tapping into the interest generated by Kunio's presentation of the town as a place of fundamental Japaneseness, where the existence of *yōkai* had yet to be negated by the rationalizing forces of modernity. A boom in Yanagita's popularity among Japanese students also took place during the late 1960s, as the students who "never lacked for critiques of science"[45] and were often critical of rationalism became "more interested in the relationship between 'nature' and life.'"[46] This was a result of the breakdown of the struggles of student protest movements, leading to a period of introspection regarding their place and future in Japanese society.[47] Due to a "rising tide of nostalgia directed toward the discovery of the 'true' Japanese tradition," Yanagita's writings on the nature of rural Japan spoke to the desires and anxieties of a younger Japanese generation, and became a "cultural fashion"[48] in the process.

Concurrent with this renewed interest in Japanese folklore studies was a major commercial movement that attempted to capitalize on a growing interest in rural Japan. Regarding this, professor of anthropology Marilyn Ivy writes that there is "widespread recognition in Japan today that the destabilizations of capitalist modernity have decreed the loss of much of the past, a past sometimes troped as 'traditional'; at the same time, there is a disavowal of this recognition through massive investment in representative survivals refigured as elegiac resources."[49] Ivy also identifies a number of industrial spheres where "massive investment" has been made, including tourism and folklore studies. Ivy examines Japan National Railways's "Discover Japan" advertising campaign as an example of investment of resources in images of nostalgia. Created by the advertising giant Dentsu in order to encourage domestic travel during an expected travel slump after Expo '70 (the

World's Fair held in Japan in 1970), the campaign encouraged urban Japanese to (re)discover their selves by finding their "authentic origins"[50] in a non-urbanized Japan. This manifested itself in the campaign's advertisements in its focusing on the figure of an urban female traveler encountering "natural beauty and rusticated 'tradition'", evoking "the possibility of a return to native origins and ethnically true selves."[51] This strategy of presenting an unknown and mysterious native Japan to urban Japanese struck a chord in its audience, as the campaign was extremely successful, running for eight years, then followed by "Discover Japan II."[52]

Yanagita's efforts towards locating the essential characteristics of the Japanese people was also instrumental in the development of *Nihonjinron*, the study of Japanese national character.[53] The topic of *Nihonjinron* began to be approached by scholars from a variety of disciplines in the 1970s, each with theories positing a unique characteristic of Japan and the Japanese people, whether that be in the field of ecology, social structure, management style, or psychology.[54] Befu Harumi, professor of anthropology, argues that one reason for the popularity of *Nihonjinron* was the "identity vacuum" created in the Post-World War II period after Japan had been stripped of the ability to effectively use many of its symbols of national identity in order to inspire national pride, such as the Japanese flag, the national anthem, and the imperial institution.[55] Once the Japanese economy began to grow rapidly, the Japanese people began to see this success as "a result of or as fostered by Japan's unique social institutions, cultural values, and personality,"[56] distancing itself from the West. While *Nihonjinron* theorists stressed characteristics they believed were common to all of Japanese society, they in many ways strived to find in themselves the essential Japaneseness that movements such as "Discover Japan" and the

Yanagita boom located in rural Japan in their attempts to reclaim a national character that was perceived to have been lost to modernity.

Japanese artists in various mediums also felt this "sense of loss and of lost innocence" and "a longing for the rural communities and ways of life that had been abandoned in the reckless drive to industrialize,"[57] expressing their reactions to it in their works. In *Pandemonium on Parade* (2008), Michael Dylan Foster, an academic and Japanese folklorist, focuses on the ways that manga artist Mizuki Shigeru and his use of *yōkai*, with their "historic lineage and nostalgic energy,"[58] tapped into these complicated feelings regarding modernity. Oftentimes drawing directly from previous writers on *yōkai* such as Yanagita for his characters, Mizuki's illustrated *yōkai* stories such as *GeGeGe no Kitaro* (1959-1969) brought these creatures into modern times, where they would often struggle "against their own extinction."[59] The popularity of these stories, which used characters "extracted from a communal past" to illustrate and ask "what went wrong with the modern way of life,"[60] helped to fuel the "yōkai boom" beginning in the 1960s and would make Mizuki a major cultural figure. While Mizuki's stories utilized figures identified as traditionally Japanese in order to comment and lampoon the state of modern Japan, his one-time assistant and contemporary, Tsuge Yoshiharu, would become a giant of manga in his own right by not only turning a critical eye to the modern Japanese city, but also to the birthplace of Mizuki's *yōkai*, rural Japan.

Tsuge Yoshiharu and *Garo*

Tsuge Yoshiharu was born on October 30, 1937, in the Katsushika ward of Tokyo prefecture, but soon moved to the island of Izu Ōshima where his parents both worked at

local inns. A year after his father passed away due to illness in 1942, he and his family returned to Katsushika, where his mother began work at an electroplating factory. Tsuge also began working at an electroplating factory after graduating elementary school at thirteen years old. He held a number of different jobs during this time, but at the age of seventeen began to seek out a way of earning money that did not involve leaving his house, due to his neuroses and social anxieties, which included *sekimen-kyofu*, the fear of blushing. It is at this time that he decided to become a manga author and sought the guidance of Tezuka Osamu, one of Japan's most well-known working manga artists during the time, and a man who is now commonly referred to as *manga no kamisama*, the god of manga. Within the year, his comics were accepted by a publisher, allowing him to leave the electroplating factory.

His professional debut began in 1955 working for Wakagi Shobo, a company that specialized in manga distributed in *kashihon* lending libraries. These libraries were the most common way for individuals during the period to read manga other than in newspapers, and while there, he was paid 30,000 yen per completed volume of 128 pages. Tsuge's *kashihon* works cover a wide variety of genres, including samurai period pieces, mysteries, crime thrillers, and science fiction stories. He maintained a constant output of works from his debut until 1962, when he attempted suicide by overdose of sleeping pills. While he survived and once again began to draw manga in 1963, he writes that he found it painful to draw "pleasure manga," a term he uses for his *kashihon* works.[61] However, Tsuge soon found that there were fewer and fewer opportunities for him to have his works published by companies such as Wakagi Shobo, as the rise seen during this period of

individually-purchased manga anthologies lead to a rapid decrease in demand for *kashihon*.

Tsuge's fortunes began to change in 1965, when he met both Mizuki Shigeru, discussed above, and Shirato Sanpei, a leftist author of ninja stories. At the time, both Mizuki and Shirato were regular contributors to *Garo*, a publication that would go on to be highly influential in the development of manga as an art form, as well as the development of Tsuge's career.

Histories of the development of manga as a creative medium rarely fail to mention *Garo,* a magazine which is now known to have "championed the sort of creative freedom rarely found in the mass market,"[62] and "[nurtured] unconventional *mangaka* [manga artists], the mavericks and visionaries essential to the continuing development of any living artform."[63] Elsewhere, it has been called a "trendsetter and a powerful creative force in the both the manga industry and the world of commercial illustration."[64] The artistic, political, and critically acclaimed works within *Garo* would also eventually play a major role in expanding the class and age demographics of manga readers. However, from the time of the magazine's foundation in 1964 to early-to-mid-1966, its content was primarily aimed towards the existing manga-reading audience of younger children and young working class adults. During this period, *Garo* labeled itself as a "Junior Magazine" on its covers and used *furigana*, reading aids for those unable to read the *kanji* characters used in written Japanese, clear signs that the magazine was geared towards a younger or less-educated readership. Reader letters to the magazine reinforce this fact, with many coming from elementary and middle-school students, as well as one fifteen-year-old worker whose letter

laments the fact that adults frequently look down upon him and ask, “he’s still reading manga?”

Shirato and Mizuki were the magazine's two major authors during this 1964-66 period, with a Shirato story opening each issue of the magazine and a Mizuki work ending each issue by mid-1965. Shirato's long-running serialization *Kamui-den* (*The Legend of Kamui,* 1964-1971), which the magazine was in large part started in order to publish, took up a majority of the magazine’s early issues, roughly a hundred of the magazine's 130-170 pages. While *Garo*'s audience during this time was relatively young, the works in the magazine were politically charged ones, such as the Marxist *Kamui-den*, a story about a ninja protagonist who fights, along with farmers and other workers, to defeat those in power who exploit them for their labor through methods such as unfair rice taxes. Shirato's somber Marxist works had many supporters, such as young students who wrote in to express pity for the oppressed lower classes in his works, college students who wrote that *Kamui-den* illustrates the reasoning and the dynamics of class struggle more effectively than any book, and even Marxist historians who, as Michael Weiner, a historian himself, reports seeing, had “smile[s] of recognition” in response to “a famous scholar mention with great gusto Sanpei’s epic.”[65]

However, Mizuki Shigeru, another mainstay of the magazine from its early years, acted as Shirato's satirical foil, depicting in his short works many poor agrarian characters who are politically powerless, yet recognize the absurdity of modern society, as well as satirical depictions of city-dwelling intellectuals and students, openly antagonizing the more high-minded readers of the magazine. Both Mizuki’s satires of the upper class as well as his frequent use of *yōkai* to illustrate the importance of rural Japan serve as a notable

counterpoint to Shirato's idealized depictions of class warfare. However, much like many of Mizuki's *yōkai* themselves, these works are playful at heart, and stop short of being openly hostile to Shirato and his readership. The themes of Mizuki's works as well as his anchor position in the magazine suggest that *Garo* during this time was interested in appealing to a readership across multiple socioeconomic classes.

While the works in *Garo* during this period are made to appeal to a younger audience, their complex political messages also indicate that the magazine was openly courting an older audience for its works. The magazine even makes explicit arguments that manga should be read by older audiences in editorials such as "Manga to Gamu" ("Manga and Gum"), published during June 1965 alongside the magazine's first call for submissions, which stressed the need for submitted works to be interesting above all else. It is during this period of *Garo*'s development, in April 1965, that a notice appeared in the margins of a page of *Garo* requesting that Tsuge contact the *Garo* offices as soon as possible, as Shirato wished to recruit Tsuge to the magazine.

