

要旨

地方文学青年の教育 — 『田舎教師』と田山花袋の自然主義が演じた社会的な役割 —

ヴァン・ロメル, ピーテル

明治後期において、小説家田山花袋（1872-1930）とその自然主義運動はどのような社会的な役割を演じたであろう。花袋の自然主義を否定的に捉え、自己中心的な告白文学ないし国家主義的な文学として位置付ける従来の研究動向は根深いが、青年雑誌『中学世界』（1898-1930）と『文章世界』（1906-1920）の選評者や編集主任を務めた花袋の活動に注目すると、逆に地方文学青年たちの指導に熱心な作家の姿がうかがえる。青年たちを素朴な理想主義や政府から押し付けられた道徳から目覚めさせることを目的とした花袋の選評や小説『田舎教師』（1909）は明確にオルタナティブな教育への傾倒を表している。本論文は花袋と読者たちとの深い関係に焦点を当てながら花袋の代表作品である『田舎教師』を分析することによって、この小説と花袋自身が批判的精神や探求心の強い若者の養成に積極的に取り組んでいたことを実証し、花袋と自然主義に関する固定化されてきた捉え方を根本的に考え直す。

Abstract

Educating Literary Youth in the Countryside:
Inaka Kyōshi and the Social Functions of Tayama Katai's Naturalism

Pieter VAN LOMMEL

What was the social role that Japanese author Tayama Katai (1872-1930) and his naturalist movement sought to play in late Meiji Japan? A longstanding scholarly tradition tends to dismiss Katai's naturalism as confessional, egocentric, or even nationalistic literature, yet his role as commentator and head-writer for the youth magazines *Chūgaku sekai* (1898-1930) and *Bunshō sekai* (1906-1920) shows an author dedicated to the literary guidance of youth in the countryside. Steering youth away from both naïve idealism and official morality, Katai's commentaries in the above magazines and his novel *Inaka kyōshi* (Country Teacher, 1909) contained a clear commitment to highly unconventional education. This paper debunks the dominant view on Katai and naturalism by analyzing *Inaka kyōshi*, one of Katai's most representative novels, from the perspective of Katai's close relationship with his readership and by demonstrating how the novel and Katai were committed to the development of critically thinking, inquisitive youth in the periphery.

Educating Literary Youth in the Countryside:

— *Inaka Kyōshi* and the Social Functions of
Tayama Katai's Naturalism —

Pieter VAN LOMMEL

1. Introduction

Tayama Katai's 田山花袋 (1872-1930) novel *Inaka kyōshi* 田舎教師 (Country Teacher, 1909) is one of the best known and most misunderstood naturalist texts in Japanese literature. The novel is set against the background of the encroaching Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) and recounts the tragic story of Hayashi Seizō 林清三. The protagonist is an ambitious rural middle school student who loves literature. External factors compel him to abandon his dreams of upward social mobility. Ultimately, he dies in his early twenties as an impoverished provincial elementary school teacher. The novel is based on the diary of an elementary school teacher named Kobayashi Shūzō 小林秀三 (1884-1904), whose life was like Seizō's¹. It is also inspired by Tayama Katai's personal experiences, particularly his struggle to make his way up from a poverty-stricken rural young man born in Gunma prefecture to a nationally recognized, professional, Tokyo-based author. *Inaka kyōshi* is widely considered a representative work of Japanese naturalism; however, most research dismisses the novel as a sentimental, self-centered autobiography² or, worse, as a work espousing emperor-nationalism because the protagonist uncritically imbibes the nationalist spirit during the Russo-Japanese War³. This critique of a perceived lack of social awareness and problematic ideological content is leveled against *Inaka kyōshi*, its author Katai, as well as Japanese naturalism in general. Indeed, a long-standing scholarly tradition construes Japanese naturalism produced after the Russo-Japanese War as a form of the "I-novel" (私小説 *watakushi shōsetsu*) or confessional literature, a genre that is believed to focus on the honest depiction of an author's life, feelings, and thoughts. The supposed self-centeredness and absence of socio-political analysis of naturalist texts symbolize what scholars deem Japan's cultural inability to overcome feudal values or import the concepts of individualism, democracy, or socialism to construct a new, more egalitarian, and righteous society. Katai, a

preeminent advocate of naturalism, has become the target of the most vehement criticism in this academic context⁴.

The traditional perspective on naturalism is still extremely influential but has recently been questioned, particularly in English language scholarship. Scholars such as Suzuki Tomi, Richard Torrance, and Suzuki Sadami 鈴木貞美 have demonstrated that the I-novel is not a concept employed by naturalist authors to produce their literature; rather, it forms an interpretative paradigm shaped by ideological (originally orthodox Marxist) bias and applied *a-posteriori* by influential critics such as Kobayashi Hideo 小林秀雄 and Nakamura Mitsuo 中村光夫⁵. Additionally, a rethinking of naturalism is also prompted by the historical background against which *Inaka kyōshi* and numerous other naturalist works were written. The short decade between the Russo-Japanese War and the start of the Taishō Democracy (1912-1926) is known as “winter.” During this period, the government, afraid of social upheaval, drastically increased censorship and used the inculcation of emperor-nationalism through schools and social education to counter individualism, socialism, naturalism, and other so-called “dangerous thoughts” (危険な思想 *kiken na shisō*) circulating in society, particularly among the youth. There were frequent clashes between the authorities and naturalist authors, including Katai. Government officials and conservative opinion makers also consistently labeled naturalism as a “dangerous thought.” These occurrences indicate that naturalism was not the mere adoption of official ideology. Rather, it was a complex literary movement characterized by the critical examination of human life, which included the scrutiny of the mechanisms of modern society⁶.

Significant progress has been made in the fundamental rethinking of naturalism. However, the crucial aspect of the intimacy between authors and readers has been systematically overlooked. This paper attracts attention to a largely forgotten yet essential aspect of Katai’s literary activities, namely his mentoring of literary youth⁷. In doing so, it aims to intensify the scholarly understanding of *Inaka kyōshi* and the social roles enacted by Katai’s naturalism. Katai was not an elitist author focused on his narrow literary world in Tokyo. In fact, he was actively engaged in guiding youth across Japan through his job as a commentator on literary contributions of readers to the study magazine *Chūgaku sekai* 中学世界 (The World of Middle School Education, 1898-1930) and to the literary contribution magazine *Bunshō sekai* 文章世界 (The World of Writing, 1906-1920). Katai explicitly voiced his contempt for confessional literature in these magazines; he also articulated his critical views on war and nationalism. Katai repeatedly clarified that a naturalist novelist should objectively and analytically probe modern life and society to

unearth deep and complex truths, notwithstanding their moral desirability. The observation that Katai was a highly committed educator of rural literary youth thus offers a fresh perspective on reading *Inaka kyōshi*. Its protagonist may be viewed as such a literary-minded young man and the social function of Katai's naturalism may be read as the offering of a literary and philosophical alternative to youngsters targeted by the government's ideological crackdown and educational policies.

