MUSICAL MEANS TO POLITICAL ENDS — JAPANESE SCHOOL SONGS IN MANCHURIA

Songs before the establishment of Manchukuo

Ury EPPSTEIN

Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Three modest, innocent-looking Japanese school songbooks, *Manshū Shōka-shū* ("Manchuria school songs collection"),[1] were published during 1924-1927 by the South Manchuria Railway Company's Education Association's Publication Department. Although, admittedly, a relatively minor event in comparison with what was happening in Manchuria at that time, it still gives rise to several questions: Why should a railway company, supposed to run trains and construct and maintain railroads, bother to establish an Education Association and to publish school textbooks, including songbooks; why were textbooks for Japanese school children in Manchuria published especially there, rather than making use of those already profusely published in Japan; and finally, what were these songs like in terms of texts and melodies?

In attempting to find answers to these questions it will be helpful to pay attention to the dates of publication. These are well before the Manchukuo puppet state was established in 1932 by the Japanese as a dependency of Japan after it occupied Manchuria in 1931. Although this event, perhaps more than anything else, created the aggressive, militarist image of Japan in relation to Manchuria, the fact remains that a massive Japanese presence had already existed there since 1905 as a result of Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905. After railway concessions in the South Manchurian Kwantung territory, formerly leased by China to Russia, were transferred to Japan as part of the Portsmouth Peace Treaty at the end of the war in 1905, the South Manchuria Railway Company was established by the Japanese government in 1906, to assume responsibility for the South Manchuria Railway Zone.

As a company dominated by the Japanese government,[2] this responsibility assumed proportions far beyond the exigencies of railway management, and the company actually acted as an agency of the state.

> "The South Manchuria Railway Company was established in 1906 to engage *primarily*[3] in railway and mining enterprises which Russia had ceded to Japan as a result of the Russo-Japanese war. To the Company was also assigned the administrative duty within the SMR Zone. This latter duty included the responsible task of constructing cities, establishing hospitals and instituting schools for the benefit of those who reside within the SMR Zone.

> And thus the Company from the beginning has given a careful thought to educational undertakings" —

according to an official SMR statement.[4] With the gradual spread of the Japanese population and its embarking on development projects in Manchuria beyond the SMR Zone, it was only natural for the SMR, "as a matter of convenience," to build and maintain schools, from kindergarten up to university level, also in more distant areas where " a need for establishing schools for Japanese children began to be keenly felt."[5] The SMR took great pride in its being a Railway Company of a unique character.

> "It is not too much to state that the South Manchuria Railway Company has been the greatest single factor in the cultural development in Manchuria during the past thirty years. It may be added here that the South Manchuria Railway Company is more than a mere railway company and that education is only one of its many and far-flung activities."

An impressive list of such activities follows, from coal mines and harbors to libraries, hospitals and research institutes. "In short, the South Manchuria Railway Company has been the carrier of the light of civilization into Manchuria."[6] The report emphasizes that these educational activities were carried out in collaboration with the Kwantung Government which has been set up by Japan for the administration of the Kwantung Leased Territory.

In its advance into Manchuria Japanese imperialism chose to assume the form of a railroad company, in the formulation of Gotō Shinpei (1857- 1929), the company's first president.[7] Turning Manchuria into a Japanese colony — this is what the "management of Manchuria" amounted to in the period following the Russo-Japanese war. These colonial advantages were intended to be achieved by peaceful means, however, not military ones. Therefore, the company's employees were imbued with the notion that the South Manchuria Railway ought to serve the local inhabitants of Manchuria. From this conception was born the idea that South Manchuria Railway personnel were supposed to cooperate and act in harmony with the population. "Colonial policy is military preparedness in civil garb (*bunsō-teki bubi*)" was the formula coined by Gotō with this objective in mind. "We have to implement a cultural invasion" by means of "popular education for the resident population."[8]

Consequently, immediately upon

> "its establishment, the South Manchuria Railway Company, in accordance with a decree of the Japanese government, directed its efforts to the establishment and improvement of cultural facilities in the South Manchuria Railway Zone. It spent huge sums of money for the establishment of well equipped primary and middle schools...for the education not only of the young Japanese but also the native population in the Railway Zone. Many educational institutions were also founded in the Kwantung Leased Territory through the efforts of the Japanese authorities in concert with the South Manchuria Railway Company" —

as summed up in a report of the SMR.[9]

The South Manchuria Railway Company, then, was also "invested with authority to receive rates from inhabitants of the railway zone for...the carrying out of beneficial projects such as the upkeep and improvement of public utilities, schools, hospitals," and so forth.[10]

The motivation for the South Manchuria Railway Company's establishing and maintaining of schools thus being reasonably clear, the question is why it did not simply avail itself of school textbooks, including school songbooks, published in Japan, rather than embark on the cumbersome task of publishing new ones.