Tsuge's first four stories for *Garo* were short stories about samurai, fitting in with both his previous work as well as the overall genre of works in the magazine at the time. However, in 1966, he wrote three stories, "Numa" ("Swamp," in February), "Chiko" ("Chirpy," in March), and "Hatsutakegari" ("The First Mushroom Hunt," in April) all of which were drastically unlike anything he had written prior. Tsuge writes that these works were the result of his breaking away from the genre of "pleasure manga," and more of an expression of personal feelings.[66] This was perhaps also enabled by *Garo*'s move towards an older audience and a more experimental style, seen by editorial decisions such as the magazine's removal of its "Junior Magazine" subtitle in May 1966, editorials on the

Japanese university student movement, the magazine's phasing out of *furigana* in January 1967, and the primary rule of its submission policy shifting from "content first" to "originality first." However, these three works by Tsuge failed to attract positive attention, and were received well by only a small number of individuals. Due to this cold reception, Tsuge began working as an assistant to Mizuki Shigeru, who at this time was still working for *Garo*. During his early time working for Mizuki, Tsuge published extremely few new works for nearly a year following the release of "Numa," "Chiko," and "Hatsutakegari," but would eventually begin to work privately on new works. Tsuge also writes of being influenced during this period by the works of Ibuse Masuji, an author of many stories about rural Japanese communities, and that he began to travel extensively to rural areas of Japan after being exposed to Ibuse's works.[67]

After this hiatus from publishing, *Garo* once again began to publish Tsuge's comics beginning in March 1967. Comparing his works from before and after his experiences working with Mizuki, it seems clear that Tsuge was strongly influenced by him, both in his more detailed art style and in the structure of his stories. For example, Tsuge's work during this period tends to end more often with a sort of "punchline," a common feature in Mizuki's works where a character says or thinks something that neatly comments on the rest of the story, whereas Tsuge's earlier works tended to end with textless panels. While Tsuge's works began to attract more attention within limited circles, such as in the pages of the early manga criticism journal "Manga Shugi" in 1967, he did not gain more widespread recognition until 1968, when in May *Garo* published its first extra edition focusing on the works of Tsuge, an issue which also contained his work "Nejishiki," his breakout work. While this work and its many images in which the rural and urban collide will be discussed

in further length below, it represents another shift in Tsuge's works. Most noticeably, it is both drawn in a far darker and more realistic manner than these previous works, while also containing few traces of a coherent narrative, with one English-language critic calling it an "unnerving puzzle of a nightmare."[68] "Nejishiki" led to a widespread critical appreciation of Tsuge's new, more mature approach to manga, and due to the work he became known as a counterculture star in general. However, many individuals in the world of manga, such as the writers of *COM*, a magazine which was founded by Tezuka Osamu that labeled itself a "specialty magazine for the manga elite," called the work "not manga," perhaps only recognizing the works that Tsuge considered "pleasure manga" as true manga.[69]

Movements towards manga with more mature themes had existed prior to this point. The *gekiga* movement, which began in the late 1950s, was one such movement. Many founding *Garo* artists participated in the *gekiga* movement, which featured greater realism in art styles as well as more dramatic and criminal themes, attracting a burgeoning young adult manga readership. However, a highly surreal and abstract work such as "Nejishiki" was a relatively unseen thing for this time, perhaps attracting the critical attention it did due to its timely appeal to the same demographic who sought out more mature *gekiga* works nearly a decade earlier during their young adulthood. Considering the comments made above by *COM*, a magazine considered by many to be *Garo*'s contemporary not only in time but also in thematic adventurousness, it seems possible that if not for the more open and adventurous editorial policies of *Garo*, the most groundbreaking and influential of Tsuge's works might have never been published.

It was also through *Garo* that the generally reclusive Tsuge had contact with politically aware authors such as Mizuki and Sanpei. This contact allowed him to be closer in touch with the intellectual milieu of the politically active high school and college students[70] that constituted the magazine's readership, as well as that of the "poets, novelists, directors, and actors"[71] who took notice of Tsuge after "Nejishiki" was published. This is not to suggest that Tsuge's lack of formal education made him reliant on others in order to engage with the intellectual discourse that would have been common among these individuals; Tsuge has made passing references in his writing of his interest throughout the twenties in artistic movements such as *junbungaku* (pure literature) and the Art Theatre Guild, the home of the "Japanese Nouvelle Vague."[72]

After the publication of "Nejishiki," Tsuge once again began writing far fewer stories, publishing nothing in 1969 while he returned to assisting Mizuki, and only publishing three stories in 1970, by his accounts due to the fact that the "Tsuge boom" that was occurring at the time provided him with enough royalties that he did not have to work. As for the content of *Garo* during this period, Tsuge's "Nejishiki" coincided with a degradation of the Japanese student movement, and signaled a shift away from politically confrontational and critical works. This shift can be also seen in the difference between works published in *Garo* by artists who worked throughout this period. For example, Hayashi Seiichi's "Aguma to Musuko to Kuenai Tamashii" ("Aguma, the Son, and the Shrewd Soul," published in November 1967) and "Waga Haha Wa," ("Our Mother Is," published in April 1968), published at a time when the Japanese student movement was extremely active, questioned the morality of the Vietnam War and asked if it is possible for Japan to break free of American influence. However, by 1970, major works within the magazine that

expressed little beyond feelings of nihilism and despair such as Hayashi's *Akairo Erejii* (*Red-Colored Elegy*), serialized throughout the year of 1970, were commonplace. The works of Sasaki Maki published in late 1969 and 1970 also fit into this latter category, as they are works which Ryan Holmberg writes embody cynical, anti-political sentiments felt towards the effectiveness of speech as a political tool. After his hiatus, Tsuge only published two more works in *Garo* in 1970, but continued to sporadically release new manga until 1987, mostly semi-autobiographical works drawn in a variety of art styles.

Chapter 2: Social Solitude and Mental Oppression in Tsuge's City Stories

Tsuge's stories that focus on life in modernized Japanese cities and interpersonal relationships with others who live there prominently feature a sense of despair and dread. These feelings manifest themselves in a number of ways in this group of manga, such as in stories where individuals are unable to meaningfully relate to others, or in Tsuge's semi-autobiographical "dream stories," which depict a protagonist violently reacting to an actively hostile environment. Such feelings are reflective of Tsuge's personal life, as during his time in Tokyo, Tsuge lead a relatively isolated lifestyle, in large part due to social anxieties and psychological pressure he felt when living in the city. At the same time, similar concerns over the stability of social relations and spiritual health in the face of modernity were being raised by social critics such as Fukutake Tadashi and Yoshimoto Takaaki as discussed earlier. Thus these works illustrate many of the concerns that both Tsuge as well as many of his contemporaries had about Japanese post-war modernization, naturally resulting in a drive to find alternatives to the world they lived in.

Early City Stories: "Chiko," "Umibe no Jokei," "Sanshōuo"

Tsuge's manga in this category that he published in the mid-to-late 1960s in *Garo* represent early deviations from his previous work with "pleasure manga," focusing more on creating an uneasy mood through his works rather than on traditional story conventions. This uneasiness is created through the depiction of modern men and women who are unable to meaningfully connect with each other, seen in stories such as "Chiko" and "Umibe no Jokei" ("The Beach Scenery," September 1967). Both of these works feature young couples in situations that would not be out of place in a standard romantic story, but

instead of resolving in a conclusive, uplifting way, both works present tension and a disconnect between the two characters and end in ways that only exacerbate these problems. The uneasiness in these works not only represents his break with “pleasure manga,” but also signals the beginning of Tsuge’s more critical works that explicitly state his position on the problematic nature of Japanese modernity.

"Chiko," an eighteen page story published in the March 1966 issue of *Garo,* was one of the three manga Tsuge published in 1966 as his initial forays into more personal works. The story begins by introducing a young couple, an unnamed male manga artist (with a stack of Mizuki Shigeru manga by his side) along with his unnamed wife, who asks him if she can purchase a sparrow to keep as a pet. When the man begins to protest, asking why, she replies that the bird is not only cute, but also won't fly away from the house that it is kept in. Once they purchase the bird together, the woman leaves for her job "taking care of drunks," asking the man to meet her at her workplace so they can go home together. After feeding the small bird, the story's male protagonist goes to meet his wife, waiting for her even until after the last train of the night, but she does not appear. He returns to their apartment, where he discovers her passed out in the entrance, explaining that she is drunk because of a customer at the bar where she works as a hostess. She goes on to say that the "good-looking" man requested her company specifically, and that they drove in his car to continue drinking after her shift at the bar. Suspicious, the man continues to ask her questions about what she did that night, but she refuses to answer them. Eventually, she grows angry and tells him that if he is so concerned about her, he should make enough money so that she doesn't have to do the work she does.

The story jumps to a later point in time, when the bird, now named "Chiko" ("Chirpy"), is fully grown. The woman thinks aloud that she and her husband have had fewer fights since they began to take care of Chiko, calling it their "bluebird of happiness." That night, the man begins playing with the bird, and while trying to draw a picture of it, puts its body in an emptied carton of cigarettes. After finishing his drawing, he throws the carton into the air and watches the bird fly out of it. Amused, he puts the bird back in the carton and throws it in the air once more, but it is unable to escape from the carton and dies after hitting the ground. The man quickly buries Chiko in his yard, and when his wife finds out, she begins to suspect her husband of killing the bird, which he denies. The woman then calls the man outside, saying that she found Chiko, but it is shown that she had simply put his drawing of the bird in the bushes, while she says that it looks like the real thing. However, a gust of wind blows the drawing out of the bushes, and the story ends with the couple looking to the sky as the wind carries the drawing away.

A major theme that runs throughout this work and contributes to its sense of hopelessness is the theme of confinement. This theme is introduced early in the story when its female lead talks about wanting to take care of a sparrow because it won't try to escape from their house. This idea is repeated halfway through the story when she sees Chiko sitting on a windowsill, looking outside but not attempting to leave. In Shimizu Masashi's analysis of the story, he compares the self-imposed confinement of Chiko to the self-imposed confinement of the female character in the story. Shimizu argues that despite her husband's "dandyism," his lack of work, and her apparent knowledge that he killed Chiko, she lacks the ability to "fly away" from the relationship she has put herself in.[73] On the other hand, in Beatrice Marechal's reading of the story, she argues that the husband in

the story is the one imprisoned and dependent on his wife's care, like Chiko. Perhaps due to jealousy felt by the man towards Chiko, who is not only in the same position as him, but who also receives more physical attention from the wife in the story, Marechal argues that he kills it in a "unconscious, malevolent act."[74] Both Marechal and Shimizu's readings are strong ones, but are both focused on the confinement of only a single character. The strong evidence for these opposing readings suggests that it is not one, but both characters in the work who are trapped within their hopeless situation, not only by one another, but also by themselves. This omnipresent sense of confinement is present even in the comic's panel layout, which has far more, and therefore smaller, panels in each page than most of Tsuge's other works, imprisoning the characters even within the form of the work (Fig. 1). The ending of the story throws the relationship between the two into further turmoil, as even the replacement for Chiko, which is suggested to be the one thing that brought the story's couple together, leaves them. While "Chiko" may have elements of a romantic story in it, the dark undertones of hostility, entrapment, and solitude within it result in a definite sense of estrangement, something which is also present in his later "Umibe no Jokei."