2. Katai and literary-minded rural youth

Inaka kyōshi depicts the short life of Hayashi Seizō, a romantic middle school graduate who dreams of obtaining higher education in Tokyo and becoming a successful author. However, his economic and familial circumstances compel him to take up a job as a teacher in a provincial elementary school. The novel focuses on the period between 1901 and 1904 when Seizō teaches at the higher elementary school in Miroku 弥勒, a small village near Ha'nyū 羽生 in the north-east section of Saitama prefecture. Throughout this time, the ambitious protagonist attempts to escape his lowly teaching job in the countryside by pursuing a literary career, and when that fails, by trying his hand at sketching, music, and finally the study of flora and fauna as preparation for the official examination to obtain a license as a middle school teacher. A passionate reader of literature, Seizō particularly devours romantic literature such as the magazine *Myōjō* 明星 (1900-1908), Shimazaki Tōson's 島崎藤村 (1872-1943) poetry collections, and a Japanese translation of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's (1749-1832) *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774). He further composes sentimental *shintaiishi* 新体詩 (new-style poetry) about his loneliness, and reads *Chūgaku sekai*, a study magazine targeted at middle school students but also wildly read by youth desiring higher education and social rising. However, all attempts at advancing himself end in failure. Towards the end of the novel, Seizō contracts tuberculosis while still in his early twenties. He develops a feverish nationalism in the middle of the Russo-Japanese War and dies impoverished and lonely, painfully aware that he failed to accomplish anything in life. His death coincides with loud celebrations acclaiming the capture of the strategically important Russian stronghold Liaoyang, which denoted a significant victory for the Japanese army during the Russo-Japanese War.

Seizō, the success-driven young man and romantic literary soul, was not unlike Katai himself in his youth. Katai was born in rural Gunma prefecture and began his literary career as a young rural romantic. He started writing poetry in his early teens and published

numerous poems in *Eisai shinshi* 穎才新誌 (The New Talent Journal, 1877-1901), a contribution magazine for youth dreaming of success. He later wrote romantic novels such as *Furusato* ふる郷 (The Old Hometown, 1899), a lyrical text depicting a rural young man's longing for success and his suffering. Because of health and financial difficulties, Katai was not able to complete higher education and become conventionally "successful" as a military officer, lawyer, or politician, but his literary career eventually brought him fame. Katai gradually transitioned from romanticism to naturalism through the first decade of the twentieth century, a period that coincides roughly with the timespan of *Inaka kyōshi*. When sent to Manchuria in 1904 by publisher Hakubunkan 博文館 to report on the Russo-Japanese War, his war reports were written essentially within the confines of embedded war journalism. In particular, his early reports resemble the nationalist excitement epitomized in *Seizō*. However, Katai resumed his naturalist enterprise after returning to Japan, distancing himself from romantic and nationalist ideals. His subsequent successful novel *Futon* published in 1907 established him as the leader of the naturalist movement⁸. The romantic author and war reporter Katai is reflected in the protagonist *Seizō* but also appears prominently in the novel as Hara Kyōka 原杏花, a Tokyo-based romantic writer who is idolized by rural youth and whose war reports stir *Seizō*'s nationalism.

Seizō also represents the typical reader of and literary contributor to magazines such as *Chūgaku sekai* and *Bunshō sekai*, both published by Hakubunkan. Longing for higher education that would enable a successful career and high social standing, many youth tended to compose lyrical, romantic stories about (their hopes of) going to Tokyo to study, efforts to realize high aspirations, the nostalgia for or the longing to leave their hometowns, illness and poverty, loneliness, manly endurance, and romantic love. Katai believed that such lyrical romanticism and fanciful idealism were to be avoided at all cost. Katai was employed by the publisher Hakubunkan from 1899 to 1912. During this time, he selected and commented on stories submitted by readers in the abovementioned magazines and attempted to steer his readers towards naturalist expression. Katai's insistence on a plain writing style, careful observation, and realism broadened the content of literature to include not only city elite but also ordinary people and their everyday lives in the peripheries. Thus, his naturalism expanded the realm of literature to a new group of readers and writers from the countryside. Ideologically, Katai's message of more deeply and critically probing humankind and society, including its darker, uglier, and multilayered aspects, sharply opposed both romantic idealism and the government's restrictive official ideology. In Katai's opinion, "new thoughts" (*shin-shichō* 新思潮) such as nihilism, individualism, and

socialism formed the basis of naturalism⁹. It is no surprise that these are all philosophies that gained traction among people who had to face the reality of being unable to build a grand and fulfilling life in modern Japan. Although Katai's naturalism was no political movement and far from radical, it played an important role in stimulating critical thought and complex reasoning, skills and attitudes that Katai considered insufficiently present in post-Russo-Japanese War Japan¹⁰.

3. *Inaka kyōshi*

Katai wrote in his 1917 memoirs that *Inaka kyōshi* intended to “describe the cohort of youth who lived between 1901 and 1905” and who “were passionate about *Myōjō*, half romantic, fanciful, and had not yet arrived at the new thoughts”¹¹. Katai did portray a generation of romantic literary youth in Japan at the start of the twentieth century but he also took distance from these youth by pointing out the flaws in their romanticism, thus clarifying the need for a naturalist approach. Finally, he extended the novel's theme to incorporate the larger, national context of a frenzied modern country at war. In such a milieu, the protagonist's death symbolically marks the end of the era of idealism, romanticism, and lyrical nationalist discourse.

Romantic literary-inclined rural youth

Inaka kyōshi's protagonist Hayashi Seizō, a middle school graduate who has to take up a job as an unlicensed elementary school teacher (*daiyō kyōin* 代用教員), is portrayed as the typical anguished literary rural youth to be found among the *Chūgaku sekai* and *Bunshō sekai* readership. Seizō is driven by dreams of social ascent and is strongly focused on going to Tokyo, but his life progresses in the opposite direction. Seizō is born in Ashikaga, where his father runs a prosperous drapery store, but when the business fails, Seizō and his family move to Kumagaya, where he attends middle school, and then to Gyōda, fleeing from creditors. Seizō's teaching position in the small village of Miroku near Ha'nyū is the end point of a journey that leads him gradually away from the center and to the peripheries. Seizō often compares the different houses he lived in throughout his life and is painfully aware of the downward spiral he cannot escape from. “Kumagaya was a bustling town in comparison with Gyōda and Ha'nyū,” boasting a thriving commerce, train station, middle school, agricultural college, courthouse, and tax office. Seizō “felt that, as he went from Kumagaya to Gyōda and then Gyōda to Ha'nyū then Ha'nyū to Miroku, his vitality was

gradually ebbing away, and he would always be wrapped in cheerless thought as he walked back on the long road from Kumagaya” (CT, p. 57; IK, p. 390)¹². Seizō exemplifies the numerous disappointed young people of the late Meiji era who saw their hopes and dreams thwarted and ended up as teachers having to commute with a sad heart to a provincial elementary school. A historian aptly described such institutions as “the holding place for despaired youth, the locus of frustration”¹³.