The principle that "the curricula in these various schools are based upon those prevailing in Japan" is insisted on in the SMR's official survey, with the immediate addition, however, that "they are carefully adapted to the special conditions and needs in Manchuria."[11] These special and different needs, arising from the different "living environment of the Japanese children of this locality," are spelled out in greater detail in *Manshū Kenkoku Jū-nen-shi,* the official "Ten years' history of Manchuria"[12]: "The cultivation of a sentiment for one's locality and homeland (*kyōdo-teki jōsō*) and the teaching of material particularly necessary for daily life." So formidable were these special needs that they required the establishment of a special South Manchuria Textbook Publication Department for "supplementary textbooks suitable for this area," so different from Japan in many ways. These textbooks were geared to the aims of education for the Japanese living in Manchuria as set forth by the Publication Department's Chief Editor, Shirakawa Kesaharu:

> "To endow the Japanese, who are living in Manchuria, as the Leading Nation (*shidō minzoku*) of the Five Nations (*Gozoku* — Chinese, Manchurians, Mongols, Tibetans, Uigurs), with the characteristics of continentals. . . . Since regional differences [between Japan and Manchuria] are remarkable in terms of climate and natural conditions, there existed many problems in education in matters relating to teaching material. . . . In Manchuria there prevailed a situation where instruction by an indiscriminate use of officially authorized textbooks [of the Japanese Ministry of Education] was not practicable. . . . Japan is extraordinary in the world as a country of only one nation, but in Manchuria there also lived a local population (*senjū minzoku,* lit. "aboriginals") such as Chinese and Mongols. Consequently natural features, civilization and daily life in Manchuria were entirely different from those of Japan. . . . There are various problems regarding education toward being continentals, but in order to come to terms with them the Textbook Publication Department has for a long time edited textbooks for all the study subjects necessary, adopting a method of using them concurrently with the authorized textbooks."[13]

All these considerations apply, as a matter of course, also to the school songbooks published by the Department. To these in particular, however, a preface including a statement of the criteria for their song texts was added: "As for the song texts of this book, pieces adequate for the refinement of taste and the cultivation of sentiment from among things that children observe in their daily life, mainly with the scenery of Manchuria and Mongolia as background, have been selected."[14]

The Songbooks

The way in which these proclaimed ideas and aims of education were put into practice becomes clear when we examine the school songbooks published in Manchuria during the period of administration by the South Manchuria Railway Company, before the establishment of Manchukuo. A series of three songbooks, *Manshū Shōka-shū,* for the first to sixth grades, were published for use in the Japanese schools established and maintained by the SMR Company.

Each of these volumes contains twenty songs intended for two grades. Not one single foreign song appears, a fact all the more conspicuous when we think of the high percentage of foreign songs included in previous school songbooks, particularly those produced in the early Meiji period, when a more international-minded and less nationalist spirit still prevailed in the Japanese government.

In the first volume, for the first two grades, the subjects of all the songs are natural phenomena, such as donkeys (*Usagi-uma*), piglets (*Buta-no Ko*), leaves (*Ha-ga Deta*), the sunset (*Yūyake*); children's everyday activities, such as a firecrackers game (*Bakuchiku*); and everyday life, such as the Russian-style Manchurian stove (*Pechika*). In this respect the volume seems largely to follow the example of early Meiji songbooks that had a reputation for being mainly "on birds and flowers." On closer observation it transpires, however, that many of the songs are significantly different from their counterparts in Japan with regard to the objects mentioned. In 11 songs (55%) these belong to the Manchurian scene and would hardly ever appear in a Japanese context. Already the first song, *Usagi-uma,* is about a donkey, an animal popular in Manchuria but practically unknown in Japan. The ground is described as "read earth," extremely rare in a Japanese landscape. In *Me-ga Deta* ("Buds are out," Nr.2) the north wind and the west wind are mentioned as wintry, unpleasant phenomena not particularly familiar in Japan. The pear blossom in *Nashi-no Hana* (Nr.3) is hailed as a harbinger of spring, much like the cherry blossom in Japan. The pig in *Buta-no Ko* ("Piglet," Nr.5) appears in a Japanese children's song, *Buta-no Koe* ("The Pig's Voice") as a foreign, almost exotic animal of the Manchurian Mountains or — in later versions — the closer Korean, and finally the Japanese Shinshū Mountains.[15] An avenue lined with acacia trees as in *Machinamiki* ("City Roadside Trees," Nr.7), typical of Dairen, is also different from the common city scenery of Japan, and so are the red brick houses of the same song and of *Akai O-uchi* ("Red House," Nr.8), and the mud walls of *Kareha* ("Withered Leaf," Nr.14). *Yūyake* ("Sunset," Nr.12) is not the well-known Japanese song of the same name, but describes a field of *Kaoliang,* the Chinese sorghum, a staple food in Manchuria as rice is in Japan. In *Aki* ("Autumn," Nr. 13) the harvest of this plant even symbolizes this season rather than the maple leaves in Japan, while this song and *Gan* ("Wild Geese," Nr. 15) marvel at the "wide" fields (*Dotchi-o Mitemo Hiroi,* "wide wherever one looks"), a perpetual source of amazement to the Japanese used to small-scale views. The Manchurian stove, *Pechika* (Nr.19), is singled out for special praise in a song of itself for warming the house in the severe Manchurian winter, in sharp contrast to the ineffective Japanese *Hibachi* which is left unmentioned but no doubt well remembered.

