1994

Hayashi Fumiko: The Writer and Her Works

Susanna Fessler PhD

University at Albany, State University of New York, sfessler@albany.edu

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Hayashi Fumiko: The writer and her works

Fessler, Susanna, Ph.D.
Yale University, 1994
Hayashi Fumiko: The Writer and Her Works

A Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of
Yale University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Susanna Fessler

May 1994
ABSTRACT

Hayashi Fumiko: The Writer and Her Works
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This thesis is a broad-based study of the modern Japanese novelist, Hayashi Fumiko. It is meant to provide the student of modern Japanese literature with an introduction to this popular writer and her works. While some of Fumiko's most famous works are discussed, attention is also given to a number of works which have heretofore not been discussed in Western literary discourse. The first chapter is a biographical sketch of the author's life. The second chapter is a survey of Fumiko's writing which identifies a number of prominent aspects in her work, including the importance of free will, her fear of ideology, vagueness of objectives and terminology, escapism, women's issues, the influence of Yokomitsu Riichi and Tokuda Shüsei, and olfactory imagery. The third chapter discusses her first novel, Hōrōki, as well as her early short stories "Seihin no sho," "Shōku," "Mimiwa no tsuita uma," and "Fūkin to uo no machi," and examines how Fumiko's faith in free will instills these works about poverty with a positive sense of life. Fumiko's tentative connection to political leftist movements is also discussed. Chapter 4 examines Fumiko's travel writing — both travel-related fiction and travelogues from abroad — and identifies the element of loneliness as the literary catalyst in these works. Chapter 5 discusses Fumiko's fiction on the subject of marriage and illegitimacy, including the novels Inazuma, Kawa uta, Ame, and Jokazoku, and how these works display a pronounced concern with man's exercise of his freedom of choice as an extension of his free will. The final chapter covers Fumiko's post-war works, including the novel Ukigumo.
and the short stories "Fubuki," "Nagusame," and "Yoru no kōmorigasa," which exhibit the author's turn towards fatalism and determinism in her later years. Complete English translations of the essays "Watashi no chiheisen," "Bungaku, tabi, sono ta," and "Watashi no shigoto" are provided in the appendices.
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NOTE TO THE READER

Japanese names are given in Japanese order, i.e., family name first, then given name. Exceptions are those names given in the preface and the names of those individuals whose cited works were published in English.

Kanji 漢字 (Chinese characters) and Cyrillic characters for proper names, literary titles, and some terminology are provided at first mention in the text, with the exception of bibliographic information. All kanji for cited works are given in the Works Cited section. All kanji have been rendered in the standard post-1946 simplified form.

I have used the Hepburn romanization system for Japanese terms, the Pinyin romanization system for Chinese terms, and the romanization system designated by the American Library Association and the Library of Congress\(^1\) for Russian terms, with the exception of bibliographic notes of Russian works in translation, which are given as they appear.

Unless otherwise noted, all translations in the text are my own.

PREFACE

There is a large pool of writings on Hayashi Fumiko, most of which focus on the life of the author or on one or two of her most famous works. Indeed, so much has been said about *Horoki* that I hesitated to say as much as I did in this study, but I could not deny its importance in Fumiko's writing career. In any case, it seemed clear to me that a general, encompassing study of the author with attention given to the lesser known works would be a valuable addition to the field. Fumiko was immensely popular in her day, and it seemed odd to me that a writer whose work is almost always included in collections of modern Japanese literature would have had so little serious academic work done on her.

In my research, I have found one scholar in particular whose work on Fumiko I would recommend as responsible, comprehensive scholarship: Professor Eiichi Mori of Kanazawa University. His research is thorough and thoughtful, and his assistance to me on this project has been greatly appreciated. In addition to Professor Mori, there are a few scholars who have contributed significantly to the study of Hayashi Fumiko, although their work tends to be more of a technical type, such as Eiko Imagawa’s compilation of the *nenpu* 年譜 in the *Hayashi Fumiko zenshū* 林芙美子全集. A careful reading of my footnotes should give the reader an idea of whose work has contributed most.

I myself was drawn to Hayashi Fumiko not, as many people assume, because she was a *joryū sakka* 女流作家 (woman writer). What attracted me to her writing was
the independent spirit of the early works, a spirit which expressed a profound faith in the
individual's ability to shape one's own life. This faith contrasts sharply with the
determinism so common in Japanese Naturalist writing of the time, and it struck me as
quite significant that Fumiko wrote about the same downtrodden under-class which many
Naturalists chose to portray, but with the distinct difference that she believed the lower
classes had the ability to work their way out of poverty.

Fumiko's attraction and deep attachment to travel also appealed to me. Travel has
been a significant and important part of my life, so an author who gave travel and travel
imagery special status naturally caught my attention. Her travelogues were a joy to read
and provided a fresh format change from her novels.

In the course of my work there have been many individuals and organizations who
have helped make it all possible. I should like to thank Yale University and the Yale
University East Asian Council for funding provided during my graduate career. I would
also like to thank the Japanese Ministry of Education for providing me with a scholarship
to cover the year I spent researching in Japan at Keiō University.

For their academic assistance in Japan I would like to thank Professor Teruhiko
Hinotani at Keiō University and Professor Eiichi Mori at Kanazawa University. For their
academic assistance stateside, I would like to thank Professor Edwin McClellan and
Professor Edward Kamens at Yale University, both of whom have provided immeasurable
assistance and encouragement over the course of the past five years.

Many of my friends, both inside academia and out, have been integral to the
completion of this study. Here I would like to single out and thank Rina Someya, for her
patience in answering so many questions, and Professor Akira Miyata and his wife, Sachiko, for being my benefactors in Japan since my high school days. There are many others who have helped along the way, and although a comprehensive list here would grow too long, I would like to express my appreciation for all the advice and interest my friends and colleagues have given me concerning this project.
INTRODUCTION

Among the names regularly included in the canon of modern Japanese literature is that of Hayashi Fumiko 林芙美子 (1903-1951), a successful writer from the early 1930s until the time of her death. Very little of her work is read today, although paperback editions of her three most famous works, Hōrōki 放浪記 (Diary of a Vagabond, 1930),1 Ukigumo 浮雲 (Drifting Clouds, 1949), and Mesi めし (Food, 1951),2 are still readily available in most bookstores, and on occasion a collection of her works is published in a one volume set, as was recently done by Chikuma shobo in its collection of Japanese literature.3 Except for these publications, though, Fumiko's writing has fallen into relative obscurity; when her works are mentioned by scholars, it is either to note her treatment of the lower classes in Hōrōki or because she falls into the category of joryū sakka.

1Dates given after titles indicate date of publication and in the case of a work which was serialized, date of publication of the complete piece, unless otherwise noted. English translations of all titles and publication dates are given at the first mention of the work and omitted thereafter.

2Meshi was published posthumously.

3The title of the volume is Hayashi Fumiko, the series name is Chikuma Nihon bungaku zenshū (Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1992). There are a total of fifty authors represented in this collection. The stories included in the Hayashi Fumiko volume, in the order presented, are Ao uma o mitari 青馬を見たり (I Saw a Dark Horse, 1929 (abridged)), "Fūkin to uo no machi" 風琴と魚の町 (The Town of Accordions and Fish, 1931), "Sakana no jobun," 魚の序文 (Preface to Fish, 1933), "Seihin no sho" 清貧の書 (A Record of Honorable Poverty, 1931) Nakimushi kozō 泣虫小僧 (Crybaby, 1935), "Dauntaun" 下町 (Downtown, 1949), "Gyokai" 魚介 (Seafood, 1940), "Kaki" 牡蠣 (Oyster, 1935), "Kawahaze" 河沙魚 (The River Goby, 1947) and "Yaen" 夜猿 (Wild Monkey, 1950).
INTRODUCTION

This dissertation covers my areas of interest; it does not exhaust the possible topics concerning the author. I hope that it will help break new ground, far away from the constant hum of Hōrōki-related commentary, where students can read about Fumiko's lesser known works as well as some of her more famous ones. Some may fault me for not including anything beyond passing mention of the well-known "Nakimushi kōzō," and "Bangiku" 晩菊 (Late Chrysanthemum, 1947), but I hope that my discussions of some heretofore unknown works will compensate for this.

My ultimate goal is to provide a general study of Fumiko which would help introduce the new reader to her works. My methods included a thorough reading of all readily available (and some not so readily available) works by the author and then a methodical sorting process to compile a selection of works which would demonstrate the points I wished to make. Of course, there is much input from secondary sources, although I tried to focus more on the works themselves in order to avoid undue influence from others' commentary. There is quite a number of critical articles written on Fumiko (for a selected list, see "Works Cited" section), some of which have interesting theses but most of which are quick re-hashes of Fumiko's life and writing career. In order to understand Fumiko's place in the literary world, a cursory reading of these articles is necessary, but the interested student should be cautioned that few of them offer new insight. I shall refrain from recommending any specifically, as such recommendations would depend on the individual student's area of interest.

Chapter 1 gives a brief biographical overview of the author's life, something which I felt was necessary in order to understand the changes which affected her writing. A
INTRODUCTION

writer is rarely able to completely divorce herself from the context in which she lives, and it was this fact that prompted me to write this chapter. Also, so much of Fumiko’s literary reputation is based on her impoverished upbringing that without some attention given to the subject it is hard to appreciate what many of her critics said about her.

Chapter 2 is a collection of short observations about Fumiko’s writing. The subsections each cover one topic, either stylistic or thematic. For the reader who wants a quick and general idea of what to look for in Fumiko’s works, what sorts of things are typical of her writing, this chapter should be the most helpful. These sections do not merit being made into whole chapters, but they focus on aspects of Fumiko’s writing that one should recognize as characteristic of her writing as a whole.

The remaining chapters provide a more in-depth look at topics which I found particularly interesting. Chapter 3 discusses Hōrōki and some of the earlier short stories; it focuses on Fumiko’s struggle with what writing meant to her, and what her mission was as a writer. It includes a short history of the publication of Hōrōki, discussion of the possible influences of other writers on Fumiko’s writing, the optimism expressed in text, whether Hōrōki follows in some of the traditions of classical Japanese literature, and finally a comparison of Hōrōki and some other early works in search of enduring aspects of Fumiko’s writing.

Chapter 4 addresses the importance of travel and travel imagery in her writing and is a modified version of a paper previously submitted at Yale. In it, I discuss the importance of nostalgia and loneliness in Fumiko’s travelogues, and how the former is necessary for the latter to be experienced. Also discussed is how these two emotions are
expressed in Fumiko's fiction, and the importance of travel in many of Fumiko's characters' lives.

Chapter 5 discusses the topic of marriage and other family relationships, and how Fumiko's treatment of them emphasized the importance she attached to man's freedom of choice. Where the earlier works, such as Hōrōki, rarely went further than to express simply a belief in the existence of free will, the works discussed in this chapter address how important it is that one be permitted to exercise that will, unfettered by societal restraints.

Chapter 6 examines the later works in Fumiko's career. These works show a marked change in her writing, as they carry the dark, depressing message that man may not control his fate. Her characters in these works exhibit a resignation heretofore unseen, and many of them believe that, given their helplessness to change their lives and the world around them, there is little point in placing much importance on the complexities of ethical standards.

In the appendices I have included the translations of three essays — all of which are also heavily quoted in the main text — so that the reader may see for himself the unabridged text. Reading Fumiko's essays can be a trying exercise, as she rarely followed much in the way of a logical train of thought. After reading a host of them her meaning becomes clearer to the reader, but to the uninitiated eye these works may seem quite confused. In my analysis of these essays I have imposed my own logical structure on Fumiko's thoughts, and have duly noted that in the text.
Hayashi Fumiko produced hundreds of works during her short life. The pace which she set for herself — one which most probably contributed to her early demise — suggests that, had she lived longer, a collection of her works would have been twice the size it is today. And while the nature of her writing changed over the years, the literary quality did not diminish; her first and last novels[^4] are both regarded as masterpieces.

[^4]: *Hōrōki* and *Meshi*, respectively.
A Note on Sources

There is a large collection of writing on the subject of Fumiko's life, indeed much more than what has been written about her literature. The fascination with Fumiko's life is understandable, given the fact that her first and possibly most successful work was the autobiographical novel *Horoki*. Since its publication, readers have been eager to know more about the life portrayed on its pages. And despite the fact that soon after the success of *Horoki* Fumiko earned enough from royalties to permanently remove herself from the life of poverty for which she had become famous, she is to this day most often remembered as someone who lived a hard life. One of the problems with this is that the information provided in *Horoki* and other autobiographical works is not always a faithful record of real events as recorded both by the author herself in essays and other miscellany and by those who knew her during her lifetime. The result is a large collection of conflicting information which itself has become the subject of various studies.\(^1\) While I feel it is important to know about the life influences of any writer, I should like to avoid the mire of conflicting facts that surround Fumiko as much as possible, and so here I

\(^1\)For example, see Wada Yoshie's article, "Hayashi Fumiko: Shussei no nazo" in *Kindai joryū bungaku* (*Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō sōsho* series), Tōkyō: Yūseidō, 1983, 131-136 and Muramatsu Sadatōka's article "Hayashi Fumiko no dansei henreki" in *Sakka no kakei to kankyō*, Tōkyō: Shibundō, 1964, 202-217.
acknowledge that the body of my biography is based on one main source: the annotated chronological table compiled by Imagawa Eiko, which is published in Volume 16 of the Bunsendō Hayashi Fumiko zenshū.² Other sources, when used, are appropriately cited. I chose Imagawa's table for two reasons: first, it is much more detailed than other tables of its kind, which leads me to believe that it was more carefully compiled; second, while none of the chronological tables contain bibliographic notes, making it difficult to check their accuracy, Imagawa's has proved consistent with what cross checks I have run on dates and other facts. On the other hand, I do not claim that Imagawa's table is the authoritative source above all other sources;³ it simply is one of the best choices for a brief overview of the author's life. That said, let us look at what sort of life Hayashi

²Hayashi Fumiko zenshū, hereafter abbreviated as HFZ, vol. 16 (Tōkyō: Bunsendō, 1977), 285-310. The reader should note that there are two published versions of the "complete works" (zenshū 全集) of Hayashi Fumiko, and they are both cited in this dissertation. The earlier collection, Hayashi Fumiko zenshū (Tōkyō: Shinchōsha, 1951), shall be hereafter abbreviated as Shinchō HFZ. The first twelve volumes of HFZ are identical to the twenty-three volumes of Shinchō HFZ, except for pagination, and I have provided a pagination conversion chart in the appendix to aid the reader interested in finding original passages.

Despite the title zenshū, neither HFZ nor Shinchō HFZ is truly a complete collection. More than half the titles (including poetry, short stories, and novels) published by Fumiko are not included in these collections. Nakajima Kenzō, one of the editors of Shinchō HFZ, acknowledges the large number of omissions in the collection, but defends the editor's choices. He says that the most important works were included and that one can appreciate Fumiko's writing by reading those works included in Shinchō HFZ. (Nakajima Kenzō, "Ningen · Hayashi Fumiko" in Gendai no esupuri: Hayashi Fumiko, Itagaki Naoko, ed. Tōkyō: Shibundō, 1965, 66-67.)

³Imagawa is not infallible. For example, she fails to list one publication, an article entitled "Otoko to wa — furōnin no kotoba · ni" 男とは、浮浪人の言葉、 in Nihiru にひる, March 1930, which is cited by Kamiya Tadataka in his article "Hayashi Fumiko" (Nihon no dada, Sapporo: Kyōbunsha, 1987), 176.
Fumiko led.

Childhood

Hayashi Fumiko was born in Moji, a small town on the Shimonoseki Straits (Fukuoka Prefecture) in 1903. Her mother, Hayashi Kiku, and father, Miyata Asatarō, were not married, so Fumiko was registered in her maternal uncle’s (Hayashi Hisayoshi) family registry. Kiku was herself an illegitimate child, and that perhaps prevented Fumiko from ever expressing negative feelings about the fact that Kiku bore her out of wedlock. For Fumiko lineage or birth was of secondary importance. Some of her fictional characters are illegitimate children, but their illegitimacy is never something with which they struggle in any psychological way. Illegitimacy is presented as more of a social barrier than anything else. This will be discussed in more detail later, but suffice it to say that Fumiko did not let her illegitimacy become a disruptive concern in her life.

Kiku was born on November 28, 1868, the eldest daughter of her mother, Fuyu and her father, Shinzaemon. Her family ran a drug store in

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4 Her family registry says that she was born on December 31 in Moji, Fukuoka prefecture. However, there is conflicting information about her birth: her mother says that she was born in June. In Hōrōki and in Hitori no shōgai の いの 生 (One Person’s Life, 1939), she says that she was born in May. In Pari (no) nikki (Paris Diary, 1947) she says that she was born on May 5th. For details on her birth date and related family events, see Wada Yoshie’s "Hayashi Fumiko: Shusshō no nazo" (Hayashi Fumiko: The Riddle Surrounding Her Birth) in Kindai joryū bungaku: Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryo, Tōkyō: Yūseidō, 1983, 131-136.

5 See chapter 5, section entitled "Illegitimacy."

6 They sold Chinese-style herbal medicine (kampūyaku).
Kagoshima, and then later a hot-spring inn in Sakurajima. Kiku had a daughter, Hide, out of wedlock on July 13, 1898. A man by the name of Matsuyama Kojiro acknowledged paternity, but did not marry Kiku. In his biography of Fumiko, *Hayashi Fumiko: Hito to sakuhin* (1966), Fukuda Kiyoto frankly notes that Hide and Fumiko were most likely not the only children that Kiku bore, and that there is no way to know how many other siblings by different fathers Fumiko may actually have had. In *Hōrōki*, Fumiko writes that she had a total of six siblings but that she had only ever met one, a sister (presumably Hide). She says she has bitter memories of that sister, and that she did not like the way in which the sister treated Kiku. Reading Fumiko's other autobiographical works, however, one gets the impression that she was an only child; obviously her siblings, however many there may have been, did not play a very important role in her life.

Fumiko's father, Asatarō, was born in 1882 in Ehime Prefecture, the oldest son of a middle-class farming family. His family also ran a silversmith shop, and he had an uncle who made a specialized kind of paper — Iyo paper — in the prefecural capital, Matsuyama. Asatarō helped his uncle by peddling the paper, and this was the beginning of his career as an itinerant peddler. Later Asatarō struck out on his own peddling lacquer ware and cutlery. This work took him to Sakurajima, where he often stayed at Kiku's

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8 *Shinchō HFZ* vol. 2, 178-179.
It was there that the two met and became romantically involved. Kiku was fourteen years Asatarō's senior — quite an age gap — and Fukuda Kiyoto says that this, and the fact that Asatarō never registered Fumiko in his own family register, would suggest that Asatarō never had any intention of marrying Kiku; he was simply interested in a short affair, but the birth of a baby caused him to stay seven years with Kiku before finally abandoning her and Fumiko for another woman.10 Fumiko says in Hōrōki that her mother was chased out of town for becoming involved with someone from another province,11 but it seems more likely that Kiku's infidelity itself, not the foreignness of her lover (Asatarō), embarrassed her family enough to ask her to leave. Kiku and Asatarō moved to Yamaguchi prefecture, and it was there that Fumiko was born.

Some time between September 1899 and May 1901, Kiku and Asatarō left Sakurajima and went on the road together as itinerant peddlers. The couple rented a house in Moji, and it was there that, after a labor induced by a fall down a flight of stairs, Kiku gave birth to Fumiko.12 At the time of Fumiko's birth Asatarō was working in Shimonoseki as an assistant in a pawn shop, but by 1904 he had set out in his own independent business and moved the family from Moji to Shimonoseki where he ran an

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9Inoue Takaharu, Hayashi Fumiko to sono shūhen. (Kokubunji: Musashino shoin, 1990), 13.

10Fukuda Kiyoto, Hayashi Fumiko: Hito to sakuhin, 12-13.

11Shincho HFZ vol. 2, 5.

12Inoue Takaharu, Hayashi Fumiko to sono shūhen, 16.
auction house. Business was brisk thanks to the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, and Asatarō soon opened branch stores in the cities of Wakamatsu, Nagasaki, and Kumamoto. To run these branches he enlisted the help of some friends, one of whom was Sawai Kisaburō 沢井喜三郎, the man who would eventually adopt Fumiko as his own daughter. Kisaburō came from a farming family in Okayama Prefecture, and was twenty years Kiku’s junior.

In 1907, Asatarō moved the headquarters of the store from Shimonoseki to Wakamatsu. Located near the ferry crossing (Wakamatsu is located in the Gotō Archipelago off the coast of Nagasaki Prefecture), the shop sold such things as gold-leaf screens, Buddhist altars, cigarette cases, cloth, textiles, and pocket watches. The shop also served as a residence for Asatarō, Kiku, Fumiko, Kisaburō, and other shop employees. For three years the family lived this way, until Asatarō’s philandering caused too much strife for the family to stay together. Asatarō had a mistress named Hama ハマ, a geisha whom he had been seeing for years and who followed the family to Wakamatsu when they moved there. Asatarō set up Hama in her own apartment nearby, but Kiku, who was quite aware of the circumstances, objected to the idea of so much money being spent on her husband’s mistress, so Hama was moved into the shop residence with the family. As one may imagine, this caused quite a bit of tension among family members. By this point Asatarō was eager to find an excuse to end his relationship with Kiku. He also realized that Kisaburō felt empathy for her, and he used that as a pretext to throw them both out of the house: he sent Kiku out on a business errand on New Year’s Eve, 1910, and when she failed to return in good time he sent Kisaburō out to look for her.
When the two of them finally came home, he accused them of having an affair and told them to leave the house.\textsuperscript{13} Fumiko was called before her father, who asked her if she wanted to go with her mother or stay with him. Fumiko replied firmly that she preferred the former, so Kisaburō, Kiku and Fumiko moved to Nagasaki.\textsuperscript{14} Fumiko's parents' unhappy union apparently left a deep impression on her; although she recorded remarkably few bad memories from her childhood, the topic of soured marriages began appearing in her fiction quite early.\textsuperscript{15}

Over the course of the next ten years, Fumiko changed residences and schools numerous times, as Kisaburō's work as a travelling salesman required relative mobility. In April 1910, Fumiko was enrolled in the Katsuyama Elementary School in Nagasaki. Sometime shortly after that she transferred to the Hachiman Girls' Elementary School in Sasebo. In January 1911, she transferred from the Hachiman Girls' Elementary School to the Naike Elementary School in Shimonoseki, where she remained until October 1914. Her transcripts from this period show average marks and a total of 25 absences during the four-year period.

While Fumiko was living in Shimonoseki with Kiku and Kisaburō, Asatarō moved from Wakamatsu to Moji and opened a new store there. He married his mistress Hama in June 1911, but they divorced not long after in February 1914. Inoue Takaharu, in his

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{13}Inoue Takaharu, \textit{Hayashi Fumiko to sono shūhen}, 23-24.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{14}Inoue Takaharu, \textit{Hayashi Fumiko to sono shūhen}, 24. Inoue says that Fumiko herself told this story to his mother, Inoue Yoshiko, who in turn related it to him.
\end{flushright}

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\textsuperscript{15}See chapter 5 for more detail on this subject.
\end{flushright}
biography *Hayashi Fumiko to sono shūhen* (1990), says that while Asatarō and Hama were married Fumiko visited them often, sometimes staying the night at their house.\(^{16}\) However, this information conflicts with some other accounts in which Fumiko is said to have rarely seen her father and to have not felt much warmth towards him.\(^{17}\) Two of the main causes of this belief are a semi-autobiographical novel which Fumiko wrote in 1939 entitled *Hitori no shōgai*, and an essay she wrote in 1941, "Chichi o kataru" (A Discourse on My Father). In the novel, the narrator tells of her lack of affection for her father, such as in the following statements: "Perhaps it was because I had been separated from him for a long time, but in any case I could not feel even a little love towards my father";\(^ {18}\) and "I must confess here that I have nothing but hard, cold feelings towards my father, who threw out his own wife and child."\(^ {19}\) The events in *Hitori no shōgai* so closely resemble events in Fumiko's life that it is easy to assume that the former is a true account of the latter, but there is no other evidence that Fumiko truly felt that way about her father. Indeed, there are other events described in *Hitori no shōgai* which never happened in Fumiko's life, such as an affair with a man named Koizumi while she was in Paris.\(^ {20}\)

\(^{16}\) Inoue Takaharu, *Hayashi Fumiko to sono shūhen*, 26.

\(^{17}\) For an example, see Itagaki Naoko's biography, *Hayashi Fumiko* (Tōkyō: Tōkyō raifusha, 1956), 24-25.

\(^{18}\) *HFZ* vol. 4, 288.

\(^{19}\) *HFZ* vol. 4, 288.

\(^{20}\) The scene in *Hitori no shōgai* which describes her first assignation with Koizumi is found in *Shinchō HFZ* vol. 8, 80.
Hayashi Fumiko (1985) concludes that Fumiko felt strongly about her father, but not in a negative way.\textsuperscript{21}

Later in her life Fumiko recalled this period of her childhood as a happy one; she harbored no animosity towards Hama and seemed to enjoy her visits to Moji. Kiku and Kisaburō did not object to her spending time in Moji, either. Even after Asatarō and Hama separated, Fumiko is thought to have visited her father often. Some sources even say that Asatarō helped pay for Fumiko's later schooling in Onomichi.\textsuperscript{22}

This shuttling between parents was enjoyable for the young Fumiko, but in October 1914, Kisaburō's clothing store failed and he and Kiku decided to try itinerant peddling again. Kiku left Fumiko in the care of her niece, Tsuru 鶴, in Kagoshima. Consequently, Fumiko changed schools again, this time to the Yamashita Elementary School in Kagoshima. Fumiko did not stay long with Tsuru before she was shunted to Kiku's mother's house, also in Kagoshima. Fumiko did not get along well with her grandmother, Fuyu, and she did not attend school often during this time. Details of her life between October 1914 and May 1916 are unclear, but after that period she joined Kiku and Kisaburō on the road, assisting them to sell their goods.

In May 1916 the family rented a house in Onomichi, which they used as a base

\textsuperscript{21}Takemoto Chimakichi, Ningen Hayashi Fumiko. (Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1985), 25-29. Takemoto quotes other established biographers of Fumiko, and then provides his own evidence. Chapter 6 in Takemoto's book also discusses the father-daughter relationship and includes correspondence between the two.

\textsuperscript{22}Imagawa Eiko (HFZ vol. 16, 288) quotes Nakahara Masao from Hayashi Fumiko to Shimonoseki (bibliographic information not given).
for their peddling business. Fumiko was enrolled in the fifth grade class of the Second Municipal Elementary School in Onomichi. It was at this school that she came under the guidance of a teacher, Kobayashi Masao 小林正雄, who would remain an important figure in her life. Kobayashi was the first teacher to recognize Fumiko's literary talent; he encouraged her to pursue studies in literature, music, and painting. The following year Fumiko asked her mother for permission to continue her education, and Kiku agreed. After passing the entrance examinations, Fumiko was enrolled in the Onomichi Municipal Girls' High School. She paid her own tuition out of money she earned working evenings at a local sail factory and working weekends at a noodle shop. It was also around this time that Fumiko made the acquaintance of a boy named Okano Gun'ichi 岡野軍一, a student at the Onomichi Commercial High School. Gun'ichi was Fumiko's first love, and when he graduated in 1921 and moved to Tokyo to attend Meiji University, he wrote to Fumiko and encouraged her to come to the capital after she finished school in Onomichi.

Fumiko did well at painting and composition but she struggled with mathematics and science, so she took remedial lessons from Kobayashi at his house. Kiku and Kisaburō, busy working, were often absent from the house when Fumiko came home from school, so to escape the loneliness at home Fumiko would spend time in the school library, where she eagerly read such works as Jack London's (1876-1916) *White Fang* (1906) in translation, and Suzuki Miekichi's 鈴木三重吉 (1882-1936) *Kawara* 瓦 (Tile, 1911). After her reading comprehension improved, she progressed to such works as Abbe Prevost's *L'Histoire du Chevalier des Grieux et de Manon Lescaut* (The History
Life of the Author

of Chevalier des Grieux and Manon Lescaut, 1731), Prosper Merimee's Carmen (1847), and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's Die Leiden des jungen Werthers (The Sorrows of Werther, 1774), all in translation. When she became a second year student she came under the tutelage of Imai Tokusaburō 今井篤三郎, a Waseda University graduate, who introduced her to the poetry of Heinrich Heine (1797-1856), Walt Whitman (1819-1892), Joseph Freiherr von Eichendorff (1788-1857), Novalis (aka Friedrich von Hardenberg, 1772-1801), Karl Busse, (1872-1918), and others. It was also during this time that Fumiko began writing lyrical poetry.

I should like to note here that Fumiko never learned any foreign language well enough to be able to read foreign literature in the original. She studied English in school, but she never gained proficiency. When she read the foreign works listed above, she read Japanese translations of them.23 She studied French at night school during the time that she spent in Paris in the early 1930s, but her French remained rudimentary. She learned a little Chinese when she visited China, but it amounted to no more than isolated phrases. Likewise, she learned fragmented Malay while in Southeast Asia, but never became fluent. Learning words and expressions in foreign languages was entertaining for Fumiko, but she never showed enough interest to continue her studies to an advanced level. She was quite

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23 The Imagawa chronology says that she read Goethe's, Merimee's, and Prevost's works in the Eruteru sōsho エルテル叢書 (Werther Library), a collection of foreign works in translation published by Shinchōsha from 1917-1927. The translations of these works were by the following: L'Histoire du Chevalier des Grieux et de Manon Lescaut by Hirotsu Kazuo 広津和郎 (1891-1968), Carmen by Fuse Nobuo 布施延雄 (1892-?), and Die Leiden des jungen Werthers by Hata Toyokichi 海田豊吉 (1892-1956). (Nihon kindai bungaku daijiten, vol. 6, entry for Eruteru sōsho.)
fond of inserting foreign phrases in her text, especially in French, English, and Chinese. With French and English, either she would write the phrase in *kanji* (Chinese characters) and gloss the characters with the pronunciation, or simply write the word phonetically in *kana*, as in the following examples:

むすびに鰻の焼いたの、マカロニ、鰻の吸物など、食卓の話は古里の山河のこと、紅葡萄が案外飲みて、三人の望郷人は、ひそかに歌をうった。

一週間もべつどへ寝てしまった。まだむ、ぶるうとんに憤の話をしたが、“べりこおるど”寒いならば毛布を借してやろうと云ふ。

With Chinese, she would write the word in *kanji* and gloss it with Chinese pronunciation:

口では早く早と呼売りしてもも、一つの品を売るのに仲々ひまがかかる。

In either case, mistakes were frequent; even allowing for pronunciation changes due to Japanese phonetic limitations, Fumiko was quite often wrong. I conclude therefore that

24From "Raten-ku no sampo" 羅典区の散歩 ("A Walk in the Latin Quarter," in *Kaizō*, October, 1932), 220.

25From "Rondon no geshuku — sono ta" 倫敦の下宿、其の他 ("A London Boarding House and Other Matters," in *Chūō kōron*, April, 1932), 262.

the use of foreign terms was more for decorative emphasis than for anything else. Accuracy was secondary, as long as there was a taste of the foreign language to give the reader a feel for the atmosphere of the story.

In 1921, as a fourth year student at the girls' school, Fumiko had some of her poetry published in *San'yō hinichi shinbun* 山陽日日新聞 under the pen name Akinuma Yōko 秋沼陽子. She also published three poems — "Haien no yūbe" 廃園の夕 (Evening at the Superannuated Estate), "Kanariya no uta" カナリヤの唄 (Canary's Song), and "Inochi no sake" 命の酒 (Elixir of Life) — in *Bingo jiji shinbun* 備後時事新聞. Fumiko graduated from the girls' school with poor marks, ranked 76th in a class of 85 students. The combination of not doing well in the sciences and working nights and weekends seems to have taken its toll on her academic performance but it did not prevent her from graduating. Because of her humble origins and the relatively spotty nature of her early education, Fumiko is often thought of as one who never finished school, but this is simply not the case. While her education was not particularly advanced, it did provide her with the basic skills she needed to become the popular writer that she was. It would be an exaggeration to say that she was an extraordinarily gifted child who taught herself to write; Kobayashi and Imai both encouraged and helped her learn more about literature. However, while she continued to read widely as an adult, her literary curiosity never extended into philosophically complex academic questions.27 Furthermore, her vocabulary never displayed the depth and variety that one

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27 See chapter 2, section entitled "Fear of Ideology."
would associate with the precocious child she is often said to have been. In sum, she was neither a child genius nor an elementary school drop-out; she was a secondary school graduate of average, if not slightly above average, intelligence.

The Move to Tokyo

Fumiko decided to take Gun'ichi's advice and move to Tokyo in April 1922. The city held two promises for Fumiko: first, the chance to live happily ever after in a marriage with her childhood sweetheart; second, the opportunity to advance in the literary world. The majority of writers in Japan at the time lived and worked in Tokyo, and it was generally considered the place one should live if one wanted to establish oneself as a writer.

Once in Tokyo, Fumiko had to support herself while she waited for Gun'ichi to graduate from university. She went through a gambit of jobs: public bath attendant, shoe attendant, 28 electrical factory worker, celluloid toy factory worker, parcel wrapper, office worker in a stockbroker's, and more. Soon after Fumiko had moved to Tokyo, Kiku and Kisaburō also moved there and set up a second-hand clothing store in the Kagurazaka area. Fumiko then worked with her mother transporting goods for the store.

In March 1923 Gun'ichi finally graduated, but things did not go as Fumiko had planned. Gun'ichi's family objected to him marrying Fumiko, presumably because of her dubious background, so he ended up breaking his engagement to her. It was a great

28 This would be a job in which she was responsible for arranging and caring for the shoes that customers at some establishment would leave at the door upon entering the building.
disappointment for her, but she stayed on in Tokyo working in a cafe and living in a rented apartment in Shinjuku, not far from where her parents were living. When the Great Kantō Earthquake hit on September 1, 1923, Fumiko fled the city along the coast to Osaka, then went to Onomichi where she stayed at her former teacher Kobayashi Masao's house. It was during this time that Kobayashi suggested she use the pen name, "Fumiko" 芙美子.29 She later went to Shikoku, where she met with her parents who had fled there from the devastated Tokyo area. From about this time on, she began keeping the diary that was the basis for her first novel, Hōoki.

In 1924, Fumiko returned to Tokyo, where she worked for two weeks as a maid for the writer Chikamatsu Shūkō 近松秋江 (1876-1944). She may have intended to stay longer, but two weeks were all she could stand of such work. As she did a few years earlier, she went from low-wage job to low wage job — celluloid factory worker, salesperson in a wool shop, scrivener's assistant in the city district office, office worker, sushi shop assistant, waitress, etc. — to support herself, but the wages were not sufficient and her parents had to send her money from Onomichi (where they were living) to cover her cost of living.

During this time, she got to know the poet and modern theater actor Tanabe Wakao 田辺若男 (1889-1966). She moved in with him, but the relationship did not last long. One day Fumiko found 2,000 yen and a love letter from another woman in his

29Up until this point, Fumiko had written her name in katakana, as follows: フミコ. The name that Kobayashi suggested was pronounced the same but written differently, in kanji. Fumiko adopted the new characters and used this pen name the rest of her life.
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Fumiko had been working to support the both of them and barely making ends meet, so the realization that he was hording money plus having an affair was enough to make her leave him after only two or three months.30 Through Tanabe, Fumiko met the poet Tomotani Shizue 友谷静栄 and through her Fumiko consequently got to know a group of anarchist poets who met on the second floor of a French restaurant in Hongō. The regulars included Hagiwara Kyōjirō 萩原恭次郎 (1899-1938), Tsuboi Shigeji 壺井繁治 (1897-1975), Okamoto Jun 岡本潤 (1901-1978), Takahashi Shinkichi 高橋新吉 (b. 1901), Ono Tōzaburō 小野十三郎 (b. 1903), Kanbe Yūichi 神戸雄一 (1902-1954), Tsuji Jun 近治 (1884-1944), and Nomura Yoshiya 野村吉哉 (1901-1940). It was here, too, that she met the nineteen-year-old Hirabayashi Taiko 平林たい子 (1905-1972), with whom she became good friends.

The above mentioned anarchist poets are described by Fukuda in the following way:

In the literary world [following the end of World War I], emphasis was placed on "Labor Literature" and the periodical "The Sower" was started as one of the first pieces of Proletarian literature [in Japan]. Among the people in this movement [which focused on Proletarian literature], the anarchists composed a faction which strove for the utopian extremes of 19th century European liberal thought. These Japanese anarchists sought the nihilistic pleasures which had arisen in Germany. They were baptized in the super-realist hues of Dadaism. And they were a bit Bohemian on top of it all.31

30Fukuda Kiyoto, Hayashi Fumiko: Hito to sakuhin, 52.
31Fukuda Kiyoto, Hayashi Fumiko: Hito to sakuhin, 47-48.
While it is possible that the obscurity of this passage is due to Fukuda's writing, other accounts describe this group in a similar fashion; the general consensus is that the writers who met at the French restaurant composed a group who, in the political turmoil following World War I, were interested in a broad spectrum of leftist movements. But while Anarchism, Liberalism, Nihilism, and Dadaism do not share identical ideologies, they do have one thing in common: they are all antiestablishmentarian. It was this unifying aspect that seems to have interested these poets. Certainly this would have attracted Fumiko too, as she was as far distanced from the establishment as possible. The poets' rhetoric soon wore thin on Fumiko, though, and a few years later she decided that their ideas were too extreme for her tastes and she withdrew from the group.  

In July 1924, Tomotani and Fumiko began publishing a pamphlet entitled "Futari" (The Two of Us), which contained poetry by both of them. Funds for publishing "Futari" were provided by Kanbe Yūichi, the publisher of the Dadaist magazine Damudamu and one of the anarchists who met regularly at the French restaurant. Fumiko's poetry, particularly her poem "O-shaka-sama" (Lord Buddha, 1924) was highly praised by Tsuji Jun, but "Futari" was discontinued after only three issues. Fumiko had enough confidence about her writing skills, though, to visit and consult with two well established writers during this time: Uno Kōji (1891-...)

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32 Itagaki Naoko, Hayashi Fumiko no shōgai (Tōkyō: Daiwa shobō, 1965), 86-91.

33 The Nihon kindai bungaku daijiten describes "Futari" as a "poetry magazine" (shi zasshi 詩雑誌) which was an "eight-page pamphlet" (hachi peeji no panfuretto 8ページのパンフレット). See entry for "Futari" in volume 4.
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1961) and Tokuda Shūsei (1871-1943). Uno Kōji gave her advice on how to write, and Tokuda Shūsei gave her financial assistance.

After separating from Tanabe, Fumiko lived briefly in a boarding house with a young student from Tōyō University who also wrote poetry. Shortly after that she became intimate friends with Nomura Yoshiya (one of the leftist writers mentioned above) and ended up moving into his boarding house with him. Nomura was the critic Chiba Kameo's nephew and had published an article in a supplemental issue of Chūō kōron in June 1923, entitled "Puroretaria sakka to sono sakuhin" (Proletarian Writers and Their Works). He later published two poetry anthologies, Hoshi no ongaku (Celestial Music, 1924) and Sankakukei no taiyō (Triangular Sun, 1926).

Fumiko describes Nomura in Hōrōki as a violent man who beat her. In addition to that, he was a sickly man who could not contribute much to supporting the two of them, which left the brunt of the burden on Fumiko. Eventually he, like Tanabe before him, took up another lover and Fumiko left him in 1926 to move in with Hirabayashi Taiko who had also recently parted with her lover, Iida Tokutarō (1903-1933).

For a while Fumiko supported herself by selling manuscripts and working as a café waitress, but Hirabayashi soon decided to marry Kobori Jinji (1901-34). There are two particularly violent scenes: one on page 229 and the other on page 247 in Shinchō HFZ vol. 1.

Fumiko's relationship with Nomura, as well as her other lovers, is discussed in detail in Muramatsu Sadataka's "Hayashi Fumiko no dansei henrei" in Sakka no kakei to kankyō (Tōkyō: Shibundo, 1964), 202-217.

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1959), a colleague of hers, which left Fumiko without a roommate. She temporarily moved back home to Onomichi and lived with her parents, where she wrote the first draft of the short story "Fükin to uo no machi," which is about her childhood in Onomichi. She then returned to Tokyo and rented a room with money she earned working as a waitress in Shinjuku. It was then that, while visiting Hirabayashi Taiko's former lover Iida Tokutarō at his home in Hongo, she met a painter named Tezuka Rokubin 手塚緑敏 (1902-1989), the man she would eventually marry.

**Marriage and a Budding Career**

Rokubin was born January 6, 1902, the second son of a farming family in Nagano Prefecture. When he met Fumiko, he was studying Western-style painting in Tokyo while receiving an allowance from home. He was a quiet and friendly man, quite a contrast to Fumiko's previous lovers. The two were married in December 1926. Years later Rokubin would change his family registry to Fumiko's and take her surname, Hayashi. He also later abandoned his painting career, although he continued to paint recreationally, and devoted himself to promoting his wife's writing career. He also managed the family's finances shrewdly enough to amass quite an estate; even after Fumiko's early death in 1951, Rokubin continued to live off estate funds until his own death in 1989.

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36This name, 'Rokubin,' is not really his given name. When asked by Inoue about how he happened to have such an odd name, he replied that his real name is 'Masaharu,' but that the characters used to write 'Masaharu' 玛敏, are easily mistaken for those used to write 'Rokubin' 緑敏. Over the course of time, Rokubin accepted the fact that people read his name incorrectly. Rokubin told Inoue, "Everybody calls me 'Rokubin,' so that will do fine." (Inoue, *Hayashi Fumiko to sono shūhen*, 276).
Rokubin was a patient and good-natured man who was able to live with Fumiko's habit of disappearing for days at a time when she set off on trips by herself. All records indicate that the two of them had a happy marriage, despite the amount of time they did not spend together; Fumiko almost never travelled with her husband, and she spent quite a bit of time on the road.

In January 1927, Fumiko and Rokubin rented an apartment in Shinjuku. At the time, Rokubin had not quit working yet and was painting theater backdrops. Then in May, they moved again to another rented house in Wadahori. Fumiko's short story *Seihin no sho* was based on the couple's life during this time. In July 1927 Rokubin went to his hometown in Nagano, after which he passed through Onomichi where he met up with Fumiko who had arrived there earlier on her own. They went together to visit Okano Gun'ichi (Fumiko's first love), then went to Takamatsu and visited there with Fumiko's parents, Kiku and Kisaburō, for about three weeks.

In October 1928, Fumiko published *Aki ga kitan da* (Autumn Has Come) the first installment of what would later be the novel *Hōrōki* in the magazine *Nyonin geijutsu* (Women and the Arts). The magazine had been founded in 1928 by Hasegawa Shigure (1879-1941), a playwright and poet. Hasegawa's husband and sponsor of *Nyonin geijutsu*, the writer Mikami Otokichi (1891-1944), had admired a poem of Fumiko's that Hasegawa had earlier

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37 For more background on the establishment of *Nyonin geijutsu* and other works published in it, along with commentary on *Hōrōki*, see Takami Jun's "Zen josei shinshutsu kōshinkyoku" in *Shōwa bungaku seisuisshi 1* (Tokyo: Bungei shunjūsha, 1958), 179-202.
published in *Nyonin geijutsu*. Fumiko had given the manuscript for *Aki ga kitan da* to an editor in the cultural affairs division at *Yomiuri shinbun*, a man by the name of Hayashi Jōji 林 裕二, but he had thrown it in his desk drawer and not looked at it further. Upon hearing this, Mikami made arrangements for *Nyonin geijutsu* to acquire the manuscript, which was subsequently published and received quite favorably by the readership. More details on the publication history of *Hōrōki* follow in chapter 3, but here I should like to note that the appearance of *Hōrōki* marked Fumiko's true debut as an author. Up until that time she had published a half dozen poems and short stories in various magazines and newspapers, but none of them were of lasting consequence.

In June 1929, Fumiko published an anthology of her poetry entitled *Ao uma o mitari*. It was the first of eight anthologies she would publish between 1929 and 1939, and it was perhaps the most well-known. Fumiko's interest in poetry started when she was quite young, but it was not for her poetry that she later became famous. She persisted in writing poems though, and perhaps more of her poetry was read as part of her fiction — she often inserted poetry into her prose — than independently. Of the 34

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39 Of the 56 published works cited in the Imagawa chronology between 1928-1930, only four were selected to be included in the *Hayashi Fumiko zenshū* (HFZ). Between 1931-32, only 9 out of 59 works were included in the *zenshū*. The percentage of included works increase gradually over the following years, but one can see by these numbers that many of Fumiko's early works have been ignored by editors, presumably because the quality of writing is substandard.

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poems printed\textsuperscript{40} in \textit{Ao uma o mitari}, 18 were originally published as part of \textit{Höröki}. She noted in the prologue of \textit{Ao uma o mitari} that all the poems had been published elsewhere before being included in the anthology, but the details of that remain unclear.\textsuperscript{41} In any case, \textit{Ao uma o mitari} was the result of ten years of writing.\textsuperscript{42} The favorable response that both \textit{Ao uma o mitari} and \textit{Höröki} received prompted other publishers to solicit Fumiko's manuscripts.

In January 1930, Fumiko made the first of many trips abroad: at the invitation of the Taiwanese Government-general\textsuperscript{43} she and several other women writers went on a lecture tour to Taiwan. The travelogues which Fumiko wrote about this trip, "Taiwan fūkei" 台湾風景 (The Taiwanese Landscape, 1930), "Taiwan no subuniiru" 台湾のスブニール (A Souvenir from Taiwan, 1930) and "Taiwan o tabi shite" 台湾を旅して (Travelling in Taiwan, 1930) were the first of many travelogues which she would write in the course of her career. Between 1930 and 1943, Fumiko would make no fewer than a dozen trips abroad and her experiences on those trips became important

\textsuperscript{40}In the \textit{zenshū} only seven of the 34 poems were re-printed. See \textit{Shincho HFZ} vol. 1, 7-25.

\textsuperscript{41}Mori Eiichi, \textit{Hayashi Fumiko no keisei: Sono sei to hyōgen}, 18.

\textsuperscript{42}In the prologue, Fumiko wrote, "Here I have collected all the poems from the past ten years of which I am fond." (Mori Eiichi, \textit{Hayashi Fumiko no keisei: Sono sei to hyōgen}, 18).

\textsuperscript{43}One could consider this the Japanese government, as Taiwan was a colony of Japan at the time. Likewise, given Taiwan's colonial status, this trip was not technically a trip to a foreign country, but given that Taiwan was culturally and historically not part of Japan, and that it ceased to be a colony after a fifty-year period, I shall here consider it a foreign country for all intents and purposes.
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material for both her travelogues and fiction.
In August 1930, Horoki became a bestseller when it was published as part o f the
Shin’ei bungaku sosho

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§§t fli" series published by Kaizo sha £*$C3 s %t-

With the proceeds from that, Fumiko set off in mid-August on a solo journey to mainland
China. She travelled throughout Manchuria and then on to the region around Shanghai,
visiting the following cities en route: Harbin, Changchun, Mukden,44 Fushun, Jinzhou,
Sanshili, Dalian, Qingdao, Nanjing, Hangzhou, and Suzhou. She returned to Japan on
September 25, 1930. Many sources cite Fumiko's later trip to Paris in 1931 as the treat
she gave herself after receiving the proceeds from the publication o f Horoki,45 but while
the Paris trip was certainly partially financed by those proceeds, it was the trip to China
in 1930 that was the immediate reward of her literary success.
Fumiko spent the beginning o f 1931 travelling in Japan with her mother and
grandmother, publishing various short stories including her famous "Fukin to uo no
machi," and attending various conferences, hi the end o f the year she decided, rather on
spur o f die moment, to take a trip to France.46 In early November 1931, at the age o f 28,
44Present-day

Shenyang.

45For examples, see Donald Keene's Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature in the
Modem Era, 1141 and Fukuda Kiyoto’s Hayashi Fumiko ~ Hito to sakuhin, 62.
“^noue Takaharu, in his biography of Fumiko, describes Fumiko showing up at his
family's house on the morning o f November 8 and announcing that she was leaving for
Europe. Inoue writes, "My mother ran out to greet her and Fumiko said, 'Yoshiko, I’m
going to Paris, France! • ■ -What a surprise, eh?’ It was entirely unexpected and all
Yoshiko could say was, 'Really?’" (Inoue Takaharu, Hayashi Fumiko to sono shuhen, 33).
Here and throughout this text I have used small 'bullets,' i.e., dots in the middle
o f the line o f print, as distinct from ellipses. The bullets indicate a similar kind of
punctuation in the original text which shows a pause, hesitation, or change o f subject on

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Fumiko set out on her journey to Paris via Korea, Manchuria, Siberia, and Eastern Europe. She arrived in Paris on December 23, 1931, where she stayed, except for a month-long sojourn in London (January 23 - February 25), until May of the following year. By then she had run out of money and Europe had ceased to interest her all that much; she wrote to her publisher at the magazine *Kaizō* and asked for money to pay for passage home. The money was sent, albeit after a small delay. The return trip was also booked on third-class, but this time aboard the Japanese ocean liner, Haruna-maru. The ship made stops in Naples and Shanghai, and in the latter port Fumiko had the opportunity to meet the Chinese novelist Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936), about whom she later wrote an essay.47 Fumiko arrived home in Japan on June 16, 1932.48 It was quite an adventure; as discussed earlier, Fumiko's foreign language capabilities were limited at best. Moreover, in keeping with her opinion that travel should be done alone, she set out by herself, which is extraordinary considering her gender and the general conservative attitude towards women at the time.

While in Paris, Fumiko attended night school to learn French, although her

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47 The essay is entitled "Ro Jin tsuioku" 魯迅追憶 (A Reminiscence of Lu Xun), in *Kaizō*, Tōkyō: Kaizō sha, April, 1937.

48 This journey is recorded in many sources on Fumiko. The dates given here are from the Imagawa chronology in *HFZ* vol. 16, 294.

49 See translation of "Bungaku · tabi · sono ta" 文学・旅・その他 (Literature · Travel · Etc., 1936) in appendix.
travelogues from the time indicate that she skipped class often and was not serious about her studies. She also spent a considerable amount of time being a tourist, travelling about to see various famous places in the Paris and London areas. She attended the theater, concerts, and films, and visited art museums, where she was particularly impressed with paintings by Paul Gauguin (1848-1903), Pierre Renoir (1841-1919), Jean Corot (1796-1875), and Maurice Utrillo (1883-1955). Her friends were predominantly from the Japanese expatriate community in Paris, which meant that while she was not very lonely she did not have many native acquaintances. Her fellow expatriates kept her supplied with recent Japanese publications and she took advantage of the free time she had to do quite a bit of leisure reading. She continued to write and send manuscripts to her publishers while she was in France, which probably contributed to Kaizo's willingness to send money for the passage home. She generally enjoyed her time in Paris, but the inability to communicate in French beyond the rudimentary level and the strict budget on which she had to live made her want to leave after six months.

Popularity and Acceptance as a Writer

When Fumiko returned to Japan, her writing was very much in demand. Donald Keene notes that, "Indeed, it is probably no exaggeration to say that she was the most

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51 "Pari (no) nikki," in *Shinchō HFZ* vol. 8, 152. The title of "Pari (no) nikki" is alternately cited with and without the particle no lsi so I have chosen to place it in parentheses. The version used for this paper is the one found in *Hayashi Fumiko zenshū*, and does not have the particle.
popular writer in the country." From her return to Japan to September 1933, she spent quite a bit of time travelling domestically, both on lecture tours and for recreation. This period also marks the first time that Fumiko was financially secure. Proceeds from her writing were finally sufficient to support herself and her family; previously she had given what she could to her step-father, Kisaburō, to support his business ventures, but these had invariably failed, so at this point Fumiko set him up in retirement. She writes in her essay "Chiisaki kyōchi" (Little Viewpoint, 1934) that the feelings she had for her step-father were not those she had for her mother:

If I had to make some sort of decent distinction about it, I suppose more than 'like' or 'dislike' I would have to say that I have begun to feel pity for my step-father. It is not that I am bothered by the thought of him, but there is nothing I can do about the fact that my affections for him do not match those I have for my mother.

Kisaburō's repeated failures in business, which caused the family to live hand-to-mouth and which later caused Fumiko to feel obligated to send money home even when she herself was living on an extremely constrained budget, contributed to the negative feelings

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53 Imagawa records Fumiko's destinations and travel dates in detail in her chronology, *HFZ* vol. 16, 295.


55 *HFZ* vol. 16, 107.
that Fumiko had towards him.\(^{56}\) She tried to encourage him to retire earlier, but to no avail;\(^{57}\) Kiku and Kisaburō continued to start new businesses and fail at them until finally they accepted her offer to support them in retirement in early 1933. Mere months later, in November, Kisaburō contracted an acute and fatal case of pneumonia. Kiku moved in with Fumiko and Rokubin, and they lived together — although they moved from residence to residence — until near the end of Fumiko's life.

On September 4, 1933, Fumiko was taken into police custody on suspicion of having promised financial support to the Communist Party.\(^{58}\) She remained in custody for eight days; it was an experience which she wrote about later in the short story "Yume ichiya" 夢一夜 (A Night of Dreams, 1947), in which the heroine is imprisoned for ten days for 'thought crimes,' although she does not know what she did to bring such a fate.

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\(^{56}\) Fumiko wrote a short essay entitled "Kane" 金 (Money, 1939) in which she describes a debt collector coming to her house to collect on a debt which her late father had incurred twenty years earlier. She was quite upset when she found that Kisaburō designated her, at the time eleven years old, as the guarantor on the debt. The fact that her parents' debts could come back to haunt her after so much time was very disturbing to her, and she writes that she reproached her mother for being involved in such an act. (See "Kane" in Shinkyō to fūkaku, Tōkyō: Sōgen sha, 1939, 109-111.)