Seizō never settles for a life of teaching in the countryside. Rather, he continues to study and immerse himself in literary activities, which Katai describes in much greater detail than Seizō’s teaching. On the one hand, Seizō’s studies and love for literature allow him to preserve a distance from his provincial surroundings and enable him to connect to and become a part of a higher intellectual stratum. He borrows study materials, novels, poetry collections, and magazines from his former middle school friends, who have moved on to institutes of higher education, and from the temple priest, who used to be a poet of some repute in Tokyo and is one of the few educated people passionate about literature to be found in the countryside. Seizō and his friends also launch a short-lived local literary magazine titled *Gyōda bungaku* 行田文学 (Gyōda Literature), for which Seizō writes *shintaiishi*. Towards the end of his life, Seizō falls in love with Hideko, a refined (*hai kara* ハイカラ) girl and a former pupil with whom he can exchange letters and poetry. This attraction also speaks of his enduring desire to somehow transcend the countryside¹⁴.

On the other hand, Seizō’s studies and his affinity for literature also systematically confront him with his limitations. The priest lends him books on philosophy and logic, William Shakespeare’s (1564-1616) *Romeo and Juliet* (written around 1594-1596), and Alfred Tennyson’s (1809-1892) *Enoch Arden* (1864). He discusses Plato’s (428-348 BC) Ideas and platonic love with Seizō and even teaches him some English. However, Seizo’s studies do not amount to much more than trying to read the books. Even when he stays at the temple on weekends, he still does not accomplish any “real studying” (*benkyō rashii benkyō* 勉強らしい勉強 . My translation. IK, p. 407). Self-study was popular with ambitious youth unable to pay school tuition, but without a clear goal and a school environment it was a challenging undertaking with little hope for any concrete accomplishment¹⁵. “Whether one studied in the countryside or in Tokyo, it was still study,” Seizō thinks, but the extra-curricular tutoring of his pupils takes up most of his time (CT, p. 116; IK, p. 473). When Seizō later decides to obtain a teacher’s license for middle school, it is his deteriorating health that keeps him from studying.

Seizō’s literary efforts also result in failure. For example, at the start of the summer

vacation, Seizō sends off his students with the educational message to play hard and study hard, yet he fails miserably in his personal resolution to produce a literary work. “Seizō’s test of his own talent ended in complete failure. Even if he had the inspiration his pen could not capture it. After five days he gave up writing” (CT, p. 81; IK, p. 423). The reason for his failure could be a lack of talent, yet more important is the absence of a naturalist method. For a rural youth with only a mid-level education, his romanticism and his belief in what Katai would label the “old” concept of literature centered around the intellectual elite in Tokyo unavoidably cause his failure.

Seizō prepares himself for writing by borrowing “all sorts of poetry anthologies and novels” that the priest “had accumulated during his days in the Tokyo literary scene” (CT, p. 79; IK, pp. 421-22). Among them, Katai mentions translations of Western novels by Mori Ōgai 森鷗外 (1862-1922) and Kunikida Doppo’s lyrical short story collection *Musashino* 武蔵野 (1901). The latter text especially attracts Seizō’s attention. Seizō’s reading patterns in general are dominated by romanticism: his favorite magazine *Myōjō* and his favorite poet Shimazaki Tōson are emblematic of the lyrical, romantic poetry about love and solitude he immerses himself in. Seizō also buys the magazine *Chūgaku sekai*, in which young readers publish often sentimental, ornate, narcissistic literary works on social rising and disappointment, love, and loneliness. And even when reading novels and literary magazines such as *Bungei kurabu* 文芸倶楽部 (Literary Club, 1895-1933), his way of appreciating literature is essentially romantic:

His young, yearning heart was insatiable. It often changed from moment to moment. When he read *Myōjō* he would think about those poets in Shibuya; when he read *Bungei Kurabu* he would think about the prominent writer whose long novel was lead-story in the magazine; and when he read his friends’ letters he would want to make plans for getting into some appropriate government school. (CT, p. 68; IK, p. 406)

Seizō, described as still a “young” person by the detached narrator, idolizes Tokyo-based writers and envisages their stimulating, exciting lives in the capital. It is this romantic concept of literature that captures the rural youth’s imagination but inevitably leads to failure and disappointment. What Seizō requires is a naturalist approach of literature.

The need for naturalism

Although the topic of *Inaka kyōshi* is through and through romantic – a poor youth who

dies from tuberculosis is precisely one of the clichéd themes Katai advised his *Bunshō sekai* contributors against¹⁶, – its treatment by Katai follows the naturalist method of taking distance and adding a critical perspective. As Matthew Fraleigh demonstrates, Katai distances himself from his romantic protagonist and presents his readers with a concrete example of naturalism. Fraleigh distinguishes two means through which Katai creates distance from the protagonist. One is emphasizing the marked difference in style between Seizō's own writing, consisting of diary fragments, letters, and poetry sporadically quoted in the novel, and the surrounding text. Samples of Seizō's writing, which is characterized by elements of *kanbun* 漢文, emotional outcries, English words typical of teenager talk, and sentimental poetry, are interspersed in the text to contrast with the plain, subdued, and colloquial style of the naturalist novel¹⁷. The second means to create distance from the romantic protagonist is through authorial comments. An example is the following passage where Seizō is thinking about Kotaki, a former schoolmate who has become a geisha.

Sometimes Seizō would think seriously about geisha. He would then always link himself in his mind with Kotaki. He even tried making up romantic little episodes. Sometimes he also imagined the ill-fated life of a geisha, unable to preserve her own chastity and body, and would weep tears of sympathy. He still didn't understand about such things as geisha. (CT, p. 55; IK, p. 387. Emphasis added)

As Fraleigh argues, dismissive comments like these about Seizō's lack of insight into the world illustrate how Katai consciously constructs a narrative in which the narrator speaks from a detached point of view, independent from the protagonist¹⁸.

The above example also anticipates an episode a little over halfway into the novel in which Seizō, driven by “[s]omething powerful from within [...] as though his body were being dragged forward by this great force,” starts frequenting a brothel in Nakada 中田 (CT, p. 131; IK, p. 492). This brothel episode can be interpreted as Seizō's surrender to his suppressed sexual urges, a theme typically associated with naturalism. However, it should also be noted that Seizō's relationship with a prostitute in Nakada is, at least for him, romantic of nature, because he falls in love with her and reads poetry by Tōson to her. Romantic literature mediates Seizō's relationship with the prostitute, which obscures the reality that her relationship with him is nothing more than a business transaction, initiated by his sexual urges – a reality he faces when she is bought from the brothel by a wealthy customer and suddenly disappears. By pointing to sexual urges, Katai develops the “romantic

little episode” of Seizō’s first love affair and heartbreak in a naturalist fashion, thus demonstrating concretely how to overcome the generic romanticism popular among youth.

A last example of authorial distancing concerns the scene in which Seizō and his friend Ikuji see Aibara Kenji, a reporter of the magazine *Taiyō* 太陽 (The Sun), and the writer Hara Kyōka visit their old friend Yamagata Kojō, the temple priest. It is an important scene, because it is referenced to again later in the novel. Seizō and Ikuji are full of admiration for the two well-known literary figures from Tokyo but witness how the priest and his friends get drunk and rowdy, foolishly chanting sutras, beating the drum, and falling down the stairs.

“A literary man is a surprisingly carefree and simple creature,” said Seizō.

“Nothing at all like I imagined,” replied Ikuji.