Almost the same spirit is maintained in the second volume, for grades three and four, where all the songs except one are about natural phenomena such as spring, animals, pasqueflowers, catalpa trees, the wind, a musical clock and vehicles. The exception, *Gintōkō* ("Prince Silverhead," Nr.19) is a eulogy in praise of the nameless war dead. But in spite of its slightly patriotic character there is nothing aggressively militaristic about this song which is conceived rather in the spirit of a lament, no more than reasonable in a school song intended to instil respect for the nation's fallen soldiers, without any explicit encouragement to perform further military exploits. A mildly patriotic flavor makes itself felt also in *Yanagi-no Haru* ("Willows' Spring," Nr.2) where Mukden is praised as the Northern Imperial Tomb, but also as the New City — still two years before the Mukden incident of 1928 — whose blossoming willow trees arouse nostalgic memories of spring festivals in Japan. This, too, is a brand of patriotism that may not necessarily amount to more than a harmless and humanly understandable emotion — longing for the distant home country.

In this volume the number of songs featuring characteristic Manchurian elements rises to 13 (65%). The Manchurian stove, *Pechika,* figures again in *Uta Dokei* ("Musical Clock," Nr.1). Pastoral scenes of cows and calves, and of sheep grazing in meadows, unfamiliar in Japan except in Hokkaido which is far from the areas of traditional agriculture, is the subject of *Ushi* ("Cows," Nr.4) and *Ko-hitsuji* ("Lambs," Nr.9). In *Ichirin-sha* (Nr.7) the monocycle, a vehicle popular in China and Manchuria but not used in Japan, is described as part of every-day life. The yellow wind of a sand hill, a natural phenomenon of Manchuria but not of Japan, appears in *Kaze* ("Wind," Nr.8). The imagery of a widely opened dance fan to represent the furrows of a field traversed by a donkey (*Hatake,* "Field," Nr.10), would be inapplicable to the narrow confines of Japanese agriculture. The scenery viewed through the window of a night train, in *Yo-gisha* (Nr.11), consists of bare mountains and bare fields, unthinkable in Japan where mountains are almost always covered with trees. Roof tiles, typical of Manchuria but uncommon in Japan, and endless Kaoliang fields, again, are dominating elements in *Akai Yūhi* ("Red Sunset," Nr.12). The donkey appears in an almost Middle-Eastern but thoroughly un-Japanese setting, turning a millstone in a dark flour mill, in *Usagi-uma* ("Donkey," Nr.13) and also in *Kona-yuki* ("Powder Snow," Nr.17) where its blindfolded eyes become a subject of some compassion. The sight, unfamiliar in Japan, of a cow and a horse drawing a cart together is highlighted in *Ni-guruma* ("Cart," Nr.15). One of the strongest impressions experienced by the Japanese colonizers was that made by the desert, with which they were completely unacquainted. The description, in *Mōko-no Sabaku* ("Mongolia's Desert," Nr.18), is as detailed as it is poetic. The endless, lonely desert, where summer grass disappears even though the wind is blowing, the tracks of horses and camels, the presence of ascetic lama hermits, respectfully referred to as *Bōsama,* undulating sand dunes, hot midsummer sunlight, deluded travellers hopefully pursuing the mirage of a grove, seem to have kindled the amazed Japanese imagination more than many other astonishing phenomena of their New World. The song on Dairen, (Nr.20), with its flavor of almost naive local patriotism, praises the green lawns of the city, the white sand of the beaches — presumably in contrast to the black sand of those in Japan — and also the "endless" natural products of this center of peaceful industry and commerce.