\(^{57}\) This is recorded in two places: the final section of part 2 of Hōrōki (Shinchō HFZ, vol 2, 181-186) and "Chiisaki kyōchī" (HFZ vol. 16, 105-111). The latter is almost identical to the former except for a few editorial changes.

\(^{58}\) Richard H. Mitchell, in his study of censorship in Japan, notes that "Writers did not need to publish to come within reach of police power; a favorite police charge against authors was to accuse them of contributing funds to the Japanese communists (a violation of the Peace Preservation Law). Kobayashi Takiji was arrested on this charge in January 1931, as was Hayashi Fumiko in 1933." The Peace Preservation Law (chian iji hō 治安維持法) was a 1925 law which called for imprisonment of "anyone who has organized an association with the objective of altering the kokutai [national polity] or the form of government..." (Richard H. Mitchell, Censorship in Imperial Japan, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983, 271-272 and 196-197.)
upon herself. Through the voice of the heroine, Fumiko ruminates on what 'thought' is:

Just what is 'thought'? Is it something you get from someone? Do people have their own thoughts? The thoughts that people have, that's not 'thought,' but rather each individual's interpretation. Just what is thought?\(^{59}\)

This passage is not as lucid as could be, but it shows that Fumiko was thinking about and questioning the legitimacy of the charges against her. Being taken into custody must have been a rude awakening for Fumiko, who up until that time had only dabbled in political and philosophical thought. Even during the days when she spent time with the leftist poets she was never a proponent of one particular school,\(^{60}\) nor was she ever politically zealous, so being arrested for her political patronage would have been a shock.

1934 and 1935 saw Fumiko busily travelling around the country giving lectures and paying visits to friends and supporters. She was writing and publishing many short stories, but the main publications from these years were second editions of the works that made her famous: *Hōrōki* and "Seihin no sho." In September 1935, Fumiko published one of her most celebrated short stories, "Kaki," about a young man, Shūkichi, whose life is a downward curve into failure. What made "Kaki" different from other stories Fumiko had written up to that point were a) a story line not based on the author's personal experiences, b) a male protagonist and c) mature character development heretofore unseen in Fumiko's writing. Fumiko had written non-autobiographical stories before, but "Kaki"

\(^{59}\)"Yume ichiya" in *Shinchō HFZ* vol. 11, 69.  
\(^{60}\)See the translation of her essay, "Watashi no chiheisen" 私の地平線 (My Horizon, 1931) in appendix for more detail.
was a true departure in that its protagonist, Shūkichi, shares nothing in common with Fumiko save poverty.

While "Kaki" was a successful, popular work, it still had one major fault: in it, Fumiko tries to use political vocabulary to write about the plight of the working class, but her days spent with the leftist poets in the French restaurant were over and her sympathies towards leftist movements were not strong enough to make the political passages convincing.

"Kaki" is the story of a man who loses his job sewing cheap satchels because his employer mechanizes the shop. He loses self-respect, and gradually goes insane with paranoia. The story is touching in places — Fumiko depicts Shūkichi's faltering relationship with his common-law wife quite well — but didactic. The narrator's emphasis on Shūkichi's oppression is excessive and the leftist lectures are too stilted to fit smoothly into the text. In the following scene, Shūkichi warns a friend and fellow worker, Tomikawa, about what will befall laborers such as themselves in the future:

Maybe you haven't heard yet, but it seems there's a new factory in Minoda that's started mass production of low grade goods. I guess all that stock stored in Osaka will be counted as wasted labor wages. The market will be overflowing with machine-sewn cheap leather. How wretched we'll be! And when the boss-man expands the factory, even hand satchels and Chiyoda purses will be spit out by machines. I've got to consider the matter carefully. It's all getting quite perilous, isn't it? I don't like the thought of it, but I suppose I could always start a tempura shop — you know, serve sashimi and boiled vegetables — like those stores in Tengin.

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61 Keene says that "Kaki" is "the depiction of an inarticulate, retarded man," but this is incorrect. Shūkichi is inarticulate, but not retarded. (Donald Keene, *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature in the Modern Era*, 1142.)
I can't continue making a big deal about being an artisan of azuma\textsuperscript{62} satchels.\textsuperscript{63}

This language is hardly what one would expect from a timid man who is slowly becoming mentally unstable. Fumiko tried to make Shūkichi both a victim and a mouthpiece, but it does not work well. The reader is expected to sympathize with him, but that is difficult when he persists in self-destructive behavior despite the fact that he has demonstrated a strong political awareness of his plight.

The main problem with "Kaki" is that Fumiko was writing on something about which she herself had doubts. Shūkichi's thoughts are mechanical, and Fumiko never explains exactly why he is so fond of his low class job. He works slowly, and the finished product is mediocre. The reader might expect him to jump at a new opportunity, but instead he regresses into paranoia when the prospect of factory mechanization appears. Being a self-made woman who did not romanticize poverty, Fumiko had difficulty portraying a sympathetic protagonist who did. Moreover, the vocabulary of the leftist movement did not suit her writing style; stiff words such as "wages" (kōchin 工賃) sound awkward embedded in paragraphs that deal with intense emotion. Two years after writing "Kaki," Fumiko called the incentive which drove her to write it a "foul wind."\textsuperscript{64}

In response to the success of "Kaki," Fumiko held a commemorative gathering (kinenkai 記念会) to celebrate its publication on November 14, 1935. The number of

\textsuperscript{62}Azuma refers to cheap cloth satchels in which women carried cigarettes.

\textsuperscript{63}Shinchō HFZ vol. 3, 199.

\textsuperscript{64}"Watashi no shigoto" 私の仕事 (My Work, 1937) Shinchō HFZ vol. 19, 246.
famous writers who attended attests to the fame and acceptance that Fumiko had gained; guests included Uno Köji, Hirotsu Kazuo, Satō Haruo 佐藤春夫 (1892-1964), Tokuda Shūsei, Hayashi Fusao 林房雄 (1903-1975), Hasegawa Shigure, Yoshiya Nobuko 吉屋信子 (1896-1973), and Sata Ineko 佐多稻子 (b. 1904). Fumiko paid for the entire event, a considerable sum of 254 yen. 65

There was another event which signalled Fumiko's acceptance into the bundan 文壇. 66 In June 1936, the French writer Jean Cocteau (1889-1963) stopped in Japan while he was on a world tour. Fumiko was selected by Kikuchi Kan 菊地寛 (1888-1948), one of the most prominent figures in the bundan, to be his representative to go and meet Cocteau at the Kabuki Theater and present him with a bouquet of flowers. Fumiko had met Cocteau before in France, which was probably one of the reasons Kikuchi selected her, but Kikuchi would not have chosen her solely for that reason.

It should be noted that even after Fumiko was an established writer she was critical of the bundan and its tendency to be an old-boy network. In her collection of essays Sōsaku nōto 創作ノート (Creative Notebook, 1938) she says that the bundan was an interesting entity because they gave no consideration to anything published in women's magazines. She went further to say that the reason young writers were unable to write with any freedom was because the literary world refused to extend a helping hand from


66 "literary world." This was not a formal group, but rather a generally recognized group of writers who were considered accomplished in their art.
behind the high walls with which it surrounded itself.\textsuperscript{67} The grudge that Fumiko harbored against the establishment did not prevent her from becoming an accepted part of it, but she never seemed eager to build literary friendships for the sake of social connections.

In October 1936, Fumiko set out on a short trip to northeastern China, where she met up with Rokubin, who had been in China since May of that year on a sketching trip. They returned to Japan together shortly after that. In November 1937, Rokubin was conscripted into the army and was stationed in Utsunomiya where he served as an assistant nurse for two years, during which time Fumiko apparently had occasional contact with him. She wrote about the day Rokubin’s draft notice came in her essay “Oshō zengo” 应招前後 (Before and After the Conscription, 1937). Both she and Rokubin expected the draft notice, so its arrival was no surprise, but Rokubin’s departure left Fumiko slightly numb and critical of the war. She did not share the pride that Rokubin’s father expressed at the thought of his son serving in the army.\textsuperscript{68} She did not write much about him during his absence, although she does note that she thinks of him while talking with Japanese soldiers in China, and the language indicates warm feelings and affection for her husband.\textsuperscript{69} Rokubin remained in the army until July 1939.

Establishment of a Permanent Residence

\textsuperscript{67}As quoted by Mori Eiichi, Hayashi Fumiko no keisei: sono sei to hyōgen, 131.

\textsuperscript{68}HFZ vol. 16, 141-144.

\textsuperscript{69}Hokugan butai 北岸部隊 (The North Bank Unit, 1939) in HFZ vol. 12, 262. A soldier asks Fumiko how Rokubin is, and, touched by the soldier’s thoughtfulness, she replies that he is still stationed in a hospital in Utsunomiya.
From the time she arrived in Tokyo in 1922 until late 1939 Fumiko changed residences at least a dozen times, not to mention the amount of moving that she did as a child. This peripatetic lifestyle was second nature to her, but a turn of events in 1940 changed her situation. At the time she was living in Shimo-ochiai, and when she found herself forced to move she decided to buy a house instead of rent one. She wrote later of her decision:

I never imagined that in my life I would build a house but then I absolutely had to move out of the rented house I’d been used to for eight years so I took the time to walk around looking for a house to rent. At first I thought I’d like to live in the downtown area of Yanaka but after getting to know the place I couldn’t find a house I liked. Thinking again, I found it hard to leave this Shimo-ochiai that I had become so used to and I began to think that it would be nice to get a plot of land in this area and build a little house.70

In reality, the building project on which Fumiko embarked was far from "small." She put an enormous amount of time and effort into the construction of the house where she would live the rest of her life. If she was going to build a house, she was going to build it right:

Finding the money to build the house was difficult so a year went by before we could start construction. In that time I found nearly 200 reference books on house building and gained a rough idea about timber, tiles, and carpentry.

I wanted to choose a first-class carpenter.
First I drew up a plan of my house and showed an elevation of the

70This passage, written by Fumiko, is translated and printed in a pamphlet published by the Hayashi Fumiko Memorial Hall, but bibliographic information has been omitted. (Hayashi Fumiko, Hayashi Fumiko Memorial Hall Pamphlet, 1992, Shinjuku, Tōkyō.)
plot to the builder Yamaguchi Bunshō who worked on and improved the plan for over a year. I was convinced that it was important for my house to let the four winds pass through it. I also wanted to save money on the spare rooms and spend extra on the tearoom, bathroom, water closet and kitchen.

Even so, we didn't have the money saved up for building the house so it was rather like crossing a dangerous bridge but if it was to be my home for life the greatest thing was to make it a sweet and beautiful one. Well, the knowledge gained from my reference books made me want to find a good carpenter so I spent months studying the work of one who was introduced to me.71

The plot of land was purchased in December 1939. The house was a splendid affair with a large garden, a pond where Fumiko raised gold fish, and a separate store house. The house itself was divided into two wings, with rooms for Rokubin's studio, Fumiko's study, Fumiko's library, Kiku's own room, a guest parlor, and three other general purpose rooms. This house was about as distanced from Fumiko's hardscrabble Hōrōki days as possible; by any definition, it was a wealthy family's estate.72

Wartime Travel and Reportage

By late 1937, Japanese military activity in China had greatly escalated and the fall of Nanjing to Japanese troops in December 1937 prompted Fumiko to travel to Shanghai and Nanjing, this time as a reporter for Mainichi shinbun. This was not a unique thing to do, though, as Donald Keene notes:

71Hayashi Fumiko Memorial Hall pamphlet.

72Rokubin continued to live in the house after Fumiko's death until his own death in 1989. In accordance with his will, it has since been converted into the Hayashi Fumiko Memorial Hall, a private museum.
No sooner had the fighting broken out near Peking than various magazines dispatched war correspondents to China. As early as July [1937] Chūō kōron sent the novelists Hayashi Fusao and Ozaki Shirō to Shanghai, and in September Bungei shunjū sent the dramatist Kishida Kunio and the critic Kobayashi Hideo. These writers, and many others who followed them to China, normally described their experiences first in newspaper and magazine articles, later in full-length books....

Most of the correspondents, whether sent by the government or by some magazine, spent no more than a month or two in China, just long enough to become accustomed to the sight of Chinese corpses littering the wayside. The reporting of the scenes of war was almost always on a popular level, and the interesting, if ill-informed comments undoubtedly influenced the way Japanese at home thought of the war.73

Fumiko was one of these correspondents; she accompanied Japanese troops on the front for one month and was the first Japanese woman in the city of Nanjing after its fall.

The Japanese government began to realize that popular writers could help their cause by glorifying events at the front for those citizens supporting the war effort at home.

Keene records:

In August 1938, the Information Section of the Cabinet (Naikaku Jōhōbu) had held a meeting with various literary men to discuss the participation of writers in the projected attack on Hankow.74 All except Yokomitsu Riichi, who asked to be sent to Peking, expressed their eagerness to serve with the troops. An organization, known as the Pen Unit (Pen butai), was formed, but so many writers wished to join that not all could be


74Keene uses the Wade-Giles romanization system for Chinese names, where I use the Pinyin romanization system. Thus, Peking is Beijing, Hankow is Hankou, and Nanking is Nanjing.
accommodated.75

Fumiko was one of the writers who was accepted into the Pen butai 並行部隊, and it was as a Pen butai reporter that she went to Shanghai in November 1938. In an event that almost every biographer has recorded, Fumiko was incensed that her rival, Yoshiya Nobuko, had been chosen by Mainichi shinbun to cover the fall of Hankou in November 1938. She responded by abandoning the Pen butai group and boarding an Asahi shinbun 朝日新聞 truck headed for the front. She was the first Japanese woman in Hankou after its fall, as she had been in Nanjing the previous year. Asahi shinbun published her account of the trip in December 1938, entitled Sensen 戦線 (Battlefront), which sings praises of the Japanese army. A second account, Hokugan butai was published by Chūō kōron the next month. Both works express the same emotions; indeed, the two contain many similar passages, indicating that Fumiko was stretching her manuscript to meet demands from two different publishers. Fumiko paid a price for her ambitiousness; she fell victim to the malaria epidemic that ran through the Japanese troops, although it seems her case was a relatively mild one.76

From October 1942 through May of the following year, Fumiko travelled to French

75Donald Keene, "The Barren Years: Japanese War Literature," 84. For more information on the Information Section of the Cabinet and the Pen Unit, see Richard H. Mitchell's study of censorship in Japan, Censorship in Imperial Japan, 286-287 and 294-295.

76She reports in Hokugan butai that malaria was commonplace and that the soldiers she met considered it a routine sort of disease to contract. (Hokugan butai in HFZ vol. 12, 278). Inoue Takaharu also mentions that Fumiko herself contracted malaria in Hayashi Fumiko to sono shūhen, 74.
Indochina, Singapore, Java, Borneo, and Sumatra as a member of the Japanese News Corps (*Hōdōhan* 報道班), a large group of writers sent to the area in 1941 and 1942 "to create friendship and understanding between the local people and the Japanese" as part of the Japanese government's effort to promote the idea of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. Like other writers in the Corps, Fumiko spent most of her time getting to know the natives of the area. The works that resulted, including "Sekidō no shita" and "Sumatora — Seifū no shima" (Sumatra — Island of the Western Wind, 1943), are void of the political agenda seen in *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai*; indeed, they almost never mention the war. Fumiko's experiences in French Indochina also became important material for her later novel *Ukigumo*, about a young Japanese typist stationed in Dalat during the war. As fate would have it, this trip to Southeast Asia was the last trip that Fumiko would make overseas.

1943 was the last year during the war in which Fumiko published. By that time, war privations and government censorship made publishing extremely difficult. The Japanese government placed strict controls on newspapers, magazines, and publishers of...
books, and although Fumiko was a very popular writer, that did not prevent her from being affected by war; *Hōrōki, Nakimushi kozō*, and *Joyūki* (Diary of an Actress, 1940) were all banned in 1941.

**Motherhood: The Adoption of Tai**

The next two years found Fumiko and her family evacuated from Tokyo to the countryside where they rode out the remainder of the war. Before she was evacuated, though, Fumiko did one thing of lasting significance: she adopted a son. According to a letter sent from Rokubin to Inoue Takaharu, Fumiko had been thinking about adopting a child for a while, and thought she preferred a daughter over a son. She had spoken to Rokubin about it, but did not tell him when, if ever, she planned on actually adopting. Then, while Rokubin was out of town on a trip to Shinshū, Fumiko received word that there was a baby boy available for adoption. She went with a friend, identified only as Hanzawa, to the hospital to get the baby, but stayed in the car for fear that she would be recognized by the hospital staff. Hanzawa handled the details and returned to the car with the baby whom Fumiko named Tai.

When Fumiko wired Rokubin to tell him that she had adopted a baby he was

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80For statistics on the number of publishers permitted to continue publishing and other details on government controls of the publishing industry beginning in 1943, see Richard H. Mitchell's *Censorship in Imperial Japan*, 332-335.

81Reprinted in *Hayashi Fumiko to sono shūhen*, 273-275.

82Rokubin does not provide Hanzawa's given name in his letter to Inoue Takaharu. He merely describes Hanzawa as "a friend of [Fumiko's]." (Inoue, *Hayashi Fumiko to sono shūhen*, 274.)
surprised to say the least. He returned home immediately to see Fumiko and Tai and apparently was happy with the adoption. After Fumiko's death, some manuscripts of hers were discovered which told of Tai actually being her own biological son. This sent a wave of doubt through Rokubin's mind which was not quelled until 1961, when he heard an account of the adoption from Hanzawa which matched every detail of what he had heard from Fumiko herself. This convinced him that the manuscripts were no more than fictional pieces, although he remained miffed as to why Fumiko wrote them in the first place.  

This episode in Fumiko's life reveals two things about her personality: first, that she was wont to do rash things, such as adopt a son while her husband was out of town. Second, that she freely fictionalized events in her life with a realism that fooled even her husband. This event should give all biographers pause, as so much biography is based on Fumiko's own accounts of her life. Certainly the earlier mentioned fictionalized events in *Hitore no shōgai* are another good reason to be wary of using Fumiko's writing as fact-based information.

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83 Inoue Takaharu, *Hayashi Fumiko to sono shūhen*, 272-276. In his letter to Inoue, Rokubin expresses puzzlement at why Fumiko constructed such fictions about her son. He also notes that Tai's biological mother was a student at a girls' finishing school and his biological father a journalist.

84 I have made efforts to avoid using Fumiko's fiction as source material for this biographical chapter, but the lack of bibliographical information in most Hayashi Fumiko biographies leaves me in doubt as to their original sources. In some cases it is clear that the biographer has used *Hōrōki* as a source, and those have been noted with a footnote in this text. I have tried to use only those "facts" which have outside proof to substantiate them, such as Fumiko's efforts to make Kisaburō retire, and his refusal to do so.
In any case, Fumiko was thrilled with her new son and expressed no disappointment in having a son instead of a daughter. She took great joy in being a mother and spent a considerable amount of time with Tai despite her busy schedule. Fumiko wrote two short stories about the process of adopting a child, one before she adopted Tai and one after. The former, "Fūbai" 風媒 (The Anemophily, 1941), is about a young, single woman, Sanae, who has her heart set on adopting a child. She does not want to get married, but she does want to be a mother. Sanae lies to the adoption agency and tells them that she is a widow. The agency proceeds with the arrangements and Sanae cannot sleep at night for the joyful anticipation in her heart; she lies in bed thinking about buying milk and baby clothes. Ultimately, Sanae's single status is exposed and she is rejected by the adoption agency. This leaves her heartbroken and angry that she will not be given the chance to prove what a good mother she could be.

The second story about adoption, "Nioi sumire" 匙ひ 萱 (The Sweet Violet, 1949) is about an aged woman, Tsuta, who reflects on her life and her relationship with her adopted daughter, Noriko. The two women have markedly different personalities but seem to get along nonetheless. Tsuta has a less than conventional life, having had two lovers and never marrying, but Noriko's presence seems to bring her a sense of stability. "Nioi sumire" should also be noted for the flashback scene at the mid-wife's when Tsuta receives her new daughter; the transaction is conducted in a cold and business-like fashion, much like what must have been the case when Fumiko's friend, Hanzawa, rushed into the hospital to get Tai while Fumiko waited outside.

While "Fūbai" expresses the fearful anticipation Fumiko must have felt before
adopting Tai, "Nioi sumire" expresses the hopes she had to grow closer to her son as he became an adult. Sadly, Fumiko never had the chance to see her son mature to adulthood; she died when he was only eight years old. Tai himself died a premature death in 1959 when he fell from a train while on his way home from a pleasure outing.85

Fumiko and her family spent most of their time in 1944-45 in the countryside in Shinshū. Fumiko kept herself busy writing children's stories for the children in the village where they were staying. Writing children's stories was an ongoing side interest of hers; she had published some stories in 193686 and those she wrote while evacuated in the countryside were later published in 1946 and 1947.87 In 1950, she published a collection of Hans Christian Andersen's stories which she had re-written.88

Post War Career

The end of the war brought the Hayashi family back to Tokyo. They moved back into the big house in Shimo-ochiai in November 1945. From that point on, Fumiko spent most of her time either in Shimo-ochiai or in the resort town of Atami. On occasion she would travel to other locations in Japan, but her real travelling days were over. Her later

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85 Inoue Takaharu, Hayashi Fumiko to sono shūhen, 85 and 273.

86 Of note, "Kaeru" 蛙 (The Frog, August, 1936, in Akai tori 赤い鳥), "Ehon" 絵 本 (Picture Book, June, 1936, in Bungei tsushin 文芸通信), and "Kurara" クララ (Kurara, June, 1935 in Bungei 文芸).

87 See "Ukigumo" section of chapter 6 for a list of these works.

88 Andersen dōwa アンデルセンどうわ (Andersen's Fairy Tales, in Sekai dōwa shū 世界童話集, Tōkyō: Akane shobō, 1950). This is a collection of eight of Andersen's children's stories, including "The Little Mermaid" and "The Ugly Duckling."
Life of the Author

writing saw a departure from the optimistic tone so typical of her before and during the war, something I believe was due to a combination of disillusionment after the Japanese surrender and dissatisfaction with her stationary life. No longer was she the representative of the working class, illegitimate children, and liberated women. Gone were the days when she was the champion of the underdogs. Now she was wealthy, married, and quite established in the bundan.

She spent the last five years of her life writing almost constantly at a cruel pace, something which may have contributed to the heart attack that killed her at the young age of forty-eight. Her physician warned her in late 1950 that she must rest more to avoid aggravating her chronic valvular heart disease, so she made it a point to spend one week a month convalescing in Atami, but she always took her work with her.

It was during these last years that she published Ukigumo, generally considered her best work. Other major works she published during this time include Mukuge (Rose of Sharon, 1949), "Hone" (Bones, 1949), "Suisen" (Narcissus, 1949), "Dauntaun," "Gyūniku" (Beef, 1949), and Aware hitozuma (Pitiful Wife, 1950). At the time of her death, she was working on three different novels: Jokazoku (A Family of Women), Sazanami (Waves), and Mesi, as

89 Jokazoku was published serially in Fujin kōron from January to August 1951 and published as a separate volume by Chūō kōron sha in July 1951 in a volume entitled Sazanami.

90 Sazanami was published serially in Chūō kōron from January to July 1951 and published as a separate volume by Chūō kōron sha in July 1951 (see above footnote).

91 Mesi was published serially in Asahi shinbun from April to July 1951 and published as a separate volume by Asahi shinbun sha in October 1951.
well as the short stories "Raichō" 雷鳥 (Snow Grouse, 1951) and "Kikuobana" 菊尾花 (Chrysanthemum Pampas Grass, 1951), all of which were published posthumously.

In May 1951, her heart palpitations grew worse and she became generally weaker, even to the untrained eye. On June 27 she went to the Iwashiya restaurant in Ginza with a reporter and photographer from the magazine Shufu no tomo 主婦の友 (Housewife’s Friend) in order to write an article in the series Meibutsu tabe aruki 名物食べ歩き ("On the Path of Famous Dishes"). They then went to a restaurant in Fukagawa to eat some eel, after which Fumiko returned home at 9:30 P.M. She went to bed in her study sometime after 11:00 P.M. Shortly after that she experienced severe pain and Rokubin came from the next room to comfort her. She received treatment from three doctors but to no avail; she died at 1:00 the next morning of cardiac arrest. On July 1, Kawabata Yasunari 川端康成 (1899-1972) officiated at her funeral, which was held at her house.

Fumiko certainly led an unconventional life, a fact of which she was proud. Her background was not of primary concern to her, her reputation was something to which she gave little consideration, if any at all. As shall be discussed in the next chapter, she was constantly trying to write "solid works," but especially in her younger days, she was rarely satisfied with what she produced. She was not a writer with strong political or philosophical convictions, no matter how many critics tried to label her as such. She was happy to live in a rather haphazard manner, taking opportunities when they presented themselves and not worrying much about what would follow them. Fumiko once said of

her writing:

I am not much of a stickler when it comes to holding fast to the plot of a story. Rather, I am a bit cowardly about plot construction. When a coherent, trunk-like idea comes to mind, I enjoy making branches and leaves to adorn it. And I feel successful if major allusions spread out from the text.93

I believe she lived her life in much the same way. She did not plan much for the future but rather was content to live on a day-to-day basis, taking turns of events as they came. As she was a "bit cowardly about plot construction" so too was she cowardly about arranging her life; it was much more enjoyable for her to "branch out" towards new opportunities as they presented themselves than to organize her life in any sort of structured manner.

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CHAPTER TWO
A SURVEY OF FUMIKO'S WRITING

Free Will and Determinism

It is impossible to make many general statements about Fumiko's writing because her style underwent a constant evolution during her career. Of course one can recognize trends, but it is hard to say that any one of them is ubiquitous. In the most broad sense, Fumiko's career can be divided into two parts: early autobiographical works and later non-autobiographical works. The former tend to be optimistic and express a faith in the existence of free will, while the latter tend to be pessimistic and deterministic, and communicate a loss of the idealism found in the earlier pieces. But within these divisions there are exceptions, and of course the overly simple classifications of 'early' or 'late' cannot possibly adequately describe the hundreds of works that Fumiko produced during her lifetime. There are many variations within each period; Fumiko experimented with style, structure, character development and more throughout her career.¹

¹In her 1937 essay, "Watashi no shigoto," Fumiko identified three periods in her writing career up until that time: the Hroroki period, the "Seihin no sho" period, and the "Kaki" period, each period named for the most prominent work in it. She does not explain her criteria for these divisions, nor which works besides Horoki, "Seihin no sho" and "Kaki" would belong in which period. It seems that she felt Horoki to be her maiden work, the work that began her career and gave her a place in the literary world. "Seihin no sho" was in essence a continuation of Horoki in that, like Horoki, it was an autobiographical piece that described the author's life, and it began chronologically where Horoki ended. "Kaki" was a notable departure from Horoki and "Seihin no sho" because it was non-autobiographical. While it is easy to see the difference between "Seihin no sho" and "Kaki," the difference between Horoki and "Seihin no sho" is not so clear. "Seihin no sho" is written in the first person by the heroine, it has a fair amount of
When I speak of determinism, I refer to "environmental determinism," the belief that "the primary determinants of action are causes in the external environment, primarily the social environment." In other words, the belief that man is subject to outside factors which greatly influence if not completely determine his fate. Fumiko did not hold this to be true — at least in her earlier works — as her characters are usually portrayed controlling their own fate through actions over which they do have volitional control. As a result, the characters remain optimistic in the worst of situations because they feel they have the ability to improve things.

Fumiko's belief in free will is a contrast to the deterministic attitude of some of the Naturalist writers of the earlier twentieth century, such as Shimazaki Tōson 島崎藤村 (1872-1943) or Tayama Katai 田山花袋 (1872-1930). Tōson's protagonist in Ie 家 (The Family, 1911), Koizumi Sankichi, and Katai's protagonist in Inaka kyōshi 田舎 に か か き し な 言 語 と し て と は あ る の も の に で - ら で く て と は あ る の も の に で 一 輩 - と は あ る の も の に で "Seihin no sho" was qualitatively different from Hōrōki. But Fumiko viewed "Seihin no sho" as qualitatively different from Hōrōki. The major difference between the two is a change in the narrator's life: in Hōrōki the narrator has only unhappy relationships with men, but in "Seihin no sho" she meets a man who is good to her and whom she loves. The narrator is, of course, Fumiko, and the happy relationship in "Seihin no sho" between the narrator and Komatsu Yuichi is Fumiko's marriage to Rokubin. Perhaps her happy romance with Rokubin prompted her to place Hōrōki and "Seihin no sho" in different periods.

2David Kelley, "Nature of Free Will" audio-taped lecture series. (San Francisco: Laissez Faire Books, 1990). Kelley identifies three kinds of Determinism: 1) Environmental Determinism, which holds that the primary determinants of action are causes in the external environment, 2) Psychological Determinism, which holds that the primary determinants of action are psychological factors, such as thoughts, feelings, and desires and 3) Physiological Determinism, which holds that the primary determinants of action are neural events in the brain. For my purposes in this paper, when I refer to "determinism," I refer exclusively to Environmental Determinism.
A Survey of Fumiko's Writing

教師 (Country Teacher, 1909), Hayashi Seizō, both exhibit an inability to act in order to gain good in their lives; repeatedly they express desires and then extinguish them by stating, "there is nothing one can do" (shikata ga nai), indicating that the determinants of action are not caused by the self, but rather by the external environment. They are slaves to their environments, unable to control their futures, relegated to watching their fates pass before their eyes without being able to raise a finger in protest.

Not so Fumiko's protagonists, who may become discouraged at times but who always press on. This is not to say that Fumiko's stories all have happy endings where the protagonist triumphs over difficulty simply by willing it so. On the contrary, the majority of her protagonists do not rise above their original situations; if they experience a change of social status or financial means at all, the change is not vertical but horizontal, into a different but equally poor situation. Fumiko's faith in man's free will is expressed through the actions of the characters when they attempt to improve their lives; her persistence in creating characters who try, characters who endeavor to improve, characters who believe they can better their situation, is what makes her fiction, especially the earlier works, most notable.

Fumiko did not write much about how she created her optimistic characters, although an early article entitled "Watashi ga moshi Kachiusha de atta naraba" explains how she would have portrayed the heroine in Lev Tolstoi's Voskresenie

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Voskresenie (Resurrection, 1899) differently, had she been the author. The comments she makes reveal her tendency to make characters strong, to portray them finding opportunities instead of dead-ends.

*Voskresenie* is about the demise of a young woman, Katusha, who, after having an illicit affair with her wealthy master, Nekhludoff, is discarded and left with nothing but prostitution as a source of income. Because of her low social status, she is convicted of a murder which she did not commit. She meets with Nekhludoff at her trial, where he is a member of the jury. The story is narrated by Nekhludoff, who is mortified by the guilt he feels for instigating the process through which Katusha fell to such depravity. The underlying implication is that Katusha is at the mercy of her environment and is unable to do well once she has been defiled by her master. Nekhludoff believes this, for he feels his own actions were the primary environmental determinants of Katusha’s actions. Katusha herself also believes this, for she holds Nekhludoff responsible for what has happened to her.

In her article, Fumiko says that her Katusha, instead of falling into prostitution, would have possibly become a merchant, or an assistant of some sort, both jobs which hold more promise than prostitution. She also suggests the possibility of Katusha managing a modest inn to support herself. In sum, all of Fumiko’s proposed changes involve some sort of change for the better for the heroine, made possible because the heroine chose to improve her own life, not because some environmental factor changed it for her. Fumiko felt that although Tolstoi had given more thought and consideration to creating Katusha than he had to any other female character, she could not accept the
dark, depressing, fatalistic situation in which he placed her.

In contrast to Katusha's resigned acceptance of poverty and degradation, the narrator of *Hōrōki* most commonly expresses her frustration with poverty by voicing a desire to try harder. She almost never uses expressions like "there was nothing I could do" (し ょうが ない *shō* *ga* *nai* or しかた が ない *shikata* *ga* *nai*); instead her utterances most often end in the volitional (-*tai*). When she does use *shō* *ga* *nai*, she uses it to describe the emotions she experiences (e.g. "there was nothing I could do about how sad I felt"), not the situations in which she finds herself.

I believe that it was this particular aspect of *Hōrōki* and other early works that endeared Fumiko to the public. *Hōrōki* is invariably spoken about in terms of the struggle of the heroine against her own poverty, not her suffering at poverty's hands. Fumiko's books had heroines and heroes (as opposed to anti-heroes), characters whom the reader could admire and from whom they could draw inspiration. Fumiko's writing was never so sophisticated as to clearly communicate complex morals or values, but by choosing to portray her characters as volitional beings she implicitly told her readers that free will existed, that man functions by exercising his free will, and that a denial of this — expressed through indecision and resignation — was an immoral act. Whether her readers recognized this in so many words is also questionable, but it seems that the resultant optimistic quality of her fiction was a drawing point for her audience.

The later works see a shift from a belief in free will to a resignation grounded in determinism. *Ukigumo* and *Meshi*, written in the last years of Fumiko's life, still have heroines with volition, but their underlying messages are less idealistic: Yukiko in
Ukigumo resigns herself to the hopeless relationship she has with Tomioka, even though it seems doomed from its early stages; Michiyo in Meshi endures a positively miserable marriage for no apparent reason. The success of these works lies not in Fumiko’s trademark optimism but rather in the mature depiction of the characters and the well crafted plot. The above works will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6; here I use them merely as examples of those works which expressed deterministic ideas. There are a few exceptions to the trend, i.e., early works which are deterministic (or fatalistic) and late works which are not, but the overall tendency is undeniably present.

What caused Fumiko to lose faith in free will and become deterministic? Perhaps her later wealth gave Fumiko leisure to explore the fine disappointments in life which were not so pressing when she was poor and just trying to put food on the table. Itagaki Naoko theorizes that Fumiko’s deteriorating health — particularly the heart condition that plagued her in her last years — caused her to turn towards darker subjects.4 Fukuda Kiyoto suggests that perhaps the cause was her realization that women would forever be subordinate to men.5 Whether it was wealth, sickness, or some sort of personal realization, something definitely caused a change in her later works. In 1946, she commented on her career up until that time:

_Hōrōki_ was my virgin work but I find rereading it extremely difficult. I

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5Fukuda Kiyoto, _Hayashi Fumiko: Hito to sakuhin_, 92-93. Fukuda notes how Yukiko in _Ukigumo_ is doomed to be subordinate to men.
have written that reading Hörōki makes me feel as if I am looking at the vomit of my youth, but I am thankful that my life as a young woman has proved to be so valuable to my literary spirit. At the time, I was living on the strength of self-abandonment. Since the days of Hörōki, I have lived a long life as a writer, and I am happy now that, Japan having lost the war, I can bury myself in my work earnestly.... I am sick and tired of writing serious novels seriously. I want to return once again to the Hörōki days of self-abandonment.⁶

If "self-abandonment"⁷ meant a light, positive style, then Fumiko did not succeed in her attempt to return to those days and that writing style. This passage does show, however, that the author herself recognized the qualitative difference between her earlier and later works.

Fear of Ideology

Another common aspect of Fumiko's writing is her habit of alluding to big questions or issues without fleshing out the details of the concern. It is dangerous to try to analyze Fumiko's underlying intent with any great depth, as the author herself was not concerned with the details of the allusion; rather, she was satisfied if her writing contained simply a suggestion of the issue at hand, not a discussion of it. It was as if she wanted the reader to be aware of larger questions in a vague way, a way that would give the illusion of depth and richness without the complication of precise details. She seemed to have a fear of structured ideology, something which may have been a reaction to her earlier days spent associating with the leftist poets, an association which helped get her

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⁶HFZ vol. 16, 243.

⁷The Japanese is sutemi 捨身.
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Fumiko was not one to be truly interested in academic discussions, but she seemed to take comfort in the knowledge that such discussions existed. She made reference to these discussions through two methods: first, the use of literary and religious allusion; second, the use of broad questions which ask the reader to reconsider commonly held truths.

Fumiko made plenty of literary allusions in her fiction; sometimes characters read famous works, sometimes they recall some lesson they learned while reading foreign works. Like almost any author, Fumiko wrote about what she knew, which means that the literary allusions she made were from books that she herself had read. She mentions in her essays that she was fond of Russian literature, particularly the works of Tolstoi, Anton Chekhov (1860-1904), and Fedor Dostoevskii (1821-1881), and she also enjoyed the works of the French writer Guy de Maupassant (1850-1893) and the German poet Heinrich Heine. Consequently, many of Fumiko's fictional characters read these authors' works. But nowhere in her essays does she explain in detail why she enjoyed these writers' works, nor do her fictional characters illustrate clearly why they read what they read. Rather, the simple fact that the characters are reading a certain author's work itself satisfactorily demonstrates for Fumiko's purposes what sort of people they are. There is an assumption on Fumiko's part that the reader will appreciate the meaning of the reference without further explication.

A good example of this can be found in the novel Mukuge in which much is made of the titles of the books which the characters read, but little is said of the books' contents. Mukuge is the story of a young woman, Yōko, who has many different lovers but never
seems to be content with any one of them. The one with whom she spends the most time, Nogi, is too intellectual for her tastes. She dislikes sitting at home and waiting for him to come home late from work, so one day as he is leaving for work, he suggests that she read a book while she waits:

"It's raining," Yoko said.
"Uh-huh."
"Why don't you go to work a bit late?"
"I still have time to make it. I'm not going to be purposely late. I'll be back early. If you're bored, try reading those books over there."
"O.K."
"There's Schnitzler's Life of a Woman — try reading that. Have you ever read Maupassant's Life of a Woman?" 8
"Yes, I have."
"That's alright, too. Schnitzler's is much more interesting. It would be perfect reading for you."
"Yeah, but I don't feel like reading. I just sit around and wait for you all day . . . ." 9

They continue their conversation about Yoko's dissatisfaction with being home alone all day, until Nogi has to leave for work. He places the book in her hands and leaves without breakfast. Yoko's younger brother, Tomoji, comes to visit a short while later:

Tomoji took The Life of a Woman in his hand and started leafing through it.

8The original title of Maupassant's novel is Une Vie (A Life), the original title of Schnitzler's novel is Theresa: Chronik eines Frauenlebens (Theresa: The Chronicle of a Young Woman). In their Japanese translations, both titles are rendered into Onna no shōgai (The Life of a Woman), which makes it convenient for Fumiko to draw a parallel where there may not be one. In order to retain the flavor of the comparison, I have translated the titles as The Life of a Woman in this passage.

9HFZ vol. 12, 189.
"Hey Sis, there wouldn't be a book called The Life of a Man, would there? If there were, I'd sure like to read it," he exclaimed.

"All the life of a man is is roasting and eating food by the fire," Yōko said laughing, as she put some rice in a basket and took it and a cooking pot downstairs.¹⁰

In these passages, it is the title of the books, The Life of a Woman, which is important; the contents of the novels are not discussed here or later in the text. Nogi seems to be trying to say something important by pressing the book on Yōko, but because he does not explain why he recommends Schnitzler's book over Maupassant's, nor why Schnitzler's would be "perfect reading material" for Yōko, the reader is left suspecting that the passage is meaningful, without knowing exactly why. Later in the novel, we see Tomoji reading the book with fervor, but we never hear his thoughts on it, nor does the narrator tell us why he finds it so interesting. Both Maupassant's Une Vie and Schnitzler's Theresa are not easily dismissed works; both contain strong social commentary which is hard to ignore. The former is the story of an upper class woman, Jeanne, who must deal with a lascivious husband and criminal son. The latter is about a poor woman, Theresa, who has dozens of jobs and many different lovers — one by whom she bears an illegitimate son — but who never finds happiness. If one knows this, then Nogi's recommendation to Yōko of Schnitzler's book over Maupassant's makes more sense; Theresa bears more resemblance to Yōko than Jeanne does. But Theresa's frustrations in life are still relatively different from Yōko's, and Mukuge as a whole would have benefitted if Fumiko had fleshed out Nogi's reasoning.

¹⁰HFZ vol. 12, 191.
A similarly vague literary reference appears in the novel Hatō (Billows, 1939), the story of a young woman, Kuniko, who escapes life in the boring countryside by stealing some money from her father and moving to Tokyo. Unlike Yōko in Mukuge, Kuniko is interested in reading and reads quite a collection of works, but the most prominent book in her collection is Maupassant's Une Vie. Fumiko gives the reader a little more to contemplate in Hatō than she does in Mukuge, though; Kuniko reflects that her drive to strike out on her own and reject her parents' arrangements for her marriage may be due to having read the book:

To set out on her own life, to hold the ideal of finding her husband on her own, to think so clearly about feeling such happiness — it must have been due to reading about the miserable life of Jeanne in The Life of a Woman...¹¹

This passage tells us at least that the life of the protagonist of Une Vie is not Kuniko's ideal life, but it does not go any further. Fumiko does not give even the most basic details of why Jeanne is miserable — something which would only require a few sentences — and so the unhappiness that Kuniko wants to avoid remains a nebulous concept.

None of this is to say that it would have been better if Fumiko had not mentioned the characters' reading material at all. Certainly we are told something about both Yōko and Kuniko here through their response to the act of reading. The point I would like to make is that Fumiko baits the reader by mentioning these things in passing but leaving the details out. We do not clearly understand why Yōko refuses to read a book when she

¹¹HFZ vol. 13, 215-216.
has leisure time. We do not clearly understand why Kuniko thinks that Jeanne's life is miserable. All we do know is that the act of reading itself (or not reading, as the case may be) reflects the character's traits.

I find it curious that Fumiko made such a point of mentioning other literature, especially foreign literature, if only because such an action is often associated with a writer who has given that literature deep and detailed consideration — the kind of study that would involve reading in the original language of publication and perhaps examining secondary source material pertinent to the literature — and I have found no evidence that Fumiko did so, although that does not eliminate the possibility that she might indeed have done so without ever writing about it. Given Fumiko's penchant for writing about herself, her life, and her work, however, this seems a remote possibility at best. It is also curious that she expressed great admiration for Tolstoi, especially his novel *Voskresenie*, for in that novel Tolstoi created clear dialogue — dialogue which is so central to the novel that one can hardly discuss the latter without addressing the former — in which his characters discussed politics, philosophy, and literature. It is difficult to imagine Fumiko reading *Voskresenie* without reacting to the arguments laid forth on its pages. Compared to Tolstoi's more famous *Anna Karenina* (1877), *Voskresenie* is rather didactic in tone; in it Tolstoi expresses his dissatisfaction with both the traditional establishment in Russia and with the leftist ideas which had begun to proliferate at the time. Neither political system was satisfactory to him; the poor were oppressed by the upper class in traditional society but the leftists (who promoted the poor's case) were atheists and Tolstoi was a devout Christian. In order to show the problems inherent in
both political systems, Tolstoi created two characters, one from each camp, who often discuss politics and through these two much is said about the pros and cons of each ideology. There is also a considerable amount of meditation on social issues on the part of Nekhludoff. All in all, Fumiko's reading of Tolstoi — one which seems oblivious to the complex ideological and theological issues being dealt with in the novel — shows a disregard for complicated academic argument. What Fumiko did see in Voskresenie was the story of a poor woman, much like (or so she thought) she herself was in her Hórōki days. Her affinity with Katusha seems to be the core reason why the work held so much appeal for her, even though the Tolstoi character did not share the fundamental non-deterministic qualities of the narrator of Hórōki.

Fumiko wrote a poem in 1928 entitled "Itoshi no Kachūsha" いとしのカチュシヤ (Beloved Katusha) in which she says that being called Katusha by someone makes her "happier than being called 'Your Highness.'" The final stanza is:

Katusha, the daughter of serfs, ended up so unhappy
Swirling snow, Siberia, prison, hard liquor, Nekhludoff
But I, who was a poor, naïve virgin
Embraced my vast hopes and like an onion in a hopper
Was raised and set off into the world, large and round.13

In this poem she likens herself to Katusha, but other than the fact that they both come from impoverished backgrounds there is little similarity between the Tolstoi heroine and

12Shinchō HFZ vol. 1, 62.

13Shinchō HFZ vol. 1, 63.
the real-life Fumiko. Katusha is the representative of the oppressed under class, the people who are fated to suffer and are incapable of overcoming the difficulties which face them. Tolstoi makes this very clear in the text. Fumiko may have been poor, but in her early works she never expressed resignation to her fate. Even the slightest delving into what Katusha represents would have shown that Fumiko was not fundamentally like her. But Fumiko did not look that far; she saw a poor woman and so she saw herself. She ignored the political and social commentary that Tolstoi wove into the text, and instead chose to focus on surface characteristics.

Fumiko's distaste for detailed examination of academic and philosophical issues can also be seen in her treatment of religion in both her fiction and her essays. Fumiko was not a Christian, although she had a certain amount of interest in reading stories from the Bible, and she enjoyed attending church services when she was a young woman living in Tokyo. In *Hitori no shōgai*, she says:

> I started going to church every Sunday [after I moved to Tokyo]. I suppose you could say that I first started thinking about writing when I heard a bit of a sermon on the street one day and thought how it might be helpful. In church, one spoke freely, and I heard things which I had never heard before. It was there that I also learned the names of foreign writers. Judas' betrayal, the story of Abraham, Noah's flood — being a newcomer to the big city I soaked them all up like moss soaks up water. I learned quite a lot, albeit haphazardly, from these free lectures. Despite all this, I still loved the works of Shelley, who had been hounded out of the university for espousing the ideas of atheism....

> For me, too poor to pass through the gates of any vocational school, church was like my own university. It soothed my spirit and comforted me, and for that I was grateful. It was at church that I learned about medieval religion and literature. I was not the kind of true believer who would fall to their knees before God, but I felt a strong feeling for faith in something....I must have been a terrible pessimist towards life before I had
faith in God. Whenever I felt uneasy, I would go to church and listen vacantly to the distant, eternal sermon, and it would calm my feelings of peril.  

We can see that Fumiko was fond of Christian mythology and that she felt a certain comfort when in church. But the language she uses to describe these things is purposely noncommittal: "faith in something" and "listen vacantly to the distant eternal sermon" do not imply an intense interest on Fumiko's part. She felt that religion was important, and she had respect for the "true believers," but she did not share their fervor. Rather, the knowledge that there existed some greater power and that there existed a carefully crafted structure of organized religion to communicate the wisdom of that power to the common man was all that Fumiko wanted to understand; she did not want to understand the power or know the actual structure (i.e., Christian doctrine). Her reverence for organized religion was not limited to Christianity, either. She recognized the important role which Shintoism and Buddhism played in Japanese society — a role which bonded a community and provided moral structure — and she was distressed to see that role diminishing. In her journal\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Sakka no techo} 作家の手帳 (Author's Notebook, 1951) she comments on the changes evident in both Buddhism and Shintoism in modern Japan:

\begin{quote}
Temples have just become some place where there is a large sitting room. They aren't a Sunday meeting place for villagers, but rather they have become buildings that are only useful for funerals. I think that Japanese
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{14}Shinchô HFZ vol. 8, 38-39.

\textsuperscript{15}This journal, published posthumously, was kept from 1943 through 1947. It is apparently factual and true to the author's life.
Buddhism must be reconsidered.\textsuperscript{16}

She goes on to note how folk religion has become equally corrupt. She does not say that the Japanese should embrace Christianity; she merely suggests that the Japanese people should take new stock in their religious beliefs, which suggests that she felt a "strong faith in something" would be beneficial to others, as well as herself. Further definition of religious beliefs did not interest her, however. In no place does she discuss individual lessons from the Bible or from sutras, or any details from any religious doctrine.

Fumiko does occasionally question the validity of organized religion, and these questions echo the distrust she displays towards defined structural arguments. In the following passage from \textit{Horoki}, Fumiko hears the cries of Salvation Army volunteers and reacts by questioning the good of organized religion for the poor:

\begin{quote}
Poor people don't have the time or energy to believe in Jesus Christ or Shakyamuni. Just what is religion?! \textsuperscript{17} [The Salvation Army volunteers] don't have to worry about where their next meal is coming from, that's why they spread out in little groups into the streets.
\end{quote}

Fumiko's characters often vacillate on religious questions, unable to make firm statements without doubt, which implies that anything but blind "faith in something" may be too

\begin{footnotes}
\item[16] \textit{Shinchō HFZ} vol. 11, 56. The last sentence of this passage is \textit{Nihon no bukkyō wa, mō ichido, kangaenaosarenakere'oa naranai to omoimasu} 日本の仏教は、もう一度、考えてみなければならないと思います. Fumiko means that the attitudes that Japanese have come to have towards Buddhism should be reexamined and changed.
\item[17] \textit{Shinchō HFZ} vol. 2, 23.
\end{footnotes}
much for men to contemplate. The following is a dialogue from *Kawa uta* (River Song, 1941), the story of two women, Kikuyo and her former teacher, Hisako. Hisako teaches elementary school and among her students is a girl named Shimagi who is particularly precocious. Hisako takes a special interest in Shimagi and tries her best to provide her with the guidance that she so desperately needs. One day, Shimagi asks Hisako about the origin of the world:

"Hey, who created the world?" Shimagi said, changing the subject.
"That would be God," said Hisako.... But she herself could not grasp clearly the image of "God".
"You know, lately I have been thinking all about weird things — I think it will drive me to a nervous breakdown," said Shimagi.\(^{18}\)

Even though Hisako can assuredly say that "God" created the world, she cannot quite grasp what that concept "God" is. Shimagi dismisses further rumination on the subject by saying that such things are just too much to contemplate. Like the author, the characters display a fear of deep understanding of complex issues. This scene is characteristic of the way in which Fumiko deals with all complex philosophical questions. It is enough for the characters to have vague notions of issues; any more would be too much, as it would require that the characters — not to mention the author herself — take a firm stand on philosophical issues, something Fumiko was not interested in doing.

**Vagueness of Objectives and Terminology**

In some of Fumiko's early essays on her own work, she says that her inspiration

\(^{18}\)Shinchō *HFZ* vol. 20, 39.
to write was provided by both the desire to communicate ideas to a large audience and also by the personal desire to put pen to paper. She does not explicitly state what ideas she wanted to convey, only that she wanted to give her readers a feel for what was then her lifestyle:

I want to use my own style to describe my own perceptions of reality. My goal is to reach many readers. There are probably many writers who would feel satisfied if just one or two readers understood what they write, but I am not one of them. I must target a large audience. Even those writers who call themselves "proletarian" write dry, highbrow novels which are difficult to understand. Their message probably goes right over their reader's head. Such writing is exactly like an advertisement; one reading is more than enough. Those proletarian writers just want to convey a few common ideas to their readers, and I do not think there is one heart-felt emotion contained in their work. The media loves the proletarian writers, but from those writers' opportunistic need to write comes a commercialism and corruption which results in work that fails to draw readers.19

This helps explain why Fumiko was so hesitant to define terms, structure arguments, and make a firm statement about her political and philosophical beliefs; for her, the texts that proletarian writers produced were didactic and unappealing, and in an attempt not to write with such dryness, she avoided anything that resembled a structured argument. She preferred a lyrical approach, one that expressed emotions without blaming human constructs for causing the characters to feel such emotions. Hōrōki was very much an attempt to do just this, but it was criticized as something very different. Fumiko's response was:

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19HFZ vol. 16, 114.
A long time ago, a certain feminist critic commented on my work in the following way:

"Because I have criticized Hayashi Fumiko's works (most notably Horoki) as runpen pieces, there are many people who think that I speak slightlyingly of her artistry. Certainly, Hayashi's works lack volition. Despite the fact that her works are studded throughout with poems which shine like gems amidst the prose, they lack the power of real-life situations. For this reason her works are, as far as proletarian literature is concerned, second-rate."

I read her criticism with deep regret. She says that my work lacks volition, but that is probably due to the fact that in this particular case [Horoki] I was writing a piece which does not follow in the path of proletarian literature. I never put up a sign advertising Horoki as any particular type of literature, or as belonging to any certain artistic school.21

Fumiko tried to describe what she felt her writing was, but she failed to make herself clear:

The term "proletarian literature" in Japanese really means "the literature of poverty." If one talks about the literature of poverty, then my works certainly fit into that category. The foreign word "proletarian" reeks of the intelligentsia and ideology. The literature of poverty! In all its meanings, my work is the literature of poverty. Thank goodness for the Japanese language! But then, the term "literature of poverty" also has a lumpen-like quality. The vagueness of language causes a strange chasm of meaning in cases such as these.22

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20 The term runpen ルンペン comes from the German lumpen (rag, tattered cloth). Runpen means "a loafer, a tramp; a (street) bum; a hobo; a vagrant" (Kenkyūsha's New Japanese-English Dictionary, Fourth Edition, Tōkyō: Kenkyūsha Ltd., 1974). The term runpen bungaku ルンペン文学 ('runpen' literature) does not refer to any recognized genre, although Fumiko, Itagaki Naoko, and the unnamed critic who is mentioned in Fumiko's "Watashi no Chiheisen" all use the term loosely to refer to literature which describes the lives of the lower class.

21 HFZ vol. 16, 111.

22 HFZ vol. 16, 113.
I believe that what she was trying to say in the above passage was that her writing expressed the emotions that one experiences when one is vagrant — the loneliness, the frustration, the desires — and was not commentary on why one is vagrant in the first place. She never made this distinction clear in her essays and her early reputation suffered as a result. Later critics, however, focus almost exclusively on the lyrical quality of Fumiko’s writing, something which is the result both of the fall of proletarian literature’s popularity and also the change of subject matter in Fumiko’s writing.

Finally, part of the misunderstanding and mislabeling described above is undoubtedly due to Fumiko’s habit of using politically charged terminology without defining her terms. For example, she used the word ‘nihilist’ to describe herself, but the subsequent sentence does not substantiate the statement:

I must confess that I am a proponent of nihilism. Thus I do not follow the latest trend like everybody else, nor do I suddenly change my mind about things.23

Of course, even a cursory reading of Fumiko’s works reveals that she was not really a nihilist24 by any acceptable definition. Further examination of the word ‘nihilist’ in her fiction shows no discernable consistent usage, as the following four passages demonstrate (transliterations for key phrases are provided in the footnotes):

23HFZ vol. 16, 112.