The young pair had never dreamt that this author and this magazine writer, whose names they had so often heard mentioned, could get up to such childish things. And yet, incompletely as they understood a life and attitude that could entail such acts, they were envious. (CT, p. 67; IK, pp. 404-405. Emphasis added)

The narrator comments again on “young” Seizō’s lack of knowledge and experience and thus undermines his romantic, idealized view of literature and his worldview in general. Moreover, Katai does not only take distance from the romantic youth here, but also from his past romantic self. Hara Kyōka, the drunk literary man displaying “childish” behavior and described by Ikuji as “the fat one” a few pages earlier in the novel, represents Katai before the Russo-Japanese War (CT, p. 65; IK, p. 401). *Inaka kyōshi*’s consistent ironic distance thus denotes a deliberate attempt to separate from the romanticism found in the literary youth and in prewar Katai himself.

The social functions of *Inaka kyōshi*’s naturalism

An aspect of the social relevance of *Inaka kyōshi*’s critical reaction against romanticism and idealism becomes evident when comparing it with the trend in magazines published for teachers such as *Kyōiku jikkenkai* 教育実験界 (1898-1923) and *Kyōiku gakujutsukai* 教育学術界 (1899-1939). Under influence of the Ministry of Education, these periodicals printed a large number of educational stories (*kyōiku shōsetsu* 教育小説) after the war, highlighting and idealizing the teaching profession and rural living with the aim to pacify anguished young teachers and make them dedicate themselves to their profession and the

nation¹⁹. *Inaka kyōshi* differs from such moralist literature, seeking to undermine simplistic ideals, whether romantic love, social climbing, or agrarian utopia, and instead paints a more nuanced image of humankind and society.

Inaka kyōshi deviates considerably from the standard plot of the *kyōiku shōsetsu*. Whereas the stories for teachers tended to describe the process of an ambitious young person realizing that being an elementary school teacher in the beautiful, peaceful countryside is much more valuable than pursuing vain material success in the city, the protagonist in *Inaka kyōshi* never arrives at this insight. Until his death he persists in trying to find a way out, first through attempts at writing, music, and sketching and later by studying to pass the official Ministry of Education middle school teacher's license examination. Moreover, the novel does not in general idealize the profession of educator or the bucolic peripheral regions of Japan. Rather, it provides glimpses of the darker, more complex realities underlying human nature and society.

The first “truth” to be revealed is sexual desire as an important human drive. Not only does Seizō perform “unclean acts on himself, driven by certain desires” and eventually start to visit a prostitute, the sexually impulsive side of the other teachers is also exposed (CT, p. 24; IK, p. 345). An old teacher informs Seizō about the red-light district, and about the scandalous affairs that the principal and another former teacher used to have with local barmaids. Moreover, this elderly teacher also advises him to “get out and enjoy yourself a bit. School teachers are only human after all. You can't live life properly when you're too bound up in morals and ethics” (CT, p. 123; IK, p. 482). It is significant that it is an older, experienced teacher who points out the relative value of “morals and ethics” to young, immature Seizō. The old teacher's relaxed and pragmatic view of human nature and sexual instinct is sharply contrasted with Seizō's lofty and non-physical ideal of romantic and platonic love imbibed through romantic literature. The old teacher's encouragement of sexual pleasure as an antidote to nervous breakdowns and suicide among the youth can also be interpreted as a veiled critique of the Ministry of Education's expectations that teachers should be paragons of virtue, and of the government's post-war imposition of increasing constraints on teachers and students.

In contrast to the educational novels but also some modern classics on teachers, such as Tōson's naturalist novel *Hakai* 破戒 (1906), Natsume Sōseki's 夏目漱石 satire *Botchan* 坊ちゃん (1906), or Ishikawa Takuboku's 石川啄木 rousing short story “Kumo wa tensai de aru” 雲は天才である (written in 1906, but published posthumously), *Inaka kyōshi* is the only novel to refrain from black-and-white portrayals of heroes and villains. Instead, it

depicts the principal and Seizō's colleagues as "ordinary" people, generally friendly and warm, committed to education and supportive of each other, yet with some hidden flaws as well. They smoke, drink, or try to quit their current job by studying for the middle school teacher's certification examination. They have affairs, visit brothels, and thus are anything but ideal or heroic teachers. Overall, Katai's description of the life of an elementary school teacher is probably the most realistic of any of the major literary works of the late Meiji era. Numerous details exemplify Katai's careful observation and research, resulting in a very substantial and accurate portrayal of the everyday lives of Japanese teachers in the 1900s. Katai's description includes the low wages of teachers (eleven yen per month for Seizō)²⁰, the system of wage raises for teachers with long service records (*nenkōkahō* 年功加奉)²¹, and the popularity of the middle school teacher certification examinations among elementary school teachers. He also delineates the pronounced hierarchical differences between normal school graduates and other teachers: "The normal school graduate gave a rather curt greeting" (My translation. IK, p. 360). Additionally, Katai describes the humble accommodations of teachers (Seizō hires a room in the local temple and also lives in the school's night duty room for a while) and the subtle oppositions between a normal school professor lecturing on child psychology and an older elementary school principal attending this lecture: "[The old principal] asked a few questions as if he felt it his duty [...]. The fat professor answered each question politely, always with a smile" (CT, p. 72-73; IK, p. 412). Other minutiae in the novel concern the teachers complaining about the aforementioned lecture and talking ill of the school inspector during a drinking party (CT, p. 75; IK, p. 415), and the mentioning of Article 13 of Saitama Prefecture Ordinance No. 10, the law that stipulated that a teacher absent due to illness could continue to receive full pay for two months and then half-pay for another two months (CT, p. 199; IK, p. 582).

Inaka kyōshi also calls the binary opposition city-countryside into question. Unlike the many stories for teachers or other narratives for youth depicting an agrarian utopia, the rural village where Seizō works as a teacher is not beautified in simplistic terms²². As Seizō learns about robberies, rapes, love related suicides, tensions between landowners and tenant farmers, the gaping differences between the poor and the rich, and other problems, "he gradually came to realize that even the countryside, which he had thought to be a place where one could live a life of pure ideals embraced in the gentle bosom of nature, was after all an arena of strife, a world of greed" (CT, p. 122; IK, p. 480). The problem of poverty receives particular attention. The novel excessively mentions Seizo's financial transactions, from his meager salary to his daily expenses, the money he gives to his parents, the cost

of the brothel, and his debts. It even includes a fragment of his bookkeeping. Educational novels and official discourse of the late Meiji era tended to be quite dismissive of the dire economic conditions and asked teachers to disregard material benefits and seek satisfaction in the spiritual value of their profession. Conversely, Katai stresses the oppressive presence of poverty from the first page of the novel to the last. Seizō's poor man's funeral ceremony, conducted in muddy terrain at eleven at night by only a novice and not a priest, emphasizes the tragic and inescapable reality of poverty. It should be noted that the novel's title is after all *Inaka kyōshi*, a term carrying a miserable, pejorative connotation, as opposed to the more neutral *chihō kyōin* 地方教員 or *sonpūshi* 村夫子, the latter term also denoting the title of a moralistic 1908 educational novel²³. Katai's choice of the term *inaka kyōshi* can be interpreted as an ironic deviation from the beautifying, moralist discourse, and in line with his naturalist efforts to more truthfully expose the uglier living conditions of society's peripheries.

