

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: PUBLICATION AND CENSORSHIP OF
POPULAR SONG DURING THE ALLIED
OCCUPATION OF JAPAN, 1945–1949

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During the Allied Occupation of Japan, General MacArthur's SCAP administration ran a system of censorship of all publications and public broadcasts, lasting from September 1945 through late 1949. Included in the censored publications were sheet music and hit song collections of *ryūkōka* (流行歌) and *dōyō* (童謡), popular songs and children's songs. The Gordon W. Prange Collection at the University of Maryland holds an extensive collection of the proofs and publications that the censors collected, complete with their markings if material was to be deleted or suppressed. The sentiments expressed in the collection of songs in general, and in the items that censors marked for deletions, reflect the new cultural hegemony of the Occupation. Publishers and censors both contributed to the reinforcement of hegemonic ideas, through the addition and removal of specific sentiments from the popular discourse of the time.

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ALLIED OCCUPATION OF JAPAN, 1945–1949

By

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Dedication

To Emmaline, whose love and support have been with me throughout my endeavors.

Acknowledgements

This is a project that would not have come to fruition without the support and guidance of a number of individuals. First I must thank Amy Wasserstrom and Kana Jenkins at the Gordon W. Prange Collection for all of their time and generosity as I barraged them with materials requests and questions about SCAP protocol, as well as former Prange Collection Curator Eiko Sakaguchi, whose enthusiasm first drew me into this project. My translations of Japanese texts owe much correction and help with interpretation to Dr. Michele Mason, conversations with whom never fail to rekindle my passion for this topic. Aleksandra Kotliarova helped with additional translation guidance and interpretation. Many thanks to my advisor, Dr. Larry Witzleben, for his advice and patience along the way. Finally, thanks to Dr. Fernando Rios, Dr. Rob Provine, Dr. Kendra Salois, and Dr. Roger Vetter, whose ideas have touched and inspired mine along the way.

Notes

On transliteration:

Words in the text translated from Japanese are given in standard Hepburn Romanization. For many cases, I have included *kanji* (漢字) characters at a word's first introduction.

Japanese names are given in Japanese-style order, with the family name first and given name second, both in the text and bibliography.

Some common words, such as place names like Tokyo, are given without diacritical marks or italics.

On copyright:

Due to copyright restrictions on the materials in the Prange Collection, I have not been able to include images of all of the materials I would ideally show in this thesis. For those who want to see more, I must urge readers to visit the archive and see the materials in person.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

It is hard for me to say when I first heard the sounds of *ryūkōka* (流行歌), the Japanese popular song form that was popular in the first half of the twentieth century. I may have stumbled across its sounds in an old Japanese film at some point, but I certainly was not aware of it. I had heard the sounds that *ryūkōka* begat a half a century later in *enka* (演歌) songs, as when I did karaoke with my host father in Tokyo at his hole-in-the-wall pub, but those sounds carry different meanings, being far removed from the context of Imperial Japan, and, as Christine Yano (2002) suggests, evoking a kind of idyllic, imagined past instead.

Regardless of the specifics, it is safe to say that this kind of music was not my introduction to Japanese music. I came to Japanese music the way I would guess many budding ethnomusicologists do, through a combination of hyper-fashionable pop culture and conversely esoteric traditions. J-pop and *kabuki* are both pretty far removed from *ryūkōka*, and they are examples of the two veins of Japanese music scholarship I have typically encountered in my studies so far: current popular trends on one hand (J-pop, J-rap, noise) and Japan’s “art music” traditions on the other (*kabuki*, *bunraku*, music for *koto*, *shamisen*, and *shakuhachi*)—with *Tsugaru-jamisen* as perhaps the bridge between the two worlds.

Really, everything changed for me and the trajectory of my thesis project materialized when I took a tour of one of the under-appreciated resources of the University of Maryland: the Gordon W. Prange Collection. There, unbeknownst to

most of the University, sat essentially four years' worth of Japanese published materials, and from none other period than the Allied Occupation, one of the most extraordinary periods in recent Japanese history. I got to see a few pieces of published music that day, namely some scores for *koto*, one I remember particularly having been composed by the famous Miyagi Michio. It was upon deciding to delve deeper into the collection and see what was there that I came across a body of material completely unknown to me up to that point, and that was *ryūkōka* (流行歌) and *dōyō* (童謡). The former means “popular song,” and was a term to describe Japanese-composed solo vocal music from the 1920s through the Occupation period. The latter is a kind of children’s song style popular from about the same time. As they are catalogued together in the Prange Collection, I have treated them together in this study, and collectively referred to them in English as “popular song.”

As far as I could tell, there was a lacuna in the English-language scholarship on Japanese music, and that was dealing with what popular music had been in the past. This is perhaps not surprising, given the historic attitudes of music scholars about popular music up until recent decades, including the views of Japanese musicologists. Yet I was utterly drawn in by the prospect of working with the body of primary materials held by the Prange Collection, and so I began my trip down the rabbit hole of this kind of music and the context surrounding it: the film and publishing industries in Imperial Japan, wartime and postwar popular sentiment, the growing commercialization of popular music throughout the first half of the twentieth century, and the goals and policies of General MacArthur’s administration and censorship apparatus.

Methodology

The musical documents in the Gordon W. Prange Collection are at the heart of this study, both thematically and in terms of methodology. From my first visit to the Prange Collection and my meeting with Ms. Eiko Sakaguchi, then the Curator of the Collection, it was clear to me that the galley proofs and fragments of music were full of information and significance waiting to be unpacked. My first task, then, was to survey the collection and examine in particular detail all of the items where censorship action was taken. Given the breadth of even the *kayō* (歌謡) and *dōyō* range of materials,¹ this division of attention and examination—broad and general as well as narrow and deep—allows for meaningful discussions on both levels.

One question that arose in my mind early in the formulation of this project, and one that daunted me for a long time, was centered on the very methodology of my project: how can I examine popular discourse without first-hand collection of personal data? Of course, fieldwork and the collection of individual testimonies as data is at the heart of modern ethnomusicology, and I believe that any study would most likely be augmented by, if not completely dependent on, the presence of such data. I have many times heard scholars asked if there was an ethnographic component to their research, with a hint of expectation typically coloring the question.

Cooley and Barz have suggested that we shift focus from representations or texts to *experiences*, in keeping with more current methodological trends such as phenomenology and dialogic ethnography (2008:4). There is much to admire in this

¹ *Kayō* meaning “songs,” here part of the Prange Collection’s categorization terminology.

idea, and it stands to reason that many conference papers and journal articles now fit into this mold. Ethnomusicologists of my generation learn our trade in an environment where reflexivity is key; furthermore we have the luxury of looking backwards at plentiful examples of scholarship ranging from completely oblivious to meticulously detailed about context and bias. With so many varied examples available to us, we can learn from many successful and unsuccessful approaches to information types, theoretical frameworks, contextualization, and reflexivity. That said, there seems to be a trend in our field of moving away from a sort of standard set by older, sometimes-patronizing ethnographies towards studies including more self-reflexivity and experiential detail, for better or worse—in my opinion, more often for better.

Does this mean that all ethnomusicology must follow the same model? I argue that the answer is no, and emphatically so. I doubt many of us would suggest that we standardize our methodology to the point of losing the variety of routes of inquiry that have made ethnomusicology so adept at probing wide varieties of topics. However much we may improve upon our models of doing ethnography, there are other types of studies that also add to the landscape of our understanding, and I see historical ethnomusicology as one such alternate route. So do others, apparently, as suggested by the existence of a Special Interest Group within the Society for Ethnomusicology with just such a title—though the number of members listed on its website is less than fifty, a very small percentage of SEM.²

It is a daunting challenge to embark on a historical study that avoids the aforementioned obliviousness to context and outside-in patronizing tone of last

² See more at http://www.ethnomusicology.org/general/custom.asp?page=Groups_SIGsHE.

century's early studies. As Kay Shelemay wrote back in 1980, the lack of emphasis on historical topics in ethnomusicology appears to be a lasting consequence of ethnomusicologists' constant tendencies, especially in the mid-twentieth century, to distance themselves from historical musicology. She goes on, in her defense of historical research, to point out that historically-based essays have been criticized for not stating anything that a reader could learn from already-existing historical accounts. How then can historical research best be used within our field? As she sees it, its role should be to juxtapose history with the present, and to illuminate multiple facets of living communities (233–5).

One prominent ethnomusicologist who has more recently advocated for the inclusion of a historical dimension to our work is Timothy Rice. His “Toward the Remodeling of Ethnomusicology” suggests the model of asking how people “historically construct, socially maintain and individually create and experience” music (1987:473). This same general mindset is maintained in his later suggestion that we use the model of “time, place, and metaphor” (2003). I see this model as a very productive one, and often think of music cultures as sort of 3-D landscapes in which we can track the movement of ideas about music through space and time. Like Killick, I think “metaphor” is an unwieldy choice of terms, and might be modified (2003:201), but regardless I see the model as one that is simple and elegant in many situations.

In the case of this particular study, the music-culture in question—that of popular song in Japan during and around the years of the Occupation—is no longer living, by definition. The descendant of this music-culture, *enka*, is certainly a

different topic, with a different audience and a different place in a different Japan. While it surely is still possible to conduct fieldwork with the generation that grew up during the Occupation and experienced these songs and events firsthand, it is beyond the means of the current project. Even if it were in my ability to interview a substantial number of individuals about their past experiences, doing such fieldwork after the fact means drawing out peoples' memories, which must necessarily pass through years of emotion and interpretation before coming out now. There is likely a difference between the kinds of opinions and memories that people hold of their present and those they recall from the far-off past. Such memory work would be an excellent continuation of this project, but is a very different kind of project.

Despite my lack of access to a "living community" for this project, I believe that meaningful understanding can still be reached through consciously exploring both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. At the heart of Shelemay's suggestion lies the idea that it is the connection between slices of time, and peoples' interpretations of such, that are meaningful to our discipline. It is important to look at particular events in a synchronic way in order to fully grasp the picture of a moment, but it is equally important to make connections diachronically, examining change and interpretations of that change. Bruno Nettl goes so far as to suggest that "the most sophisticated thinkers" have always been those who realized that we need to take change into account, rather than simply forcing the view of traditions as those practices which do not change (2005:275)—and studies by many scholars, including Henry Johnson (2006), Helen Rees (2000), and more dramatically Thomas Turino

(2003) and Fernando Rios (2008), have shown just how little objective continuity subjectively-viewed “traditions” can have.

In the end, I do not believe that any good research project in ethnomusicology can exist devoid of a historical component. It is too vital to place our research topics into their contexts for scholars to ignore history. My methodology for this project embraces this, and has also been influenced by works in the various disciplines that have provided the map of scholarly literature into which I place my own work. My work is a melding of the approaches from history, cultural studies, literary studies, Japanese studies, theatre and performing arts studies, film studies, and musicology that I have read along the way, at the same time as I approach my topic having been trained with ethnomusicology’s broad toolkit. In other words, while my approach may be different from current trends in ethnomusicology, I see it as a logical and fitting approach to my particular topic, and one still informed by the values I hold as an ethnomusicologist.

Literature Review

The present study concerns styles of Japanese music that have not have significant scholarly treatment, especially in the English-language body of research. One reason for this is, in my opinion, the daunting specters of a handful of ethnomusicologists who shaped the kinds of music ethnomusicologists interested in Japan studied. The first credits may appropriately go to a generation of authors writing sweeping descriptive monographs of particular genres, who typically went into much greater detail—having engaged personally in practical experience—about

the kinds of topics many Western readers would have encountered through the nineteenth-century work of the diplomat/collector Francis Piggott. First published in 1893, Piggott's *The Music and Musical Instruments of Japan* attempted to package the entirety of Japanese music culture in a single monograph, but reflects the kinds of music that his Japanese contacts would have wanted to show to him: Japan's "classical" traditions, such as *kabuki* and *bunraku* theatre, and the music of highly-regarded instruments such as the *koto*, *shakuhachi*, *shamisen*, and *biwa*.

The generation of authors who wrote seminal monographs going into further detail on these topics in the 1970s includes many of the names that I was pointed to when I first expressed interest in learning about Japanese music: William Malm, Bonnie Wade, and Willem Adriaansz, among others. Malm's works include a significant update of a Piggott-style sweeping work (1959), as well as a detailed exploration of *nagauta*, the music of *kabuki* theatre (1963). Bonnie Wade studied music for the *koto*, leading to her close examination of traditional *koto* repertoire (1976). Adriaansz researched song cycles for the *koto* and *shamisen*, and published books about each (1973 and 1978, respectively). One clear characteristic about these studies, and most works with titles like "Music of Japan" or "Japanese Music," is that they all tend to omit popular music from their discussions. One can imagine that trying to write about something Japanese and distinct from American or European traditions, authors chose not to focus on things that sounded like jazz or Tin Pan Alley, having their own assumptions and expectations about what was "unique" about Japanese culture; but the result is that little attention has been given even since then to early-twentieth-century popular song in Japan.

Above all else, there is one dissertation that includes several chapters very closely related to my own project, and that is Nagahara Hiromu's "Unpopular Music: The Politics of Mass Culture in Modern Japan," presented in 2011 for Harvard's Department of History. As a history dissertation, it is incredibly thorough, based on research with a great number of primary sources. The chapters in question explore the formation of Japan's recording industry and *ryūkōka* as a genre, censorship of records and culture in Imperial Japan, and the same under the Allied Occupation. These chapters have presented information and ideas that have informed my own study, and I hope that our two projects, together, help flesh out a picture of this kind of music and its treatment. Importantly, his research centered more on the censorship of records and music recordings, and does not touch on music publishing.

Among English-language literature by ethnomusicologists as a whole, there are few mentions of *ryūkōka*, sometimes conflated with another term, *kayōkyoku*. Carolyn Stevens spends two pages of her monograph about Japanese music and culture on the style and its formation, as she passes through a section of history of definitions (2008:14–15). Kitahara Michio, writing in 1966, looks at contemporary *kayōkyoku* (歌謡曲, by then definitely the established term for the musical style *ryūkōka* had become) as a syncretic practice, mixing aspects of Japanese folk music with Western musical idioms, but this is really about the music as it was in the 60s, and not earlier. Hugh de Ferranti mentions the style in his 2002 article in *Popular Music*, "Japanese Music can be Popular," in which he discusses hybridity and habitus in Japanese popular music styles, but this article is more of a call for understanding and a survey of Japanese scholarship on the topics than an in-depth

analysis of his own. Kitagawa Junko, also writing in *Popular Music* (1991), gives a brief summary of this music style as it was in the 1920s, but like Kitahara mainly talks about listening practices from the 1960s onward. Christine Yano's excellent 2002 monograph about *enka* also provides a short mention of Koga Masao, one of the composers who shaped the *ryūkōka* sound and laid the groundwork for what would later be *enka* sound, but again it is only tangential to the main focus of her study.

Like these sources, several other wonderful studies of Japanese popular music written by people outside ethnomusicology dance around the exact musical styles I am concerned with, but nonetheless informed my study as I explored the context in which *ryūkōka* began and where it was to head after the Occupation. First is *Sayonara Amerika, Sayonara Nippon: A Geopolitical Pre-History of J-Pop* (2012) by literary scholar Michael Bourdaghs. Bourdaghs's secondary interest in Japanese popular music moved him to explore several case studies of popular musics throughout the course of the twentieth century, and among them are chapters on famous jazz and *ryūkōka* composer Hattori Ryōichi, and Japan's biggest *kayōkyoku* star from the 1950s onward, Misora Hibari. These chapters, and especially the former, provided me with great insight into the scene for composers and musicians in the 1920s and 30s. Similarly influential to my understanding of that scene was Taylor Atkins's *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan* (2001). There was a wealth of great information in these two books, and while it is unfortunate that I had to look outside of ethnomusicology literature to find them, I am very grateful that Bourdaghs and Atkins undertook their projects.

In this study I have not engaged with Japanese-language sources. De Ferranti suggests there is “relatively little academic writing” on Japanese popular musics by Japanese scholars (2002:198). This is also evidenced in Tsuge Gen’ichi’s report on the activities and interests of the Society for Research in Asiatic Musics (2000), which does not mention any specific studies about popular musics. Kitahara and Nagahara’s bibliographies reference a few promising works, in particular Komota Nobuo’s 1970 *Nihon Ryūkōkashi* (History of Japanese Ryūkōka). In addition, there are several biographies and autobiographies available in Japanese about the composers Koga Masao and Hattori Ryōichi: Kikuchi 2004, Koga 1999 and 2001, and Ueda 2003. Given more translation time and a larger project, it would be wonderful to add the composers’ own voices to a dialogue about their music.

In regards to information on *dōyō* and children’s songs, information was a bit easier to come by. Elizabeth May’s 1963 monograph on Meiji influence on children’s music was a great place to start and lays out a comprehensive history about the integration of Western music in the Japanese school music curriculum. Noriko Manabe’s research on children’s songs provides an update to that research, and extends the discussion into the influences of wartime on children’s songs. Both her dissertation (2009) and chapter in the recent *Oxford Handbook of Children’s Musical Cultures* (2013) have been helpful in grounding my understanding of the *dōyō* in the Prange Collection.

The popular music scene during this time shares quite a bit of context with other media, and because of that I found it very useful to look into literature on Japanese film and theatre in order to understand what was going on during the time.

On the film side, Donald Ritchie (2001) and Isolde Standish (2005) both provide very useful histories of Japanese film, the former organized temporally and the latter on an issue-driven basis. More specifically useful for this project were Michael Baskett's *The Attractive Empire: Transnational Film Culture in Imperial Japan* (2008), which includes helpful information on the use of popular music in film and the intersection between the two media, and Peter High's *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War, 1931–1945*, which contains detailed descriptions of a number of films and places them in their context—only here could I find information about *Song of the White Orchid*, a film that is central to the materials I cover here.

In terms of studies of other Japanese arts and their treatment during the Occupation, perhaps the most widely covered is *kabuki*, thanks to one particular SCAP officer by the name of Faubion Bowers. He was an adviser to General MacArthur, and many have lauded his efforts to bring *kabuki* back to prominence during his time in Japan. He wrote several texts himself, including a 1952 monograph on the theatre. He was also the subject of scholarship, as in Okamoto Shirō's 2001 book *The Man Who Saved Kabuki*. Not all scholars have echoed the same viewpoint, however, and in particular James Brandon has been active in attempting to tell a broader story that gives credit to other figures who worked with Bowers, as in his hefty 2006 article in the *Asian Theatre Journal*. He also wrote a monograph on the *kabuki* in the period just before the Occupation, and how *kabuki* stagnated during Japan's build-up of ultra-nationalistic sentiment, *Kabuki's Forgotten War: 1931–1945* (2009). Although I do not explicitly discuss *kabuki* here, it is a

great contemporary example, and there is overlap in the subject material of popular songs and famous plays, as will be shown in later chapters.

Censorship comes up in all kinds of research projects, in very many forms, especially in situations where people practice self-censorship for various reasons. Despite this, studies explicitly centered on music and censorship are not particularly common, but those that I have found have shaped my ideas for how to approach the topic. Interestingly, these studies have universally been about the censorship of sound recordings or performances, about the banning of radio play or live concerts, and never about published music. In that sense, it appears that my subject material is unique among this literature. John Baily's "Music and Censorship in Afghanistan, 1973–2003" (2009) details the restrictions on playing recorded music under an oppressive regime, and how the Mujahedeen treated recorded music as a commodity they enjoyed but restricted among the masses. Roald Maliangkay's "Pop For Progress: Censorship and South Korea's Propaganda Songs" (2006) details the suppression of American pacifist pop in South Korea after the Korean War, as the nation attempted to build nationalist sentiment. Martin Scherzinger's "Double Voices of Musical Censorship after 9/11" (2007) describes a similar radio censorship in the United States in the wake of the World Trade Center disaster.

In terms of writing about specifically the censorship that took place by the Allies during the Occupation of Japan, far and away the most useful resource for me was Jonathan Abel's 2012 monograph *Redacted: The Archives of Censorship in Transwar Japan*. Abel, a scholar of Japanese literature, discusses the differences between Japanese Imperial and Allied censorship programs. He argues that one main

difference—that the Japanese censors left redacting marks while the Allies erased any trace of censorship at all—left profound effects on Japanese culture. The psychological effects of knowing something is missing and imagining what it might be are, to him, very different from the effect of not knowing what is okay and what is not okay to say, and thus censoring yourself as a result. Abel’s approach was very influential in my own thoughts, and encouraged me to think about the ways that power flow through censorship and publication processes.

Finally, in order to work through this project I needed to interact with literature on the history of the Occupation, the organization of its administration under General MacArthur, and the general conditions in Japan from 1945 through 1952. There are several authoritative volumes that cover this period, and probably the most well-known is John Dower’s *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (1999). It is an impressive product, and attempts to give English-language readers an idea of what the Japanese experienced during the Occupation, a different kind of attitude from Occupation histories in the past. Another very helpful and very thorough text is Takemae Eiji’s *Inside GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and its Legacy* (2002). This 700+ page work includes descriptions of all of the branches of MacArthur’s SCAP administration, details about the officers who ran them, and summaries of the projects that they carried out. I would highly recommend it to any serious scholar of the Occupation. These sources were supplemented by my own archival research, but one good source for original document reproductions pertaining specifically to the materials in the Prange Collection is a guide that was created specifically for it, edited by Okuizumi Eizaburo (1982).