24See the discussion in chapter 3 about Fumiko’s leftist associations during her "Hōrōki period."
Chiyo spoke frankly about sleeping in toilets and abandoned houses since she came to Tokyo. When she said, "I have no place to go today," Nakayama replied, "You are quite a nihilist." He thought a moment and wrote her a letter of introduction.

"There is a guy I know who went to London ..." Tsuneko said, blowing out the match flame.

"Is he coming back from London?"

"No, he just went there recently ..."

"Oh? Is he somebody you are attracted to?"

"That's right ..."

"Oh, I see. And are you eventually going to marry him?"

"No, I'm not going to marry him. I probably won't see him for three or four years ... and I don't know what will become of him, nor what will become of me, do I?"

"Yes, well, you can't make promises about the future, but even so you don't have to think so nihilistically about it, do you?"

At the time [May 1938] I was interested in Confucius, Zhuzi, Tang poetry, and Tao Yuan-ming's poetry. I have only superficial knowledge of such things and don't really understand them, but as it is written in Zhou Mao-shu's Tong-shu, "the Non-ultimate and also the Great Ultimate! The

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25 taihen na nihilisuto da naa 大変なニヒリストだなア。

26 "Tsurukusa no hana" 落草の花 (Flowers on a Vine, 1935) Shinchô HFZ vol. 4, 69.

27 sō nanimo nihilisuchikkku ni kangaenakute mo ii deshō? さう何もニヒリストに考えなくてもいいです？

28 "Meian" 明暗 (Lightness and Darkness, 1936) in Shinchô HFZ vol. 5, 262. For the purposes of clarity, this passage has been edited so that quotes begin new paragraphs. In the original, the passage is one solid block of text.

29 Penetrating the Book of Changes. A Song dynasty text. The author, Zhou Mao-shu 周茂叔 (1017-1073), is alternately known as Zhou Dun-yi 周敦頤 and Zhou Lian-xi 周濂溪. A pioneer in Neo-Confucianism, Zhou was heavily influenced by Daoist texts. Fumiko here actually quotes Zhou's other famous text, Tai-ji-tu shuo 太極図説 (An Explanation of the Diagram of the Great Ultimate). She does not include quotation marks, although I have, and I have used Wing-tsit Chan's translation of the text.
Great Ultimate through movement generates yang. When its activity reaches its limit, it becomes tranquil. Through tranquility the Great Ultimate generates yin. When tranquility reaches its limit, activity begins again. So movement and tranquility alternate and become the root of each other, giving rise to the distinction of yin and yang, and the two modes are thus established. By the transformation of yang and its union with yin, the Five Agents of Water, Fire, Wood, Metal, and Earth arise. When these five material forces are distributed in harmonious order, the four seasons run their course. I have become extraordinarily fond of Zhou Mao-shu's explanation of his predecessor Zhuzi's comments on the aspects of li and qi. Chinese literature is totally nihilistic. It can be escapist literature, but in my present state of mind I cannot but feel encouragement when I read this kind of thing.

"Sometimes I feel like there is nothing for me to do. I feel no incentive, and there are times when my youth yields to life in the countryside without any objectives. When that happens, I take the children for a walk in the mountains. · · · Anyway, maybe I am a nihilist from the root up," said Nakagawa.

"Hmm, but, I don't like nihilists. You have such a great talent, and you are killing it. Isn't it a great waste? Don't you have any desires at all?" asked Rikue.

Certainly it is possible to describe what one thinks Fumiko means by 'nihilist' in each

For more information on Zhou and a complete translation of both his Tong-shu and Tai-ji-tu shuo see A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy by Wing-tsit Chan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 460–480.

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individual passage, but the meaning is not consistent from one example to the next. Chiyo's nihilism is her willingness to live in a way that society condemns. Tsuneko's nihilism is her decision to not marry immediately when the opportunity arises. Nakagawa's nihilism is his inability to pursue goals of any kind and his flight from responsibility. And the nihilism of Chinese literature is presumably something akin to the Daoist philosophy of inaction, but Fumiko is so vague as to leave the reader puzzled. The text she quotes is a complex scholarly work which purports to "lay the pattern of metaphysics [sic] and ethics for later Neo-Confucianism"; how that could be 'nihilistic' and how that nihilism would be related to the 'nihilism' of the other pieces quoted above is a mystery.

This loose use of terminology is not limited to the use of the word 'nihilism.' In her essay "Watashi no oboegaki" (My Memoranda, 1930), she makes similar loose usage of the term 'romantic':

I went to the zoo recently. I went into the aquarium and gazed at the various goldfish and carp. At the monkey cage I briefly watched the life of the baboons. I think nature is quite a romantic thing. Even while the monkeys fight and howl indiscriminately, the fish swim with their beautiful tails fluttering.

Again, the sentences preceding and following the central statement do nothing to clearly explain what Fumiko means by the term 'romantic.' Both the term 'nihilist' and the term

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36*Shinchō HFZ* vol. 19, 280.
'romantic' are foreign loan words written in katakana, which makes them stand out from the rest of the text. They are emphasized words, words that carry with them the connotations of multifarious ideologies, words which would best be used discriminately, but Fumiko used them almost irresponsibly. Such nonchalant use of relatively conspicuous terminology opened avenues for critics with special agendas, and it is because of this that Fumiko faced the criticisms she did about being a leftist writer.

**Escapism**

Fumiko's characters often express the desire to leave their present situation and escape to a distant place, and quite often they succeed in at least a temporary flight from their problems. Journeys are often the scenes of dramatic plot development and the characters hold the events of those journeys close in their hearts long after they have returned home.

First, let us compare the following passages selected from Fumiko's fiction:

I turned the old time table over and looked at it. I thought about how I'd like to go on a journey far away. I'd like to abandon this city of falsity and go off to breathe in the air of the mountains or the sea. (*Hôrôki, Shinchô HFZ* vol. 2, 153)

"I've got something I'd like to talk about with you. I'd really like to go somewhere on a trip tonight." Having blurted this out, Miyamori was surprised at his own courage. He could not stand the thought of all the mental anguish and pain that parting again would bring. (*Daini no kekkon* 第二結婚 (Second Marriage), *HFZ* vol. 13, 353)

Tomoji wanted to rise against his father's selfishness, so he turned towards his desk, picked up a book which was sitting there, and started
leafing through the pages. He wanted a taste of a life in which fresh green leaves fluttered on trees.

He wanted to set off on a boat across the wide oceans. Any country would be fine, as long as it was not this squalid place. He daydreamed about taking a little trip on a foreign ship. (Mukuge, HFZ vol. 12, 185)

When I worked in a stock broker’s years ago I had seen such large bills, but this was the first time I had gazed at them in my own possession. I thought about how I’d like to take these three hundred yen and go on a long journey to a far, far away place. My father had told me to use the money for wedding preparations, but I suddenly thought of Mr. Fang, and I thought about how I’d like to see his country, China, just once. (Hitori no shōgai, Shinchō HFZ vol. 8, 61)

The coldness of Kikuyo’s hands was suddenly revealed for all it was. Yamamoto gently let go her hand and said, “I intend to go, with you, today, on a trip to a place where nobody knows us, and that is why I have prepared this bag. I will honorably cut off the recent arrangements for my marriage [to another woman] once we are at our destination.” (Kawa uta, Shinchō HFZ vol. 20, 240)

Once it had been suggested that she go to Kobe, Tomoko suddenly felt the desire to turn her back on Tokyo. She felt that there must be an interesting life, different from hers in Tokyo, in some other place. In the end of October, she shut up her second floor apartment in Tsukiji and set off with Seto on a trip to Kobe. (Fuyu no ringo 冬の林檎 (Winter Apples, 1950) Shinchō HFZ vol. 22, 25)

In each case, the character sees travel as an escape from his or her problems. In some cases, travel really does afford a solution, but in most instances it is but a temporary respite from one’s troubles. The respite does, however, provide the character with the chance to distance him or herself from difficulties, and often that distance provides a helpful perspective.
The novel in which this is best portrayed is *Chairo no me* 茶色の目 (Brown Eyes, 1949). *Chairo no me* is about a married couple who no longer get along well together. The husband, Jūichi, wants a divorce but his wife, Mineko, refuses to grant him one. Neither spouse is happy with the marriage, but they have different opinions on what should be done. Jūichi would like to divorce and marry his mistress, Fusako. Mineko has no lover and wants to remain married as a method of exacting revenge on Jūichi. The story is told in the third person and portrays each spouse's perspective in alternate sections. The brilliance of this novel is in the portrayal of the gradual increase of tension between the two. The end of the novel sees the two still married, but despising each other more than ever.

Mounting animosity between Jūichi and Mineko cause both to leave home on trips of escape. In Jūichi's case, he travels to Osaka to visit Fusako who has returned there to care for her young son. He also goes to a hot springs resort with Fusako on a whim, and it is that trip which seems to be the beginning of the end of his marriage to Mineko. Mineko disappears on her own trip to her parents' house for three days without telling Jūichi where she is going. Each time the spouses meet again after one has returned from a trip, they exchange angry words and soon after that one or the other leaves again on another journey. Distance from their home provides each with a feeling of relief, and so the desire to escape on a journey grows stronger as the bond of marriage grows weaker. One day, early in the novel, the two vie for the opportunity to leave the house:

"I'm headed out at 8:30 today, so could you set out an undershirt and flannelette for me?" Jūichi said.
Mineko patted down the floor cushion and soaked in the morning sun's rays which were coming through the glass doors. She examined her gold colored reading glasses. "Oh? You're going out? You didn't say anything about it last night, did you? I'm going out with Yoshimi today. Thanks to being so dependent on your meager means I've not even had enough to eat, so I thought I'd go into some sort of business with Yoshimi. Sorry, but I'll have to ask you to stay home and watch the house today."

"Oh? You're going into business? That's a serious issue."

"Oh really?"

"Do you have to do it today?"

"Today it must be."

"You didn't say anything about it last night, did you?"

"You are so stupid some times • • • I can't tell if you are being sarcastic or just dull-witted."

"Sometimes I want to be a bit dull-witted."

"You?" Mineko's brown eyes narrowed suddenly, and with the cushions under her arms, she opened the closet door with her foot. Jūichi was amazed at her dexterity, and he picked up the remaining cushions from behind her and placed them high up in the closet.

"I'm really going out today. I absolutely must go," he said.

"What is it you've got to do?"

"I've got some important business at the boss's house."

"Really?"

"Really."\footnote{Shinchō HFZ vol. 15, 35.}

In the end, they both leave and have the second story boarder watch the house. The opportunity to escape is used in this passage almost like a weapon; Jūichi and Mineko know that the opportunity to leave the house is important not only to themselves but to the other, too, and the chance to snatch that opportunity away is a chance to punish. Once Jūichi is out of the house, he feels an immense relief:

He arrived at Uguisudani Station at twenty minutes to ten. It was bitter cold on the platform. Jūichi stood at the station exit in the chill, a harbinger of a long winter to come. He gazed at the dirty street as he
saundered along like a child. His happiness at the thought of being far from home and about to meet a young, beautiful woman gave him the energy to stand in the cold even for twenty minutes.\textsuperscript{38}

Escape, and distance from home, bring Jūichi a sense of comfort and happiness. His problems are certainly not solved by running away, but the sort of temporary respite it provides is something that many of Fumiko's characters seek. And Jūichi, like those other characters, is rejuvenated by his escape. It provides him with the energy to later go home and confront the looming problem of his disintegrating marriage.

I see a connection between this sort of escapism and Fumiko's fear of ideology. When Fumiko found herself headed towards some sort of philosophical argument, she quickly steered herself clear by changing the subject or glossing over it in an indecisive manner. When life becomes difficult for Fumiko's characters, they desire an escape; when topics and concepts become difficult for Fumiko, she desires the same escape. A journey provides the escape for her characters, and a change of subject provides the escape for Fumiko. Both types of escape are distractions, and the reader may be tempted to fault Fumiko for failing to face difficulties head on, but in her fiction at least, the characters almost always return to the source of their problems after being rejuvenated by their respite.

\textsuperscript{38}Shinchō HFZ vol. 15, 38.
Women's Issues

By merit of her gender, Hayashi Fumiko is often grouped together with other female writers under the heading *joryū sakka* 女流作家 in literary criticism. The term *joryū sakka* means nothing more than 'woman writer,' however, and discussing a writer solely on this criterion makes little sense; the gender of a writer does not determine his or her writing style, chosen subject matter, language, or any other characteristic of literature that one could single out. True, in many cases it may be easier for a female writer to depict the life of a woman and likewise easier for a male to depict the life of a man, but this does not prevent a writer from depicting the lives of characters of the opposite sex. Certainly many writers have proven this, such as Nagai Kafū 永井荷風 (1879-1959) in his novel *Ude kurabe* 腕くらべ (Geisha in Rivalry, 1917) and Tanizaki Jun’ichirō 谷崎潤一郎 (1886-1965) in his novels *Tade kitu mushi* 目喰ふ虫 (Some Prefer Nettles, 1929) and *Sasame yuki* 細雪 (The Makioka Sisters, 1944), both of whom masterfully portray their female characters. Likewise, Hayashi Fumiko portrays many of her male characters with richness and realism, such as in her short story "Maihime" 舞姫 (Dancing Girl, 1940), which is about a man who is opposed to the marriage that his family has arranged for him, and in "Ame" 雨 (Rain, 1946),39 the story of a returned war veteran who has become estranged from his family and country.

Neither does the gender of the author determine the underlying message of a novel; men can write — and have written — about issues specific to women and vice versa.

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39 This should not be confused with Fumiko’s novel published in 1942 by the same title.
Despite the distinction in Japanese between men's and women's speech, there is no constraint over a writer to use one or the other; a male writer is free to depict feminine speech and a female writer to depict masculine speech. Nor does the author's gender determine the gender of his or her audience (although some readers may be more likely to read a work by a writer of the same sex, I do not think it is a significant number). Given this, the term *joryū sakka* seems a rather pointless one. Indeed, although the number of literary critical writings which use the term is great, *joryū sakka* does not even merit an entry in the *Nihon kindai bungaku daijiten* (Dictionary of Modern Japanese Literature).

The term *joryū sakka* aside, there is still the issue of whether Fumiko wrote feminist works. If we define 'feminist' as "of or pertaining to feminism" and 'feminism' as "advocacy of the rights of women (based on the theory of equality of the sexes)," then the answer is no. While Fumiko's works often focus on the political or economic injustices done to the protagonist, the gender of the protagonist is not at the heart of the matter; it would be more accurate to say that she advocates for the individual the same rights granted other individuals. But if we define feminism in broader terms, such as 'of
A Survey of Fumiko's Writing

or pertaining to women and their qualities, then the answer is yes. Many of Fumiko's works address problems unique to women, such as the problem of having an unwanted pregnancy — the short stories "Kanariya no uta" and "Ajisai" あじさい (Hydrangea, 1948) and the novel *Ukigumo* all have protagonists who must decide between an abortion and giving birth to a baby they do not want (and in some cases would be illegitimate) — or the problems women face in family situations in which their desires are given second priority after men's desires.

Other works focus on historical female figures, figures who have been given little attention but who inspired Fumiko to imagine what their lives may have been like. One work I should like to single out and mention here is a short story entitled "Fudegaki" 筆がき (Writing, 1942). This is a story about the Edo fiction writer and Neo-Confucianist Takizawa Bakin 滝澤馬琴 (1767-1848), most famous for his novel *Nansō Satomi hakkenden* 南総里見八犬伝 (The Story of Eight Dogs, 1814-1832) in which he advocates strict Confucian morals.

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43 This phrase is in single quotation marks because it is my own definition, not from an outside source. Here I use 'qualities' to mean a characteristic or attribute, not excellence or superiority.

44 In addition to "Fudegaki" discussed below, see the novel *Shin'yodogimi* 新淀君 (The New Yodogimi, 1950), about the life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's 畿臣秀吉 (1536-1598) concubine, Yodogimi 淀君 (1567-1615). She was Oda Nobunaga's 織田信長 (1534-1582) niece and the mother of Hideyoshi's only two children, Tsurumatsu 鶴松 (1589-1591) and Hideyori 秀頼 (1593-1615). (*Kōdansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, vol. 8, Tōkyō: Kōdansha, LTD., 1983.)

45 The emphasis in *Nansō Satomi hakkenden* is not exclusively on Confucian morality, but it should be noted that one of the five basic social relationships designated by Confucianism is that of 'husband to wife,' that is, the wife is subordinate to the husband. As in most traditional religions and philosophies, women were considered inferior to men.
Bakin had a daughter-in-law, Michi 路 (1806-1858), wife of Bakin's only son Sōhaku 宗伯 (1798-1835). "Fudegaki" is a fictional account, told from Michi's point of view, of what life was like in Bakin's household. In order to appreciate what Fumiko does in "Fudegaki," it is helpful first to know the historical facts as recorded by Bakin's biographers. In his biography of Bakin, based primarily on Bakin's own diaries, Leon Zolbrod describes Michi as a learned woman who became Bakin's amanuensis near the end of Bakin's life. Zolbrod also describes the relationship that the two had as initially strained but later close:

Two letters, to Jōzai[46] and Keisō,[47] both dated July 4, 1840, marked O'Michi's[48] first efforts as Bakin's amanuensis. Before Sōhaku's death her life in the Takizawa household had afforded little joy.... O'Michi repeatedly suffered Sōhaku's abuse, and being high-strung by nature, she would sometimes withdraw to her room, refuse to eat, and finally become ill. O'Hyaku would then nurse her and Bakin offer her some medicine...but Sōhaku generally "refused to come near and remained as ill-tempered as ever."20

Bakin's poor opinion of her family must also have pained O'Michi. Initially he showed respect for her father, Genryū, and her elder brother, Gen'yū, both physicians, but Bakin later asserted that they were "quacks." He sarcastically referred to Genryū's wife as O'Michi's "mother-nun from Azabu," 21 and he described her visits as "hateful in the extreme."22

[After Sōhaku's death] O'Michi and Bakin grew closer. At first, she merely prepared and marketed the medicines and kept financial records for it. Later she assumed additional responsibilities. "It would be impossible without her," he wrote on April 19, 1837. He praised her as "an unflag-

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46 Tonomura Jōzai 慶村篤齋 (1779-1847), a friend of Bakin's.

47 Ozu Keisō 小津桂窓 (dates not given), another friend of Bakin's.

48 Here Zolbrod writes Michi's and other women's names with the honorific prefix O-.
ging worker," and she served him in many ways, large and small.49

20 Diary, September 23, 1831, Bakin's Diary, p. 188.

21 Diary, September 10, 1831, ibid., p. 173.

22 Diary, October 4, 1831, ibid., p. 199.

As Bakin's eyesight failed him, Michi's responsibilities increased, to the point that she wrote the last chapters of Nansō Satomi hakkenden from dictation.50 Zolbrod summarizes the relationship by saying that "in both practical and intellectual matters, they had achieved a rare partnership."51 It is clear that without Michi's help, Bakin could not have finished Nansō Satomi hakkenden, the masterpiece of his writing career.

It is this latter point, and not the working partnership that Bakin's diaries record, which must have caught Fumiko's attention. When she sat down to tell the fictionalized story of Bakin's last years through Michi's eyes, she portrayed Michi as an oppressed woman, one who did not like her father-in-law, a man who felt that women and their writing were insignificant compared to men and theirs. When "Fudegaki" opens, Bakin is already near the end of his life, suffering from bad health and nearly blind. He is obsessed with writing Nansō Satomi hakkenden, and that has taken precedence over consideration for the other members of the family. He refuses outside visitors, too, and


50 Leon M. Zolbrod, Takizawa Bakin, 131.

51 Leon M. Zolbrod, Takizawa Bakin, 131.
Michi thinks to herself that he is surprisingly unhappy for somebody who is so egoistic:

Bakin sat at his desk with his glasses on. His image, with his left shoulder slumped down, bent towards his desk, gave the impression of a lonely person. He had repelled his family, repelled his friends, and despite the fact that he said he didn't need anybody in whom to confide, Michi could not but think that such solitariness must be lonely. Even his good friend, Hanayama, had said that father was steeped in his own ego. But Michi could only think how unhappy such a man must be.  

Michi does not agree with Bakin on most things, especially literature. She finds his writing didactic and distasteful, and he finds the books she reads shallow and frivolous:

Bakin ridiculed Shunsui's works as trivial novels, complete garbage. Bakin could not but object to the fact that such works — works which were nothing more than pictures of people's shadows — were so sought after by everyone. Kyōzan and Tanehiko were permissible, but those weak men without money or power who depicted nothing but women from the world of indolence, who persisted in writing common genre novels! Shunsui's manner of producing novels which pandered to obscene interests and then flaunting them before the public as novels written by a man was

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52 Shinchō HFZ vol. 10, 143.

53 Tamenaga Shunsui 為永春水 (1790-1843), late Edo author of ninjōbon 人情本 (prose narratives on love).

54 Santō Kyōzan 山東京山 (1769-1858), late Edo writer of drama. He was the younger brother of Santō Kyōden 山東京伝 (1761-1816), whose work he continued after Kyōden's death.


56 The Japanese is otoko no kaku shōsetsu toshite seken e furimawashiteiru 男の書く小説として世間へ振りまはしてゐる.
something Bakin dismissed as artisan writing.\textsuperscript{57, 58}

Bakin obviously feels that such vulgar writing is below the intelligence of a male writer, and he is disgusted that a man would produce such works. He tells Michi that her taste in literature leaves much to be desired, but Michi does not let her father-in-law’s tastes change her choice of reading material. She tolerates his brusqueness but she is miserable living in his house and contemplates suicide at one point. Finally she finds friendship with one of Bakin’s daughters, Kuwa,\textsuperscript{59} who is married and lives away from home, and the two of them discover that they enjoy the same books and share many of the same thoughts. They are also equally poorly treated by Bakin. When he finally dies in the last scene neither Michi nor Kuwa expresses grief, although Michi is touched when Bakin bids her to sit by his side because he is lonely.

There are things in "Fudegaki" which contradict Zolbrod’s biography of Bakin: Bakin’s diary tells us that Sōhaku was unkind to Michi,\textsuperscript{60} but Fumiko depicts Sōhaku as a kind and supportive husband, one who on his deathbed tells his wife that she is "more

\textsuperscript{57}The implication here is that Shunsui was writing for the sole purpose of making money and continuing his profession, and not for artistic ends.

\textsuperscript{58}\textit{Shinchō HFZ} vol. 10, 144.

\textsuperscript{59}Kuwa 鈴(1800-?) was the youngest of Bakin’s three daughters. Zolbrod gives little information on her, but does say that she was married to an artist and physician, Atsumi Sadashige (Leon M. Zolbrod, \textit{Takizawa Bakin}, 98).

\textsuperscript{60}Leon M. Zolbrod, \textit{Takizawa Bakin}, 100 and 130.
of an artist" than her father-in-law;\textsuperscript{61} and nothing in Bakin's diaries indicates that Michi was unhappy enough to contemplate suicide, but Fumiko portrays her state as such.

However, many of the things Fumiko wrote of are part of established fact, such as Michi's role as Bakin's amanuensis, and the way in which she ran the Takizawa household after Sôhaku's death. It is plain that Fumiko took liberties with the facts in this narrative, but what is most interesting is that in the places where she deviates from recorded history, she clearly does so in an effort to emphasize the importance of Michi in Bakin's life and the high level of literary intelligence that Michi had.\textsuperscript{62} In this sense, Fumiko was writing a feminist short story; not only was she writing a story 'of or pertaining to women and their qualities,' she was writing specifically about the qualities of a woman who, Fumiko might have liked to think, was slighted by history. I can think of no reason for Fumiko to have written "Fudegaki" other than the desire to promote a positive view of a historical female figure.

\textsuperscript{61}Shinchô HFZ vol. 10, 149. Sôhaku compliments Michi on her ability to get along with Bakin, and on her ability to be persistent with him. He concludes with \textit{chichihie yori mo, o-mae no hō ga yoppodo geijutsuka da} 父上よりも、お前の方がよくほど芸術家だ.

\textsuperscript{62}Zolbrod does note that Michi was literate: "Besides being a hard worker, O'Michi was cooperative, and above all, literate.... Her ability to read with understanding [\textit{Nansô Satomi hakkenden}] is all the more unusual because nothing indicates that [Bakin's wife] or Bakin's daughters could read more complicated literature than chapbooks, the usual reading fare for women." (Leon M. Zolbrod, \textit{Takizawa Bakin}, 99.) However, Zolbrod does not describe her as the literary genius that Fumiko describes.
Influence of Yokomitsu Riichi

Fumiko experimented with a number of writing styles, especially in the early years of her career. She did not belong to any writers' group and she contributed manuscripts to almost any publisher or periodical that requested them, which prevented critics from easily placing her in any specific school of writing. We know that early on she was influenced by the leftist poets, but that influence wore thin quickly. Another influence, heretofore given little notice by critics, was that of Yokomitsu Riichi 橫光利一 (1898-1947), a writer whose name is predominantly associated with Modernism and the Shinkankakuha 新感覚派 (New Sensationalist School), a group of writers active in the late 1920s. Yokomitsu experimented with various writing styles during his lifetime, and two of those styles are reflected in Fumiko's writing: the Shinkankakuha style as used in Yokomitsu's short stories "Maketa otto" 負けた夫 (The Defeated Husband, 1924) and "Atama narabi ni hara" 頭ならびに腹 (Heads and Bellies, 1924), and the dense-text style which he used in his short story "Kikai" 機械 (The Machine, 1930).

Yokomitsu himself was greatly influenced by a number of European writers, including Marcel Proust (1871-1922) and Paul Ambroise Valery (1871-1945), and he was intent upon experimentation which would depart from previously dominant writing styles. He took the Shinkankakuha movement quite seriously and attempted (albeit rather

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63 Dennis Keene identifies these two writers' works as main influences on Yokomitsu's "Kikai" (Dennis Keene, Yokomitsu Riichi: Modernist, New York: Columbia University Press, 1980, 167-171.)
Yokomitsu's "Maketa otto," along with other early works, is described as "marked by short sentences and by 'jumps' from one statement to the next without logical connections." What Yokomitsu was trying to do in this and other Shinkankakuha-style works was to depict a scene solely by recording the sensations experienced by the narrator, without any emotional response or subjective interpretation. The sentences are generally short, even abrupt, and present vivid images of scenery:

A little girl with perfectly normal legs was limping hurriedly along imitating a cripple. After her came a truck racing along jammed tight with policemen. The load of policemen stood silently protruding above the cab like black stamens. A car followed after them. There was a girl inside who was tired. The wooden bridge shook as the vehicles passed over. He came to the main road and turned right. Several trams flew by shaking their human bundles to the rear. The crammed flesh ricocheted inside the square trams. Whirlpools of sickly fragrant lust, bounding and leaping.

Each sentence presents new stimuli, much like a set of bright, flashing lights before the reader's eyes. There is little to indicate the response of the protagonist to his surroundings; Yokomitsu depends on the stark imagery to give as objective description of the scene as possible. When Fumiko wrote in a similar style in Hōrōki and some of the

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64See Dennis Keene, Yokomitsu Riichi: Modernist, 79-80, for a partial translation of the essay that Yokomitsu published in the first issue of Bungei jidai 文芸時代 (Literary Age), the organ of the Shinkankakuha. Keene says of this essay: "the article is remarkable for its incompetent usage of the vocabulary of aesthetic theory."

65Donald Keene, Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature in the Modern Era, 650-651.

66Translation by Dennis Keene, "'Love' and other stories of Yokomitsu Riichi (Tōkyō: University of Tōkyō Press and Japan Foundation, 1974), 51.
travelogues from Paris, she kept the "jumps" but added a lyrical quality to them. The following passage, from Hōrōki, describes the narrator and her friend, Kimi, relaxing after spending the day together:

The two of us looked out silently at the distant, cold, vast ocean. I want to be a crow. I think it would be nice to go on a trip, carrying a small satchel. Kimi's Japanese-style coiffure was blown about by the wind, and it looked forlorn, like a willow on a snowy day.67

Here Fumiko, like Yokomitsu, uses short sentences and jumps from observation to observation, but the difference between this passage and Yokomitsu's is clear; where Yokomitsu tried to write in a style which expressed only objective observations devoid of all subjectivity imposed by a narrator,68 Fumiko wrote about the desires of the narrator (by using "I want" and "I think") and her impressions of her companion ("[her hair] looked forlorn").

In Fumiko's travelogue, "Rondon no geshuku sono ta," the narrative makes such jumps as to be nearly incoherent. The paragraph preceding the following passage tells us that Fumiko has bought her ticket to London, and then goes to a little theater where a film

67 Shinchō HFZ vol. 2, 68.

68 Dennis Keene argues that it is impossible to "transfer the reality of objects without the secondary existence of the writer's mind or feelings interposing between the objects and the reader" (Yokomitsu Riichi: Modernist, 81.), although this is what Yokomitsu claimed he was trying to do. Keene says, "What instead mediates is a sensibility that attempts to be as empty as possible, a mind which refuses as far as possible to give meanings to objects in the world, or to work out the connections between them; a stunned and exhausted consciousness which has decided to give up, but still a consciousness totally imposed upon all it apprehends. Language mediates between men and the objects of their world, and there is no possible way to prevent this from happening."
of Cocteau's is being run:

At the time of death, just a little of Jean Cocteau's stories is good. Ah, could there possibly be such a selfish novelist in Japan? To write by oneself, to direct by oneself, to recite poetry between acts, to laugh by oneself, to violently jostle the audience, the audience was stupefied.

"What is that?"
"The nonsense of a poet. Foreigners' nonsense is that sort of thing."
"It is an altogether meaningless film."
"I'm stunned. It's really wonderful."
"Oh, writing novels has become so hateful."
Jean Cocteau asked inwardly, "What, are you surprised?"

It was a film with no plot — Venus went out for a walk, a woman on canvas had her lips pecked at, people entered mirrors, slowly they became water, ahh, how frightening... I won't be able to sleep. On the other side of the mirror there were five rooms. It was a traumatic hotel, 1 Room for Ascending Teachers, 2 Opium Room, 3 Rendezvous Room for Those Who Had Lost Hope, 4 Suicide Room for Mexican Revolutionaries, 5 Room for Teachers of Thieves — The audience was driven crazy. One realized the goodness of the print when the negro angel was seen through from behind. The negro became white, and I had never before seen a movie which dealt so beautifully with black and white.

"But the road is long."
Jean Cocteau appeared from behind the silenced black and silver curtain to recite a poem about a snow ball fight.69

Even the apparent eclectic nature of the film which she seems to be describing cannot be fully responsible for the "jumps" in this passage, particularly in the dialogue. With no narrative between quotes, the audience's speech stands starkly isolated from the rest of the text, much in the same way that the images of the limping girl and truck of policemen do in the above passage from "Maketa Otto." Fumiko makes it even more perplexing by

69"Rondon no geshuku sono ta" in Chūō kōron (April, 1932), 260.
A Survey of Fumiko's Writing

writing many French and English words in hiragana, not set off from the rest of the text in any way. The section of text immediately following this passage is equally disjointed:

N'est-ce pas!
I put down the small trunk I had brought with me from Japan and went to the northern parking area. Why is it I am such a stickler about bringing along my baggage? Isn't that waste paper rattling around in the bottom?

Adieu university students of Paris! I bid, and shaking hands, they gave me a photograph of me standing in the middle of a field and told me it was a souvenir.

Who is solitary? It is because of their solitude that people become likable. Send us a letter when you get back to Japan.

"Yes, you too" Hayashi. Fumiko. Got it? Comprends pas?
"I understand. Your name is bois, too many trees."

This is the end of the section; there is no further explanation of the scene. If rearranged on the page, the text would perhaps read better as poetry than as prose, as one is accustomed to incomplete sentences and vague intimations in poetry, where prose generally demands more precise language. This style of writing would have appealed to

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70 In this short section alone there are the following terms: tokui とおき (talkie), furan ふらん (franc), chibusu ちぶす (typhoid), toramachikku hotaru とらまちつくほたる (traumatic hotel), randebu らんでぶ (rendezvous), mekishi kokemeshi (Mexico), suirendo さいれんどう (silent), nesupa わずば (n'est-ce pas), toranku とらんく (trunk), adieu おでゆう (adieu), subuniiru すべにいる (souvenir), and kompu ranpa こんぷらんぱ (comprends pas).

71 Because this is written phonetically in hiragana, こんにちは, it is impossible to tell if Fumiko meant this to be comprend pas or comprends pas, a difference in conjugation that would indicate the subject of the action ("he/she" or "I").

72 Here the kanji for hayashi ("forest") is glossed baa はあ, for the French bois.

73 "Rondon no geshuku sono ta," 260-261. In order to render this and the previous passage into coherent English some compromises were necessary but I have made efforts to retain the original flavor of the writing. Quotation marks are as in the original, as are paragraph indentations and most punctuation marks.
Fumiko if for no other reason than it deviated from the norm, and she was the first to try new things simply because they were new. She used this style predominantly in the early 1930s, during which time she also wrote some works which do not share the same qualities, something which indicates that she was exploring different styles in search of one that suited her.

The second of Yokomitsu's styles mentioned above, the dense-text style found in his short story "Kikai" was revolutionary when it first appeared. The writer Itō Sei 伊藤整 (1905-1969) described his own reaction to "Kikai" as follows:

In 1930 Yokomitsu Riichi suddenly changed. This was "Kikai" ["The Machine"] which appeared in the September issue of Kaizo....I had just bought the magazine and started to read "The Machine" as I was walking along the main street in Ushigome, and the impression it made was such that it took my breath away. He had suddenly dropped the jumpy, impressionistic Shinkankaku method...and was now approaching a style that was flexible...in which the language went forward without interm ission and the printed text had hardly an indentation in it, the type literally crammed on the page.74

The style which Itō refers to is perhaps most noticeable when the reader first sets eyes on the printed page; paragraph breaks are rare, dialogue is inserted into texts with no punctuation marks, and sentences tend to be longer than normal. Reading such a densely printed text is a tiring activity, but the draw of the narrative pulls one along until, pages later, there is a break in the text where one can lift one's eyes from the page.

74 Translated by Dennis Keene in Yokomitsu Riichi: Modernist, 167. Keene's footnote says that this was "a widely-quoted recollection made after the Pacific War." See Hirano, Shōwa bungakushi (Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1963) 87; Odagiri Susumu, Shōwa bungaku no seiritsu (Tōkyō: Keisō shobō, 1965) 249 ff.
Fumiko wrote about her own impression of Yokomitsu's writing in the following way:

Recently I have been reading Yokomitsu Riichi's work. There is no space between his words, nor a wasted breath between his sentences. I was tired upon the first reading. Upon the second reading I felt a sort of attraction towards his work, and upon the third reading, I had great respect for his style. Yokomitsu's style is something that I could not achieve even if I tried over the course of decades. I wonder if there is anybody in the world of proletarian literature who has such a firmly rooted style? I have thought of trying to write my "literature of poverty" in this sort of dense style, using much hiragana, but for me it is still quite a difficult task.\(^75\) \(^76\)

This was written in 1931. In the years that followed, Fumiko published many works which used the same tightly-packed style of "Kikai", some of which were: "Izumi," "Meian," "Hototogisu" 杜鵑 (The Cuckoo, 1938), "Bangiku," "Yoru no kōmorigasa" 夜の蝙蝠傘 (Evening Umbrella, 1948), "Suizen," "Gyūniku," and "Hone." But none of these works copied anything more than the physical structure of the printed page. Like "Kikai," "Izumi"\(^77\) and "Meian"\(^78\) both have tightly packed text with few breaks and both

\(^75\)HFZ vol. 16, 113.

\(^76\)This is the only specific reference to Yokomitsu Riichi's writing that Fumiko made, but there are photographs which show the two of them meeting on two separate occasions in 1935 (See Isogai Hideo, Hayashi Fumiko, Shinchō nihon bungaku arubamu, vol. 34, Tōkyō: Shinchōsha, 1986, 68 & 70) and also a letter that Fumiko sent to Yokomitsu in 1936 recommending a hotel in London (Isogai Hideo, Hayashi Fumiko, 70), which show that she had a given amount of interaction with him.

\(^77\)"Izumi" is the story of a young married woman, Kuniko, who has an extra-marital affair with a man named Jinzai. The story suffers from trying to contain too many secondary plots, but the lack of cohesion is compensated for by the relatively large amount of intrigue: Kuniko's husband never knows about her affair, nor about the fact that he is not his child's real father. Kuniko meets Jinzai in Paris, where her husband is stationed, and the foreign setting gives the affair an extra exotic air. Kuniko is taken into
make liberal use of hiragana, but this is where the similarity ends. Where Yokomitsu wrote in long, flowing sentences, Fumiko could only manage to do so for the first few pages of "Izumi," after which she reverted to her familiar short, choppy sentences. In "Meian" the text begins with short sentences which never change to longer ones. The texts' appearance on the page reflects the dense style in which Fumiko said she wished she could write, but they do not cause the reader to feel pulled along by the narrative, as "Kikai" does, because they lack an important element: stream of consciousness. In "Kikai," there are few convenient breaks for the reader, few places where he can lift his eyes from the page for a moment of introspection; he feels constantly pulled by the narrative to continue reading. The stream of consciousness in "Kikai" does not clearly distinguish one thought from the next; it records a continuous, rather than discrete, series of thoughts. Tanigawa Tetsuzō described Yokomitsu's style in "Kikai" as 'arabesque-like' associationist" writing, referring to the natural flow of the text in which the narrator strings together his thoughts, feelings, and sensations. The smoothness of the flow is partially due to consistent first-person narration and is aided by the absence of dialogue; the resulting text is one constant chain of thought produced by one voice. However,

police custody in connection with her lover who, it turns out, is a criminal wanted by the authorities.

"Meian" is about a young woman who is forced into an arranged marriage by her family. She does not like her relatives very much, but she learns during the course of the story to cope with her circumstances and to take a firm stand for things that are important to her. It is a more mature story than "Izumi" and does not depend on sensationalism to maintain the reader's attention.

Dennis Keene, Yokomitsu Riichi: Modernist, 167.
"Izumi" and "Meian" never achieve this "associationist" quality because the narratives are told in the third-person and are interrupted by dialogue. When Fumiko set out to write in the style of Yokomitsu, to create a text which would attract her readers the way she describes being attracted by Yokomitsu's work, she did not take the necessity of a first-person narrator or stream of consciousness into consideration. The result is texts which tire the reader (as she said Yokomitsu's did upon first reading) and fail to captivate him.

Influence of Tokuda Shūsei

Fumiko met Tokuda Shūsei in 1924 in Tokyo when he was already a firmly established writer and she had yet to publish anything. He gave her a bit of money to help her along, and their long-lasting friendship was established. Fumiko was fond of Shūsei's writing and she complimented him in her essays, saying that she admired the fact that he welcomed her visits despite the fact that she was poor and had no introduction. She does note, however, that he never took a look at her manuscripts (in the way a mentor might be expected to do). Their relationship was more of a professional friendship than that of mentor and disciple. Still, there are some similarities in their writing worth noting.

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80"Shūsei sensei" 秋声先生 (Master Shūsei, 1947), HFZ vol. 16, 53.

81 In "Itarutokoro aoyama ari" 到る処青山あり (Green Mountains All Around, 1947) in HFZ vol. 16, 133.

82 Mori Eiichi has written at length about the influence that Shūsei had on Fumiko in his book Shūsei kara Fumiko e (Kanazawa: Nōtō Insatsu, 1990), 156-188. See this for comparative excerpts from both author's writing, as well as important quotations from Fumiko's essays which mention Shūsei.
Perhaps the most prominent similarity is subject matter; both writers wrote often about people who lived in poverty. Of course, this in itself was certainly not unique during the heyday of proletarian literature (the 1920s), but what made Fumiko and Shūsei's writing different from the rest was the lack of leftist political polemics. Neither writer was interested in portraying the lower classes in a way that would promote the Marxist idea of bourgeois oppression of the proletariat. It was simply that poverty was familiar to both writers, and it was natural for them to write about that which they knew best. But unlike Shūsei, who was criticized by Sōseki for writing a novel that "had no philosophy," Fumiko did not totally avoid philosophical statements in her writing; rather, her statements were vague, and when characters who are interested in philosophy and politics speak their minds, they are rarely portrayed in a positive light. In *Shūsei kara Fumiko e*, Mori Eiichi notes three other similarities between Fumiko's and Shūsei's writing: temporal layering, the use of onomatopoeic language, and a change in mid-career from autobiographical novels (*shishōsetsu* 私小説) to standard fictional novels (*honkaku shōsetsu* 本格小説). It is certainly possible, as Mori suggests, that Fumiko was imitating the temporal layering in Shūsei's novel *Kabi* (Mildew, 1911) when writing such earlier works as "Obihiro made" 帯広まで (All the Way to Obihiro, 1933), "Kaki," and "Kareha" 枯葉 (Dried Leaves, 1936) but there were certainly other

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83 As quoted by Hirano Ken in "Kaisetsu" in *Tokuda Shūsei shū*, vol. 4 of *Shinchō Nihon bungaku* (Tōkyō: Shinchōsha, 1973), 294.

84 As summarized from Section II of *Shūsei kara Fumiko e*. 

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established writers who used the same method, such as Nagai Kafū and Uno Kōji. It would be hard to single out Shūsei as the single writer who influenced Fumiko to write in this manner.

The same could be said of the use of onomatopoeic language and the change from autobiographical works to standard novels. Shūsei and Fumiko were not the only writers to do either of these things, so it is impossible to say that the latter was directly influenced by the former. In her essays, Fumiko mentions many of Shūsei's works but her admiration is quite general and does not touch on the structural specifics mentioned above. A typical example, from her essay "Shūsei sensei," follows:

I have been reading Shūsei's works since the time that I myself started writing novels. Now that I have a few years under my belt, I have come to appreciate the flavor of his writing. I still savor his Ashiato or the clique depicted in "Aru baishōfu no hanashi." Of his short stories, the one I like best is "Ori kaban" in which he describes losing his wife; it is brief and lucid. There is no argument in Shūsei's writing. I also enjoyed the novel "Chibi no tamashii" written

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85 Uno Kōji used temporal layering extensively in his novels Kura no naka (In the Storehouse, 1919) and Yume miru heya (A Room for Dreaming, 1922). The narratives in both move from present to past and back to present again.  

86 足跡 Footprints (1910).  

87 封信笑婦の話 "The Story of a Prostitute" (1920).  

88 折 藤 "The Folding Satchel" (1926).  

89 The Japanese here is rikutsu, which could also be translated as 'theory,' 'logic,' or 'reason.' Fumiko is alluding to what Sōseki said about Shūsei's writing having no philosophy, but what was a negative comment on Sōseki's part is repeated here as a positive one.  

90 チビの魂 "The Stubby Spirit" (1935).
about the time he lived in Hakusan.\footnote{HFZ vol. 16, 56.}

There are numerous passages, similar to this one, that praise Shūsei's works but do not describe specifically what it is about the work which is good. This is not surprising, given Fumiko's dislike of detailed analytical thought, but it does not help matters, either, if one wants to pinpoint what it was about Shūsei that Fumiko might have felt worth emulating in her own work. I think that Shūsei indeed had some influence on Fumiko, but it is perhaps most evident in the inspiration he instilled in her, not in specific stylistic mannerisms passed from one writer to the other.\footnote{Mori Eiichi's arguments are well structured with copious quotations, all fully annotated with bibliographic information. He presents much more material than would be appropriate to address in this section, but the work is admirable and deserves the interested reader's attention. (See Shūsei kara Fumiko e, 155-188.)}

The Sense of Smell as Descriptive Medium

Fumiko makes frequent use of olfactory imagery in her descriptive passages. Perhaps because of her own myopia,\footnote{Fumiko started to wear glasses from an early age, but she was self-conscious about them and wore them only when absolutely necessary. Many photographs of her show her without her glasses, looking vacantly towards the camera which must have been but a blur in her vision.} she tends to write much more about the smells of a setting than about the sights. Landscapes, people, rooms, and more are described by their scent. Some works mention scents more than others, but olfactory descriptions are found in almost every piece, both fiction and non-fiction (i.e., travelogues and essays). Some examples follow below:
a) [In a letter to her distant lover]: Even now, your scent remains on my hands. (Junenkan in Shincho HFZ vol. 21, 13)

b) The smell of medicine was as refreshing as mountain air. (Ibid, 15)

c) "Well, grandmother comes from a family of doctors, so she smells like medicine." (Ibid, 30)

d) Rikue washed her face and opened the window — there must have been a chestnut tree or something somewhere, as she had the sense of a melancholy smell wafting with the breeze into the room. (Ibid, 32)

e) Rikue brought the fountain pen up to her nose. It had a sour smell. When she gave it a good sniff, it smelled like a man's hair. Soon that sourness spread like steam and surrounded her on all sides. Rikue turned around and around, trying to blow away the hateful smell. (Ibid, 49)

f) When Yukiko brought her sleeve to her lips, in some way it smelled like Tetsuo. (Ibid, 59)

g) The room was cold and smelled of medicine, and there was a loneliness that stimulated a sense of sadness as one might experience on a journey. (Ibid, 125)

h) Perhaps it was the wind, or the driving rain hitting the bamboo blinds, that evoked a feeling something like the sadness felt on a journey. Mixed with the smell of the incense that had been burning for many days were the smells of dirt and of the kitchen. (Ame (Rain, 1942) in Shincho HFZ vol. 21, 166)

i) "In [the box] of incense that was sent from Hatoi Temple there is a scent that I like. Whenever I smell that scent,\(^4\) I remember the time when grandmother passed away and there is no stopping the loneliness and nostalgia that ensues." (Ibid, 167)

j) ...Michiko lay her face down on the book of poetry and pressed her eyes against it. The nostalgic smell of the printed paper rose to her nose. (Ibid, 197)

\(^4\)Here the word is \textit{nioi}, the same word that is translated as "smell" in previous passages. In all of these passages the Japanese word is the same: \textit{nioi}. 

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These passages can be divided into three groups: first, those that use smell to describe characters; second, those that describe settings; and third, those that relate smells to emotions. The first group includes (a), (c), (e), (f), (i), (k), (l), and (r). A person’s smell, be it their perfume, their sweat, or some other odor, brings their image to mind without a visual description. Fumiko does not describe the character’s appearance; rather, she describes his/her scent and that often indicates his/her appearance. What is also notable is that although the memory must be partially visual — it would be hard to
remember a person without seeing some sort of image of their physical appearance — the vision is omitted from the narrative. In passage (e) Rikue does not see the man from whom she wants to escape, in passage (f) Yukiko does not see Tetsuo, in passage (k) Fumiko does not appear with a soiled apron. Yet all those images pass through the reader’s mind with nothing more than the description of the smell.

Sight and smell are different from the other senses in that they do not involve an action by the perceiving actor: touch involves an action by definition, taste necessarily involves the act of consumption, and sound can only be created by an action (i.e., non-action does not produce sound). Only in the case of sight and smell can an actor be doing nothing else but exercising that sense. Therefore, in order to conjure up an image without an action, the writer has only two choices, sight and smell. The former is much more commonly chosen by writers in general than the latter, so the emphasis that Fumiko puts on smells offers a fresh change. Also, a sight can be described without associated smells entering the reader’s mind (the image of a telephone does not bring to mind a certain smell) but smells invariably cause one to envision the object which gives off the odor (the smell of fresh bread immediately brings to mind the image of a hot loaf). By describing things through smell, Fumiko’s imagery has a richness lacking in visual descriptions.

The second group of passages are those which describe settings through smells instead of views. This group includes (b), (n), (o), (p), (q), and (s). Like those passages which describe characters, these passages also usually bring to mind both the smell and the sight of the landscape. Passage (q) particularly does so, as one imagines the thick air swirling in the theater air and the audience lighting and smoking their cigarettes, peeling
oranges and popping the sections into their mouths, ripping pieces of dried fish with their teeth and chewing laboriously, and finally getting up to go to the squalid toilet. These actions are not in the passage itself, but they are undoubtedly those that spring to the reader's mind, as the description of the smells of these actions cannot be divorced from the actions themselves in one's mind.

The final group of passages are those that relate smells to a sense of loneliness, melancholy, or nostalgia. A detailed discussion of Fumiko's use of loneliness and nostalgia in her travel imagery follows in chapter 4, but passages (d), (g), (h), (i), (j), and (m) demonstrate here how she combines smells with these emotions. For example, in passage (d), the smell itself is described as melancholy; this is technically impossible, but the implication is that the smell of the chestnut tree reminds her of something which makes her sad. In passage (i), the smell of incense brings back the memory of a lost grandmother, a memory which causes the speaker to feel nostalgic. In (j), Michiko has no past experiences with the printed page to make her feel nostalgic about the smell of ink, but rather it is the poetry written in such ink that evokes her emotions. In these and the other examples, the smell brings forth a memory which is directly associated with an emotion.

As a final note on this subject, I should like to point out that Fumiko's use of smell did not change over the years; there are similar passages in works from the earliest days of her writing career and in those she wrote decades later.

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95 This passage falls into both the first and the third categories, as it recalls a character and causes the personal recollecting to feel nostalgia.
Bluntness of Speech and Action

Especially in her earlier works, Fumiko often depicts her characters' actions and dialogue with a bluntness not often seen in Japanese literature from the period. She prefers her characters to have clearly defined opinions and behavior over vague responses and ambiguous references. The result sometimes shocks the reader, as Fumiko does not shy away from depicting quite a bit of psychological and physical violence. The following passage is from her novel *Inazuma*. The two characters involved are the heroine, Kiyoko, and Takakichi, a man whom her family wants her to marry. Kiyoko does not want to be party to an arranged marriage, but Takakichi is persistent. It is near the end of the story, and Takakichi has come to Kiyoko's place searching for his sister, Mitsuko, who has disappeared. Kiyoko is vexed by his presence:

Takakichi had a boil-like abscess under his right ear, and he had a dark plaster stuck on it. His face looked oddly inhuman, and there were frightening dark circles under his eyes. He put an Asahi cigarette between his pale swollen lips and gestured for a match. Kiyoko feigned ignorance; she found the whiteness of the cigarette between Takakichi's lips pathetic. Takakichi wetted the end of the cigarette and said, "Hey, gimme a match." Kiyoko disgustedly gave him a match, promptly took her suitcase out of the closet and began changing her clothes.

"Hey!"
"There was no reply.
"Kiyoko • • •"
"What?"

"How stupid! What are you doing in such a huff?"
Again there was no reply. Kiyoko stood in front of the full-length mirror and began arranging her hair, but she found the scar above her own lip terribly ugly. Takakichi suddenly stood up. He threw the cigarette out the open window onto the street below and stood next to Kiyoko, but he smelled so of the plaster that she said, "What are you doing?" and pushed his body away. Takakichi pushed Kiyoko down on the *tatami*, breathed heavily and brushed her hand away from her chest. She had lied [about
Mitsuko's whereabouts] and now having been pushed down like this made her see the poplar tree outside her window like a cloud of blue smoke. The sun was high in the sky, and the dizzying warmth spread through the tatami.

"Ba · · · Bastard! What are you doing?! I'll scream, you idiot! Damn you!"

The thread in her shoulder seam was ripped and threatened to tear off. Takakichi's arm closed on Kiyoko's neck like a piece of steel. Dirty spittle gathered on his lips as he glared at her, but she glared back and brought both her hands up to his jaw.

"Stop it! I said stop it · · · Idiot!"

"So I'm stupid and full of shit, eh? You brazen · · ·"

Takakichi pushed Kiyoko against the wall with his brawny strength. Pressed underneath Takakichi's thick, heavy chest, Kiyoko shut her eyes, resignedly curled up her body and listened intently to the hot-tempered pounding of his heart. Takakichi's breath was stifling as he brought Kiyoko's face up to his own, but she suddenly drew in her chin and bent backwards, like an owl righting itself, and bit his left cheek with a sharpness that drew a spray of blood.96

This is quite a violent passage, but it is not unique in the novel. The relatively civilized conversation that Kiyoko has with her neighbor, Kunimune, a few pages later would be unremarkable in a different setting but surrounded as it is by such violence it stands out from the page.97 The characters seem to take such brutality in stride as an unpleasant but unavoidable part of life.

Another particularly violent passage can be found in the short story "Kuroitsuru Sonata" クロイツェル・ソナタ (Kreutzer Sonata, 1949) in which a husband, Kōji, and wife, Namiko, try to deal with their hopeless marriage. The two dislike each other intensely, as is clear in this scene in which the two fight about whether to separate:

96 Shinchō HFZ vol. 5, 88-89.
97 Shinchō HFZ vol. 5, 101.
Namiko stood up and went into the sitting room to close the door to the kitchen. Kōji shook both his hands with rage and said harshly, "You are not human."

"Well, if I am not human, what are you? Less than an animal? You'd best start thinking about working instead of torturing the weak [maid] with your wild delusions."

Namiko stood up suddenly. Kōji tripped her and slapped her face as she lay toppled on the floor. She staggered on her knees towards the alcove and pressed her hands to her nose.

"See? See? You are demented. It is you who is the animal." Blood ran from between her fingers. Kōji kicked her firmly in the back at this retort.

"Who's demented? Before you start talking back to me you should consider your own state of affairs. You keep telling me to get to work, get to work — don't you think I want to? It makes me so angry when you act as if work is just out there rolling around like a bunch of loose potatoes!"

Namiko stood up and took a piece of tissue from the dresser to wipe the blood off her fingers. "I'm sure you'd be at peace if you killed me, but I cannot be killed so easily. I will hate you the rest of your life."  