Likewise, when Seizō visits Tokyo to take the entrance examination for the Tokyo Music School, both the capital's beauty and ugliness are portrayed, avoiding a one-sided image of the city as either the *summum* of civilization or a breeding ground of vice and dangerous thoughts (CT, pp. 148-150; IK, pp. 515-518). As such, the more complex aspects of human beings and society are hinted at throughout the novel. The more realistic and critical perspective of naturalism contrasts sharply with both prewar romanticism and the idealizing post-war discourse propagated by the authorities and media outlets. The creation of a detached, analytical naturalist discourse is socially meaningful because it allows the presentation of a nuanced, fuzzy, gray reality that defies simple understanding and demands the reader to think further about the mooted issues.

***Inaka kyōshi* and the problem of the nation**

Katai's naturalist approach, which was based on careful study and observation, resulted not only in a more nuanced and complex depiction of people and the environment, but also a skillfully created panorama of Japan's modernization. Throughout the novel, fragmentary yet recurrent references are made to the gradually progressing construction of the Tōbu Line, a train line that would connect Ha'nyū to Tokyo after Seizō's death. The train is the symbol of modernity expanding into the Japanese peripheries, but specific mention is also made of the railroads' logistical role during the war, namely transporting soldiers to and from the battlefield (CT, pp. 165, 178, 189, 208; IK, pp. 537-538, 555, 568, 595). Changes in the local Bon Festival are also registered: the festival used to be marked by huge bonfires

lit on the main road, wild dancing, and sexual lawlessness; however, in Seizō's dying year police surveillance forces people to move away from the main road and light the fires in the back streets (CT, pp. 119, 128-129, 197; IK, pp. 476-477, 489-490, 579). The reining in of explicit expressions of sexuality is further attributed to the influence of modern education. The principal, for instance, recounts how moral looseness used to be a problem in the region, as even seven- and eight-year-old children openly sang lewd songs in school. Schools improved morality and established authority over parents (CT, pp. 14; IK, pp. 330). Schools also functioned as tools to inculcate nationalism and emperor ideology in the farthest corners of the nation, as is apparent from the novel. Concretely, Seizō's solemn announcement of the birth of Michinomiya Hirohito 迪宮裕仁 (1901-1989), crown prince and future Showa emperor, in extremely formal, polite Japanese in a less than one-page-long dedicated chapter (chapter 10), the daily singing of Kimigayo 君が代 (the Japanese national anthem, which desires the emperor's reign to continue for thousands of years) at school mentioned in the same chapter, and the extensive description of the school ceremony on Tenchōsetsu 天長節 (the emperor's birthday) are inserted into the narrative to point to the specific ideological role that elementary schools played in the late Meiji era (CT, pp. 39, 94-95; IK, pp. 366, 440-441). A last example of Japan's modernization is the (all too slow) diffusion of Western medicine, illustrated by the fact that none of the local doctors examining Seizō can correctly diagnose his tuberculosis, except for a university educated one in Gyōda, when it is already too late (CT, pp. 162, 170, 186, 189, 193-94, 199-200; IK, pp. 533, 545, 564-565, 568, 574-575, 583). Through these and numerous other carefully chosen details, Katai expands the narrative of the protagonist's individual life into a condensed overview of Japan's modernization visible in changes in areas such as infrastructure, local customs, morality, education, national ideology, and medicine.

The impressionist method of scattered images to provide glimpses of Japan's modernization without any explicit commentary is congruent with Katai's growing interest in impressionism at the time and his determination to "avoid passing judgement at all cost"²⁴. Katai's impressionist experiments aimed to visually describe the superficial without explanations or value assessments. This technique was a reaction against moralist literature and a part of Katai's attempts to devise a literary method that allowed critical and detached observation, which in turn was a means to arrive at a deeper understanding of a complex and multifaceted world. Rather than conveying an ideal, Katai shows customs, ethics, and ideology were newly constructed in Meiji Japan just like the infrastructure. The myriad meaningful details throughout the novel together compose a mosaic of Japan's

modernization and should be considered a conscious effort to accurately depict the social changes Katai discerned in the 1900s.

It is also in this light that Katai's treatment of the original diaries of elementary school teacher Kobayashi Shūzō 小林秀三 (1884-1904), a significant source of this novel, can be understood. The novel gives much weight to the Tenchōsetsu ceremony, for example, by portraying how the children, dressed in their best attire, as well as the parents, village notables, and officials attend the ceremony, which prominently positioned the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku ni kansuru chokugo* 教育二関スル勅語) and chrysanthemums, the symbol of the imperial family (CT, pp. 94-95; IK, pp. 440-441). Kobayashi's diary entry on November 3, 1901, however, indicates the relative unimportance of the ceremony at his school: Kobayashi wore his usual clothes, the ceremony lasted less than an hour, and mention is made of someone arriving late²⁵. Katai's emphasis on the formal, ideologically laden ceremony is probably the result of the post-war vantage point from which he wrote the novel. The post-war period saw the consolidation of official emperor-nationalism and its firm anchoring in school practices and provincial life. Katai was well aware of the increasingly conservative policy of the Ministry of Education, with which he repeatedly clashed. *Inaka kyōshi* was never a mere record of a specific individual's life for Katai; rather, he explicitly asserted that the novel denoted a broader investigation (*chōsa* 調査) into the geographical and historical reality of rural youth, saying "I felt the absolute importance of letters over diaries, and investigation over letters"²⁶. Katai's deliberate deviation from the diaries thus serves his objective of depicting the ideological shift in education and modernization policy that had already begun before the war, and was most noticeable at the time Katai wrote the novel.

The fact that Katai did not subscribe to the post-Russo-Japanese War education policy is evident from his defense of naturalism, as shown earlier in this essay, but also from a later article on education that he wrote for the magazine *Shōgakkō* 小学校 (Elementary School) in June 1916. In this article, Katai is critical of the authorities who impose rigid formats that grant teachers no freedom to actualize their ideas and desires. He also comments negatively on the uninspiring textbooks and questions the fundamental concept of compulsory education that employs average-derived standards all children must meet at the same age. The type of education Katai advocates is based on individualism and strives for excellence, and is thus reminiscent of early Meiji schooling²⁷.

Apart from such text-external evidence, also text-internal elements clearly showcase detachment and even a critical stance, particularly towards wartime nationalism. Katai

strongly emphasizes the spirit of nationalism pervading the country and enveloping the teachers during the Russo-Japanese War, to such an extent that a contemporary critic complained in his review of *Inaka kyōshi* that Katai had exaggerated the war atmosphere²⁸. The novel describes how from the outbreak of the war, the teachers “each take a separate newspaper and circulate them around” to gather as much information on the war as possible (CT, p. 166; IK, p. 539). To visualize the information on the developments at the front reported in newspapers such as *Kokumin* 国民 (People), *Yorozu Chōhō* 万朝報 (Morning Bulletin of Everything in the World), *Tōkyō Nichi Nichi* 東京日々 (Tokyo Daily), and *Jiji* 時事 (Times), the principal also puts up a huge school map of Japan in the staffroom, around which all teachers, young, old, male, and female, gather (CT, p. 166; IK, p. 538). Seizō is the one who is most drawn by the war. He consumes with great admiration the papers which “were full of reports of officers meeting a valiant end, of soldiers rendering heroic service, while the fervent patriotism [*chūkun aikoku* 忠君愛国] of groups throughout the country was also vividly reported” (CT, p. 175; IK, p. 551). Katai stresses the feverish nationalism while also subtly undermining it and thus offers a critical stance.