Goals and Significance

Through the lens of the materials at the Prange Collection, I began to ask questions. What kinds of songs were popular at the time, and what sorts of topics were they about? How did this music relate to what came before it, and what came after? What choices were publishers making about what to publish? As for the Occupation censors, what actions had they taken, and why? What general trends, if any, can we see in the materials they deleted or suppressed? How widespread were their actions? What kinds of impacts did their actions have for Japanese popular discourse? Can we read rebellion, acceptance, or other broad sentiments into the negotiations between censors and publishers? Were publishers self-censoring, and if so, why, and what kinds of sentiments?

In the course of beginning to answer the above questions, I will shed light into several spaces that ethnomusicologists thus far have spent relatively little time exploring. The first is the topic of popular song in Japan during the first half of the twentieth century, and *ryūkōka* in particular, too long left out of our discussions of Japanese music. The second is sheet music as primary source material in itself, and the publication of music as a valid research topic in ethnomusicology. I have long been interested in music notations, and the kinds of information they can convey about the practices of the musicians who use them, and perhaps this interest served to lead me further into this project than I might have otherwise gone. Similarly, while there has been much discussion of the Occupation and censorship, discussions of music in this context tend to focus on sound recordings or radio play rather than

printed materials. As the materials in this case faced the scrutiny of the censors specifically because of what lay on the page—their lyrics and imagery—this study focuses solely on the publications themselves, and the texts therein.

My study is, as far as I know, the first to delve into the music resources at the Prange Collection in any depth, and in doing so I also present a body of primary source data into the scholarship of our field for the first time. I hope that the song texts and analyses here, and the information about this section of the collection as a whole, will be useful for myself and other scholars in the future as we continue to look at this music and related musics. At the same time, this research project serves as a case study for a historically-based discussion of primary sources using the theoretical background of ethnomusicology, and for the analysis of negotiations of power as seen through music publishing.

Surely this study leaves much left to be examined. Only seventeen items out of nearly nine hundred in just one specific section of the Prange Collection's music materials are covered in detail here. There are yet more items in the collection that censors marked for deletion in other sections, such as *koto* music notation and literature about music. Furthermore, being focused on printed sources, this study does not include an in-depth analysis of the sonic aspects of music, leaving much left to do with the sounds of *ryūkōka* and the specific songs that Occupation censors took actions with. I hope that this research will open many doors for other research projects for myself and others in the future.

This first chapter has presented how I came to this project, how I approached it, what bodies of literature have shaped my thinking on the subject, and what I hope

to accomplish. Chapter Two is a presentation of historical context, in which I trace the culture that gave rise to the kinds of popular songs that Occupation censors found problematic, and I follow that history from the influence of Western music during the Meiji Restoration, through the first half of the twentieth century, and finally up to the Occupation. In Chapter Three, I lay out the censorship apparatus of the Occupation, and discuss one section of materials in the Prange Collection in general, noting trends in the kinds of materials published. Chapter Four is analysis of the actions taken by censors on seventeen items in that collection, the descriptions, texts, and translations of which can be found in the Appendix. Finally, in Chapter Five, I present my conclusions, suggesting several interpretations of the ways that power was negotiated through the processes of publication and censorship of music.

Chapter 2: Popular Song in Japan from the Meiji Period through the Occupation

What is Popular?

The narrative of popular song in Japan during the interwar period in the twentieth century in fact begins much earlier. It is a narrative of hybridity and adaptation of new musical ideas, and what Bonnie Wade describes as “interface” between Japan and other cultures (2005:xiii). Of course, Japan has a long history of this kind of cultural interface, mostly with the other peoples in close proximity to Japan, and especially with China. Everything changed in July of 1853, when Commodore Matthew Perry of the United States Navy sailed into Tokyo’s harbor and, at the behest of U.S. government, forced Japan to begin engaging in international trade. This unprecedented event opened the doors for other Western nations to engage with Japan, the eventual consequence of which was the Meiji government’s series of reforms to “modernize” the nation. The nature of Commodore Perry’s appearance, a military symbol of a Great World Power, is certainly significant; the proud Japanese forced to change their policies because of such a symbol portended the fervent drive of many Japanese in the following decades to establish Japan as equally a Great World Power. From that point on, the most significant axis of international interface shifted away from China and towards the United States and Europe, where such powerful colony-holding nations existed in droves.

For most of Japan's history, the concept of "popular music" did not exist as such, but certain styles of music had always been more popular than others. Early ethnomusicologists tended to turn their focus towards elite music cultures such as *gagaku* imperial court music, or instrumental genres such as that of the *shakuhachi* or *koto* that were practiced by specialized schools. Many aspects of these traditions, such as written records, rigid traditions, and Japanese musicians and politicians eager to display their unique and important cultural heritage, made them attractive topics for foreign scholars. The best-documented musical traditions, however, were not necessarily the most popular. *Gagaku* is an extreme example, which the Japanese public would likely not have witnessed until the twentieth century, until then being performed primarily for imperial rituals not open to the public; in fact, the opposite of popular.

In terms of Japanese research, as serious government-sponsored music research groups developed in the mid- to late-Meiji period, they unsurprisingly looked only back to pre-Meiji "traditional" Japanese genres as worthy of study, and left the lowest-class songs, *min'yō* (folk songs) mostly untouched (De Ferranti 2002:197). The Society for Research in Asiatic Music (*tōyō ongaku gakkai*) was founded in 1936 in order to present scholarship on the music of Asia, including Japan. De Ferranti points out that in all of the volumes of their journal, *Tōyō Ongaku Kenkyū*, there have only been a handful of articles about popular genres, and when they do appear they tend to focus on tying those popular styles back to older traditions (ibid.:198).³

³ More information about the Society for Research in Asiatic Music in English can be found on their website, http://tog.a.la9.jp/index_e.html.

What then was popular music like before the Meiji Restoration and Westernization? At the most basic level, we can look to the commoners of feudal Japan, those who did not own land or hold titles, who made up the majority of the population. As in many parts of the world, the act of singing, either alone or in groups, became a part of the laborious lives of commoners. These songs would rarely have been written down, but instead passed on from one musician to the next. Twentieth-century Japanese scholars collecting Japanese *min'yō* identified a number of work-related songs, pertaining to farming, fishing, transportation, and other common physical labors (Groemer 1994:203). In addition to songs to accompany work, songs have often played a central role in Japanese festivals and celebrations, whether an event imbued with special spiritual significance or simply a night of drinking—or both. Finally, as in other cultures children were the audience of many popular songs, both in the form of lullabies (*komori uta*) and songs children themselves sing. Up until the nineteenth century, children's songs, also generally called *warabe uta*, were transmitted orally like other folk songs (May 1963:3).

Aside from *min'yō*, perhaps the closest thing to popular music we can identify would be the music of theatrical genres such as *sarugaku*, *nō*, *kabuki*, and *bunraku*. Many commonly known stories were retold in these various theatrical forms, and provided entertainment to many, especially in urban centers. Although the songs from these traditions are important, they are only one component of arts that also make use of body motions and dance, costuming, spoken word, and instrumental music. In this way, they have less in common with the *ryūkōka* of the Prange

Collection than *min'yō* do. *Kabuki* in particular has remained somewhat popular even until today, and was an interesting topic for American censors during the Occupation.

Meiji Reforms and Popular Music

The changes that occurred throughout Japanese society during the Meiji Era were far-reaching both in scope and in lasting consequences. The introduction of Western music into Japan produced one such change. In fact, Western musical idioms have so permeated Japan, and been developed and re-worked by Japanese artists, that casual foreign visitors today might never experience any music that doesn't sound vaguely "Western" unless they seek it out on purpose. While the globalization of Western musical sounds has since become even more widely spread due to recording and now digital media, Western music came first to Japan not by way of recordings but by way of direct contact with foreign musicians.

As American and European delegations arrived in the newly-opened ports of Japan, they brought with them all of the pomp and circumstance they could muster, and this often included military bands who marched through the streets. Western military music is naturally aggressive and bombastic, and such music was surely a dramatic contrast to Japanese who had previously known wind instruments as subtle and expressive—putting aside the *hichiriki* for now. Though modern Japanese *taiko* ensemble drummers sometimes refer to a long history of military drumming native to Japan, the Western military bands must have made a strong impression, because the Meiji Court eventually assembled a Western-style military band of its own. The Satsuma clan sent men as early as 1869 to Yokohama to study with the English

bandleader William Fenton (May 1963:39). The first Imperial band was comprised of *gagaku* court musicians, and their first public performance was at the inauguration of Japan's first railway in 1872 (Galliano 2002:28), surely adding to the event's sentiment of "progress." Given this early association between military music and power on the world stage, it is not surprising that an actively imperialistic Japanese government sixty years later would continue to use military band music in its campaign.

The European bandleaders present in Japan during the time also made decisions that would shape the soundscape of Japan for years to come. When William Fenton met the Satsuma Clan officers in 1869, he noted that Japan did not have a national anthem, and was asked to create a melody for one. His first attempt was rejected by the Imperial government, but the idea was planted. Fenton was appointed instructor to the Japanese Navy Band starting in 1871, and his pupil Akimori Hayashi composed a version of the melody that would become the anthem. The final arrangement in full Western harmony was created by Franz Eckert, a German musician who succeeded Fenton as the advisor to the Navy Band in the late 1870s (May 39). The anthem was officially adopted in 1888, and quickly became, along with the Japanese flag, a prominent national symbol.

The Meiji government inculcated Japan with Western musical ideas in a number of ways, and one of the most important was to make sure that Japan's youth grew up with Western music as part of their education. Music education reform was one part of large-scale education reform during the period, the overall effect of which was to raise future generations of Japanese citizens to no longer view things like

Western clothing as foreign, but rather a natural part of their own lives. Songs for children are effective means for inculcating them with new ideas while they enjoy the physical act of singing, and the government, wanting to cultivate moral character in the next generation, created new songs that would do just that (Manabe 2013:97).

The first government collections of songs published by the Meiji government were composed by the Imperial court's own *gagaku* musicians—the highest-ranking Japanese musicians available—and included lyrics written by teachers from the Tokyo Women's Normal School. The most prominent figure in the shaping of the Meiji musical curriculum, however, was Izawa Shūji. Izawa held a number of government posts in his lifetime, including at the Ministry of Education. His own education was mixed between Japan and the United States, where he had travelled to study at several schools, including Harvard University. While in Boston, he had been a student of music educator Luther Whiting Mason. When Izawa returned to Japan, he began reforming music textbooks, and brought Mason to Japan for a period to work with him on the project.

Their goal was to create a new musical style. The songs in the 1880s songbooks they issued typically consisted of preexisting Western tunes with newly-added Japanese texts, most often about such Confucian values as filial piety, loyalty to the emperor, and advancing one's position through diligent study (Manabe 2013:97). These songs were known as *shōka*, “school songs.” Galliano also credits the Izawa-Mason duo with the development of the *yonanuki* scale, meaning “without four and seven” and in practice just that—a diatonic scale without the four and seven (2002:106). This scale, with a feeling similar to Japanese modes but possible to

harmonize like a Western diatonic scale, would continue to be popular in *ryūkōka* and later *enka* as well. Izawa would eventually argue against the mode and morally rigid lyrics of the first *shōka*, and call for further revisions of the curriculum. New collections of *shōka* were issued in 1892, and included texts that were more poetic, but still quite moralizing (May 1963:64).

Overall, the Meiji period was a turning point for the Japanese soundscape. Western classical music had become a status symbol for the wealthy, pushing traditional instruments out of the way. Military bands, playing the first examples of *gunka* (military music), developed from Western examples, and appealed to the masses to look to brassy Western music as the new symbol of the nation. Western music education also took root, with the effect that children grew up with less of the sounds of traditional instruments and modes, but with an emphasis instead on Western harmony and ideas. Together, these developments set the stage for the developments of Japanese music in the early twentieth century, when a developing middle class would consume music in completely new ways.

Popular Song, Jazz, and Innovation from the 1910s through the 1930s

There can be no understating the effect to Japan of its participation in World War I. The ascension of Emperor Yoshihito in 1912, ushering in the new Taishō era, had been a messy one, with several brief unsuccessful prime minister appointments tied up with military spending demands. The Great War effectively focused Japanese attention outside their own borders to a new degree, escalating the trend that began

with the first Sino-Japanese war in the 1890s and the occupation and annexation of Korea in 1910. Having been allies with Great Britain since the start of the twentieth century, Japan joined the Allied Powers and began to attack German-controlled East Asian territories, including island bases and parts of China. Having fought on the winning side of the war was very positive for Japan's growth and international recognition; for example, Japan was from the start a member of the newly-formed League of Nations after the war. The next decade would be a period of increased economic prosperity and ever-expanding international power and ambitions.

Internally, Japan continued to change during the Taishō period. Previously rigid feudal social classes no longer held the same meanings during Meiji Japan, and social class was in transition. Industrialization and the rise of capitalism allowed people to achieve financial and social success in non-traditional ways. By the 1920s a new middle class was booming, centered on the white-collar urbanite who had the means to afford the new comforts and entertainments available to them. Department stores became prominent not only as places of retail but as community centers and hubs of activity (Young 1999:55). Increased consumerism and leisure contributed to a middle class more receptive to commercial music as entertainment; here we can see the establishment of an attitude towards "popular music" that resembled those in Western nations.

Japanese musicians were important in establishing this kind of scene before the recording industry came to dominate the scene in the late 1920s. Before there were any permanent symphony orchestras to employ Western-style musicians, they found employment in a number of other commercial venues, one of which was

through the business of advertising. Live bands, such as brass bands, were employed by department stores to create excitement and draw in customers. These groups, called *bandoya*, often provided free music education to youth before hiring them, and effectively helped train a generation of musicians (Atkins 2001:52–3).

In the 1920s, there was what Atkins calls a “second wave” of Western music into Japan; whereas the first Western music introduced into Japan during the Meiji era had been mainly European, the music that came into Japan in the ‘20s was primarily from the Americas (ibid.:49). Jazz styles were especially popular, as well as other up-tempo music well-suited to dancing. Fox trots and two-steps were in vogue, and Japanese entrepreneurs capitalized on the demand for new music and dance venues by establishing dance clubs and *jazu kissa* (jazz coffeehouses, *kissa* being short for *kissaten* [喫茶店]) in large numbers in urban areas. These new venues catered to the new affluent middle class, and appealed directly to the sense of prosperity of the times. Atkins invokes Benedict Anderson’s idea of imagined community to describe the phenomenon: the jazz era of the ’20s was at its heart a shared sense of affluence and modernity of the times (ibid.:90–1).

For musicians who were a part of the jazz scene at the time, Japan itself was not the only locus of possibility and creativity. For many Japanese musicians, Shanghai loomed large as a kind of refuge and frontier for jazz. Because there was already an imperial Japanese presence in Shanghai, musicians could travel to and from Shanghai with relative ease, and expect to enjoy a kind of tolerance, if not welcome. Atkins suggests that while it was one thing to learn how to play jazz in Japan, it was another thing to go off to the mythical frontier and be part of the

movement there. Shanghai was a place where Japanese musicians could go to strengthen their chops and take part in a kind of exoticism in which they were no longer the invaded—as jazz culture had in some sense invaded Japan—but rather took part in the invasion, along with Americans, Russians, and Filipinos, before returning to Japan with a newfound sense of credibility (ibid.:83–5).

Out of this cultural milieu of Taishō-era musicians versed in both art music and jazz styles, playing for orchestras and commercial bands alike, a handful of prominent musicians and composers emerged. One of the biggest names was Hattori Ryōichi (1907–1993), a wind player, composer, and arranger whose career took off in the 1920s and produced some of the most memorable songs of the years leading up to and after the Occupation. Hattori had cut his teeth in the Osaka jazz scene, playing in orchestras and jazz bands before being picked up by Nippon Columbia as a composer in 1936. Japanese literature scholar Michael Bourdaghs has suggested that Hattori’s musical goal was to combine jazz and classical music, to be something like a Japanese Paul Whiteman. If music was something that could uniquely touch peoples’ hearts, he did not see a distinction in ability to do so between art music and popular music, and wanted to erase the boundaries between the two musical worlds (2012:40).

Hattori also left behind an important legacy relating to the place of Japanese-ness within the blues. Hattori believed that the blues, or rather an Asian-originated version of the blues, was the only way to express certain kinds of moods, and he helped jumpstart a popular movement towards original blues compositions in the 1930s. His musical style helped to define the characteristics of light music of the time, and produced a kind of jazz that aimed to be non-threatening enough to avoid

ensorship by the Japanese government. At the same time, it was part of a movement towards locating and promoting Japanese cultural essence as both worthwhile (in juxtaposition to the influx of Western ideas) and in fact superior (Atkins:132–4). The location of cultural worth in itself is not unhealthy, but the context of this project was burgeoning imperialism, and it is noteworthy that Hattori spent time in the Shanghai jazz scene but also worked on a number of propaganda projects in China.

Hattori's popularity is due in large part to the Japanese recording industry, which rose to prominence by the 1930s. Before that, scholar Nagahara Hiromu suggests that each musical genre tended to be developed in isolation; there was not a strong sense that composers of Western-style art music and those of children's songs, for example, should have any connection to each other or work towards any common goal (2011:28). Phonograph technology had made it to Japanese shores in the first decade of the twentieth century, but the most important growth of the recording industry for popular music came with in 1936, during the early Shōwa Era, when Western corporations injected large amounts of capital into the industry, leading to the considerable presence of subsidiaries of Polydor, Victor, and Columbia operating in Japan.

It was these multinational corporations and their non-traditional strategies that directly led to the commodification of popular music in Japan, much like happened elsewhere in the world, and also led to the creation of a new popular music genre: *ryūkōka*. While *min'yō* folk songs and other kinds of ditties had been popular for some time, they were not commercial, and they were not created by any centralized industry. The new popular *ryūkōka*, however, were. The term itself is the Japanese

sinic (*on-yomi*) reading of the compound word 流行歌, which had previously been pronounced in the Japanese way (*kun-yomi*) as *hayari-uta* and had been a term for popular songs in previous centuries (Stephens 2008:14).⁴

This neologism (or neo-phonism) was a product of the time, a kind of marketing term suggested and perpetuated by record companies. While it was used into the 1950s, it has come to be an avoided term, carrying heavy cultural baggage of its associations with the 1920s and 30s.⁵ The term *kayōkyoku* (歌謡曲) is sometimes used interchangeably with *ryūkōka*, but especially came to be the prominent term by the 1960s, and is a little more general; it comes from *kayō*, meaning “song,” which had been used previously to refer to other kinds of songs (Nagahara 2011:14). The difference in nuance between the two terms is rarely clear, and different authors have used the terms interchangeably, but I believe *ryūkōka* is the best choice for describing the music as I do in this study, as I look at it from its formation, with many of the songs published during the Occupation having been composed in earlier decades.

Musically, *ryūkōka* were informed by several different genre-related strands. Coming into popularity at around the same time as jazz, *ryūkōka* composers could draw on jazz-like ideas of instrumentation, rhythm, and form. It is important to keep in mind that this refers to Japanese jazz, which drew greatly from the kinds of jazz that American big record companies were promoting in the 1920s: symphonic jazz

⁴ In Japanese, *kanji* (characters) can be read in a Chinese-derived way called the *on-yomi* (音読み), or in a Japanese-derived way called the *kun-yomi* (訓読み). Most often the *on-yomi* are used when multiple *kanji* are strung together into a compound word (like our example *ryūkōka* [流行歌]), while *kun-yomi* are used when a single *kanji* appears by itself (as in the noun “song,” *uta* [歌]). Furthermore, *kanji* compound words have more nuanced meanings and tend to be more technical-sounding, and are a common form for neologisms, as people combine *kanji* together in new ways.

⁵ As with many of the terms here, there was crossover in Korea, and the term acquired further baggage through its associations there.

whitewashed and made “appropriate” by recording companies. The orchestra was, in fact, the most prominent form of accompaniment for recordings of *ryūkōka*, providing all of the advantages of that format, such as wide ranges of dynamics or timbres.

Traditional Japanese instruments were rarely found in *ryūkōka*, except on occasion to evoke specific effects, and it is likely that this was a preferred arrangement on both sides; record companies certainly wanted *ryūkōka* to be new and exciting, and traditional *iemoto* musicians would likely have had little interest in engaging with such a low-prestige industry.