In the third volume, for the upper two grades, the number of patriotic songs jumps to 6 (30%), no doubt in order to educate the pupils, at the mature age of the fifth and sixth elementary school grades, to the values considered desirable. Still, the spirit of the young people crossing the sea from Japan to Manchuria in *Umi Koete* (Nr.7) is one of peaceful colonization, marvelling at the unaccustomed "endless view of the large plain," priding themselves on "holding the key to the treasure house" — presenting a suggestive imagery of the efforts exerted "by young arms, a broad chest, brimming over with energy," but without even the slightest hint of any aggressive intentions. The emphasis is placed clearly on "Let's go to make preparations for development." *Nireisan-no Aki* ("The Autumn of Mt. Nirei," Nr.12) commemorates the fallen Japanese soldiers who fought in the Russo-Japanese war at Port Arthur. The patriotism of the song assumes, however, the form of a lament for hardship and death rather than a celebration of victory. The song's atmosphere is dominated by the lonely voice of the insects heard where battle cries once resounded from the top of the fortress, and by the scent of wild chrysanthemums carried on the morning wind awakening the afflicted soldier from his dream — a sad memorial without any boisterous pride in heroism. Reflecting on the transitoriness of glory, it is not the kind of song to encourage children to valiant fighting. This is significant when one bears in mind the glorification of fighting and conquering which Japanese school songs so skillfully and relentlessly accomplished immediately before and during the Pacific War — the time that followed the establishment of Manchukuo. When one remembers, moreover, that Japan's role in the Russo-Japanese war was not considered controversial or aggressive by the Western powers which accepted it as justified defense of legitimate interests, this song can hardly be interpreted as representing education for militarism. A somewhat more overtly militaristic tendency is expressed in *Niyūshi* ("Two Brave Warriors," Nr.15) where two soldiers are eulogized for dying in the course of duty on a secret mission, presumably of espionage rather than active warfare. Mukden, in *Hōten* (Nr.17), although mentioned as the scene of the decisive negotiations between Japan and Russia at the end of the war, is also praised as a present-day center of industry and culture. The assassination of the Japanese statesman Itp̄ Hirobumi in Harbin is deplored, emphasizing that he had been on a peaceful mission of negotiations with the Russian Finance Minister on economic, not military, affairs. The final song, *Hinode-no Uta* ("Sunrise Song," Nr.20), although outspokenly patriotic, sings the praises of the home country as a land of vast, endless Kaoliang fields — obviously Manchuria, not Japan.

The number of songs containing local Manchurian elements in this volume goes down to 9 (45%), no doubt due to the increase of patriotic songs. Such local elements include the mention of Mongolia and the slow gait of camels, nowhere to be found in Japan, on its meandering paths, in *Kyōyōkan-no Sōshun* ("Early Spring at the Fortress," Nr.1). Red earth, invariably strange to Japanese eyes, is mentioned in *Haru-no Yukukoro* ("The Passing of

Spring," Nr.21). A whole song is devoted to acacias (Nr.4), a tree common in Manchuria but non-existent in Japan except in far-away Hokkaido. A plucked string instrument is called *jabisen* simply because it is unfamiliar to Japanese ears, although in fact it is Okinawan and cannot be found in Manchuria at all. The Yalu River, *Ōryokkō* (Nr.5), impresses with its vastness since no river of such magnitude exists in Japan. A Chinese coolie is described with patronizing sympathy in *Kokage-no Yume* ("Dream in a Tree's Shadow," Nr.6). A donkey, this time with its characteristic bell, is the subject of *Suzu-no Oto* ("A Bell's Sound," Nr.8). A horse carriage, typical of North China, figures in *Kago Guruma* (Nr.(9). Here the Sino-Japanese character 車, car, is even used in a Japanese transformation, *Ho,* of its Chinese pronunciation, *che,* completely foreign to any usage of this character in Japan. A mountain landscape is typified by its sutra-reciting Buddhist temples and gowned Daoist priests in *Senzan* ("Thousand Mountains," Nr.10) while in Japan it would be unthinkable not to mention Shintō shrines in such a context. The Moon, in *Tsuki* (Nr.11), shines down on Kaoliang fields in summer and on "large rivers frozen white" in winter when "even the smoke is cold," obviously colder than anything that the Japanese know in the winter of their own country. The universal idea of love, in *Ai* (Nr.13), is celebrated not in the romantic but the Confucian sense of this term — love of nature toward its creatures, but also love among nations, "taking" even "the hands of other countries' people," with a call of "Let's enjoy peace together."