One example is the speech by the district headman at the elementary school graduation ceremony in 1904, in the midst of war.

The district headman stood at the table and gave a speech of congratulation to the graduates, a speech which contained frequent reference to the fact that the nation was at war: “You have graduated in a very memorable year, 1904. It is a most significant and decisive time in Japan's history, and you must never forget that you have graduated at such a point in time. You must always be fully aware that you are the citizens of a new Japan.” His words, mundane though they were, contained a certain strength and zeal that reflected the times, and the listeners were moved. (CT, p. 171; IK, p. 546)

This speech describes the war as “a most significant and decisive time in Japan's history,” but unlike the emotionally moved audience, the narrator takes distance from the wartime discourse by framing it in its specific historical context (“a certain strength and zeal that reflected the times”). What Katai does is not presenting wartime nationalism as an ideal to the readers, but rather portraying the “thought of the times” from a detached perspective, an important task he has set for naturalism.

An even clearer example is the presentation of sick Seizō, the character most thoroughly

immersed in wartime nationalism, and his relation to author Hara Kyōka (Tayama Katai). Exempted from serving in the army on medical grounds, Seizō experiences the war through the nationalist rhetoric copiously delivered by newspapers and magazines. In particular the lyrical and patriotic contributions of embedded war reporter Hara (Katai) in the Hakubunkan magazine *Nichiro sensō jikki* 日露戦争実記 (Record of the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905) spark Seizō's imagination.

Seizō's imagination at least was readily transported there by the pen of this author [= Hara Kyōka, i.e. Tayama Katai] – this author who had written of love and women and made a living from fancifulness, and who now depicted the various emotions and scenes of plains shrouded with artillery smoke, of corpse-filled trenches, of hilltops where machine guns rattled. The reports seemed all the more vivid to Seizō when he thought that this man now under the orders of the Second Army's High Command, this man in the heart of the chaos of war, had three years before visited the temple in Ha'nyū wearing a stylish Italian straw hat, and had gotten drunk and recited verse and even ended up banging on the bell and wooden clappers in the main building. How he envied the author, with his pencil and notebook in hand, his pistol strapped at his waist, and his canteen hanging from his shoulder, dashing around amid all the hustle and bustle, amid the scenes of bare, brown hills with their vista of gunfire, the army commanders' morning advance to the front, and the gun carriages pushing forward at the double. (CT, pp. 175-76; IK, pp. 551-552)

Seizō is completely engrossed in Hara (Katai)'s lyrical reports on what seems to be an epic war. His absorption may be understandable given the pompous war rhetoric propagated at the time by magazines and newspapers. Katai's contributions in *Nichiro sensō jikki* were notably lyrical and stirring and contributed actively to the national mobilization. In fact, Seizo's visualization of the embedded reporter Hara (Katai) on the battlefield resembles one of Katai's early reports in *Nichiro sensō jikki*, written before he embarked on a warship to Manchuria. In this report, he portrayed himself as being one with the soldiers, filled with heroic excitement to wield his pen and to depict the grand and historic war²⁹. In a later issue, this image of Katai as a brave soldier was visually reinforced with a picture of him and other Hakubunkan war correspondents in uniform. The apparently exaggerated description of the war frenzy was thus an accurate reflection how Katai himself, along with most Japanese media outlets and their readers, had been immersed in a one-sided nationalist idealism.

本誌の特派従軍写真班
PHOTOGRAPH CORRESPONDENTS OF OUR PERIODICAL.

前列に座する左方は柴田常吉次は中龍兒右端は榎水運晋後列に立てる
周し服装を左より敬ふれば山田花袋堀殿次郎下村清助及巨摩治の諸氏
にて平服の紳士は西村亮蔵氏なり。



The English caption reads “Photograph Correspondents of our Periodical.” Tayama Katai is the second person from the left. “Honshi no tokuha jūgun shashinhan” 本誌の特派従軍写真班, *Nichiro sensō jikki* 日露戦争実記 10 (1904.4), no page number.

However, important here is the fundamental difference in style and framing between *Inaka kyōshi* and the war reports. Whereas Katai’s war reports were characterized by lyricism and emotional outcries in beautiful written language, the novel is consistently written in an unadorned colloquial style. Moreover, the war reports lack any irony or critical reflection, but in the novel, the narrator describes Hara (Katai) disparagingly as the “author who had written of love and women and made a living from fancifulness [*kūsō* 空想],” precisely the type of romantic author that Katai would reject in his reader comments in *Chūgaku sekai* and *Bunshō sekai*. In addition, the narrator refers back to the drunk episode at the temple, in which Hara (Katai) displayed remarkably childish behavior. By connecting empty romanticism, drunk childishness, and nationalist war rhetoric, Katai satirizes himself and his prewar literature and simultaneously undermines Seizō’s romantic, nationalist war-related fantasies along with his own erstwhile reporting that had stirred such feelings and ideas. In depicting Seizō as an immature, inexperienced, and daydreaming young person

with hollow ideas and Hara (Katai) as an equally romantic and childish individual, Katai similarly characterizes their nationalism and war fever as immature and empty idealism.

Considering that Seizō's nationalism developed congruently with his worsening disease and his accumulations of failure, it becomes clear that Katai's stance on the romanticized concept of patriotism is critical; he does not regard such nationalism as a healthy ideal. Katai's selection of the rather depreciatory title *Inaka kyōshi* also indicates his critical distance from his subject. At a time when censorship increasingly suppressed deviant opinions, and educational policy targeted the imposition of an absolute official ideology centered around the nation and emperor, *Inaka kyōshi's* social relevance is apparent in its naturalist efforts to question all forms of idealism, including the essential value of loyal patriotism.

Inaka kyōshi ends with the pitiful death of its young protagonist, concluding a lifetime of unavoidable failures in repeated endeavors to achieve social ascendancy and love. The tragedy undoubtedly illustrates Katai's concept of a harsh fate that reduces human beings to weak and helpless creatures determined by larger and uncontrollable powers. However, it is also possible to read Seizō's death symbolically as the end of an era. With Seizō's death, Katai consciously lays to rest early Meiji Japan's simplistic narrative of social ascent, the ideal of romantic love, lyrical literature, and war rhetoric that are no longer valid. Certainly, creating a *tabula rasa* for "new thoughts" was by no means an easy process, for Katai himself previously committed to such discourses and ideals. This explains the moving ending in which the reader can "weep tears of sympathy" for poor Seizō. The suspension of ironical detachment in favor of a warmer, sympathetic stance probably stems from Katai's sadness for his failure to accomplish his early dreams of advanced studies, his seeking of success, and his genuine fondness for the innumerable rural young people whose similar dreams and hardships he read about in the hundreds of short stories that they submitted to *Bunshō sekai*. However, the last line of the novel also puts this emotional ending in proper perspective: "Beside the trees, morning and night, the trains thundered through on the Tōbu Line, which now went as far as Ashikaga" (CT, p. 208; IK, p. 595). The short yet suggestive impressionist image of a train running alongside Seizo's grave expands the narrative. It directs the reader's attention away from Seizō's individual tragedy and towards the novel's broader historical, social, and national context, consolidating the naturalist framework of *Inaka kyōshi* in the last instance. Modernized Japan has entered a new era in which lingering romantic ideals, however deeply cherished, must now make way for naturalist reflection.