Despite the significant Western jazz and Tin Pan Alley influence that made up the typical backbone of *ryūkōka* songs, they do not sound explicitly American, and this is due to more than simply the Japanese language of the lyrics. The vocal melodies were typically sung by a solo voice, and rarely had any sort of vocal harmony, in keeping with typically Japanese singing style. Melodies tended to be very melismatic, and much more interesting and active than the accompaniment behind them. Furthermore, the tonality of *ryūkōka* tended to be different from the diatonic or blues scales of Western hits, relying more on pentatonic scales such as the major and minor *yonanuki*. Pentatonic modes overlapped sufficiently with Western musical modes that orchestras could play chords in the background, following Western vertical harmony and homophony, at the same time that the voice sang in a more Japanese style.

While Hattori Ryōichi is famous for composing popular tunes as well as Japanese jazz, perhaps the most influential *ryūkōka* composer was Koga Masao (1904–1978). Koga was a guitar player and jazz aficionado whose formational music

experiences including being part of a mandolin club in his university years and spending time in Korea. Yano calls Koga the “father of modern *enka*” (*enka* being a kind of ancestor of *ryūkōka*) due to his development of the song template that became known as the *koga merodii* (“Koga melody”): introspective lyrics, slow tempo, guitar or mandolin accompaniment, *yonanuki* tonality, and a solo vocal part (2002:37). Koga prolifically wrote *ryūkōka* hits around this idea from the 1930s through the 1950s, and continued writing songs even into the ’70s.

Another important thread that is tied together with both *ryūkōka* and the hit-producing recording industry in Japan is that of the film industry. The film and recording industries in the 1930s had much in common; for example, they both had large amounts of foreign capital invested into them, they both relied heavily on a kind of star system, and they were both driven by a desire to cater to and influence popular culture. They were natural money-making partners, needed only the right technology and opportunities to begin a partnership that proved very lucrative for both industries. Films would be created to tell the story of the lyrics of a previous hit song, or sometimes even a new hit song created just for the new film. The songs included in the films could stand alone as hit singles, and were marketed as phonograph records. The star actors and singers got ever more popular as their works spread throughout the media.

Nagahara presents a unique case study of this process that occurred with the very birth of *ryūkōka*, and that is the song “Tokyo March.” Composed by Nakayama Shinpei and often considered the first *ryūkōka* hit, it was produced in 1929 for the purpose of advertising the film *Tokyo March*, and as such is one of the first cases of

the two industries working in tandem. The film tells a story about modern Tokyo life, and the lyrics of the song, written by Saijō Yaso echo the same sentiments, naming specific glitzy districts in Tokyo like Ginza, Asakusa, and Shinjuku, and talking about the high-speed trains that connected them. Tellingly, the record studio that released “Tokyo March,” Victor Talking Machine Company of Japan, was involved in every step of the production process, and signed composer Nakayama up to an exclusive contract in order to preserve his sound (2011:33–6). Clearly this was a business, and a lucrative one, and the companies involved were careful to control as much of the process as they could.

Not only had popular music for general audiences changed greatly by the early Shōwa period, but so too had music for children. Government-issued collections of *shōka* songs that were used to teach schoolchildren were very popular through the 1910s, but eventually a group of poets and intellectuals grew dissatisfied with the style of the songs, their old-fashioned language, and their patriotic or instructional messages. In 1918, those poets created a magazine called *Red Bird* (赤い鳥, *akai tori*), in which they wrote new poems and lyrics for children’s songs based on the belief that children should sing songs that reflected the way that they talked in everyday life and the kinds of topics in which children themselves were interested. The movement grew and other similar magazines sprouted up, and eventually these writers asked musicians, many from the Tokyo Music School, for help setting them to music, and the resulting songs were called *dōyō* (童謡). Although this movement declined with waning freedom of speech during the late 1930s, by that time editors of

children's songbooks had begun incorporating *dōyō* with *shōka*, and the distinctions between them began to blur (Nakao 1983:248–9).

One more important industry that took advantage of the immense popularity of *ryūkōka* and its film industry tie-ins, as well as *dōyō*, was the music publishing industry. Sheet music publishing was not new in the late Taishō years, but several of what would become the most prominent music publishers during the years of the Occupation were founded in the early 1930s. Zen-on started in the Shinjuku area of Tokyo in 1931 as a specialty music publisher, and Shinko Music Publishing was founded in the same area the following year by the younger brother of an orchestral sheet music publisher—the younger brother wanted to start his own business focusing solely on popular music. These music publishers sold sheet music versions of the hit tunes that were so popular at the time, and by the 1940s had developed several main types of publications: sheet music for single songs, collections of sheet music gathered around various themes (such as the music of a specific composer, from a certain movie or actor, or simply current top hits), and pocket-sized collections of the same, some of which only included lyrics (and not music notation) for some or all of the songs inside. While it is difficult to say exactly how big a market share popular music publications took up in the 1930s, a 1936 report on the general Japanese publishing industry suggested that music came in only behind textbooks and other educational texts, fiction, and sociology and economics in terms of market share by topic (Sakanishi 1936:15).

If the Meiji period opened the doors for a rapid influx of Western cultural ideas, it also necessitated the processing of all of those ideas by the Japanese as a

nation for decades to come. The Taishō and early Shōwa periods saw Japanese thinkers, politicians, entrepreneurs, and artists struggling to adapt to new technologies and ways of thinking about the world at the same time that they proved Japan was worthy of being a “Great” nation. Japan’s infringement of territory throughout East Asia was one outgrowth of that situation, but so too were the creation of *ryūkōka* and *dōyō*, and the vast industries that commercialized them. The road ahead would prove tumultuous, however, as Japan was plunged deeper into militarism and totalitarianism in the years to come.

Popular Song during Rising Nationalism

Despite the relative prosperity and rapid technological advances of the first decades of the twentieth century, there was continued tension in Japan regarding how to move forward as a nation. Japan had undergone extreme change at a rapid rate, transforming from a feudal society to a colonial empire in arguably just a few decades, yet despite its perceived advances, Japanese did not enjoy the kind of cultural parity with the Western powers that their policies had been aimed at creating. The League of Nations did not adopt Japan’s proposed “Racial Equality Proposal”—which would have had significant implications for all of Western colonialist practice—and while Japan benefited greatly from the Allied victory in World War I, they still found themselves judged as less modern than nations like Great Britain or the United States.

From the late 1920s through to Japan's surrender in September of 1945, the government embarked on a project of growing nationalist sentiment. Japanese's further military and colonial endeavors, such as the invasion and annexation of Manchukuo and the continuation of their project in Korea, were buoyed by the successes of the First Sino- and Russo-Japanese Wars. A growing sense of national unity, tied to symbols like the Imperial flag, unique folkloric practices, and even the Showa Emperor himself, helped galvanize public support for the increasingly prominent public sentiments of militarism and totalitarianism under the Emperor.

In order to control public sentiment, the government also began to exercise increasingly strict control over public discourse, through various laws and national censorship practices. An existing censorship office doubled in capacity with the passing of the 1925 Peace Preservation Law, the goal of which was to defend the nation from communist and anarchist influences (Abel 2012:1). Imperial censorship was exerted over a variety of different media. In the case of print media, it was also very explicit; censors used *fuseji* (伏字) markings to redact deleted passages. By 1938, with the passing of the National Mobilization Law, the government's ability to control popular discourse through law and suppression was overwhelmingly strong.

Control over musical styles appears to have been very explicit as well. Popular sentiment needed to support Japan's growing militarism, and the government pushed for this in several ways. One was the suppression of overt expressions of sadness, such as the mention of tears, in song lyrics (Yano 2002:38). Another was to encourage music that painted other parts of Asia in an exotic light. Atkins cites a police report from 1941 on jazz music suggesting that acceptable musical traits

should be “music with melodies that accentuate the characteristic ethnicity of each country; nimbly merry music (that is not merely riotous); joking light music; and lyrical music” (2001:145–6). The public should be hearing positive sounds, not sad ones.

Another strategy was to ban or suppress things that came to close too sounding Western. In practice, this tended to include jazz music first and foremost, along with its characteristic dance halls, which were viewed as deleterious to good Japanese morality (ibid.:139). There was discussion among the intellectuals about how to compose music in a uniquely Japanese style, distinct from that of European-style music. Ironically, the sounds that the government turned to during this time were those of bombastic orchestra music mixed with Japanese folk song stylings (Galliano 2002:115–6).

Gunka (軍歌) is the term for military songs, typically in the aforementioned bombastic style, that became ubiquitous in Japan during this period, and which were promoted by the government. Composers of *ryūkōka* were urged to stop writing the kinds of songs they had been and focus on supporting Japan by composing *gunka*, though it appears that some *ryūkōka*, dealing with acceptable topics, were still produced during this time. *Gunka* were promoted in school textbooks, and music education was used less to teach music capabilities but rather to inculcate youth into the dominant nationalist sentiment (Manabe 2013:102). These songs for children idealized sailing to other places in what the Japanese conceptualized as Greater East Asia and romanticized the military (ibid.:104–5).

The government also sponsored songwriting contests in order to get people involved in creating their own *gunka*. In October 1937, the Cabinet Information Office held a song contest for the creation of a national patriotic march that “the people could sing with heartfelt feeling for all eternity,” which “should be a representation of the truth about Japan, symbolize the eternal life force and ideal of the empire, and be equal to the task of arousing the national spirit.” (Kushner 2006:30). Other songs were commissioned specifically by the government, such as the “2,600th Anniversary Song,” sung at the five-day Congress of Overseas Brethren in Celebration of the 2,600th Anniversary of the Empire of Japan (and its first legendary emperor, Jimmu) in 1940, where more than 1400 delegates representing the 2.5 million Japanese “residing overseas” met and paid homage to the Imperial line (Ruoff 2010:156–7).⁶

By some accounts, this was a difficult time for musicians and composers. According to Galliano, by 1941 musicians were obliged to apply for special licenses to continue working as musicians and hence comply with government directives (2002:120). Jazz bands were ordered to disband (Atkins 2001:129). Composers and musicians were pressured to join patriotic organizations like the Japan Music Culture Association or the Japan Record Music Culture Association, lest they lose their careers (ibid.:143). This is not to say that all composers complied with these regulations; some simply stopped composing. It is also not to say that everyone was forced unwillingly into writing and performing *gunka*; many people felt passionately patriotic, and *gunka* was an expression of those feelings. Regardless, the effect of Japanese pressure was to make songs in line with official rhetoric increasingly

⁶ More information on the song, and lyrics, at <http://gunka.sakura.ne.jp/en/kigen2600.htm>.

common through the 1930s and early 40s, while *ryūkōka* about other topics was suppressed.

Occupation and Beyond

What happened to the soundscape of Japan from the time of the Occupation onward? What was popular music, especially, like? The most famous example by far is that of the “The Apple Song,” (リンゴの歌, *ringo no uta*), the first big pop hit of the Occupation. Most scholars see this song as a sign of the return to more light-hearted topics, pointing to the song’s somewhat insipid lyrics. Bourdaghs suggests it is a symbol of how self-sacrifice was put on the back-burner and it was okay to talk about leisure, pleasure, and consumption again (2012:12). Nagahara foregrounds the cynical nature of the lyrics, about a delicious but expensive apple, in the context of the masses of impoverished citizens at the time (2011:86). Regardless, with this song, *ryūkōka* about a broad variety of topics rose again to popularity.

Many of the developments of the previous decades were reversed. The Far East Network Radio was established, and American pop tunes were broadcast onto the airwaves. Kids who had previously been encouraged to sing *gunka* in school were now punished for it, and were instructed to strike out nationalistic lyrics from their songbooks. (Galliano 2002:110). Dance halls and cabarets re-opened, and spread further throughout Japan than they had been before. The musical vernacular of *ryūkōka*, with its chordal harmony yet emphasis on melody above all else, as opposed to the bombastic orchestral march aesthetic, once again dominated pop hits

(Atkins 2001:186–7). Hattori Ryōichi, among others, began to churn out hits again, writing “boogie-woogies” clearly demonstrative of American influence (Bourdagh 2012:51).

Ryūkōka and the star system it developed never completely faded. Singer Misora Hibari first performed in 1949 at the age of twelve, and would go on to be one of the biggest stars in the 1950s and 60s. By this time, the style of music using the same basic idioms as *ryūkōka* was firmly established as *kayōkyoku*. According to Yano, the term *enka*, which had previously referred to a number of different song styles, re-emerged in the 1960s and 70s as a way for the radio industry to separate what people thought of as Japanese-style pop tunes from more immediately Western-style pop, which became known as *poppusu* (2002:41). *Enka* is still popular today, albeit among an ever-shrinking demographic, and one can hear many of the same musical idioms in contemporary *enka* as were present in the *ryūkōka* of the past.

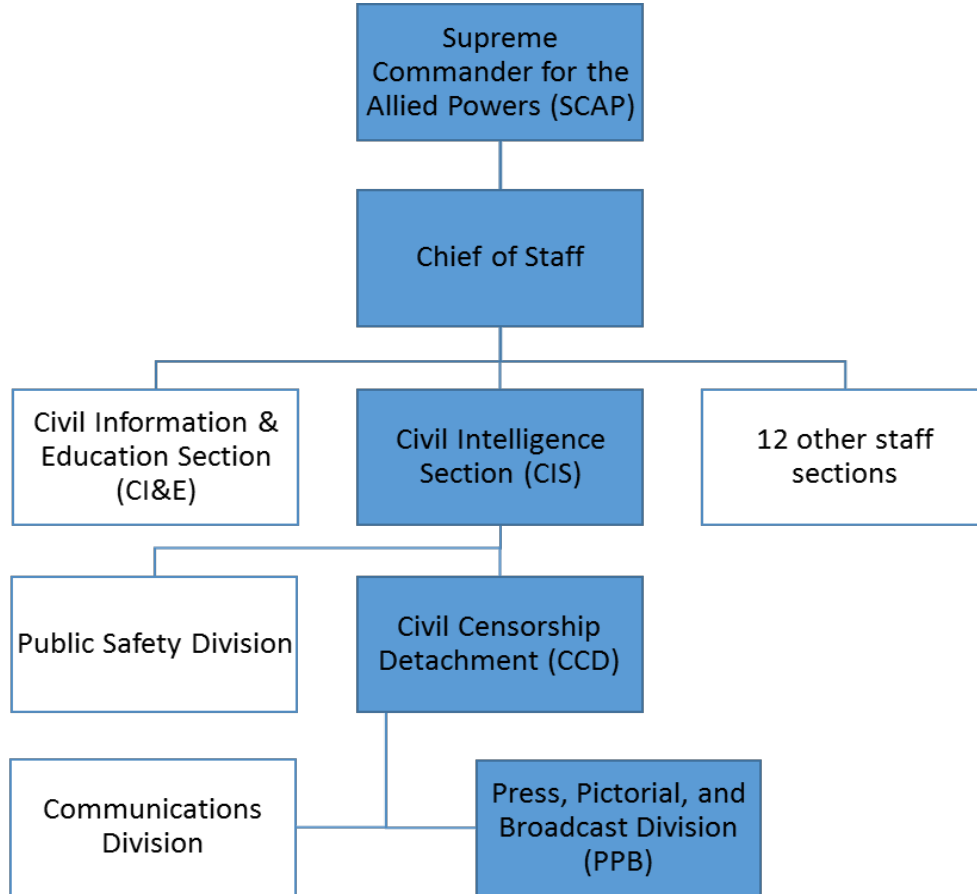
Chapter 3: Allied Occupation, Censorship Procedures, and the Gordon W. Prange Collection

SCAP Organization and the Censorship Apparatus

In order to discuss the body of data introduced in this section, it is important first to outline the organization of the apparatus of censorship that General MacArthur's administration (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, SCAP) put into place during the Occupation [Figure 1]. SCAP was divided into a number of self-contained staff sections, such as Public Health and Welfare or Government, each with a specific purview over the administration of the Occupation. The Civil Intelligence Section (CIS) was in charge of all matters of censorship and control of mass media and gathering of information. CIS was further subdivided into two parts, one of which was the Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD), which specifically was in charge of all censorship procedures.

The CCD itself included two separate divisions: Communications and Press, Pictorial, and Broadcast (PPB). The two divisions split their efforts by the nature of the media they covered, with Communications censoring mail, telephone, and other communicative media, and the PPB censoring information and entertainment media. The CCD was led by a succession of officers, the most long-serving being Colonel Howard E. Putnam, who led the detachment from April 1946 on (Takemae 2002:167), and whose name appears most often among the CCD documents available in the archives at the National Archives. It was the responsibility of the PPB to censor all publications, including non-periodicals, which were divided into the

Figure 1: Organization of SCAP Censorship



following categories: books (more than one hundred pages), pamphlets (eight to one hundred pages), and leaflets (eight pages or less).⁷ Nearly all of the Prange Collection's popular song materials were either pamphlets or leaflets in this categorization scheme, as they were non-recurring publications with relatively few pages.

As for the personnel of the CCD, we know that many were ethnic Japanese, recruited either from Hawaii or Japan itself, and both men and women served. A

⁷ SCAP memo, April 7, 1949. National Archives and Records Administration RG331, UD1802, Box 8656, Folder 2.

CCD report from one station in October of 1945 lists twenty-two male and 13 female civilian translators recruited by CCD in Japan, and notes that they recruited a number of Nisei (second-generation) and Kibei (American-born, Japan-educated) Japanese-Americans from Hawaii.⁸ Takemae suggests that just under a year later in January of 1947, 8,132 of 8,763 (93%) of CCD personnel were Japanese or ethnic Korean, making up the vast majority (386). He continues to suggest that many were drawn from careers in the media, such as reporters, newspaper editors, and film directors, and many “performed their work perfunctorily with little understanding of Occupation objectives” (ibid.:386). Whether or not they believed in the cause, they carried out their duties more or less meticulously, having to follow a rigid bureaucratic process that even included analyses of the kinds of tape and labels personnel should use in their work.⁹

The guidelines for action that all censorship personnel followed sprang from a document called the “Press Code for Japan” (SCAPIN-33 released by SCAP) [**Plate 1**], which MacArthur’s office released on September 19, 1945, over two weeks after the official surrender. This document listed broad imperatives for publishers, and although its language is targeted specifically at news periodicals (e.g. “News must adhere strictly to the truth.”), which were undoubtedly the most pressing concern for SCAP at the time, the same imperatives were extended to all publications. In order to distill the broad language of the Press Code down into more specific guidelines that

⁸ SCAP memo, October 6, 1945. National Archives and Records Administration RG331, UD1802, Box 8517, Folder 13.

⁹ SCAP memo, no date. National Archives and Records Administration RG331, UD1802, Box 8517, Folder 13.

Plate 1: Press Code for Japan. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY FORCES, PACIFIC
Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2
Civil Censorship Detachment

To RYOBO

21 Sept 1945

CODES FOR JAPANESE PRESS

In accordance with the Supreme Allied Commander's objective of establishing freedom of the press in Japan, a Press Code for Japan has been issued. This PRESS CODE, rather than being one of restrictions of the Press, is one which is designed to educate the press of the Japanese in the responsibilities and meaning of a free press. Emphasis is placed on the truth of news and the elimination of propaganda. This Press Code will cover, in addition, all publications printed in Japan.

This is the Press Code for Japan;

1. News must adhere strictly to the truth.
2. Nothing should be printed which might, directly or indirectly, disturb the public tranquility.
3. There shall be no false or destructive criticism of the Allied Powers.
4. There shall be no destructive criticism of the Allied Occupation and nothing which might invite mistrust or resentment of those troops.
5. There shall be no mention or discussion of Allied troops movements unless such movements have been officially released.
6. News stories must be factually written and completely devoid of editorial opinion.
7. News stories shall not be colored to conform with any propaganda line.
8. Minor details of a news story must not be over-emphasized to stress or develop any propaganda line.
9. No news story shall be distorted by the omission of pertinent facts or details.
10. In the make-up of the newspaper no news story shall be given undue prominence for the purpose of establishing or developing any propaganda line.

ensorship personnel could easily follow and check for, the PPB created “key logs” that listed particular offences that censors should watch for and mark in the items that crossed their desks. The key logs were secret and changed frequently as the broader aims of the CCD changed over time. A sample list is available in Dower 1999 (410–1).

CCD handed down specific instructions for censorship personnel about the role they were to play in the operation. Even though the publishers were necessarily aware that they were being censored, they did not have access to the key logs, nor were they in contact with the censors themselves. All contact was to be made through representatives,¹⁰ and the publishers were notified of infractions through a series of forms and notices sent to them by CCD. Correspondence from Colonel Donald Hoover (then head of CCD) to censors on September 10, 1945, states that “you are not an editor, but are charged with preventing false or harmful information from reaching the Japanese public” and that they should “exercise extreme care in making deletions.”¹¹ A memo circulated the following month further clarifies the CCD’s mission: to assist in obtaining economic, social, and political activity and military information of the Japanese. As such, business communication and materials related to people on Watch Lists were to be given more scrutiny, while not everything else need be examined 100%.¹² CCD’s communication with publishers also stated that SCAP wanted the minimum of restrictions possible, and that talking about the future

¹⁰ CCD conference report, September 10, 1945. National Archives and Records Administration RG331, UD1802, Box 8517, Folder 16.

¹¹ CCD memo, September 10, 1945. National Archives and Records Administration RG331, UD1802, Box 8517, Folder 16.