Figure 1 [redacted]: Dense, confining paneling in "Chiko"

"Umibe no Jokei" ("The Beach Scenery") was published in the September 1967 issue of *Garo*, after Tsuge had begun his work as an assistant to Mizuki Shigeru, a man whose influence is very apparent in the detailed scenery seen throughout the work. Tsuge establishes the setting of the story, a beach, by depicting waves towering over a crowd of silhouettes of human figures. The two main characters of the work are then introduced, a young man, first seen wearing a pair of sunglasses while sitting on a towel on the sand, and a young woman, who lies down on a towel on the sand after exiting the sea. The two make eye contact, and while the two are not shown speaking, the young woman seems to borrow

the man's sunglasses. Soon after this, a man with a silhouetted face approaches the woman and offers to apply olive oil to her back, seemingly angering the young man enough to make him leave. While the young man is exploring the rocks around the beach, he once again comes across the woman and he gives her a cigarette as they begin to talk. Both characters say that they are from Tokyo, and the young man says that coming to the beach is a wonderful break from his dark and dirty apartment in the city. He also says that he lived in this town when he was very little, but doesn't remember much about his life there, other than the time that he discovered the drowned bodies of a mother and child on a nearby island. The two eventually part ways, but not before the woman asks the man if he'll be returning the next day, and he answers affirmatively. We then see the young man sitting alone, waiting under a shelter on the beach in the rain. After a bit, it seems as though the young woman will not come, so the man begins to get up and leave, but as he is doing this, the woman appears. The two talk more, mostly about his aunt's *mitsuame* (a sweet Japanese dessert) which he brought for them to share. The two then decide to swim, as the young woman is leaving the next day. The woman reveals that she is wearing a bikini, and he compliments her on it, though she has no immediate response for his compliment. The two begin swimming, and the man begins to swim vigorously, which likewise is rewarded with a compliment from the woman. Despite her also noting that he looks pale, he continues to swim as she goes back to the shore, and the work ends with her watching him swim, saying "You're wonderful," then in the last panel, "it's great," as both characters are depicted in silhouette against a striking two-page spread of the ocean and the sky as it pours down rain.

Written a year and a half after "Chiko," one of Tsuge's first forays into a more personal style of comics, the theme of modernity resulting in a sense of deep solitude is even stronger in "Umibe no Jokei" than in "Chiko", and has been called a response to his earlier sentimental romances.[75] The main male character of the work is seen alone at the beach in the beginning pages of the work, and explicitly tells the main female character that he has traveled to the seaside in order to get away from his life in Tokyo. By doing this, he not only highlights his own feelings of isolation, but also introduces the idea of traveling to a place of nature in order to get away from the suffocating experience of living in a major city, something that will be discussed in detail in proceeding chapters. Also, the majority of the conversation he has with the woman during the first conversation they have together is very one-sided and almost confessional in nature, as he tells her about his life growing up and of his traumatic experience of seeing a drowned mother and child. The female character does keep the man company, returning to see him a second day. However, as Shimizu notes, most of her own actions consist of taking things from the man: his sunglasses, his cigarettes, his *mitsuame*, and finally, Shimizu suggests, even his life, as she watches him in the ocean in the work's final pages like he previously watched the bodies of the drowned mother and child.[76]

Tsuge's visual style also contributes to the strong sense of separation between the two, perhaps more so than the conversations they have. The characters are often seen as separated by a considerable distance throughout the work, and often have their backs turned to each other. This happens in the earliest pages of the work when they first meet but do not talk, as a distance is constantly established between the two characters in each panel. For example, even though the man at some point would have had to approach the

woman in order to give her his sunglasses, he is never drawn approaching her, establishing a sense of separation between the two in the reader's mind despite the work's plot. When another man more directly approaches her to put olive oil on her back, the main male character turns his back on her, with hers turned to him as well as he leaves. An even more concrete distance is established between the two characters at the end of their first conversation, as the woman's back is turned to the man as he asks her if she'll return the next day, with a large boat separating the two (Fig. 2). This separation is most noticeable in the final two-page panel of the man swimming as the woman looks on. Shimizu states that the entire story builds up to this panel,[77] which is drawn in a size that Tsuge himself very rarely used within his comics, only twice in the eight volumes of manga referenced for this thesis. In the image, the two characters are not only separated by distance within the scene, but are also depicted on separate pages within the same image (Fig. 3). Like his use of enclosed paneling in "Chiko," here Tsuge once again uses formal characteristics of manga in order to create a desired effect. The two characters are also depicted as completely blacked-in, so that they are only identifiable by their outlines. Tsuge uses this technique throughout the work at seemingly random times, producing a jarring effect on the reader while also suggesting the emptiness and solitude of the characters by depriving them of their identifying characteristics. Thus through the use of narrative and artistic style, Tsuge suggests an inescapable sense of solitude and emptiness for his city-dwelling protagonists.

Figure 2 [redacted]: Separation between the lead characters in “Umibe no Jokei”

Figure 3 [redacted]: The final image in “Umibe no Jokei”

While not closely related to “Chiko” and “Umibe no Jokei,” one more work by Tsuge written during this period, “Sanshōuo” (“Salamander”), comments on the

depersonalizing and dirty state of living in modern Japan. “Sanshōuo” is a short, eight-page story published in May 1967 about a salamander who talks about his life via an extended narration. While the story is narrated by a non-human character, it acts as a very thin allegory for modern life. The story begins with the salamander in a sewer, full of junk such as watches, tires, and magazines, explaining that it does not remember how it got to the sewer as the dirty water has caused it to lose its memories, but that it does remember coming from a distant old town. This opening quickly establishes the work as concerned with a physical and spiritual dirtiness that is a part of living in an urban environment, while also discussing the tendency to not leave such an environment once one moves there. It then says that it has gotten used to where it lives, and enjoys its freedom and solitude, and that it spends its days examining the items that come down the sewer. However, there is a strong sense of denial and self-deception in these words due to the disgusting portrayal of the sewer, as well as the salamander’s preoccupation with useless material goods. The story ends with the salamander talking about the time that it found a strange and unknown object, which the reader can see is a dead human baby, though the salamander simply says that it could not figure out what it was and thus swam away. While the salamander may not know what a human child looks like, the parallels up to this point between it and a human living in modern society have been very close. Therefore, this ending suggests that modern living can lead to such estrangement from others that something as tragic and shocking as a dead child in a sewer, something that in itself suggests an act of emotionless cruelty, would elicit no reaction. Though the work is a short one, “Sanshōuo” presents a focused and very cynical look at urban living and modernity, suggesting that such a lifestyle leads to emotional and spiritual decay.

Continued and Intensified Themes in "Yume no Sanpo" and "Yoru ga Tsukamu"

As compared to the vaguer sense of tension and uneasiness in Tsuge's works such as "Chiko" and "Umibe no Jokei," Tsuge's "dream stories" published in the 1970s more explicitly illustrate a feeling of hopelessness regarding city life through their visual style, narrative, and their themes of violence. "Yume no Sanpo" (A Dreamed Walk," April 1972) and "Yoru ga Tsukamu" ("The Night Grabs," September 1976) are two exemplary works from this period and style, both depicting slightly surreal worlds based on Tsuge's own dreams and reflecting the anxieties felt by the author that resulted from living in the modern Japanese city.

"Yume no Sanpo" ("A Dreamed Walk") was originally published in 1972 in the magazine *Yakō*, more than two years after his last story to be published in *Garo*. The story takes place in a dreamlike outdoor city setting, with very little to be seen other than large roads, occasional buildings, and a small number of trees, while the rest of the scenery is occupied by clouds and blank, white space. The only individuals seen on the street at first are a man who resembles Tsuge in appearance, standing on a sidewalk with a bicycle, and a mother with child, wearing a dress and carrying a parasol, standing on the median between two completely empty streets. After the man crosses the street to the median, a policeman begins to scold the mother and child for making an illegal crossing, and the man begins to run away in order to avoid being scolded as well. However, the policeman also makes him apologize for breaking the law, and he begins walking down a rough, steep hill towards an area with more houses and trees. The mother and child also begin walking in that direction, but he notices that they have become stuck at some point

on the hill. When he approaches them, he sees that the mother is trying to convince the child to walk down the hill, but in order to do this, has begun kneeling on the ground, her dress up and her undergarments down. The man comes closer to her from behind, takes his pants off, and begins to have intercourse with her, an act that results in neither a positive nor negative response from the woman. The work ends after this with the man and the woman with child walking separately, the man wondering if she'll be taking the same walk the next day.

One notable aspect of the artistic style of "Yume no Sanpo" is the obscured faces of the various characters within the work. A similar technique is used with the various blacked-out characters in "Umibe no Jokei," but is exaggerated here. Throughout the entire work, the only face shown is the main character's face, which closely resembles Tsuge's, and this face is only seen three times in the entire work counting the title page. The work's minimalist and unusually blank backgrounds complements this style of character depiction to not only create a sense of an internally dreamed space, but also of an emotionless, barren outer life that the dream reflects (Fig. 4). The various faceless characters represent a lack of personal or emotional connection to those around the main character, and this situation is also reflected in his interactions with the woman and the policeman. Both the policeman's scolding and the main character's sexual acts with the woman are non-consensual, passively received actions, by the main character in the former case, and by the woman in the latter. Thus, any interactions that take place in this world are impersonal, hierarchical ones, again illustrating an acutely disconnected state of living. While the themes of "Yume no Sanpo" are in many ways magnifications of the issues illustrated in "Umibe no Jokei," these are not the only themes that Tsuge dealt with

in this later period of manga. A work published four years after “Yume no Sanpo,” “Yoru ga Tsukamu,” brings his works on the stresses of modern life full-circle in many ways, revisiting the themes introduced in “Chiko” with a similarly more cynical, brutal approach.