This type of argument is not an isolated incident in the story, as a few pages later the two fight again with equal ferocity:

Namiko violently grabbed Kōji's hair as if she meant to tear it from his head. Kōji had his hand around Kiyoko's shoulders and would not let go. Namiko thrust her leg out in the direction of the children and hastily tried to wake them. When her leg thumped into them they cried out as if someone had set fire to them.

Kōji got up suddenly without saying a thing, but he stepped on the hem of the mosquito netting and it came down heavily on his head.

"What are you doing? If you're going to kill me, then please do so! What an outrage! What are all these honeyed words of yours?" Namiko cried.

Kōji kicked Namiko's hip violently as she moved at his feet. An uncontrollable, furious anger boiled up inside of him. He kicked her forcefully two or three times. He stomped on her shoulder and her face with his feet and kicked her some more. The mosquito net came loose on

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98Shinchō HFZ vol. 13, 180-181.
all sides. Namiko howled like a beast and did not fight back. The two children sat and cried frantically in the dark, terror-stricken at their parents’ fighting.99

The violence here, as in the passage from *Inazuma*, is blunt and raw. There is no subtlety in the confrontation, there is no word play, there are no actions which imply a hidden meaning. These scenes have shock value; they are simultaneously so frightful and so seductive that the reader cannot help but be drawn to them. If used too often, they would become distasteful, but Fumiko is generally careful enough to use them sparingly enough to prevent repelling her readers.

This tendency to describe scenes in a rough-and-ready manner may be due in part to the influence of Fumiko’s impoverished childhood; being the daughter of itinerant peddlers would hardly have taught her refined diction. It may also be due to her experiences as a young woman, particularly those while she was living with her abusive lover, Nomura Yoshiya (see chapter 1). Certainly the scenes in which she describes the fights she had with Nomura are quite similar to those above; such as the following scene from *Hōrōki*:

When I told him I didn’t want him around where I worked, Nomura picked up an ash tray and threw it at my chest. Ashes flew into my eyes and mouth. I felt like my rib bones had been snapped. When I ran away out the door, Nomura grabbed my hair and threw me to the floor. I thought maybe I should pretend to be dead. He kicked me over and over again in the stomach.100

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99 *Shinchō HFZ* vol. 13, 204-205.

100 *Shinchō HFZ* vol. 2, 247.
It would seem that much of the violence she described in her fiction was based on some real-life experience.

Despite the immediate unpleasant sensation the reader may experience when reading such passages, this lack of subtlety, allusion, or innuendo also makes the work more accessible to a general audience, as one need not meditate on possible intricate nuances, nor wade through pages of psychological introspection. This is not to say that all of Fumiko's writing is a litany of blunt narrative; both of the heroines in *Ukigumo* and "Bangiku" are noted for the subtlety with which Fumiko portrays their emotions, and of course there are plenty of other works in which Fumiko displays similar writing skills. I think that Fumiko's avoidance of rumination and adherence to straight description of physical events without the interjection of character's thoughts probably accounts for a good deal of her popularity. Readers who had little patience for pages of intellectual meditation could find immediate gratification in reading Fumiko's fast-paced novels.

I have enumerated most of the more obvious general characteristics of Fumiko's writing in this chapter. There are a few, such as her use of travel imagery, which warrant discussion all on their own, and they will be discussed in chapters to follow. At this point, the reader should have a general idea of what characterizes her writing, and these aspects — non-determinism and determinism, broad references to certain concepts without details, a focus on women's issues, influence of Yokomitsu Riichi and Tokuda Shüsei, common use of olfactory imagery, and a bluntness of dialogue and action — will reappear constantly as I further discuss Fumiko's writing. No one work contains all of these.
characteristics, but most combine at least a few of them. Some, such as non-determinism and determinism, change distinctly during the course of Fumiko's career, but others, such as olfactory imagery, are common components in both early and late works.
CHAPTER THREE

HŌRŌKI AND THE EARLIER WORKS

Publication History and Editorial Changes

Hōrōki is possibly the most popular work Fumiko ever produced. Other novels, such as Ukigumo and Mēshi, and some short stories such as "Bangiku" and "Kaki," are invariably mentioned on the short-list of her works, but more attention has been given to Hōrōki both by critics and the readership than to any other work. Hōrōki has been dramatized in both the theater and film many times, including many productions which were staged years after Fumiko's death, a fact that attests to the novel's lasting appeal. Translations of selected sections exist in English, Russian, Chinese, Korean, and Esperanto.\(^1\) An informal survey of educated Japanese today shows that Hōrōki is the first

\(^1\)Theater and film productions include: March - May 1971, March - April 1974, August - October 1981, September - December 1983 (all at the Geijutsu-za 芸術座 Theater). Film versions include: June 1935 (PCL Studios), April 1954 (Toei 東映 Studios), September 1961 (Tōhō 東宝 Studios), September 1962 (Tōhō Studios). (Kumazaka Atsuko, "Hayashi Fumiko" in Gendai bungaku kenkyū: Jōhō to shiryo, Hasegawa Izumi, ed. Tōkyō: Shibundō, 1987, 453.)

Almost every piece of literary criticism on Hayashi Fumiko mentions the novel, if not dedicates considerable attention to it. Given this, it may seem redundant to dedicate much time and energy to one more evaluation of *Horoki*, but the fact remains that there are so many elements in *Horoki* which are cornerstones to Fumiko's writing that it behooves one to start examining the author's work as a whole through this novel.

Hayashi Fumiko wrote her first novel, *Horoki*, based on the diary that she kept from the time she moved to Tokyo in 1922 until 1928. *Horoki* was published serially in the magazine *Nyonin geijutsu* from August 1928 until October 1930. During that period there was a total of twenty installments printed, although *Horoki* did not appear in every monthly issue of *Nyonin geijutsu*. These installments bore separate titles, but all had the subtitle *Horoki*. Besides the sections of *Horoki* published in *Nyonin geijutsu*, there was also a section published in the October 1929 issue of the magazine *Kaizō*. These installments, along with some others previously unpublished, were compiled into the novel entitled *Horoki* which *Kaizō* published in July 1930. Shortly after that, in November 1930, *Kaizō* published *Zoku Horoki* (Diary of a Vagabond, Continued) as a separate volume (*tankōbon* 単行本) in their series *Shin'ei bungaku sōsho* 新銳文邦書.

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3 As I concluded after discussing the author with faculty and students at Keio University during the 1992-1993 academic year.

4 The title of this installment was "Kyūshū tankō machi hórōki"

5 Mori Eiichi, *Hayashi Fumiko no keisei: Sono sei to hyōgen*, 57-59.
In 1933 Kaizo published Höroki and Zoku Höroki together in a separate volume. From this time on, Höroki was reprinted many times both as a single volume and as part of a collection of modern Japanese literature. It is still in print today in paperback, published by Shinchōsha.

The section order in the separate volume version of Höroki (i.e., the order in which publishers have printed and continue to print) is not, however, the chronological order in which the sections were originally printed. The separate volume version of Höroki does not contain the original section titles, nor are the sections clearly delineated by some sort of punctuation or break. The only indication of a break in the text is the change of month in the diary entries; unrelated incidents appear side by side, and the result is that the reader may occasionally feel lost in the narrative, unsure of how the narrator came to be in her present situation from another, seemingly unrelated situation.

There were also considerable changes made in the language of the separate volume

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6Imagawa Eiko, "Chosho mokuroku" in HFZ vol. 16, 313.

7In most publications of Höroki, there are three main parts. The first two parts make up the novel Höroki, and the third part is the novel Zoku Höroki. Many taiseki and zenshū collections omit part three altogether. In the present study, section numbers are not mentioned in references, and quotations from Zoku Höroki are simply identified as being from Höroki.

8For more detailed publication information, see both Imagawa's chronology in HFZ vol. 16, 291-360 and Mori’s discussion of Höroki's publication history in Hayashi Fumiko no keisei: Sono sei to hyōgen, 53-63.

9Mori Eiichi has collected and compared publication lists to show the original order and the final order, but I do not see the need to reproduce them here; the data simply shows that there is a considerable change in order. (Mori Eiichi, Hayashi Fumiko no keisei: Sono sei to hyōgen, 57-62.)
version of Hōrōki. In Hayashi Fumiko no keisei, Mori Eiichi charts these changes and gives examples from the text. In sum, he notes that in the separate volume version (as compared to the serialized versions), there is an increase of the following: onomatopoeia, vernacular expressions, grammatically complete sentences, words written in katakana, present tense (as opposed to past tense), and use of the phrase "I think" (to omou と思う). Also in the separate volume there was a decreased use of particles. But do these changes alter the effect on the reader? The changes, particularly the increased use of complete sentences, may make the text read more like a fictional narrative and less like a diary, but there is already so much in Hōrōki that makes it unlike a true diary, that I doubt such minor editorial changes would make much of a difference. Ultimately, the ideas being expressed in the text were not profoundly altered by any of these editorial changes.

Stylistic Attributes of Hōrōki

As mentioned above, Hōrōki is based on the diary that Fumiko kept as a young woman. The final form of the work has the structure of a diary, with entries separated by dates — albeit vague, as only the month is indicated, and not the day — but at the same time there are many things that make Hōrōki quite unlike a diary. A diary, by definition, is "a daily record of events or transactions, a journal; specifically, a daily

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10 Mori Eiichi, Hayashi Fumiko no keisei: Sono sei to hyōgen, 63-65.

11 See next section of this chapter for a further discussion.
record of matters affecting the writer personally, or which come under his personal
observation." I would add to this definition the fact that a diary is written by one
person, although it may be about events that involve more than that one person. It is also
invariably written in the first-person voice, and events are recorded as they are observed
by the author, not an omniscient narrator. Finally, as a diary is "a record of matters," i.e.,
a record of past events, one would expect it to be written in the past tense, except for
hopes and anticipations which would naturally be in the future tense.

*Hōrōki* is written in the first person, but Fumiko's treatment of dialogue in the text
often makes the reader forget that one is reading a diary; dialogue is directly recorded,
surrounded by quotation marks, in the same way it would be in a third person narrative.
To give an example, the following is the entry for one complete day:

The two of us ate, feeling rather crestfallen.
"We've been getting a little lazy lately. You wipe down the
staircase, and I'll do the laundry . . ."
"No, I'll do it. You can just leave it here." When I looked at
Toki's eyes, puffy from lack of sleep, I found her unbearably pitiful.
"Toki, what's with that ring on your finger?" On her frail ring
finger glittered a white stone set in platinum. "What's with that violet
coat?" I asked.
There was no reply.
"You're tired of being poor, aren't you?"

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12*Oxford English Dictionary.* The definition of the Japanese word *nikki* 日記 (diary)
is similar: "To collect together the events and thoughts of one day, affix a date, and on
that day or shortly thereafter make a record; said record" (Nihongo kokugo daijiten, Nihon
daijiten kankōkai, ed. Tōkyō: 1975. The Japanese is *dekgoto ya kansō o ichi nichigoto ni
matome, hizuke o tsukete, sono tōjitsu mata wa sekkin shita jiten de kiroku suru koto;
mata, sono kiroku* できごとや感想を一日ごとにまとめ、日づけをつけて、その当日または接近した時点で記録すること。
また、その記録。
The thought of meeting up with the mistress downstairs made my skin crawl.

"Oh Miss! Can't you do something about Toki?" The mistress's words struck painfully, like cold water pouring on my chest.

"Last night on this side of the neighborhood there was a car honking away. This is the head household in this town so it's especially obnoxious when the rumors start flying . . ."

Oh, enough already. I was bent over the laundry, and her words struck my back like so many little pellets.¹³

It is particularly odd that the writer records her own speech, in quotation marks. Recording another's speech in this manner can be done naturally in a diary, but the author's speech is not so easily recorded. Generally speaking, there are two normal styles in which speech can appear in diaries: the first is one in which all speech is rendered into narrative and quotation marks are eliminated, as in the following example:

A) John said he did not want to go, but I told him he should consider it.

The second possibility is one in which all speech except the narrator's is recorded in quotation marks:

B) John said, "I don't want to go," but I told him he should consider it.

Both possibilities are commonly used and should be familiar to any reader. However, in the passage above and throughout Hōrōki, Fumiko chose neither of these possibilities.

¹³Shinchō HFZ vol. 2, 94-95.
In *Horoki*, the scene recorded in A and B above would be written as follows:

C) "I don't want to go."
   "Oh, I think you should consider going."

Such dialogue makes the reader forget momentarily that the text is written in the first person, until the narrator voices thoughts outside the quotation marks. Occasionally, Fumiko uses either style A or B, but the overwhelming majority of scenes in *Horoki* use style C.

Besides the treatment of dialogue, there is another aspect of *Horoki* that differs from the expected: actions are described with an attention to detail rarely seen in diaries. As a diary is a record of the events and thoughts in a person's life, unrelated minutiae are rarely included. The author may note her own feelings in detail, but rarely does one see in a diary the sort of long descriptive passages that a novelist would use to portray a setting. *Horoki* contains many passages in which details — specifically the minor actions of characters — are meticulously noted; the following passage, again the complete entry for one day, illustrates my point:

Rain. I played with the boy all day. The mistress, a woman with high cheekbones, is called Ohisa. Okimi is much more gentle and beautiful, but fate is a mysterious thing. Why do men do such things?14
   "Hmm. Things down in the harbor area really seem bad." Ohisa had bared her shoulders and was combing her hair as she applied oil to it.
   "What sort of attitude is that supposed to be?" The old woman scolded Ohisa from the kitchen as she scrubbed the pots. It was raining.

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14Presumably, Fumiko is referring here to why a man would choose Ohisa over Okimi, one of the other working girls.
Gloomy April rain. A vegetable vendor pulled his cart past the houses lining the rain-drenched streets.

"I wonder what food is in season these days?" I said.

In the evening Ohisa and the master went off to town in the rain on some business. The old woman, the children, Okimi and I gathered around the table for dinner.

"They really are fine, going out together in this shower," the old woman said, as if they were really quite fine indeed.15

Sentences such as "Ohisa had bared her shoulders and was combing her hair as she applied oil to it" and "A vegetable vendor pulled his cart past the houses lining the rain drenched streets" do not sit well in 了了's diary format; their detail is too complete to be a simple record of events. Moreover, the passage is dedicated primarily to the visual description of the scene, not description of notable events happening within that scene. Consequently, although this passage would be perfectly normal if it were part of a first or third person fictional narrative, in a diary it is awkward at best. Fumiko felt that one of her strong points as a writer was her ability to capture everyday detail. She wrote in a 1949 essay:

The foundation of my writing lies in my giving life to trifling details. I am interested in details such as the fact that people breathe, no matter where they are. That's what kind of writer I am.16

The details that she included in 了了, although they did not fit well into the diary

15Shinchō HFZ vol. 2, 145-146.

16"Matsubaboten - Hayashi Fumiko bunko atogaki" 松葉牡丹林美子文庫あとがき (Postscript to Rose moss - Hayashi Fumiko library, 1949) in HFZ vol. 16, 272.
format as discussed above, did help make the work a success.

The overly detailed descriptive passages and the quoted dialogue found in *Hōrōki* are the causes of why the diary format as used in that novel has little in common with a true diary's format. Perhaps the fact that she based the novel on her own diary inspired Fumiko to retain the divisions of days, and thus the pretense of writing a `diary,' but the final product bears only a remote resemblance to what the reader would expect of a diary. One advantage Fumiko gained by retaining her diary format is the appeal that such a text has; it is much the same appeal that *shishōsetsu* (autobiographical novels) have, in that the author's supposed true-life experiences increase reader interest. In Fumiko's case, her loose lifestyle — a single woman supporting herself and assorted lovers — titillates the reader. Through *Hōrōki*, Fumiko provides many readers with the opportunity to be a voyeur of an unfamiliar world and the `true-life' element naturally increases the reader's curiosity. Mori Eiichi comments that:

...*Hōrōki* could be viewed as a work that chronicles a working woman's travels through the world of employment. In its voluminous pages is depicted the itineracy of a cafe waitress. At the time, when working women had become the subject of conversation in society, a work like *Hōrōki* that recorded the realities of those women's lives would surely have drawn many readers. This [the heyday of *Hōrōki*'s popularity] was all just at the same time as the period when the prosperity of popular literature was on the rise,\(^*\text{17}\) and there must have been many readers who picked up copies of *Hōrōki* out of related interest and curiosity.\(^*\text{18}\)

\(^*\text{17}\) I.e., the literature of the populous, works about the common man.

\(^*\text{18}\) Mori Eiichi, *Hayashi Fumiko no keisei: sono sei to hyōgen*, 71-72.
Mori goes on to quote Furutani Tsunatake, a young man who was in literary circles at the time:

The young women with whom we young men could most freely associate at the time were the cafe waitresses. I soon became one of the regulars at the cafe. My curiosity was strongly peaked about the inner lives, that is, the private lives, of those women, and I wanted to have a peek inside.

At least as far as employment was concerned, those cafe waitresses' lives were written about at length in Hōrōki. For me at the time, perhaps one could say that I was engrossed in [Hōrōki] more to get a glimpse of the lives of those waitresses — a sight they never revealed to their customers — than to read a piece of literature.19

Both readers who were curious about the lives of the working class and readers who were interested in the private lives of young women were drawn to Hōrōki. It is impossible to know the exact composition of Fumiko's readership — what percentage were which sex, what age, what economical status, etc. — but it seems that her narrative would have appealed to quite a range of people. For those who were outside the protagonist's world, it offered a glimpse of an unknown existence. For those readers who knew what the protagonist's world was like, it was a poignant description of the familiar.

As with most shishōsetsu, it is not safe to assume that everything Fumiko wrote in Hōrōki is faithful to reality. Some events in Hōrōki have been recorded elsewhere, and are accepted as true, such as her move to Tokyo and her relationship with Nomura. Others are contradictory to outside sources, such as the date of her birth. It is plain that,

although the text is based on real-life events, it is as a whole a work of fiction. Although many scholars use the information in Horoki when writing Fumiko's biography, never is Horoki itself called an "autobiography" (jijoden 自叙伝); it is invariably called a "novel" (shōsetsu 小説).

It is tempting here to launch into a discussion of other diaries in Japanese literary history and to compare them to Horoki, but because of all the reasons noted above for which Horoki does not resemble a diary, I feel it would be a fruitless endeavor. Certainly one could find similarities here and there, but there is no evidence that Fumiko attempted to follow any sort of literary tradition when she wrote Horoki. Ruth Forsythe, in her doctoral dissertation "Songs of Longing: The Art of Hayashi Fumiko," sees a direct connection between Horoki and both Heian and Edo diaries, but she fails to demonstrate concretely what that connection is. She says that Edo diaries and Horoki have common elements of "truth" and "beauty," but without concrete definitions of these terms (and Forsythe does not provide them), such a nebulous statement could be made about almost any literary work.

Hirabayashi Taiko recalls that the first title Fumiko gave to the work which later became Horoki was Uta niki 歌日記. Mori Eiichi sees this as a significant fact in that it suggests Fumiko was writing a collection of narrative vignettes, much like the early

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21 Mori Eiichi, Hayashi Fumiko no keisei: sono sei to hyōgen, 93.
Heian text, *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 (Tales of Ise). Furthermore, Mori points out, the structure of *Horoki* — prose commentary on accompanying poetry — is similar to the structure of *Ise monogatari*, in which the prose explains how the poems came to be written. Finally, the subject of many stories in *Ise monogatari* is romantic love, and Fumiko writes quite a bit on the same subject in *Horoki*. Nakamura Mitsuo says that:

> One can understand what sort of unexpected connection that *Horoki*, written in such an apparently flippant manner, has to ancient Japanese culture if one considers the position that diaries (*nikki*) and poetry collections (*uta monogatari*) occupy in our country's pre-modern canon.

Forsythe, Hirabayashi, Mori, and Nakamura all see the influence of pre-modern literature on *Horoki*, but while it is true that *Horoki* is a diary of sorts, and it is also true that it combines prose with poetry, these characteristics are too general to specifically identify *Horoki* as a work directly influenced by Heian *nikki*. The definition of *nikki bungaku* 記文学 (diary literature) is so wide-ranging that making comparisons between *Horoki* and other works in this genre would result in something of encyclopedic proportions; the *Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature* defines *nikki bungaku* as:

> ...a relatively new term for a phenomenon as old as Tsurayuki's [872-945] *Tosa Nikki*. Since subsequent examples often drop daily entries, the result amounts to works that record or recreate some portion of a person's life.

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22 Mori Eiichi, *Hayashi Fumiko no keisei: Sono sei to hyögen*, 93-94.

This tendency led to overlapping of nikki with kashū and monogatari.24

Thus, almost any work that is about "some portion of a person's life" could qualify; this would include biographies and autobiographies in addition to diaries.

If we look at the definition of uta monogatari (a term Mori also uses when describing Hōrōki), we find little concrete similarity to Hōrōki, either:

Stories of waka. Brief prose narratives centering on one or more poems, a written or literary form that developed from its oral counterpart or predecessor, utagatari [oral traditions].25

Of course Fumiko was not writing waka (traditional Japanese poetry), but even if she were, Hōrōki would not fit the description because of the lack of correlation between her prose and poetry. There may be a large amount of poetry in Hōrōki, but one cannot say that the prose centers on it. The text surrounding the poetry often does not have much connection to the contents of the poem; in Ise monogatari there is a clear topical connection between the prose and poetry. In Hōrōki, the poetry appears often as the

24Earl Miner, ed. The Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), 292. The definition in the Nihon kokugo daijiten is much the same: "Diaries primarily from the Heian to Kamakura periods which are written in kana and have a literary quality to them. This includes works in the style of Tosa nikki for which dates are omitted, but there are also many in the style of Kagerō nikki which is the autobiographical account of one person's life. They have strong self-revelation, and many are written by or for women (joryū no te ni nari 女流の手になり), such as Murasaki Shikibu nikki 紫式部日記 [circa 1010] and Sarashina nikki 更級日記 [circa 1060]. Works by contemporary authors are also included."

narrator's after-thought or day dream and it does not have the correlation to the surrounding text found in *Ise monogatari*. For example, the following is a passage from the third section of *Hōrōki*. The protagonist has just been invited by her friend, Yoshitsune, to go home with him because his mother will be out and they can be alone:

I didn't feel like going because Yoshitsune was too young. He was so childish that I found it unbearably funny. When he asked, "How about it?" I said, "No." He continued to walk on. I also walked. The trouble was it was just too cold. I don't mind walking, but if I'm going to sleep with someone, it should be a man of deep thoughts. I had no inclination to go to Yoshitsune's second floor rented room.

At a shop, Yoshitsune bought for me a fine, small ornamental hairpin. I returned to [the store where I worked] which was just steps away.

The day help still had not arrived. The little hairpin was oddly beautiful. I borrowed Sumi's mirror and placed the pin in my hair. The pin did not improve the appearance of my face, and I found the whiteness of my neck oddly pitiful. I had a cold feeling, as if I had become one of the prostitutes from the local red-light district, yet I felt a wave of self-confidence inside me.

I put the horse pin in my hair
The horse staggers as it pulls its load
Drops of sweat trickle down
The horse is pulled by its destiny

The horse is pulled by reins
Sometimes puffing white breath
Nobody sees it
Sometimes dripping urine under the strain
The whip flies at its rump
The draft horse climbs the hill

Where in the world is it going?
Walking without purpose
Without a thought in its head.

I was bored, so I licked the end of my pencil and wrote a poem. The shop girls chattered on about this and that. One of them saw my
hairpin and said, "Hey, you bought yourself a beauty there, didn't you?"
I felt like flaunting the pin for all to see.
I read Bunshō kurabu. A lot of poems had been contributed to a
column entitled "Ikuda Shungetsu Selections."

Evening. Yoshitsune gave me some oranges. The shop is getting
busier and busier with preparations for the end of the year. The cook was
cold to me when he saw that Yoshitsune had given me the oranges.26

This is not an entire day's entry, but the remaining text has as little to do with the poem
as that quoted here. Fumiko does not mention the horse anywhere but in this poem,
though one can surmise that the hairpin which the narrator has received has the shape of
a horse. The surrounding text does not explain the meaning of the poem, nor does the
poem provide insight into the actions described in the surrounding text. This is all quite
different from the structure of Ise monogatari, in which each tale expounds specifically
on a poem. Moreover, Ise monogatari is a collection of discrete episodes that do not have
one consistent narrator, where Hörōki is told entirely from one person's perspective.

If one were intent on identifying pre-modern texts that influenced Hörōki, I would
suggest Matsuo Bashō's 松尾芭蕉 (1644-1694) travelogues, such as Oku no hosomichi
奥の細道 (Narrow Road to the Deep North, 1702) or Oi no kobumi 笠の小文
(Essay from a Traveler's Book-Satchel, 1687). Bashō, like Fumiko, moved from place
to place and wrote about his travels. Oku no hosomichi and Oi no kobumi are diaries
about journeys,27 just as Hörōki is, and they contain both poetry and prose in most entries.


27I do not mean to indicate that Bashō was writing necessarily truthful accounts of his
actions. Both he and Hayashi fictionalized much of the actions in their "diaries." This
does not mean that the format of the work ceases to be that of a diary, however.
But where Bashō’s works focus on the uniqueness and character of specific (usually scenically famous) geographic locations, Hōrōki focuses on primarily one area — Tokyo — and the emotional state of the narrator. Still, there is more similarity to Hōrōki in Bashō’s works than is in Ise monogatari.

The question remains whether Fumiko actually read Bashō’s works; little proof exists to show she did, except the following passage from her essay "Bungaku • tabi • sono ta":

I respect people like Bashō, who was full of common sense. He was indifferent to material desires, and had a character that was pure and penetrated a splendid emptiness. His loneliness reveals his inner spirit and expresses the loneliness that we Japanese have within ourselves. When he set off on his trip to the north, he was embarrassed by all the farewell gifts that his neighbors gave him. For him, it was quite difficult that things had come to that. ²⁸

This shows that Fumiko respected Bashō as a person, but it says nothing about how she felt about his writing or even if she read his work at all. Fumiko’s fictional characters read Western literature more than Japanese literature, and in none of her works do the characters ruminate or comment on Bashō, except in one short paragraph in the novel Kawa uta. ²⁹ In sum, although there are some similarities between Hōrōki and other prominent works in the Japanese pre-modern canon, I find no conclusive evidence that

²⁹ The scene involves the narrator feeling as if she were experiencing something expressed in Bashō’s "firefly poem" (hotaru no ku 蜻の句). (Shinchō HFZ vol. 20, 161).
Fumiko was indeed influenced by those works.

*Hōrōki* has much of the *Shinkankakuha* style mentioned in the previous chapter, which makes it a very lively narrative. Rarely does the narrator focus on one subject for any longer than a few short paragraphs. Attention jumps from one subject to the next, sometimes with and sometimes without logical connections. (The diary format here helps tremendously; section breaks, i.e., new entries in the diary, help keep the text from seeming too disjointed, as a subject change from one day to the next seems natural. Also, within daily entries the text is often broken by blank spaces between paragraphs, as if the narrator had written part of the entry in the morning and part later in the day.) Fumiko said that while she was writing *Hōrōki* she was still trying to understand "what constituted a novel,"\(^{30}\) and perhaps the unconventional style of *Hōrōki* — which purports to be a diary but reads like a third person narrative — is a reflection of that.

I think that *Hōrōki* is best described as a creative anthology, a conglomeration of loosely related vignettes written by a young writer who was learning about creative writing as she was engaged in it. Like the portfolio of a young painter, *Hōrōki* contains an assortment of creative efforts which displays the artist's range and shows a gradual evolution of style. And while it took a few years (after *Hōrōki*) before Fumiko could construct a full-length novel with a central plot, well developed characters, and an adherence to subject matter (as opposed to 'jumps' from one to another), *Hōrōki* was the means by which she first began to understand the dynamics of writing a novel.

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\(^{30}\)“Itaru tokoro aoyama ari” in *HFZ* vol. 16, 130.
Authorial Intent: Philosophical & Literary Influences

Fumiko said that she was inspired to write *Hörōki* after she read the Japanese translation of the Norwegian Nobel prize-winning novelist Knut Hamsun's (1859-1952) novel, *Sult* (Hunger, 1890). Donald Keene remarks that "apart from the poverty she describes there is little similarity between the two books," but I would beg to differ. The narrator of *Sult* spends most of his time either looking for food or trying to sell his manuscripts; the narrator of *Hörōki* does the same thing. Both narrators lament their extreme poverty, and both constantly search for the means to improve their lot. Mori Eiichi theorizes that reading *Sult* may have convinced Fumiko that her own life could be the stuff of successful fiction, but it was not *Sult* alone which inspired her to write *Hörōki*. Mori also points to Kasai Zenzō's 葛西善蔵 (1887-1928) short story "Ko o tsurete" 子をつれて (With Children, 1918) and Maksim Gorkiǐ's Максим ГОРЬКИЙ (1868-1936) *Nadne Hedne* (The Lower Depths, 1901) as works that convinced Fumiko that poverty could be used as subject material. Until the time she wrote *Hörōki*, she had been struggling with the mechanics of writing a novel and she had been trying to sell her poetry and children's fiction with little success, so the realization that her diary could be

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31 "Chosha no kotoba" 著者の言葉 in *Shincho* HFZ vol. 2, 290. This is one of many places where Fumiko mentions Hamsun's influence upon her. For more information on the Japanese translations of *Sult* available at the time, see Mori, *Hayashi Fumiko no keisei: Sono sei to hyōgen*, 54.

32 Donald Keene, *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature in the Modern Era*, 1139.

33 Mori Eiichi, *Hayashi Fumiko no keisei: Sono sei to hyōgen*, 86-87. Fumiko mentions Kasai by name in *Hörōki*: "I don't think I'll ever end up like somebody in a Kasai Zenzō novel." (*Shincho* HFZ vol. 2, 208)
the basis for a novel must have been an exciting one for her. Her frustrations with writing a novel are expressed in Hōrōki:

I don't know what form my novel should take. It isn't just the fervent daydreams of somebody, is it?34

Upon visiting the novelist Uno Kōji to ask him about how to write novels, she finds that his advice does not help her much:

"Just write the way you speak," he told me. In my heart I thought about how that just wouldn't do it....My problem is that I must write the way I speak, but writing something like "Um, I um," will never do.35

In any case, Fumiko knew that she did indeed want to write a novel, and so despite the confusion she felt about how to go about such a project, she set about rewriting her diary. In an afterword she wrote about the process of writing Hōrōki, she claims that she had not clearly thought about writing a sustained novel:

At the time, I hadn't even thought about what kind of thing constitutes a novel. All I thought about was what kind of thing I wanted to write • • • Today's youth have an understanding of "the novel," but I think I became a writer by natural creation, and not any learned process.36

However, the number of passages in Hōrōki about the act of writing and how it should be done suggests Fumiko's sincere concern over the mechanics of being a good writer.

34Shinchō HFZ vol. 2, 216.
35Shinchō HFZ vol. 2, 220.
36HFZ vol. 16, 130.
She may have felt a natural inclination towards writing, but it was not simply "natural creation" that guided her literary endeavors. It does seem true, however, that she followed no "learned process," if what she means by that is a consistent set of rules that delineate the proper way to write a novel.

When looking for both traditional and modern influences on *Hōrōki*, one must keep in mind that Fumiko's education was limited and that there is little possibility that she was well enough read to intertwine Edo period fiction with other modern influences in anything more than a haphazard manner. When she asked herself "what is a novel?" or "what is poetry?" she was not asking whether a honkaku shōsetsu (fundamental novel) was a more legitimate piece of literature than a shishōsetsu, or any such academic question, at least not in such concrete terms. Her concept of what literature was was vague and abstract, and her failure to fully address and answer her own questions about what constituted a novel indicates that, although she succeeded in writing well received and successful novels, she was never truly concerned with an academic investigation on what constituted "literature."

Academic concerns aside, no worries about whether *Hōrōki* was a legitimate piece of literature kept it from being a popular work. Its popularity was partly due to the light, easy language that Fumiko used, and the optimism that the protagonist often expressed. Fumiko's language was typically uncomplicated, which may be due to her limited education; often this meant that she lacked the vocabulary necessary to describe emotions exactly, and had to fall back on common terms that did not convey concepts with much precision. She did avoid using the same expression repeatedly, however, and the variety
of vocabulary in her works makes up for its simplicity.

But what provided Fumiko's incentive to write? What was her literary muse? During and immediately after the years that she was writing Hōrōki, Fumiko wrote various essays in which she says that she felt compelled to write, that writing for her was a comfort, and that she simply did it because she enjoyed it immensely. Writing was a difficult task for her, even if she felt naturally driven to do it. In her 1935 essay, Seikatsu (Everyday Life), she describes how she spends her days: she fills the daylight hours with reading the newspaper and doing household chores because she finds other people's presence so distracting that she can only work in the early morning hours, when the house is dark and quiet. The structure of the essay reflects the way she spent her day; it jumps from one subject to another, unable to focus on one topic, until finally it describes the process of writing:

When the clock strikes ten, everyone in the house says their goodnights. I find it scary with everyone in bed, so I make the rounds of the house, checking all the locks. Then I make a midnight snack in the kitchen and take it upstairs. I'm very happy if we have some salted kombu and dried bonito on hand. It's been chilly lately, and there's nothing I can do about the cold taking its toll on my body. I long to write a verse and as dusk comes, I end up sitting in front of my desk, savoring the pain and joy that writing brings to me. I have a Western style chair, so I get cold when I sit writing for hours at a time. The thing that is the most hateful — the most cruel — when I am writing is being held up for hours searching for one word in the dictionary, all the while feeling like I'm overflowing with emotions that I need to get down on paper. My dictionary is a "Student's

37In many of the postscripts for different publications of Hōrōki, Hayashi describes the pleasure she draws from writing. For an example of this, see "Hōrōki zengo," (HFZ vol. 16, 129-133) or "Ketteiban Hōrōki hashigaki," (The Authorized Postscript to Hōrōki" in HFZ vol. 16, 217-220).
Practice Dictionary" that I bought for seventy-five sen when I was loafing about in Takamatsu in Shikoku, and it's quite dog-eared now. I've bought plenty of dictionaries since then, but ultimately I prefer to use this one, even though there aren't enough entries. When I think about it, I really do live the life of a country school girl. If I were asked to write something about my life, I would begin to feel strange about the fact that my life is so unspectacular.38

Often her late night vigils proved unfruitful, as she could be distracted by the slightest of stimuli around her. She expressed this best in a poem, also in the essay "Seikatsu":

The clock struck one  
Everyone must be asleep  
Their breathing sounds like an avalanche  
five thousand miles away  
Two o'clock, Three o'clock  
My paper is still blank

As the clock strikes four  
the brazier runs out of coal  
I open the rain shutters and go to the shed for more  
Grasping the coal lightly in my hands is more pleasant  
Than the chore of writing words  
A caged warbler cries out somewhere39

Alone, in front of her desk, Fumiko struggled with the emotional need to write. She tried to explain that need often, although her sentences often end in indeterminate reasoning. She could only say that she felt writing to be extremely pleasurable, and that she wished she could do it better. In her essay, "Bungaku · tabi · sono ta," she describes what writing means to her:

38HFZ vol. 10, 22.

39HFZ vol. 10, 26.
Although I still cannot believe that someone like me, with mediocre talents and poor education, can support herself writing novels, I find that uncertainty indescribably enjoyable.... I also think nothing of staying up all night for two or three days at a time. Once I set in on my work, I can't eat a thing; all I can do is diligently face the paper before me. But perhaps this state of being is one that only other writers can understand. How pleasing it is! Writing a novel is as pleasing as having one's lover waiting for one.

I've enjoyed reading since I was a child, and it is because of this pleasure that I have endured this far, not doing myself in. I am a true optimist and I hate gloomy things; despite that, I dedicate myself to loneliness. I feel I have come this far through the hunger and longing I have for literature. Even now, my goals are constant hunger and constant longing.... I am so full of ambition that my selfishness borders on disgusting.... I've been keeping a diary for about five years now. I keep to writing one page every day for my newspaper novel, although there are days when I manage to write three or four pages. I cannot simply lounge about until the mood to write strikes me, like the writers of old would do. Lounging about would make me stupid. There is no point in imposing stupidity upon stupidity.

No matter how difficult it may be, I make it a point to sit myself down at my desk at least once a day in an effort to grow accustomed to such a routine. For someone of mediocre ability, there is no recourse but hard work.

There is no doubt Fumiko was determined to become a successful writer, but after she published *Hōrōki* she was a little overwhelmed by the attention showered upon her. Suddenly she wanted to escape from the life she had created for herself, one of daily forced work, and one that made her self-conscious of her writing in a way she disliked. She comments in an essay on *Hōrōki*:

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*The Japanese here is sono fu'an wa, watashi ni totte nan to mo ienai tanoshisa na no da* その不安は、私にとって何とも云へない愉しさなのだ.

*HFZ* vol. 10, 33-34.
Writing fiction is not an enjoyable activity in the sense that other people see what you are doing. Sometimes I think about giving up on writing altogether. It would be great to go back to writing like I used to—naturally inspired and writing what I want to write. And nobody would see what I was doing. I wrote Hōrōki without thinking about publishing it. Many critics have offered their opinions on that piece, but to me they're all ludicrous. Hōrōki was written during a time that I had no publisher. It goes without saying that I had no intention of publishing it. That is why I wrote such a piece in the first place.42

Fumiko seems to have had no agenda for writing other than fulfilling her own spiritual need to put pen to paper. But if Fumiko was unclear on her motives to write, her critics were not; Hōrōki was published during the peak of the proletarian literature movement and because the subject matter was the life of someone in the lower class, many critics saw Hōrōki as another piece of leftist literature that described the plight of the proletariat. As a result, Fumiko spent quite a few years denying any connection to proletarian writing, mostly to deaf ears. As late as 1949, she still saw fit to mention this issue in an afterword for Hōrōki:

I am not capable of being "left wing" or "right wing." Although I was a member of the poor proletariat, I did not take part in the proletarian movement. I walked my own path. I have no connection whatsoever to such political groups.43

Ignoring her protests and angry essays that opposed the categorization of her work as "proletarian literature," critics usually focused on her lifestyle—as separate from her

42"Itaru tokoro aoyama ari" in HFZ vol. 16, 131-132.

43"Hōrōki II Hayashi Fumiko bunko atogaki" in HFZ vol. 16, 269.
words — and concluded that a writer of the times who lived in abject poverty was necessarily part of the "proletarian" movement. Given the assumption of an authorial proletarian political agenda, it was easy for critics to dismiss her works as "second-rate," all the while missing Fumiko's true authorial intent.

There are a few standard terms used by critics when they discuss Fumiko's literature: runpen from the German lumpen (rag or tattered cloth), which in Japanese means 'tramp' or 'hobo,' but is also used as an adjective to modify bungaku (literature), meaning 'literature of the poor'; puroretaria (proletarian), which also refers to the lower class, but also suggests a distinct politicization; nihirisuto (nihilist) — perhaps the most problematic term — which refers more to individualism (see my discussion below) than to the Western concept of nihilism; and anaakisuto (anarchist), which is often closely tied with nihilist, although Fumiko identified with the latter more than with the former.

Fumiko had problems with the first two classifications and preferred to call herself a nihilist, if anything. However, as discussed in chapter 2, she uses the term "nihilist" so loosely as to prevent anyone from clearly defining what she means by it.

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"Hayashi quotes a critic who calls her work "second rate" in her essay "Watashi no chiheisen," HFZ vol. 16, 111, but she does not identify the critic by name.

"This politicization is one in which the author not only is aware of class structure (as defined by Marx), he also specifically focuses on the 'proletariat' in an effort to expose injustices inflicted upon the poor working class. For a more detailed discussion of proletarian literature in Japan, see Donald Keene's Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature in the Modern Era, 594-628.

"The Webster's Third New International Dictionary defines nihilism as "a doctrine or belief that conditions in the social organization are so bad as to make destruction desirable for its own sake independent of any constructive program or possibility."
Runpen literature was a product of the global economic hardships which followed World War I. There was a large number of unemployed, migrant workers in Japan, and runpen literature recorded their plight.\textsuperscript{47} Although Hórōki is unquestioningly about a young woman who moves from low-level job to low-level job after World War I, Itagaki Naoko notes how Hórōki differs from other pieces of runpen literature:

\textit{Hórōki} does not follow the usual path of spiritless runpen literature, which gets stuck in and buried by the mud. It is penetrated by the aspirations born from dissatisfaction with one's present circumstances.\textsuperscript{48}

The aspirations Itagaki speaks of here are the manifestations of Fumiko's faith in free will, and they provide what Itagaki calls "a sense of health to her runpen literature."\textsuperscript{49} The sick man of "spiritless runpen literature," wallowing in self-pity and despair, offered no promise of improvement, but the narrator of Hórōki does show herself capable of recuperation simply because she believes that it can be done.

In her essay, "Watashi no chiheisen," Fumiko does not define what she thinks runpen literature is, but she does attempt to differentiate between what she calls "the literature of poverty" (binbō no bungaku 貧乏の文学) and runpen literature. She says her work is definitely "the literature of poverty" because the characters are poor, but she denies that means her writing is runpen literature. Ultimately, however, she does not pinpoint the difference between the two and leaves the question unanswered, blaming a

\textsuperscript{47}See Itagaki Naoko, \textit{Hayashi Fumiko}, 159.

\textsuperscript{48}Itagaki Naoko, \textit{Hayashi Fumiko}, 159.

\textsuperscript{49}Itagaki Naoko, \textit{Hayashi Fumiko}, 159.
"strange chasm" (okashii gyappu おかしいギャップ) in language for her inability to clearly define the difference between runpen and "the literature of poverty." She equates affiliation with any literary school — especially proletarian literature — with prostitution of the intellect; she says if one is made to tow the political line of a given movement, then one must compromise one's individual ideas, and being a strong individualist (what she called nihilist — see below), she refused to concede to others on any point.

Fumiko's equation of nihilism with individualism is a departure from the Western concept of nihilism, as defined by Nietzsche:

A nihilist is a man who judges of the world as it is that it ought not to be, and of the world as it ought to be that it does not exist. According to this view, our existence (action, suffering, willing, feeling) has no meaning: the pathos of 'in vain' is the nihilists' pathos — at the same time, as pathos, an inconsistency on the part of the nihilists.

The Western notion of nihilism took on a different character when it entered Japan; there the concept of 'in vain' (tsumaranasa つまらなさ) was the main focus of literary nihilists, not 'non-existence.' Fumiko's definition of 'nihilism' was a further departure

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50 "Watashi no chiheisen" in HFZ vol. 16, 112.


52 Takeuchi Seiichi points to Masamune Hakuchō's 正宗白鳥 (1881-1958) works as being the most nihilistic pieces of the times. He also discusses Iwano Hōmei 岩野花鸣 (1873-1920), Kunikida Doppo 国木田独歩 (1871-1908), and Tayama Katai 田山花袋 (1872-1930) as nihilists, but more in the sense of individualism than of writing 'in vain.' Takeuchi Seiichi, Jiko choetsu no shiso: Kindai nihon no nihirizumu, (Tōkyō: Perikan sha, 1988), 184-282.
from 'in vain'; when she refers to nihilism, she clearly takes it to mean a sort of 'individualism,' or rebellion against social norms and trends. The logical progression from *tsumaranasa* to individualism, as seen in literature, is explained by Takeuchi Seiichi:

> If one examines the language that expresses [Hakucho's] protagonists' pose of acting 'in vain' — desolation, monotony, satiation, weariness, uselessness, depression, apathy, dry indifference, mediocrity, repetition, triteness, mechanicality, putrification, etc. — it goes without saying that it is all the language of self-regression, refraction, and negativity. Thus, regarding the conditions that caused this state, Hakucho can only weakly declare, "Nonsense! This has become old and familiar for millions of people. I'm tired of looking at it."\(^{53}\)

In other words, Hakucho rejected what society had become because it was dull and monotonous; the perceptions of the individual, as opposed to those of society, were most important. If we keep this in mind, Fumiko's statements about being a nihilist and "not following the latest trend" begin to make sense; her nihilism was not a statement of nonexistence, but rather a rejection of common ideas in preference for her own, individual ideas.

Fumiko also felt that proletarian literature tried to convey ideas that were so complex as to be lost on the reader (certainly they were lost on her by her own admission). Her own stated goal was to reach many readers — not a chosen few — hence the paradox that most critics fail to understand: Fumiko wrote exclusively "for herself," yet she also wrote to communicate her ideas to a large audience. In her mind, these two were not contradictory actions.

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\(^{53}\)Takeuchi Seiichi, *Jiko chōetsu no shisō: Kindai nihon no nihirizumu*, 204.
Although leftist critics read *Hōrōki* as an expose of the plight of the working class, such a reading lacks much comprehension of the piece. Throughout the text, the narrator focuses on positive aspects of life, celebrating things such as *ryoshū* 旅愁 (loneliness on a journey) and *kodoku* 孤独 (loneliness or solitariness) instead of lamenting them. It would have been easy for her to complain about living conditions, or to wallow in self-pity, but she does not; she is inspired by the beauty that surrounds her, even in abject poverty. The opening passage describes her rather odd childhood acquaintances — a prostitute, a miner, and a singer among others — and then comments that her life was more interesting than a circus. These are not the words of one who lives in despair.

Fumiko may have professed to have a personal philosophy ("nihilism"), but her lifestyle proves that she was prone to casually throw this self-professed philosophy to the winds when it proved impractical. She was not in any way a political or philosophical zealot but rather a pragmatist; when she needed food, clothing, or housing, she took the most easily obtained employment available to earn the money for those things as quickly and painlessly as possible. She rejected societal opinion which looked down on single working women, but she also knew that neither nihilism nor any other antiestablishmentarian philosophy would provide the means for survival; in the end she knew she had no choice but to conform to society's expectations at least enough to survive. This is perhaps best summed up by a passage in *Hōrōki* in which she is sorting through her books to decide which ones to sell for money to buy food. She comes across

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54See chapter 4 for a further discussion of these terms.
a collection of Kobayashi Issa's 小林一茶 (1763-1827) poems and thinks to herself:

Issa was a complete nihilist. But I'm hungry now. I wonder if I could sell this book for something.\textsuperscript{55}

In another section, a similar sentiment is expressed when she says:

Oh, neither the idea of 'proletarian' nor that of 'bourgeois' is in my mind. All I want is to eat one white rice cake.\textsuperscript{56}

A truly philosophically concerned writer may have responded to her hunger by gaining inspiration from Issa or perhaps expressing the failure of the bourgeoisie to help the proletariat, but not Fumiko. These desperate situations did not call for ideological responses, they called for pragmatic, physical action. She knew that adherence to nihilism or Marxism would not put food in her stomach, but work would.

Probably due to her association with the anarchist poets in the 1920s, some critics say that Fumiko was influenced by anarchism.\textsuperscript{57} I think that the term 'anarchist' may be more appropriate than 'nihilist' to describe Fumiko, although the author herself would probably disagree with me. As discussed above, nihilists struggle with the idea that all is 'in vain,' without proposing what could counter the problem. Anarchists also recognize

\textsuperscript{55}HFZ vol. 1, 434.

\textsuperscript{56}HFZ vol. 1, 320.

that societal and governmental restrictions cause actions to be 'in vain,' but they propose a solution: anarchism. 'Anarchy' does not mean chaos; rather, it means a total lack of governmental authority, or an absence of any cohering principle, as a common standard or purpose. (While opponents of anarchy claim that this necessitates chaos, anarchists argue to the contrary.)

Given Fumiko's dislike of authority and restrictions and her expressed rejection of the common purpose of leftist writers, perhaps 'anarchist' is a more fitting label for her than 'nihilist,' but neither label is perfect. Hirabayashi Taiko, one of Fumiko's peers, astutely noted that none of the political or ideological designations assigned to Fumiko by critics really represented what her writing addressed:

She broke down all existing rules and standards, and whether one says that she was wild and uninhibited, or liberated, or an anarchist, in any case she took those ways of life and wove them into her own way.

**Themes & Aesthetics in Hōrōki**

The optimism so characteristic of Fumiko's early writing is ubiquitous in Hōrōki, but it has a curious attribute: it is expressed repeatedly without substantiated, concrete goals. As mentioned in chapter 2, the volitional suffix -tai is quite commonly used, but rarely is there a follow-up sentence which explains how the author intends to accomplish that which she wants to do. For example, although she is constantly struggling to support

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herself and her lovers, she does not propose how things should change in order for her to have a better life; she knows only that she would like a better life, and that she must find it herself. One day, as she idly leafs through a magazine, she thinks to herself:

I can't stand this existence. If I don't do something, I'm just causing myself to rot completely.

The following day, she continues with:

I felt like myself for the first time [in a long time] after straightening up the big dining hall. I've really got to do something. But even as I think this day after day, night after night, I simply return to my room, exhausted after an entire day on my feet, and immediately fall into a sleep so deep as to be void of dreams. It's lonely. And truly pointless. Being a live-in servant is a tough life. I keep thinking that one of these days I will find a room to rent and commute to work, but I never have the chance to leave the house for a minute. It seems such a waste to fall asleep at night — I stare into the darkness of my room and listen to the insects chirping in a ditch outside.

The desire to act in some way is expressed repeatedly in the text, but the goal is never defined. On occasion, Fumiko says that certain experiences inspire her towards the goal

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60 nantoka shinakute wa なんかしなくては。

61 Shinchō HFZ vol. 2, 55.

62 hontō ni dō ni ka shinakereba naranu 真実にどうにかしなければならない。 The first two characters are glossed with the pronunciation hontō.

63 Shinchō HFZ vol. 2, 55.
of writing. But even in these incidents, it is not the goal of writing but rather the emotion of longing to achieve the goal which is important. Longing inspires her, longing provides an essence to her otherwise bleak existence and gives her a reason to persevere. Longing also gives way to a pleasant anticipation, something which brightens Fumiko's dull life. Again, the importance of Fumiko's faith in free will is crucial if longing is to result in enjoyable anticipation, because if she were resigned to her fate, there would be little reason to anticipate change and possible improvement.

Still, there are many places in Horoki where the protagonist expresses self-doubt about her ability to accomplish what she wants to do. The doubt is not due to a belief that something is physically impossible, however; rather it is due to her uncertainty about whether she has the skills to accomplish her goals. This doubt is most often expressed about her ability to be a good writer, as in the following passages:

Am I really a poet? I could spit out poetry as fast as a printing press. But it would all be writing in vain. Not one good word would come of it. And the poems would never find their way to the printed page. Nonetheless, I still want to write like crazy.

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64 Mori Eiichi notes that these passages were edited in later editions of Horoki to mention writing where no goal was mentioned previously. The original texts had much vaguer expressions, such as "I must do something" (dō ni ka shinakereba naranu) or "I'd like to try to settle down" (ochitsute mitai mono nari) and were changed to "I'd like to write something" (nanka kakitai) and "I'd like to settle down and write a novel or some poetry" (ochitsute shōsetsu ya shi ga kakitai) respectively. (Mori, Hayashi Fumiko no keisei: Sono sei to hyōgen, 67).

65 Shincho HFZ vol. 2, 217.
I have no hopes of writing anything. I can't master a thing. Writing poetry is the height of folly. How did [Beaudelaire and Heine] put food on the table?66

Fumiko was frustrated by constantly feeling the urge to write but never being able to create something she felt was worthy. This constant tension between effort and unsatisfactory results is one of the most important elements in Höröki, and certainly the most prominent. It is not always expressed as a writer's frustration; in the first two parts it is most often expressed through the narrator's unsuccessful attempts to find work. Indeed, she does find many different jobs, but they are never to her satisfaction — either the working conditions or the pay is poor — and so she is forever on the look-out for a new job, much in the same way that, in the third section, she is forever trying to write a good manuscript.

Her failures are setbacks, but she does not dwell on them. Past events are almost never remembered with regret. The narrator's childhood, despite all the difficulties experienced in it, is remembered fondly as a positive, cheery upbringing. The people she met would normally be considered a rather ragtag crew, but she describes them as a most "interesting" group:

In our cheap lodging house, there was a crazy old man whom everybody called "Nifty." He had been a miner, and people in the house said that he got so funny because of a dynamite explosion. He was a nice lunatic, one who got up early every morning and set off to help the women in the town to push their carts. He often picked the lice out of my hair for me. He later went to work as a pillar constructor. Besides him, there was a

66Shinchō HFZ vol. 2, 239.
minstrel with one glass eye who had drifted in from Shimane, a couple of miners with their wives, a racketeer who sold mamushi liquor, a prostitute who had lost a thumb — the group was more interesting than a circus.  

Other memories are recalled with equally positive feelings. Negativity is virtually absent; frustration and other similar emotions are invariably expressed about present events and future possibilities, but never about past accomplishments. So while the object of optimism often remains vague, the presence of the optimism is undeniable. This positive outlook on life is present in almost all of Fumiko's early works; it was not until the last few years of her life that she began to look back on her life with bitterness.

The title of the work itself, "The Diary of a Vagabond," speaks of another major theme: vagrancy. The word hōrō (vagrancy, wandering, roaming) has two meanings: first, to move about without defined purpose, to not reside in one location; second, to do as one pleases or not worry about matters. Fumiko spent her entire youth moving about, and she describes those experiences in the early sections of Hōrōki. She emphasizes the fact that a vagrant life was as natural to her as a stationary life was to most others, and her statements "travel was my hometown" (tabi ga furusato de atta 旅)

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67 Shinchō HFZ vol. 2, 7.

68 These are my translations of the definitions of hōrō in Nihongo kokugo daijiten, Nihon daijiten kankōkai, ed. (Tōkyō: Shōgakukan, 1975). The Japanese is ate mo naku samayoi aruku koto, hitotsu tokoro ni teijū suru koto naku; ... ki mama ni suru koto, kokoro no mama ni shite, monogoto ni kuyoku yoi shinai koto あとてもくさまよい歩くこと。一つ所に定住することなく、...気ままにすること。心のままにして、物事にくよくよしないこと.