¹² CCD memo, October, 1945. National Archives and Records Administration RG331, UD1802, Box 8517, Folder 16.

was fine unless it would disturb public tranquility, but any printing of criticism, rumors, or intelligence would result in a quick shut down.¹³

As censors were trained with the understanding that they were keeping harmful material from reaching the public, one crucial aspect of CCD policy was that any mention of censorship itself was unacceptable. In other words, though publishers necessarily knew about the censorship, the public was not to know that it was taking place. Publishers were instructed to make no reference to SCAP censorship, nor were they to use any sort of *fuseji* (伏字), such as dots, circles, and asterisks, or blank spaces to indicate that anything had been removed or altered.¹⁴ The secret nature of this censorship was a change from Japanese imperial censorship, where *fuseji* were openly used. Furthermore, it had ramifications for the way that publishers dealt with censorship actions, as they were forced to fill the space of deleted passages with new material or otherwise shift their page layouts to make it appear as if nothing had happened.

One important note here is that the creation of propaganda and ideas about what kinds of information should be sent out from SCAP to the Japanese public was not part of the CIS's purview, but rather that of the Civil Information and Education Section (CI&E). The two sections certainly had contact, and perhaps even a sense of rivalry; Takemae characterizes CIS's head, General Charles A. Willoughby, as being a hard-liner and fervent Communist hunter who disapproved of CI&E's Civil Liberties Directive (162). According to an internal SCAP memo from June 3, 1946,

¹³ Draft letter for press, no date. National Archives and Records Administration RG331, UD1802, Box 8517, Folder 16.

¹⁴ Letter to publishers, no date. National Archives and Records Administration RG331, UD1802, Box 8517, Folder 13.

the purpose of CI&E was to make recommendations to SCAP in regards to how to meet its education objectives; expedite the freedoms of press, religion, opinion, speech, and assembly; make the public aware of their defeat and guilt; eliminate societal evils like ultra-nationalism; and generally advise report to SCAP about public thought.¹⁵ So while CIS was largely in charge of controlling discourse through censorship and controlling the flow of information, CI&E drafted policy that shaped how SCAP directly addressed Japanese popular discourse.

CI&E also played a role in the musical soundscape of Occupied Japan. Specifically, among its many other initiatives, CI&E was actively involved in importing music recordings to Japan. The section kept a music library in their offices, and had regular shipments of new works from home. According to internal documents, they were particularly interested in new compositions from the United States, by composers like Harrison Kerr and Bernard Wagenaar.¹⁶ While the documentation does not detail what they did with these recordings, the regularity of shipments and official capacity of the requests suggest that it was an official initiative to bring them to Japan, and they may have been broadcast or otherwise promoted to the public. This was all, however, separate from the efforts of the CCD to regulate the kinds of things the Japanese themselves printed and broadcast.

Returning to CCD policy, one of the most important aspects was the distinction between pre- and post-censorship, or in other words the pre-screening of publications before approval compared to the screening of publications after printing.

¹⁵ SCAP memo, June 3, 1946. National Archives and Records Administration RG331, UD1802, Box 8520, Folder 2.

¹⁶ SCAP memo, October 1947. National Archives and Records Administration RG331, UD1671, Box 5333, Folder 7.

The former process, as laid out in official SCAP memos, required that a publisher send two copies of the galley proofs for a piece to the PPB office in Tokyo, and include file cards with information like the author, publisher, location of publishing house, circulation, price, and date. Approval would be indicated by the PPB returning a stamped copy back to the publisher, while disapproval would be indicated by PPB marking changes in colored pencil. Post-censorship, similarly, required two copies of the item directly after publishing, but would not normally have any indication of censorship activities unless a violation occurred, in which case they would be required to stop printing and correct it (in Okuizuni 1982).

Pre-censorship was the norm for most kinds of publications early in the Occupation, and especially for the most potentially subversive, like newspapers or magazines. It was always SCAP's plan, however, for pre-censorship to be temporary, both in order to ease control of publication choices back to the Japanese and to ease the workload for CCD personnel, which was already huge. According to Takemae, at the height of its activities the PPB was scanning 69 daily newspapers, 11,111 non-daily news publications, 3,243 magazines, and 1,838 books per month, not to mention the radio broadcasts and phonograph records (2002:387).

Various kinds of publications were moved to post-censorship over time. On October 15, 1947, all book publishers except for 14 that were extremely right- or left-wing were moved to post-censorship. The mere existence of some pre-censorship situations was the stick SCAP used to threaten the rest; if publishers had violations while they were on post-censorship, they would be returned to pre-censorship (Okuizuni 1982:9–11). The remaining publications were also moved over time. A

SCAP report from August 20, 1949 states that there, nearing the end of the CCD, finally the censorship of all publications with a very few exceptions was on a post-publication basis.¹⁷ A letter from Lt. Col. Thompson of CIS to the PPB in May 1948 suggests that by that point, pre-censorship was no longer functioning among newspapers to protect Occupation prestige, because newspapers would pick up stories from American sources, which they were allowed to run regardless of the content.¹⁸

Looking at the content of the MT-2000s, the evidence we have of pre- or post-censorship is murky at best. We have the suggestion via SCAP documentation that books were generally switched over to post-censorship by October of 1947, but certain materials were likely moved before that. Some items are explicitly marked “post-censored,” but it is uncommon. We have publications dates and the date stamped onto each item, but if the item was pre-censored and needed changes, the final stamp would be from the second pass, and we have no idea of when the first pass might have been.

We can compare the dates of publication and censorship recorded by the Prange Collection staff, but again the results are strange. Doing so suggests that only 134 of the nearly 900 items in the MT-2000s were pre-censored, which might be expected; however, the year of publication has no real significance on whether an item was pre- or post-censored according to this date comparison method. Among the items with clear dates, 25 of the 219 items published in 1946 were pre-censored, as were 51 of the 345 published in 1947, 47 of the 268 published in 1948, and 6 of the

¹⁷ SCAP report, August 20, 1949. National Archives and Records Administration RG331, UD1802, Box 8517, Folder 14.

¹⁸ Letter from Lt. Col. Thompson, May 14, 1948. National Archives and Records Administration RG331, UD1802, Box 8520, Folder 6.

48 published in 1949. These work out to approximately 11%, 15%, 18%, and 13%, with no particular trend over time, despite the general trend away from pre-censorship over time. In fact, the rate from 1946 is the lowest of the four years with significant items in the MT-2000s, and of the four items published in 1945, when one might imagine the most pre-censorship to occur, none were in fact pre-censored, according to these data. In the end, we must be content with this as our best guess, and assume that unless we can conclusively tell through other factors, most items here were probably post-censored.

Defining Materials within the Gordon W. Prange Collection

The Gordon W. Prange Collection is a vast and comprehensive archive of printed materials published in Japan during the first four years of the Allied Occupation, from 1945 to 1949. The collection's namesake and founder was a history professor at the University of Maryland from 1937 until 1942, when he took a leave of absence to join the United States Navy as an officer. Even after he finished his tour of service, he stayed on in Japan as the head of General MacArthur's historical staff until 1951. The position granted him significant access to SCAP materials, and he was able to arrange the transportation of all of the censorship materials collected and processed by the CCD from the beginning of the Occupation until its disestablishment in 1949 back to the University of Maryland. The Prange

Collection is currently housed within Hornbake Library on the university's College Park campus.¹⁹

The sheer amount of material within the Prange Collection is immense. There are over 70,000 book and pamphlet titles alone, in addition to over 30,000 combined newspaper and magazine titles and 10,000 news agency photographs. While this pales in comparison to today's publication rates—over 70,000 *new* book titles are published *each year* in Japan (*An Introduction:8*)—it still constitutes an enormous volume of data. Workers at the Prange Collection have processed different sections of the archive to various degrees, with periodicals having all been microfilmed since the 1990s, and the 8,000 children's books now existing in high-resolution color copies within the University of Maryland Libraries' Digital Collections.²⁰

While not digitized, the materials falling under the “music” category of the book and pamphlet section have been thoroughly organized using a Library of Congress call number system in addition to data about publication, titles, authors, dates, and censorship action. The music category is divided into Literature (ML) and Instruction and Study (MT), the latter being the far larger category while there are only 257 cataloged ML items. MT is further subdivided into topical sections unique to the Prange Collection's situation. MT-0001 to MT-2000 includes *yōgaku*, or Western classical music, such as orchestral scores, instrumental and vocal music, and song collections. MT-2001 to MT-4000 includes *kayō* (popular songs) and *dōyō* (children's songs), almost entirely of Japanese composition, and collections of the same. Note that the designations of *kayō* and *dōyō* for the section are applied by the

¹⁹ More information about Gordon W. Prange and the Gordon W. Prange Collection can be found at their website, <http://www.lib.umd.edu/prange>.

²⁰ Accessible at <http://digital.lib.umd.edu/prange> on campus networks.

Prange Collection, and what are called *kayō* here are the same kinds of songs I previously described as *ryūkōka*. MT-4001 to MT-5000 includes *hōgaku*, a term that broadly covers “traditional” Japanese music, such as music for instruments like the *koto* or *shakuhachi* as well as *nagauta* music for the *kabuki* theatre. MT-5001 to MT-6000 includes *kyōiku*, or instructional materials, such as guides about how to play certain instruments or sing in certain styles.

The MT category altogether consists of nearly 2200 items, still an unwieldy amount of data for one research project. Among the MT subcategories, the MT-2000s, the section including *kayō* and *dōyō*, is the most obvious place to start looking for significant Allied censorship and representations of what themes were part of popular discourse during that time period. Out of all of the popular music in the collection, only the MT-2000s largely consists of songs and texts composed by Japanese artists. Popular tunes by Americans and Europeans required less censorship action to be taken, and would not necessarily reflect Japanese interests at all—though one could argue that Japanese publishers still had certain motives when selecting which materials to publish. The popular component of the MT-2000s is also important, since Japanese traditional music, here represented as *hōgaku*, was by midcentury already on the way to the peripheral place it now occupies in the lives of many people in Japan, as a kind of national symbol, and more of a tradition than a thriving, living practice.

The items in the MT-2000 section can be further classified by a number of different parameters. One of the most obvious divisions is between two broad types of materials: single pieces of sheet music and collections. The former are similar to

American-style choral sheet music, printed on paper somewhere around ten inches vertically by seven inches horizontally, with colorful covers, and typically only a few pages in length. These make up the majority of the section, about 530 items. The remainder of the items, around 370, are collections of songs, coming in a range of different formats, sizes, and scopes. They may be organized around the works of a certain composer, singer, or film, or may be collections of popular songs for children, schoolgirls, or other such categories of consumers. In addition, they range widely in the kind of content they include; the most common types of collection, pocket books of hits, typically include large numbers of song texts but few if any music notation. The heterogeneous nature of the collections means that certain detailed analyses, such as the title keyword analysis I conduct of the sheet music examples, is not feasible for the whole data set. They include a truly *vast* amount of data in the form of records of hit songs, but to examine each of the many items present in the Prange Collection is far beyond the scope of this project.

Music notation appears in nearly every sheet music example, as well as in some of the collections, and when it does, it is almost exclusively Western-style staff notation [**Plate 2**]. Moreover, by far the most common iteration of notation is a piano grand staff plus an addition staff for a solo vocal part, with the text of the vocal line given just below as in standard Western style. Some examples have an extra added line below the staff of what appears to be Galin-Paris-Chevé notation [**Plate 3**].²¹ This gives the melody in scale degrees notated with Arabic numerals, similar to the way some *shamisen* notation systems, such as *kosaburō-fu*, work, and might have

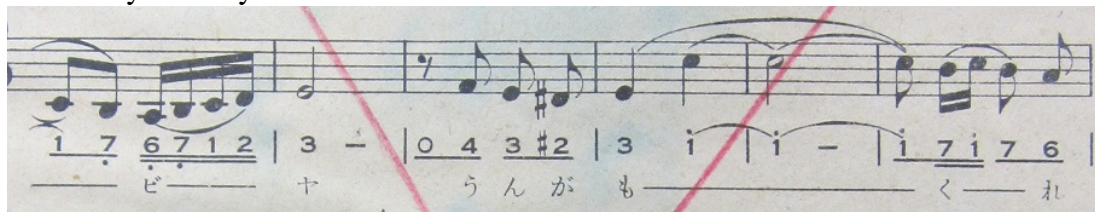
²¹ Whether Japanese musicians would have known it as such or not and how widely-used it was is not clear.

been used to help either singers or potentially even *shamisen* players pick out the melody even if they could not read staff notation.

Plate 2: Examples of music notation. All items held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.



Plate 3: Japanese Chev -style notation. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.



CCD Documentation

The types of documentation accompanying the different materials in the Prange Collection vary considerably by medium. Periodicals received the closest scrutiny by censors, and have very thorough explanatory documents with each item in the collection explaining what each item contains, changes that were made, and reasoning behind the changes. Some books include these documents as well. For the MT-2000 section, however, there is relatively little documentation. To begin with, only about one hundred and ninety items include any sort of documentation other than the proofs themselves. When documents do appear, they include several types of materials.

One is a “Magazine Routing Slip,” [**Plate 4**] which though designed for periodicals appears in the MT-2000s on several occasions when a collection of music was published in multiple volumes. This form gives basic information about a publication, some of which was necessary to record (marked with an asterisk) and the rest optional. The mandatory information includes the title and issue of the magazine, name of the examiner, political leaning of the editorial policy of the piece (which could be checked as right, center, left, conservative, liberal, or radical), category of magazine, number of articles examined, and number of articles passed by the examiner. Other information included dates that the galley proofs were received and due for return, numbers of articles suppressed, deleted, and “disapproved,” and a section for logging the steps of the process, including reviews, markings, recording the data, and filing the recording. This document appears twice in its regular form, and once in an abridged half-page version.

Plate 4: "Magazine Routing Slip." Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection,

MAGAZINE ROUTING SLIP

*Magazine: Time *Issue: Aug 1, no 2 *Examiner: H. Bro

Please put check mark () opposite the appropriate editorial policy:

*Editorial policy:
 Right
 Center
 Left
 Conservative
 Liberal
 Radical

*Category (Write in):
Children

Galley Proof In: _____
 Galley Proof Due: _____
 Galley Proof Returned: _____

*Total No. of Articles Examined: 12 Reasons: _____
 *Total No. of Articles Passed: _____
 Total No. of Articles Suppressed: _____
 Total No. of Articles Deleted: _____
 Total No. of Articles Disapproved: _____

Held Articles:

Action	Reason	Recorded
		DR File Survey

Initials	Action Completed
S/Check: _____	_____
Review: _____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Marking: _____

S/D Log: _____

Recording: JK ✓

File Record: Bell ✓

I & F: ER ✓

Translation: _____

Galley Check: _____

Watch List: _____

Remarks: _____

*Foreign Material:

Page No.	Country	Source

*Page No. *Installation Action Comp

*To be filled in by Examiner.
 PPB I - PP - 325

University of Maryland Libraries.

Plate 5: "Magazine Examination" form. Held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection,

MAGAZINE EXAMINATION

Recensored:
 Postcensored:
 Examiner: H. Ono Date: Mar 10

Japanese Title: Shinsaku Nanyo Bujin-shu English Title: Collection of New Stories with Children's Song

Issue Date: Aug 1 Vol: No: 2 Price: 325 Circ: Freq:

P. Co: Nippon Victor K.K. Shippu Address: 3-1, Shinbashi, Minato-ku
 Editor: Yutaka SHIMADA Pub: Fumio, INA } Tokyo-to

TABLE OF CONTENTS
(Continue on Reverse Side if Necessary)

Page Numbers	Title of Article	Author
D.	The sky covers all over the world.	Kenji SUGIE Kensuke SUGIE
4.	A Sand-hill	Hakushu KITAHARA
7.	A Basket-seller of a monkey.	Takeshi YAMANOWE
1.	A Song of Sea-side	Kokei HAYASHI
3.	The Town of Song	Shofu KATSU
4.	The Fountain	Yoshimi SATO
7.	The Kinder garden for the Killfish.	Nobuo SATO
9.	From where the morning come.	Masamune MORE
1.	The Pakkuri (a kind of wooden shoes) round "Kyu"	Shiro SUZUKI
25.	New Nippon March	composed by Minoru UMINAKA
30.	The Dance with Children's Song	Yutaka SHIMADA
27-30.	The words of the above written children's songs I advocate.	Yutaka SHIMADA

Possible Violations: Yes No
 Possible Information: Yes No
 Publications Reported: Yes No
 Movies Reported: Yes No
 SCAP Check(s) Required: Yes No

University of Maryland Libraries.

Another type of document repurposed from the periodicals is a “Magazine Examination” form [Plate 5]. The purpose of this document appears to be to accompany the “Magazine Routing Slip” and give more detail about the contents of a publication. Along with the examiner’s name and date, the document has spaces for the Japanese (in *romaji*) title of the magazine as well as an English title, issue date, price, circulation, frequency, publishing company and address, editor’s name, and table of articles with page numbers and authors’ names. For internal CCD information, the examiner could check whether the magazine was pre-censored or post-censored, whether there were any possible violations or useful information in the magazine, whether there were any publications or movies reported, and whether the item required further attention from SCAP. This document appears eight times, in several slight variations; some versions include the title “Book & Magazine Department” at the header, and exclude the option to check for pre- or post-censorship.

Aside from one report accompanying an item [plate 6], which will be discussed in the appendix, the remaining documentation, the vast majority, are actually forms that come not from within the CCD but from the publishers. The forms are simple, only a single page, and give information about the publication. In most cases, they have no title, but several items have the heading *Ken’etsu Todoke* (検閲届), meaning “censorship notification.” The forms vary in appearance, and even whether they are handwritten or typed, but all follow a standard content format. Each form includes the title, author, translator and editor if applicable, publisher and address, circulation, and price. The total page count is also included, in some cases

added in handwriting underneath the rest of a typed form. While most examples include at least *romaji* versions of Japanese words, some include English translations and some Japanese text as well. Variations on the form typically occur according to the publisher. For example, Tajima tended to include handwritten forms done horizontally in both English and copied in Japanese, while Zen-on used printed forms in English with special lines for composers of music (*sakkyokuka* 作曲家) and lyricists (*sakushika* 作詞家).

There are a number of censors' markings to be found on each item in the collection [see **Plate 7**]. On each cover there is typically a handwritten internal serial number used by the CCD to keep track of the item, and similarly handwritten date and Romanization of the title of the item. Sometimes other writing gives a brief description of the content, which is rare, and on a few occasions censors actually noted that an item was post-censored. Additionally, censors stamped covers with two stamps: one stated "BOOK DEPT FILE COPY," and the other bearing the CCD's seal and giving the date. These markings show up almost universally. As for specific censorship actions taken on the content of the pieces, censors mainly made markings in blue or red wax pencil, crossing out text or full passages with strikethroughs, Xs, boxes, or scribbling, and occasionally adding comments like "delete." These simple markings were all that was necessary to file each copy and highlight any trouble areas, which might have been passed up the chain of command for further review.

Plate 7: Examples of censors' markings. All items held by the Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries.



Trends and Keyword Analysis

The MT-2000s include materials that were published during nearly four years, from December 1945 until October 1949, and a small number of outlying items either with inexact or unknown dates. In this part of the collection, the materials begin with only four items published in December of 1945. Why the gap in publications between the establishment of the PPB on September 1st and December exists is not clear. It may be that publishers were forced to wait, or that they did not want to publish anything at the time—the censorship apparatus of the CCD took time to wind up, and perhaps music publishers were cautious for a time about releasing publications under SCAP's new rules.

There were four items published in December 1945, and according to the censors' markings, they were not censored until various dates the following year. There were likewise relatively few items published and censored in the first several months of 1946—only twelve items published through the first four months. In May 1946, however, 37 items were published, and from that point on, typically each month would see numbers of new publications anywhere from the low teens to the upper thirties. In total, there were 219 publications in 1946. One might expect the number of publications to continue to rise year by year, and 1947 did exhibit this pattern, with 345 items published. In 1948, however 268 items were published; this is a decrease, but still higher than the number from 1946. Most strangely, there are only 48 items in the MT-2000s, and the numbers drop off dramatically after January. There is no specified explanation for this in censorship documentation with the

collection, nor is it clear if publications of popular song actually dropped off or whether this change was due to the phasing out of the censorship process over time.

A wide range of publishing companies appear in the records of the MT-2000s: 134, although there may be some overlap as businesses may have listed their names slightly differently or even changed names between publications. The majority of items in the MT-2000s, however, were put out by just a handful of major publishing houses, some of which still exist today. The largest number by a sizeable margin were published by Zen-on Music Publishing Company, today known as Zen-on Music Company, Ltd., who published 273 of the items in the collection, or a little less than one third of the total. Business appears to have been going well for Zen-on, which in September of 1947 incorporated, having previously been a private enterprise since 1931.²² The Shinkō Music Publishing Company, now Shinkō Music Entertainment Co., Ltd., published 220 items. Shinkō, like Zen-on, had been founded in the first years of the 1930s. One of its legacies during the 1940s was the short-lived series “The Peoples’ Music” (国民の音楽 *kokumin no ongaku*), which appears to have been part of Imperial Japan’s project of national folk interest. Other major publishers were Tajima with 134 and Hakubi with 51, neither of which company appears to exist today.