Figure 4 [redacted]: Faceless characters and empty backgrounds in “Yume no Sanpo”

"Yoru ga Tsukamu" ("The Night Grabs") was Tsuge's only work published in 1976, and acts as a culmination of his thoughts on the hostility of modern life towards those who live in modern Japan. The story is once again about an unnamed man and woman, and the story begins with an argument between the two started by the man's complaints that the woman keeps the window open at night, saying that if she does, then the "night will come in." The argument quickly turns into a more general one about the man's attempt to control their relationship, causing him to become angry and hit the woman. In the morning, the woman begins to leave, when the man questions her once again and discovers that she has another man's kiss marks all over her body, forcing her to explain that she began to be

involved with another man because of his cold attitude at home. This once again leads to a violent outburst from the man, ending with him violating the woman with a Coca-Cola bottle. The woman then leaves him, causing him to chase after her. While looking for her, he finds his older brother, wearing a dirty set of clothes and trying to sell fruits and vegetables, then eventually finds the woman once again, carrying a sack at a market. He begs her to come back, but she refuses, and when he begins to interrogate her about the bag, she drops it, and it is shown to be full of the man's cut hair, which she had planned to sell. He returns home, defeated, but leaves the front door open in the hopes that the woman will return. However, she does not, and as night comes, a dark mass, which he identifies as "the night, " begins to invade his house, and in the last panel of the comic, this mass grabs him while he does nothing but lie on the floor and scream.

Figure 5 [redacted]: The final panel of "Yoru ga Tsukamu"

While "Yoru ga Tsukamu" resembles "Chiko" in its depiction of a crumbling relationship between a man and a woman, its dreamlike abstract qualities alongside its greater focus on the semi-autobiographical male character results in a work that seems to be more of a personal statement than the anti-romantic "Chiko." Unlike "Chiko," the main character in "Yoru ga Tsukamu" is a far more brutal, disturbed individual, and is one who can be seen in many of Tsuge's semi-autobiographical "dream stories" after 1970, consistently sporting a similar haircut and attire to Tsuge himself. Like "Yume no Sanpo," the story focuses on the author-protagonist's social failings and anxieties, eventually culminating in a graphic and haunting final image of him being physically overwhelmed by the outside world (Fig. 5). This image, perhaps moreso than any other single image in this category of Tsuge's works, illustrates the immense anxiety and stress felt by the author due to being forced to live and interact with urban society.

Tsuge's personal historical and psychological backgrounds are surely major contributors in creating the criticisms of life within modernized Japanese society found in his works as detailed in this chapter. However, Tsuge was also personally involved in social and cultural circles that felt similarly oppressed by the modern Japanese state such as the community of artists working at *Garo*, suggesting that these works are also informed by more widespread beliefs about the negative social effects of Japanese modernity. Furthermore, Tsuge's works during this period also address a more general tendency of looking towards rural Japan as a possible alternative to the city, an impulse seen in many of the movements discussed in earlier chapters, once again indicating that these very personal works were both influenced by and in dialogue with more

widely-held thoughts. However, Tsuge's works also present an interesting and early problematization of this impulse toward the rural, and it is this problematization that I would like to examine in the following chapters.

Chapter 3: Early Rural Works: Criticized Idealism

As discussed in the previous chapter, Tsuge Yoshiharu's manga stories that deal with modernized Japan and the individuals who live in it display a keen sense of disillusionment with modernity through their depictions of failed human relationships and oppressive city atmospheres. Tsuge was not alone in feeling this way, as seen by the statements of individuals such as Yoshimoto Takaaki, who wrote of Japanese modernity leading to a "continually increasing burden of a sensibility gripped with an amorphous sense of boredom, enjoying a bloated material life and a relatively improved standard of living, but an absolute impoverishment,"[78] and the Minamata and Beiheiren movements, described as "sharp critique[s] of the deformed structures of Japanese society and of the original sins of 'modern' war and 'modern' industry."[79] Again as discussed in my first chapter, one place where refuge from modernity was sought was rural Japan. This is demonstrated by the popular support for the previously mentioned Minamata movement, which centered around the issue of industrial pollution wreaking havoc on a remote village, as well as by the popularity of authors such as Mizuki Shigeru and Yanagita Kunio who lionized rural Japan as a place of tradition. Similarly, Tsuge also focused much of his attention on rural Japan, both frequently traveling to rural areas himself and also situating many manga stories in modern rural landscapes beginning in the mid-1960s.

Tsuge's early manga that focus on life in rural Japan present a world that is closely tied to nature, in many ways like the idealized images of rural Japan that were beginning to emerge in response to concern over the trajectory of Japan's postwar modernization. However, despite Tsuge's own idealizations of rurality, these works also criticize the idea that the rural can act as an antidote to the problems of the city. This criticism is seen in the

actions of the young, male, and city-dwelling protagonists of these stories. Acting as stand-ins for the author as well as many readers, these protagonists are shown to be incompatible with the places and people depicted in these stories, suggesting that the tendency to look towards rural Japan as a place where citizens of modernized Japan can find permanent refuge from the problems of modernity and rediscover a lost national identity is a mistaken one.

In Tsuge's works, the inhabitants of rural Japan are marked as different from the city-dwelling protagonists in a number of ways, such as dress, speech, and perhaps most importantly, closeness to nature and to others. However, despite the depiction of these characters as the very thing that Tsuge seems to hope to find in these places, stories such as "Numa" and "Akai Hana" ("Red Flowers," October 1967) show that the protagonist of these stories is somehow driven away from the people and places he comes across.

"Numa" ("Swamp") was published in the February 1966 issue of *Garo* and was Tsuge's first foray into the more personal style of manga that he began drawing during the 1960s. The story begins with a young woman, seen wearing a Japanese yukata, looking out into a swamp. A bird, wounded by a gunshot, begins to struggle towards her, and she breaks its neck, saying that it would be better for it to die a quick death. Immediately after this, a young man in a hunting cap and jacket, carrying a rifle, approaches the girl, asking if she has seen a fallen goose in the area. She then presents him with the severed head of the goose, asking if it was him who shot the bird, causing the young man to cry out in surprise. She thinks aloud that the man must be from Tokyo, and invites him to follow her to her home. The two enter the girl's home, where she says that she lives with her grandmother, brother and sister, but that she often becomes sad and lonely. As she invites him to stay at

the house, a snake appears, again scaring the young man. She explains that she began taking care of the snake since it crawled into her birdcage and ate her pet quail. As night comes, the two are seen sleeping on separate *futon* on the floor. He asks if the snake won't come out of its cage, and she replies that it sometimes does, coiling around her neck and making her feel "so good [she] almost wants to die." As the night goes on, the girl falls asleep but the young man cannot, and eventually gets out of his futon and approaches the woman. He then begins to choke her until she begins to gasp, then stops, all without her waking up. In the morning, the man wakes up and the girl is seen outside, being scolded by her older brother. While he expresses anger at her for sleeping in the same room as a man who she does not know, saying that she'll "lose her purity," she only seems concerned with the fact that her snake is now missing. The manga ends with the man leaving the scene without getting involved, then going up to the swamp and shooting at something unseen.

"Numa" introduces many aspects of the rural stories Tsuge would eventually publish in *Garo* during the 1960s, in many ways acting as a prototype for these later works. Combined with the fact that it is the first work that Tsuge created when given the chance to experiment with a style other than *Garo*'s typical *jidaigeki* stories, it is clear that the themes of the rural, the modern, and what happens when the two meet were constantly at the forefront of Tsuge's mind. It is also interesting to note that Tsuge published "Numa" and "Chiko" only months after he began to travel to rural Chiba with fellow *Garo* author Shirato Sanpei. The timing of the publication of these works indicates that these trips served to solidify connections made by Tsuge between the problems of modernity, first explored in "Chiko," and the possibility of a rural, natural Japanese setting as a possible

answer to these problems, first explored in "Numa" only a month before the publication of "Chiko."

As stated earlier, the character of the young woman in "Numa" is marked as different from the young man in the story through her dress, speech, and demeanor towards nature as well as towards the young man himself, and all of these prominent characteristics are introduced early in the work. For example, the woman's traditional Japanese dress, first seen on the first page of the work, contrasts with the young man's Western hat, jacket, and rifle. Her speech, which is also introduced on the first page, is in a very strong rural dialect, while the man, who is specifically noted as being from Tokyo, speaks in standard Japanese. The woman's interactions with nature are also contrasted with the man's, specifically in their treatment of the goose seen at the beginning of the story. While we presume that the young man shot and wounded the bird, when he sees its broken neck in the hands of the woman, he is momentarily horrified. On the other hand, the young woman feels pity for the bird, but kills it in order to keep it from suffering. Such actions paint her as one who is familiar with the natural system of life and death, while the man is seen as a thoughtless hunter who kills without being able to accept the consequences of his actions. Finally, the woman is very talkative and outgoing to the man, talking to him about her life and inviting him to her home. All of these aspects of the young woman, which differentiate her from the Tokyo-based male protagonist, establish her as representative of an ideal image of the rural in the popular urban-rural dichotomy that Tsuge seems to subscribe to. As a result, both she and the place where she lives would act as an ideal, attractive alternative to those such as Tsuge who sought refuge from modernity in the rural. The male protagonist of "Numa" also displays some interest in the girl, accepting her offer to stay in her home and even

choking her in a strangely erotic scene, one which will be discussed below. However, he ultimately leaves this place without saying a word at the end of the story, going through this experience only to go back to blindly firing into nature. While this may simply be the result of the character's personal disinterest in escaping to these rural spaces, later works by Tsuge that deal with these topics display a constant pattern of individuals making choices to remove themselves from these places, as though they feel distanced from them in some fundamental way. These later works, such as "Akai Hana," also replace the more anonymous protagonist of "Numa" with a more closely autobiographical protagonist, indicating that Tsuge shares the feelings and emotions of the city-dwelling men who star in these works.