69 Shinchō HFZ vol. 2, 5. The passage from which this comes is translated in chapter 4.
が古里であった) and "I was predestined to be a wanderer"\(^70\) (watashi wa shukumeiteki ni hōrōsha de aru 私は宿命的に放浪者である) are often quoted by critics who wish to emphasize the forlorn image so often associated with the author.\(^71\) The dynamics of travel and travel imagery in Fumiko's work are further explored in chapter 4, but here I would like to stress the second part of the definition of hōrō: "doing as one pleases."

The lifestyle that Fumiko describes in Hōrōki was certainly an unconventional one. She was a young, single woman living in Tokyo, sometimes with a lover, sometimes on her own, moving from job to job but never finding satisfactory employment. Yet the way that she described her life does not indicate that she felt she was doing much out of the ordinary. She had simply wanted to be allowed to pursue her own goals. Donald Keene notes that:

> If one had to judge from [Fumiko's] publications, one would conclude that her chief concern was liberation from financial worries, brutal men, and bothersome gossips.\(^72\)

Fumiko did not become a hermit, but she did distance herself from people to a certain

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\(^70\)Shinchō HFZ vol. 2, 5.


\(^72\)Donald Keene, Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature in the Modern Era, 1141.
extent, mostly to be free of the judgmental attitudes these people had towards her lifestyle. She enjoyed people's company but treasured the time that she had alone. Her low income forced her to share accommodations with an assortment of people, but she often became dissatisfied with the living arrangement and moved elsewhere after a short period. Doing as she pleased, for Fumiko, meant moving at will on a regular basis and so the twofold meaning of hōrō describes her quite well.

**Early Short Stories**

There are a few works which followed *Hōrōki* that are worth specific mention here because they exhibit the same optimism so characteristic of Fumiko's early career. The first are two short stories based on events in Fumiko's childhood: "Fūkin to uo no machi" and "Mimiwa no tsuita uma" 耳輪のついた馬 (The Horse with an Earring, 1932). The former has traditionally been given more critical attention than the latter, but the latter is equally well written. These stories are about life in poverty, but they are told through the eyes of a child who maintains a cheery outlook on life in the same manner as the narrator of *Hōrōki*. In "Fūkin to uo no machi" the narrator, Masako, works hard helping her parents (who are itinerant peddlers) sell their wares in their adopted hometown of Onomichi. There is little rest for Masako between work and school, but she does not seem to mind. Being a new kid in town, it was difficult for her to gain acceptance at school, but even in the description of those difficulties there are patches of happiness:

> We had yellow millet rice again. Whenever I eat, my mind invariably runs to the stable. I didn't eat lunch at school. At lunch time I went to the choir room and played the organ. I played that organ well, using the tune
that my father plays on his accordion.

My speech is crude, so I am often scolded by my teacher. The teacher is a fat woman, beyond her thirties. She is always peeking out from behind the canopy of her bangs, a bunch of hairs that look like an old rag.

"You must use standard Tokyo dialect," she would say.

So everybody used beautiful language like "uchi wa ne."73

And I would forget myself sometimes and say, "washi wa ne," which would make everybody laugh at me. Going to school, I got to see many beautiful flowers and lithographs, and that was fun, but all the other kids could not stop calling me names.74

The comical description of her teacher makes the scolding seem not so serious, and the wonders which Masako sees there make school a fascinating place even if her classmates tease her.

"Mimiwa no tsuita uma" expresses a similar optimism; abject poverty as described by the child narrator, Yashio, takes on an adorable air, as in the following scene where she tries to get a taste of sushi:

On the tray there was some dried fish sprinkled with soy sauce. Yashio got the idea that she'd like to eat the rolled sushi that she had seen being made at a restaurant in town. She cut a small piece of newspaper, spread out some rice on top of it, added some dried fish, and just like the sushi she had seen, rolled it up, round and round. But somehow, after it was all rolled up, it didn't have the flavor that Yashio had imagined rolled

73 This phrase means "As for me..." The "beauty" of the language is in the first person pronoun, uchi うち. The example Hayashi gives of her own speech has the same meaning but uses the personal pronoun washi わし. I have left these phrases in the original, as English has but one personal pronoun and cannot convey the difference.

74 Hayashi says that the children would not stop calling her the daughter of the "new stupid general," (shin baka taishō 新馬鹿大將) a character she previously mentions as a creation of Charlie Chaplin. The reference is obscure, as none of Chaplin's films had such a character. (Shinchō HFZ vol. 3, 18-19.)
sushi would have.75

The newspaper is a sorry substitute for the nori (dried laver) in which sushi is rolled, but the final sentence is quite humorous, and makes the sad scene of a hungry child surprisingly charming. This scene typifies most scenes in these works in that the optimism is present on almost every page.

This optimistic attitude is not only found in Fumiko's depiction of children, through whose eyes it is admittedly easy to view life optimistically; "Seihin no sho" and "Shōku" 小区 (The District, 1932) are autobiographical works written about Fumiko's life as an adult and they contain the same cheeriness, although it is expressed by characters other than the narrator. "Seihin no sho" is often called the sequel to Hōrōki as it is written about Fumiko's life in 1931 right after she married Rokubin. "Shōku" is about a young woman who is getting used to her newly married life. There are characters common to both works and one of them, Komatsu Yūichi (modeled on Tezuka Rokubin), is the main provider of optimism in both narratives. The narrator is a gloomy sort, but faced with the dominating optimism displayed by her husband she cannot help but be swept along with it. In both works Yūichi is a painter and the narrator is a housewife. The couple is not well off and must economize to make ends meet. The narrator is despondent and moody, but the source of her unhappiness is not clearly developed; happily married life is an experience to which she has a hard time adapting after some previous abusive relationships. Yūichi is patient — almost to the point of saintliness —

75 Shinchō HFZ vol. 3, 26.
and the narrator cannot understand at times how he can maintain his constant cheeriness. Yūichi calls himself a "romanticist," by which he means that he has faith in man's ability to decide his fate, and he seems determined on his part to improve his lot.

In the following scene from "Seihin no sho," the wife discovers that they have no rice in the house. Yūichi is out at the neighbor's, and the narrator sits in the house alone, counting coins until she finds enough money to venture out onto the dark streets in search of food for dinner. She buys some rice and vegetables, and on her way home thinks about the meaning of life:

For what purpose does man live? To work? To eat? Every day I'm just getting by, but it has become even more difficult.

I groped my way through the wooden gate. The house was pitch black, the only visible thing was the charcoal fire, burning like a single eyeball, in the brazier on the concrete kitchen floor.

"Where did you go?" Yūichi said.

"I . . . Well, we didn't have any rice, so I went out."

"To buy rice? Why didn't you say something sooner? Don't move." Yūichi had been spread out on the floor, and as he spoke he rolled up the floor mat.

"I meant to say something earlier . . . I'll get right on cooking it," I said.

"OK. You know, you shouldn't stand on ceremony with me. If we don't have any money, then just tell me so. It's best to be clear. . . . I was thinking I would head off to the exposition at Ueno tomorrow. I figure there should be some extra work with a paint shop. I can't expect to paint paintings without working at all. Right! Art, painting, they are man's comfort. I'll paint a summer panorama, something just right to show to old men and women from the countryside — that would be perfect."

"Hey, are you scolding me?"

"Scold? I'm not scolding you. Give me a break. Stop twisting my words. I told you that poor folks don't beat around the bush. Isn't it best to kick off your reserve and ask clearly for what you want? Sneaky

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76Shinchō HFZ vol. 3, 122.
thoughts will only make you depraved."

Tears flowed from my eyes as I washed the rice. His order to me to not be sneaky resounded in my bosom. All the false show I had made about being a virtuous woman now fell pitifully into ruins.

Yūichi cried out in a scathing, thick voice, as if by it he meant to drag himself up from his present state of despair. "You've got to rid yourself of the extravagant feeling that you can't live without indulgence. We just can't have that."

"What do you mean? Isn't it OK to indulge and be hungry?"

"Just how many days of starvation training have you chalked up? Could it possibly be a whole year?"77

Here Yūichi is both brutally honest and merrily provocative. He tries his best to bring his wife out of her doldrums, and he never lets himself be pulled into her depression. Yūichi in "Shōku" refuses to let even talk of suicide dishearten him. The narrator recalls:

When I came home after a year overseas, the only gift I brought for Yūichi was the statement, "I'm going to die."

"Going to die?" he had responded. "Well, you must be all excited. Death is so popular in Japan these days — is it the same abroad? But now, take a look around the room. There's your desk, there's my easel, both fine as ever, doesn't that make you feel as if you left here only yesterday? And take a look at Koro.78 He's gotten pretty big, but he isn't missing a thing. I didn't teach him any tricks, but he's a cute thing, just lying about the place. The garden has become quite nice, hasn't it? It's a shame there's nothing but balsam trees, but still it's quite sharp, isn't it?"79

Yūichi's positive disposition is so new and unfamiliar that the narrator is surprised by it at many a turn. The assumption that her life will be difficult is deeply ingrained in her mind, and she is slow at learning about the ways of a loving husband. In "Seihin no sho"

77Shinchō HFZ vol. 3, 123-124.

78This is the name of their dog.

79Shinchō HFZ vol. 3, 106.
the two have the following conversation:

"How were you reprimanded by your former lovers?" Yūichi asked as he removed some bones from the dried mackerel in his mouth.

"I was never reprimanded."

"That's not possible. I think you must have had some hard times."

I took a look at the bathhouse stovepipe as I chewed on a whole mackerel. "How were you reprimanded?" seemed like such a crude way to ask something, but I quelled the fire that blazed inside me and looked up at Yūichi's face. Yūichi licked the last bit of food from his chopsticks. My stomach felt all sour, and my eyes were swollen. "Why do you say such things even now? Are you trying to torment me? No matter how poor we get, please don't torment me, don't hit me. We will probably never have it better than we have it now, and we will probably see days when we have less to eat than this, but please don't strike me on the excuse that we are poor. If you do ever end up hitting me, I . . . . I will have to leave you, too. If I get hit again, my bum right leg will surely break and I won't be able to work any more."

"Ho . . . . were you reprimanded so terribly by the others?"

"Yeah, they called me a worthless bitch."

"No wonder you say such things in your sleep. 'Stop or you'll break my bones!' you say, and you cry in your dreams."

"But — don't you see that I'm not crying because I still love the men I left? Even a dog would whimper in his sleep if he were tormented enough, wouldn't he?"

"I'm not blaming you. I'm just saying that you must have had some pretty hard times." 80

The narrator is defensive, and likens herself to a dog that has been beaten too often. Her animal instincts are to be distrustful and cower before one who has the potential to hurt her as she has been hurt in the past. Yūichi sees the pitiful creature in her, and he knows that he must gain her trust if he is to help her overcome the pain of her past. Yūichi provides the constant nurturing necessary for the narrator to learn to trust others; in

80 Shinchō HFZ vol. 3, 115-116.
"Seihin no sho" and "Shōku" he is a reassuring presence which speaks of Fumiko's enduring optimism.

Horoki and the works which followed it were products of a sincere yet academically unsophisticated mind, a mind driven by the energy and fervor of youth. That that mind lacked a clear focus, that it could only define its purpose in terms of what it was not, did not retard the intense desire to push forward toward unspecified goals. What did Fumiko want? Simply put, she wanted to want. Her early works are permeated by a quiet but constant drive, a voice urging the narrator to go, see, do, desire. Longing is central to Horoki's narrator's existence; her lack of even the basics necessary for survival — clothes, food, housing — means that she need not look far to find it. Later in life, when Fumiko had gained enough wealth to support herself in a comfortable style, she found herself drawn to travel predominantly so that she could experience nostalgia and longing for home (see chapter 4). When she had all the material goods she could want and had experienced nostalgia to the point of saturation, there was little left for her to desire, and it was at that point that her writing became dark and depressing, void of the hope and longing so prominent in her youth.
CHAPTER FOUR
LONELINESS AND TRAVEL

The Results of a Peripatetic Life

Despite the fact that as a child Fumiko was repeatedly forced to make new friends and adjust to new surroundings, nowhere in her writing did she ever express a distaste for her peripatetic lifestyle. She enjoyed seeing new places and meeting new people. Indeed, she knew of no other lifestyle, and continued to travel habitually even as an adult. She could not bring herself to spend her earnings on a permanent home, as travel took priority over settling down.1

Fumiko was an only child,2 which made for an even more isolated childhood; without siblings to play with, the young Fumiko was often left with no one but herself for company.3 Her solitary experiences in her youth provided her with the self-sufficiency

1 "Bungaku • tabi • sono ta" in HFZ vol. 10, 33. In her essay "Watashi no oboegaki" she also says that although some people suggested that she publish her own magazine, she would much rather spend her money on travel to China. (HFZ vol. 10, 276.) This attitude seems to have lasted until she and Rokubin built the house in Ochiai in 1941.

2 As mentioned in chapter 1, Fumiko may have had any number of siblings, but she was raised alone.

3 Itagaki Naoko describes her as a near-sighted girl who sat in the front row in order to see the board better. (Itagaki Naoko, Hayashi Fumiko no shōgai: Uzushio no jinsei, Tōkyō, Daiwa shobō, 1965), 64-65.

Kataoka Yoshikazu also notes that "Having...moved seven times in the course of four years from one lodging house to another, and having also been compelled each time to change schools, the girl acquired not even a single friend." (Introduction to Contempo-
she displayed as an adult. I would also hypothesize that they helped her develop her imagination and provided her with the ability to entertain herself through the fictionalization of events which surrounded her. The solitary Fumiko, left with only occasional playmates, created stories in her mind about the people she saw around her and what they were doing. Her writing displays the same tendencies, as shall be discussed later in this chapter. Fumiko focused on the people around her, sometimes to the complete exclusion of the landscape.

Another, perhaps more important, result of her solitary childhood was an enhanced appreciation of loneliness. Fumiko enjoyed being alone; she savored the early morning hours, when others were all asleep, and did her best work then. She also preferred to travel by herself, because travelling alone intensified the feeling of loneliness and nostalgia that she so cherished. The concepts of 'travel weariness' (ryojo) and 'travel loneliness' (ryoshū) are mentioned often in her writing (essays, travelogues, and fiction alike), and shall be a focus of this chapter. A detailed discussion follows below, but for now, suffice it to say that the loneliness Fumiko experienced on her journeys was one of the most important elements of her travel experiences as a whole.

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*Horary Japanese Literature*, 193.) This information was apparently taken directly from the opening chapter of *Hōrōki* in which Fumiko describes her childhood.

4 See discussion below about Fumiko's depiction of events aboard the Trans-Siberian Railroad.

5 See Fumiko's essay "Seikatsu" (in *HFZ* vol. 10, 21-29) for a description of her everyday life and work habits. [Note: this essay is dated February 5, 1935, but was not published until April 10, 1936, in the collection *Bungakuteki danshō* (Literary Fragments).]
Fumiko also uses the term *jōshū* 慢愁, which is perhaps best translated ‘melancholy,’ as well as *kyōshū* 慶愁 (‘nostalgia’ or ‘homesickness’) and other terms, but while she uses slightly different language in different works, the concept being expressed remains the same: loneliness on a journey.

As an adult Fumiko continued to travel, and except for a few years during the height of World War II, she took a trip every year of her life. Her journeys were both domestic and international, and included such destinations as mainland China, France, England, and what was at the time French Indochina. She enjoyed travelling very much, and wrote both essays about travel and travelogues of her trips. In one of those essays, "Bungaku • tabi • sono ta," Fumiko describes in detail what it is about travel that she enjoys, and what she feels makes for the most pleasing journey. In other essays, she

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6This word a neologism of Fumiko’s own making.

7A summary of her international travel is as follows: Taiwan (1930), China (Shanghai, Manchuria, etc., 1931), China, Soviet Union, France, and England (1931-1932), Manchuria (1936), Shanghai & Nanjing (as a reporter for *Asahi Shinbun*, 1937), Shanghai (1938), Manchuria (1940), Korea (1940), Manchuria (1941), and French Indochina and Singapore (1942). For a complete listing of specific dates of these and Fumiko’s domestic travels, see the Imagawa *nenpu* in HFZ vol. 16, 287-310.

8For clarity, I would like to define ‘essay’ and ‘travelogue’: an essay is "a composition of moderate length on any particular subject, or branch of a subject" and a travelogue is "a lecture about places and experiences encountered in the course of travel; hence a film, broadcast, book, etc., about travel" (definitions from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Second Edition, prepared by J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). I would define these terms further by saying that an essay contains one major point of focus which is discussed in a relatively clear, organized manner, and also contains a conclusion at the end. A travelogue is a collection of vignettes unified solely by the fact that they are from the same journey.

9See appendix for a translation of this essay.
makes note of how travel is an integral part of her life.\(^\text{10}\)

Her travelogues range from lively accounts of encounters with foreigners to detailed records of her expenditures while abroad. The most telling and entertaining travelogues are those which she wrote either during the journey or immediately following it; these works are the least romanticized and most honest accounts of her experiences. The travelogues help illustrate how Fumiko perceived events surrounding her, and consequently shed light on travel sequences in her fiction.

As discussed in chapter 3, *Hōrōki* is the story of a young woman who drifts from one home and occupation to another. Fumiko’s other famous novel, *Ukigumo*, is about a young Japanese woman who travels to French Indochina during World War II. There are also many short stories which involve travel, some but not all of which will be addressed in this chapter. I hope to show that travel (and the loneliness associated therein) was not only a formative part of Fumiko’s life, but an integral part of her writing.

**The Essays on Travel**

Fumiko wrote many essays on a wide variety of topics — fellow writers, life experience, etc. — and among those there are a few on the topic of travel. The two upon which I would like to focus are “Bungaku • tabi • sono ta,” and “Tabi tsurezure.” Both essays were originally published in 1936 in a volume entitled *Bungakuteki danshō*.\(^\text{11}\) In

\(^{10}\) See “Tabi tsurezure” 旅つれづれ (Idle Thoughts on Travel) in *HFZ* vol 10, 91-92 and “Tabi dayori” 旅だより (News from a Journey) vol. 16, 34-39.

\(^{11}\) Tōkyō: Kawade shobō, 1936.
the former, Fumiko discusses (albeit in a disorganized manner) the acts of writing and travelling as complementary activities. In the latter, she extols the feeling of loneliness she experiences while travelling.

The important points to note in ”Bungaku • tabi • sono ta” are that loneliness is valuable to Fumiko and that she finds the loneliness experienced while travelling to be particularly pleasing. In this essay, she says that she ”covets loneliness”12 and that ”loneliness expresses the whole of me.”13 She does not say directly why loneliness is so important to her, but she does comment that loneliness on a journey is something that she finds extremely gratifying:

The nostalgia and homesickness that I feel when I'm in foreign lands are so enjoyable that I could die. It's enough to make me spend days daydreaming about Japan's beauty and longing for my home.14

Statements such as this show that experiencing the emotion of loneliness, while disagreeable to most people, is agreeable — indeed desirable — to Fumiko.

Given that an easy way to evoke feelings of loneliness is to distance oneself from the familiar, it is not surprising that Fumiko loved to travel. Travel removed the people and landscapes that she saw everyday and replaced them with the new and unknown.

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12 wabimi o motomeru 試味をもとめる, HFZ vol. 10, 35.

13 kodoku o zenga to shite iru 孤独を全我としてゐる, HFZ vol. 10, 34. The reader may note that neither the word ryōjō nor ryōshū are used in these phrases, but I feel that my translation is true to the original meaning. The word zenga 全我 is a neologism created by Fumiko; I have rendered zenga to shite iru here as ”loneliness expresses the whole of me.”

14 HFZ vol. 10, 35. The word for 'loneliness' here is kyōshū.
Whereas many people crave companionship on a journey, a companion for Fumiko would have been an unwanted piece of the world she left behind. In "Bungaku ・ tabi ・ sono ta," she says that she preferred to travel alone:

Journeys are best alone or with one companion. And when the trip is long, one should do it alone.\(^{15}\)

She comments that when she does choose to travel with a companion, that companion is her mother, whose company Fumiko enjoys immensely. But the presence of another, even someone she loves, can cause difficulties. She says that when she travels with her mother, they argue quite a bit:

My mother and I fight like crazy when we travel together. She takes charge and suggests we stay at a cheap lodging house, but I'm such a pleasure-seeker that I always want to stay in a first-class inn — neither one of us yields to the other's opinion. The two of us querulously muddle along and thankfully manage to complete the journey...\(^{16}\)

Disagreements about itinerary and other such travel logistics are problems she also experiences when travelling with a group:

As I don't make many plans before I set out on a journey, I enjoy carefully examining the map each new day. So, whenever I feel like travelling, I leisurely set out on my own.... I go where I want to go. I find group excursions immensely trying, and I rarely make plans. Whenever I do make a plan, everyone just agrees with me anyway, so what is the point?\(^{17}\)

\(^{15}\)HFZ vol. 10, 36.

\(^{16}\)Shinchō HFZ vol. 19, 40.

\(^{17}\)HFZ vol. 10, 36.
These minor distractions, such as making itineraries, are admittedly bothersome for most people, but for Fumiko they had the added drawback of requiring her to interact closely with others — specifically, people from home — to the extent that the nostalgia which she so craved would remain elusive. It would be incorrect, however, to call Fumiko a misanthrope; as will become evident upon examination of her travelogues, she enjoyed meeting new people. And in both her travelogues and her fiction, an important part of a journey is the exposure to new customs, languages, foods, etc.; natural landscapes play a secondary role.

"Tabi tsurezure" is about a domestic trip to Izu. It is a very short piece, but it reiterates some of the ideas expressed in "Bungaku · tabi · sono ta." Most notably, Fumiko comments on the importance of travelling alone:

Journeys should only be made alone. By oneself, one can be as selfish as one pleases. For me, half-way through with my life, solitary journeys have a certain romance about them. And while I pity myself on those journeys, the travel is quite painfully enjoyable.18

The last sentence says that self-pity (jibun o awaremiru 自分をあはれみる) is part of what makes a journey pleasant. This is an important point to note; in Fumiko's travelogues (particularly those written about Europe, examined below) she repeatedly writes of loneliness, of wanting to return to Japan so badly that she cannot stand the emotion. The reader's first impression is one of unhappiness and depression, but this is not entirely correct. Fumiko was experiencing unhappiness and depression, but those

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18HFZ vol. 10, 92.
emotions were ones that she savored, and the process of savoring them ultimately made her happy.

The emotion of loneliness was present not only when Fumiko was travelling, but when she was writing. In another essay, not related to travel, she describes the emotion she had while writing her novel *Inazuma* in the following way:

> From the beginning of this romance, I was often struck with a kind of "thirst" — the kind one feels when reading a full-length novel — and I was swept off my feet countless times by this feeling of loneliness.19

In this passage, Fumiko describes her literary inspiration as "loneliness" (*sabishii kimochi* 淋しい気持ち); it was the emotion that fueled her writing, and it was the emotion about which she wrote.

Many literary critics recognize the strong theme of loneliness in Fumiko's works, but few note the connection between travel and loneliness. Fujikawa Tetsuji, in a short article originally published in *Bungakusha* 文学者 in 1951, quotes an advertisement for the then newly published edition of Fumiko's complete works that mentions both loneliness and travel:

> The consistent theme in Hayashi Fumiko's works, since *Horoki*, has been a limitless yearning for home, which is enveloped in vagabondage and longing similar to the melancholy one experiences on a journey.20

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19 *HFZ* vol. 10, 242.

The last portion of this quotation may have been a mere second thought — many critics discussed the forlorn images of vagrancy depicted in *Horoki*, and that 'vagrancy' was often associated with 'travel' — but it is an important statement. It is the first step towards understanding Fumiko's writing, even if it does not go far enough in examining the concept of 'loneliness.'

**Travel Literature**

In the sections above and below, I use the word 'travelogue' to describe what would be called *kikobun* 紀行文 in Japanese. The word *kikō* 紀行 (also translated as 'travelogue') has been in use for many centuries; the etymological information in the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* quotes Matsuo Bashō, and indicates that the roots of the term go as far back as the late Nara/early Heian period poetry anthology, *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (Collection of Myriad Leaves). The term *kikobun* is relatively new; the etymological information on it quotes Mori Ōgai's *Maihime* 舞姫 (Dancing Girl, 1890) and Natsume Sōseki's *Kusa makura* 草枕 (Pillow of Grass, 1906). However, the entry for *kikobun* says that it is "the same as *kikō*," so it would seem that the only difference is that *kikobun* is a new variation on *kikō*. As Fumiko wrote her travelogues in the early 20th century, either term could apply, although it seems more appropriate to use the modern term as Fumiko was a modern writer.

The tradition of travel writing, or *kikō bungaku* 紀行文学, has a long history in Japanese literature. Its origins lie in some of the same works mentioned in the

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21 The Japanese is *kikō ni onaji* 紀行に同じ.
discussion on nikki in chapter 3, such as the Manyōshū and Ki no Tsurayuki's 紀貫之 (ca. 872-945) *Tosa nikki* 土佐日記 (Tosa Diary, ca. 935), as well as some other works such as *Izayoi nikki* 十六夜日記 (A Diary of Sixteen Nights), a nun's travelogue from the Kamakura period (1185-1333), and Matsuo Bashō's *Oku no hosomichi*. By the time Fumiko started writing travelogues, the genre of kikōbun had gained considerable popularity and many writers were producing travelogues for publication. Their travelogues were by no means limited to domestic journeys; although there were more written about Western Europe than any other area in the world, there were travelogues about most other regions, including China, Southeast Asia, South Asia, the Soviet Union, the United States, Australia, Polynesia, Africa, and South America. The collection of travelogues in the *Sekai kikōbungaku zenshū* 世界紀行文学全集 on France alone include works by such writers as Masamune Hakuchō, Okamoto Kanoko 岡本かの子 (1889-1939), Shimazaki Tōson, Yokomitsu Riichi, Nakamura Mitsuo 中村光夫 (1911-1988), Ōoka Shōhei 大岡昇平 (1909-1988), Shiga Naoya (1883-1971), Uno Chiyo 与謝野千代 (b. 1897), Kawabata Yasunari, Itō Sei, Nagai Kafū, and Yosano Akiko 与謝野晶子.

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22 These are all mentioned in the entry for kikō bungaku in *Nihon kindai bungaku daijiten*, Odagiri Susumu, ed. (Tokyō: Kōdansha, 1977).

23 See *Sekai kikōbungaku zenshū*, Shiga Naoya, Satō Haruo, Kawabata Yasunari, Kobayashi Hideo, Inoue Yasushi, eds. (Tokyō: Horupū shuppan, 1979). This is a wide ranging anthology of travelogues from around the world.

24 According to the *Nihon kindai bungaku daijiten*, improved mass transportation after World War II (and the consequent increase in leisure travel by the common man) caused travelogues to lose their literary nature and become more pragmatic, travel-guide types of works (see entry for kikō bungaku).
With contemporaries such as these, Fumiko was certainly not pioneering in the field of *kikō bun*.

Although travelogues were very popular in the early 20th century, they are given little attention by both literary critics and editors. In Fumiko's case, only a small number of the travelogues she wrote were chosen by the editors who compiled her "complete" collected works. The reason I dedicate as much time and space to Fumiko's travelogues is two-fold: first, I feel travel was a governing element in much of her fiction; second, the travelogues show her growth as a writer and display much of her experimentation with style and structure as discussed in chapter 2.

**The Trips Abroad**

Fumiko travelled abroad often; some trips were for pleasure and some were for the ostensible purpose of war-time reporting. These journeys affected her writing in two ways: her experiences in foreign countries often found themselves woven into her fiction and were also recorded directly in the form of travelogues published in Japanese periodicals. Her most supportive publishers were the monthly magazines *Kaizō*, *Chūō kōron*, and *Fujin sekai* 婦人世界 (Housewife's World). It was *Kaizō* that financially supported her during her trip to Europe in 1931-32, as well as sent her the fare for her

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25 As collected in *Sekai kikō bungaku zenshū*, vols. 1 & 2 (France), Shiga Naoya, Satō Haruo, Kawabata Yasunari, Kobayashi Hideo, Inoue Yasushi, eds.

26 Here "most supportive" means the magazines in which Fumiko published the most, not necessarily those that paid her the most. Publisher information from the Imagawa Chronology in *HFZ* vol. 16.
return to Japan.

The style of the travelogues is anything but consistent; some are composed of fragmented vignettes,\(^{27}\) some are detailed accounts of her travel expenses (complete with ledger entries),\(^{28}\) and others are written in an epistolary style.\(^{29}\) I feel that the travelogues of Fumiko's trip to Europe contain, as a group, good examples of each type, and so I have chosen to focus on that journey.

The trip to Europe was a gift that Fumiko gave herself after earning enough from the proceeds of *Hōrōki* to buy a third class ticket on the Trans-Siberian Railroad to Paris. It was quite an adventure, as Fumiko spoke only moderate English, minimal French, and no other foreign languages.\(^{30}\) Moreover, in keeping with her opinion that travel should be done alone, she set out by herself, which is extraordinary considering her gender and

\(^{27}\) See "Rondon no geshuku, sono ta."

\(^{28}\) See "Pari made seitai" 巴里まで晴天 (Clear Skies all the Way to Paris, April, 1932) and "Pari no kozukai cho" 巴里的小遣ひ帳 (An Account Ledger from Paris, 1932).

\(^{29}\) See "Shiberiya no santo ressha" シベリヤの三等列車 (Third Class on the Trans-Siberian Railroad, 1932) and "Furansu no inaka" 仏蘭西の田舎 (The French Countryside, 1932).

\(^{30}\) As mentioned in chapter 1, Fumiko only occasionally comments on her foreign language ability, most notably in "Pari (no) nikki" and "Shiberiya no santo ressha." In the former piece, she records her enrollment in night school in order to learn French, but she says that her French never amounted to much. In the latter, she has stilted but enjoyable conversations with her compartment companions (presumably in English) and also struggles to understand the many foreign languages she encounters throughout the train trip. Itagaki Naoko says that Fumiko did well in language-related subjects in school, and that she enjoyed English, but there is no record of her actual ability in the subject. (See Itagaki Naoko, *Hayashi Fumiko no shōgai: Uzushio no jinsei*, 63-67, for more information on Fumiko's school days.)
the general attitude towards women at the time. On November 4, 1931, at the age of 28, Fumiko set out on her journey to Paris via Korea, Manchuria, Siberia, and Eastern Europe. She arrived in Paris on December 23, 1931, where she stayed, except for a month-long sojourn in London (January 23 - February 25), until May of the following year.

Fumiko produced many essays and travelogues about her experiences on this trip both during and after the fact. The works which most express 'travel loneliness' are those written during the trip. Ruminating on her travels in retrospect, Fumiko became more mechanical and journalistic about events. In the works written on location, she was more apt to record every emotion, every action, and every response to events around her. This is not to say that the works written later are of no interest; rather, for the purposes of examining the effect of 'travel loneliness' on Fumiko's life and works, the works written on site are more revealing.

In this chapter I shall examine eight travelogues about the journey to Paris. In addition to Paris, they cover the Trans-Siberian railroad journey, the trip to London, and a day in Naples. The travelogues are, in chronological order of publication, "Shiberiya no santō ressha," "Pari made seiten," "Rondon no geshuku sono ta," "Raten-ku no sanpo," "Napori no nichiyōbi" ナポリの日曜日 (Sunday in Naples, April, 1936), "Gaikoku

31 These are by no means all of the travelogues that Fumiko wrote. For reference, it is worth noting that many of Fumiko's works on Europe were published in one volume, entitled Santō ryokō ki 三等旅行記 (A Record of a Journey in Third Class, Tōkyō: Kaizōsha, 1933). The volume Bungakuteki danshō also contains some of these travelogues. Still others were published in various periodicals, but never re-published in book form. For a detailed list of publications, see both Imagawa's chronology and catalog of works in HFZ vol. 16, 283-360.
no omoide" 外国の想ひ出 (Memories of Abroad, April, 1936), "Pari (no) nikki" 巴里の日記 (Paris Diary, November, 1947), and "Furansu dayori kara" 「仏蘭西だより」から (From News from France, November, 1948).

"Shiberiya no santō ressha" and "Pari made seiten" are both short pieces about the train trip across the Soviet Union. The former covers the first half of the trip and the latter covers the second half. They are divided into six and five sections respectively, each section covering one or two major topics. "Shiberiya no santō ressha" has a more optimistic tone, in keeping with the surge of excitement Fumiko felt at the onset of this adventure. "Pari made seiten" is not void of enthusiasm, but it does show the weariness that she felt after weeks on the train; she notes the squalor of the third class compartment and its passengers and her comments about communism and the state of the proletariat in Soviet Russia show that whatever leftist tendencies may have remained in her mind (after disassociating herself from the anarchist poets a few years earlier) had been quickly swept away by the realities before her eyes.

In the ensuing months, Fumiko published "Rondon no geshuku sono ta" and "Raten-ku no sanpo." The latter is written in diary form, much like Hōrōki is, and covers the period January 1 - 24, 1932. The entries describe everyday life in Paris, and also express a growing dissatisfaction with France. The final entry is made on the day she arrives in London for a one-month stay. "Rondon no geshuku sono ta" picks up where "Raten-ku no sanpo" leaves off, but has a remarkably different structure. It is divided into eight sections, each unrelated to the others. The sections can best be described as vignettes, although the narrative even within each individual section is occasionally a
conglomeration of disparate images. Fumiko records her thoughts in a stream-of-consciousness style, and the sequence of events may not make perfect sense to the reader.

As mentioned in chapter 2, this travelogue may show some influence from the *Shinkankakuha* movement, but in any case the writing style that Fumiko used here was a clear departure from anything she had written previously. The other European travelogues, "Napori no nichiyōbi," "Gaikoku no omoide," "Pari (no) nikki," and "*Furansu dayori* kara" were published after Fumiko had returned from her trip. All four share a noticeably strong element of retrospective thought. "Napori no nichiyōbi," is more about Japan than it is about Naples. This short piece waxes nostalgic about the music that Fumiko heard during her short visit to Italy, and laments the lack of such music in Japan. "*Furansu dayori* kara" discusses the writing of Shimazaki Tōson (a writer whom Fumiko admired), and reflects on Tōson's response to France\(^\text{32}\) in comparison to Fumiko's own impressions. "*Furansu dayori* kara" was written fifteen years after Fumiko's return to Japan and is a notably organized, well-structured piece, which strongly distinguishes it from the travelogues written on site in Europe. "Gaikoku no omoide" was published three years after Fumiko's return and is a short piece which summarizes many of the events recorded in other travelogues. This piece is not as organized as "*Furansu dayori* kara," but it does have a similar structure (i.e., it is not broken into sections as the travelogues written on-site are), and it does not express the intense emotions found in the earlier pieces. The same can be said of "Pari (no) nikki." Given the amount of time that passed

\(^{32}\)Tōson spent the years 1913-1916 abroad.
between the trip and the act of writing, it is natural that the strong sentiments and periodically random interjections of emotion typical of the earlier travelogues are noticeably absent in "Furansu dayori kara" and "Pari (no) nikki." The spontaneous inspiration that is quite prominent in "Rondon no geshuku sono ta" and "Raten-ku no sanpo" gives way to a more somber, retrospective narrative voice. That is not to say that these two works are dry and dull reading; rather that they tend to record events in a prosaic manner, where the earlier pieces tend to be poetic.

There are a few aspects of Fumiko's travel writing that make it distinctive. The first is her description of landscapes: she rarely notes the natural landscapes that she sees on her journeys, and when she does the description is brief. On the trip to Paris, as on other trips abroad later in her life, Fumiko saw landscapes that she had never seen before. The expanse of Siberia must have been strikingly different from anything she had ever encountered, and given that she was travelling on a relatively slow train, she must have had plenty of time to view the scenery. Likewise, the landscape of Europe was not that of Japan. Consequently, the reader might expect Fumiko to describe these sights with great interest, but in fact she does not. Fumiko's writing is almost entirely about the people that she meets, about their behavior and her interaction with them. This interaction with people who come from different cultures is very important to Fumiko, for this interaction accentuates the distance from her home culture, and, by extension, the loneliness and nostalgia that she feels as a traveller abroad. As discussed above, the loneliness that Fumiko enjoyed was not one of complete isolation. She enjoyed meeting new people and purposely travelled third class in order to meet people who she felt would be more
interesting than those in first or second class. The natural landscape was uninteresting if uninhabited; Fumiko once said, "A landscape without people in it is boring." The people that Fumiko sees are described with crisp, short sentences. Their actions are more prominent than their physical appearances, and Fumiko uses language sparingly to describe those actions. She uses few adjectives and when she uses adverbs they are more often than not onomatopoeic; such sparse language emphasizes the objective observational stance of the narrator and conveys an air of reportage. This style makes the following text, even if it is the narrator's conjecture, more credible. Characteristic of most of Fumiko's travel writing are extended passages of conjecture, based only on one or two observations, about the various situations around her. For example, although Fumiko could not speak Russian, she makes extensive comments on the probable thoughts of her fellow passengers on the train trip across Siberia. In the following passage, she describes a young Russian woman's reaction when soldiers board the train at a stop and knock on compartment doors:

When the soldiers knocked violently on the door, the Russian woman who was sleeping in front of me shouted something at them in a very loud voice. I suppose she was saying something like "How rude! This is a women's compartment." I tried using sign language to show her that I

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33In both "Shiberiya no santō ressha" and "Pari made seiten," Fumiko ruminates on the differences between first and second class and third class. While she admits that third class is dirtier and perhaps less comfortable than first and second class, she enjoys the camaraderie of third class very much. In "Tabi dayori" she says, "Travelling [by third class] — and this is no exaggeration — is so enjoyable. It just wouldn't be the same if I rode in a second class compartment." (HFZ vol. 16, 35).

34"Tabibito" in HFZ vol. 5, 305.
thought it was frightening. The Russian woman must have understood, for she said "Da, da" and smiled at me. I ate dinner with this woman in the dining car. I really wanted to thank her somehow, but I could think of no way of doing so — on the eve of her departure, I ended up giving her a paper balloon that I had bought in Ginza. She was still playing with it the following morning, happily exclaiming "Spasibo!" She behaved just like a child. I had wondered if the balloon would only befit a shabby Oriental such as myself, but it was quite fitting for the Russian woman, too. She told me by sign language that she was a teacher at a girls' school — of course she was a White Russian.

The light green, white, and pink colored paper balloon danced about in the pure, clean landscape. The window shade was pulled down low. We arrived in Hailar at about ten o'clock, and I thought about how we would probably never meet again. I wanted to give this truly kind passing stranger at least a glance in parting. As soon as our clasped hands parted, I peered out from the crack under the window shade and saw the retreating figure of the old woman, walking jauntily along the platform.

We are not told why Fumiko feels this stranger is so very kind. We know only that the two communicated by hand gestures, which could only have been limited communication at best. Nonetheless, Fumiko is sad to see her companion depart from the train. While the two became friends and were apparently quite compatible, it is safe to assume that any sort of meaningful intellectual communication was purely supposition on Fumiko's part. She uses conjectural language when she says "apparently" and "must have been," which

\[35\] In the original text, the words "Da, da" are written phonetically in katakana. I have left this quotation, and all others, in Russian to retain the flavor of the passage.

\[36\] A city in modern day Inner Mongolia (an autonomous region of the People's Republic of China), close to the Mongolian border.

\[37\] HFZ vol. 10, 248.

\[38\] The verb used is deshō で し ょ う, indicating supposition on the author's part. While this inflection is often used to soften sentence endings, it is clearly used to indicate conjecture in this and other similar passages.
tells the reader that her impressions of the woman may not be fact.

Fumiko recognizes her own tendency to surmise about situations which she does not truly understand. Her impressions are all formed from what she perceived as an observer, not conceived from information that she obtained through conversations with the people upon whose lives she comments. As a result, her conclusions about the places she visits are conjecture at best. In "Pari made seiten" she is disappointed by the state in which she finds the proletariat of the Soviet Union. She had expected a country in which the proletariat fare well, but she finds the same social injustices in Russia as she did in other countries. She comments thoughtfully about the state of the country, but she also notes that her deductions may not be accurate. She says:

I have a quite odd impression of Russia, but perhaps that is because I do not speak the language. The Russia that I knew while still in Japan is quite different from the Russia that I have come to know. Is this the same Russia that the Japanese proletariat so longs for? The Japanese peasants yearn for the places I have been to in Russia — but on Russian soil, too, the proletariat is still the proletariat. No matter what country, the privileged class is still the privileged class. There were a lot of soldiers and intelligentsia types in that three-ruble dining hall. But there were no soldiers or intelligentsia among those asleep on their feet outside in the hallway. They were almost all laborers, weren't they?39

Fumiko comes to conclusions about the economic and political state of the Soviet Union based solely on what she sees; she creates a complete scenario from one glimpse of the country. In the case of the White Russian woman, Fumiko supplies the details necessary to create a rounded friendship with someone with whom she cannot really communicate

39"Pari made seiten" in Kaizo, April, 1932, 26.
in any meaningful way. This aspect of her mental process is, I believe, greatly influenced by her childhood; a vivid imagination can be a great asset to an only child with few friends, and I think that Fumiko's imagination provided her with the company that she otherwise lacked. She learned at a young age how to entertain herself, and as an adult she still enjoyed being alone, where she could interpret things to her own satisfaction.

Her writing — a combination of short, precise visual observations and observer extrapolation — is the product of a mind that prefers to absorb and integrate information solitarily. She rarely writes of intellectual interaction with others; instead, she records short conversations she has with them and then proceeds to extrapolate the meaning of the conversation within her own mind.

Fumiko's predilection for intellectual solitude is part and parcel of her penchant for loneliness. A state of loneliness was one in which she could give her own thoughts free reign, without outside interference. It was also the state in which she could be solely responsible for any conclusions or achievements. This was particularly important because Fumiko spent her life in constant doubt of her own accomplishments. She was never fully satisfied with her work, and she often expressed a desire to improve upon her writing.

In her 1937 essay "Watashi no shigoto" she writes:

I have written countless short pieces...but there are only a trifling few which I myself like. And even after reading those pieces that I like, I am not transported to the realm of happiness.... I sometimes feel that I have been wasting my time in fruitless endeavors for the past ten years, but if I do say so myself, I think that those ten years of preparatory work have been precisely what I needed to gain the courage and excitement that I feel within me today.... Somehow I feel that once I have ascertained my goals, then I can take my time and write solid works.... I become very angry...
when I receive negative criticism about any of my works. Nonetheless, I am well aware of the ugliness of my writing and thus ardently attack each new project. I may be weak-hearted, but I can also be rather determined.  

And later, in the same essay, she expresses dissatisfaction with her own flirtation with intellectual schools:

...given all the various [literary] schools with which I associated myself from [the beginning of my career] to the present, I am left feeling like I need an enema to cleanse myself of it all.  

The discontent expressed in this essay was present throughout Fumiko's life. She was never quite happy with her writing, and she purposely dissociated herself from literary and intellectual schools of thought because, as she once said:

I regard the ideas which I struggled to produce as my chastity, and I will not prostitute them to anybody.

Fumiko was interested in reading other writers' works and learning about the various literary schools, but she would not stand for any formal connection between herself and them because she felt that such a connection would be a "prostitution" of her ideas. This intellectual isolation was also a manifestation of her desire to be alone. The same spirit which drove her to seek loneliness on a journey drove her to seclude herself from the literary intelligentsia and their trends. She enjoyed the challenge of solitary endeavors,

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40"Watashi no shigoto" in HFZ vol. 10, 242-243.

41"Watashi no shigoto," in HFZ vol. 10, 243.

42"Watashi no chiheisen," in HFZ vol. 16, 112.
both in travel and in writing.

Another aspect to note in Fumiko's writing, as mentioned above, is the juxtaposition of loneliness and happiness. Often in her travelogues, Fumiko exclaims that she cannot stand being away from Japan, but in the sentence following that statement, she expresses a joy of life and an exuberance that starkly contrast her earlier despair. In "Rondon no geshuku, sono ta," she is overcome by depression and contemplates suicide, only to conclude that she is a very happy person:

I do so want to live — things were so excruciating, I crawled into the hearth, and then closed the gas cock; when I had tried to think why I must kill myself, I could find no reason.

If I ended my life here, first would come the vicious rumors of lost love. But people do not die just because of lost love.

Actually, I am such a happy person. Just think about it. As a waitress in a suburban cafe, I've served up fried pork, and I've worked in a celluloid factory, and I've been a server in a night market butcher's stall. And I've come all the way to a foreign country on the wages from my meager scribblings.

By all means, I am a happy person.43

The juxtaposition of happy and sad is striking; after attempting self-annihilation, Fumiko suddenly says that she is a "very happy person." There is no segue to connect the two opposing emotions; she leaves the reader to conclude that the realization of happiness is directly related to the realization of sadness and by extension, loneliness.

In "Pari (no) nikki" Fumiko describes how thinking of the trials and tribulations of her visit to Paris makes her happy:

Loneliness and Travel

(Walking alone along the Champs-Elysees) gives me a vague feeling like the tedium experienced on the open sea during a long voyage. But, for me, this voyage is an adventure. While I think about how I'd like to return to Japan and get on with my work, I take pleasure in the feeling which comes from the pain and joy that I experience by myself in this strange land.

For Fumiko, the bad experiences are just as important (and perhaps even more so) as the good experiences. The gratification she knows she could have if she only returned to Japan ultimately would not satisfy her; it is more important to Fumiko to experience the pain and nostalgia brought on by remaining in Europe. She consciously and willingly chooses to endure sadness because it is, for her, a necessary means to achieve happiness.

In the passage above where Fumiko contemplates suicide, she has a sudden change of heart because she decides that she is actually a happy person (kōfuku mono 幸福者).

In other, similar scenes, Fumiko declares that she has a strong will to live, which she uses to counter her feelings of depression and despair, as in the following entry from December 26 in "Pari (no) nikki":

The heights and depths of maltreatment have befallen me, but no matter what happens, I shall continue on and not give in!
— I was crying in my sleep. It was so awful, I felt like I was tossing and turning.
While I was moving in, I heard the sound of an accordion coming from the doorway of my room. When I got off my bed and opened the window, I saw that a young man — I think he was a street musician — was playing an accordion. There were two or three children standing by his side. I listened to the accordion with a feeling of sadness in my heart. The big building in front of my house was an elementary school, and beside the school gate was a butcher and a stonemason's shop.... Looking

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*HFZ* vol. 4, 416.
at the dull, grey sky, I suddenly wanted to return to Japan.\(^{45}\)

The first sentence in the above passage (umiyama no kashaku yo watashi ni furikakare, donna koto ga atte mo watashi wa makenai de ikitetai 海山の苛責よ私にふりか、れ、どんなことがあっても私は敗けないで生きてみたい) expresses an emotion seen over and over in Fumiko's works; she uses the word *ikitai* 生きたい (the volitional inflection of "to live," meaning "I want to live") here and many times throughout her essays and travelogues, and it is this word that she uses here to express a love of life. At the same time, she is overcome with melancholy at the sound of the accordion, and pauses to listen to it despite the fact that it makes her sad. Indeed, she pauses to listen precisely because it makes her sad. That sadness (kanashii kimochi 哀しい気持ち) is desirable, for it presents a challenge and an incentive, which in turn drives her to persevere and makes her happy.

The sequence of 'loneliness, incentive, drive' is present in both Fumiko's writing career and in her personal travels. In her writing career, she was constantly depressed about the quality of her writing and that depression inspired her to try harder. In her travels, she repeatedly chose to go on journeys by herself, which caused her to feel lonely. That loneliness enhanced the aspects of her home life that she missed most, and consequently she felt driven to write about them.

This brings us to the question of what exactly Fumiko did miss when she experienced nostalgia on a journey abroad. Besides her family (in particular her mother,

\(^{45}\)HFZ vol. 4, 361.
with whom she had a close, loving relationship) and friends, whom almost any traveler would miss, Fumiko missed the Japanese language. She was extremely fond of the Japanese language, as she expressed in "Bungaku • tabi • sono ta":

The Japanese language is especially good. In French, simple words like non or oui can be used by anybody. But in Japan, even simple words like no and yes are expressed in a myriad of ways.... Japanese is a language inferior to none.47

She expressed similar sentiment in "Watashi no chiheisen." She expressed similar sentiment in "Watashi no chiheisen."48 In her travelogues she often mentions language barriers and the disadvantages of not being able to communicate. While abroad, she finds herself reading Japanese texts that she would not otherwise have read.49 When a Japanese friend in Paris lends her some magazines from home, she takes special pleasure in a story by Kawabata Yasunari:

A bundle of Japanese magazines was delivered from Mr. K. He's such a

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46 Two places where she expresses this love are in "Pari (no) Nikki" (HFZ vol. 4, 415) and "Raten-ku no sanpo" (Kaizō, October, 1932, 226). In the former, Fumiko says that her mother is the only person in the world who really understands her. In the latter, Fumiko apologizes to her kind parents for being such an unfilial child.

47 HFZ vol. 10, 35. The words "non" and "oui" in this passage are written with the characters for ina (否) and daku (譲) and glossed ノン and ウイ respectively.

48 HFZ vol. 16, 113. Fumiko says "Thank goodness for the Japanese language!" (nihon no kotoba no, nan to arigatai koto de arō ka 日本の言葉の、何とありがたい事であらうか) in her discussion of the term 'runpen literature.'

49 In "Raten-ku no sanpo," she records reading Tosa Nikki at night in order to fall asleep, and she says she finds herself wanting to read in their entirety books which she did not read in Japan ("Raten-ku no sanpo," 223).
kind person. A short story by Kawabata entitled *Ochiba* was printed in *Kaizō*. I poured over it sitting next to the stove. As I read it, I felt a nostalgia come over me, as if I could actually smell the aroma of Japan. This far and away surpasses European literature, I thought.

After returning home to Japan from Europe, Fumiko still vividly remembered how she was struck by the beauty of poetry written in Japanese:

> Upon my return to Japan, my thoughts centered on wanting to write some wonderful poetry. While I was in Europe, I felt surprised at the beauty of the Japanese language. I felt proud of the poems written in that language, like a prospector who had struck gold.

I believe that, in addition to the content, the very language of the short story caused her to become nostalgic. It must have been difficult, given her limited English and French, for Fumiko to fully appreciate particularly good writing in a foreign language. But in Japanese, it was easy to recognize good literature, and the occasional perusal of certain works struck a particularly deep chord in her soul.

Fumiko also missed sensations: she missed the smells, sounds, and tastes of Japan. In almost every travelogue there are comparisons of Japan and the foreign country in which she is travelling in terms of the odors, the food, and the scenery. In "*Furansu* dayori kara" she expresses dissatisfaction with the fact that the ditches in Paris have no

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50 落葉 (Falling Leaves, 1931).

51 The word here is ryoshū.

52 HFZ vol. 4, 380.

53 As quoted by Nakamura Mitsuo, "Hayashi Fumiko ron" in *Kindai joryū bungaku* (Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō sōshō series, Tōkyō: Yūseidō, 1983) 100.
smell and that there is no exposed bare ground in the city. In "Napori no nichiyōbi" she recalls how, when she was a child, the street musicians in Japan would entertain her with sad songs. In "Pari made seiten" she longs to return to Japan to eat a cheap bowl of noodles.

Nostalgia for Fumiko, then, was a mixture of longing for many different things, but all things associated with home. In other words, she was nostalgic for the aspects of a physical geographical location, not for a space in time. As mentioned in chapter 2, Fumiko almost never recalls the past in an idealized fashion (in comparison with the present). Her fictional characters are likewise nostalgic for places, not times, although on occasion the characters' nostalgia is expressed in such a way as to closely connect the two, as in the case of Yukiko in Ukigumo who longs for a return to past days when she lived abroad (see discussion below).

Ryoshū and Travel in Fumiko's Fiction

Before examining Fumiko's use of ryoshū in her fiction it is important first to understand her definition and use of the term. The European travelogues illustrate well the nostalgia and loneliness directly caused by travel. When Fumiko says in those pieces that she experienced ryoshū, it is clear that she means 'loneliness on a journey' and little else. This, however, is not the only context in which Fumiko uses the term ryoshū. The

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54 *HFZ* vol. 16, 43.
55 *HFZ* vol. 10, 119.
56 "Paris made seiten," 23.
word as Fumiko uses it has a much broader scope of meaning, encompassing an array of sad emotions caused by a number of catalysts. Indeed, Fumiko uses ryōshū even in situations which have no connection to travel whatsoever. Nojima Hideyoshi notes that the word ryōshū appears often in Hōrōki, and that Fumiko uses the word in a unique way to indicate a longing but not one necessarily related to travel.57 She uses the phrase ningen no ryōshū 人間の旅愁 to mean the general longing one feels not for any particular event or object but rather for meaningful human interaction, as in the expression "I spat out my longing (ryōshū) for that wretched man."58 This ryōshū is a longing for a relationship that never comes to be. In another instance, Fumiko uses ryōshū in the expression ningen o miru me no ryōshū 人間を見る眼の旅愁,59 which, similar to the first sentence, expresses the longing for meaningful interaction with those Fumiko sees around her. Nojima summarizes the use and meaning of these two expressions in the following way:

Needless to say, ningen no ryōshū and ningen o miru me no ryōshū are the expressions of a lonely person. To put it another way, ryōshū is none other than the lyrical expression of the loneliness of human existence.60

57 Nojima Hideyoshi, "Hayashi Fumiko: hito to sakuhin" in Shōwa bungaku zenshū: Hayashi Fumiko vol. 8., 1050.

58 The original Japanese is Watashi wa ajikinai otoko no ryōshū o hakisuteta 私は気ない男の旅愁を吐き捨てた, as quoted from Hōrōki by Nojima Hideyoshi, "Hayashi Fumiko: hito to sakuhin," 1050.

59 From Fumiko's Sōsaku nōto, as quoted by Nojima Hideyoshi, "Hayashi Fumiko: hito to sakuhin," 1050-1051.

60 Nojima Hideyoshi, "Hayashi Fumiko: hito to sakuhin," 1051.
And "loneliness of human existence" is another expression for the constant longing for meaningful human interaction on the part of the individual. What is of utmost interest, however, is that Fumiko chose a word which literally means 'loneliness on a journey' to mean simply 'loneliness.'