It is clear that some composers were particularly popular at the time, and had more publications of their works than others. In reality, different publications might be marketed because of their links to composers, or to singers or even the movies in which the songs appeared, but composers were nearly always listed on the

²² More information can be found on Zen-on’s website, in English at <https://www.zen-on.co.jp/world/>.

publications, even if they were not the main selling point, and they provide us with a relatively full data set. Unsurprisingly, two of the most common composers to show up in the collection are Hattori Ryōichi (47 items) and Koga Masao (80 items), whom I discussed briefly in a previous chapter and who stand as arguably the most well-known popular composers of the time in English-language scholarship. Another prominent name is Koseki Yūji (35 items), famous for both his wartime compositions and popular compositions including the theme for the Godzilla-universe *kaiju* (monster) Mothra and the famous theme “Rokko Oroshi” (六甲おろし) of Osaka’s Hanshin Tigers baseball franchise, the strains of which one can hear fervently (to put it mildly) belted from the stands at any of their games. Others include Manjome Tadashi (44 items), Higashi Tatsuzo (29 items), and Uehara Gento (28 items).

Due to the diligence of the Prange Collection staff in keeping detailed records, we can perform a simple frequency analysis to look for common phrases that come up in the titles of the items in the collection. Because the titles of the hit collections or pocket collections would not give us the same kind of information, I have omitted them from the data sample for this analysis and used only the titles of the individual sheet music items. The results can be found in **Table 1**. Out of 531 separate titles, the amount of repetition of phrases is seemingly quite low, with no word or phrase occurring in more than 10% of the sample group. Without a comparison to other data, however, it is impossible to suggest whether or not this is outside of the norm. This table only includes words that occurred in five or more unique items. Items with the same title in a series of volumes do figure into the count.

Table 1: Frequency of keywords in sheet music titles

Japanese	Romanization	Meaning	# of titles
歌、唄	Uta	Song	51
夜	Yoru	Night	35
花	Hana	Flower	29
東京	Tokyo	Tokyo	23
雨	Ame	Rain	20
青	Ao	Blue; green	20
愛	Ai	Love	19
新	Shin	New	19
恋	Koi	Love	18
バラ、薔薇	Bara	Rose	15
ブルース	Burusu	Blues	15
娘、むすめ	Musume	Girl	15
丘	Oka	Hill	14
旅	Tabi	Travel	13
タンゴ	Tango	Tango	12
日本	Nippon	Japan	12
涙、泪	Namida	Tears	12
港、みなと	Minato	Harbor	12
風	Kaze	Wind	12
別れ	Wakare	Parting; separation; farewell	11
夢	Yume	Dream	11
楽譜	Gakufu	Music notation	11
人	Hito	Person	11
君	Kimi	You	9
月	Tsuki	Moon	9
空	Sora	Sky	9
黄昏、たそがれ	Tasogare	Dusk	9
乙女	Otome	Young girl	8
嘆き	Nageki	Grief	8
曲	Kyoku	Song	8
街、町	Machi	City	8
赤	Aka	Red	8
青春	Seishun	Youth	8
ブギ、ヴギ	Bugi	Boogie	7
咲く	Saku	To bloom	7
故郷、ふるさと	Furusato/kokyō	Hometown	7
銀座	Ginza	Ginza (area)	7

ソング	Songu	Song	6
南	Minami	South	6
桜、さくら	Sakura	Cherry blossom	6
緑、みどり	Midori	Green	6
船、舟	Bune/fune	Boat	6
シャンソン	Shanson	Chanson	5
夜曲	Yakyoku	Nocturne	5
音頭、オンド	Ondo	Marching song; work song	5

There are a number of trends that jump out from this table, and the first is the frequency of terms that convey some sort of sense of melancholy, nostalgia, or pathos. Some of the common words that fit into this mold are the Japanese words for night, rain, tears, grief, and parting. *Wakare*, parting, for example, shows up in titles in phrases like “the night we said farewell,” “though we’ve parted,” or “the ship of our parting.” The character read *ao*, meaning blue or green,²³ shows up many times by itself, which can have many different meanings; however, one particular compound word, *seishun*, meaning youth or something like “back when we were young,” also occurs frequently, and carries a sense of nostalgia. *Furusato*, meaning hometown, is a sort of quintessential Japanese term linked with nostalgia for a sense of idyllic home. These sentiments are not surprising to find in the popular music of a time of surrender and defeat, as people looked back at their own past, towards potentially less complicated times. Surely many people could relate to the sentiments of parting with loved ones and crying as well. Moreover, the de-emphasis on these kinds of sentiments during the previous decade as upbeat military songs became increasingly popular and depressing messages became more commonly suppressed

²³ While there is a separate character now for green, 緑 *midori*, 青 *ao* has long covered a wide spectrum from green to blue, and as such its compound words can draw on a range of color nuances.

meant that finding expression of such sentiments openly and in public would have been increasingly difficult until the Occupation.

At the same time, there are some words signaling a kind of forward-looking attitude. If *furusato* signals nostalgia, then I would suggest that mentioning places like Tokyo, cities in general, harbors, and especially its Tokyo's Ginza region, known for its glitzy shops and nightlife, gives almost the opposite sense. These are places associated with modern life and consumerism. "New" comes up a number of times, in many different contexts, and while it is most commonly used in a series called "New Japanese Music Notation," I would suggest that even there it conveys a sense of forward motion. The idea of blossoming too shows up here, promising new beginnings.

Among the other more prominent trends that this analysis suggests is that of words having to do with romantic interest or beauty. These are classic song topics in many different places, of course. The words *ai* and *koi* are very common, both referring to love or lovers of various nuances. Flower is very common, showing up in many songs in phrases ranging from "the flower-merchant girl of Tokyo" to "the flower of peace." In most cases if it does not carry a sense of romance, it at least carries a sense of beauty with it. *Bara*, meaning "rose," on the other hand, is more closely associated with romance, as is the tango. Several words for girl show up here; *musume* is the most common, and often fits into formulas like "the girl from Thailand," or perhaps translated as "Thai maiden," either way making clear who the subject (or perhaps object) of the song is to be. Even *tabi*, meaning "travel," can be

linked to romantic ideas, as in phrases like *tabi no odoriko*, “the travelling dancer girl.”

Finally, I want to highlight to presence of the terms *burusu*, *tango*, and *bugi*, being *katakana*-ized pronunciations of the blues, tango, and boogie-woogie (the “woogie” is especially awkward in Japanese). These kinds of phrases had become popular in the hands of composers like Hattori Ryōichi during the decades before, and point to the numerous and varied Western musical influences that became part of the *ryūkōka* sound. As Imperial Japan cracked down on what they saw as harmful American cultural influence from the late 1930s into the 1940s, these kinds of terms would likely have been difficult to sell publicly, and I suggest that their frequency in Occupation-era publications exemplifies the sudden reverse of policy towards American culture, from official hostility to widespread embrace, that coincided with the Occupation.

Chapter 4: Censorship Actions and Trends

Another way to narrow down the MT-2000s is to look specifically at the items that had censorship actions taken, which could be suppression of whole publications or deletion of passages within publications. As a note of terminology, we tend to use the term “censored” to refer to these kinds of actions, but in fact all of the materials in the collection were censored, as they were screened by censors, and I will use the phrase “censorship action” specifically to refer to deletions or suppressions by censors. Among the MT-2000s, there are seventeen items that have had such actions taken. This works out to roughly 1.8% of the section, and while this may seem like a low percentage, it is in fact right in line with the figure that the Prange Collection staff claim for the entire collection. The circumstances of the time are a complex topic that I will explore further in my conclusion, but in general Japanese publishers did not act in ways that would actively undermine the goals of the Occupation, and so most publications, be they news stories, textbooks, fiction, or music, were innocuous enough to be of no perceived threat to the CCD censors.

That said, in most categories of publications there were a small number of items that *did* catch the censors’ eyes, resulting in suppressions or deletions. The seventeen items in the MT-2000s include a range of different types of materials and sentiments. The songs’ texts and physical descriptions are given in the Appendix, along with my translations and interpretations. Here, I discuss the overarching

themes that tie together the censored items, discussing several case studies in more detail.

These examples contain a wide range of subject matters, levels of sophistication, and overall tones. While only a few of the examples give explicit comments or even hints from the censorship personnel about why they took the actions they did, they do all include some material that might be either considered controversial in some way or linked to something controversial. Moreover, some reasons for censorship action occur more here than others. Some items might easily have been censored for multiple reasons, and key log ideas like “militaristic propaganda” and “incitement to violence” surely had space for overlap.

Militarism, Incitement, and Defense of Wartime Actions

Among the most dramatic and immediate changes to the ideas in popular Japanese sentiment that The United States attempted to produce was the eradication of militarism and Japan’s colonial expansion as an ideal. One example of this is the fact that when SCAP drafted a new constitution for Japan, one of the things that they included was the famous Article Nine, which states that Japan forever renounces the right of belligerency as a sovereign nation and the use or threat of force as a way to settle international disputes. In that way Japan’s ability to wage war was dismantled legally, but SCAP also wanted to cut out the public support for war that had been by that time thoroughly internalized in people, in large part due to the Japanese government’s massive project of wartime indoctrination.

It is no surprise then that many of the key log items that CCD censor officers were looking for were related to the military and violence; for example, defense of the war, militarism, defense of war criminals, comments about a “third world war,” and incitement to violence (Dower 1999:411). Among the items in the MT-2000s with deletions, there are quite a few that included lyrical material that could easily have been regarded as militaristic.

One example that jumps out is the version of “Brahms’ Lullaby” found in the *Schoolgirls’ Favorite Songs* collection. In the song, a parent is telling children what gifts they will be given, and there is a stark difference between the kinds of gifts given to the girl in the first verse and the boy in the second verse. The girl will receive the kinds of gifts that will entertain her (the ball) and give her proper culture (the flute and zither, the *wagon* [和琴]). On the other hand, the boy will receive the gifts of a young warrior in the making, as might have been symbolically important especially during Japan’s feudal period. He will receive a brocade flag and the golden sword of a soldier. As this is clearly suggesting the preparation for future military endeavors by the young lord, it fits with the kind of sentiment that the censors disapproved.

Another fairly clear example is that of “The Takomachi Young Men’s Group Song.” This song contains very powerful imagery of both place and emotion. The Takomachi referenced in the title is a city in Chiba Prefecture, to the southeast of Tokyo but still part of the greater metropolitan expanse (in present day). The young men from Takomachi burn with “righteous passion,” and they are angry; “we, who inherited the hot-bloodedness of our ancestors, rise up!” Interestingly, it is not the

second phrase, which could easily be read as an incitement to violence, that was deleted, but rather the first: the idea of righteousness, here 義憤 (*gifun*). This could be translated as righteous indignation as well; the first character signifies the rightness or justification of the second character, meaning indignation or anger. This phrase could be construed as a defense of Japan's wartime activity, suggesting that these young men have good reason to be angry.

As the above example suggests a body of young men singing together, so does the song "Beyond Kunlun." This is signified in the song mainly through the words at the end of each verse, which are typical of imperative exclamations to a group: let's go, let's sing. Whoever the group may be, they are singing a rousing song, about hope and dreams, shining sunlight, and imagining the skies of their hometowns while presumably far away. Yet not all of the imagery is so pastoral. Among the blooming apricot flowers in a vast plain, the singer seems to feel something similar to the *gifun* of the previous song. Literally the phrase expresses that his blood (血潮, *chishio*) is doing something like burning, boiling, and seething (a combination of 燃える *moeru* and 滾る *tagiru*), and these words also have strong connotations of high emotions, very stirred up feelings, being ready to burst. The sentiment here, followed by the imperative "let's go!" suggests getting people riled up and ready for action, and suggests a possible "incitement to violence" situation.

Much less straightforward is the deletion of the "Song of the Eagle," but again questionably militaristic imagery and associations seem to be the most likely causes. First of all, several songs having to do with eagles appear to have been popular *gunka* from the early 1940s. One (若鷲の歌, *wakawashi no uta*) tells the story of Japan's

attack on Pearl Harbor, while the other (荒鷲の歌, *arawashi no uta*) describes Japan's aerial attacks on a base in Nanjing, China.²⁴ Those associations themselves, and especially the former's association with the attack on Pearl Harbor, may have been enough to see the song deleted. Furthermore, while most of the song's tone is simply grandiose, there is one line that might in particular have been problematic. As it becomes evening, the setting sun colors the world (presumably seen from on high). The phrase used is モエてチノゴトク (*moete chi no gotoku*), most likely rendered as 燃えて血の如く, combining the images of it burning with it being like blood. It is a powerful and perhaps even majestic scene, but could also be seen as a possible reference to World War II and the widespread devastation that it entailed.

If references to the attack on Pearl Harbor were sufficient to warrant deletion by the PPB censors, then “The Famous Mount Akagi” is another example which likely was treated as such. The first line of the song extolls the mountain, located in central Honshū to the northwest of Tokyo, as being a place that stirs the emotions. The problem here is that the mountain was also the namesake of an aircraft carrier, the *Akagi*, which participated in the attack on Pearl Harbor and was eventually damaged and then scuttled by its crew during the Battle of Midway in 1942. Given the passionate response in the United States to the events of Pearl Harbor, the name *Akagi* may have been enough to cause the deletion of the song.

Aside from the incitement to violence noted previously, another key log idea that censors were on the lookout for was incitement to unrest. Instead of stirring up anger, as in songs like “The Takomachi Young Men's Group Song,” words that could

²⁴ Various recordings of these two songs can be found on Youtube, but I have yet to find any hint of the “Song of the Eagle” that appears in the Prange Collection.

incite unrest would make people uneasy about or unsatisfied with their lives under the Occupation. One item that was clearly marked as such was part of the preface to the *New Children's Song Collection*. The section of text that was deleted painted a stark portrait of postwar city life, as the formerly normal sounds of children singing were silenced. The author, probably Kusakawa Shin, suggests that kids were not acting as they should, and were like street toughs, bragging about the black market and harming public property. Such a clear description would have been contrary to the image of life that SCAP wanted to promote at the time, and had the potential to move others to decide that conditions were not in fact that great.

Greater East Asia Propaganda

Another kind of prominent sentiment that seems to have been a main target for censorship personnel when looking at this song collection is Greater East Asia propaganda. This is very closely related to militarism and violent language, since military action was one of the most prominent ways that Japan expressed its desire to lead the area that it imagined as the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. In these cases, however, the language that was deleted by CCD personnel was not so much violent as simply discussing the experiences of the characters in songs as they lived in other places in the Greater East Asia region.

The last example from the previous section, “Beyond Kunlun,” certainly fits into the category of Greater East Asia propaganda, because the location where the song’s action takes place. Kunlun, mentioned both in the title and the lyrics of the song itself as *konron* (コンロン, but often takes the kanji 崑崙), refers to a mountain

range in China. The sentiment of the song, that there is something wonderful *beyond* those mountains (in this case, likely meaning to the West), suggests that the Japanese are pushing through China; they will find hope, beauty, and dreams on the other side. Furthermore, censors may have read this as speaking specifically about the battle of Kunlun Pass, a significant engagement between the Chinese and Imperial Japanese armies that took place from December 1939 to January 1940. The battle was a Chinese victory, as they defended their supply lines with Vietnam from the Japanese, defeating a particularly famous Japanese unit.²⁵ In this song, then, Japan's military actions and its hopes for presence in China are intimately wrapped together.

Another example is “The Night of Batavia Grows Late,” a song that contains a great deal of wartime imagery. The word Batavia provides significant context; it was the name of Jakarta, Indonesia, under Dutch colonial control, used until the Japanese took control in 1942. The main character in the song seems to be a soldier from the context; he mentions a southern base (南の基地, *minami no kichi*), and clearly misses his family back home, referring to his mother as the best in all Japan. The scene is likely then one of a soldier stationed there before the Japanese took over in 1942. The lyrics present Batavia, and Java, as exotic places where it is everlasting summer, where there are fine prints that he wants to send home to his little sister. He misses the mountains of home, and he cheers for the flag of the sun of his far-off fatherland (祖國, *sokoku*). All of this presents a clear image, which resonates with Japanese colonial sentiments, and would have been a clear target for censors.

²⁵ The Fifth Division of the Twenty-First Brigade, nicknamed the “Unbreakable Sword,” largely due to fighting prowess in the Russo-Japanese War.

While “The Night of Batavia Grows Late” portrays the life of a Japanese soldier abroad, the song “Thai Maiden” portrays the life of a Thai local; in this case, the main character is part of the exotic location of the song, and not a commenter on it. There were a number of songs with titles that followed the “_____の娘” or “Girl from _____” kind of trope, but while songs about girls from Tokyo, Ireland, or Shanghai seemed appropriate, “Thai Maiden” was not. The lyrics depict a young woman from Thailand who loves boats, does her shopping, and gets dressed up to go to a festival, all of which is fairly harmless. The questionable part of the song is most likely the first verse, in which the maiden wants to dress like a Japanese woman, and wears a *furisode* (振袖), a kimono with long hanging sleeves that women wear when they have come of age and become eligible bachelorettes. Doing so, she looks just like her Japanese “sister” (國の妹, *kuni no imōto*). This phrasing emphasizes both the desire of Thai locals to assimilate Japanese culture and the exoticization of the Thai girl as desirable to Japanese audiences, ideas that both function to normalize Japan’s presence in Thailand.

Japan’s presence in Greater East Asia was problematic in the minds of the CCD personnel to the extent that even brief references to Japan cultural presence in foreign lands needed to be deleted. While the previous examples were of whole songs that were cut out, in “Forget-Me-Not,” it is not the song at all, but rather one line in the brief informational blurb about it that was deleted. The blurb talks about how the song was a big hit for the singer Miura Tamaki, and a constant request for encores, and was popular even among the people from the South Seas (南方民族, *nanpō minzoku*). This term refers to the numerous islands to the southeast of Japan,

sometimes known as Micronesia or the South Pacifica, and including the famous Iwo Jima. Only the small part about those islands was deleted from the text, and so the mere mention of those locals loving a Japanese singer's song, and the cultural dominance implied, was the cause of the deletion.

Popular Music and Films

While the cases presented so far have all been relatively straightforward, there are some that are less so. One complicating factor is that many of the hit songs that were published during the Occupation were popular because of or at least in tandem with their appearance in feature films. The MT-2000s include many hit collections of songs by particular actor/singers or film theme songs, and several of the items that had deletions made likewise refer to film music.

One curious case is that of "My Loving Star." The song shows up in four separate publications, which immediately stands out as unprecedented among songs that were deleted. It was not uncommon for very popular songs (like the ubiquitous postwar hit "The Apple Song" (リンゴの歌, *ringo no uta*) to show up in many different publications, but most songs that were deleted did not fare the same. Both "My Loving Star" from the film *Song of the White Orchid* and the movie's title theme song appear in multiple items here. While it is difficult to say why those songs would have been so apparently popular at the time, we can examine the circumstances around the songs and the film that would have made them controversial.

The film *Song of the White Orchid* was released in 1939 and produced by Toho Film Co. Its plot revolved around a Japanese man living in Manchukuo, Japanese-controlled territory in Manchuria, and working as an officer for the local railroad company. Manchukuo had been an unofficial colony of Japan since 1932, when the Japanese military faction called the Kwantung Army—created to control the territory Japan won in the first Sino-Japanese War—provoked a conflict that led to war and eventually to the victorious Japanese installing a puppet government in the territory. While there was tension between Manchukuo and surrounding nations, there was also tension in China between the Kuomintang ruling party and the Communist party.

The film's protagonist Yasukichi, played by Hasegawa Kazuo (長谷川一夫), is a center for the movie's two main plot spokes. One involves his younger brother, who moves to Manchukuo to work on a farm but steals money and lives a hedonistic life instead, until he snaps out of it and “realizes his bonds of affinity to his fellow Japanese” (High 2003:271). The second is the romantic plot between Yasukichi and a Chinese singer he meets in Manchukuo, played by Ri Kōran (李香蘭, in Chinese pronounced Li Xianglan, also known in Japan as Ōtaka Yoshiko 大鷹 淑子, also known in the United States as Shirley Yamaguchi). Complicating matters is the fact that her brother is an anti-Japanese guerilla, and the main romantic climax of the film comes when she, having been driven away from Yasukichi by a series of misunderstandings, confronts him while wearing a Communist uniform.

In the end, the love between the characters prevails, though they both die in the final skirmish of the film. Their deaths are related to the lyrics to the song “My

Loving Star,” which are not incendiary, but do convey a sense of being away from home and being buried in another land. The kind of relationship between the characters played by Hasegawa and Ri, however, would live on in two further films: *China Nights* (支那の夜, *shina no yoru*) and *Vow in the Desert* (熱砂の誓ひ, *nessa no chikai*). These three films together are often called the Continental Trilogy or the Continental Goodwill Trilogy, and film scholar Peter High suggests that each explores the same question of whether or not “a Chinese woman who has reason to hate the Japanese [can] be guided to an ‘understanding of their true intentions’ through her romantic involvement with a Japanese man” (ibid.:271).