"Akai Hana" (Red Flowers), published in October of 1967, begins in a similar manner to "Numa," with images of nature followed by the depiction of a girl, who in this story looks very similar to the woman in "Numa," sharing her patterned yukata and haircut, only with shorter hair. The story begins with the girl in a small outdoor tea stand, slowly counting money and complaining to herself about tightness in her stomach. A man carrying a fishing pole and wearing Western clothes and a hat walks by, and the girl asks him to come by the stand. While she prepares his tea, he asks her about fishing in the area, to which she replies that he should ask "*shinden no* Masaji," "Masaji from the rice fields" or "Masaji from the temple," it is not clear which. She tells him that Masaji comes by every day to tease her after school, and that he should be there soon. On her way to get more water from a nearby stream, she runs into Masaji, a young boy wearing a simple undershirt, shorts, and an old military hat, when he uses a bamboo stick to flip up the girl's *yukata*, commenting that she's "begun to grow hair." She tells him that she's busy with a customer

from Tokyo, but Masaji continues to follow her, giving her that day's schoolwork. After the girl returns, the man pays her and goes on his way with Masaji to find a place to fish. On their way to a fishing spot, the man notes a species of brilliantly red flowers, which the boy says are eaten by the local char when they fall from the bush. Before the two part ways, the man compliments Masaji on his hat, which he notes is an old army hat, and Masaji replies that the girl, Sayoko, told him to wear it. The boy also tells the man that he and Sayoko are in the same class at school, but that she's been held back twice because her drunken father forces her to look after his store. On the boy's way back, he comes across Sayoko, crouching in the water. As he watches her, images of red flowers falling into the water are shown in between his shocked reaction and his shouts of "Flowers! Red flowers!" The boy then approaches the girl who is now lying down on the ground, as he says her full name, Kikuchi Sayoko. She tells him to leave her alone, saying that her stomach still feels tight, and the boy runs away. Later, Sayoko is seen lying on a bench in the tea stand, still holding her stomach. Masaji comes along once again to ask her if she wants to stop working and come down the mountain where the stand is located, saying that he'll talk to her father, but she does not reply. Finally, the story ends with the older man walking in the mountain and looking over to his side to see Sayoko on Masaji's back, as the two descend the mountain while he tells her to go to sleep.

"Akai Hana" shares many points in common with "Numa," which was discussed earlier as a prototypical work for Tsuge's later *Garo* works. For example, the main male protagonist in both stories is a young man from Tokyo who has come to a rural place in order to kill and take something from it, in "Numa" through hunting, and in "Akai Hana" through fishing. Both stories also feature a younger female protagonist, drawn almost

identically in both works, who speaks in a marked accent and is shown interacting closely with nature.

However, there are also a number of differences between these two works, as Tsuge's style underwent a significant change from 1966 to 1967 while he worked with Mizuki Shigeru, something which is discussed in more detail in chapter 2. Like the change in artistic style that took place bet ween "Chiko" and "Umibe no Jokei" discussed previously, the most noticeable changes from "Numa" to "Akai Hana" originate in Tsuge's changing art style. One major change is the way that the common male protagonist of these stories is depicted. This protagonist is drawn in the same way throughout many of Tsuge's *Garo* works, wearing close-cropped hair, Western clothes, and often a hat. While these stories are never explicitly autobiographical, the fact that Tsuge himself would frequently go on trips to rural Japan, along with the frequent first-person narration of these stories and the similarities between the protagonist and Tsuge, such as his home being in Tokyo and his job being a manga artist, all strongly suggest that this protagonist acts as a stand-in for the author. The depiction of nature in "Akai Hana" also displays Mizuki's influence on Tsuge, as the non-character art in the work is far more detailed than in "Numa." Some panels of the work are so incredibly detailed that they almost appear to be completely alien landscapes, putting them in striking contrast with the nearly blank landscapes of many of Tsuge's city stories described in the previous chapter such as "Yume no Sanpo" (Fig. 6). This gap between the two genres of works further contributes to the positioning of Tsuge's rural Japan as the antithesis of his modern Japan. A final interesting point seen briefly in "Akai Hana" is the army hat worn by Masaji, which the male protagonist explicitly comments on. Though the hat does not play any major role in the story, it does further

nuance the rural world of the story. The presence of this hat, a relic of wartime Japan, again situates the story's rural world in opposition to the thoroughly post-war Japanese city. Though this symbol of imperial Japan would normally be used to evoke negative feelings towards conservative politics and the establishment during the 1960s, it is treated as if it holds none of these meanings in the rural, sequestered world of the story. Instead, it is evocative of past generations, once again indicating that these rural places are home to lost traces of Japanese identity, helping to create what an introduction to one of Tsuge's very few translated works calls "urban feelings of nostalgia for a disappearing rural Japan."[80] However, similar to "Numa," despite these various idealized depictions of a rural Japan that situates itself as opposite to modernized urban Japan, a true sense of immersion and acceptance within this world is never achieved in this story, in large part due to the presence of the male narrator/protagonist character. Not only does this character say very little to those he meets in the world of "Akai Hana," he, like the reader of the story, spends most of his time simply watching what is taking place around him. For example, in the final page of the work, when Masaji is carrying Sayoko down a hill bursting with foliage, we first see this scene from afar from the perspective of the male protagonist, both from his point of view as well as through an image looking over his shoulder. This has the effect of distancing both the protagonist as well as the urban reader who would identify with this character from the world of the story, again suggesting that despite the appeal of this world, a fundamental, untraversable distance exists between modern Japan and the image presented in the work of rural Japan, and thus by extension, Japan's cultural past.

Figure 6 [redacted]: Dense, detailed, near-alien foliage in "Akai Hana"

While it is not made explicit in these stories, another idealized yet distancing aspect of Tsuge's early depictions of rural Japan is the sexuality expressed by its female characters. The frank and seemingly natural female sexuality seen in these works, as well as in stories such as "Mokkiriya no Shōjo" is drastically different from the cold and brutal sexual acts described earlier in Tsuge's stories that take place in the Japanese city. Even the protagonist's strangling of the girl in "Numa" is presented as less as an act of violence as it is an act of curiosity, especially as the girl wakes up the next morning as if nothing had happened that night. However, like the other idealized aspects of rural Japan discussed above, this also acts to repel the narrator/protagonist of these stories, again suggesting the modern Tokyoite protagonist's fundamental incompatibility with the thing he seems to seek most. While the theme of sexuality is not explicit in "Numa" and "Akai Hana," sexual

themes are very prevalent in both stories. This theme is first hinted at in "Numa" when the young woman invites the man to stay with her overnight, and is strengthened when she begins to talk about feeling intense pleasure when her pet snake asphyxiates her at night. In "Akai Hana," the story's climax comes when the titular "Red Flowers" are strongly suggested to be a metaphor for a young girl's menarche. Both stories link their rural characters' sexuality to nature, treating sexuality in a frank, open, and unforced manner, creating a strong opposition between these works and Tsuge's works discussed in the previous chapter, where the characters' sexuality is either repressed, denied, or violently fulfilled. However, the disparity Tsuge draws in these works between the repressed sexuality of his modern male protagonists and the more natural sexuality of his rural female leads once again leads to the male character feeling a sense of incompatibility with the world he has traveled to. This theme is more clear in "Numa," where the man begins to take over the role of the woman's snake as he asphyxiates her in her sleep, but becomes frightened and goes back to sleep, then leaves the village in the morning without saying a word. While not as prominent of a theme in "Akai Hana," the story hints that the older male character has some form of interest in Sayoko, the girl in the story, something which is brought to the forefront of the reader’s attention when Masaji encourages her to stop talking to him, telling her that he thinks the man has a "violent look" on his face. While the story soon shifts away from the interaction between the older male character and Sayoko, this repressed desire may be a component of his reluctance to speak at length to Sayoko, and by extension his reluctance to further involve himself in the world he has traveled to. While these themes are only suggested in "Akai Hana" and "Numa," "Mokkiriya no Shōjo," (“The Girl of Mokkiriya”) Tsuge's final story published in the 1960s in the August

1968 issue of *Garo*, takes up these themes and explicitly puts them in front and center of the story.

"Mokkiriya no Shōjo" (The Girl of Mokkiriya) begins with a panel of a male character, another semi-autobiographical narrator who looks very similar to the protagonist of "Akai Hana," riding a cable lift in rural Japan (Fig. 7). His narration explains that he enjoys traveling to rural parts of Japan in order to learn more about their dialects, and in order to illustrate an example of such a dialect, he is seen talking with a girl who looks almost identical to the character of Sayoko in "Akai Hana" (Fig.8). She begins talking to him in strong dialect about what he's doing in the area, and he explains that he's just fishing. He follows her back to a local bar named Mokkiriya where she works alone as a hostess. He begins to eat and drink there, and she explains that she was sold to the owner of the bar as a young girl, and also tells him that her name is Kobayashi Chiyoji. As the two continue to drink, she comes nearer to him and guides his hand to her breast, but he soon pulls his hand away, saying that the store shouldn't have to resort to methods like that to attract customers. The two continue to talk, and as the narrator drinks, Chiyoji tells him that she wishes she had a pair of red shoes like girls in Tokyo do. The man seems surprised that she would care about such things over her current living situation, but she simply seems resigned to her place in life. By this point, the narrator is so drunk that he runs outside to vomit, and is put to bed. When he wakes up, he hears noise at the bar, and sees two local men, presumably regulars at the bar, talking about an agreement they have with her where if she can withstand them touching her breasts for five minutes, they'll buy her a pair of shoes. They cheer her on, noting that she's never won, but she gives up with a minute left. After the two men console her, she goes to the room where the now-embarrassed narrator is

sitting, and he apologizes to her for his actions, explaining that he only has an interest in the local dialect, and that he'll be on his way. As he leaves into the night, he hears the young men encourage Chiyoji to take on their challenge once again, and their cheers of "*Ganbare Chiyoji*," "Let's go, Chiyoji." He continues to walk away, but in the final two panels of the story, he joins in their cheers, raising his fist while saying "*Ganbare Chiyoji*."

Figure 7 [redacted]: The protagonists of "Akai Hana" (left) and "Mokkiriya no Shōjo" (right).