The Melodies

Some explicit pronouncements were formulated with regard to the song texts by those responsible for their publication. Silence, however, prevailed concerning the musical characteristics of the songs and, in particular, their melodic structure. This silence is by no means a new trait in connection with Japanese school songs. Already in the case of the first Western-style Japanese school songbooks — *Shōgaku Shōka-shū,*[16] published by the Ministry of Education's Music Investigation Committee in 1881, and the controversial *Yōnen Tekiyō Yōnen Shōka* by Tamura Torazō and Nassho Benjirō[17] in 1900, all the relevant writings center only around textual questions, and never touch on the musical aspects of the songs. This does not mean that composers, editors, educators or policy-makers did not have any definite opinions about the musical aspects of the songs. But since they refrained from expressing their views, the melodic peculiarities of the songs can be understood only by examining the musical characteristics of the songs themselves.

Only one song (5% of the volume) in pure Western tonality, *F* major, appears in the first volume (*Bakuchiku,* "Firecrackers," Nr.18); three songs (15%) in major keys in vol. 2 (*Ushi,* "Cows," Nr.4; *Ichirin-sha,* "Monocycle," Nr.7; and *Kona-yuki,* "Powder Snow," Nr.17); and three songs in major and three in minor keys (45%) in vol. 3 (*Ōryokkō,* "Yalu River," Nr.5; *Ai,* "Love," Nr.13; *Hinode-no Uta,* "Sunrise Song," Nr.20); and *Akashiya,* "Acacia," Nr.4; *Itō Kō-no Saigo,* "The End of Prince Ito," Nr.18; *Bōshō-san,* "Mt. Bosho," Nr.19). The small number of songs in Western tonality is significant in contrast to the outstandingly large number in the

Shōgaku Shōka-shū school songbooks of the early Meiji period, indicating that narrow-minded nationalism had already begun to replace the former internationally orientated tendency.

Songs in pure traditional Japanese tonality appear in the first two volumes — three songs (15%) in the first one, decreasing to two (10%) in the second, and disappearing in the last, corresponding to a slight increase of songs in Western tonality, left to this late stage.

The traditional Japanese tonality in most of these songs is based on the pentatonic modes *In* (Fig.1) and *Yō* (Fig.2) taken from Koto and Shamisen music and from folk music respectively.

Of these traditional tonalities only the *Yō* mode is represented in the first volume, presumably because it is found in traditional Japanese folksongs and is therefore more familiar to young children than the *In* mode deriving from rather more sophisticated and remote art music. The songs in the *Yō* mode are *Yūyake* ("Sunset Glow," Nr.12) (Fig.3) and *Aki* ("Autumn," Nr.13) (Fig.4), conspicuously featuring the characteristic descending minor third followed by a major second (Nr.12), or ascending minor third preceded by a major second, and the cadential ascending or descending major second at phrase endings.

The *In* mode is represented in vol. 2 by *Kuri-uri* ("Chestnut Vendor," Nr.14) (Fig.5), and *Sekitan Kubemashō* ("Let's feed the Fire with Coal," Nr.16) (Fig.6), proceeding consistently according to the *Hirajōshi* Koto tuning (Fig.7) which is based on that mode, and conspicuously featuring the descending major third between the tonic and the preceding fifth tone of the descending scale, and the characteristic major third between the second and third tone.

The only song in a tonality of the Imperial Court Music (*Gagaku*) is *Buta-no Ko* ("Piglet," Nr.5) in the first volume (Fig.8). The melody is in *Taishikichō* (Fig.9), one of the six *Gagaku* tonalities where the 4th and 7th degrees are missing in the Koto tuning (Fig.10). The tonality of *Gagaku,* the Imperial Court Music — the most respected kind of music and also the least well known, far removed as it was from the environment and daily life experience of the people, let alone the children — could obviously not be omitted in a school songbook of an imperialistic state. On the other hand, however, it could not be expected to evoke any sense of familiarity in children. This problem was solved, then, by a typical Japanese compromise: *Gagaku* tonality was duly represented in the songbooks — but by a single piece only.

Most of the songs are, on the surface, analyzable in terms of a major or minor key. Such an analysis would not take into account, however, the most characteristic tonal feature which occurs abundantly and consistently in most of these songs — a melodic pattern based on a traditional, tetrachordal structure.