It is no coincidence that Fumiko uses words related to travel to express loneliness, nor did she do so because she lacked the vocabulary to describe loneliness in other terms. For Fumiko, travel and the nostalgia that accompanied it were unquestionably linked to human loneliness as a whole. The characters in her fiction experience loneliness in the form of nostalgia, either for places they had visited or for relationships that have been irretrievably lost. Likewise, loneliness is unquestionably linked to nostalgia. When her characters feel lonely, they feel not psychological isolation from others but rather a longing for something from which they have become physically distanced.

Before examining the novels *Ukigumo* and *Hōrōki*, I would like to discuss two of Fumiko's short stories, "Ryojō no umi" (The Sea of Travel Weariness, 1946) and "Hatsutabi" (Maiden Voyage, 1941). The former is not, contrary to what the title suggests, a story primarily about travel. Rather, it is about a man who, through a series of misfortunes, is driven from one way of life to another. The latter is a story about a young girl who has just graduated from school and who yearns to travel abroad, instead of marrying the man chosen for her by her family.

"Ryojō no umi" is narrated by someone (identified only as "I") who knows the central character, Shida, through common acquaintances. Shida is a quiet man who is married but childless. Before the war, he was an airplane buff who owned his own
airstrip. The airstrip and the airplanes are confiscated by the Japanese army during the war and so Shida moves to Hokkaidō and starts a new airstrip. This, too, is confiscated by the Japanese army and finally Shida decides to ride out the remainder of the war — although the financial means by which he does so are not clear — practicing the shamisen and other musical instruments. Shida is described as a "Columbus type," meaning that he perseveres even in the face of great difficulty. As a result of this perseverance, he tends to be rather solitary (this is emphasized by a narrative that tells us nothing about Shida's wife, family, or friends). One day, Shida sets out on a trip to Shizuoka, where he must tend to some business. On the journey, he meets Inoue Minoru, a nine-year-old war orphan who has been abandoned by his aunt, a single woman unable to care for him. Shida is deeply moved by the plight of the boy, who has been left alone to fend for himself. The two become friends and Shida decides that he will adopt Minoru and take him home.

The purport of this story is mainly to protest war; the sorrow and devastation in both Shida's and Minoru's lives is directly caused by the war, and Fumiko is clearly opposed to it. A secondary theme, however — as is reflected in the title — is the weariness caused by both the actual journey that Shida takes to Shizuoka and the figurative journey that he and Minoru take through the hardships caused by the war. After relinquishing his air fields, Shida pushes on to find new activities to occupy himself and appears to be quite a stalwart individual, but his acquaintance with Minoru reveals a soft, nostalgic side to the tough man. This soft side is revealed in the form of sudden reflection and sensitivity until then absent in him, and it is plainly brought about by his
awareness of the boy's (and his own) loneliness. Their common loneliness causes Shida to think about the meaning of war in human history, and he draws strength from his conclusions that war is wrong.

"Ryojō no umi" does not express the previously mentioned sequence of 'loneliness, incentive, drive' in the clear language that many of Fumiko's other works use, but the sequence is present nonetheless. In the closing of the story, Shida's feelings towards the war are revealed:

People are gifted with the quality to forget that which is convenient to forget, Shida thought, but to start such a brutal war just twenty or thirty years after the last is unbearable. He thought how wasteful it was for the young men of the air force to be dying heroes' deaths, but at the same time he felt his stomach knot up in anger at the thought that such was the nature of war. Shida fell deeper and deeper into loneliness, his burning thoughts faded away, and gradually he let himself drift into a state not far from that of an old man. But Shida's body went against the tenor of his heart, and remained young and vital. That young body would sometimes take hold of Shida's spiritually aging mind and occasionally make that mind inquire into thoughts — thoughts that were much like love. It was probably his body that made him learn to play the shamisen, and tinker with machines, and also made him so fascinated with the child he had taken in.61

In this passage, Fumiko identifies loneliness with one's spirit and optimism with one's body. This division of spirit and body is not used in any of the European travelogues, but the loneliness and happiness the two cause should be quite familiar to the reader. The 'loneliness, inspiration, drive' sequence is seen here, too: Shida's mind is overcome with loneliness; the loneliness of the mind inspires the body; and the body drives the whole

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61 HFZ vol. 5, 468.
person to engage in activities (playing the shamisen, etc.) which cause him to be happy.

Fumiko’s use of the word *ryojo* in the title of this piece reveals how tightly connected (in her mind) the idea of travel is to the emotions of loneliness and happiness. While it is true that Shida meets Minoru on a journey, the actual act of travel is not an important part of the emotions he experiences in the story. Rather, it is the figurative journey — from the depths of loneliness in his mind to the happiness brought on by his ‘physical body’ — around which the narrative revolves. For Fumiko, *ryojo* was the most appropriate term to describe Shida’s feelings; they followed the same progression as her feelings often did while travelling.

Whereas "Ryojo no umi" illustrates how closely Fumiko associated travel with emotion, "Hatsutabi" illustrates how closely she related travel to life. "Hatsutabi" is a touching story about the coming of age of a girl, Aiko. At the opening of the narrative, Aiko has just graduated from school and is facing an arranged marriage to Sachio, a man eleven years her senior. Sachio is a former botanist who is presently studying in the law department of Waseda University. Marriage to him would mean a quiet life for Aiko, and she has reservations about the marriage because she would much rather go travelling, like her friend, Sayoko, who plans to go to Manchuria after graduation to work.

Aiko and Sayoko are best friends from school. Sayoko says that even though she is leaving for Manchuria in a few days, she wishes she could remain a school girl for the rest of her life. Aiko, fated to marry soon and remain in Japan, wishes that she could travel far away.

Aiko speaks about her impending marriage (and her concerns thereof) to her step-
mother, Shizuko, who tells her that she should be satisfied with the happy life she has. Aiko replies, "But this is not a happiness of my own making. I don't want to spend my life as an inn-keeper's wife." Later, during a conversation with Sachio, who is visiting from Tokyo, she blurts out, "To tell the truth, I'm troubled by the thought of marriage to you." Sachio is startled by this statement, but he is not angry. He resigns himself to the fact that the marriage was not meant to be and shortly departs for Tokyo. He sends a telegram to Sachio's family from Okayama which reads, "Off to Tokyo, leave alone matter with Aiko, Sachio."

Three days after Sachio leaves, Aiko visits Sayoko on the eve of her departure. The attitudes of the two girls change completely; Aiko suddenly finds herself in tears at the reality that she and her friend must enter the adult world. Sayoko now finds such childishness bothersome, as she is excited about her upcoming journey.

In the final section of "Hatsutabi," Aiko and Shizuko are riding the train to Tokyo. There is no explanation of what their business there is, but it is implied that Aiko is going to see Sachio in an attempt to convince him to marry her. Aiko finally comes to terms with herself, and realizes she is happy with her situation:

It was a clear day, and the cherry and pear blossoms were in early bloom. As she passed along this route, Aiko wondered nostalgically if it was the same one along which Sachio's train had rumbled. She was happy that she could view her home town anew from the window of the moving

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62 HFZ vol. 5, 252.

63 HFZ vol. 5, 255.

64 HFZ vol. 5, 256.
train, as it provided a chance to retrospect. Aiko took *Ekiken jikkun* from her bags and thumbed through the book. Her eyes chanced to stop on the sentence, "When the spirit is absent, one looks but does not see. One is unaware that there are things to make one brim with happiness right before one's eyes..." Something made her feel like smiling as she placed the book down in her lap.

...Aiko had not a bit of sadness in her heart now. She wanted to arrive in Tokyo quickly and cry openly to Sachio. She felt now that it was somehow a shame to have cried the other day at Sayoko's house, but there was nothing she could do about it. Aiko had had no idea that she could so enjoy this thing called a train trip.

Thus the train trip which she coveted so much delivers her into the life which she feared would make that trip impossible.

"Hatsutabi" is a very short piece, but it is tightly structured to include many images of travel. There are two literal journeys (Sayoko's to Manchuria and Aiko's to Tokyo) and there are two figurative journeys (the two girls' passage from adolescence to adulthood). The literal journeys provide the stimuli which cause the girls to take the figurative journeys. The combination of literal and figurative journeys creates a text centered on movement and throughout the piece, the reader is keenly aware of the change and movement occurring in the characters' lives. It is not a static piece which describes one state; rather, it moves steadily, much in the same way as a traveller moves along a chosen

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65 This is a work by Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒 (1630-1714), who was an early Edo Neo-Confucianist. He is best known for his early 18th century work *Onna daigaku 女大学* (Greater Learning for Women), a didactic work which prescribes proper behavior for women. The work mentioned in "Hatsutabi," *Ekiken jikkun 益軒十訓* (The Ten Teachings of Ekiken), is a collection of his "teachings" (*kyōkun 敎訓*) compiled posthumously in 1893 by Nishida Keishi 西田幾止. (Nihon koten bungaku jiten, Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1983. See entries for "Kaibara Ekiken" and "Ekiken jikkun.")

66 *HFZ* vol. 5, 258.
As in the case of "Ryojō no umi," Fumiko's choice of title for "Hatsutabi" reflects the fact that travel imagery was an important element in her writing. Using a journey as a metaphor for one's life is not unique to Fumiko, but I feel that it is important to note how travel and travel-related emotions appear repeatedly in her writing. "Ryojō no umi" expresses the aesthetic of loneliness which Fumiko associated so closely with travel, and "Hatsutabi" shows how similar actual travel and emotional travel can be.

Although travel had a strong influence on Fumiko's fiction writing, her treatment of travel in both of these short stories does not closely resemble that in the travelogues previously discussed. The lack of similarity, however, does not negate the idea that travel is an important factor in her work; one stimulus can certainly result in more than one type of result, and travel is undeniably at the heart of all the works discussed above, no matter how it is expressed. Moreover, the juxtaposition of loneliness and happiness — the two emotions brought about by travel as expressed in her travelogues but absent in "Ryojō no umi" and "Hatsutabi" — is also present in some of her works of fiction. For the purpose of brevity, I shall limit my discussion here to two novels, Hōrōki and Ukiyumo, but it should be noted that there are many works which express similar emotions.67

Hōrōki is a novel about a journey: it is not a conventional journey — in which one leaves home, travels to a given location, and then returns home — but rather a journey

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67 Of note, Fūkin to uo no machi, Ame and Uruwashiki sekizui 麗しき宵Wifi (Splendid Pith, 1947). Fūkin to uo no machi is an upbeat, optimistic story about Fumiko's peripatetic childhood. Ame and Uruwashiki sekizui are both about men who return from military duty and who, leaving behind unbearable home lives, find solace in travel.
in which the protagonist is constantly moving forward, with no return. The text describes her constantly wavering between the stable existence of one with a permanent home, job, and family and the life of a vagabond. She always chooses the latter over the former — she is not fired from her job, she quits; she is not evicted from her home, she chooses to move — because a stable existence would mean an end to the 'loneliness, inspiration, drive' sequence in her life. A permanent home was as foreign to Fumiko as vagabondage was to the average Japanese of the time. In the opening passage of Hōrōki, she explains how "travel" is her "hometown":

I learned the following song in a school in Kyūshū:

The traveler's sky
On a late autumn evening
Troubles the solitary person
with lonely thoughts
Dearest hometown
Beloved parents

I am fated to be a vagabond. I have no hometown. My father was a dry goods travelling salesman from Iyo in Shikoku. My mother is the daughter of a hot spring innkeeper from Sakurajima in Kyūshū. My mother, having married someone from a different province, was banished from Kagoshima. The place that she and my father found in which to settle down was Shimonoseki in Yamaguchi prefecture. I was born in the town of Shimonoseki.

Born to parents who were not members of any community, I conse-

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Then and even now, association with one's hometown (furusato 古里) is very strong in Japan. Unlike Americans, who do not put much importance on one's birthplace, Japanese tend to feel a strong connection to their birthplace even if they only lived there for a brief period of their life.
quently had travel as my hometown. Thus being a traveler by fate, I felt quite lonely as I learned this "Dearest Hometown" song.

This passage may seem to imply that Fumiko longs for a hometown, but the following paragraphs tell of a happy childhood on the road. Indeed, the entirety of Hōrōki is flavored with a constant urge to move on. The desire for a hometown is nothing more than the same loneliness and nostalgia expressed in Fumiko’s travelogues, and as discussed above, it is those emotions for which Fumiko yearns. She does not want those emotions (nostalgia and loneliness) suspended by a elimination of their cause (uprootedness); rather, she wants to perpetuate the cause (continue to travel) in order to perpetuate the emotions.

Like the European travelogues, Hōrōki often juxtaposes loneliness (caused by travel) and happiness. In the following scene, she is riding the train home to visit her mother:

Alone in the vestibule at dawn, my daydreams turned their back on my hometown and fled towards the city. Because I have travel as my

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69 When Fumiko says that her parents were "not members of any community," she implies that they could neither consider their birthplaces as their "hometown" (because they had been disowned by their families), nor could they consider Shimonoseki as their "hometown" because they were not born there. When she says that her "hometown was travel," she means that although Shimonoseki was her birthplace, it could not officially be considered her "hometown" because her parents did not belong to that community. The original Japanese sentence is kokyō ni irearenakatta ryōshin o motsu watashi wa, shitagatte tabi ga furusato de atta 故郷に入れられなかった両親を持つ私は、したがって旅が古里であった.

70 HFZ vol. 1, 255.

71 The vestibule (デッキ) is the section between cars where passengers board.
true hometown, there is no need for me to return home all decked out.\textsuperscript{72} For some reason I was overcome with a lonesome feeling. I returned to the dark third-class car, which was like a cellar, to find some stewed seaweed and \textit{miso} soup unceremoniously placed on a worn lacquer tray on my blanket. I felt a sort of sadness and tedium\textsuperscript{73} as I sat under the dim lamp among a crowd of itinerant actors, a pilgrim, and a fisherman with his children. An old woman asked, "Where are you from?" when she saw that I had my hair tied up in the \textit{ichōgaeshi}\textsuperscript{74} style. There was also a young man who asked me, "Where're you headed?" A young mother, who was lying with her child of about two, quietly sang a lullaby that I had once heard while growing up on the road....

Upon this refreshing sea\textsuperscript{75} I was free to drink in the air, more so than I ever could fatigued and in some dirty nook in the city. It all made me think that life was a good thing after all.\textsuperscript{76}

This passage describes the squalor of the third class train car, then the nostalgia that Fumiko feels among the other travelers, and finally concludes with a very cheery statement about life. The 'loneliness, inspiration, drive' sequence is clearly present, and the advent of travel is celebrated here and throughout the text of \textit{Hōrōki}, and it is no surprise that Fumiko once said, "I shall take the life depicted in \textit{Hōrōki} and make it my cornerstone."\textsuperscript{77}

Finally, I would like to discuss the novel \textit{Ukigumo}. It is the story of a young,
single woman, Kōda Yukiko, who decides to join the war effort during World War II and is sent to French Indochina to work as a typist for the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry in its field office in Dalat. While there, she falls in love with and has an affair with one of her co-workers, Tomioka Kengo. Tomioka has a wife and family back in Japan, but he tells Yukiko that he will get a divorce when he returns home and marry her. After returning to Japan, Yukiko finds that Tomioka is not interested in divorce any longer, and their relationship slowly deteriorates until it ends completely. The novel is full of nostalgic passages in which Yukiko dreams of the days in Dalat and the happiness she found there. She longs to return to the mountains of French Indochina, where life was peaceful and quiet, and she also longs for her relationship with Tomioka as it once was, but she can have neither. Tomioka, too, thinks back fondly on his relationship not only with Yukiko but also with his Vietnamese maid, Nhu. He spends much of his time pining for these past relationships, and also dreams of past happier days with his wife. But where Yukiko remains driven by romantic memories of her past, Tomioka tries to break free by planning a double suicide with Yukiko and thus ending their affair.

The idea to commit suicide is a spontaneous one rather than a premeditated plan. Tomioka suggests to Yukiko that the two of them go to the resort of Ikaho to spend the New Year's holidays. She had up until that point been thinking about searching out their friend Kano (towards whom she has slightly romantic inclinations) but the suggestion to travel and to perhaps experience the nostalgia of bygone days draws her in immediately. While she thinks such thoughts, Tomioka silently thinks about her death:
"Well, only three more days, huh?"

"What?"

"New Year's Day is coming."

"Gee, New Year's Day? It had totally slipped my mind."

"How about it? Would you like to go to Ikaho or Nikkō today?"

"Um... I've never been to Ikaho, but OK. I'd like to splash around in a hot bath. Can you really go?"

"I can if it's just for a night or two. Want to go?" Tomioka felt like a tiny little human soul floating in the sea of eternity. Wouldn't it be best, he felt at the moment, if he were to end it all with Yukiko among the dry, withered trees in the mountains. (You sit there smiling away, unaware of your imminent death at my hands.) Tomioka watched Yukiko eat her fried noodles with a voracious appetite. Small gold plated earrings hung from her ears. Her black hair was cut short, just above the collar.

"Won't Ikaho be cold?"

"Yeah, but I don't care."

"Me neither." Yukiko was cheery, just like she was a young bride discussing plans for her honeymoon. She put Kano's card away in her handbag, took out her compact, and opened up the mirror before her face.

Tomioka contemplated the scenario of killing this woman.

Although the suicide is averted, the journey is still fated from the beginning to disappoint Yukiko, who has expected the chance to reconcile her differences with Tomioka. After they have been at the inn for a few days, Yukiko realizes that it is

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78 The use of parentheses to set off the narrator's thoughts from the main text here may be an influence from Kawabata Yasunari, with whom Fumiko was good friends. The works in which Kawabata used this method include "Hari to garasu to kiri" (Needles, Glass, and Fog, 1930) and "Suishō gensō" (Crystal Fantasies, 1931). The works in which Fumiko used this method include "Hana no ichi" (A Flower's Place, 1939), "Maihime," and *Ukigumo*. Kawabata did not use this method for long, but Fumiko continued to use it throughout her writing career. Kawabata was not the first to use this method in Japanese literature; Donald Keene points to Itō Sei's 1930 translation of James Joyce's (1882-1941) *Ulysses* (1922) as the original place such a method was used in Japanese literature (Donald Keene, *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature in the Modern Era*, 798).

79 *Shinchō HFZ* vol. 16, 91-92.
hopeless, but instead of giving up and turning to death, she decides to return to Tokyo and continue on with her life. This passage combines Fumiko's characteristic optimism and her 'loneliness, inspiration, drive' sequence:

Yukiko crawled along on her belly, took her watch off the bedside table and took a look at it. It was a bit past four. Last night there may have been talk of the two of them dying, but now she wasn't thinking about death at all. She thought about how senseless it would be to die in a place like this. And she thought that Tomioka was not truthfully speaking his mind. Today she would pawn this watch and go back to her home in Ikebukuro. The memories that the two of them shared from Indochina were merely fetters which called to their souls; as far as the two people sleeping here were concerned, they were dreaming in totally different directions.80

But Tomioka is reluctant to leave, and the two remain at the resort for a while longer. They make many attempts at a reunion, but each time one of them backs away from the other. Their emotions fluctuate in an incongruous way, causing the relationship to be a series of disappointed expectations. When Yukiko realizes that Tomioka is having an affair with a maid at the inn at Ikaho, she finds solace in her memories of Indochina:

On the other side of the bed there were twenty or so volumes of forestry books piled up. On top of the books there was a pamphlet written in French and put out by the Lang Bian Agriculture Commission on virgin forest regions which Yukiko had seen before. It was unmistakably the one written by the Forestry Manager Da Biao.81 Yukiko was suddenly overcome by a painful nostalgia, and she took the pamphlet in her hands and gazed at the beautiful pictures of the French Indochinese forests. The

80 Shinchô HFZ vol. 16, 104-105.

81 This romanized spelling is an approximation of the Vietnamese name that Fumiko recorded in katakana, ダビヤウ.
tears glided naturally down her cheeks. Every picture could not but stir memories. Her eyes stopped by chance on a picture of a country house on the Lang Bian plateau, surrounded by bougainvillea and mimosa flowers. The majestic landscape of Lang Bian, encircled by mountains with a lake in the foreground, was of indescribable consolation to Yukiko now. Taking in a deep breath in that countryside, Yukiko had never once thought of the wretchedness of her present situation.

In this passage, Yukiko is comforted by the memories of her journey to Indochina. There are many similar passages in which she fondly recalls the landscape of the area around Dalat, and all express her longing to return to French Indochina. (Although she lived and worked in Dalat, the time she spent there can still be considered a 'journey,' in the sense that she was away from home for a period of time, after which she returned.)

There is an overall sense of loss in this piece: loss of innocence, loss of love, and loss of an experience (living in Indochina) never to be had again. Central to the loss is the constant memory of what was and how things have changed. The return to Japan — the end of the journey to Indochina — affects each character negatively. Yukiko and Tomioka lose the love they once shared; their co-worker Kano (who was with them in Indochina and later returned to Japan) contracts a fatal case of tuberculosis. Fumiko clearly indicates the point of repatriation as the time when things turned sour:

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82 Hayashi Fumiko, *Ukigumo*, (Tokyo: Yüseidō, 1953), 221. The tense of the final sentence is purposely ambiguous, giving the impression that Yukiko is simultaneously in the past and the present.

83 The text tells us that, due to world events (i.e., Japan's declining strength in the Pacific basin), it will never again be that Japanese government employees will be stationed in Indochina.
It was not just Tomioka who had gone thoroughly bad since he came back
to Japan. Kano, too, had become a ruined man.84

It is important to note that Yukiko does not long for the past; before her journey
to Indochina, she led an unhappy life, yielding to the sexual advances of her sister's
brother-in-law, Iba Sugio, in order to avoid being thrown out of his house with no place
else to live. What she longs for is the journey that took her away from that miserable
existence.

The travel element in Ukigumo differs from that in Fumiko's travelogues in that
there is no indication of longing or nostalgia for Japan during the time that Yukiko is in
Indochina. The longing comes, as we have seen, after the journey is over. Nonetheless,
the loneliness and nostalgia that Yukiko feels are directly tied to travel; they are the result
of wishing for the continuation or re-establishment of the journey. Yukiko is sure that if
only she and Tomioka could return to the mountains of Indochina, their relationship would
be as it was before.

In a final attempt to salvage their relationship, Yukiko decides to accompany
Tomioka (who is by then a widower) to the remote island of Yaku, off the southern coast
of Kyūshū. Although Yaku is not Indochina, the idea of going on a trip with Tomioka
has become so important to Yukiko that she accepts the journey as an answer to their
problems. It is on that journey that she falls ill with tuberculosis and dies, never to regain
the happiness she once had.

84Ukigumo (Tōkyō: Shinchōsha, 1953), 235.
It is clear that travel was a formative part of Fumiko's childhood, and that travel remained important to her throughout her life. Her feelings about travel are recorded in both her essays and in her travelogues, the former being slightly more analytical than the latter, but both revealing how the author felt about the subject. The emotions of ryoshū and ryojō appear often in her writing, even when actual travel is not involved. For Fumiko, travel provided an opportunity to experience these emotions, which she found pleasing and inspiring. When critics write about her work as being "sorrowful" and "nostalgic" it is the emotion of ryoshū of which they speak. And when they speak of her work as having "aspirations" and "humor," they are describing the inspiration and consequent drive which resulted from ryoshū.

The importance of ryoshū to Fumiko was monumental; we have seen how it affected both her travelogues and her fiction. She knew that travel and ryoshū were central in her life, and she expressed this in the prologue to a collection of travelogues published in 1939, Watashi no kiko (My Travelogues):

I have always had a feeling close to ryoshū, which is perhaps due

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87kōjōshin向上心. Itagaki Naoko, Hayashi Fumiko, 159.

to the fact that I have not known a permanent home since the time I was a little girl.

I have never taken a trip that was materially luxurious, but still I travel quite frequently, and my memories from those journeys are the riches of my life. · · · I am always day dreaming about going away, if I had the chance, on a foreign freighter to all the little ports and towns in the world. When I tire of people, and am bored with worldly matters, I think of travel.... Going on a trip and having the joy of grasping the truth from the midst of the delusions that surround one in a strange place — for me that is a nostalgic paradise, and it makes me feel my familiar ryoshū.

My spirit can only thrive in a whirlpool of ryoshū.89

89HFZ vol. 16, 216.
CHAPTER FIVE

MARRIAGE AND ILLEGITIMACY

Marriage in Fumiko's Life

Hayashi Fumiko wrote many works which deal with marriage; some question the validity of the institution itself, some criticize the practice of arranged marriages, and some are about marriages which suffer from a loss of love. This subject matter may be one of the reasons why Fumiko's writing is so often relegated to the category of joryū bungaku (marriage being a central concern to many Japanese women), but Fumiko did write some works about marriage which are told from the man's point of view and certainly cannot be considered 'women's literature,' if what we mean by that is literature 'of or pertaining to women and their qualities.' It would be more accurate to say that, coming from a home where marriages were more casual relationships than formal bonds (see chapter 1) and having had many affairs herself before she married,¹ Fumiko was interested in exploring what place marriage had in society and culture as a whole, not just in the female half.

The marriage that she herself had to Rokubin was unconventional in that Fumiko, the wife, was the sole bread-winner in the family. Also, she tended to disappear for days

¹Fumiko's biographers sometimes use the word 'marriage' (kekkon 結婚) when they record her affairs with Okano Gun'ichi, Tanabe Wakao, and Nomura Yoshiya. This is apparently a euphemism for 'affair,' as there is no evidence that she ever made any formal wedding vows with these men.
at a time without informing Rokubin of her whereabouts, something which he found trying at times, but not something which caused a permanent rift in their relationship.²

Marriage for Fumiko seemed to be more of a social obligation than an act of the heart. She loved Rokubin, and she married him, but it was more of a formal concession to societal convention than an emotional dedication of herself to her husband. She did not play the retiring role that was normally expected of a wife in those times, nor did many of the characters in her fiction.

In those works that portray characters either forced into marriage by their families or who are already married but find themselves dissatisfied with their spouses, the central issue is that of freedom of choice. These characters accept marriage as a worthwhile act, but they do not accept being deprived of their right to choose to be married. Fumiko's belief in man's free will (see chapter 2) made this a very important issue; precisely because man has the ability to choose, she implies in these works, he should not be denied the use of that faculty. In Horoki, Fumiko celebrates the existence of free will, but in later works (mostly dealing with marriage) she begins to explore what happens when an individual is forced against that will. These works also reveal a change in Fumiko's world outlook, a change from a youthful, vigorous, carpe diem attitude to a more mature, sometimes nihilistic, approach to life.

²Itagaki Naoko, Hayashi Fumiko, 81.
Questioning the Institution of Marriage

The first group of works I would like to examine are those which question the legitimacy of marriage itself. Most of the characters in these works are pressured by family and friends to marry, but they can find little reason in their hearts to do so. They meditate on what 'marriage' is for, what society expects of each partner in matrimony, and whether such expectations and obligations have any good founding. While their families and friends generally see marriage as a natural act for human beings, these characters stand back and reexamine the legitimacy of such an assumption.

_Inazuma_ is about a family of five: four siblings — Nuiko, Mitsuko, Hirosuke, and Kiyoko — and their mother, Osei. Each child has a different father, but only Kiyoko is disturbed by this fact. She thinks often on how her family's structure is psychologically harmful to its members, how the siblings simply hate each other, and on the fact that there is little love in the family. Mitsuko becomes a widow early in the novel when her husband, Rohei, dies of acute pneumonia. She mourns, but not much, as he was not a faithful husband and his loss cannot be considered a great one. Nuiko is married to Ryūkichi; both characters are grating types, rarely seen in a positive light. Hirosuke remains single and leaves his unpleasant family to become a dry-goods seller in Manchuria.

Kiyoko is the heroine of this novel. She resists her family's proposal that she marry a baker named Takakichi, a family friend, despite the fact that everyone except Kiyoko assumes that the match would be most convenient. After opposing her arranged betrothal to no avail, she leaves home and moves into her own apartment. The apartment
is an oasis of calm away from the family, and single life makes Kiyoko a happy woman. The pressure to marry Takakichi never ceases, but neither does Kiyoko's determination not to do so. Near the end of the novel, Mitsuko tries to convey to Kiyoko Takakichi's sincere interest, but Kiyoko tells her sister how she feels about marriage to Takakichi in no uncertain terms:

"Takakichi really seems to love you, you know," said Mitsuko as she tossed around in bed. Kiyoko remained silent.

"He seems absolutely intent on having a relationship with you. He's got a picture of you in his wallet. He's serious about loving you, he's wholehearted about the matter..."

"Just thinking about it is unpleasant. Really unpleasant..."

"But, whatever else, he's got good work. You're so helpless, but you can always fall back on him, just like Nuiko does with her husband..."

"What are you saying? I'd rather spend my entire life in a convent than marry that sort of man. I wouldn't marry such a man even if I were a cripple... I've got a lot of things to think through about myself. I don't know yet which road I should head out on, but I do so want to live my life splendidly. I wonder if you wouldn't ask Papa in Azabu to pay for some schooling for me?"

Kiyoko goes on to say that she is really not sure what she wants in life, that she is very lonely, and that not being able to have a "normal" marriage — one in which the spouses love each other — makes her wish she had never been born. She does not question the legitimacy of marriage in principle; she thinks that it would be fine if it were a match that made both partners happy. What she does question is the social pressure to marry for the sake of being married.

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3Shinchō HFZ vol. 5, 105.
Marriage and Illegitimacy

The protagonist in *Kawa uta*, Kikuyo, is a young woman who has left her home in the countryside and moved to the city where she hopes to make a good life for herself. She moves in with a former teacher of hers, Hisako. Hisako, like Kikuyo, is still single and finds herself lonely without a husband, but she does not want to marry her suitor, Nozu, a man she met through her brother. One day, when Hisako is out, Kikuyo opens Hisako's diary and flips through the pages, reading some of the entries:

Sunday
I don't know what I should do, how I should live. Again yesterday I felt dizzy all day long. I keep thinking about the day I will be with Mr. Nozu. I don't know when that will be, but still I wonder what sort of aloof figure he will cut. I received a hundred yen, but I have no need for it. I'd just like to send for my mother from the countryside, and let Nobuyuki and his wife see the two of us living together. Is marriage something that people do to make their lives difficult? Is it something they do to live their lives in comfort? This is not an easy question to answer.

Kikuyo reflects on how unhappy Hisako must be, but there is little she can do for her. Kikuyo does not share Hisako's strong feelings about marriage; to Kikuyo marriage is more of a curiosity, something which she will probably face later in life but not an impending necessity. Later in the novel Kikuyo has a disturbing conversation with a co-worker, Fukuoka; Fukuoka tells her that marriage is a terrible thing, and that the time one is single is the happiest time in a person's life:

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4 Hisako's brother.

5 Shinchō HFZ vol. 20, 27.
It was time for the afternoon break. Kikuyo was invited by Fukuoka to go for a walk along the canal by the Unagami Building. The two of them walked slowly along the scorching white pavement.

"You're still single, so you can't sympathize with how a married woman feels," said Fukuoka rather suddenly, with no outward clue as to what she was thinking. The two of them wore the same purple striped office uniform, but Kikuyo had a younger, fresher look about her. Kikuyo walked along, gazing lazily at the white buildings in the afternoon sun.

"You don't know how difficult a woman's life can be until you've gotten married. You must be so happy being single," Fukuoka said.

"Oh, you think so? I have never once thought that I was happy. I feel lonely, like something is missing."

"All single women feel like there is something missing." I feel sorry for young women born in this day and age. In my day, it was so pleasant being a young maid.  

Indeed, these words frighten Kikuyo away from hastily marrying anyone. She has a few affairs, but none of them result in marriage. By the end of the novel she is still single. There is an air of hesitation about her approach to romantic relationships; the words of Hisako and Fukuoka have made her cautious.

Hisako does eventually get married, but to a fellow teacher, Kawajiri, not to Nozu. Her life changes dramatically when she quits her teaching job to stay at home, and she finds herself quite bored when her husband is conscripted into the army, leaving her all alone. She does not regret her choice to marry, however. Near the end of the novel she reflects on how marriage has changed her life:

Once a baby is born there will be no return to being a teacher, she thought. She had no self-confidence in her ability to raise a child well. For Hisako, there was nothing mysterious about marriage and bearing children. Thinking back on it all, she realized that the flurried feeling she had before

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6Shincho HFZ vol. 20, 181.
she got married was really quite different from how she felt now, since she had settled down and developed affection for her husband.⁷

Through Hisako, Fumiko tells us that marriage does not have to be a bad thing, but it definitely does change one's life. Those changes are ominous enough to prevent Kikuyo from rushing into matrimony, although her curiosity about married life is constantly being piqued by those around her. Fumiko's message in *Inazuma* and *Kawa uta* is the same: marriage, she implies, should be for love, not social obligation. Both Kiyoko and Kikuyo remain single so the reader does not see what married life would actually bring them, but there is an underlying assertion in both works that the only morally correct marriage is one in which the individuals participate of their own free will. In her novel *Ame*, Fumiko creates a heroine who also feels strongly about the importance of marrying by choice; she does so, but contentment is not so easily secured. In this novel, Fumiko goes beyond the issue of choice and asks whether, even if one freely chooses it, the institution of marriage provides any benefit to one's life.

*Ame* is the story of a young woman, Michiko, who comes from a relatively poor, rural family. After rejecting a prospective suitor chosen by her family, she marries a man from Kyōto, Ōhara, whose family is wealthy and well educated. Most of their marital strife stems from the difference in their backgrounds. The relationship grows over the years, but it is not an easy process and the two find that the simple act of marriage does not provide much of a guarantee of security, that legal bonding does not provide

⁷*Shinchō HFZ* vol. 20, 281.
emotional stability.

In the opening chapters of *Ame*, Michiko's family wants her to marry a man, Shiokai, who loves her but towards whom she feels no affection. She refuses the match because of this, and the incident makes her think more about marriage. Her older sister (who is physically deformed due to a bad case of rickets) had had an affair years earlier, and the family forced her to break it off. Michiko knows that her sister was truly in love with her suitor, and she feels it tragic that they were compelled to separate. She wonders why society condemns love the way it does:

As Michiko sat on the *tatami* she was struck by the sudden desire to have a boyfriend. It wasn't as if she had been told by everybody that she must not love somebody, it was just that everybody around her seemed to walk about with scary expressions on their faces, as if they certainly did not love anybody else. Michiko was totally baffled as to why love was always thought of as if it were a crime. She recalled the time when she was a schoolgirl that her crippled sister had been in love. Her sister's lover was an elementary school teacher, but their grandfather was so extremely angry about the affair that he hit her. Michiko had cried when she saw that. The teacher went back to his hometown in Shinshū shortly after that, and then he had been conscripted. Michiko's sister was never the same; she would spend all day shut up in her room reading books and sewing.

Why was it that people like her sister were forbidden to love? Michiko remembered what an extraordinarily good young man her sister's lover had been. And now he was off at war.

Before she knew it Michiko had reached the age that her sister had been at the time, and she began to understand the bitterness that her sister had felt then. The *tatami* were warm and moist. Countless young women had probably slept on these mats. It made Michiko feel odd to think that she too would be sleeping on these mats tonight.

The love that Michiko had experienced so far was like some by-

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*Michiko has just recently moved into her own room, an attic room rented out to her by an old woman. It is the type of room that probably has been rented out to many single, young women before.*
product of a moral code created by people who lived in darkness, under a horrifying law that forbade one to love another.9

For a while, Michiko maintains a simplistic, unsophisticated idea of marriage; she thinks that having a happy marriage is simply a matter of marrying for love, and as long as she is not enamored of another she can keep the specter of marriage at a safe distance, but when she falls in love with Ōhara, she becomes frightened by the immediacy of marriage. Suddenly she realizes that being in love has not miraculously and effortlessly made the concept of marriage fully comprehensible to her. Love could not handle the difficulties of dealing with her in-laws, nor could it prepare her for being uprooted and moved to a new city. Indeed, Michiko comes to the horrible realization that marriage is really more about legal, social and economical bonds than it is about two people enjoying each others' company. On one of the first nights she spends with him, she wonders what marriage really means:

That night, Michiko slept a deep, dreamless sleep. When she lay down on the floor she had pondered the idea of starting out on a new life together — these were novel thoughts she had never had before. Just what was this thing called 'marriage?' Two young friends fall in love and have a family — this sort of marriage made Michiko a little uneasy.10

It makes her uneasy because it is happening so fast, and she is not sure it is what she wants. Michiko is right to be suspicious, as her marriage to Ōhara turns out to have its

9Shinchō HFZ vol. 21, 151-152.

10Shinchō HFZ vol. 21, 171-172.
share of difficulties. Most of these are brought about by Ōhara’s family, who eventually request that he move back home to Kyōto. The familial obligations are what Michiko finds the most trying and near the end of the novel she wishes that she could go off on her own to a place where she could work.¹¹ For her, ‘marriage’ has very little to do with her emotional bond to her husband; that is something that would probably exist whether or not the two were officially wed. Michiko’s marriage is primarily a bond to her in-laws, a bond of social obligation identical to the social obligation of an arranged marriage as depicted in Inazuma and Kawa uta.

*Jokazoku* is a story about a family of four women: the mother, Yukie, and her three daughters, Tokiko, Ruiko, and Hideko. Yukie would like to see her daughters married, but none of them want to be pushed in that direction. The most strong-minded of them all is Ruiko, who walks out of an arranged marriage meeting in order to be with her lover Ōtsubo, whom she later leaves because he is married with children. Hideko is the most emotionally immature of the sisters. She becomes romantically involved with a man named Seki and thinks about marrying him, but by the end of the novel still has not done so.¹² Tokiko is a war widow who would really rather free herself of all family obligations, including caring for Yukie in her old age. The feelings that Hideko and Ruiko have about marriage and family obligations are summed up in a dialogue between the two in the final scene of the novel:

¹¹Shincho HFZ vol. 21, 201.

¹²Fumiko died while writing this novel, and so it is impossible to tell if Hideko was meant to be married.
"If you get married to Seki, you should come to Atami," said Ruiko coldly.

"I don't know yet if we'll be able to get married. I think that I really should be taking care of mother. Tokiko really has no intention of living with mother • • • she's just like that."

"But there's really no point in you giving up on the idea of marriage to Seki for mother's sake. I'll look after her somehow. She's still young — the two of us can do some sort of work. Tokiko just wants her freedom. She thinks only of herself, she's the type that can't leave others alone, and I can't live with her. Mother and I can look after Reiko, and if I end up having children I'll just work my hardest. I learned about relationships the hard way with Ōtsubo, and I don't intend to fall into that rut again. You should go where you belong, Hideko, to Seki's side • • •"

"Yes, but, getting married? I don't know if that will make me happy or not • • • Do women ultimately find happiness when they marry? I'm not sure. Is marriage really something to which women just escape?"

"Oh! If that's how you feel, then don't get married. What kind of happiness can women find, do you think?"

"I think they can find plenty even if they are single."14

Ruiko has dismissed marriage as an option for herself, but she thinks that married life would be fine for her sister; she does not equate her failed affair with Ōtsubo with Hideko's relationship with Seki. But Hideko, despite her relative naivete, wonders whether marriage would bring her happiness. Ruiko thinks, as she watches Hideko sleeping later, that Hideko is at the point of life when women are their happiest. She wishes that she could return to that point in her life — presumably the time before she had ever become involved with a man.

All these works, Inazuma, Kawa uta, Ame, and Jokazoku question the rationale of marriage out of obligation — marriage for marriage's sake. Fumiko stops short of a deep

13 Tokiko's daughter.

14 Shinchō HFZ vol. 18, 269.
discussion of why such obligations exist, which is in keeping with her tendency to avoid philosophical topics, but it is clear that all the protagonists in these novels face the same basic question: why does one marry? Is it solely a duty which one is expected to perform? Does it necessarily carry with it the burden of family obligations? Kiyoko and Kikuyo reject the institution of marriage entirely, finding no good in it. Michiko finally accepts it, only to discover that it is not what she had hoped, and Ruiko resigns herself to the conclusion that marriage is an inevitable but undesirable event in a woman's life. In these four novels we can see the development of Fumiko's philosophy of marriage, the gist of which, it would seem, is that marriage is most advantageous for the families of those getting married, and the only option — if one is to avoid such tangled familial obligations — is to remain single. It is interesting that Fumiko never wrote about a marriage such as her own, which by all accounts worked well and gave both spouses considerable freedom from traditional duties.

The Importance of Freedom of Choice

Kiyoko (Inazuma), Michiko (Ame), and Ruiko (Jokazoku) all flee from arranged marriages. None of these novels address clearly why it is that such a marriage would be undesirable — there is an assumption that the reader will understand implicitly — but the novel Aware hitozuma is more specific. The protagonist, Watari Keiko, is a young, single

15 In the author's case, she apparently did not face these problems herself because Rokubin changed his name to hers and was registered in her family registry. His family lived in Shinshū, and although Fumiko and Rokubin visited them on occasion, there is no record to indicate an intense family tie. Her marriage was not 'typical,' and perhaps for that reason she was fascinated by those that were.
woman who at the beginning of the novel hears plenty from her married friends about how terrible married life can be. One friend is miserable with her husband, but feels she cannot leave him for the sake of the children. The other, her sister-in-law Yoriko, has no children, but still finds it impossible to abandon her marriage. Both women warn Keiko about how horrible marriage is, and Keiko feels sorry for them. Their warnings emphasize to Keiko the potential for disaster in a marriage, and while she cannot guarantee herself a future life of married bliss, she does recognize that there is at least one thing she can do to avoid unhappiness: she can choose her own spouse.

Keiko works in an office and becomes enamored of a man who works there, Tomoda. He is a rather sloppy man but Keiko finds his sloppiness endearing and thinks that he is attractive because he is not like all the others in the office. Keiko and Tomoda become friends and their romance begins. Unfortunately for Keiko, her family has in the meantime been making arrangements for her to marry a man whom she has never met, Tokunori. She finds out about their plans and tries to resist, but the family is determined. They go so far as to offer Tomoda money to leave Keiko; Tomoda refuses the money and then tells Keiko what her family has done. Keiko is forced by her family to move back home, and forbidden to see Tomoda any more.

The climactic scene is one in which the family members air their opinions about the entire affair, and while it is rather lengthy it merits being quoted in full. The characters include Etsuji and Noboru, both older brothers of Keiko, Etsuji's wife, Yoriko, and Taeko, Keiko's mother:
In the sitting room were Etsuji, Yoriko, Noboru, and Mr. and Mrs. Sakai, in-laws of Taeko’s from Chōfu. Mr. Sakai was the person who had brought the wedding proposal from Mr. Tokunori. By profession he was a dentist, but he was crazy about elections and when Watari Etsuji was running as a candidate, Mr. Sakai became invaluable to the Watari family—they couldn’t have gotten along without him.

With the feeling that she had entered the enemy camp, Keiko went and sat down beside Noboru.

At first the conversation was harmless chitchat, but it naturally turned to the matter of Keiko’s marriage. Etsuji was angry with Keiko and acted as if he wanted to break off relations with her. He turned towards Taeko and purposely did not look in Keiko’s direction.

Yoriko was the first to speak. “We’ve discussed Keiko’s matter among us before, but I thought it would be best to meet with her and give it further serious consideration, so I asked mother to call her here today...”

“Mr. Sakai’s father has already made all the arrangements for the meeting, and would like to know how to proceed from here. So, Keiko, we’ve decided that we’d like to you to save Mr. Sakai embarrassment by going to meet Mr. Tokunori...”

Noboru was gazing out at the garden. Keiko turned to face his profile and pleaded, “But I don’t think that I’ll have any interest in Mr. Tokunori even if I do meet him. I understand your concern, but I don’t want to meet Mr. Tokunori, and I’m going ahead with my plans with Mr. Tomoda.”

“Oh? With whose permission?” Etsuji asked angrily.

Keiko was silent for a moment, but then she burst forth in a flood of angry words. “I am an adult. I thought I could get married without anybody’s permission...”

“Oh, I see. Did that man put this idea into your head? That may be the law, but you are a member of the Watari household. You cannot behave like a stray cat, picking and choosing what you want!”

“But I thought that because I was a member of the Watari household, I would not lose my humanity and be forced to go to a place that does not please me for the sake of the family.”

“Hmm... You certainly are not speaking in a very ladylike manner. What do you think, Mr. Sakai? Like I was saying, there is no hope for this woman, so I’m sorry to ask it of you, but would you be so kind as to cut off negotiations with Mr. Tokunori? For my part, I have no intention of recognizing this autonomous marriage.”

Sakai smiled and said, “Well, I have a bit of a problem with that. I think things are being said rather rashly here. After we’ve finished eating I’d like to go to the next room and consider this thoroughly with
Keiko · · · "

"Let me repeat myself. My feelings stand on this matter, whether or not I go to the next room for a talk with Sakai..." Before Keiko finished speaking, Etsuji thrust his hand out in anger and struck her across the face.

"Who made you queen?! How dare you talk back like that! Give a thought to the fact that we are all opposed to your ideas. Do you have any idea how treacherous those thoughts of yours are?"

"No. Noboru said it was OK!"

"Noboru? Noboru is opposed, too!"

"Noboru is the only one who understands how I feel."

Noboru wished that the conversation would proceed as amicably as possible, but things had gotten out of hand and at this most important juncture he was the focus of everybody's attention. He turned to Etsuji.

"It's like Keiko says. Wouldn't we all be satisfied as long as Keiko is happy? Of course Mr. Tokunori has gone to a lot of trouble, and Keiko should be thankful to Mr. Sakai for his kind services, but I think it would be best if we let Keiko do as she sees fit."

"Who will take responsibility if Keiko ends up unhappy?!"

"Keiko herself, of course. That is not a responsibility for others to bear. When men and women get married, they do so on their own, don't they? They would be stupid to hold their relatives forever responsible for their own unhappiness."

Etsuji was furious and stormed off to his own room. Yoriko looked pale and said, "Noboru says that a woman should find her happiness in the way she sees fit, but I'm a woman and I don't agree. We're all angry because we care for Keiko. Shouldn't we be grateful that someone is proposing marriage?"

"That may make the family happy, but for Keiko it is a real predicament. The family just gangs together and welcomes the idea."

"Good Heavens! What a terrible thing to say! Do you think it would be good for Keiko to suffer by being married off to an obviously impoverished man?"

Noboru glared indignantly at Yoriko. "Keiko is still young. Don't you think she can stand a little hardship? The only one who's not suffering in this whole thing is you. All of us are suffering, you know. Love shouldn't be a matter of suffering or not suffering; it should be the warmth felt by two lonely people who find each other after searching the world over. The two of them love each other — who are we to gang up against them with this and that objection? I'm talking to you, too, Mother. Don't think about the indebtedness that Keiko is supposed to have towards the woman who raised her. History has repeated the parent/child cycle for thousands of years. When children are grown, they leave the nest. Just
give the matter a rest."

Taeko looked like she was on the verge of tears. With a shaky, restrained voice she said, "Now, wait a minute. This isn't like you. Discussion of Keiko's marriage should not involve filial obligation. No matter what you say, Keiko is still a child and she knows little of the world. This fellow Tomoda wanted to meet me, but I wouldn't agree to it. I'm not saying anything in particular about this Mr. Tomoda, but I want my daughter to be placed safely in the hands of a man close to me. Keiko may be an adult, but I don't think that she is as wise a daughter as Noboru says. She is still selfish and wilful, which makes me think that she is still a child — refusing talk of marriage to Mr. Tokunori and all. It's perfectly natural that parents should be concerned about their daughter's happiness. I don't know how they do things in the West, but surely since time immemorial parents have been concerned with their children's happiness.

In any case, I'd like Keiko to stay with me for the time being. I'd like her to quite her job. She knows nothing at all about being a housewife, so for the next year she shall learn how to sew and how to cook. If, after all that, she still has difficulty with the idea of marrying Mr. Tokunori, then I think it would be best to let her do as she pleases. Won't you agree to this, Mr. Sakai, and give us a little time? This should be just fine with Etsuji, too. I will not allow Keiko to do just exactly as she pleases. That is my parental duty. Nobody should disagree with me on this."

Keiko thought the course the conversation was taking quite an odd turn.

"What? There's no way I'm quitting my job. If I spend a year learning how to sew and cook that means that Etsuji will have to support me again. I wish you all would just not consider me part of the Watari family any more. Mother and the rest of you will thank me someday for this. I will make it up to you somehow."

Yoriko had offered lunch to Noboru, but he said he had business to attend to and went on his way after stating his opinion. The sushi arrived and Keiko passed out plates and chopsticks to everyone, although she herself had not the slightest appetite.

As Sakai savored his beer he said, "Well, what demanding talk! It's best for Keiko to be by her mother's side for the time being. You know, Keiko, society doesn't cater to people's selfishness. You can't get along in this world by trying to prance around the demands of duty and humanity. You've got to have the spirit of cooperation. You've got to understand how your mother feels, having raised you all this time. Noboru is Noboru. First of all, that's just the sort of thing men say. When he has a daughter of his own he will remember this day and be embarrassed. 'It's nothing special that parents raise children.' Ha! What questionable thoughts those
This family meeting makes Keiko desperate, and so she arranges with Tomoda to escape to Atami (a seaside resort) for a few days. They succeed in doing so, although they cannot truly escape the situation in which Keiko has been placed by her family. After they return home, Keiko's marriage to Tomoda is finally agreed upon, on the condition that Keiko quit her job after getting married.

The marriage is not the island of bliss that Keiko had imagined; Tomoda stays out late at night and comes home drunk. Keiko is lonely in the empty house and tries working as a typist to keep herself occupied, but the job does not interest her. Near the end of the story, she is pregnant and faces the sort of bored, trapped existence as a housewife that her friends had warned her about in the beginning of the novel.

For Keiko's family, that a young person would want to choose his or her spouse is a minor consideration; they feel an overriding responsibility for her which includes assuring a materially comfortable future. Keiko has seen and heard enough about unhappy marriages to think that taking her chances with a stranger is absurd. The right to choose (in this case, her own husband) is very important to her, something that reminds the reader of the general mood of Hōrōki. In both novels the importance of freedom of choice is central to the narrative. Free choice does not necessarily bring happiness, but that does not reduce its importance. When Keiko later becomes unhappy with Tomoda, she knows

\[16\] Shinchō HFZ vol. 14, 105-109.
that she has no one but herself to blame. Although there are scenes where she breaks down in tears because of a given difficulty, there are no scenes in which she indulges in self-pity.

There are two short stories that Fumiko wrote about arranged marriage from the man's point of view, "Hana no ichi" and "Maihime." In both stories, the man's family decides it is time for him to marry and presents him with their decision rather abruptly. In "Hana no ichi" the protagonist has his sights set on another woman; in "Maihime" he does not have much interest in marriage at all. In both stories, the protagonist is mainly concerned not with the act of marriage as such, but rather with being given the chance to choose it of his own free will.

"Hana no ichi" is about a young man, Koyano Shūichi, who is the eldest son in his family. His mother died when he was young and he now lives with his father, Kōhei, step-mother, Tamiko, and youngest brother, Kōzō, who is still in his teens. The middle brother, Kuniji, dropped out of college to go to Europe and study textiles. Kuniji returns from Europe and shocks his family by taking a lover. They do not approve, but Kuniji is determined to live his life his own way, and so there is nothing that the family can do. Shūichi watches his brother's actions with envy. He wishes he could be so free, but being the eldest son of the family puts an extra burden on him and he knows that his parents' expectations are high. His reaction to this family pressure is social withdrawal; we are told that when he graduated from law school he did not look for work, and at the opening of the narrative, he is spending most of his time cooped up in his study at home, translating economics texts.
The family has a maid, Miyako, with whom Shūichi begins an affair. Miyako is terrified of being found out by the family, but Shūichi assures her that he intends to marry her. She knows in her heart that the family will never allow this, but she cannot bring herself to say that to Shūichi. When Shūichi's family arranges a marriage for him to a woman from Kyōto named Kawauchi Sumie, he gathers all his courage and tells his stepmother about his love for Miyako. Tamiko tells him that she will not stand for it, and that as the eldest son of the family he has responsibilities that Kuniji does not have. When Shūichi says that he wants to relinquish those responsibilities to Kōzō, Tamiko tells him that that would not be acceptable either:

"Well, in any case, if you want to do me a favor, then leave this matter about Miyako up to me. You are too young to be talking about responsibility. Miyako could end up being a real burden on the Koyano family, and besides you are the eldest son."

"Well I was thinking that if this matter doesn't work itself out, Kōzō could carry on the family line and Miyako and I could start our own household."

Tamiko was distraught, and tears rolled down her saggy cheeks. "No, I won't stand for it. I'm going to live a proper life. No matter what happens, Kōzō is the youngest, and on top of that he's mine. I won't stand being scrutinized by all sorts of people. And the fact that it's Miyako makes it all the worse. Oh, if people thought that I did this on purpose to the precious eldest son, why..."

Shūichi disdained his stepmother's concern about such shallow issues. He thought, "Just like a woman — she's got it all worked out." In his heart, he thought about taking Miyako and leaving home. If he left home, he would be living for the moment, and it wouldn't be miserable if he were with her.

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17 Kōzō is the only one of the three children that is Tamiko's biological son.

18 Shinchō HFZ vol. 7, 19.
The family absolutely refuses to allow Shūichi to marry Miyako. They discreetly send her away, and Shūichi has no way of finding her. The family proceeds with preparations for Shūichi’s marriage to Sumie. By the end of the story, Shūichi has heard from Miyako (who is staying with her family in the countryside); he suspects that she is pregnant with their child, but that she is afraid to tell him. In the final scene, he cries out in sorrow just as Sumie, to whom he is now married, comes into his study.