4. Conclusion

Many of the discussed elements in *Inaka kyōshi* are also present in other novels by Katai. The undermining of the city-countryside binary and the questioning of the romantic beautification of rural Japan can already be traced in *Jūemon no saigo* 重右衛門の最後 (1902); the ideal of romantic love mediated through literature versus the reality of concealed sexual urges forms the theme of *Futon*; a critical examination of war and the relative value of loyal patriotism is found in “Ippeisotsu” 一兵卒 (1908); and ideas of individual failure and cruel destiny are present in most of Katai’s naturalist literature. *Inaka kyōshi* combines all these elements and expands the narrative further to position these features within a panoramic yet distinctly critical overview of Japan’s modernization process.

Katai’s naturalism and *Inaka kyōshi* are not revolutionary or politically activist. Yet it is precisely its impressionistic detachment that makes *Inaka kyōshi* the high point of Katai’s naturalism: the novel shows the reader the genesis of Katai’s naturalism as well as the full extent of its critical reach, including its commitment to educate self-aware, inquisitive youth in the peripheries³⁰.

注

- 1 Katai’s brother-in-law Ōta Gyokumei 太田玉茗 (1871-1927, Yamagata Kojō 山形古城 in the novel) was the priest at the Kenpuku Temple 建福寺 (Jōganji 成願寺 in the novel) where Kobayashi lived. He handed Katai the diaries after Kobayashi’s death. What remains of Kobayashi’s diaries and a comparison with the novel *Inaka kyōshi* can be found in the following works. Kobayashi Ichirō 小林一郎, *Tayama katai: ‘Inaka kyōshi’ no moderu nikki genbun to kaidoku shoshū* 田山花袋: 『田舎教師』のモデル日記原文と解説所収 (extended edition, Sōkensha, 1969), pp. 309-481; Iwanaga Yutaka 岩永胖, *Tayama katai kenkyū* 田山花袋研究 (Hakuyōsha, 1956), pp. 137-165.
- 2 Tanikawa Tetsuzō 谷川徹三, “Shizenshugi no sakka” 自然主義の作家, in vol. 10 of *Iwanami kōza nihon bungaku* 岩波講座日本文学 (Iwanami Shoten, 1931), pp. 13-14; Yoshida Seiichi 吉田精一, *Shizenshugi no kenkyū* 自然主義の研究, Vol. 2 (Tōkyōdō, 1958), pp. 190-194; Iwanaga, *Tayama katai kenkyū*, pp. 137-165; Iwanaga Yutaka, *Shizenshugi bungaku ni okeru kyokō no kanōsei* 自然主義文学における虚構の可能性 (Ōfūsha, 1974), pp. 265-290.
- 3 Ōida Yoshiaki 大井田義彰, “‘Muku naru mono’ no kōzai o megutte: Tayama katai ‘Inaka kyōshi’

shiron” 「無垢なるもの」 の功罪をめぐって：田山花袋 「田舎教師」 試論, *Tōkyō Gakugei Daigaku kiyō: dai 2 bumon, jinbun kagaku* 東京学芸大学紀要：第2部門、人文科学 51 (2000.2), pp. 283-293; Wada Atsuhiko 和田敦彦, *Media no naka no dokusha: Dokusharon no genzai* メディアの中の読者：読書論の現在, (Hitsuji Shobō, 2002), pp. 112-125. Nagai Kiyotake 永井聖剛, “Inaka kyōshi no fukushū: Tayama Katai ‘Inaka kyōshi’ ni okeru jiko kōtei no hōhō” 田舎教師の復讐：田山花袋 『田舎教師』 における自己肯定の方法, *Nihon kindai bungaku* 日本近代文学 74 (2006.5), pp. 121-122.

- 4 This traditional negative view on naturalism is expressed most harshly in Nakamura Mitsuo’s 中村光夫 *Fūzoku shōsetsu-ron* 風俗小説論 (Kawade Shobō, 1950). Nakamura argues that the popularity of Katai’s *Futon* 布団 (1907), which he considers the first I-novel, determined the course of realism and the whole “concept of literature itself” (pp. 54-55) in Japan, “distorting, dispiriting and leaving great harm” (p. 86) by robbing naturalism of its critical function and social relevance (*shakai-sei* 社会性), resulting in simple romantic, narcissist literature (pp. 134-135). Although in different degrees, similar ideas regarding the limited scope of Katai’s literature can be found in much of the research on Katai and naturalism. For a detailed discussion of the problems with scholarship on naturalism, see Pieter Van Lommel, “Meiji kōki ni okeru nihon bungaku to kyōiku to no kankei: Inaka kyōshi no jidai” 明治後期における日本文学と教育との関係：田舎教師の時代 (Tsukuba: 2020, doctoral dissertation), chapter 11.
- 5 Tomi Suzuki, *Narrating the Self: Fictions of Japanese Modernity* (Stanford University Press, 1996), introduction and chapter 3. Richard Torrance, *The Fiction of Tokuda Shusei and the Emergence of Japan’s New Middle Class* (University of Washington Press, 1994), pp. 134-38. Suzuki Sadami 鈴木貞美, *Nihon no ‘bungaku’ wo kangaeru* 日本の「文学」を考える (Kadokawa Shoten, 1994), pp. 234-39.
- 6 Jay Rubin, *Injurious to Public Morals: Writers and the Meiji State* (University of Washington Press, 1984), pp. 6-7, 94-96, 141-2, 184; Richard Torrance, *The Fiction of Tokuda Shusei and the Emergence of Japan’s New Middle Class* (University of Washington Press, 1994), pp. 181-187; Kimura Hiroshi 木村洋, *Bungaku netsu no jidai: Kōgai kara hanmon he* 文学熱の時代：慷慨から煩悶へ (Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 2015), chapters 8 and 10. Kenneth G. Henshall, *In Search of Nature: The Japanese Writer Tayama Katai* (Global Oriental, 2013). See in particular the preface, chapter 3, and pp. 125-30. Timothy J. Van Compernelle, *Struggling Upward: Worldly Success and the Japanese Novel* (The Harvard University Asia Center, 2016), pp. 24-28. Rubin describes the conflict between authors and the government in detail but characterizes Katai as a morally conservative novelist. Kimura also highlights the tension between naturalists and the Ministry of Education but only analyzes works by Masamune Hakuchō. Henshall’s biography is

the current standard work on Katai in English. His reading of *Inaka kyōshi* remains traditional, however. Van Compernelle is the only scholar to recognize Katai's deliberately critical stance in *Inaka kyōshi*, which is further explored in this essay.