If the censors had any knowledge of the plot of *Song of the White Orchid*, then it is quite possible that they would have prevented the publication of the songs found in the movie simply because of this association. The relationship portrayed in the film suggests that in fact the Japanese and the Chinese *could* get along and understand each other after all, but it also suggests that Japan’s presence in Manchukuo is also not such a bad thing after all, and the love of Ri’s character for Hasegawa’s is more important than their conflicts. These ideas could easily be considered Greater East Asia propaganda.

Hasegawa is also a thread between *Song of the White Orchid* and the other deleted item that deals specifically with films. In the case of MT2784, the *Complete Latest Popular Songs Collection*, the titles of two films were deleted even when their theme songs remained. This suggests that there was nothing worth deleting in the songs themselves, but rather the censors wanted to prohibit the mention of the films themselves. Why they would have proceeded this way in this case and differently for

“My Loving Star” and “Song of the White Orchid” is impossible to say definitively. Regardless, Hasegawa, one of Toho’s biggest stars of the time, played the leading role in one of the films in question, *An Actor’s Revenge* (雪之丞變化, *yukinojō henge*, 1935). Although the plot of the film involves a *kabuki* actor bringing out the deaths of several characters, it does not seem particularly inappropriate, and it may simply be the association with Hasegawa that caused the deletion.

It is worth noting that Hasegawa also starred in 1941 and 1958 film adaptations of the *Chūshingura* story, the popular iteration of which valorizes the feudal ideal of loyalty to one’s lord even upon forfeit of one’s own life. His association with the earlier production would certainly have been known, and could have been another strike against Hasegawa in the PPB officers’ eyes. The PPB was certainly aware of the story, as evidenced in an internal memorandum dated the twentieth of July, 1948. In the memo, an editor came into the office to talk about his desire to publish a twelve-volume set about the story, and was told that he would not receive direction one way or the other, since he was under post-censorship. He was also told, however, that no books on the *Chūshingura* were published during pre-censorship, and only a *kabuki* play on the story was allowed because of its artistic presentation.²⁶

The second title mentioned in the item is *The Green Horizon* (緑の地平線, *midori no chiheisen*). Like the previous film, this work was also not controversial, but its director, Abe Yutaka (阿部 豊), was. He was particularly well-known for

²⁶ PPB memo, July 20, 1948. National Archives and Records Administration RG331, UD1803, Box 8579, Folder 8.

directing several wartime propaganda films. 1940's *Burning Sky* (燃ゆる大空, *moyuru ōzora*) depicted fighter pilots, while 1944's *Fire on that Flag* (あの旗を撃て, *ano hata wo ute*) may have used actual footage of American POWs, and was certainly anti-American. Abe would have been known to sensitive censors for these works, and *Green Horizon*'s title may have been deleted simply by association. The theme song itself was a sappy kind of Koga melody song and was made famous mostly because of the singers who performed it.

The Right and the Left

If the views of SCAP and the Occupation administration believed that their viewpoints were correct and appropriate to instill in the Japanese public, then people or groups with ideas that leaned too far either to the conservative or liberal side of the political spectrum were threats, as they had the potential to shift the viewpoint of what might be seen as right for the nation. Broadly, right-wing ideology in Japan at the time was centered on a return to feudal ideals, where left-wing ideology was grounded in Marxism. In the wake of the war, the PPB's immediate goals were more closely aligned with stamping out those feudal ideals and eliminating Japan's drive for military and colonial power, but as Cold War tensions escalated between the United States and the Soviet Union in the late 1940s, the Occupation became increasingly about turning Japan away from Communism and making Japan a strong ally. Propaganda aligning with either the right or left would have been a violation of paragraph seven of the Press Code for Japan, which states that news (and

publications, by extension) “shall not be colored to conform with any propaganda line.”

In the MT-2000s, there is only one item that was specifically marked as being “rightist propaganda,” and that was the song “Lovers’ Journey.” The song text does not make an incredibly strong case for its being so, at least compared to other examples. The overall sense of the text, however, does paint a picture of a kind of aimlessness or malaise that might easily have been interpreted as disillusionment with the current situation. As a pair of lovers lament their seemingly desperate situation, they speak of being happy outwardly but being lost internally. Still, though the most explicitly marked by censors, this example includes some of the least flagrant material among deleted items.

While not explicitly marked as “rightist,” a pair of songs deleted from the *Folk Song Album* provide another example, in which allusions to feudal ideals were likely the cause for deletions. “Shangiri Tune” and “Yosare Tune” both contain a wide variety of references, mostly to *kabuki* plays, which make up the majority of the songs’ texts. In “Shangiri Tune,” the passage that was deleted specifically references a play in which a mother sacrifices her own son in order to protect her lord, demonstrating the ideal of Confucian-inspired loyalty above all else. In the second song, “Yosare Tune,” the offending passage references the main character from the *Chūshingura* story, Ōboshi, who supposedly led his company of warriors on a suicide mission to avenge their wrongfully-executed master. Again, it is loyalty to one’s superiors that shines through the story as a moral, exemplifying the kind of feudal ideals to which SCAP did not want any Japanese to return.

In the song “The Takomachi Young Men’s Group Song,” the text speaks of the work the group does to build a peaceful Japan and establish Japanese culture, but the third verse returns contains more controversial material. As the young men in the text lament their ancestors’ luck, they vow to “dedicate [their] indomitable bodies and souls to protect and maintain the national polity.” The national polity here is 國體 (*kokutai*), an older full version of the today’s simplified 国体, a term literally meaning the body of the nation. It carries connotations of the essence of Japanese sovereignty, what makes Japan the unique nation it is. In other words, up until the Occupation, the term *kokutai* was often equated directly with the Emperor, the embodiment of Japanese’s state. As Meiji-era journalist Fukuchi Gen’ichirō put it, the *kokutai* “rested on the principle that a divine line of emperors had reigned, and reigned wisely, since the dawn of Japanese history” (McClain 2002:199). The Emperor’s place in Japan was newly defined as being a symbol of the state, and the state’s sovereignty resting with the will of the people. As such, the reference to *kokutai* would have set off alarms in the minds of censors, as the text suggests that the young men are loyal to the sovereignty of the Emperor.

Another example, though perhaps less straightforward, may have also been censored for references to feudal ways of life. The song “Famous Mount Akagi” paints a very clear picture, and a dim view, of life in changing times. The song portrays a man who had presumably been a samurai but had fallen from grace and become a *yakuza*, here meaning less of a Mafioso and more of a wandering scoundrel. He clearly misses life in the pleasure districts, and wonders what he’ll do tomorrow. It is a picture of dissatisfaction with life, and perhaps even despair, as he wonders if

the flute (横笛, *yokobue*) music that used to cheer him up will ever sound again. If we read that music as a symbol of the pleasure districts and an Edo-era way of life, then he certainly pines for such a lifestyle.

On the other hand, by the later years of the Occupation SCAP at least as preoccupied, and perhaps more preoccupied, with the prevention of the spread of communist ideology throughout Japan than with stamping out ultranationalism. An official political party had been founded in the 1920s but quickly repressed by the Imperial government, and while it was legalized during the Occupation—perhaps earning some goodwill through its refusal to support Japan’s military actions—SCAP certainly did not want to see communism rise to prominence. There are very few examples of songs that were specifically associated with communism or socialism: a pair of sheet music pieces published by the Japan Communist Youth Alliance (日本青年共産同盟, *nihon seinen kyōsan dōmei*), for example. This is not particularly surprising, since the pool of pre-existing songs publishers could choose to publish at the time would have had very few communist songs, since communist movements had been mostly outside of the popular sphere for decades.

There is, however, one example of something with a deletion due to leftist ideology, and that is *Our Song Collection*. The most interesting inclusion to the publication is the song “Internationale,” commonly sung as a kind of anthem for socialist movements worldwide. Instead of the song, however, the deleted material is the end of a section of introductory remarks about the publication by famous choral director and Stalin Prize winner Seki Akiko. More specifically, the deleted passage is a listing of items that she hopes will come out in later volumes, and many of the items

are related to either the Soviet Union or communism. The Japanese version of the Marxist anthem “Comrades, Let’s Bravelly March” and the song “Construction,” which was a apparently a song of the Soviet Pioneers (analogous to the United States’ Boy Scouts), are probably the two most problematic examples, although other songs refer to Russian stories and labor issues.

Why would the PPB staff choose to delete a discussion of future projects because they had communist associations but keep “Internationale” intact in the publication? We know from an internal memo that the issue of “Internationale” had come up among radio broadcasting as well, and the decision as of early 1947 was that its lyrics were figurative and political, not meant to disturb public tranquility.²⁷ This collection was published in the summer of the same year, and may have been held to the same precedent. Yet the deletion of works to come almost seems like a statement about the future of the series, and a warning that future publications revolving around left-wing sentiments would not be appropriate.

²⁷ PPB memo, February 4, 1947. NARA RG331, UD1802, Box 8602, Folder 11.

Chapter 5: Interpretation and Conclusions

In this final section, my goal is to complicate what I imagine might be an easy conclusion for people looking at this time period to come to: that as part of the Allied Occupation of Japan, the occupiers held complete power over the occupied. While it is certainly true that the Occupation was exercised through a kind of administrative domination, we must be careful to recognize that cultural domination does not necessarily follow, and moreover that cultural ideoscapes are often sites of contention and negotiation of power, where conflicts can play out, subtly or not to subtly, through re-imagination of cultural practices instead of through physical force. Throughout the course of this conclusion I will examine several ways that I see power being negotiated within this scenario.

Furthermore, as I suggested at the beginning of this thesis, my goal is to look both synchronically at these years as a case study and a moment in time, but also diachronically at how this moment is connected to the flow of time around it. In this conclusion, I will further elucidate the changes I see happening over time, and how negotiations of power were shaped by, and continued to shape, Japanese discourse over time. While things changed for Japan and for Japanese people during the Occupation in many ways, time did not stop. The labels we can assign to the period of Occupation from 1945 until 1952, and of Occupation censorship until 1949, clearly mark out periods of time, but such demarcations are less clear for people actually living through such times. For the publishers' business practices, though Emperor Hirohito's surrender speech was a signal that fairly clearly marked the onset of

Occupation and coming Occupation policies, we can see that at least the end of SCAP oversight was a tapered and perhaps messy process. As Japan's music business moved on, having been shaped by censorship experiences, writers, musicians, and publishers found new ways to engage with their markets both domestically and internationally.

A word of caveat is in order before delving into this chapter. It is all too tempting to try to surmise what the motivations of publishers like Zen-on might have been during the Occupation period. Surely the publishers, as businesses were concerned with their financial well-being, for example, and it doubtless made large impacts on the kinds of materials they chose to publish. We cannot know, however, the exact significance of things like economic or political considerations to the various publishers active in publishing sheet music during the Occupation; and of course, within each company, different executives may have had their own differing opinions and influences. The motivations of these companies are then unrealistic targets for analysis, and I will avoid discussing them here. Instead, I will focus on the choices that publishers ended up making, and the ramifications of those choices.

In order to discuss these kinds of issues, I view power in a Foucauldian sense: as something which is negotiated, as opposed to being static; and which is evident only in its being exercised, as opposed to being something that moves on its own (Foucault 1980: 98). It is something that is exercised through both actions and through discourse; the ideas that people internalize, and the ways that they talk about those ideas, can be expressions of hegemonic power exerted through its targets. Furthermore, I would choose to view power in this conception as neither a negative or

positive force, and rather as something naturally occurring and neutral. In this way, we can view the ways with which different groups or individuals exercise power more objectively, and look at the effects without preconceived ideas of the role of power. In the case of the Japanese music publishers and SCAP censors, this approach allows us to examine effects without placing a sense of blame. It is not my goal to suggest that this was a necessarily negative or positive historical phenomenon, but rather to examine the processes and effects involved therein.

Music and Popular Discourse

What can we learn from the case of the kinds of music that were published during the Occupation? What were the effects? In order to address these questions, it is useful to think about what effects music publishing has in general. It is, of course, not close to being the total representation or reflection of the musical activities of people. People had been singing in Japan just fine for a very long time before music notation (of any origin) came along, much less before the recording and music publishing industries came into prominence, and we can be certain that the kinds of songs people sang both in public and in private both during and around the Occupation years was incredibly diverse. Surely some people sang *gunka* even during the Occupation, just as surely people sang songs about erotic or otherwise “culturally deleterious” topics during the height of Japanese Imperialism. Published music is, however, an indicator of public discourse. The nature of publication is presenting material out to the public. Generally, I see publishing of popular media like sheet music or hit song collections to be part of a kind of feedback loop for

popular sentiment, wherein popular topics and ideas found in popular songs are re-introduced and legitimized as having value by their having been chosen for publication.

In the case of the materials in the Prange Collection, I have suggested that some of the most commonly-expressed sentiments that appeared in pop songs published at the time were expressions of sadness or nostalgia, urban modernity, and romance and beauty. These sentiments, by and large, stand in contrast to the kinds of topics that the Japanese government had promoted in *gunka* and even *ryūkōka* of the previous decade: a romanticized idea of Japanese uniqueness, united under ideals such as the divinity of the emperor and self-sacrificial loyalty, and glorification of military endeavors. While peoples' day-to-day lives, and the songs they sang and listened to, may or may not have changed with the onset of the Occupation, cultural hegemony in Japan had shifted. Whether conscious of the impact of their actions or not, music publishers actions to publish songs reflecting these ideas were an exercise of power, such ideas were reinforced in public. If a person went shopping for sheet music, these were the kinds of songs and sentiments they could easily buy; marketing goods for public consumption normalizes the ideas inherent in those goods.

The situation is complicated, however, by the presence of the CCD and its censorship policies. The control of public discourse in Japan was one of SCAP's main goals for censorship, subordinate only to the gathering of strategically useful information and the prevention of Allied intelligence from leaking. Through the examples presented in Chapter Four, it is clear that their mission was to cut any mention of the kinds of sentiments they viewed as dangerous from publically

accessible texts. Again, they could not influence the thoughts of people directly, but they could change what kinds of ideas were normalized as popular sentiment, and their censorship did achieve this goal. One of literary critic Etō Jun's biggest criticisms of the Occupation censorship was that it left lasting effects, stifling discourse even after the CCD was dissolved (Abel 2012:11). The effect of censorship was a kind of pathologization of topics like Japan's relationship with other Asian nations, ideas about Japanese-ness and the role of the emperor, and Japan's wartime actions. While people had all kinds of opinions and deep emotions about these topics, there was simply no space for them to come up in public discourse, at least via popular music.²⁸

Because Occupation censorship was intended to be secret from the public, the power of censorship over discourse was exerted in a unique way. General MacArthur's goal for the Occupation was at some level to re-shape the policies and popular ideas of Japan in the mold of the United States, ultimately in part to make Japan an ally nation against the threat of the Soviet Union. One need only look at Japan's new constitution, drafted first in English before being translated and negotiated by SCAP and the Japanese government, to see this process in action. In other words, MacArthur wanted to embed a new set of cultural norms into Japanese popular discourse, where they would become self-perpetuating.

Critical to the process was the distinction between pre- and post-censorship. There were many reasons for the shift, including lack of funds and resources to pre-censor the immense amount of publications and broadcasts in Japan, but the effect

²⁸ One poignant example of the kinds of emotions that people held onto for years afterwards is the collection of letters sent to Motoshima Hitoshi, the Mayor of Nagasaki, in 1988 regarding a comment he made about the Emperor's responsibility for the war (Komichi Shobō 1989).

was important. As publishers were moved to post-censorship, the responsibility for their actions was placed on *their* shoulders. This process is the same as Foucault's "panopticism" (1995). In essence, the subject is given the impression of having some level of free will to act, but with the knowledge that he or she is may be monitored at any time and held to a set of rules, together with the threat of punishment for breaking the rules. The rules become internalized in the subject, as he or she attempts to avoid punishment. The music publishers were not given clear instructions about what exactly was off-limits, and so they had to use their own judgment and experience to gauge what kinds of infractions would get them in trouble with the censors, and the CCD was able to perpetuate its control through the actions of the publishers themselves more effectively than through the actions of the censors during pre-censorship.

Japanese publishers were already used to some degree of self-censorship, having spent decades with open censorship policies of the Japanese Imperial government. This may or may not have made the process a smooth one. Regardless, the constraints of the cultural hegemony present during and after the Occupation were very different from those in past decades, as illustrated in Chapters Three and Four by the kinds of sentiments propagated within and excised from popular discourse via *ryūkōka* lyrics.

Looking Forward at Censorship

There are many more directions to go from here regarding these materials and this topic in general. There are many more relevant items in the Prange Collection

that might be examined, both materials like in this study and also literature about music, some of which also incurred deletions or suppression by Allied censors. What were music scholars talking about at the time? What kinds of negotiations took place for traditional Japanese music? What happened directly after this period, and how did music publication change after censorship was abandoned?

This study is part of an ever-expanding body of literature that aims to understand and shine light on the processes of censorship and its effects on the arts, both in Japan and worldwide. Abel (2012) and his Japanese source Etō Jun (1984) discuss the deleterious effects of censorship on the national conversation. An issue of the journal *Japan Forum* was completely dedicated to censorship of the arts in Japan (see Hutchinson 2007), as was an edited collection coming out of a 1992 conference held at the University of Maryland (Mayo and Rimer 2001). John Baily (2009) has looked closely at three decades of music censorship amid the tumultuous politics of Afghanistan. Freemuse, born out of the 1st World Conference on Music and Censorship in Copenhagen in 1998, has become a consultant to the United Nations and publishes annual reports on the violations of musicians' rights worldwide.²⁹

The examination of periods of censorship like that in Occupied Japan is crucial for several reasons. First, it sheds light on a very complex and pivotal period in Japanese and world history. Also, it forces us to re-examine actions that we often take for granted as necessary or natural, like Occupation, and think about their effects. In addition, censorship is still a very pressing issue, and control of information is even more important in the digital age than it has ever been. The controversy of groups like Wikileaks and Pussy Riot demonstrate the relevance of thinking about censorship

²⁹ For more, see www.freemuse.org.

in general and the censorship of music and performance more specifically. The materials in the Prange Collection provide a rare glimpse into the inner workings of a censorship project, of which music censorship is one unique facet.

Appendix: Descriptions of Materials with Censorship Actions

The seventeen items here are presented in order based on their call number within the Prange Collection filing system, but I will also include CCD's assigned numbers. Each entry will include (when possible) the title of the publication, the title of the particular song or section of the publication, author, composer, and/or lyricist, and best estimates for dates of publication and censorship. Deleted sections of text will be marked with underline here. Translations of lyrics requires some subjectivity, and the translations I have included here deliberately remain closer to the original texts than to natural-sounding English in order to preserve imagery.

Call number: MT-2042v_1 (pp. 10–11)

CCD number: 4801

Publication title: Songs for Edification No. 1 (教養への歌曲一上, *kyouyou he no kakyoku ichijou*)

Song title: Song of the Eagle (鷲の歌, *washi no uta*)

Composer: Shimo'osa Kan'ichi (下総 皖一)

Date of Publication: July 12, 1946

Date of Censorship: February 24, 1947

The “Song of the Eagle” here is one of ten songs featured in the first edition of *Songs for Edification*. The publication is twenty-five pages long, printed on 10” by 7” paper. Songs in the publication are laid out in Western-style staff notation, with one voice part for most songs and a piano grand staff. Lyrics are printed below the vocal line in *kana* syllabic alphabet characters, with verses alternating between *hiragana* and *katakana* for legibility. The full texts in standard Japanese combinations of *kanji* and *kana* are included separately in blocks of text either on the

same page as a song or elsewhere as page layouts permitted. The Prange Collection holds the changed publication, in which the song has been replaced by another called “Wisteria” and with a tune by Stephen Foster, in addition to the individual pages of the original table of contents and pages ten and eleven, which contain the notation for the “Song of the Eagle.” On the original pages, the “Song of the Eagle” has been crossed out in red wax pencil on the table of contents, and both notation pages have large red X’s through the entirety of the notation.