Shūichi is denied the right to choose his wife, and the denial makes him miserable. He yearns for his brother’s freedom; not for the opportunity to go abroad (he says he has no interest in doing so), but rather the opportunity to be able to choose where to go and what to do. The thing which prevents him from doing so is social convention, the same thing which pressures the women in Inazuma, Kawa uta, Ame, Jokazoku, and Aware hitozuma to marry. Each of these characters knows that the freedom to choose is more important to them than social acceptance, and that failure would be tolerable if it were of one’s own making.

"Maihime" has a similar theme but one main difference: in the stories discussed above, the protagonists all have some other, concrete goal towards which they strive. It might be possible to say that they reject social pressure to marry because there is another, more tempting option close at hand, and not because the right to choose is fundamentally important to them. But the protagonist in "Maihime," Suekichi, does not have such a tempting second option; he does not love another, nor does he particularly want to pursue some other goal.

Suekichi is an only child and lives at home with his father and step-mother. He
was working in Taiwan as an apprentice on a sugar plantation, until he contracted malaria and returned to Japan to convalesce. He is of marrying age, but has not given the matter much thought, being a rather retiring type. The story opens as he is watching the four sisters from the Nishio family (who live next door to him) practicing a dance in their garden. The vivacity of the young women strikes him, especially that of the tallest.

Suekichi's father calls him for a talk one day and shows him a photograph of a young woman named Umeko. He says that Suekichi's step-mother has suggested marriage between the two (Umeko is a relative of hers) and he asks Suekichi what he thinks of Umeko. Suekichi takes a glance at the photo, but tells his father that he does not have the mind to marry just then. His step-mother is disappointed, but does not give up hope of arranging her step-son's marriage.

One evening Suekichi goes out for a walk and when he returns to his neighborhood, he meets the tall daughter from next door. She has come home late from the movies and cannot get into the locked gate at her house. Her determined air and pragmatic demeanor — she thinks nothing of hopping over the wall — shake Suekichi from his placidity as he begins to realize that he has been too timid in life and there is much in the world for him to discover:

When he approached the dark earthen wall of the Nishios' house, he saw the dark silhouette of somebody climbing over the wall. Suekichi was startled and strained his eyes in the starlight, staring through the darkness at the figure on the wall.

"Who's there?" Suekichi said in a low, stern voice. The figure, who had both hands on the wall, was startled by Suekichi's voice and nimbly stepped down to the ground. When he drew close, Suekichi realized that it was the young daughter of the Nishio family who had greeted him so
kindly earlier.

"The gate's already shut for the night," she said, shrugging her shoulders awkwardly.

"Are you by yourself?"

"Uh huh. Grandma yelled at me so I decided to get out of the house for a while. I went to the movies and now I'm home late..."

She was the young woman who had danced like a dying swan at the edge of the pond.

"Don't you have a doorbell at the gate?"

"Uh huh, but it has been broken for ever so long and still doesn't work." Her profile was faint, and resembled a water lily.

They had no telephone in the Nishio house, and it did not seem that one would be able to hear knocking at the gate from the distant main house.

"Aren't you Mr. Nishio's daughter?"

"Uh huh, although this is grandmother's house. It's a family of good people, except for me. I'm selfish and sometimes I can be so difficult." The young woman shrugged her shoulders, stuck her tongue out and smiled.

Suekichi bent over at the base of the wall and said, "Well, just climb on my back and get over this wall!" She took off her shoes and climbed up on Suekichi's back, up and over the wall. There was a small thumping noise as she jumped down into the garden. Suekichi paused and listened. "Thank you. Goodbye," said a small, charming voice.

That night, Suekichi just couldn't get to sleep. He could still feel the soft weight of the woman's body penetrating his bones. An owl hooted in the trees of the Suizen temple. Suekichi wondered whether she, too, was listening to that owl. The smell of dead leaves had permeated his nose when he had stooped down with both hands against the wall. His necktie had swung beneath his chin. The air had been full of late autumn, and occasionally an insect would sing out. Suekichi opened the curtain, slowly inched open the glass door and the rain shutter, and stared out at the dark garden next door.19

Later on, the young woman tells Suekichi that she is leaving home to go to study dance in Tokyo. Suekichi's step-mother invites Umeko to come and stay with the family,

19Shinchō HFZ vol. 9, 172-173.
and Suekichi knows that it is only a matter of time before the two will be married despite the fact that he does not really want it. In the final scene, while Umeko is peeling a persimmon for him, he imagines how happy the young woman from next-door will be in Tokyo when her talents as a dancer are recognized. The symbolism in this scene involves goldfish in the ponds behind the house:

Suekichi went towards the windows and opened the glass door. He could see the garden next door. A puppy was lazily poking about in the sun of the expansive yard. The cockscomb and sage bloomed in all their glory, like candles put out on display.

Umeko silently started peeling the persimmons.

Suekichi gazed at the autumn landscape next door with a strange feeling of submission.

"Am I right in thinking that you are angry at me for coming here?" asked Umeko, as if she had suddenly remembered something. "Your stepmother says that the ceremony will be in early December..."

It was the first Suekichi had heard of the plan to have the wedding in early December. He was angry at his stepmother, for she had to know that he himself felt uneasy about this marriage. "I still have military duty I must do. We can't talk about the ceremony just yet..." he said brusquely, still with his face towards the garden.

"Yes, I know." Tears poured down Umeko's face as she peeled the persimmon. The tears hit her bosom and spilled onto her lap, but she made no move to wipe them away as she lined up the peeled pieces of persimmon on a plate and pierced them with a small fork.

Suekichi left Umeko there crying and went to the side of the fish ponds out back. He rolled back the reed screen which covered a pond, and there beneath it were three or four arch-shaped gold fish lazily swimming about in the water.

The image of the young woman he had left in Unzen floated up before his eyes from the bottom of the pond. She was headed for dance school in Tokyo, and would wait for the day when, like the gold fish, she

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20 The Japanese is *ranchū* 蘭虫. These are a kind of goldfish which have rounded backs. Fumiko raised this kind of fish in the pond at her house in Ochiai.

21 The young woman from the Nishio family.
would be chosen. How happy that young woman must be when she is dancing so skillfully. He walked around, looking at each pond. In every single one, there was a gold fish — some patterned, some crimson, some silver — swimming about lazily as if it were the very best fish in all of Japan.

Suddenly Suekichi remembered Umeko, crying as she peeled the persimmons, and it made him feel a distinct sadness in the bottom of his heart. How shameful it would be for him, as a man, to end up marrying her and caring for her. Suekichi thought he'd like to bring her along and show her the beautiful, splendid ponds and their goldfish.22

Suekichi feels pity for Umeko, but he has no intention of showing that pity by agreeing to marry her. To him that would be "shameful," not because he would betray some sort of masculine honor, but rather because he would be selling himself short by relinquishing his right to choose his future and, he fears, robbing Umeko of the same right. Consequently, his response to Umeko's tears is not guilt, nor is it surrender to his family's demands to marry; it is to show her the gold fish that symbolize independence and determination. He wants to share the emotion which drives him, not give it up. The last page of this story depicts the sudden transformation of Suekichi from a fatalistic man to a man who realizes he is the master of his destiny. The realization promises to take him away from his horrid existence, closed up in his house, and catapult him towards a vast realm of possibilities.

What is odd is that, despite the almost overwhelming feeling of catharsis Suekichi experiences when he decides to take charge of his life, we are never told what it is that he wants to do. Fumiko simply is not concerned with telling the reader what Suekichi's

22 Shinchô HFZ vol. 9, 177-178.
future aspirations might be. Such details are irrelevant; what is important is that the hero understands he is capable of aiming his life, of making choices. Like the narrator of Hōrōki and many other of Fumiko's protagonists, Suekichi experiences life in a temporal manner, rarely dealing with the past or the future but rather focusing on the present, and within the present his attention is given mostly to emotions. This centrality of immediate emotions should be familiar to the reader; we have seen it in Hōrōki (where it is most often expressed as a non-specific desire to 'do something') and the travelogues (where it is centered on feeling loneliness or nostalgia). It is as if Fumiko wears conceptual blinders; she does not want to see (much less explore) anything beyond her immediate surroundings. Within those surroundings what is most important is that she (or her protagonists) be enveloped in emotion — be it desire, loneliness, or whatever — so overwhelming that all else is obliterated.

Near the end of her life Fumiko suddenly changed; in the works discussed in the next section and in other works, such as Ukiyōmono, her characters were dramatically more mature. No longer were they head-strong, moody individuals oblivious to everything but the feeling of the moment. Now they occasionally reflected on the past, and they were able to keep their will in check long enough at least to attempt cooperation with others.

Marriages Gone Sour

Fumiko also wrote many stories about the husband-wife relationship once a marriage has soured. Given her penchant for both physical and psychological violence (see chapter 2), it is surprising that she does not include much of either in these stories.
Instead, her tendency is to portray both partners as decent, sensitive people who would simply rather not be married any longer. Tension is present to a certain degree, as in the relationship between Jūichi and Mineko in *Chairo no me* (also discussed in chapter 2), but it does not escalate into ferocious confrontations. It is in these stories that Fumiko's character development is at its subtle best; the hesitation and mature concerns of each spouse reveal their personalities just as clearly as harsh speech would, but without the unpleasant, sometimes artless, violence of the earlier works.

The majority of works of this type were written near the end of Fumiko's life. Here I would like to discuss two short stories, "Kōya no niji" 荒野の虹 (Rainbows in the Wasteland, 1948) and "Ukisu" 浮洲 (Floating Grassplot, 1951). Both works are about marriages that have deteriorated over time; there is no one act in either story that has caused discord, but rather a long chain of small events culminating in a situation that becomes unbearable for both spouses.

"Kōya no niji" is about a couple, Tatsuo and Haruko, who were married a mere six months before Tatsuo was called away for military duty. This abrupt separation was difficult for both of them, and by the time Tatsuo returns home six years later, the two cannot simply pick up where they left off. While Tatsuo was stationed in Indonesia he had an affair with a Japanese bar girl, Hisako. He never intended to continue the affair in Japan, but once home, he cannot forget his lover, especially when a friend tells him that she, Hisako, is back in Japan, married, and with a child.

Haruko had a brief encounter with a man during her husband's absence, but she is not actively involved with him when Tatsuo returns. Still, she has been living on her
own for so long that married life has no appeal to her any more and she feels that Tatsuo has become a totally different person from the man she married. One night, he overhears her talking in her sleep:

I’d like to talk to you about how I feel. I don’t think either one of us is to blame, but coming through this war has made our relationship seem fragile somehow, and I can’t help but feel how strange it all is. I just hung on, thinking that if only you would come back then everything would be settled, but it’s been too long and that intense feeling has died. What kind of beast is war? There must be plenty of couples who are at odds with each other because of such mixed thoughts as those I’m having. Although I haven’t given my heart to some other whom I like more than you, I just don’t have the wild, deep desire that I had when you were called into service. I used to dream about searching you out among all the conscripts and bringing you home. But six years have passed since then, haven’t they? All that is gone now. My love has faded, and on the day when you first came back I had an odd feeling, like I wanted to go and hide myself somewhere. Both physically and spiritually, it’s all for naught. Such a long time away from each other puts us in such a fix. After being separated from you at the age of twenty-four, I wasted the next six years of my life. After coming back you said that this was not the mother-land you had dreamed of while you were away — is it true that the men who went to war and the women who stayed home have all changed? It may sound strange, but sleeping with you has become painful for me. I myself don’t understand why I feel this way. When you aren’t here I can vision you in my mind, but I can only see you when you were young, in the old days. You’re different now. I don’t feel at all like I’m with my husband. I feel like I’m sleeping with some totally different person. What should we do? I must seem like a totally different woman to you. It’s been three months since you came back. I’ve done a lot of thinking about this six-year, empty, hopeless marriage. But nothing comes of it, so I thought I’d ask you to give it some thought, too.

This is not easy for Tatsuo to hear, but Haruko is not saying anything which he did not already know in his heart.

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Neither Tatsuo nor Haruko harbor any animosity towards the other because they know that there is no one to blame for the unfortunate circumstance in which they find themselves. They also know that there is no realistic way for them to continue living together, and so their relationship comes down to figuring out the logistics of how to manage the separation. Tatsuo does not want Haruko to leave him and return to her mother's house in Nakano, and he tells Haruko as much in a feeble attempt to salvage something of his marriage, but to no avail:

"How about you try staying here, with freedom to do as you please? Don't you see that you will only be in the way in Nakano because they only have two rooms in the house? Isn't there some way for the two of us to work at this together?"

Tatsuo made this suggestion, but Haruko rolled over and said that the two of them living together was just not a proper life. She went on to say that she did not hate him at all, but continuing on in this way, dragging along in this life as husband and wife, well, that was too much. She said, in a rather sullen manner, that she could not stand the thought that sometimes the image of another would be harbored in her heart, and that such unhappiness and maltreatment would be unbearable. If they had lived together for many years, there may have been occasion to comment ironically on the nature of their marriage, but given the short amount of time they had actually lived together they both knew that any irony was pointless.24

Dealing with the sad state of affairs is burdensome for them both, and so the process becomes an extremely slow and painful one. There is no denying that love has been lost; their interactions are gentle but business-like, with both parties intent on being fair and just.

24Shinchō HFZ vol. 13, 115-116.
Marriage and Illegitimacy

Haruko's brother complicates matters by telling Tatsuo that he feels his sister is being unreasonable. He encourages Tatsuo to be stricter, and he says many disparaging things about Haruko. Tatsuo cannot bring himself to follow his brother-in-law's advice, and so he must shrug off this family pressure, much in the same way as some of the characters in the works discussed above must shrug off social pressure to marry. Tatsuo does not see any reasonable or logical reason to deny Haruko her freedom, despite what his in-laws suggest.

The fascination, or perhaps obsession, with the concept of marriage and what it means as expressed in Ame, Jokazoku, Aware Hitozuma and Inazuma, is absent in "Kōya no niji." It is replaced by a somber resignation, an acceptance of unfortunate circumstances and a mature determination to overcome them. Somber resignation is the response to marriage in "Ukisu," also.

"Ukisu" is also about a marriage which has become more of a social formality than any sort of spiritual bond. It is written in the third person, but told mainly from the husband, Michitsugu's point of view. Michitsugu is depressed that his marriage has come to so little, and he contemplates suicide as a way out. He has two children, Tokiko and Shigeichi, whom he loves dearly and whom he imagines will commit suicide with him, leaving his wife, Kikuko, alone to do as she pleases. The children are unaware of their father's intentions, although they know that something is not right between their parents.

Kikuko is a very independent person and the story opens when she has been gone from the house for three days without contacting the family to tell them where she is. When she finally returns she says that she was visiting her parents, and she shows no
compunction about having left abruptly without warning.

The narrative gives enough family history to explain how the family has come to be the way it is: Michitsugu had been conscripted during the war, and when he returned home he found that his place of employment had been burned to the ground. The post-war economy being slow at first, he cannot find employment and the family must depend on Kikuko, who makes money by sewing. The fact that she is the sole source of income gives her more power to do as she pleases, for Michitsugu is too concerned about the welfare of his children to alienate the one person who supports them. Being unemployed makes Michitsugu lose self-respect and self-confidence, and it is in this depressed state that we see him at the beginning of the narrative.

As in "Kōya no niji," the spouses in "Ukisu" clearly recognize that their marriage has deteriorated to the point where it has no meaning:

Every morning, if the weather was good, Michitsugu would leave the house on the banks of the river in east Nakano and go out walking, but lately he felt that these walks were meaningless, and this he could not stand. Stuck in a whirlpool of falsehoods, an emptiness where he could not grasp even a single major reason for living, Michitsugu was nonplussed at his own fate. He felt his wife and children were to be pitied, but there seemed no way around this fated destiny. At times Michitsugu would gaze at Kikuko and wonder suspiciously if she did not wish him an early death. And her way of talking to the children when she was tired in the evening, as if she were setting up a line of defense, made him uncomfortable. She had passed the past few months in this dark mood, but Michitsugu could see through her act. He was sure she was up to something.

He did not know how long this empty marriage would continue on this way, but he adjusted to Kikukō's way of doing as she pleased, coolly
placing himself alongside her on these train tracks of fallacy.\textsuperscript{25} Michitsugu and Kikuko were deeply at odds, and they both probed at that discord. Kikuko seemed to be aiming at the chance to separate, and Michitsugu felt it warily in his soul.\textsuperscript{26}

The depression Michitsugu feels is uncharacteristic of Fumiko's earlier protagonists, especially when he thinks that "there seemed no way around this fated destiny."\textsuperscript{27} A few pages earlier, though, he expresses a more optimistic outlook on life:

Michitsugu had not, however, given up hope for himself. He had lost hope for the life he was living, but he still had a glimmer of hope, one that might be dredged out of the muddy swamp into which he had fallen. He felt a sort of easy comfort, as if the climax of desperation was just a little further beyond where he was.\textsuperscript{28}

Still, Michitsugu is really too depressed to be saved by one small glimmer of hope. This story was written in early 1951, months before Fumiko's death, and it shows the fatalism and depression so common in the works from that time. More shall be said about this sort of fatalism in chapter 6, but it is worth noting here that Michitsugu has lost his faith in his ability to better his life. He believes that he has no control, that any choice he makes will have no positive bearing on his situation.

\textsuperscript{25}This is an allusion to the opening scene of the story in which the son, Shigeichi, poses a riddle to his father to which the answer is "railroad tracks."

\textsuperscript{26}Shinchō HFZ vol. 17, 199.

\textsuperscript{27}The Japanese here is ども、この宿命的運命は、解決の仕様がないのだ.

\textsuperscript{28}Shinchō HFZ vol. 17, 197.
"Ukisu" differs from "Kōya no niji" in that the former does not approach marriage as a social obligation, whereas the latter does. If anything, Michitsugu sees marriage as a financial arrangement that is complicated by children. If it were not for Tokiko and Shigeichi, one can imagine Michitsugu being able to separate from Kikuko, but their presence prevents him from striking out on his own. Michitsugu does not meditate on the loss of love in his marriage, and in this sense too, he differs remarkably from Tatsuo. Both men, however, are concerned with their futures. Tatsuo wants a separation slowly and discreetly in order to minimize the amount of pain and embarrassment it is bound to cause. He tries to make concrete plans for the future, instead of focusing on his more immediate marital strife. Michitsugu is so concerned about the future (particularly his and his children's well-being in it) that he decides to avoid it by committing suicide.

Through Tatsuo and Michitsugu, Fumiko reveals a new phenomenon in her method of evaluating the world; a phenomenon perhaps best described as a pause, one that provides the chance to consider issues previously avoided either through escapism or selected awareness. The petulance of earlier protagonists here gives way to a more patient maturity, albeit one haunted by despair.

Illegitimacy

Fumiko herself was illegitimate, as was her mother, Kiku. It seems natural, therefore, that the issue appears in her fiction, but what is most notable is the fact that she does not view illegitimacy as a primary determinant of action. Although she recognizes that social pressures will influence how a bastard is treated, illegitimacy does not
necessarily dictate one's future. As with most of Fumiko's characters, the illegitimate person retains his/her free will, and the individual's choices are what shape and decide their fate.

Fumiko usually portrays illegitimate children as misunderstood problem children who have a sort of naive wisdom about them which adults do not fully understand or appreciate. The family problems that result from the strain caused by illegitimacy are more often than not dealt with in a practical, pragmatic manner. The characters do not concern themselves with the psychological ramifications of illegitimacy (i.e., feelings of inferiority) so much as the social logistic ones (i.e., convincing others that one should be treated the same as any legitimate child).

Illegitimacy is mentioned in a good number of Fumiko's works, including Jūnenkan, Inazuma, and "Hyōga" 氷河 (Glacier, 1938), but perhaps the most striking treatment of the subject is that found in Kawa uta. The illegitimate character in this work is Shimagi Yasuko, a young girl who is regarded as a 'problem child' at school. Hisako is her teacher, and she pity's Yasuko. After Yasuko loses both her parents, Hisako tries to give her extra attention only to be reprimanded by a fellow teacher at school for displaying favoritism towards one student. Still, Hisako cannot but feel for Yasuko and so she takes her under her tutelage, providing Yasuko with a place to stay and some school supplies (which Hisako pays for out of her own pocket). What Hisako does not understand is that Yasuko does not want pity, that the charity which Hisako gives her only makes her feel more lonely. Yasuko is too young to express her feelings in any but the most simplistic terms, but her values are still clear: she wants independence, she wants
to be responsible for herself, she wants to make her own decisions. She cannot bear being subjected to the control which adults want to exercise on her. Hisako tries to explain to Yasuko that she has no choice but to conform to societal structures, but Yasuko resists the lecture:

"You must not think only of yourself. Now that you have come to stay with me there is no where else to go, so you must put all your energies into your studies. Just like I've always said, right? People are different from cats and dogs. Your mother will have no peace if you go about always putting yourself before everything else. I heard that Shigeji is doing well in the countryside. If you do well when you grow up you can take him in and live together. Life is difficult for everybody. Don't go thinking that you are the only one who is sad. You must not think that you alone are unhappy. You're under my care, now ... you must gain strength from that. Mr. Kawajiri is abroad for the sake of his country. Soldiers can't just go home on their own when the military becomes unpleasant, you know. You mustn't cry over such a thing as this. We've all got to get along together, don't we? We've all got to take care of things at home while the others are off to war. Mr. Kawajiri would surely think poorly of you if he saw such behavior. You said you wanted to go home, but where would you go?"

"I would go to Umamichi and become a maid."

"My goodness, a maid? Have you thought about that? If you want to be a maid, I will send you wherever you want to go, but you couldn't do the work. But come now, if there is something you are lacking just tell me what it is. You don't understand how much I care for you, do you?"

Asked if there was something lacking, Yasuko broke out into tears. She was not wanting for food or clothing, but somehow she still felt helplessly forlorn. She had made no friends at school and was left feeling that there was something missing in her life.

"Come on, tell me if you lack anything. That's right, just tell it to me straight."

But even though Hisako had sat her down for this direct conversation, Yasuko could not describe what it was that she found lacking. She

29 Yasuko's younger brother.

30 Hisako's husband, who taught at the same school until he was conscripted.
herself found it quite odd that she was bored and lonely despite the fact that she had everything she needed. Her mind was filled with a black cloud of dissatisfaction and discontent for which she could not find words. She looked up, as if she had suddenly hit upon it, and said, "I want my own money."

"Money?"

"Yes, I want money to buy crayons and pencils and things."

"Well, yes, but don't I buy crayons and pencils and things for you?"

The crayons that her teacher had bought for her came in an ugly box and Yasuko hated them. Hisako did not understand in the least Yasuko's desire to have her own money and to buy things herself. Yasuko felt like buying things with her own money whenever she felt lonely. She wanted to buy some bread and take it to her teachers.

"There is nowhere else for you to go but here. If it is money that you want, I will give it to you. But what will become of such money that you have for buying crayons and pencils? Things aren't easy for me right now. It's strange that you can't understand that."

"I want to become a maid and make lots of money and give it to everybody," Yasuko said clearly, her eyes puffy with tears. Hisako stroked Yasuko's soft hair with her hands and felt helpless faced with the hopelessness of Yasuko's situation. Maybe it was best to let this child go where she wanted to go, she thought. If left on her own, perhaps she would discover the road on which she must travel.31

The ability to buy crayons and pencils with her own money represents the ability to make all decisions on her own, i.e., the ability to exercise free will. Hisako's pity stems from the knowledge that Yasuko lacks a stable family, that she is poor, and that she is illegitimate. To Hisako, these are fatal characteristics to be righted through charity. To Yasuko, they are incidental characteristics to be righted with effort. Like so many Fumiko characters, Yasuko does not want pity; she wants the chance to work and support herself. Her age prevents her from being taken seriously, but the above passage speaks clearly to the reader and it is here that Fumiko expresses her values most distinctly.

31Shinchō HFZ vol. 20, 273-275.
One day Yasuko goes to Asakusa (the neighborhood where she used to live) and does not come home until late at night. Hisako stays awake and waits for her, and while she is waiting she realizes that Yasuko may have been right all along about how to live one's life:

Just what is making me so lonely? Everybody feels lonely at some time or another. But does that make it right to yield to it? One must create the bright spots in one's life on one's own. I've never once thought about children's happiness. I've always thought about children through the logical eyes of an adult. Yasuko said that I was a liar. I'm not sure exactly what she was referring to when she did, but come to think of it, perhaps it was because I am living inside my own world of constructs. Perhaps she has seen through my facade.\(^3\)

In this moment, Hisako realizes two things: first, that she and only she is responsible for seeing to it that she thrives; second, that her logic and reasoning (up to this point) is a false construct, that is unnecessary for, perhaps even harmful to, the achievement of her goals. Yasuko is not concerned with the complications of adult society, and her abandon enables her to thrive. Thus, Fumiko tells us, while the exercise of free will is essential to happiness, so is the ability to forsake logical constructs. It is this message that might have caused critics to describe Fumiko as both a nihilist and an anarchist writer (see chapter 2), although I would simply call it Fumiko's intellectually lazy way of getting around the challenge of defining her ethics clearly and avoiding complex constructs.

The treatment given illegitimacy in Jūnenkan, Inazuma, and "Hyōga" depicts it as destructive to family structure, but the unstable families in these works are so more

\(^3\)Shinchō HFZ vol. 20, 281.
because the illegitimate characters are siblings all fathered by different men, not because their mother and father are not married. As in Kawa uta, being illegitimate is not a major concern for the characters in these works; rather, it is a hard fact — one that cannot be altered or erased — and therefore does not merit much attention or anxiety. The characters accept their births and move on with their lives, transcending the stigma of their status, at least in their own minds. Compare this with the treatment of illegitimacy in Shiga Naoya's Anya kōro 暗夜行路 (A Dark Night's Passing, 1937), in which the protagonist, Kensaku, agonizes for pages over the possibility that he was born out of wedlock, and one can see a remarkable difference. Where Shiga (Kensaku) cannot get past the mere thought of the possibility of being illegitimate, Fumiko's characters begin with illegitimacy acknowledged, accepted, and in need of no further consideration.

I think that this utilitarian view of life, with its philosophically uncomplicated approach to issues which would cause much more consternation in those (such as Shiga) in the higher circles of society, is a large part of what made Fumiko a popular writer. The selectivity with which her characters approach problems, i.e., the way they choose to focus on concrete concepts not abstract ones, also conveys a sense of earnestness beyond any sort of culpability. The characters who avoid marriage in an attempt to do something else may never define that 'something else,' but their sincerity puts them above reproach. Likewise, the illegitimate characters who long for respect do not hold up achievements and concrete goals as proof that they deserve that respect; rather, they hold up their humanity and their abstract desires, things which, in their minds, validate their right to be freed of concrete restraints.
These characters truly reflect their creator, a woman who demanded respect solely based on her earnestness. Fumiko asked that she be free to desire, free to choose, and she based her claim to these freedoms exclusively on the fact that because she wanted them she was entitled to have them. That there were ways she could better present her case, philosophically sound arguments which, if carefully considered, could fully support her cause, was not important to her. It seemed plain to her that she was right, and that the secret to communicating this was to do so in the most simple way possible. Even in the later years of her career, despite the fact that she no longer believed much in people's ability to improve themselves, she still held that if one kept one's thoughts simple, one could not be held culpable if things went wrong.
CHAPTER SIX

UKIGUMO AND THE LATER YEARS

The Encroaching Darkness

Some literary critics note that, after the war, Fumiko began to write "dark" works,¹ but few of them try to define exactly what it is that makes a work "dark." It cannot be the subject matter; despite the potentially depressing themes of her earlier works — poverty, unemployment, malnutrition, etc. — we have seen how a faith in free will, in one's ability to choose paths for improvement and have some control over one's existence, instilled Fumiko's writing with an upbeat, optimistic air. The subject matter of the later works — many of which also are about people living in poverty — did not change significantly enough for it to be the sole "darkening" factor in Fumiko's writing. Rather, I suggest that it was a new fatalistic outlook which caused a qualitative change. Many critics² quote a passage from the afterword of Ukigumo in which Fumiko says:

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¹Fukuda Kiyoto dedicates a chapter entitled "Kurai jidai no moto de" 暗い時代のもとで (The Origin of the Dark Years) to this topic, in which he discusses changes in Fumiko's life which may have affected her literature (Fukuda Kiyoto, Hayashi Fumiko: hito to sakuhin, 69-85), and also a critical section entitled "Kurai sakuhin" 暗い作品 (Dark Works) in which he notes specific works (Hayashi Fumiko: hito to sakuhin, 161-164).

²Itagaki Hiroko also notes that the number of Fumiko's "dark" works with a "nihilistic outlook" grew steadily after the war. (Itagaki Hiroko, "Hayashi Fumiko" in Kindai nihon joseishi 3. Tōkyō: Kagoshima kenkyūjo shuppan, 1972, 174).


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I wanted to write about man's fate, a fate which could be overlooked by everyone and which flowed along in an empty void. My plan was to write...about a world with no plot, to write a novel peripheral to the world of novels and which could not be explained.  

But only one of these critics, Fujikawa Tetsuji, comes close to recognizing the important message in this statement: that Fumiko was writing about fate. Fujikawa says that all of Fumiko's novels are dedicated to the depiction of fate, but I do not think this is true of most of Fumiko's pre-war works. The characters in those early works do not suffer at the hands of a pre-determined fate (the sort that is implied by Fujikawa's statement), although Fujikawa's statement is quite true about the post-war works. Where the pre-war Fumiko wrote about the strength of human character, the post-war Fumiko focused her attention on man's "weak points" — despondency, irresponsibility, and immorality — and underlying all these undesirable traits is the loss of faith in free will. Initiative, responsibility, and morality can only exist if one believes in free will.

It is impossible to draw a distinct line in time at which Fumiko's writing changed. The trend from non-determinism to determinism is unmistakable, but there are exceptions, such as the early (1935) short story "Kaki" (discussed in chapter 1) in which the protagonist seems unable to help himself in any way and succumbs to environmental changes around him without so much as a struggle. And the later short story "Karasu" (Crow, 1949) is a notably non-deterministic work about a young man, Tanii Mamoru,

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3HFZ vol. 16, 281.

4Fujikawa Tetsuji, "Hayashi Fumiko ron," 93.

5"Rinraku atogaki," HFZ vol. 16, 245-246.
who lost some siblings during the war and who is not happy being a college student at Waseda University. He leaves school and home and goes on a trip to the mountains to collect his thoughts. He considers suicide, but after meeting many people whose lives are more difficult than his own he decides that suicide is not the answer, and that his life is not as bad as he thought. Tanii is quite different from the despondent protagonists in other works published around the same time, and this demonstrates that Fumiko occasionally felt the non-deterministic fervor of her youth.

The loss of one's right to choose, as described in chapter 5, is an intermediary step to the submission to a perceived pre-destined fate shown by Fumiko's later characters. Where the characters in *Aware hitozuma*, "Hana no ichi," and "Maihime" feel depressed about having their free will curtailed when they are forced into undesirable marriages, the characters in *Ukigumo*, "Ame," "Fubuki" (Blowing Snow, 1946), "Nagusame" なぐさめ (Comfort, 1946), "Ryojō no umi," "Yoru no kōmorigasa," "Hone," and "Dauntaun" feel depressed because they believe they have no free will in the first place.

**War Works**

The aftermath of World War II left Fumiko greatly disillusioned, and this may have been the major reason for the qualitative change in her later works. During the war she travelled to China and Indochina as part of the Japanese war effort (see chapter 1) and saw much devastation first-hand. The two prominent works of war reportage which she produced during this time were *Sensen* and *Hokugan butai*. *Sensen* is written in an
epistolary format, although the letters are not addressed to anyone in particular, simply "you."6 *Hokugen butai* is written in a diary format, but unlike *Hōrōki*, it is purely a first person narrative as one would expect a true diary to be.7 Both works depict the trip that Fumiko took to China in the autumn of 1938 on which she accompanied Japanese troops for about a month. She was not spared the sight of illness and death on that journey, but it did not seem to move her unless it was suffered by Japanese troops. She visited a field hospital, and went so far as to enter the operating room before the sights became too much and she became faint.8 The sad plight of some of the soldiers she meets moves her to tears, and her overall experience presents such a shock to her system that she feels unable to write about it:

> How odd it is that I have no other passion in my soul save for what I feel about war. I have not given up thinking about writing further manuscripts, but at this point I feel like those love stories will take care of themselves. I've had enough of them. All those things I wrote so fervently [in the past] — what comfort are they to me now? I don't mind if I am poor. I'll not write a thing. I received a letter [from Japan] asking me to write a poem about the nurses here, but that is something I cannot do right now. It is as much as I can do to breathe.9

But she did write, as the existence of the manuscripts attests. When she wrote, she often focused on individual soldiers and how the war affected them. She also wrote a

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6Hayashi occasionally uses the pronoun *anata* あなた in the text.

7See the discussion in chapter 3 on how *Hōrōki* differs from standard diaries.

8*HFZ* vol. 12, 237.

9*HFZ* vol. 12, 252.
considerable amount about the horses of the Japanese army (she found them admirable work animals, and felt sorry for them in the midst of the man-made war). And in a move which was quite a divergence from all her previous travel writing, she described scenery. It seems that she was eager to write about anything but the underlying mechanism which drove the war machine; at times that meant that her writing showed hints of naivete and ignorance. It is possible that government pressure prevented her from writing anything even remotely sympathetic to the Chinese, although as a civilian she would not have been under the same military orders as the writer and army corporal Hino Ashihei 火野薫平 (1907-1960), who claimed that he had strict guidelines regarding his depiction of the Japanese Army. Still, the pressure to portray the Japanese Army in a good light must have been fairly strong, and that may be the reason Fumiko did so.

Fumiko, like other writers involved in reporting on the war, wrote to put a face on the Japanese army, to show the people back home how proud they should be of their fighting men. Despite the death and destruction which she saw in China, Fumiko comments in Hokugan butai how sweet it would be to bring the children of the soldiers

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10Donald Keene quotes from Tanaka Sōtarō, Hino Ashihei ron (Gogatsu shobō, 1971), 34: "[Hino] insisted that he had been obliged to write under these specified conditions: 1. The Japanese Army must never be described as losing a battle. 2. The kinds of criminal acts which inevitably accompany warfare must not be alluded to. 3. The enemy must always be portrayed as loathsome and contemptible. 4. The full circumstances of a [military] operation must not be disclosed. 5. The composition of military units and their designations must not be disclosed. 6. No expression of individual sentiments as human beings is permitted to soldiers." (Donald Keene, "The Barren Years: Japanese War Literature," 76.)
to the front (to show them the work that their fathers were doing). Emphasis on the individual, personal aspect of war would draw more sympathy from those at home than a broad, patriotic appeal for support, and it was this that the Japanese army hoped for when it engaged the services of popular writers such as Fumiko. However, Fumiko's writing, while it glorified the Japanese soldiers' spirit of camaraderie and their code of honor, also contained such gruesome passages as the following from Sensen:

War has a painful, barbaric side to it, but it also has plenty truly splendid aspects, ones which are excruciatingly beautiful. Once, as I was passing through a village, I heard the following conversation between two soldiers who had captured a member of the Chinese resistance:

"I'd like to see him burn at the stake."

"Nah, when I think about the image of [our fellow soldier] who died in Tianjia village it makes me sick to my stomach. That's really offensive •••"

"Let's kill him like a man, with a single strike of the sword." And with that, the captured Chinese soldier died instantly, without a moment of suffering, at a single, splendid, stroke of a sword. I listened to the soldiers' conversation with a feeling of concurrence. I do not feel that this is in the least bit brutal. What are your thoughts? I'd like you to understand these soldiers' pure state of mind. The strong memory of their fallen comrade called forth their sentimentality and aroused great indignation in these soldiers' hearts.

Fumiko tries to celebrate the soldiers' "pure state of mind" (jinsiui na heitai no shinri), but the image of the two men discussing the prisoner's death so dispassionately cannot help but illustrate the brutality carried out by the Japanese Army. In this sense, it is questionable whether she succeeded in her efforts to promote her

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11 HFZ vol. 12, 295.

12 Sensen (Tökyö: Asahi shinbun sha, 1938), 91-92.
country's cause.

Fumiko did not comment publicly on her war reportage after Japan's defeat, even though her attitude towards war and its effect on the common man changed remarkably. Neither *Sensen* nor *Hokugan butai* were included in the 1951 collected works (*Shincho HFZ*), and only the latter was included in the 1977 collected works (*HFZ*). While it is true that both collections were compiled by someone other than the author herself, the decision to omit these works was in keeping with the general trend to omit war-related writing in authors' collections, as noted by Donald Keene:

> Many Japanese authors in later years felt embarrassed by the wartime enthusiasm they had voiced concerning the unique spirit of the Japanese race and similar themes, and refused to allow such writings to be included in what were supposedly their 'complete works' (*zenshū*).13

Fumiko was no exception; her attitude towards war changed completely after the Japanese defeat. The end of the war found her stunned by the devastation war had wreaked on veterans, their families, and other civilians.

The aspect of war that seems to have been the hardest for Fumiko to accept was the random distribution of suffering. One's individual merit had little bearing on whether one was killed, lost a loved one, or was burned out of home or business by enemy bombing. Fumiko had spent years writing about people who worked hard and pulled themselves up by their own bootstraps; thus the idea that individual effort or involvement was meaningless naturally threw her world into turmoil. She discovered that free will

seemed not to matter, as war arbitrarily distributed fortune and disaster.

In most of her post-war works, this determined fate deals misfortunes to the characters, although occasionally there are fatalistically fortunate scenes. Given this, one could argue that Fumiko did not lose her spirit of optimism, rather her depiction of it simply became more subtle in her later years. But there is a fundamental difference between the happy scenes and events of the early works and those in the later ones: in the former, when a character benefits it is usually a result of his or her own actions. In the latter, good and bad luck alike are distributed arbitrarily.

Fumiko spent August 1944 to October 1945 evacuated to the countryside outside of Tokyo (where Allied bombing threatened the civilian population). The following year saw her begin to write seriously again (the last years of the war prevented her and other writers from publishing due to material shortages). Among those works published in 1946 were "Fubuki," "Nagusame," "Ame," and "Ryojō no umi." In 1947, she published "Uruwashiki sekizui," and "Kawahaze." In 1948 she published "Yoru no kōmorigasa," and in 1949 she published "Hone" and "Dauntaun."

All the above stories concern people who are affected by the war; most put emphasis on the random manner in which these people's lives changed (because of the war), and on the discouragement which they often feel. A comparison of these works reveals both the primacy of life in Fumiko's world view and also the loss of the author's faith in free will. By primacy of life, I refer to the importance of biological existence, which is necessary before any other aspect of one's life can be an issue. Fumiko certainly never used the term 'primacy of life,' but her writing reveals an underlying understanding.
of the importance (in order to achieve values) of simply being alive.

The story which perhaps best illustrates the primacy of life is "Nagusame," the story of an indigent man, Shūkichi, whose house burned down in the war and whose wife has disappeared, whereabouts unknown by both her husband and her family. Shūkichi misses his wife, Kiyoko, and would like her to return, but he cannot make it happen. He consoles himself by enjoying the company of his friend, Fuji. The two of them go fishing, and have the following conversation:

"The world sure has changed an awful lot, hasn't it? A kanme 14 of potatoes costs fifteen yen — what a world, huh?"

"That's for sure. Gosh, Fuji, weren't the old days wonderful? I worked in Kinichi and on my way home I could buy a dish of mackerel in the market. Bananas could be had for ten sen 15 to boot. I used to eat so much I'd let out a big belch afterwards. — But now I feel just like I'm seeing a sort of monster. That monster that I was so sure would never appear has, and now the world has changed completely into an extraordinary, odd, bizarre place. You still have your wife and kids, but Kiyoko has gone, and I have nothing. All I have is the fact that I am still alive — but, you know, that's good in itself. I don't in the least feel like giving up here and dying. I never think, 'Damn it all, I'm so lonely that I'd be better off dead!' I'm mostly thankful that I haven't been thinking like that. I don't think it can be said that 'Mankind is the lord of all creation,' given that all we do is eat steamed potatoes and then throw ourselves down to sleep, do you?"

"Ah, enough of all that. Isn't it amazing that we are both still alive? • • • Let's drink to that. Let's drink and be merry." 16

Shūkichi wanders the streets after parting with Fuji, and meets various people, one of

14 A unit of measure equal to approximately 8.72 pounds.

15 Currency unit equal to 1/10 yen.

16 Shinchō HFZ vol. 10, 229.
whom is a boy of twelve or thirteen who has a brief, terse conversation with Shūkichi and then grabs Shūkichi's bag and disappears into the night. Still, he reflects on how happy he is just to be alive:

As he munched on some beans, Shūkichi thought how happy he was that he himself had survived. A horrible number of people had died in Asakusa. So many people had been burned to death, and it hadn't even been due to some natural disaster. Shūkichi was almost smug with happiness at the thought of having survived it all. He was relieved that he had not fallen victim to the rain of fire that fell daily when the huge airplanes came. Shūkichi had not a single enemy; he had no reason to fight with those big airplanes. He knew nothing of foreign lands, and he saw no reason for so many children to join the military and go to war.17

He may be happy to be alive, but he is in terrible health, and he soon falls to the ground, delirious first from illness and then later the injury he sustains in his fall. There are people around him, but their voices fade into the distance, "like the cry of summer cicadas." A miserable end is at hand, but Fumiko insists on making this pitiful death an honorable one:

As the time slipped by, the night gradually grew brighter, but the city was not yet awake. As the night wore on, the light of the shiny moon moving overhead also became brighter and brighter, and the ground all around shone as if covered with snow. On the gentle slope of the embankment, Shūkichi pulled a reed mat over him. His feet stuck out, covered in tattered socks. It was a tragic way to die, but Shūkichi did it as if it were a most honorable way to die, lying face up with the mat pulled up over his head. It was not a horrible way to die, it was an entirely happy way to die. Shūkichi slept eternally like one pebble in nature's limitless realm.18

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17Shinchō HFZ vol. 10, 233.

18Shinchō HFZ vol. 10, 234.
In sum, Shūkichi does not care about his poverty, pain, future prospects, or immediate or future gratification. Quality of life is not important; indeed, Shūkichi has convinced himself that, being a lowly creature who "eats steamed potatoes and sleeps," he deserves no more than subsistence. Fumiko wants the reader to pity Shūkichi — which one does, for he is a random victim of violence — but she also wants the reader to admire him, to believe that his death was "honorable and happy," not "horrible," which the reader cannot do. Fumiko gives us no reason to do so; instead she gives us a man who has little respect for his own humanity. He revels in his own existence, even though that existence is miserable. The thing to which he aspires is nothing more than idly passing time. Still, that he does not give up all hope and commit suicide is to his merit, for it shows that he understands the primacy of life.

This reverence for life was first seen in Hōrōki, where Fumiko made such statements as "Ah, isn't it good to be alive!" It was repeated in Hokugan butai with her concern over losing her own life while reporting from the battlefront. Of course, the joy of living is not a unique emotion, and Fumiko's writing is not necessarily notable for her expression of this joy. However, the fact that life — biological existence — is essential for all other actions does have a direct connection to the importance of free will in Fumiko's works; with death comes the end of free choice; after death, the individual is incapable of making any further choices. When Shūkichi is thankful for surviving the

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19Shinchō HFZ vol. 2, 69. The Japanese is Aa, yappari ikiteiru koto mo ii mono da to omou あゝやっぱり生きている事もいいものだと思う.

20HFZ vol. 12, 214.
is secondary; what is primary is that he does still exist.

The importance of life is also clearly expressed in the short story "Ame," the story of a repatriated soldier, Kōjirō, who finds that he cannot return to his pre-war life. The story opens with Kōjirō entering a bar and asking for a place to stay for the night. The proprietor tells him that all the inns in the area have closed up (due to the economic difficulties of post-war Japan), but he finally agrees to let Kōjirō stay at his place that night. The proprietor feels sorry for the veteran, for his own son had been killed in the war. Kōjirō sits and drinks and thinks about the bitter experience he had when he had returned to his home town after being discharged (like many other of her short stories, Fumiko begins "Ame" in the present and then relates past events).

Kōjirō had arrived in his hometown to find that his family had thought him killed in action, and that his girlfriend, Hatsuyo, had ended up marrying his younger brother, Sōzaburō. Kōjirō never sees these members of the family; all this information about them was passed on to him by his father, Sakutarō, who met Kōjirō at a neighborhood inn. Sakutarō was sympathetic, but encouraged Kōjirō not to return to the house, for it would cause more trouble than it would be worth.

Kōjirō then went to Nagoya, where he tried to find work at a factory where he had been promised employment, but he found that the factory had been burned to the ground and there was no work to be had there. He wandered about a bit, and ended up in the bar where he sits in the opening scene.

While Kōjirō tells Sakutarō about his experiences in the war, and later when he tells the barkeeper his story, the recurring theme is his determination to live. Over and
over Kōjirō tells how the solitary goal of escaping with his life pushed him through the most difficult times of the war. When Kōjirō meets Sakutarō, they exchange the following words:

"I'm surprised you're still alive," said Sakutarō.
"I worked as hard as I could to make sure that I came home alive."²¹

And a few paragraphs later, Kōjirō repeats this sentiment with:

"I was determined to live no matter what happened. I wanted to live, and to see you and Mother again."²²

When the barkeeper asks him what being in the army was like, Kōjirō replies:

"I guess I'm pretty happy · · · No matter what, I was determined to come back alive. I focused all my energies on that desire to live. I knew I shouldn't ever surrender to death, to think it was all over. If you are determined to live, no matter what occurs, then you will do so."
"I guess so."
"I was called into service twice, and both times I was saved by ending up in the hospital.²³ Frankly speaking, it was because I didn't want to die."
"Ho, are such things really possible?"
"You can't get away with any funny business in the military ranks. Both times that I was called up I thought, 'Staying alive is not going to be easy.'²⁴

²¹Shinchō HFZ vol. 10, 14.
²²Shinchō HFZ vol. 10, 14.
²³Kōjirō means that he ended up in the hospital after being conscripted, not before.
²⁴Shinchō HFZ vol. 10, 9.
The barkeeper says he is thankful that he did not suffer the same fate of death by fire as many other civilians did. He agrees with Kōjirō that death would be meaningless:

"I sure am glad that I wasn't burned to death. It's like you say, nothing comes of death," said the barkeeper.

"You're right there. We've got to live long lives, and to assure ourselves of a world in which one can feel at home. One's life is important, after all," replied Kōjirō. 25

Most of Kōjirō's attitudes about life are a reaction to the emphasis on death which he experienced in the army. He recalls training, in which soldiers were made to spend every day "making rafts and learning how to die." 26 The attitude of the superior officers was the opposite of the soldiers':

Kōjirō would never forget the day that one of the superior officers yelled at a soldier who was slacking off, "If you just think you are going to die, then you are sure to be able to do this." The soldier muttered that he could do anything if he just thought that he would live, but if he thought that he was to die then it was extremely easy just to bear down and die. Kōjirō felt the same way. 27

Throughout the story, Kōjirō reflects on the abnormality of war; it is not natural, he thinks, for people to suffer in this way, nor is it normal for death and pain to play such a prominent role in anybody's life. The fact that he survived, however, does not provide him with unconditional happiness as it did Shūkichi in "Nagusame."

25 Shinchō HFZ vol. 10, 22.

26 The Japanese is mainichi ikada o kunde shinu kunren o saserarete ita 毎日筏を組んで死ぬ訓練をさせられてるた.

27 Shinchō HFZ vol. 10, 13.
Kōjirō and Shūichi recognize that biological life is necessary in order for one to achieve anything else, in order to be able to make choices and affect one's future. These two protagonists do not feel their fate to have been decided; there are a number of pleasant possibilities before their eyes — for Shūkichi, the chance to spend pleasant afternoons drinking and fishing with his friend, for Kōjirō the chance to find work and build up a normal life again — as long as they are still alive. Their futures afford them hope and pleasant anticipation — the feeling they share is that life will be good for them if they can simply survive long enough to enjoy it.

As mentioned earlier, Fumiko's turn from free will to determinism did not happen at a specific point in time; it was a gradual change. During the post-war years there was a period during which both sorts of works were written, as well as works which combined the two elements. A good example of this is "Yoru no kōmorigasa," in which the protagonist, Eisuke, vacillates between feeling helpless and feeling capable. Eisuke is a war veteran, one who lost a leg in battle and now depends on his wife, Machiko, to support the two of them. The loss of mobility makes Eisuke feel useless, and he hates being unable to work. Being dependent on his wife deprives him of full control over his life; it reduces his freedom to choose. He does not have an income and this means that he is, to a certain extent, under Machiko's control. She is not a domineering or pushy woman, but that does not diminish the power she exercises over Eisuke by simple merit of the fact that she is their only source of income. She has little time to pity him, for she is busy working and visiting her lover (or so Eisuke suspects) on the side. All this leaves Eisuke, a rational adult able to make his own decisions, deprived of the opportunity to do
so. But what makes Eisuke different from Keiko in Aware hitozuma, Shūichi in "Hana no ichi," and Suekichi in "Maihime" is that he is not fully convinced that he has the ability to control his life. He suspects it, and the suspicion grows with the progression of the narrative, but he remains menaced by the fatalistic attitude his wife exhibits.

The story opens with Machiko telling Eisuke frankly that he is not the type to commit suicide, thus emphasizing her feelings that he has so little control on his life that he is incapable of even ending it of his own accord. Eisuke is depressed by Machiko's words, and he wavers between a desire to make something of himself and the fear that such a thing is impossible.

One day Machiko leaves the house to go shopping and does not come home for hours. Eisuke becomes concerned, so he goes to the train station to wait for her. While he is there, he meets a young patrolman who is bright and cheery and who talks to Eisuke about taking initiative and improving his life. Eisuke is drawn to this young man, for he expresses a faith in Eisuke's ability to act, something which Machiko long since ceased to do. The patrolman tells Eisuke that his injury should not stand in his way of having a livelihood:

"Does your wound hurt?" the patrolman asked.
"Yeah, it's bad when it gets cold like this. It's bad any time, for that matter. Stuck without a job, it's worse than being a criminal · · · "

The patrolman replied quickly, with a smile in his eyes, "That's not true. You shouldn't think such a silly thing. You can't go thinking like that just because of one injury. You can't say that it's nothing, but if you
don't find a way around it you'll forever be dependent on others. . . ."28

The patrolman is a beacon that shines light on that part of Eisuke's life which had been lost and forgotten: self-esteem. Eisuke clings to this ray of hope; he knows that the patrolman's daily presence would be much more beneficial to him than Machiko's, and when he finds out that the young man is looking for a room to rent, he realizes that it would make him very happy to have such a person in his house. He asks Machiko if she would be willing to take the patrolman in as a boarder, but Machiko dismisses the idea promptly, for she expects her younger brother to be coming soon to attend college, and the house is not big enough to accommodate all four of them. Eisuke is gravely disappointed:

[Eisuke knew that] there was no way Machiko's younger brother would give a cripple like himself the respect one should show an older sister's husband. Eisuke wanted ever so much more to take in the young patrolman than to take in his wife's brother. Eisuke's soul had been impressed with the patrolman's kind words of faith in people.29

Eisuke wants to believe in his own ability, to build his self-esteem — in essence, to believe he is capable of making choices — but Machiko does not help him do so, nor does Eisuke expect his brother-in-law will either. The result is that Eisuke feels smothered by the emotional attrition which envelops his marriage and, he suspects, so

28Shinchō HFZ vol. 13, 13. In translating from this work, I have taken the liberty of indenting for quotations and new paragraphs. The original has few indentations and is written in the same style as Yokomitsu Riichi's Kikai, as discussed in chapter 2.

29Shinchō HFZ vol. 13, 16.
many others. One day, he tells Machiko in desperation:

"...You must be bored with this sort of life. You are free to go where you want, you know. I won't perish. I'll be fine running a used book store, just like Shōkichi said. I'll get by somehow. I've been depending on you for a long time, but now I regret it. Desire and regret, I guess that is what you could call it...I can't stand going on like this."

"What can't you stand?" said Machiko, licking a thread with her puffy, ill-colored lips, and looking up at her husband. Looking into her eyes, Eisuke was not sure how far he could trust his wife. He wondered how many couples — couples just like themselves whom fate had thrown together — there were out there in the night. Those fated couples went on with their lives while suppressing even the tiniest breath. A formless wail sounded in the night with a terribly pitiful noise. And that wail, frozen just as it was, permeated the darkest reaches of memory, a time so far past that it had become but a dream to which one could not return. Those fated people just silently adjusted and continued with their lives. They had adjusted to a state of uncertainty.\(^{31}\)

"Silent adjustment" is a form of resignation and Eisuke feels this "silent adjustment" smothering him. He wants to resist, but the patrolman is the only person he knows who is willing to help him fight against it. The story ends with Eisuke hurtling a book at the wall in an attempt to break the stagnant air between his wife and himself. The act is desperate, but reveals to both of them that something needs to change the "frozen" state in which they have been living.

"Yoru no kōmorigasa" was one of Fumiko's last attempts at resisting the fatalism of her later years. Like Eisuke, she wanted desperately to maintain her self-esteem and believe that there was some order and justice in the world, but the apparently random

\(^{30}\)A peripheral character who is a common friend of both Eisuke and Machiko.

\(^{31}\)Shinchō HFZ vol. 13, 16.
events around her — evidence of a determined but irrational fate was manifested in the indiscriminate devastation caused by the war — became overwhelming. Her nihilistic\(^{32}\) attitude also may be attributable to her realization that her heart condition had become a serious threat to her life, and that with death so close nothing really mattered to her anymore. As a younger woman, Fumiko took pride in her ability to push herself hard without becoming ill.\(^{33}\) When her body began to give way and her mortality became a constant concern, it understandably caused her to lose much of the vigor — both physical and psychological — that had carried her through most of her life. Death (by natural causes) was one thing over which she knew she had little control, and that lack of control contributed to her increasingly deterministic attitude.