- 7 Two studies have hinted at the importance of Katai's job as literary guide for youth. Kaneko Teruyo 金子輝代, "Tayama katai kenkyū: 'Inaka kyōshi' nitsuite," 「田山花袋研究: 「田舎教師」について」 *Tōyō Daigaku Tanki Daigaku ronshū* 東洋大学短期大学論集 12 (1976.3), pp. 1-9. Kamei Hideo 亀井秀雄, "Tayama katai 'inaka kyōshi': chihō/bungaku seinen no sōshutsu," 田山花袋 『田舎教師』: 地方/文学青年の創出 *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū* 国文学 解釈と教材の研究 39:7 (1994.6), pp. 52-58.
- 8 For a detailed biography, see Henshall, *In Search of Nature*.
- 9 Tayama Katai, "Hyōron no hyōron," 評論の評論 *Bunshō sekai* 文章世界 4:3 (1909.2.15), p. 68; Tayama Katai, "Hyōron no hyōron," *Bunshō sekai* 4:7 (1909.5.15), p. 117.
- 10 Tayama Katai, "Kindai sanjūroku bungō henshū nitsuite" 近代三十六文豪編輯に就いて, *Bunshō sekai* 3:6 (1908.5.1), p. 236. For a detailed discussion of Katai's role as commenter and writer for *Chūgaku sekai* and *Bunshō sekai*, see Van Lommel, "Meiji kōki ni okeru nihon bungaku to kyōiku to no kankei," chapter 13.
- 11 Tayama Katai, *Tōkyō no sanjūnen* 東京の三十年, in vol. 15 of *Teihon katai zenshū* 定本花袋全集 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1994), pp. 651-52. The original was published by Hakubunkan in 1917.
- 12 References to citations from *Inaka kyōshi* are given in-text and abbreviated as CT followed by the page number for Kenneth Henshall's English translation *Country Teacher* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1984) and IK with page number for references to the Japanese text *Inaka kyōshi* 田舎教師 in *Teihon katai zenshū* 定本花袋全集, vol. 2 (Rinsenshoten, 1993), pp. 313-595. Katai's original was published by Sakura Shobō 佐久良書房 in 1909.
- 13 Ishitoya Tetsuo 石戸谷哲夫, *Nihon kyōin-shi* 日本教員史研究 (Kōdansha, 1967), p. 331.
- 14 As Kanda argues, all women in whom Seizō takes an interest have features that he associates with city girls. Kanda Chisato 神田知怜, "Haichi saretā joseitachi: 'Inaka kyōshi'-ron" 配置された女性たち: 『田舎教師』論, *Kindai bungaku dai ni ji kenkyū to shiryō* 近代文学 第二次 研究と資料 10 (2016.3), pp. 15-29.
- 15 A discussion of the boom of self-study among country youth in late Meiji can be found in Takeuchi Yō 竹内洋, *Risshin shusse-shugi: Kindai nihon no roman to yokubō* 立身出世主義: 近代日本のロマンと欲望 (extended edition, Sekai Shisōsha, 2005), chapter 6, in particular pp. 127-139.
- 16 Tayama Katai, "Hyō" 評, *Bunshō sekai* 1:3 (1906.5.15), p. 216.
- 17 Matthew Fraleigh, "Terms of Understanding: The Shosetsu According to Tayama Katai,"

Monumenta Nipponica 58:1 (2003), p. 59.

- 18 Fraleigh, “Terms of Understanding,” pp. 66-67.
- 19 For a detailed discussion of these educational novels and the magazines they were published in, see Van Lommel, “Meiji kōki ni okeru nihon bungaku to kyōiku to no kankei,” part 2.
- 20 Eleven yen was sufficient for a single teacher to rent a small room, buy the bare necessities of life and subscribe to a magazine or two, but not enough to sustain a family or deal with emergency situations such as medical expenses. For a detailed study of elementary school teachers’ living conditions, see Ishitoya, *Nihon kyōin-shi kenkyū*, chapters 9-10.
- 21 The system of wage raises was put in place in 1896 and stipulated a salary increase of 15 percent for teachers having worked five years at the same school. Unlike the teachers’ wages, which were paid for by the towns and villages, the wage raises for long service were covered by the central government’s budget. The specifics of this system were revised several times. For a detailed discussion, see Honma Yasuhei 本間康平, *Kyōshoku no senmonteki shokugyōka* 教職の専門的職業化 (Yūhikaku, 1982), pp. 24-30.
- 22 For a study of novels portraying a rural utopia, see Van Compernelle, *Struggling Upward*, chapter 2.
- 23 Hasumi Kasen 蓮実珂川, *Kyōiku shōsetsu sonpūshi* 教育小説 村夫子 (Ikuseikai, 1908). An example of official discourse is the Ministry of Education official Sawayanagi Seitarō’s view on the treatment of teachers in Sawayanagi Seitarō 澤柳政太郎, “Shōgaku kyōin no taigū mondai ni tsuite” 小学教員の待遇問題に就て, *Kyōikukai* 教育界 4:10 (1905.8.3), pp. 75-81.
- 24 Tayama Katai, “Inki tsubo,” *Bunshō sekai* 4:12 (1909.9.15), p. 105.
- 25 The relevant page of Kobayashi’s diary can be found in Kobayashi Ichirō, *Tayama katai*, pp. 446.
- 26 Tayama, “Inki tsubo,” *Bunshō sekai* 4:12, p. 103.
- 27 Tayama Katai, “Kyōikuengai kara mita genji no shōgakkō” 教育圏外から見た現時の小学校, *Shōgakkō* 小学校 21:5 (1916.6.1), pp. 52-53.
- 28 XYZ, “*Inaka kyōshi gappyō*” 「田舎教師」 合評, *Yomiuri shinbun* 読売新聞 (1909.11.7), supplement p. 2.
- 29 Tayama Katai, “Kansen zenki” 観戦前記, *Nichiro sensō jikki* 日露戦争実記 8 (1904.4), p. 33. A discussion of the magazine *Nichiro sensō jikki* and its visual strategy can be found in Ōkubo Ryō 大久保遼, “‘Nichiro sensō jikki’ ni okeru shikaku no kōsei: Shimen kōsei, jūgun shashinhan, katsudō shashin” 『日露戦争実記』における視覚の構成: 誌面構成・従軍写真班・活動写真, *Masu komyunikeishion kenkyū* マス・コミュニケーション研究 78 (2011), pp. 209-230.
- 30 And Katai and his novel *Inaka kyōshi* were successful at that. For example, rural-youths-turned-socialist-authors Kataoka Teppi 片岡鉄兵 (1894-1944) and Ema Shū 江馬修 (1889-1975) have

both testified how it was the stirring influence of Katai's naturalism in their teenage years that changed their view on society and opened the way to socialist activism for them. For a more detailed discussion of the reception of Katai's naturalism, see Van Lommel, "Meiji kōki ni okeru nihon bungaku to kyōiku to no kankei," chapter 15.