A tetrachord, according to a definition by the late musicologist Koizumi Fumio[18], is a tonal unit consisting of three tones — two basic structural or nuclear tones a fourth apart, forming a skeletal frame, and an intermediate or medium, non-nuclear tone between these two. This intermediate tone within a tetrachord can, in a Japanese melody, take various positions, from a minor second to a major third above the lower nuclear tone. According to the placing of this medium tone, there are several basic types of tetrachords, among them two called *Min'yō* ("folksong") tetrachord (I) and *Ritsu* tetrachord (II) (Fig.11) — names which indicate their genre of origin within the various kinds of traditional Japanese music. A tetrachord may be extended into a pentachord by adding a major second before the lower nuclear tone or after the higher nuclear tone.

In most of the songs in the Manchurian school songbooks such tetrachords, and sometimes pentachords, figure prominently. Songs that feature tetrachords — sometimes in each phrase of a song or at least once or twice within its course — number 16 out of 20 (80%) in the first volume, decreasing to 15 (75%) in vol. 2, and still further to 14 (70%) in vol. 3, presumably to make room for the increase of songs in Western tonality in this volume. Together with the songs in pure Japanese tonality, this brings the percentage of songs containing traditional tonal elements to 95% in the first volume, 85% in vol. 2, and 70% in vol. 3. Even the diminished percentage in vol. 3, still a significant majority of the songs, indicates an unmistakable tendency to emphasize their Japanese character.

SONGS IN MANCHUKUO

The situation changed drastically in 1932 when Manchukuo was established as a puppet state under Japanese control — as can be seen, among many other things, also from a songbook, *Manshū kaitaku kakyokushū* ("Manchuria Development Songs Collection"),[19] published in 1940 by the Manchuria Immigration Society.

With the abolition of the extraterritorial privileges which Japan had obtained in Manchuria from China, the previous ruler of the territory, the responsibility for education was transferred from the South Manchuria Railway Company and became in 1932 an integral part of the new Manchukuo government, first as part of the Civil Administration (*Minseibu*) and then, still in the same year, as a separate department (*Bunkyūbu*). The *New Order of Education* (*Shingakusei*), eventually promulgated in 1937 and amounting to a complete reform of the educational system, was entirely based on official statements of policy issued during the first six years of Manchukuo's existence: the State Foundation Spirit (*Kenkoku seishin*) as expounded by the Declaration of the State's Founding (*Kenkoku sengen*, 1932), the Agreement Protocol of Japan and Manchukuo (*Giteisho*, 1932), the Enthronement Edict (*Sokui shōsho*, 1934), and the Imperial Carriage Edict on the People's Instruction (*Kairan Kunmin shōsho*, 1935) — a particularly florid appellation in Japanese officialese, presumably because such a declaration may perhaps have been proclaimed ceremoniously from a decorative vehicle to the awestruck population — intended to "instill a profound comprehension of Japan-Manchuria's Inseparable Relation of One Mind One Virtue (*Isshin ittoku*), rooted in the aim of the State Foundation Spirit." Particular emphasis in this new educational policy was placed on spiritual education (*Seishin kyōiku*), "striving for cultivation of character, the fostering of moral nature, and the manifestation of the enhancement of the National Spirit."[20] These were variants of traditional Confucian ethics, revived in Imperial Manchukuo under the name of the Kingly Way (*Wang tao*) as the basic policy of education. It relied on the classical Four Books of Confucianism — the *Great Learning, Analects, Doctrine of the Mean* and *Mencius* — focusing in particular on honoring the code of good behavior, filial piety and respect for the aged as objectives of elementary education.[21] This was the ideological infrastructure for enforcing the principles of discipline and obedience in which the subjects of the state were to be educated henceforth for the benefit of Japan's colonial aspirations.

Education for labor, and cultivating a spirit of love for hard work figured next as related aims of education. This was meant, of course, as a euphemism for gearing education to the national effort — the economic effort at first, and shortly afterwards the war effort. Particular importance was therefore attached to vocational training and to "serious consideration of the education required for Manchuria's actual daily life, and of responding to its living conditions, avoiding the evil of lapsing into the overemphasis of mental training as it had been practiced heretofore."[22] This overtly anti- intellectual tendency of the imperialist Japanese authorities is particularly significant. The era of the broad-minded, tolerant, culture-inclined South Manchuria Railway Company's education system had obviously come to an end. Under Japanese colonialism, now open and undisguised, education was from now on a tool for achieving practical purposes considered of vital national importance, and for indoctrination in officially approved ethical principles, not any more for training independently thinking people who might easily become too critical — not something to be encouraged.