Unfortunately for us, the full text of the song was to be printed on a different page, and so it is not included in the original pages that were kept, meaning that we only have the *kana* text included with the music notation to go on for this piece. The Japanese text follows:

1. キノフウラルノタニノソコ ケフゲンカイノナミノウヘ ココチヨキ
カナアラワシハカケルムゲンノアヲキソラ
2. しろやみやこやでんゑんや ひとすむさとをしたにみて いちやくく
もにはばたけば へうべうとしていくせんり
3. ユフベトナレバオツルヒニ チキウハモエテチノゴトク マンテンノ
ホシセントシテヨルノサンカヲウタフトキ
4. あしたのたびをゆめみつつ ねむるもたかきくものうへ いさましき
かなあらわしのごとくあらましわかおもひ

Without *kanji* characters to add concrete meaning to the text here, some of the meaning is lost. It is possible to speculate about the language here, and some passages are clearer than others, but I cannot present a sure translation without some guesswork, and so I will not attempt to do so for this item. Instead, I will paraphrase the imagery in the song that is clear. The first verse presents an image of an eagle (荒

鷲, *arawashi*, a poetic word that carries an association with winter) in the bottom of a valley in the Urals yesterday and today flying over the waves of the Genkai Sea off the Western coast of Kyūshū. Its wings stretch across a limitless blue sky. The second verse reinforces the eagle's omnipotence; from up high it observes the castle of the shogun, the imperial city, and the farmlands alike. With one flap of its wings it travels ten thousand *ri* (one *ri* being something like just under four kilometers)—or in other words, it goes a *long* way. In the third verse, the eagle is gone, and we instead see the evening sky, as the sun sets and causes the whole world to appear as if it is burning and bloody. All of the stars of the heavens sing the paean of the night. The final verse brings more of the observer's voice into the song, as he comments on how the eagle even sleeps high above the clouds, and how it is almost like a *waka* poem it is to be courageous like the eagle.

Call number: MT-2057v_1

CCD number: 5702

Publication title: New Children's Song Collection No. 1 (新作童謡集第一輯, *shinsaku dōyō shū dai'isshū*)

Section title: Preface (はしがき, *hashigaki*)

Author: Kusakawa Shin (草川信), most likely

Date of Publication: July 25, 1946

Date of Censorship: August 27, 1946

This item is not actually any of the songs in the publication, which contains ten songs over thirty pages, printed on 10¹/₈" by 7¹/₈" paper. Instead, it is the prefatory material, two pages of text written "from the author's home in Ogikubo" and dated from the midsummer of 1946. It is not explicitly clear who the author is, but Kusakawa Shin, who worked on creating *dōyō* with the *Akai Tori* magazine project, is listed as the composer of the songs in the collection, and is the only prominent name

given up until that point. The sentiments in the preface would certainly have fit with his point of view, as the *Akai Tori* movement was concerned with creating children's songs that reflected children's ways of life. The Japanese text of the first paragraph reads as follows:

敗戦後の世相はすっかり廃頹なってしまい、横丁を通る國民學校の兒童達の口からも朗かな歌声はパツタリと止んでしまった。子供らしくもない闇の話や買い食いの自慢話をガヤガヤと喋り立てて行く。さうでないと道端に植えてある疏菜を踏んでみたり垣根の杭を抜いてみたり、兒童の心もすっかり荒んでしまっている。落着がなくなっている。暗黒な氣持になりきってしまっている。兒童達は歌うべき歌を與へられていないのである。これを思う時私の心はあわただしさに駆り立てられる。そして早く兒童達に與へるよい歌曲を纏めたいと心は逸る。

In English:

The social conditions after the defeat were that of complete destruction. Even the cheerful singing voices of public school children walking through the alleys abruptly stopped short. They would loiter and tell completely un-childlike stories of the black market, and brag about spending money on sweets. If they weren't doing that, they were trying to step on the plants by the side of the road, or trying to remove the fence posts; even children's hearts had become wild. Their hearts were unsettled. Their feelings had become completely dark. Children are not being given the songs that they should sing. When I think about this, my heart is driven to agitation. So, I quickly decided I wanted to collect good songs to give to the children.

Only the first portion of the text here was boxed by the PPB officer in red wax pencil, and then crossed out with an X. The rest of the text remains untouched. At the top of the page it is also possible to see “delete” written in the same red pencil, and “Incitement to unrest” written in a different color.

Call number: MT-2645 (p. 13, comments p. 18)

CCD number: A-669

Publication title: Home Songs No. 1 (ホームソング No. 1, *hōmu songu*)

Song title: Forget-Me-Not (忘れな草, *wasurenagusa*)

Composer: Sugiyama Haseo (杉山長谷夫)

Lyricist: Katsuta Kōgetsu (勝田香月)

Date of Publication: March 15, 1947

Date of Censorship: April 25, 1947

The publication *Home Songs No. 1* was printed on 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ " by 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ " paper, and includes ten different songs. This item is remarkable in that it gives short informational blurbs about many of the songs in the collection. Here, it was in fact just such a description, and not the song that it goes with, that was deleted by the censors. In addition to the corrected copy, we have a galley proof (in mirror-image) of page eighteen, where the blurbs about "Forget-Me-Not" and two other songs (including "Shubert's Lullaby") were printed. The galley proof version of the section about "Forget-Me-Not" reads as follows:

「出船」の姉妹篇、作詞作曲も同じ人達のでになってみます。世界のプリマドンナ三浦環女子がアンコールの時には必ずこれを歌はれたもので、遠く南方民族の間に迄愛唱されてみます。環さんは歌詞一つ一つに別々の細かい表情をつけて聴衆を魅了されました。

Or in English:

The composer and lyricist of this and its companion song "Defune" are the same. The world-famous prima donna Miura Tamaki was always asked to sing this when it was time for an encore, making it a favorite of even the far South Seas Islanders.

Tamaki-san mesmerized her audiences by using different precise facial expressions for every word.

In the galley proof, there are two sets of markings around the deleted line.

The first is a gray marking that boxes in the whole blurb about "Forget-Me-Not" and

underlines the phrase that was deleted. The second is a red wax pencil marking through the phrase, and the written addition of ある (*aru*, meaning “it is”) after the deletion. In the corrected copy of the publication, on page eighteen, we see that the publisher followed the censors’ markings very literally, taking out the deleted passage and replacing it with ある. In fact, the correction is so literal that the final corrected line ends with 歌はれたもので、ある, keeping the comma from the previous phrase intact and adding ある instead of phrasing it more naturally as ものである.

Call number: MT-2682 (p. 20)

CCD number: Not given

Publication title: Bouquet of Songs (歌の花束, *uta no hanataba*)

Song title: Loves’ Journey (鴛鴦道中, *oshidori dōchū*)

Date of Publication: August 25, 1947

Date of Censorship: November 12, 1947

The *Bouquet of Songs* is a fairly extensive collection of popular songs, including one hundred and forty-four songs spanning seventy-two pages printed on 10” by 7” paper. In order to fit so many songs into such a small space, the publishers created a layout where half of the songs include music notation, and the other half do not. On each page, then, is one song with notation, taking up the majority of the space, and then the lyrics to another song. In this case, “Loves’ Journey” is one of the pieces that does not include music notation.

Out of all of the items with censorship action in the MT-2000s, this item includes by far the most documentation by censors. First of all, the cover of the publication has a small slip of paper attached to it that reads: “12 November 1947.

NOTE: Action taken as per previous action of Theatrical subsection. Yukio Hayashi,

Book Censor. Oshidori Dochu (Love Journey) Disapproved whole text p-20.” Not only do we have the name of the censorship personnel who looked at this item, but we also have a suggestion that his action was based on a precedent set by officers from another section of PPB—though in the end we never see any explanation of what happened in the Theatrical subsection that precipitated this event.

In addition, we have several documents accompanying the item. There is a copy of the Press Code for Japan in Japanese. Then there is a letter, dated November 21, 1947, from Eric M. von Hurst, the commanding officer of CCD’s District Station III, to Fumita Hidemi, who appears to be the publisher or liaison with the publisher in charge. The letter, the subject of which reads “Violation of Press Code for Japan,” enumerates the details of said violation: which publication and song were the offenders, and which paragraph of the Press Code, in what capacity, was violated. In this case, it was paragraph seven, which reads “news stories shall not be colored to conform with any propaganda line.” Furthermore, the letter notifies the recipient that a record is being kept, future care should be taken to avoid such incidents, and the CCD desires acknowledgement of receipt of the letter. A copy of the same letter in Japanese is also included here.

One final document accompanying the item is a memo dated November 19 of the same year, which gives the English-language translation of the text of the offending song (which it suggests includes Rightist propaganda):

I used to live an honest life,
But frequent journeys have made me a tramp.
In a strange land when dusk falls,
Man as I am, I feel somewhat sad.

Declining a proposal of marriage,

I left home, and now
In the bloom of my youth,
You see me here at this tea-room.
I am second to none in drinking,
But I am easily moved by others' kindness."

"Outwardly we are happy lovers.
The soft breeze blows lightly over our sandals.
Where shall we find our grave,
We who, renouncing the world,
Are now on an aimless journey?"

Money makes the mare go.
When you have lost the money to gamble with,
I, your wife, am the wherewithal you may stake.
Stake your money on even.

I do not include the original Japanese text here because the censorship action makes it difficult to read in some parts, and the CCD's official translation serves as a reliable source. On the original page, the four verses are divided into two sections of text, and each is crossed out in blue wax pencil and crossed out with an X; the blue is only slightly lighter than the blue ink in which the text was printed, and at some points the characters are illegible. An illustration of a man and a woman travelling—they carry hats and the man carries a small pack—appears on the lower third of the page.

Call number: MT-2696

CCD number: A-5433

Publication title: Our Song Collection (われらの歌曲集, *warera no kakyokushū*)

Section title: On the Publishing of Our Song Collection (われらの歌曲集出版にあたって, *warere no kakyokushū shuppan ni atatte*)

Author: Seki Akiko (関鑑子)

Date of Publication: June 20, 1947

Date of Censorship: June 26, 1947

Our Song Collection is another example of a publication in which no specific song was objectionable enough for deletion or suppression, but rather the prefatory material was deleted. This publication was printed on 9¾” by 7⅞” paper, and includes fourteen pages of material. The remarks about the publication of *Our Song Collection* were written by Seki Akiko, a prominent choir director and winner of the Stalin Prize for fostering international relations with the Soviet Union, who was apparently one of the collaborators on the project. The text reads as follows:

溢れていた軍歌がぴったりやんでしまうと、どこからも、ここからも、「歌う歌がないない」という声がきこえてきた。何か歌いたい人々はラジオや映画でききおぼえの歌を口づさみながらも、もつと自分達にピッタリした歌はないものかと求めている。これにこたえうるものは新しい自由なこの民主時代にふさはしい、のびのびとした人々の心もちを十分に表現した歌曲の創作でなければならない。詩人も作曲家もいい歌を作りたいと苦心している。そこで日本民主主義文化聯盟では、現在作られつつある新曲と、古くからある新しい曲と、世界共通に歌われている民衆の歌とを織り交ぜてここに「われらの歌曲集」として出版することにしました。最初の計画通りゆかなくて残念な点が多いのですが、この歌曲集のための出版委員会をもうけ、「詩人と音楽家の会」よりのよき作品をえて版を重ねるごとによくしてゆきたいと思っております。

第二輯：

- ステンカ・ラーゲン (露民謡プーン・キン原詩による新歌詩)
- 憎しみのるつぼ独唱、合唱曲
- 働く婦人の歌 (守田正義作曲)

第三輯：

- 我民を愛す (ベートーヴェン) 独唱曲
- くるめく、わだち (独民謡)
- 四匹の仔犬 (守田正義作曲)

続刊・ワルシャワ労働歌。同志はたおれぬ。若き兵士。ソヴェート・ピオニール歌「建設」中国バルチザン歌。プーシキン詩集。各国民歌謡。シューベルト。シューマン。邦人新作品。等々。

Translated, this reads:

When *gunka* military songs that had been overflowing suddenly ceased completely, from anywhere you could hear voices saying “there are no songs to sing.” People who wanted to sing something, even while humming tunes they memorized from the radio or movies, were asking if there weren’t songs that were more fitting for them. The answer to this lay in the new free democratic times; we needed to produce songs that perfectly represented peoples’ carefree attitudes. Both poets and songwriters struggled, wanting to make good songs. Within the Democratic Culture League, we combined songs being made now, songs from the past, and folk songs of people all over the world, and decided to publish them as *Our Song Collection*. Things didn’t go as first planned, and there were many unfortunate points. However, having formed the publishing committee to make this collection, having chosen the best songs from the “Poets and Songwriters Association,” and adding each to this work, we hope it goes well.

Volume 2:

- “Stenka Razin” (New song from the original Russian folk song poem Pun Kin)
- “Crucible of Hatred” [Смело, товарищи, в ногу in Russian, “Comrades, Let’s Bravely March” in English] (Solo and choral)
- “The Working Wife” (Composed by Morita Masayoshi)

Volume 3:

- “Love the People” (Beethoven) solo song
- “Bustling wheel tracks” (solo folk song)
- “Four Puppies” (Composed by Morita Masayoshi)

Continuations: Warsaw Work Song. Comrade Will Not Fall. Young Soldier. Soviet Pioneer Song “Construction.” Chinese Partisan Song. Pushkin Poetry Collection. Folk Songs of Every Nation. Schubert. Schumann. New Japanese works. Etc.

Out of this page full of information, only the second half, beginning with the listing of what was to come in later volumes of this publication, was deleted. The markings are blue wax pencil and include a box around the deleted text, a big X through the boxed portion, and the word “delete” written above the box in the same blue pencil.

Call number: MT-2734 (p. 40)

CCD number: A-9698

Publication title: New Song Music Notation (新しい歌謡楽譜, *atarashii kayō gakufu*)

Song title: The Night of Batavia Grows Late (バタビヤの夜は更けて), *batabiya no yoru wa fukete*)

Composer: Shimizu Kakuo (清水保雄)

Lyricist: Saeki Takao (佐伯孝夫)

Date of Publication: November 25, 1946

Date of Censorship: November 19, 1946

This publication is a collection of hit songs, which the cover states were famous from the radio, movies, and records. The cover also presents the photographed faces of five star singers (Hideko Takamine, Misao Matsubara, Tsuruko Shibata, Mariko Ike, and Mieko Takamine) arranged as the petals of a flower. Printed on smaller 7” by 5” paper, this publication contains fifty-one songs and some introductory material over the course of sixty-four pages. Each song includes both the text and music notation. In addition to the eventual corrected publication, the Prange Collection holds a galley proof of pages thirty-nine and forty, the latter of which contained the deleted song from the original version, which was replaced in the corrected version with a completely new song called “Companion Doll” (片割れ人形, *kataware ningyō*). The galley proof containing the original song

for that page, “The Night of Batavia Grows Late,” is marked simply with a large red X through the entire page, music notation and lyrics both, and the word “delete” at the top of the page.

The lyrics for the song are:

1. 都バタビヤ 運河も暮れて燃える夜空の 十字星遙か祖國よあの日の旗よ風に歓呼の聲がする。
2. ジャワは常夏 南の基地に撫でる翼の弾丸の痕 なんの苦勞と口笛吹けば月にちるちる白い花——
3. ああ、今夜も見る夢はきつとお母さんの夢だろう。いつもいつも僕の手柄を祈つてみて下さるやさしいお母さん。日本一のお母さん、元気でみて下さいね。。。妹も、嫁入り盛りだ。街で綺麗なジャワの更紗など見かけると、兄さんはおまへに買ってやりたいと、しみじみ思ふのだヨ。海山遠く離れていても、想ひはいつかとどくもの。。。。
4. 山を眺めりや 故郷の山に似てるすがたの懐かしさ 母よ妹よ 便りはせぬが空に着いてる この想ひ。

Translated into English, this reads:

1. In the capital, Batavia (Jakarta), even the canals come to an end; the burning night sky's Southern Cross; it's the far away motherland; it's the flag of that sun! We raise our cheerful voices to the wind.
2. In Java, it is everlasting summer; the scar of the bullet of wings grazing the southern base; for what troubles can you blow a whistle and scatter white blossoms to the moon?
3. Ah, the dream I saw again tonight must be one of mother; always, always praying for my success, kind mother; be well, Japan's best mother! And little sister, at the peak of her womanhood. If, in the city, I happen to see things like fine Java cotton prints, I really think I want to buy them for big brother. Even though I'm separated far from you all by seas and mountains, my thoughts are of another time, somewhere else...
4. I gaze at the mountains, and feel the nostalgia, as the shapes are like the mountains back home; it's mother, it's little sister; news doesn't come, but these thoughts have arrived in the sky.

Call number: MT-2740 (p. 38–39)

CCD number: A-2154

Publication title: Schoolgirls' Favorite Songs (女学生の愛唱歌, *jōgakusei no aishōka*)

Song title: Brahms's Lullaby (ブラームスの子守歌, *buraamusu no komoriuta*)

Composer: Johannes Brahms

Lyricist: Unknown

Date of Publication: December 25, 1946

Date of Censorship: January 9, 1947

Schoolgirls' Favorite Songs is an example of the kind of pocket hit collection that shows up frequently in the MT-2000 section. It is ninety-six pages long, printed on 5³/₄" by 4¹/₈" paper, and contains fifty-eight different songs, including both Japanese and foreign tunes like the Korean "Arirang." Not every entry includes music notation, and unfortunately the objectionable song here, "Brahms's Lullaby," is one such entry. Instead of music notation, the page containing "Brahms's Lullaby" contains, below the lines of text, an illustration of a woman in Western-style clothes rocking a baby in her arms. The Prange Collection holds the original page thirty-nine of the publication as a galley proof, and the text of the lullaby reads:

1. よい子 よい子 おお ねんねしな おおねんねする 愛子^{いと}さまへ何をあげよ 五色の鞠 たまの笛か あづまの琴
2. よい子 よい子 おお ねんねしな おおねんねする 若様へ 何をあげよ 錦の旗 軍人^{いくさびと}の 黄金の太刀

The language is very sing-song here, but we might translate it as:

1. Good girl, hush girl, go to sleep. What will I give my beloved sleeping girl? A ball of five colors. A round whistle. A zither from the east.
2. Good boy, hush boy, go to sleep. What will I give the sleeping young master? A brocade flag. A soldier's golden sword.

The melody of this song is in fact the “Brahms’s Lullaby” popular in other languages, based on Johannes Brahms’s tune “Wiegenlied” from 1868. The opening phrase “yoiko, yoiko, o’o nen’ne shina” (よい子 よい子 おお ねんねしな) corresponds syllabically with the typical English “lullaby and good night, with roses bedight” or more recently “lullaby and good night, in the sky stars are bright.”

There is a clear distinction in the lyrics between the genders of the children implied by the language; *いとさま* (*itosama*, usually with different *kanji* than given above) is used for a kind of upper-social-class daughter, while *若様* (*wakasama*) is used for boys of similar station. The “zither from the East” in my translation most likely refers to the Japanese *wagon* (和琴), and indigenous zither also sometimes known as the *yamatogoto* (大和琴) or *azumagoto* (東琴). All of these terms point to its tie to the Japanese *yamato* bloodline and the east, as opposed to the other zithers that came to Japan from China, like the *sō no koto* (箏の琴), typically known simply as *koto*. My translation likewise emphasizes the Japanese-ness of the instrument over specificity.

The censors’ markings on the galley proof, written in blue wax pencil, include a large X through the entire page (including the illustration), a box around the second verse of the song text and another smaller X through just the text of the second verse, and the word “delete” over the top of the text.

Call number: MT-2753 (p. 47–48)

CCD number: A-6745

Publication title: Songs of Youth (若き日の歌, *wakaki hi no uta*)

Song title: Song of the Takomachi Young Men's Group (多古町青年團歌, *takomachi seinendanka*)

Composer: Sasaki Akira (佐々木章)

Lyricist: Hirayama ? (平山 戊祐)

Date of Publication: May 30, 1947

Date of Censorship: July 3, 1947

The *Songs of Youth* collection is another pocket hit collection, much like the previous entry. Printed on 5” by 3½” paper, the publication includes thirty-three different songs over sixty-four pages. Most songs are given two pages, one of which contains song texts while the other contains music notation in Western style. The original version of the publication gives the following text on page forty-seven:

1. 山紫に水清く 瑞穂の郷の 空青し ここに集ひし 青年の 義憤に燃ゆる
意気を見よ 組先の血潮承けつぎて我等が起たん 秋は今
2. 混濁の世は 徒らに 醉生夢死の 徒の多し 額に汗の しづくして 平和日本の建
設と 郷土文化の 向上に 我等が進む 秋は今
3. 松籟さゆる 夜半の月 組先の運命 憂ふかな 理想の星を 仰ぎつつ 不
撓不屈の 身命を 國體護持に 捧げなん 吾等が 多古町青年團

An English translation might read:

1. The clean water and blue skies of the rice-laden countryside of Yamanashi—it's here we gather, the young men burning with righteous passion. Look at our spirit! We, who inherited the hot-bloodedness of our ancestors, rise up! Now it is autumn.
2. This chaotic world, full of people aimlessly idling their lives away—sweat dripping from our brows, we build a peaceful Japan and establish our native culture, moving forward. Now it is autumn.
3. The wind rustling through the pine trees, and the midnight moon—do they lament the fate of our ancestors? While looking up at the star of our dreams,

we dedicate our indomitable bodies and souls to protect and maintain the national polity. We are the Takomachi Young Men’s Group.