Figure 8 [redacted]: Sayoko in "Akai Hana" (left), Chiyoji in "Mokkiriya no Shōjo" (right)

Unlike "Numa" and "Akai Hana," sexual conduct is placed front and center in "Mokkiriya no Shōjo." However, Tsuge depicts both main characters in the story in a manner very similar to that of the main characters of "Akai Hana" while also reusing very similar themes to these earlier works. While Chiyoji's actions are unmistakably sexual in nature, her attitude towards her conduct is honest and almost naive, as she feels no shame while the narrator feels embarrassed. Once again, this is a stark contrast from the sexuality exhibited in Tsuge's city-based works, in effect granting the sexually stifled protagonists in these works precisely what they want. However, the protagonist ultimately decides to leave Mokkiriya, giving an excuse to both Chiyoji and himself that he only has an observational interest in the world he finds himself in. By joining in the cheers of the men at the end of the story, though, he betrays his true feelings, displaying his wish to participate in the world he has just excluded himself from. In this way, "Mokkiriya no Shōjo" perhaps most clearly illustrates the ambivalent feelings he has towards the rural Japan depicted in these works, at once deeply wishing to be a part of it while also feeling repelled from it due to his own ingrained way of life.

As seen in all of these different facets of Tsuge's early depictions of rural Japan, the attitude Tsuge expressed in his works about these places was a very ambivalent one. While his stories depict a highly idealized and beautiful rural Japan, the theme of modern city-dwelling individuals being incompatible with these places is an often-repeated one. This kind of ambivalence was fairly commonplace in manga stories published in *Garo*, where Tsuge published all of these rural stories. Many other authors publishing in *Garo* dealt with more explicit political themes, and maintained a relatively idealistic view about the effectiveness of protest as a political tool. At the same time, many of these authors and

stories also featured as a theme the growing ineffectiveness of verbal protest, reflecting a general ambivalence held by its younger readership.[81] The criticisms made about the incompatibility between rural and modern Japan in these works are also neither particularly harsh nor especially blatant ones. However, the idealizations of rural Japan as well as the tendencies to look towards it as a possible solution to the problems posed by modern living by individuals like Tsuge were only beginning to make a revival in the 1960s. Thus, Tsuge's very early criticisms may have been an attempt at simple guidance from one who once shared these views yet discovered the illusory nature of these thoughts and idealizations for himself. In fact, other artists such as the playwright Shimizu Kunio, a man whose works have been considered to be exemplary ones critical of the idyllic image of the rural *furusato*, would not approach this topic in his writing until around 1978, a decade after Tsuge first began his explorations of the topic.[82] However, in the 1970s, Tsuge's stories about rural Japan became much more hopeless and nihilistic in both tone and in art style, displaying a growing personal disillusionment with rural Japan while also reflecting an overall political disillusionment within the cultural world that he was involved in.

Chapter 4: Later Rural Works: A Refocused Criticism

In the 1970s, Tsuge's rural works changed drastically from those written in the 1960s. These changes seem to reflect two major changes in Japanese politics and society, changes within the Japanese student movement as well as an increasingly idealized image of rural Japan. By the beginning of the 1970s, both *Garo*'s tone as well as the tone of Tsuge's rural works began to take on a more hopeless and nihilistic character, coinciding with the failures of the Japanese student protest movement. The leftist student movement as well as its offshoots were growing increasingly splintered and violent during this period. These groups largely consisted of individuals who would be target readers of *Garo* beginning in the late 1960s, and many works by major authors in *Garo* during this time would mirror this confusion, violence, and hopelessness. By 1971, the year of the formation of the Japanese Red Army, the key founding father of *Garo,* Shirato Sanpei, would give up the magazine's "original pedagogical project" of liberation of the underclass through education and organization[83]. While it is hard to say if Tsuge was directly influenced by the change in direction of the student movement, his involvement with other politically-involved *Garo* manga authors as well as his previously discussed connection with the cultural zeitgeist of the younger generation of Japan suggests that this could be one reason for this change.

The image of the popular idealization of rural Japan also changed concurrent to Tsuge's stylistic shift. The idealization of rural Japan as well as the idea that a national identity could be found there would continue to grow in the 1970s, as seen in previously discussed movements such as the Discover Japan tourism campaign. As these campaigns were being put forth, Tsuge began to take a much stronger approach to the

deromanticizing of rural Japan in his works, flat-out denying the existence of the spaces that these movements would put forward. In these later works, Tsuge depicts a dilapidated, deteriorating rural Japan. He describes the places he draws in these works as places that are marked by "realism" ("*riarizumu"*), placing these works in direct critical opposition to idealized depictions of rural Japan by clearly stating that his depictions are true to reality. However, Tsuge continued to return to these places in both his works as well as in his regular life, suggesting that despite the bleakness of the locations he sought out, he still enjoyed visiting them as extreme forms of escape from urban Japanese life.

However, before beginning discussion of these later works, I would like to first discuss a work that acted as a transitional piece between Tsuge's stories of the 1960s and the 1970s, "Nejishiki" ("Screw Ceremony"). While it is among one of Tsuge's most inscrutable works, "Nejishiki" is one of his most well-known manga, and hints at themes dealing with cultural identity and modernization while also acting as a turning point in the style of his works. "Nejishiki" was originally written as a new work to be published in a special all-Tsuge issue of *Garo* for May 1968, but due to fears that Tsuge would miss his deadline, the issue was moved to June 1968 as he finished the work. Both Tsuge and his editor at the time write that the work is based on a dream that Tsuge had in his apartment on the second floor of a ramen shop while assisting Mizuki Shigeru. Tsuge later claimed that the work was written in desperation because he could not come up with anything else, and that it is a "nonsense" work with neither artistic merit nor any meaning.[84] Despite these thoughts on the work, though, "Nejishiki" has received more attention than any of Tsuge's other works, and also supplied him with enough royalties to begin producing fewer works, as discussed in chapter 1. The theoretical and critical side

of this attention has primarily taken the form of psychoanalytical and historical analysis in both English and Japanese, as well as more popular critical attention from countercultural figures.[85] Takano Shinzō, a *Garo* editor who worked with Tsuge when "Nejishiki" was published, attributes the work's relative broad popularity to its abstract nature, arguing that one is able to read their own thoughts into the wealth of concepts and images within the work.[86] It is for this reason, the "unlimited ways of reading"[87] the work, that Takano both praises it while also agreeing with Tsuge's prior appraisal that the work is "nonsense." Despite these statements from the two men most involved in the creation of the work, it would be nearly impossible to examine Tsuge's manga during this period without acknowledging "Nejishiki" in some way. Furthermore, and perhaps just as Takano argues, this work offers a reading that merits inclusion in my own study regarding the juxtaposition of tradition and modernity. Specifically, the images within this work that follow along this theme suggest an inescapable sense of modernity that lies behind even resurrected images of a prior Japan.

"Nejishiki" begins with a young boy, the main character of the story, walking out of the ocean and grasping his left arm as a silhouetted bomber aircraft flies above. Through his narration, we learn that he has been bitten by jellyfish and requires surgery on his left arm, but can't find a doctor in the fishing village he has come to. While wandering through the village, he comes across a number of people, including regular villagers, a man sharpening a knife in a building with a barber's pole outside, and a man wearing a suit, coded as belonging to the educated elite who is likely to be a politician, none of whom help him find a doctor. He eventually comes across train tracks and decides to follow them, when a train then comes along, driven by a young man in a

traditional fox mask. The boy boards the train and enjoys his ride until he discovers that the train was actually going back towards the village, and that he must continue searching within the area. After meeting an elderly woman in the village who sells *kintarō ame* (a type of traditional Japanese candy) produced by a giant factory, he eventually meets a woman, dressed in a kimono and with Japanese wartime imagery behind her, who says that she is a gynecologist. The main character quickly takes her clothes off and convinces her to "play doctor," culminating in a scene where the two have sexual intercourse while she also fixes his arm by attaching a valve to it. The story then ends with the boy speeding off in a motorboat as he explains that now that he has the valve in his arm, his arm feels numb if the valve is ever tightened.

While there are countless interpretations of the images contained within "Nejishiki," the aspect of these depictions that concern this project most are the work's initial images that situate the work within the world of postwar Japan, then the many following images that blend images of traditional and postwar Japan that suggest the loss of a pure sense of tradition to modernity. The first image of the work, a wounded boy standing in the ocean with the silhouette of a giant aircraft bomber overhead (Fig. 9), immediately calls to mind the shadow of recent wars that has been cast over the wounded nation of Japan during the postwar period. The unhelpful politician or other social elite in the suit depicted a number of pages later also situates the work as being in the postwar period, as the man and his casual refusal to aid the wounded boy represents "postwar morality, bureaucracy and democracy" as well as a symbol of the postwar political elite and their distance from the rest of the country.[88] Following these opening pages, each location that the boy interacts with in detail mixes the traditional and the modern, and

subordinates the former to the latter. The scenes in the work where the main character boards the steam locomotive are the first instance of this collision of traditional and modern. When the train, a ubiquitous symbol of modernity, is first seen in the work, it is driven by a boy wearing a fox mask resembling a traditional *noh* mask, immediately linking the traditional with the modern. Soon after the train is first introduced, there is a surreal image of the train running through a small rural village. In both of these images, the large, imposing train disrupts any sense of traditionality that would normally arise from images such as the boy's mask or the small rural village, suggesting that the influence of modernity has encroached even into the most traditional of places (Fig.10). Immediately after the scenes involving the train is the boy's interaction with the woman selling *kintarō ame*, which again depicts an object normally identified as "traditional," an old style of candy, as being ultimately backed by a giant industrial machine, in this case a large factory, again showing a strong bond created between these two worlds that are normally thought of as separate.

While individuals such as Tsuge and Takano warn against reading too much into "Nejishiki," these images serve as a portent of the ideas about the idealization and commercialization of rurality that Tsuge explores once he resumes more regular manga production in the 1970s. In these later works such as "Riarizumu no Yado" (“The Inn of Realism,” November 1973) and "Shomin Onyado" (“The Commoners’ Inn,” April 1975) Tsuge directly addresses the falsity of idealized images of a pure, traditional rural Japan such as the ones he drew in previous works. Tsuge also takes on these images as they are being advanced during this period by commercial interests such as Japan Railways with

their "Discover Japan" campaign, a campaign whose existence and primary signifiers Tsuge anticipates in some of the images in “Nejishiki.”