The education of Japanese nationals in Manchukuo, after the declaration of the state's founding and the corresponding abolition of Japanese extra-territoriality, was likewise transferred from the authority of the South Manchuria Railway Company's Education Department, first to the jurisdiction of the Japanese Embassy in Manchukuo, where an Education Department was established in 1937, and then to the Kwantung Administration, where an Education Department was established in 1940 to take over the educational functions of the Embassy and expand them — all under the direct control of the Japanese Ministry of Education in Tokyo. The Main Principles announced by the Embassy's Education Department were:

1. The basis of education should be the cultivation of the Japanese spirit, making it prosper, and permeating it with sincere loyalty.
2. Cultivation of the comprehension of Manchukuo's State Foundation Spirit, and fulfilling with integrity the duties that are the elements of Manchukuo's establishment.[23]

In view of the fact that "Manchukuo's State Foundation Spirit" was a Japanese coinage for the unity of Manchukuo and Japan in mind and body under complete Japanese control and authority, and that the "Japanese Spirit" was postulated as the first priority of education, undisguised Japanese imperialism can now be seen to overtly replace the former conciliatory notion of Gotō's "cultural invasion" in "civil garb," which encouraged in pre-Manchukuo times the Japanese personnel of the South Manchuria Railway Company to cooperate and act in harmony with the local population. Japanese superiority now became the unambiguously emphasized factor in the formulation of the Education Ministry's policy with regard to the

Japanese in Manchukuo:

> The cultivation of an Imperial nation which, as the central nation in Manchukuo, is worthy of leading other nations; instilling comprehension of Manchukuo's State Foundation Spirit; and striving to foster the principle of fulfilling the obligations which are the core of Manchukuo's people.
>
> The striving for the cultivation of competence and dignity that deserve to win the confidence of other nations which are led by the Imperial Country's consciousness of standing and mission, making clear the special characteristics of our country's culture, alongside with spreading this knowledge to the many in East Asia and the world.[24]

The ideals and aspirations of Japanese imperialism had thus become the openly declared guidelines of education in Manchukuo, in line with the generally prevailing image of the Japanese presence there after the establishment of the Manchukuo state — and in sharp contrast to the character of its pre-state presence.

In the schools of Manchuria's outlying Development Areas some additional elements were emphasized in the educational process. Large scale development projects in the fields of agriculture, industry and national defense required, it was felt, the cultivation of a pioneering spirit. "Considering the significance and the singularity of education in the Development Areas, the children ought to be made to enhance their comprehension of the spirit of creative designing, the camaraderie of collaboration, the love of labor, and protection of the country."[25]

The establishment of a Manchuria Development Youth Volunteer Corps (*Manshū Kaitaku Seinen Giyūtai*) is of particular educational significance in this connection. It was founded in Japan in 1932 by Katō Kanji (1884-1967), leader of the Manchuria Development Immigration, and Ishiguro Tadaatsu (1884-1960), Vice-Minister of Agriculture at the time, with the purpose of enlisting Japanese youths from sixteen to nineteen years of age, mainly from Japan's rural areas, in order to send them to camps in the Development Areas of Manchuria for three years training in agriculture and industry, combined with military drill. This movement was regarded as a national enterprise. It was organized in military style, and aimed at providing the labor force, not only for the agricultural and industrial development of Manchukuo's outlying districts, but also for laying a cornerstone of Japan's ambitious project of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere — the Japanese term for the economic and political subjugation of East Asia under Japan's colonial authority.

The textbooks published by the South Manchuria Railway Company's Schoolbook Publication Department for use in the Japanese schools in Manchuria were fundamentally revised in 1932 with the foundation of Manchukuo, and were edited in accordance with "the basic policy of making the State Foundation Spirit, the Spirit of Peoples' Harmony and the like generally known to the pupils."[26] Inevitably, the responsibilities of the SMR's Schoolbook Publication Department were finally, in 1938, transferred to the Embassy's Education Department. School songs (*shōka*) were included in the elementary school curriculum, together with Japanese, history, geography and arithmetic.

Among the songs, "militaristic songs composed in the Japanese home country and songs composed in Manchuria in 1942-44 on themes such as the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, development, and the Manchurian war, were abundant," according to contemporary documentary evidence.[27] Since such was the case also with regard to school songs published in Japan itself for use in schools there at the same time, this is not particularly surprising.[28]