Along with the song lyrics and the names of the composer and lyricist, two other pieces of information are typed onto the page. The first comes before the title and states that the song comes from Chiba Prefecture’s Katori District (千葉縣香取郡, *chiba ken katori gun*). The second comes after the song texts, and gives the date of the presentation of the song (to the editors, most likely) as

In the original copy, the censors’ marks are blue wax pencil boxes around the offending passages, along with the word “delete” written at the top of the page. In the amended final copy, the first deleted passage is replaced so that the text reads “burning with hope” (希望に燃ゆる, *kibō ni moyuru*). The second, longer passage is replaced with the new phrase “We cut open the thorny path; we eagerly await the morning of hope” (いばらの道を切り開らき 希望の朝を待ち望む, *ibara no michi wo kiriharaki, kibō no asa wo machinozomu*).

Call number: MT-2764 (p. 39)

CCD number: 5731

Publication title: Flower Basket of Songs (歌の花籠, *uta no hanakago*)

Song title: My Loving Star (いとしあの星, *itoshi ano hoshi*)

Composer: Hattori Ryōichi (服部良一)

Lyricist: Satō Hachirō (サトウハチロー)

Date of Publication: July 30, 1946

Date of Censorship: August 8, 1946

This publication is yet another pocket-sized hit collection. It was printed on 5” by 3½” paper, and despite the presence of music notation imagery on the front

cover of the publication, it actually includes only the lyrics of songs inside, spread over sixty-five pages. The song title “My Loving Star” actually appears printed from right to left horizontally, as was a common practice before printing was more standardized in the years after Japan’s surrender. Furthermore, the title reads “Song of the White Orchid (My Loving Star)” (白蘭の歌(いとしあの星), *byakuran no uta itoshi ano hoshi*), giving the name of the actual song in parentheses. *Song of the White Orchid* is actually the 1939 film in which the song “My Loving Star” was featured.

The text of the song is:

1. 馬車が行く行く夕風に 青い柳にささやいて いとしこの身もどこまでも きめた心はかほりやせぬ
2. 暗いランプの灯のかげで たより書くのもなつかしや いとし返事はなんとする 母も行くよとくるかしら
3. 驢馬の鳴くのに起こされて 窓をあければ朝の星 いとしあの星あの瞳 今日古 (ふらな) ひなんと出る
4. 夢で見た見たいつかの夜 夢で話したその人は 骨も命もこの土地にみんな埋めよと笑ひ顔

This song plays during the opening credits of the film, before the introduction of any of the characters. It is sung in the film not by the film’s female star, the singer and actress Ri Kōran, but rather by the Japanese pop singer Watanabe Hamako (渡辺はま子). The lyrics contain ambiguous language that does not tie directly to the title scenes (showing images of buildings in Manchukuo), and their meaning is not

immediately clear. Instead of giving direct translations then, here I present an overall summary of the imagery present in the song.

The image that starts the first verse is that of a wagon going along, an evening breeze, and the green willows. It whispers a message: my determined heart will not wane, no matter where my beloved may go. The speaker in the song sings of his or her beloved throughout the rest of the song. In the second verse, the speaker misses the beloved even when writing letters, and waits for the reply. In the third verse, the speaker is wakened by the braying of donkeys and sees the beloved's eyes in the stars, wondering what "today's fortune" will hold. In the final verse, the speaker speaks of a dream in which people smilingly said "bury your bones and body in this land" (骨も命もこの土地にみんな埋めよと笑ひ顔, *hone mo inochi mo kono tochi ni min'na uzumeyo to waraigao*). These sentiments strongly present the image of being separated and in a different place; the singer corresponds with home, asking about mother, and talks about "this land" as opposed to using more normative language for Japanese soil. The song in general does not directly tie together with the film's plot, but does reflect a general idea: the main male lead character is a Japanese person living away from Japan, in Manchukuo, and finds love and dies there.

Call number: MT-2784

CCD number: B-3160

Publication title: Complete Latest Popular Songs Collection (最新流行歌全書, *saishin ryūkōka zensho*)

Song titles: Green Horizon (緑の地平線, *midori no chiheisen*), and Purple Ballad (むらさき小唄, *murasaki kouta*)

Date of Publication: September 10, 1947

The case of the *Complete Latest Popular Songs Collection* is a unique one within the MT-2000s. The other non-lyric deletions were part of longer passages, but the lines that were deleted from this publication are quite short and stand on their own. This is another hit collection, printed on horizontally-oriented 4¾” by 3⅛” paper, containing forty-six songs spanning forty-eight pages, none of which include music notation. The two pages containing the songs in question here, on scraps of paper torn from the original submission of the publication, show brief one-line descriptions at the far right of the page, before the titles of the songs. The description for “Green Horizon” is:

日活映畫「緑の地平線」主題歌

Nikkatsu Studios film *Green Horizon* (*midori no chiheisen*) theme song

The description for “Purple Ballad,” similarly, is:

松竹下加茂映畫「雪之丞變化」主題歌

Shochiku Shimogamo Studios film *An Actor's Revenge* (*yukinojō henge*)
theme song

The lines are crossed out on the original page with blue wax pencil, and the word “delete” is written on the page with “Green Horizon.”

Call number: MT-2796 (p. 19)

CCD number: A-2661

Publication title: Latest Popular Songs Collection (最新流行歌コレクション, *uta no hanakago*)

Song title: My Loving Star (いとしあの星, *itoshi ano hoshi*)

Composer: Hattori Ryōichi (服部良一)

Lyricist: Satō Hachirō (サトウハチロー)

Date of Publication: December 20, 1946

Date of Censorship: March 25, 1947

“My Loving Star” is the only song among all of the items in the MT-2000s that had censorship actions taken to appear in multiple publications, and this is its second occurrence. The publication *Latest Popular Songs Collection* is very similar to the *Flower Basket of Songs* in which the song previously appeared. It is sixty-four pages long, printed on horizontally-oriented 3½” by 5” paper, containing just the lyrics for fifty-six songs. The song “My Loving Star” was crossed out with a large X in blue wax pencil on the original of page nineteen, and the original first page of the table of contents shows the title also crossed out there.

Call number: MT-2814 (p. 35)

CCD number: 7122

Publication title: Flower Basket of Songs (歌の花籠, *uta no hanakago*)

Song title: Thai Maiden (タイの娘, *tai no musume*)

Composer: Unknown

Date of Publication: 1947

Date of Censorship: February 12, 1947

This *Flower Basket of Songs* is a little bit different from the previous one, though it too is a small-sized hit collection. It was printed on 6⅛” by 4½” paper, and contains fifty-six pages of songs. In that space, it contains the lyrics to a whopping one hundred and nineteen songs, and the table of contents shows that the publications

divides the songs into different categories: movie themes, hit songs, and “new topic” jazz (ニュートピックジャズ集, *nyū topikku jazu shū*). The latter category includes foreign or foreign-inspired tunes like “La Cumparsita,” “Bolero,” “Irish Maiden,” and “Hawaii Song,” but “Thai Maiden,” the song that was deleted, is found instead in the middle of the hit song section.

The lyrics read:

1. タイの娘に振袖着せて 日本姿に仕立て見たい ちよいと似てますあ
の横顔が 國の妹に瓜二つ
2. タイの娘がボートがお好き 朝の買物椰子油に鶏卵 渡にゆられて市
場通ひ 水の中から夜があける
3. 明日は楽しい水神祭り 髪も結ひませう御化粧もしましよ 可愛いチ
エンナイこぼれる笑くぼ タイの娘は愛嬌者

Or when translated, something like:

1. Dressed in a young woman’s kimono, the Thai maiden wants to try dressing
Japanese; at a glance, she looks just like her Japanese sister, like two peas in a
pod.
2. Thai maidens love boats; her morning shopping is coconut oil and eggs; the
ferry is rocked coming and going from the market; from the depths of the
water, the dawn rises.
3. Tomorrow is the thrilling festival of the water god! Let’s do up our hair; let’s
put on our makeup. A cute, dimpled Chennai smile peeks out; she is a
charming maiden of Thailand.

On page thirty-five of the original submission of the publication, which was retained by the PPB office, the officer drew a box in blue wax pencil around the full half-page set of lyrics, and also put a large red X through the text of the lyrics.

Call number: MT-2820 (p. 42)

CCD number: 5185

Publication title: Flower Basket of Songs (歌の花籠, *uta no hanakago*)

Song title: Beyond Kunlun (コンロン越えて, *konron koete*)

Composer: Koga Masao (古賀政男)

Lyricist: O'oki Atsuo (大木惇夫)

Date of Publication: 1946

Date of Censorship: Unknown

This publication of *Flower Basket of Songs* appears to have been issued by the same publisher as the previous item, although sometime in the previous year. Both items were checked by the censors for probably the final time on February 12, 1947, as we can tell from the CCD stamp on the cover of each. This collection was printed on 5⁷/₈" by 4¹/₈" paper. Like the previous item, the contents of this sixty-four page publication, the sixty-eight songs included here are divided in the table of contents into movie themes, hit songs, and new topic jazz. Like other hit collections, this publication only includes the lyrics to the songs it contains.

The Prange Collection actually holds two different previous versions of page forty-two of this publication, both of which show censors' markings. One is a page with the lyrics of two songs: "Newly-fallen Snow" (新雪, *shinsetsu*) and "Lullaby of Sadness" (悲しさ子守歌, *kanashisa komoriuta*). Interestingly, the only censors' markings on this page are red wax pencil circles around the Arabic numerals "12" and "13" before each of the titles, corresponding to their number among their section, specifically a section of hit songs. It could be that the numerals did not accurately match the songs' positions in the list; the final table of contents lists only "Newly-fallen Snow" on page forty-two, and it is number three. It is also possible that there was some objection to the bleak "Lullaby of Sadness," because it does not appear in

the final publication, but the markings do not indicate any such requirement on the censors' part.

The second page forty-two appears to be the oldest, and contains only the song

“Beyond Kunlun.” The text is:

1. 雲はゆくゆく遙かに コンロン越へて 夢の翼よ憧がれだよ希望だよ
いざアジアの歌を唄ほうよ 我等若き日の曙 うたへいざ君
2. 杏花咲け荒野に 血潮はもえてたぎる思ひよ 胸に秘めしまぼろしよ
ああ故郷の空のはるけさよ 泣くなロバよロバ嘆くな 行けよいざ行
け
3. 風は行く行く沙漠を コンロン越えて ひらく花だよ照る陽だよ希望
だよ いざアジアの歌を唄ほうよ 我等若き日の曙 歌へいざ君

In English, this translates to:

1. The clouds that go so far reach beyond Kunlun—there are the wings of
dreams; there's longing; there's hope! Come on now, let's sing this song of
Asia. It's the dawn of our youth—come on boys, let's sing!
2. In this vast plain where apricot flowers bloom, our blood boils and we feel our
fighting spirit. I hold a vision in my breast; oh, the spring morning sky of my
hometown! Don't cry, donkey, don't cry. Let's go, everyone! Let's go!
3. The wind moves over the desert beyond Kunlun—here there are blooming
flowers; there's shining sunlight; there's hope! Come on now, let's sing this
song of Asia. It's the dawn of our youth—come on boys, let's sing!

On the original page, this song text was put in large Japanese quotation marks 「」 in pencil and marked with a red wax pencil X through the whole text.

Call number: MT-2830 (pp. 80, 84)

CCD number: A-132

Publication title: Folk Song Album (民謡あるばむ, *min'yō arubamu*)

Song titles: Shangiri Tune (しゃんぎり節, *shangiri bushi*), Yosare Tune (よされ節, *yosare bushi*)

Date of Publication: 1946

Date of Censorship: Checked January 18, 1947

The *Folk Song Album* is another collection with an extensive listing of song lyrics inside. Despite the label of the MT-2000s as *kayō* and *dōyō*, this collection is, as it says, *min'yō* folk songs. This item, like the previous one, was printed on 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ " by 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ " paper, and is one hundred twenty-eight pages long. In this collection, two songs have had passages deleted from them. The first is the "Shangiri Tune," the lyrics of which read:

1. みざりみざり勝五郎車にのせて 曳くや初花箱根山紅葉 紅葉あるの
にアレ雪が降る シャンギリコ シャンギリコ シヤシヤ シャンギ
リコイ
2. お染お染久松野崎村で 舟と駕とで西東こうなりや かうなりや死な
うと目と目で語る シャンギリコ シャンギリコ シヤシヤ シャン
ギリコイ
3. 切られ切られ與三郎横櫛お富いつぞや上總の木更津で死んだと 死ん
だと思うたヤレコノ興三郎さん シャンギリコ シャンギリコ シヤ
シヤ シャンギリコイ
4. 千松千松毒喰うて忠義の自殺 三千世界に子を持つた親の 親の心は
アレコノみな一ツ シャンギリコ シャンギリコ シヤシヤ シャン
ギリコイ

The text of the "Shangiri Tune" is steeped in colorful language and references to various *kabuki* plays. The term *shangiri* or *shagiri* itself refers to a particular kind of instrumental interlude that is typically played in-between acts by the *hayashi* ensemble, adapted by *kabuki* from *nō* drama, which includes three drums (the

ōtsuzumi 大鼓, *kotsuzumi* 小鼓, and *taiko* 太鼓) and a flute (the *nōkan* 能管). I do not attempt to give full translations of the text here because they do not particularly make sense outside of the context, but I will summarize the main ideas.

The first verse paints a picture of the character Katsugorō from the play *Hakone Reigen Izari no Adachi* (箱根靈驗鬘仇討),³⁰ who loses his legs on a journey to avenge his brother. In the lyrics here, he rides in a cart through the autumn foliage and the snow. The second verse portrays the doomed lovers Osome and Hisamatsu from *Osome Hisamatsu Ukina no Yomiura* (お染久松浮名読売)³¹ as they are poised to jump together off of a bridge in a lovers' suicide. The third verse shows us the character Yosaburō from *Yowa Nakase Ukina no Yokogushi* (与話情浮名横櫛),³² seeing his beloved Otomi, who he thought had been dead.

The fourth verse is the one that was deleted, and its text was boxed and crossed out on the original page in red wax pencil, with the word “delete” written above it in the same. It refers to the plot of the *kabuki* play *Meiboku Sendai Hagi* (伽蘿先代萩),³³ in which a young lord falls into the protection of a woman named Masaoka. Masaoka has her own young son, Senmetsu, taste the food intended for the young lord, resulting in Senmetsu's death. In order to root out the plotters and protect the lord, Masaoka remains stoic and convinces them that she too was plotting against him. Her sacrifice is held as a noble execution of duty. The lyrics of the deleted

³⁰ More information about the play in English can be found at http://www.kabuki21.com/izari_no_adauchi.php.

³¹ More here: http://www.kabuki21.com/osome_no_nanayaku.php.

³² More here: http://www.kabuki21.com/kirare_yosa.php

³³ Likewise, more here: http://www.kabuki21.com/takenoma_goten_yukashita.php.

verse mention Senmatsu's "suicide of loyalty" and suggests that it is felt in the heart of every parent.

The second marked song, "Yosare Tune," reads as follows:

1. 電信柱に燕がとまる 停車場停車場に汽車とまる 港港に船とまる
とめて止まらぬ戀の道 ヨサレ コラヨイヤナー
2. 山家深山のあの山奥で 大工いらすの堀立小屋 忠臣藏ではないけれど
ど 雨の降る時もろうので 風の吹く時ゆらさんで 寝てて大星[?]が
むとも 縞の財布がお軽でも 主と添ふならいとやせぬ ヨサレ コ
ラヨイヤナー
3. 妾とお前は將模の駒よ 久久逢はねば京までも 何の桂馬が歩挨拶
妾しや女房の角ちやもの 金銀使ふて下さるな まあ晩にや必ず王手
やる ヨサレ コラヨイヤナー

Like the previous example, this song too is filled with references and language that does not necessarily make sense without a large amount of context, and again I will summarize some of the main ideas. *Yosare* is a term of disputed origin that often crops up meaning a lively melody played on the *taiko* drum or *Tsugaru-jamisen* lute, and it is fairly easy to find examples of *shamisen* players accompanying singers in a song with the name *yosarebushi*, but I have not found any that match these lyrics. The first verse seems somewhat straightforward, about a swallow stopping at a utility pole, a train stopping at the station, and so on, with not too much deep meaning. The third verse compares lovers to chess pieces.

The second verse is the one that was deleted, via being crossed out with red pencil, and it references the famous story *Chūshingura* (忠臣蔵), the story of the forty-seven *rōnin* (or master-less samurai). Based on historical events but much romanticized, the story commonly holds that a *daimyō* (大名, a feudal lord

controlling samurai but subject to the shogun) named Enya Hangan was goaded into drawing his sword in the shogun's palace, a capital crime, and had to commit seppuku. With his dying breath, he wished for revenge on the man who had tricked him. His chief retainer Ōboshi Yuranosuke and the rest of his men sank into a life of debauchery, but secretly planned their attack. They stormed the enemy's home, took his head to their dead lord's grave, and there committed seppuku en masse. The lyrics of the deleted verse set a scene at a mountain villa, where Ōboshi sleeps. It suggests that it "is not *Chūshingura*," but suggests Ōboshi's resilience even when the rain falls and the wind blows.

Call number: Unnumbered

CCD number: 1079

Publication title: Collection of Favorite Popular Songs (愛唱流行歌謡集, *aishō ryūkō kayō shū*)

Song titles: Famous Mount Akagi (有名赤城山, *yūmei akagiyama*), My Loving Star, Song of the White Orchid

Composer: Kikuchi Hiroshi (菊池浩)

Lyricist: Yajima Chōji (矢島寵兒)

Date of Censorship: Unknown

The Prange Collection holds several scraps of original materials that have censorship markings on them but do not correspond to any eventual corrected publication. There is no evidence that a further publication does not exist other than its lack of inclusion in the collection, but that itself makes it a likely supposition. The five galley proof pages that comprise the holdings for the *Collection of Favorite Popular Songs* are the first example. There is a table of contents page, on which the words "New Violation" were written in dark ink or pencil and boxed in red wax pencil. The song title of "Famous Mount Akagi" is also crossed out in red wax

pencil. There is a page that includes both the songs “My Loving Star” and “Song of the White Orchid” from the film of the latter name, with the full lyrics for each and an illustration of a woman. The page includes a dark X at the top. In addition, there is a page of music notation for “My Loving Star.”

Aside from those songs, there is another new song: “Famous Mount Akagi.” The Prange Collection holds galley proofs both for the lyrics of the song and the music notation, both of which are marked through with single, large red X’s. The text of this song reads:

1. 男ごころに 男が惚れて 意気が融け合う 赤城山 澄んだ夜空の
まんまる月に浮世横笛 誰が吹く
2. 意地の筋金 度胸のよさも いつか落目の 三度笠 云はれまいぞえ
やくざの果てと 悟る草鞋に 散る落葉
3. 渡る雁がね 乱れて啼いて 明日は何処の罫やら 心しみじみ 吹く
横笛に またも騒ぐか 夜半の風

The language and references in this song makes a direct translation less helpful than a paraphrase of the imagery, so I present the latter here. The first verse presents Mount Akagi as a place that inspires love in men’s hearts, and asks who will play the flute (横笛, *yokobue*, a generic transverse bamboo flute) of the floating world (浮世, *ukiyo*, the term for the hedonistic urban lifestyle of the Edo period, especially centered around *kabuki* theatres and brothels). The second defines the situation of the speaker further; he is staunch of willpower and courageous, but appears to have fallen as far as to become *yakuza*, here referring to an itinerant person who does not hold a regular job anywhere (and thus probably survives by less than

wholesome means). This is suggested by both the *sandogasa* (三度笠) straw hat and the *waraji* (草鞋) straw sandals, both something that a samurai might have worn, and the hat in particular being associated with travelling around. The final verse gives a metaphor: geese, flying out of formation and honking. He asks where they will roost tomorrow, and surely wonders the same for himself. Finally he asks again if the flute will be played to lift his spirits ever again.

Call number: Unnumbered

CCD number: 5092

Publication title: Recent Popular Songs (最新流行歌, *saishin ryūkōka*)

Song titles: My Loving Star, Song of the White Orchid

Date of Censorship: Unknown

The *Most Recent Popular Songs* collection includes a table of contents page showing both “My Loving Star” and “Song of the White Orchid” crossed out in red wax pencil. We also have original pages containing the lyrics to both songs, the text of which has been boxed in with the same red pencil and then crossed out.

Call number: Unnumbered

CCD number: B-3877

Publication title: Collection of Popular Songs (歌謡曲集, *kayōkyoku shū*)

Song titles: My Loving Star, Song of the White Orchid

Date of Censorship: Unknown

Like the previous entry, the *Collection of Popular Songs* includes original pages of the texts for both “My Loving Star” and “Song of the White Orchid.” In this

publication they are put in blue wax pencil Japanese quotation marks and marked “delete.”

Call number: Unnumbered
Publication title: Songs Toward Culture No. 5
Song title: N/A
Date of Censorship: Unknown

This item is not included in the Prange Collection’s system, but it is part of what would be volume five of MT2042. It does not include a clear deletion, but rather includes some arrows with unclear meanings. I include it here for the sake of completion.

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