The importance of life, and by extension the importance of free will, is not to be found in many other works from Fumiko’s post-war period. The predominant theme in these works, as mentioned above, is a sort of fatalism and loss of faith in free will. "Fubuki" is a typical short story of this type. It is the story of a woman, Kane, who is married and has four children. Kane’s husband, Manpei, is called into action and Kane spends a good amount of the war pining for him. One day word comes that he has been killed in action, and while Kane mourns his death she is comforted by a neighbor, Katsu. After a period of time, a romance blooms between Kane and Katsu, although Kane’s love

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\(^{32}\)I use ‘nihilism’ here to mean a rejection of logic and a spurning of rational constructs.

\(^{33}\)For an example, see her essay "Nichijō no seikatsu" 日常の生活 (Everyday Life, 1939) in Shinkyō to fūkaku, 148-151.
for her dead husband still lingers in her heart. Katsu and Kane live together as husband and wife (although they are not officially married) until one day Katsu comes to Kane with a look of deep concern. He tells her that he has heard that Manpei is still alive, and recuperating in a military hospital not too far away. Kane and Katsu are devastated by the news, but Katsu tells her that he will take her to see Manpei, and that he will not stand in their way. He volunteers to leave their common-law marriage, and while Kane loves him and feels for him, she cannot deny her excitement and joy at the news that Manpei is alive.

While all three characters are together at the hospital (where Manpei is a patient), an air raid breaks the tense air:

"I can't thank you enough for all you have done for my family," said Manpei to Katsu, looking over at his weeping wife.

"No, I owe you so much. I'm just glad that you're alive. As long as you have life, there is no end to the possibilities . . . I was just thinking while I waited at the hospital gate how happy Kane and the children and the elders will all be when you get well and come back home. There is nothing for me to mind. I think I'll do as I had planned before: leave Tokyo in search of work," Katsu answered.

Suddenly an eerie siren sounded.

Announcements came blurring out of the radio about a coming air attack.

Manpei instinctively squatted down. Katsu, still holding his cigarette, covered Kane and leaned up against a pillar. An air of panic enveloped the hospital. For a while, the sounds of people running about and shouting filled the air. Manpei was frantic, and the attacking planes combined with the near dusk on all sides, clutched at his heart. He wondered how it would be for the three of them to be killed like this by a bomb.34

34 Shinchô HFZ vol. 10, 188.
The randomness of the bombing causes panic on all sides. The air raid represents one's unknown fate, events which one cannot control, which do not reflect one's virtues or lack thereof and which have the potential to steal one's very life away with no advance notice. Emotions had already been running high in the ward, as Manpei, Katsu, and Kane were in the midst of discussing their awkward situation as it stood — a situation which itself was created by the uncontrollable, fated false notice of Manpei's death. They feel helpless in the face of what has happened, and the air raid brings a new wave of helplessness, one punctuated by the urgency of a life-threatening situation.

Late that night, on the way home from the hospital, Katsu tries to take his leave of Kane. The scene is desolate, and Katsu's attitude towards the entire situation is one of resignation:

Snow whirled around them as they got off the train. It stuck to the sky and earth, bits of it blowing about wildly. Until they left the embankment the road was clear, but away from the broad embankment the world was one slate of white, and the wind blew about wildly. In the blink of an eye the snow had piled up quite high, and seemed to seize the two's feet as they walked along. Katsu walked in front. There was not a light to be seen, perhaps because a black-out alarm had been sounded.

Suddenly Katsu stopped in his tracks and took Kane's hand. Her hand was cold.
"I'll go to Tokyo, so there's no need for you to worry about me. Manpei doesn't think badly of me, and I'll find something to do, rest assured. OK?" he said.

Katsu brought his mouth up close to Kane's ear, as if fighting against the wind, and spoke loudly.
"Our relationship ends here."35

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35Shinchō HFZ vol. 10, 188.
The final line in the above passage has a double meaning; the Japanese is *oretachi wa, kore made no en da sa* 俺たちは、これまでの縁ださ. The word *en* means "relation," but it also has overtones of "fate." Here it carries both meanings, as Katsu is saying that their relationship was fated to end at this point.

Katsu and Kane continue to walk in the blizzard, emotionally torn about their situation. Like the air raid, the random swirling of the snow is emphasized in this passage to add an element of randomness, representative of the unpredictable events which effect one's life. Katsu and Kane are victimized by the war (and the snow storm), and they are depicted as powerless to change their situation.

**Determinism in *Ukigumo***

Whether it was due to the disillusionment which Fumiko experienced after Japan's defeat in the war, or to her failing health and the subsequent realization that she had not long to live, the optimism of *Hōrōki* had faded to but a glimmer of its former self by the time Fumiko wrote *Ukigumo*. The change of authorial attitude is first evident when one contrasts the titles of the two works; where the *hōro* of *Hōrōki* can mean "doing as one pleases," the "drifting clouds" of *Ukigumo* indicate no control over where one goes. Kōda Yukiko, the protagonist of *Ukigumo*, has much in common with the narrator in *Hōrōki*; she is a young, single woman who needs to support herself. She has a few love affairs during the course of the novel, but none of them bring her true happiness. But while it would be incorrect to say that she shows none of the drive and determination of *Hōrōki*'s narrator, she does readily resign herself to unsatisfactory situations, and it is this
point which makes her a markedly different sort of character from Fumiko's earlier creations. Yukiko's main lover, Tomioka, displays similar fatalistic tendencies. There is an increased use of the word *unmei* (fate) in *Ukigumo*, used to indicate something beyond the control of the characters a concept absent in *Hōrōki*.

In the beginning of *Ukigumo*, Yukiko is in Tokyo, without lodging or friends. She has just returned to Japan from abroad and needs to re-establish herself in her home country. She goes to visit Iba, a brother-in-law with whom she had a love affair years ago, as she believes his house is the only place where she can stay. The thought of living with this disagreeable man and his family brings back unpleasant memories and she feels unhappy about her situation, although she thinks of it as something to which she is fated, and not something about which anything can clearly be done. One day, as Yukiko and Iba head home after an outing to Shinjuku, Yukiko wishes she could be with her lover Tomioka instead:

Yukiko suddenly thought of the time she spent [with Tomioka] at the Hotei Hotel in Ikebukuro, and the idea of going back to Saginomiya with Iba and sleeping next to him in that tiny room was an unpleasant one. The fact that she had gotten nothing of what she wanted, and all that she did not want seemed fateful to surround her, left her with a dry feeling in her soul.³⁶

There is an air of self-pity here, as well as a touch of anger at 'fate' by which Yukiko feels victimized. Similar feelings of helplessness are expressed throughout the novel, such as in the following passage, which takes place still relatively early in the novel when she

³⁶Shinchō HFZ vol. 16, 66.
still has some hope for a resumption of her relationship with Tomioka:

Lately Yukiko was given to weeping, and she wondered if it didn't indicate that she was starting to lose her mind. While she was crying, the dark shadow of uncertainty which she intuited about her immediate fate showed on her face. That intuition told her that things were dictated to turn out a certain way. There was no deviation from that dictate. She felt that she had nothing strong on which to support herself, and that she had to live her life like a little stone, being kicked along by some one else. Clearly Yukiko does not feel in control of her life here, nor does she feel any control is possible in the future. The yearning and nostalgia that she feels for former, happier days in Indochina (as described in chapter 4) bring comfort but also quell any aspirations she might develop to improve her present and future. Instead of working to better her situation, she simply indulges in memories of more cheerful times.

A few pages after the above passage, Yukiko meets Joe, a foreigner with whom she has a short love affair. She meets him while she is taking a walk in Shinjuku, and interprets the serendipitous nature of their meeting as a twist of fate:

Yukiko went to Shinjuku with no particular motive in mind. A cold wind blew in the evening. With the roadside stalls and most of the other stores all closed up, Shinjuku was like a lonely desert town. She tried her best to walk along as if she had some business there, but it left her feeling quite dissatisfied. She considered going back to Shizuoka, but seeing as she had gotten herself the little shack to live in, she also wondered if it wouldn't be best for her to start a new life from that shack. She had walked as far as the Isetan Department store when she was called over by a tall foreigner. He asked her where she was going, but because she had been asked so

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37 The word for fate here is yukusue 行末

38 Shinchô HFZ vol. 16, 71.
abruptly, Yukiko merely smiled and stood still. The foreigner matched her stride and walked with her. Yukiko grew bold. The foreigner babbled along a mile a minute, but Yukiko remained silent and leaned up against his body as they walked along. She felt that her fate was slowly but surely taking a turn in a new direction.39

Joe becomes her lover and visits her often, bringing small gifts when he does. He is kind and Yukiko enjoys his company, but the language barrier prevents her from truly falling in love with him. Still, Joe's appearance in her life is a positive sign to her; it is a gift that fate bestowed on her when she was down and out. Her passive acceptance of his companionship, exemplified in the passage above when she silently leans against him, is symptomatic of her passive acceptance of many events in her life. As mentioned in chapter 4, Yukiko does show some signs of personal volition, such as in the scene where she decides to leave Tomioka behind in the resort of Ikaho and to continue with her own life in Tokyo. But these scenes are overshadowed by those that display a wavering of her will, which causes her to change her mind and surrender to fate more often than not.

When Yukiko is faced with the necessity of finding some sort of employment to support herself, she cannot decide what sort of work to do, and the options all seem bleak. While she muses, she idly shakes a pair of dice which she finds sitting nearby:

Yukiko picked up the dice which had been thrown on top of the table and shook them in her hand for a while as she sank deep into her own thoughts. She contemplated what sort of work she should do. She had lost her talent at office work. And she couldn't be a waitress. Becoming a housewife was also an unpleasant thought. She would starve if she didn't find some sort of work. Yukiko shook the dice as she wondered what sort

39Shinchō HFZ vol. 16, 73.
of work to choose...⁴⁰

The specter of chance, of fate, as manifested in the dice, haunts Yukiko's thoughts as she tries to make a decision. It is as if any choice, whether she seems to make it of free will or not, is predestined. Again, the protagonist of Hōrōki, in the same situation (unemployment), decides on a job using rational logic, not the random throw of dice, the implication being that the decision is hers to make, it is not predetermined.

Despite efforts to branch off in their own directions, Yukiko and Tomioka end up together, headed for Yaku island, in the end of the story. Yukiko is dying from consumption, and she is resigned to her fate. She becomes so weak that she cannot continue, and shortly after that she breathes her last. Tomioka is saddened by her death, but it seems to him a natural event in succession to the recent deaths of his former lover, Osei, and his wife, Kuniko. Tomioka and Yukiko display no control over the tragic events which lead to the latter's death; they know she is very ill, but they continue travelling as if something was preventing them from other courses of action.

The last paragraph sums up the fatalistic metaphysical overtones of the novel. Tomioka has just attended to Yukiko's funeral, and is faced with either returning to Yaku Island or to Tokyo. He does not have the energy to deal with the former on his own, but the latter does not offer any potential way for him to earn his livelihood:

Tomioka thought about his own condition, which was just like that of a drifting cloud. It was a drifting cloud which could disappear at any

⁴⁰Shinchō HFZ vol. 16, 130.
time, in any place, without anyone knowing about it.\footnote{Shinchō HFZ vol. 16, 254.}

Here Fumiko asks the reader, What does life matter? Why fret over decisions which are pre-destined? She tells us that we cannot know our fate, although it is set — all we can do is suffer with the knowledge that we have no control. Indeed, what disturbs both Yukiko and Tomioka most about fate is its quixotic nature. The fact that something could happen "any time, in any place" is frightening, and the threat of the unknown hangs over the entire novel. That threat grows with the progression of the narrative to the point where it paralyzes the characters in a state of non-action. Instead of seeing a world of possible opportunities, Yukiko and Tomioka see a world of possible disasters.

**The False Solace of Religion**

In *Ukigumo*, Fumiko criticizes organized religion, which, as she depicts it, provides a false sense of control over one's fate. When the morally corrupt Iba joins a religious cult and tries to convince Yukiko that he has found salvation through his faith, Yukiko sees that the sect is a farce, and that Iba is grasping at any chance to resurrect himself after a life of debauchery. Fumiko writes Iba's monologues on the subject of religion with contempt and disdain, and she makes Yukiko unable to believe what Iba says about the goodness of the sect.

Iba goes to visit Yukiko in the hospital after she has had an abortion (the child was not his — it was Tomioka's — but out of compassion for Yukiko, he pays for the
procedure), and while he is there his religious rhetoric attracts some of the other women in the ward. Yukiko is appalled by his behavior:

Iba came to visit her on the second day, but all he had to ask her was when she would be well and able to come help him [with secretarial duties]. Yukiko was extremely weak. Iba had given himself over totally to the Dainikkō sect, and he was boasting about how the money for construction costs was just pouring in from their accounting office.

The women whose beds were lined up alongside Yukiko's in the hospital room were in no time drawn to what Iba was saying. Lying next to the wall was a woman close to forty years old named Ōtsu Shimo. She suddenly blurted out, "Would it be possible for me to join the ranks of the faithful?"

Ōtsu had disposed of a child she had conceived with an older married man. She had not spoken a word about it herself, but the nurse, Miss Makita, had said that she was an elementary school teacher from somewhere near Chiba. She did not seem the type to become attached to some man like that. She had a dark complexion and was heavy set, and she was rather formal.

"This Dainikkō sect — is the leader a man?"

Iba grinned and said, "Of course, he is a man, and a marvelous one at that. He studied in India as a young man, and has plenty of vision. He has surmounted all sorts of obstacles, and he came to Japan to shine his light in the wilderness here. He is well known as a brave man, thanks to his long stint with the army in Malaysia and Burma. In different times, we would not be able to approach such a man. Please, come join us. All your difficulties will be erased."

"My! So the founder was originally a soldier?"

"That's right. He's an exiled soldier, which makes him all the more interesting. Fellows straight out of the military like this are naturally full of energy. He can be downright highhanded with an unruly mob." Iba lowered his voice. "He's buying a car in my name. He's footing the entire bill, but I'm in charge of everything he owns."

"How old is he?"

"Oh, about sixty-one or sixty-two. He's an amazing guy, said to have been with over a hundred women. He says that plants turn towards the sun, no matter where they grow, so he named the sect

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42 It is not clear what sort of building the sect is erecting, although a new church seems likely.
Dainikkō after that energy of life. We've got over 100,000 believers now. It has the potential to grow indefinitely. His creed seems to be that by staying inconspicuous, we will be conspicuous."

Yukiko felt a little uneasy at how Iba had changed entirely from his former self into what seemed like a man gone totally mad. He seemed to have no interest whatsoever in her past relationship with Tomioka. He just wanted to take her into his confidence as his private secretary, to hire a woman with whom he had relations in the past.44

Iba goes on to describe to Ōtsu Shimo how much money she needs to contribute in order to become a member of the sect, and she enthusiastically responds that she definitely wants to join. He tells her that the sect does not heal physical ailments, but rather psychological ailments; in effect, he promises happiness and an improved life. Yukiko remains unswayed, for she knows that Iba is simply running a scam. Iba never stops talking about the church and about God, but his insincerity is obvious, as in the following exchange between him and Yukiko:

"I can't say this very loudly, but in this world the best business is religion. Religion is the way to save people. Some incredibly lost souls come to hear the teachings. All around us drug stores have sprung up,45 and there is a map for us at the station. It's amazing. These people all happily part with their money. Religion has the power to keep people from begrudging payments. I sold that house in Saginomiya, you know. I'm buying the house of a banker in Ikegami, and we'll live together with the sect leader — how grand! The house is sort of old for 3,500,000 yen, but the building is 80 tsubo,46 the grounds are 500 tsubo, and there is a pond and a hill."

43The characters in the name, 大日向, mean "turn towards the great sun."

44Shincho HFZ vol. 16, 155-156.

45The implication here is that the new drug stores have been opened in response to the cult members' demand for healing medicines prescribed by the church.

46A measurement of area, equal to 3.954 sq. yds.
"God will make you pay for this."
"God? God only looks after those with good luck. Those who are not caught in the net of luck are of no interest to God. You know, I am quite taken with you. I'll buy you a cozy little house all your own. No matter what happens, I was your first man, and I'll never forget it..." Yukiko found it all repulsive.47

Iba does not believe what he preaches and sells; his comment about luck indicates that he too shares Yukiko's belief that luck and fate are at the heart of one's existence. Yukiko would like to believe in the doctrines of Iba's church — for they would bring the psychological comfort which eludes her — but she cannot bring herself to do so. One day she attends one of the services:

Yukiko sat down on a bench and listened to the parishioners' singing. She tried pressing her palms together and closing her eyes, but her impatience tangled around her like a string and she could not calm down in the least. There was an admirable bundle of money before her eyes. But nowhere around her could be seen the image of God. And she could not see the ether that Iba was consuming.48 God was nowhere.49

It is hopeless; Yukiko cannot believe in God. Instead she believes in 'fate,' which is faceless and indistinct. It is this fate — the conception of which remains conveniently indistinct in her mind — which dictates her future, not God. The vagueness of "fate" makes it intangible, and ironically that gives Yukiko more faith in it. In other words, an

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47Shinchō HFZ vol. 16, 159.

48Earlier in the story there is a scene in which the sect leader says, "Please drink a mouthful of the ether in the air. There is quite a lot of 'towards the sun' ether pouring into my hand." (chapter 46, Shinchō HFZ vol. 16, 175)

49Shinchō HFZ vol. 16, 196.
incomprehensible power is more acceptable than a comprehensible one to her.

As mentioned in chapter 2, Fumiko liked the idea of faith but she did not adhere to any organized religious doctrine. Such doctrines were too complex, too logical, and too structured for her to find them appealing. Thus, both Fumiko's early vague faith in the individual's free will, and her later faith in a sort of deterministic fate were tolerable forms of religion for her.

_Hōrōki_ and most of the earlier works espoused a sort of "live and let live" policy — it was fine for others to follow a religion or political philosophy as long as the protagonist was left alone — but a number of short stories written near the end of Fumiko's life no longer sit passively by; rather, they directly criticize man's attempt to comprehend and control his life and environment. For Fumiko, it was no longer appropriate to blithely ignore complex philosophies; now she declared that these human constructs were not to be trusted. Most notable of these stories is a collection of children's stories published under the title _Kitsune monogatari_ (The Fox's Tale, 1947), which includes "Tsuru no fue" (The Crane's Flute), "Kame-san" (Mr. Turtle), "Hirame no gakkō" (The Flounder's School), "Fukuro no dairyokō" (The Owl's Big Journey), and "Kitsune monogatari" (The Fox's Tale). In the tradition of Aesop's fables, these stories use anthropomorphized animals to communicate some vice of human nature. Although the scenarios are different, they all criticize some sort of complex human psychological construct and imply that a simplistic approach to life would be better. Yukiko's criticism of Iba's sect also falls along these lines: those involved in organized religion, she feels,
are trying to build constructs to structure their lives when in reality there is no controlling one's fate. It would be best for them to acknowledge that fact and live their lives simply, without complicating them with false codes of conduct and bogus beliefs.

Ultimately, Fumiko tells her readers that the solace one may find in organized religion or philosophy is false. It is presumptuous of man to claim an understanding or comprehension of the world, for it is not his to understand, much less control. It is best, she implies (more in the children's stories than anywhere else), for man to remain meek, passive, and relatively ignorant.

Fumiko's Thoughts on Death

The joy that Fumiko took in writing as a young woman all but disappeared in her middle age. Writing became a chore, something she did, it seems, more out of habit than desire. While the quality of what she produced did not noticeably suffer — if anything her ability to develop characters and structure plots became better after the war — the author herself become increasingly depressed about the ephemeral nature of a writer's popularity. She wrote about these feelings in an essay entitled "Yashi no mi" 椰子の実 (Coconut, 1949), originally published in a collection of short stories entitled Gyūniku. "Yashi no mi" rambles a bit, but there are passages in which Fumiko talks lucidly about the futility of writing. The opening paragraph is one such passage:

Writing novels has become quite tiresome of late. And it's not just because I'm getting old. I have worn down my fishing hook for ideas over the course of my twenty-year literary career. Sometimes I sit in front of the brazier, roasting dried sardines, and I think how nice it would be to just enjoy a peaceful life with a cup of sake in hand. When I was young I was
under the illusion that my works would live on in the world after my death, but my thoughts on that have changed entirely. It's not just limited to my works; nobody's works remain. The times now are even more rushed than today's popular novels, everything has become so fast-paced. What is written today is old news tomorrow. All one can do is spend life lying low in obscurity. A certain idea which was the hottest thing right after the war has now gradually grown old. And we, like potatoes, over the course of the years, gradually have our skin peeled away. I do not know if there is anything to this world of man; nothing but vast, vacant thoughts occupy me each day, darkly stagnating in my heart. I realize that man's destination is none other than the crypt of anarchy.

As I sit idle at my desk my fishing hook fails to catch any fish. Everyday I greet a number of visitors, and it makes me lose my bearings. I imagine putting a sign out on the gate — what should it say? "Temporarily Closed"? "In Mourning"? The truth is that I cannot for the life of me find the urge to write. There's no point in slaving away to write something which will not remain after I'm gone. I dream about owning a small inn — to earn just enough income to put food on the table — where I could sit at the front desk with my dried sardines and drink. It wouldn't be a bad living. It wouldn't be so bad to take in some gasping author who had undertaken to write seven or eight different serialized novels, and then squeeze every last cent out of him. Such are my thoughts as I sit grinning at my desk.50

The cynicism and intemperance in this passage is quite uncharacteristic of anything Fumiko had written before. She ridicules herself when she imagines shafting the author who took on too many serialization contracts (she herself was notorious for working on a number of manuscripts at once), something she did not do before. Death was near, she knew, and that caused her to adopt a defeatist, cynical attitude. The loss of several of her friends and contemporaries also made her reflect on death in some depth:

I have lost nine friends who were authors in the past few years: Hasegawa Shigure, Tokuda Shūsei, Yada Tsuseko, Kataoka Teppei, Takeda

50Shincho HFZ vol. 17, 57.
Rintarō, Oda Sakunosuke, Dazai Osamu, Kikuchi Kan, and Yokomitsu Riichi. Everyone of these people was kind to me. My memories of them are sweet. These writers have left behind quite a few works, so the limp, helpless feeling I have that not one of their works remains is perhaps due to my own twisted frame of mind. I would like to drink a sho\textsuperscript{52} of sake and quietly speak the truth to myself. In Masaoka Shiki's "Bokuju itteki"\textsuperscript{53} there is the frightening line, "As an experiment, I place a number of poisons by my bedside to see if I will drink them or not." To drink them or not - - - I am a coward, and these inward thoughts of Shiki's terrify me so as I sit at my desk late at night, thinking.

Sometimes I get serious and think about my own death. When my life ends, well, that will be the end of me. I shall regret it, but that regret will only exist until the moment of death, and once I am dead I suspect it will flee at full speed to the dark underworld. And all my abhorrence of life will disappear. For a short while, I shall be fondly remembered by my friends and acquaintances. I absolutely decline to have an epitaph like Stendahl's "He lived, he wrote, he loved."\textsuperscript{54} I think that, at the time of my death, I'd like the police or the tax office to be notified that everything I've written will cease to be printed from that day forward. I think it odd that the power of works by dead authors cannot exceed that of live authors. What I'm trying to say is that the works of dead authors should not continue on through the ages like ancient almanacs. No matter how poor the writer, reading works by a living author brings out the life in me. I get terribly depressed reading works by dead authors, and I cannot get their images out of my mind. On top of that their themes seem to fade with

\textsuperscript{51}Dates for these writers are as follows: Hasegawa Shigure (1879-1941), Tokuda Shūsei (1871-1943), Yada Tsuseko 矢田津世子 (1907-1944), Kataoka Teppei 片岡 鉄兵 (1894-1944), Takeda Rintarō 武田麟太郎 (1904-1946), Oda Sakunosuke 織田作之助 (1913-1947), Dazai Osamu 太宰治 (1909-1948), Kikuchi Kan (1888-1948), and Yokomitsu Riichi (1898-1947). (Nihon kindai bungaku daijiten: kijō han, Kōdansha: Tōkyō, 1992).

\textsuperscript{52}A liquid measurement equal to 1.8 liters.

\textsuperscript{53}"Bokuju itteki" 墨汁一滴 (One Drop of Ink) was a collection of Masaoka Shiki's 正岡子規 (1867-1902) miscellany published in 1901 (Nihon kindai bungaku daijiten: kijō han, Kōdansha: Tōkyō, 1992).

\textsuperscript{54}The epitaph is one that Stendahl (Born Henri Beyle, 1783-1842) imagined for himself and is from his novel Souvenirs d'egotisme (Memoirs of an Egotist, 1832). The original is "visse, scrisse, amo." (European Writers: The Romantic Century, vol. 5, Jacques Barzun, ed., New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1985, 343-345.)
age. Perhaps it is due to the fact that I write novels, but in addition to the feeling that today's novels are being rapidly out-paced by the times, I feel an unbearable irritation when I read dead authors' works. Nevertheless, I know that the novels by Tokuda Shūsei and Oda Sakunosuke that I have been reading recently are not in the least bit antiquated. Among these nine recently deceased authors, there are some who have not been read at all since the end of the war. And while it is cruel, the string which connects the memory of these authors with the present day has been completely severed. There is simply nothing to be done about it.  

Although she contradicts herself and seems unable to make a coherent statement, Fumiko's main point here is clear; she has little faith in the ability of a literary work to stand the test of time. This feeling was apparently mostly based on her own reactions when she read novels, not an objective observation of the world of Japanese literature. (The idea that any author's works rapidly become arcane after the writer's death is absurd at best. In any case, she knew that she had only a little longer to live, and the idea that her works would fade quickly after her death filled her with gloom. Still, there is one passage in "Yashi no mi" that shows she had not totally lost her will to live:

For the sake of writing novels, I want to travel everywhere and anywhere. I have a feeling that I only have a few years left to live. ...I've been thinking about going to South America lately, and I've taken to daydreaming as I look at a map of the world.

The line "for the sake of novels" is a throwback to her past, when travel provided her not

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55Shinchō HFZ vol. 17, 60.

56In the section omitted here, she talks about her heart condition, and how she had given up drinking but could not kick her two-pack-a-day cigarette habit, despite the fact that she had been told by her doctor to do so.

57Shinchō HFZ vol. 17, 63.
only with settings but also with the nostalgia which was so central to her fiction. In reality, dreaming of travel was but a pleasant distraction, for by the time Fumiko wrote "Yashi no mi" she was too weak to make a major trip of any kind. Whether a journey would aid her in writing a novel or simply aggravate the feeling she had that her writing career was over is something that she would never find out.

By the end of her life, Fumiko was a woman stripped of everything that had made living worthwhile. She could not travel any longer, and without travel, it was more difficult to put herself in situations which brought about the nostalgia she so treasured; her emotional need to long for something could no longer be focused on a physical place ("home"). Nor could that need be focused on a utopian existence where she was left to do as she pleased (as it had been in her youth), for she had achieved that objective when she became an established, independent, wealthy writer who could easily control (or so she thought) her own life. What was there left to long for? In searching for that answer, Fumiko found a devastating answer: nothing should be longed for, because we have no control over our fates. Longing for something which one cannot achieve brought no pleasure, only a feeling of helplessness. And with that feeling of helplessness came discouragement, despair and resignation. It is perhaps surprising that Fumiko continued writing, instead of giving up altogether, although I think that writing had become such an automatized part of her life that the idea of stopping would never have occurred to her.

This, plus the fact that Fumiko, like most writers, needed to write in order to put concepts
into forms, to understand the world (even if those concepts and that world view were terribly depressing), kept her writing until her death in 1951 at the age of forty-eight.
APPENDIX I

The following are translations of three essays by Hayashi Fumiko, all of which are quoted extensively in the text of the dissertation. The title and bibliographic information precede each essay.

WATASHI NO CHIHEISEN
HFZ vol. 16, pp. 111-115

A long time ago, a certain woman critic commented on my work in the following way:

Because I have criticized Hayashi Fumiko's works (most notably Hōrōki) as runpen pieces, there are many people who think that I speak slightingly of her artistry. Certainly, Fumiko's works lack volition. Despite the fact that her works are studded throughout with poems which shine like gems amidst the prose, they lack the power of real-life situations. For this reason her works are, as far as proletarian literature is concerned, second-rate.

I read her criticism with deep shame. She says that my work lacks volition, but that is probably due to the fact that in this particular case [Hōrōki] I was writing a piece which does not follow in the path of proletarian literature. I never put up a sign advertising Hōrōki as any particular type of literature, or belonging to any certain artistic school. Indeed, this must be why she said that it lacks volition. But then, just what is volition?

She may consider my work to be "second-rate proletarian literature," but I have never carried the proletarian banner; it is precisely proletarian literature which I oppose.

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Furthermore, as to her saying that my works lack the power of real-life situations, I would like to throw these words right back at her. The landscape within one person's field of vision is not representative of that in everyone's field of vision. I write with the intention of coming to grips with real life as it appears to me personally. I often discover strange words in my sentences. I compose extremely raw nihilism between the lines. Perhaps as a result, my work is sometimes seen as runpen literature, or literature which lacks volition, or literature which runs away from reality.

I must confess that I am a proponent of nihilism. Thus I do not follow the latest trend like everybody else, nor do I suddenly change my mind about things. To this day, I have never stolen someone else's style. Giving away one's carefully tempered thoughts is simply throwing pearls to swine. I regard the ideas which I struggled to produce as my chastity, and I will not prostitute that to anybody. Thus, I shall never call my own works proletarian literature. Neither, of course, will I label them as part of any given literary school. Men of letters, as spokesmen of society, are able to create works from every point of view for every cause, but I fear that the word "spokesman" will never apply to someone uneducated like myself.

In the early 1920s, during the time that I often visited Ōsugi Sakae at his home, I was constantly thinking about political movements and art; sleeping or waking, my mind was bursting with ideas. If I had not the slightest talent as a writer nor any love of the arts, perhaps I would have joined the ranks of the proletarian movement long ago. When

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1. 大杉栄 (1885-1923). An anarchist radical who was killed by police after the Tokyo earthquake in 1923.
I was a young woman — perhaps even now — there was an extremely savage progressive quality to my emotions. I had a naive obstinacy and paid no attention to anything besides what I wanted to do myself. To this day, I maintain the same lifestyle and my work is thus forced to bear the name of runpen literature. I will live the rest of my life by the ideas which are borne by my actions. In the future, my work will doubtless receive many different kinds of shocks, but at those times, I will rest easy not imitating others. Rather, my work will flourish by virtue of the things that I choose to do myself.

The term "proletarian literature" in Japanese really means "the literature of poverty."

If one talks about the literature of poverty, then my works certainly fit into that category. The foreign word "proletarian" reeks of the intelligentsia and ideology. The literature of poverty! In all its meanings, my work is the literature of poverty. Thank goodness for the Japanese language! But the term "literature of poverty" also has a runpen-esque quality. The magical spell of language causes a strange chasm in meaning in cases such as these.

Up until now I have written my work in the form of prose. I make much use of katakana in my sentences; I convey my volition with these phonetic markings, using them to strengthen the reader's eye. Katakana is usually used solely as a gloss to indicate the reading of a foreign word, but in my case, the more difficult words there are in a sentence, the more I have tried to write them just using katakana. Perhaps it is because I began by writing poems, or perhaps it is because my eyes become so tired when the characters are packed closely on the page, but in any case those diacritical marks that
normally appear between the lines in other texts end up in the main body of my works. Why did my writing become this way? Once, when I held many different jobs, I wanted to write down many different thoughts. But when one has a job, reading and writing can become difficult. During such difficult times, even if I was exhausted, I still wanted to write something — I couldn't stand it if I didn't write. I then expressed this pent-up emotion in the form of poems and prose.

Recently I have been reading Yokomitsu Riichi's work. There is no space between his words, nor a wasted breath between his sentences. I was tired upon the first reading. Upon the second reading I felt a sort of attraction towards his work, and upon the third reading, I had great respect for his style. Yokomitsu's style is something that I could not achieve even if I tried over the course of decades. I wonder if there is anybody in the world of proletarian literature who has such a firmly rooted style? I have thought of trying to write my "literature of poverty" in this sort of dense style, using much *hiragana*, but for me it is still quite a difficult task.

Once I fall under the spell of language, I cease to be able to write — pushed by a progressive urge — like I did before. Ozaki Akira called my work "literature of the soul," a term that I gratefully accept.

I want to use my own style to describe my own perceptions of reality. My goal is to reach many readers. There are probably many writers who would feel satisfied if

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2Fumiko uses *katakana* here when she writes the word "difficult." The Japanese is ムツカシければムツカシい程、カタカナにして文章の中に入れて見た.
just one or two readers understood what they wrote, but I am not one of them. I must target a large audience. Even proletarian writers write dry, highbrow novels which are difficult to understand even for a college graduate. Their message probably goes right over their reader's head. The great number of those who produce works that are exactly like advertisements, works that one would not want to read more than once, are those proletarian writers who want solely to convey a their ideas to their scant colleagues, and one has the feeling that there is not one heart-felt emotion in their work. The media loves the proletarian writers, but from those writers' drive to write comes a commercialism and corruption which results in work that fails to draw readers.

It is because I believe this that I read Kobayashi Takiji's\(^3\) work with reverence. The author is not heroic in his work, nor is he pompous. Kobayashi's works are pieces of literature that anybody can understand, and they have a certain freshness no matter which one one reads. I recently have also been reading Balzac and re-reading Chekhov. I may not understand their difficult ideas, but I enjoy their works. I think this is because in both Balzac's and Chekhov's works there is an element of reality that does not make fun of the reader. When I read a novel that has this sort of quality, I feel like I've struck water in the desert. Such an experience leads me to think that proletarian \textit{romanticist}\(^4\)

\(^3\)小林 多喜二 1903-1933. A prominent novelist in the proletarian literature movement. Apparently Fumiko felt his work was notably better than his contemporary proletarian writers.

\(^4\)Fumiko uses the term \textit{puroretariya romantshijim\(\text{u}\)} プロレタリャロマン チシジム here.
literature might be all right. On the other hand, I couldn't write proletarian political literature even if I turned somersaults.

I want to write seriously about the world I come from — the world of poverty — in a very nostalgic style. If I can do this well, I will have fulfilled my role in life. The world of literary robots pains me. Robotic works do not suit me. Born a human being, I am happy if I can write about the pain of humans and the nostalgia of the times. I distance myself from lofty schools of thought, and I try to ride through life on the strength of my convictions and enthusiasm.

As I am exposed to various ideologies, in my ignorance I often paralyze myself by being too demanding of them. If I don't understand an idea after hearing the discourse a hundred times, it drives me to produce something from within my heart which does grasp reality in a way that that discourse does not. Although the result may be absurd, I endeavor to do so.

I am truly in a confused state.

May, 1931

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5Fumiko uses the term puroretariya seiji bungaku プロレタリアヤ政治文学 here.

6Fumiko uses the word robotto fū na sakuhin ロボット風な作品.
It may sound strange to say that at the tender age of thirty, I want to pursue the simpler things in life, but I hold the mystery of mother nature dear, and gradually have come to find worldly things distasteful. Lately I have been enjoying reading the poems of Han Shan. Perhaps I am infatuated with escapist literature. I like the following poem:

In this world there are people of many affairs,
Widely learned in all sorts of knowledge and views

But they don't know their original true natures;
thus they are turned from and far from the Way.

If they could understand the true work,
For what use this display of false hopes?

With one thought understand your own mind,
And you open the Buddha's knowledge and views.

1In order to convey the rather haphazard style that Fumiko uses in this essay, I have preserved paragraph divisions where they were in the original text, with the exception of Han Shan's poem, which I set apart from the main text even though Fumiko does not. The reader may notice that Fumiko's 'paragraphs' are actually many paragraphs in one. For all poetry, the original Japanese is given below the translation in the text.

2Han Shan 寒山 was a Tang dynasty (618-907 AD) monk who was also known for his poetry.


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Whenever I see all the multi-talented, busy people around me, I spitefully recall this poem. Lately I have taken to traveling alone whenever I have the time. Since I profess that everyday family life needs but a bit of komemiso,⁵ I have no desire to build an expensive house. It is enough for me if I can live my life by working a bit here and playing a bit there. There are people who tell me that I should think about building my own house and settling down, but I hate the idea of building a house or amassing wealth. The feeling one experiences while building a house, and the feeling one experiences once the house is completed are both troublesome. I think it would be odd for someone like me, who is always running about and who can barely afford to buy one or two pillar-beams, to build a little modern house. People who can relax after they build their own house are quite rare. I think that after one or two years have passed, they probably get fed up with it all and can't stand to bear the burden anymore. Whenever I consider building a house, I end up spending all the money on travel.

Up until this point in time I have had no problems living my life the way I want to — it is perhaps because of this that I can say this — and I enjoy being semi-literate; this enjoyment has made me what I am. Right now I support myself by writing novels.

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⁴Fumiko quotes the Japanese translation of the Chinese poem here.

⁵A kind of fermented soy bean paste, considered simple food.
Although I still cannot believe that someone like me, with mediocre talents and poor education, can support herself writing novels, I find that uncertainty indescribably enjoyable. My health and my good nature are second to none. A long time ago, I was known to sleep in abandoned houses, and slept well even when I slept on dirt floors. Even now I rarely catch cold even when I'm wearing thin clothing, and I think nothing of staying up all night for two or three days at a time. Once I set in on my work, I can't eat a thing; all I can do is diligently face the paper before me. But perhaps this state of being is one that only other writers can understand. How pleasing it is! Writing a novel is as pleasing as having one's lover waiting for one. I've enjoyed reading since I was a child, and it is because of this pleasure that I have endured this far, not doing myself in. I am a true optimist and I hate gloomy things; despite that, I dedicate myself to loneliness. I feel I have come this far through the hunger and longing I have for literature. Even now, my goals are constant hunger and constant longing. I'm not very fond of trying out new things with other people. I think that, once I'm thirty-five years old, it would be nice to retreat to the mountains and stare vacantly at the sky. Then, I think that I would surely summon great strength to work. I am so full of ambition that my selfishness borders on being disgusting. My work, which has no definite object, takes two forms: newspaper novels and diaries. I've been keeping a diary for about five years now. I keep to writing one page every day for my newspaper novel, although there are days when I manage to write three or four pages. I cannot simply lounge about until the mood to write strikes

Fumiko is referring to novels which are published in serialized form in newspapers, a common way for fiction to be published in Japan.
me, like the writers of old would do. Lounging about would make me stupid. There is no point in imposing stupidity upon stupidity.

No matter how difficult it may be, I make it a point to sit myself down at my desk at least once a day in an effort to grow accustomed to such a routine. For someone of mediocre ability, there is no recourse but hard work. I've heard that the tennis star Moody\(^7\) once took two years off in order to recuperate, and then once having done so she was once again very competitive, but I think that such a long hiatus would not be appropriate for a novelist. If a writer works briefly and then takes a long break — perhaps a two- or three-day trip — without constantly observing the world and constantly thinking about it, then when it comes time to "compete," she will end up staring vacantly into space. Genius was spoken of in the times before cultural development, but now resolute common sense is what it takes. This is true for any road one chooses to follow. It is not genius that I covet now; rather, I long for correct recognition on a road of plentiful common sense.

I respect people like Bashō, who was full of common sense. He was indifferent to worldly gain, and had a character which was pure and penetrated by a splendid emptiness. His taste for the simple and quiet things in life\(^8\) reveals his inner spirit and is representative of the same taste for such things that all Japanese have within ourselves.

\(^7\)Here Fumiko refers to Helen Newington Wills Moody Roark (b. 1905), an outstanding U.S. tennis player who was the top female competitor in the world for eight years (1927-33 and 1935). \(\text{The New Encyclopedia Britannica Micropedia vol. 12, entry for "Wills, Helen," Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 1992).}\)

\(^8\)The word Fumiko uses here is \textit{wabimi} 侘味.
When he set off on his trip to the north, he was appreciative of but embarrassed by all the farewell gifts that his neighbors gave him. For him, it was quite difficult that things had come to that.

Although I said that I covet loneliness, I cannot remain indifferent to worldly gain. I don't want to build a home or amass wealth, but I do want to travel to my heart's content, and I don't want to worry about being able to supply my family with komemiso. I have finally paid off my financial debts. Good work and good travel are what I long for. I want to go to India. I want to go to China. And of course there is France, too. The nostalgia that I feel when I'm in foreign lands is so enjoyable that I could die. It's enough to make me spend days daydreaming about Japan's beauty and longing for my home. The Japanese language is especially very good. In French, simple words like non or oui are used by everybody. But in Japan, even simple words like yes and no are expressed in myriad ways. The phrase "horeta yowami ja yurushanse, nushi to ukina mo miyō ga ja to" is full of vibrant and beautiful words; Japanese is a language inferior to none.

I have come to enjoy composing poems and songs upon my return home from far

9Fumiko means here that she doesn't want to worry about providing daily basics for her family.

10See footnote #47 in Chapter 4.

11The beauty of this phrase is in the colloquial and dialectic language it uses, not in the actual meaning (which is about being infatuated), so I have left it in the original Japanese. It is not apparent if Fumiko quotes the passage from some other work, or if she creates it here to serve as an example. The dialect is from the Onomichi area in Hiroshima prefecture.
away. A while back, when I was off hiking by myself near the great waterfall in the mountain pass between the regions of Musashi and Sagami, I had the uncontrollable urge to sing. The new Kōshū road to Yose winds along the valleys, and I could hear the babbling of the nearby river. Looking down, I saw the luxuriant and bushy tops of the cedar trees all in a row, and I could see the Todani and Ashigara mountain ranges.

The waterfall
Clouds in the shade of trees in a mountain pass
Crawl along the base of the pine-covered cliff

大垂水
帯の雲は木隠れに
岩根の松の帯を這ひたり

I think this is an odd poem, but it is the genuine article that sprung forth from my soul while I was up in the mountains, so even though it is rather warped, it is still adorable.

Reciting this poem about a waterfall reminds me of a poem by Yosano Akiko:

A waterfall scatters into mist in the mountains of Kaigane
The crimson leaves of the cherry trees at Obana no tai

甲斐がねをかすめて散りぬ大垂水
尾花の台のさくらの紅葉

What a splendid verse, endowed with such character! It is clearly Akiko's work, and I have committed it to memory, along with the following poem:

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12 The trip which Fumiko proceeds to describe here is through the outlying western reaches of the Tōkyō district. Although she fails to mention it, it seems likely that she took a train or car from Shinjuku to somewhere near Hachiōji and then continued her journey on foot.
The tatami of a mountain villa and the
mountains in Kai province all in a row,
Create the autumn peaks of Ashigara

山荘の畳と並び甲斐の山
足柄の峯秋をつくれる

This poem is the one I enjoy the most of all. I think the expression, "The tatami
of a mountain villa and the mountains in Kai province all in a row" is splendid indeed.
Modern writers are accustomed to using such dry expressions, but I think they should
consider turning to the expressions used in poems and songs. I may be opinionated in
saying so, but I would like to speak my mind. ——When I gazed down the Kōshū road
from behind Shinjuku station, I couldn't help but think of a sandy, dusty, rough road, as
the current of the road, like the current of a river, was quite an interesting sight. When
I walked past the front of the imperial tomb in Tama and entered the town of Fuchū, I
saw scarlet myrtle blossoms under the eaves of every house. Proceeding beyond the race
track and over the bridge, I entered the city of Hachioji. This place feels more like a
single avenue than it does a town; it seemed to be just right for a single streetcar line.
Then I climbed along the foot of Mt. Takao and to the great waterfall. There sits the
Kōshū border marker, and the bleached white road peacefully trails off down to the town
of Yose.

At a tea shop, I ate the lunch I had brought along and then eventually made my
way back from Yose to the Kobotoke pass. Gazing at the clear mountain stream touched
me deep in my heart as the image flooded my eyes. Someday when I have the time, I
think I would like to go to the ruins of Sennin Taitei in Hachioji or the Shinkaku Temple
I also like Todori, which is part of the Imperial Household Forestry Bureau reserve. At the waterfall there, I drank the mountain stream water to my heart’s content, and then I cooled my face with a damp hand towel. I felt profoundly happy to be alive and healthy. Water, the earth, the sky... they always make me feel good. As I don’t make many plans before I set out on a journey, I enjoy carefully examining the map each new day. This prepares me to set out on my own at my own pace whenever I feel the need to leave town. I think it a great stroke of luck that I am not some gloomy housewife whose life revolves around her husband’s wallet. When I come home from a day trip, I find it hard not to go off to the kitchen and keep working away. My family laughs at me when I say that I must have been a puppy in a former life. I go where I want to go. I find group excursions immensely trying, and I rarely make plans. Whenever I do make a plan, everyone just agrees with me anyway, so there’s really no point in making a plan in the first place.

This summer, I have only made day trips to the great waterfall, but once autumn arrives, I would like to take a three-week holiday with my mother with the following itinerary: we would leave for Kōshū from Shinjuku, go from Shiojiri in Shinshū to Tajimi, Nagoya, through Yokkaichi to Tsuge, Kizu, Kyōto, Ayabe, around Fukuchiyama to Tottori, Matsue, Izumo Imamachi, Iwami Masuda, Yamaguchi, Kogunasa, and Shimonoseki. Such a spree would be delightful. My mother and I fight like crazy when we travel together. She takes charge and suggests we stay at a cheap lodging house, but I’m such a pleasure-seeker that I always want to stay in a first-class inn — neither one of
us yields to the other's opinion. The two of us querulously muddle along and thankfully manage to complete the journey, but there's no need for me to be haughty and have reservations about traveling with my mother. The kind of trip that I really hate is the lecture tour. I'm rarely asked to do one, but there is nothing as embarrassing, hateful, and ludicrous as a lecture tour. Journeys are best made alone or with one companion. And when the trip is long, one should do it alone. Last year I went to Hokkaidō and Karafuto by myself on a one-month journey and I stayed at a merchant's inn — it was very interesting. Writing this may make it seem to the reader as if I work and travel with ease, but actually it is very difficult for me to write novels. It is pleasurable and painful. There are even days when I think I would be better off dead. I travel because writing becomes intolerable. Because I would be greatly troubled if my mother died in my absence, I make it a point to take her along with me on short trips. I have been with my husband for seven or eight years now, and when he returned from military duty in the reserves, I went to meet him and we traveled together. We probably seemed like an odd couple to others, but we intend to travel into our old age, complete with walking canes. I travel with a feeling of self-indulgence; I revel in the secret youthfulness of spirit and the joy of being a writer. When I face difficulties which seem insurmountable, I escape it all by spending every cent I've got on travel. When I have trouble writing, it makes me feel all the more like taking a trip. I think that a two- or three-day trip for relaxation is good for one's physical health. The good and bad memories of a journey, like a jar of rice wine, are the kinds of things that one buries in the ground, to unearth and enjoy at a later date.

Lately I have been gazing at the passing autumn clouds, and the desire to travel
among the shadows of the mountains wells up uncontrollably inside me. Although the weather may be sizzling hot when I travel, the journey helps me make progress in my work. I don't like the practice of going to a resort to escape the summer heat of the city. I passed this summer in the heat of Tokyo, working intermittently in the cool morning hours. This, too, is a part of the simple and quiet life that I seek.
WATASHI NO SHIGOTO¹
HFZ vol. 10, pp. 241-244

I am a kind of itinerant writer, one who does not belong to any one literary group. Over the past ten years, I have produced a varied lot of works, but the odd thing is that none of them have ever drawn much of a readership. I was recently reading Kawabata Yasunari's *Boku no hyōhonshitsu,*² which he wrote some time ago, and I found myself envious of his ability to create such a superior piece of writing. Although I try to live my life to the fullest, none of my works have such a fastidious tenacity as Kawabata's works do. Looking back, I think that I have made the life I depicted in *Hōrōki* into my foundation stone of life. Although I have somehow managed to get this far with nothing but this rather rough literary spirit of mine, any relief I feel is tainted by a bit of anxiety. I feel that if I relax my grip a bit, I will soon end up drowning. It is not that I feel writing an explanatory essay on past works to be unpleasant. It is simply that I do not know what words to use now in order to describe the dreamy and foolish works which I wrote in the past. What marks my writing is that I write with all my soul, and that I entrust my readers with the final judgement of the piece.

I reply to my readers' judgements through my work. That is my real motive. I run up against many different obstacles in my work — last year was no exception. My

¹This essay has the subtitle *jisaku annai sho* 自作案内書 (A Guide to My Works).

²僕の標本室 My Specimen Room, 1930.
writing can generally be divided into three periods: the Hōrōki period, the "Seihin no sho" period, and the "Kaki" period.3 Although I suffered many hardships while writing these and other works, such hardships become the flesh and blood of my writing and provide me with a feeling of placidity. I am left with no desire to buckle down and write something of grand proportions.

The piece with which I have struggled the most as a writer is the novel Inazuma, which was published serially in this magazine.4 I did not have the energy to complete this novel properly, and to this day it is not one of my favorite pieces. From the beginning of that romance,5 I was often struck with a kind of "thirst" — the kind that I feel when writing a full-length novel — and I was swept off my feet countless times by a feeling of loneliness. Inazuma was a fresh breeze for me, but as that breeze was borne from the foul winds which produced "Kaki," it made me feel as if I had died in a battle between myself and my works.

I have written countless short pieces from the early "Fūkin to uo no machi" to "Suppon,"6 which I wrote this year, but there are only a trifling few which I myself like.

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3 These three periods are named after major works by Fumiko by the same name. See 'Free Will and Determinism' section of chapter 2.

4 This essay was first published in the August 1937 volume of Bungei. Inazuma was published serially in the same periodical from January to September (omitting August), 1936.

5 kono romansu ni kakari hajimete kara このロマンスにかかり始めてから.

6 龜 The Snapping Turtle, 1937. In this essay, Fumiko uses hiragana to write the title, but the story was originally published with the title written in kanji.
And even after reading those pieces that I like, I am not transported to any realm of happiness. This leads me to think on occasion that I am a strange writer.

It's not as if I don't occasionally feel that I have been wasting my time in fruitless endeavors for the past ten years, but if I do say so myself, I think that those ten years of preparatory work have been precisely what I needed to gain the courage and excitement that I feel within me today. I want to work with abandon. When I recently had my fortune read, I was told that if I hurried my work I would die an early death, but that did not make me want to slow down. I felt so busy that I would simply burn up if I tried to stand still. Somehow I feel that once I have ascertained my goal, then I can take my time and write solid works.

I become very angry when I receive negative criticism about any of my works. Nonetheless, I am well aware of the ugliness of my writing and thus ardently attack each new project. I may seem weakhearted, but I can be rather determined.

I am not much of a stickler when it comes to holding fast to the plot of a story. Rather, I am a bit cowardly about plot construction. When a coherent, trunk-like idea comes to mind, I enjoy making branches and leaves to adorn it. And I feel successful if major allusions spread out from the text.

I have recently been indulging in some works by Mori Ōgai. His writing is perfectly structured, with no unseemly protrusions. When I write a novel, I set up an
Ōgai novel like a music stand in front of me and when I thirst, I read it. When I am
tired, I re-read it. But I am an unskillful writer, and even with such a splendid music
stand I cannot drink in even a little bit of the expression and basic movement of thought
that it provides. It's just that I want to write something that could be considered my life's
work, and now I feel that I am ready to do that. It may sound strange for me to say so,
but I feel that the joy and pain of my work begin here.

Ultimately I would like to be a sideline writer; I do not like the idea of making my
works into time-honored classics. I have been thinking about publishing a collection of
selected works, but I think that it would be read and quickly discarded, both the reader
and the author relieved to have it over with. I don't want to stay in this kind of world;
I would like to go on a new, refreshing pilgrimage. I think that in a selected collection
of my works, I would put Höroki at the beginning, but given all the various schools with
which I associated myself from that time to the present, I am left feeling like I need an
enema to cleanse myself of it all.

My happy youth will begin today.
The color of the distant sea, the color of the distant sky.
They are freshly painted in my eyes today.
It's good to be alive!
Alive I take deep breaths of happiness
I'm so glad to be alive.

愉しい青春はこれからやって来さうだ。
遠い海の色、遠い空の色。
私の今日の眼にそれが鮮かに写ってゐる。
生きてゐてよかった！
生きてゐて、深い息を吸ってゐる幸福を
私は生きてゐてよかったと思ふ。
Now I'm at the point of breaking down and crying. I've worked too hard up until this point...

After coming this far, there is no pulling back. I must advance steadily. I want to live. I want to live and write good works.

I cannot write an explanatory essay on my early works. Those are written and done with. What commentary could I possibly add to them? I, the author, do not know, so the pieces must speak for themselves. Isn't that for the best?

The other day I was listening to Dvorak's "Slavonic Dances." They are pieces which fill my heart with intense resounding vibrations. They make me feel totally content. They make me aspire to write my next piece with sincerity. I cannot seem to rest.
APPENDIX II

PAGINATION CHART

In the course of my research I have used both the Hayashi Fumiko Complete Collected Works (Hayashi Fumiko zenshu) published by Shinchosha in 1951 (abbreviated as Shinchō HFZ in this study) and the Complete Collected Works published by Bunsendo in 1977 (abbreviated as HFZ). I realize that the reader may only have one or the other collection at his/her disposal, but this is a problem easily surmounted. The later publication used the exact same format (e.g. the same print plates) as the earlier publication, and so with the following chart one can calculate corresponding page numbers for all references to Shinchō HFZ and HFZ.

Example: Shinchō HFZ vol. 6, page 47 = HFZ vol. 3, page 309.

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10 | +254 | 5
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12 | +222 | 6
13 | -4 | 7
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15 | -2 | 8
16 | +166 | 8
17 | -4 | 9
18 | +266 | 9
19 | -4 | 10
20 | +280 | 10
21 | -4 | 11
22 | +216 | 11
23 | -2 | 12

*Note: The remaining works in HFZ vols. 12-16 are not included in Shinchō HFZ.*
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