Figure 9 [redacted]: The opening image of "Nejishiki"

Figure 10 [redacted]: Modern and rural collide in "Nejishiki"

"Riarizumu no Yado" ("The Inn of Realism"), published in the manga magazine *Manga Sutoorii* in 1973, once again begins by introducing a narrator/protagonist very similar to the one seen in stories such as "Mokkiriya no Shōjo." The work begins with the narrator explaining that he is in the northern part of Japan during the winter, looking for stories to turn into manga. He eventually arrives by train to Ajigasawa, a small town in Aomori prefecture. The next day, the narrator is eating a bowl of noodles while doing

calculations in his head regarding how he will budget his remaining funds. He explains that he travels on foot from one *akindo-yado*, merchants' inns, to the next, as they're the cheapest form of lodging available. While reminiscing about the warm, modest accommodations that *akindo-yado* have provided him in the past, he realizes that he could base a story around *akindo-yado*, noting that it may do especially well due to the recent "travel boom." The narrator then asks a worker at the noodle store where the closest one is, and eventually goes off in search of an inn named *Ebisu-ya.* However, he has trouble finding it, and so he asks a young boy on the street if he knows where the inn could be found, but the boy says no. Before the narrator can ask him any more questions, the boy becomes distracted by his classmates, but eventually the man comes across a small inn and assumes it to be *Ebisu-ya*, though he cannot read the inn's sign. Upon entering it, he finds a fairly destitute family sitting around a table, and describes the sight of the inside of the inn as "too realistic." He explains what he means by this by saying that while he is able to appreciate "shabbiness," he finds "realism," or "the smell of life" to be unpleasant. He is lead to another dirty room with uneven floor mats and a window with a view blocked by an embankment, and asks if there are any other rooms he could stay in, but learns that the other rooms are used by the family's children and the family's grandfather. In an attempt to escape the inn, he tells the mother of the family that he is going to take a walk outside. Sensing that he may leave for good, the desperate mother insists that he leaves his bag behind, and when he says that he will bring it with him, she convinces him to keep his shoes in the house while he goes out. While on his walk, he comes across the young boy once again, and he discovers that the boy is the son of the family who runs the inn he is staying at. When he asks the boy why he didn't tell him

where *Ebisu-ya* was despite being the son of the owners, the boy says that his is *Morita-ya*. At that moment, the narrator notices that the clean, elegant, and stereotypically decorated *Ebisu-ya* is in fact right in front of him. That night, he is served meager portions of boiled vegetables, raw squid, and fried egg, and as the young boy brings out a pot of miso soup, he drops the ladle on the floor but doesn't return to wash it before giving it to the narrator. Frustrated, the narrator decides to take a bath and go to sleep, but discovers that the bath is slick and grimy due to the rest of the family having already bathed and thus opts to go to sleep without bathing. Finally, the story ends with the narrator in bed, unable to sleep due to the cold weather, listening to the young boy in the family begin to awkwardly read his Japanese homework.

As early as the title of the work, Tsuge's concept of "realism" is introduced. Tsuge renders the term in katakana, リアリズム, the Japanese syllabary used to indicate foreign words as well as to indicate a word that the author assigns a personal meaning to. While the term is explicitly defined later in the story as "the smell of life," it is not difficult to understand on some level what Tsuge refers to by this word from the moment that he enters *Morita-ya*; the "realism" of "The Inn of Realism" can be found in its ruined sliding doors and floor mats, its sick and ragged inhabitants, and its meager, pathetic portions and service. In other words, while the protagonist of this story may be able to appreciate poverty when presented in a sanitized but austere, rustic fashion, the squalor and desperation he comes across in the story is simply too much for him. *Morita-ya* and its "realism" directly contrasts with the other inns depicted throughout the work, such as the ones that appear in a flashback as he recalls the various *akindo-yado* he has stayed at during his trips, as well as the polished and neat *Ebisu-ya*, his intended destination (Fig.

11). By assigning the label of "realism" to *Morita-ya*, Tsuge implies that there is a sense of unreality or fakeness to these more pleasant, ideal inns which attract tourists such as himself, and therefore to the common contemporary conception of rural Japan as discussed earlier.

Figure 11 [redacted]: Tsuge's imagined inn and the inn of "realism" in "Riarizumu no Yado"

Tsuge's earlier travel manga subtly criticized this increasingly popular image of rural Japan through the suggestion in his works that rural Japan is ultimately somehow inaccessible to those who live in modern Japan. However, the further growth and subsequent commercialization of this image as seen in the massive "Discover Japan" domestic tourism campaign seems to have necessitated a more direct and oppositional criticism regarding the ability of rural Japan to match up to the expectations of it that was becoming prevalent among city-dwelling Japanese. While this newly oppositional stance on its own suggests the influence of this commercialization, Tsuge also makes more explicit references to this phenomenon. This is seen most clearly when the narrator of the

story thinks that a manga about *akindo-yado* would be popular due to the “travel boom,” aligning the narrator's soon-to-be ruined expectations of rural Japan with the expectations created by its commercialized image. Furthermore, unlike works such as "Akai Hana" and "Mokkiriya no Shōjo," the town shown in the work is not only explicitly named, but is also somewhat larger and shown to be directly accessible by train, making it a stereotypical town that would be advertised by the Japan Railways-funded "Discover Japan" campaign. This "realism" also plays a similar critical role through its dialogue with Tsuge's works discussed in the previous chapter, all of which were marked by a pervasive sense of idealism in their depictions of rural spaces and the people who inhabit them. For example, the depictions of the inn are also in striking contrast to the blossoming, overgrown worlds seen in previous works such as “Akai Hana” (Fig. 6), while the people he meets in *Morita-ya* are far more downtrodden and impoverished than workers at rural inns such as the girl in “Mokkiriya no Shōjo.” By establishing this work as a "realistic" one, Tsuge also comments on the idealized nature of these previous works, suggesting that these more recent travel diaries such as "Riarizumu no Yado" are far more accurate to real life than prior works such as "Akai Hana." Despite this change in Tsuge’s depiction of the rural, though, his underlying message, that urban and rural Japan are fundamentally different places and that an urban interloper cannot integrate into rural Japan, remains the same. While his earlier works delivered this message within the framework of the burgeoning popular idealized image of rural Japan, these later works respond to this image in a time when this image was far more prevalent and commercially-backed, necessitating a stronger, more direct approach to his criticisms. In this way, these later works present a stronger attempt to dismantle the popular image of

rural Japan while not invalidating the core criticisms and messages contained in these earlier stories.

"Shomin Onyado" ("The Commoners' Inn"), published in April 1975 in "Manga Sunday" takes a similar approach to "Riarizumu no Yado" in its realistic depiction of rural Japan, but also further stresses the protagonists' role as a transient observer in the rural locations he visits. The work begins with two young men sitting in a traditionally-styled room with sliding doors and *tatami* mats, drinking coffee and smoking cigarettes while commenting on how enjoyable it is to go on a trip and experience the things they are doing. On the next page, we see that the two are on a motorcycle trip to Chiba prefecture at night, when they decide to pull over and find a place to sleep. They come across a pear peddler who invites them to the closest town, but due to it being late at night, they are unable to find an inn to stay overnight, and so the peddler invites them to sleep at his house. They agree, and when they arrive at the house, they meet an elderly woman whom he lives with, and she brings out a bottle of whisky for them all to drink. After chatting with the protagonists, the woman goes to sleep, and the peddler, now drunk, begins to cry and tell a story about his past, saying that he is a "sinful man."

He then explains that five years ago, he regularly stayed at an inn in Kamogawa, Chiba, where he got to know the husband and wife who ran the inn. One day, the husband, drunk, begged the peddler to try having a child with his wife, as his attempts with his wife had been unsuccessful, but the peddler refused, saying that the man must be joking and that it would be an improper thing to do. After this refusal, the wife also came to him and insinuated that her husband was not joking. The man then says that finally, that night,

his desires got the better of him, and he had sex with the woman, but never returned to the inn afterwards. He then continues to recall that night, and eventually becomes so engrossed in his own detailed descriptions that he begins to cry out in pleasure as he states the woman did that night. However, he soon turns serious again, and says that he returned to the town three years later. During his visit, he discovered that the woman now had a child, but that he could not bring himself to talk to her. He continues to express deep sorrow and regret for his actions, explaining to the two that he has a wife and three children at home, and the night ends with the two men trying to console the peddler. The next morning, the two discuss the previous night, and are curious if the man's story is true. The main character's friend says to the lead protagonist, a figure resembling the protagonists of prior rural stories, that the story "lacks enough reality" to fool "intelligentsia" like them, thinking that the story was too incredible to be true. He then suggests that they go to the inn the man spoke about, prompting the lead protagonist to note that his friend is "curious for a self-styled nihilist." When they arrive at the inn, they find it decorated with many calligraphed sayings which they find "conceited," leading the friend to say that the inn is "appropriate for a nihilist." The two then discover a young child, but when they ask a worker at the inn about it, she explains that it was an "instant child," in other words, adopted. The child is covered in bug bites, and the worker says that the mother cares little about the child since it is not truly her own. That night, they realize that the man they met the previous day must have thought that the adopted child was his own, and that his regrets are ultimately over nothing. Their discussion then turns to the *sake* they have been served that night, as they note that it has been watered down, causing the lead protagonist to become angry while his friend begins to cry. In the final

panel, the two ride away on their bike, the lead character saying that "the commoners can really do it too," while his friend replies, "they even put a nihilist to shame."

As in "Riarizumu no Yado," "Shomin Onyado" serves to deromanticize the popular urban image of rural Japan, illustrating it not as a place full of nature, but rather as a place that can "put a nihilist to shame." However, at the same time, throughout the work the protagonist and his friend are very clearly depicted as transitory observers, in effect tourists. This serves to highlight the foreignness of the protagonists to these places, suggesting as his earlier works do that the idea of being able to recuperate a sense of lost national character through interaction with rural spaces is a mistaken one, as the rural and urban are simply two separate cultures.

Similar to "Riarizumu no Yado," "Shomin Onyado" takes a more "realist" approach to the depiction of rural Japan. However, unlike "Riarizumu no Yado," it does not do this by responding to depictions of a beautiful, natural, idyllic rural Japan with images of it as a deteriorating, unsightly place. Instead, the work deromanticizes the people who live in these rural spaces by presenting them as individuals with more modern problems, and not as simple, naive, and honest characters as Tsuge had in previous works. Whereas the rural characters, especially the female characters, in works such as "Numa," "Akai Hana," and "Mokkiriya no Shōjo" are depicted as very honest, sometimes even naive characters when placed in social and sexual situations, the characters of "Shomin Onyado" are shown to be far more complex. We are first introduced to this complexity when the man the two protagonists meet tells his story about his complicated relationship, expressing what seems to be deep sorrow and regret over the choices he made when put in a difficult situation. By depicting a complex social

situation such as the one depicted in the story's flashback, something that would never occur in Tsuge's earlier, more idyllic stories, this work serves to deromanticize his previous image of rural-dwelling Japanese as innocent or as tied to nature. This image of rural individuals is reinforced by the character of the female inn owner, who is presented as uncaring and almost as ruthless, ignoring her child and yelling at her employees to work more while watering down her customers' drinks. Thus instead of depicting rural Japanese as noble, sympathetic characters such as Chiyoji in "Mokkiriya no Shōjo," who the narrator of the work cheers on as he walks away, the characters in this updated rural Japan are shown as far more complicated characters, even able to "put a nihilist to shame" at times. However, despite this more complex depiction of rural characters, they are not comparable to the isolated and oppressed characters in his contemporary stories about modern city life, as the characters in “Shomin Onyado” are shown to possess a range of emotions, experiencing passion, pleasure, and humor just as they may also experience regret or apathy.

"Shomin Onyado" also very clearly depicts the two main characters as transitory observers, essentially tourists. While this may have been very similar to the experience of rural Japan that those who wished to visit such places themselves may have had, such a clear depiction negates the idea that one could feel an essential nativist bond with the rural. The depiction of visiting the rural as a tourist again advances the idea that the rural and the modern are simply two different societies, as this manner of interaction not only implies observation over interaction, but also inevitable return to a regular, stable city life. This is emphasized most clearly in the beginning and the end of the work, as these scenes depict the two city-dwelling, self-described "intelligentsia" talking about the act of going

on trips while riding a motorcycle. Whereas previous rural works did show their protagonists to be somehow transitory characters, the motorcycle that the two ride far more clearly differentiates them from the individuals they meet, allowing for easy entrance and exit into the worlds they visit. Cameras are also depicted in the opening pages in both this work as well as in "Riarizumu no Yado," serving as another symbol of distanced observation. This is perhaps best illustrated by the title page of "Riarizumu no Yado," where the protagonist is shown taking a picture of a worker hunched over with a load he is carrying on his back (Fig. 12). Through these constant reminders of the main characters' roles as temporary visitors to the places depicted in these stories, the reader is reminded of the fact that the idea of such travels being able to bring about lasting changes to a person's life is a myth, as the commitments made to such places are limited and temporary.

Figure 12 [redacted]: Tsuge's protagonist as observer

Through stories such as "Riarizumu no Yado" and "Shomin Onyado," one can clearly see a transition in perspective on rural Japan in Tsuge's manga. While these works may have an increased sense of "realism," such depictions are not expressions of disillusionment and pure cynicism towards rural Japanese spaces. Instead, they are a refocusing of a consistent message seen throughout his rural works regarding the fundamental differences between the rural and the modern. The texts analyzed above suggest that this shift towards a new style of depiction was in part a reaction to the boom in travel and interest in domestic travel as a way of better understanding one's self as well as one's own culture, as the urban characters in these works seem to either be on such trips or are cognizant of these ideas. Though Tsuge's earlier rural works also tackle these themes, these later works more directly respond to these ideas through their clear deromanticization of such ideas and places.

Conclusion and Directions for Further Research

As shown by the works discussed in this paper, Tsuge Yoshiharu's works during the 1960s and 1970s are in constant dialogue with contemporary thought regarding the nature of urban and rural Japan. These works also present an early example of postwar media which critically explored the implications of positioning the rural as diametrically opposed to the modern city. Finally, they examine the suggestion of the rural's ability to solve the problems faced by those living within the modernized Japanese postwar world made by such a positioning. Within the confines of the medium of manga and its development as an art form, these works act as some of the earliest modern manga to break away from the established world of manga as pure entertainment through their emphasis on their characters' psychology and thorough incorporation of social issues. Tsuge's urban works such as "Chiko," "Umibe no Jokei," and "Yoru ga Tsukamu" display a vivid and keen sense of the disconnected and oppressive nature of modern life, very much in line with the thoughts of many contemporary social critics. At the same time, he created a parallel line of works to these urban stories, all of which featured urban characters traveling to rural Japan, reflecting the trend during this time of looking toward rural Japan in response to the problems of the urban as stated above. However, these works repeatedly come to the conclusion that these tendencies are misguided ones, as while this first group of works illustrates an incredible sense of oppression inherent in modern city life, reconciliation with the rural, and by extension past ways of life if these ways even exist at all, is not a possibility for individuals oppressed in this way.

Despite such a depiction of rural Japan, though, Tsuge has returned to such spaces throughout his life in both his manga as well as in his personal travels. While this

interest stretches far past the mid-1970s, and is therefore not completely within the scope of my project, his later works during the period which I have examined such as "Shomin Onyado" suggest that the reason for this lies in the alien aspect of the rural towns he visits, finding in them not a familiar identity, but rather a sense of escape. Tsuge has also written a number of travel essays throughout his later career, a study of which could provide valuable insights on the direction and personal ideology of his rural manga, and may be a potentially rewarding route to take for further study on Tsuge. The tendency hinted at in Tsuge's later works towards viewing rural Japan as foreign and alien, rather than identifying with it would later be echoed in "Discover Japan" campaign's 1984 successor, "Exotic Japan." This campaign abandoned the motto of self-discovery through travel for the seductiveness of an unfamiliar, "non-native Japan."[89] In effect, this campaign conceded that the alien view of rural Japan presented in Tsuge's later works was indeed a more resonant one with modern Japanese consumers than the image of fundamental affinity presented in "Discover Japan," and that once again his works anticipated the changing image of the rural as seen in mainstream Japanese media.

Endnotes

[1] Throughout this paper, I have chosen to follow the Japanese naming convention of family name followed by given name for Japanese individuals.
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[3] Schodt, Frederik L. *Dreamland Japan : Writings on Modern Manga*. (Berkeley, Calif.: Stone Bridge Press, 1996), 200.
[4] Gravett, Paul. *Manga : Sixty Years of Japanese Comics*. (New York: Collins Design, 2004), 134.
[5] Schodt 1996, 200.
[6] Ibid, 200.
[7] Amazawa, Taijiro. "Hōshin Kara Sakuhin e." *Yuriika* 1982/3 (1982): 66-67.
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[10] Marechal, Beatrice. "On Top of the Mountain: The Influential Manga of Yoshiharu Tsuge." The Comics Journal. http://archives.tcj.com/sp2005/tsuge.html
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[12] Gordon, Andrew. *A Modern History of Japan : From Tokugawa Times to the Present*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) 251.
[13] Ibid, 251-252.
[14] Ibid, 245
[15] Ibid, 267
[16] Tipton, Elise K. *Modern Japan : A Social and Political History*. (London ; New York: Routledge, 2002) 182.
[17] Gordon 2003, 252.
[18] Ibid, 252.
[19] Tipton 2002, 183.
[20] Ibid, 182.
[21] Ibid, 178.
[22] Ibid, 177.
[23] Gordon, Andrew. *Postwar Japan as History*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 264.
[24] Tipton 2002, 178.
[25] Gordon 1993, 268.
[26] Ibid, 267.
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[34] Ibid, 112.
[35] Ibid, 119.
[36] Ivy, Marilyn. *Discourses of the Vanishing : Modernity, Phantasm, Japan*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) 80.
[37] Morse, Ronald A. "Yanagita Kunio and the Folklore Movement : The Search for Japan's National Character and Distinctiveness." (PhD. diss., Princeton University, 1974) 27.
[38] All types of *yōkai*, Japanese ghosts and monsters which appear throughout folk tales))
[39] Foster, Michael Dylan. *Pandemonium and Parade : Japanese Monsters and the Culture of Yōkai*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009) 140.
[40] Ivy 1995, 94.
[41] Ibid, 94.
[42] Ibid, 101.
[43] Ibid, 101
[44] Ibid, 100, 111.
[45] Yasko, Guy Thomas. "The Japanese Student Movement 1968-70 : The Zenkyoto Uprising." (PhD. diss., Cornell University, 1997) 265.
[46] Morse, Ronald A. "Yanagita Kunio and the Folklore Movement : The Search for Japan's National Character and Distinctiveness." (PhD. diss., Princeton University, 1974) 187.
[47] Ibid, 187.
[48] Ibid, 187.
[49] Ivy 1995, 9-10.
[50] Ibid, 41.
[51] Ibid, 41, 47.
[52] Ibid, 35.
[53] Ibid, 4, 16.
[54] Ibid, 17-31.
[55] Ibid, 86-87
[56] Ibid, 140
[57] Foster 2009, 163.
[58] Ibid, 164.
[59] Ibid, 171.
[60] Ibid, 180-181.
[61] Tsuge, Yoshiharu. *Kusetsu Junenki*. (Chikuma Bunko, Tsu-14-6. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2009) 284.
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[69] Takano, Shinzō. *Tsuge Yoshiharu 1968*. (Tokyo: Chikuma Bunko, 2002) 115.
[70] Ibid 76.
[71] Ibid 127.
[72] Domenig, Roland. "The Ancipation of Freedom." Midnight Eye, http://www.midnighteye.com/features/art-theatre-guild.shtml
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[74] Marechal, http://archives.tcj.com/sp2005/tsuge.html.
[75] Tsuge, Yoshiharu. *Risan Ikka*, Chikuma Bunko, Tsu-14-3. (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2008) 353.
[76] Shimizu 1997, 160.
[77] Ibid, 126.
[78] See endnote 26.
[79] See endnote 31.
[80] Kartalopoulos, http://web.archive.org/web/20051023030233/http://64.23.98.142/indy/winter_2005/raw_02/index.html
[81] Cf. Holmberg, Ryan. "Paper Megaphone : Garo Manga, 1964-1971." (PhD. diss., Yale University, 2007.)
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[83] Holmberg 2007, 188.
[84] Tsuge, Yoshiharu. *Nejishiki*, Chikuma Bunko, Tsu-14-1. (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2008) 332.
[85] Holmberg 2007, 53.
[86] Takano 2002, 132.
[87] Ibid, 132
[88] Holmberg 2007, 80-84.
[89] Ivy 1995, 48-60.

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