One may reasonably assume that these policies and principles of education prevailing in Manchukuo after the founding of the state were reflected in the school songs published there at that time. Since no Manchukuo school songbooks of that period have as yet been located, it will suffice, for the time being, to examine a collection of Manchuria songs, *Manshū kaitaku kakyokushū,* though it was not intended for schools but for the Manchuria Development Youth Volunteer Corps. In contrast to the earlier school songbooks which had appeared anonymously, in this case the editor's name was given prominently at the head of the title page, presumably for added prestige value — Yamada Kōsaku (1886-1965), one of the most respected Japanese composers of that time, reputed particularly for harmless, small, lyrical songs such as *Akatonbo* ("Red Dragonfly," 1926), a perennial favorite with Japanese sentimentalists. A more sinister aspect of this composer's personality was revealed when he functioned as a staunch supporter of the Japanese nationalist regime during World War II. In his capacity as chairman of the Japan Music Culture Association, he took pains to dismiss Jewish and alien musicians from their employment, on the evidence of Joseph Rosenstock, the Polish-born Jewish conductor who had been invited from Germany by the Japan New Symphony Orchestra (est. 1926, forerunner of what became the NHK Symphony Orchestra after reorganization in 1951) in 1936, shortly before the war, to become its conductor in chief.[29] Yamada's nationalist posture, incidentally, did not prevent him from Romanizing his name as Koscak to give himself a cosmopolitan tone in his dealings with patrons in the West, where he had many of his works performed.

In his preface to the Manchurian songbook he wholeheartedly supports official governmental policy in specifying the aims for which these songs were selected:

> To praise the enterprise of the national policy, to encourage and comfort the sweating people, to deepen more and more the understanding of the supporting people in the home country [for the colonists in Manchuria], and to praise the achievements of national unity.[30]

These were entirely new formulations with regard to the publication of Japanese songs in Manchuria — a far cry from the previous benevolent tendency of "cultivation of sentiment and the refinement of taste . . .mainly with the scenery of Manchuria and Mongolia as background."

The colonists to whom this songbook is addressed are extolled by its publisher, the Manchuria Immigration Society's chairman Ōkura Kinmochi (1882-1968), as "warriors of development who make the effort to take upon themselves the mission of establishing the new culture of the continent." The military imagery, a novelty as regards Japanese songs in Manchuria, spelling the end of Gotō's enlightened "civil garb," is particularly noteworthy. Manchuria's development is hailed as the "great enterprise deserving to be called the creation of the world," and the book's songs are intended to "sing the praises of this sacred enterprise."[31]

The book contains 60 songs, under the headings of *Giyūtai* ("The Courageous Volunteer Corps," 20 songs), *Kaitaku* ("Development," 17 songs), *Nichi-Man* ("Japan-Manchuria," 7 songs) and an Appendix (9 songs). These are preceded by seven ceremonial songs for official functions, just as it was standard procedure also in songbooks for use in Japan itself at that time.

The Japanese and the Manchurian National Anthems come first — the Japanese characteristically preceding the Manchurian. In a song celebrating the founding of the Manchukuo state (*Kenkoku-no uta,* Nr.5), the refrain praises Japan five times by name while not mentioning Manchukuo even once. In a "Patriotic March" (*Aikoku kōshin- kyoku,* Nr.6), the patriotism refers not to Manchukuo but to Japan, symbolized by the Emperor and Mt. Fuji. *Umi yukaba* ("When Going to the Sea," Nr.3) is defined as an "Army and Navy Ceremonial Song" — a militarism that was a novelty in Japanese-Manchurian songs. A "Colonists Song" (*Shokumin- no uta,* Nr.4) takes pains to praise the "glory of Japan's men." One song of the introductory seven, *Kyōwa kōshin-kyoku* ("Concord March," Nr.7) is in Chinese — a somewhat meager gesture toward the Manchurians, the supposed proprietors of the state.

Not considering the seven prefatory songs, 42 of the book's 53 songs (79%) are on various aspects of development, such as "Song of the Special Skills Unit" (*Tokugi han-no uta,* Nr.9), "Song of the Bride cultivating new Land" (*Kaikon hanayome-no uta,* Nr.41), "Sending off the Soil's Warriors" (*Tsuchi-no senshi-o okuru,* Nr.55), and many more. The emphasis on the military formation of the Development Youth Volunteer Corps is striking — something which had not been the case when the South Manchuria Railway Company was still in charge, although at that time, too, development projects of considerable magnitude were already being undertaken. Songs with more civilian-sounding texts might strike one as expressing positive and even praiseworthy aims, such as "We are an Agricultural Mechanization Unit" (*Wareware-wa nōgyō kikaika butai,* Nr.13), "The Continent calls" (*Tairiku-wa yobu,* Nr.15), "Manchuria, develop!" (*Takeyo Manshū,* Nr.21), "Grain sorting Song" (*Senkoku uta,* Nr.24) or "Soybean Song" (*Kōzu bushi,* Nr. 32). One should bear in mind, however, that all these seemingly harmless and constructive projects were an integral part of the Japanese policy outlined above, undertaken for the economic and political benefit not of Manchuria but of Japan and its colonialist aspirations, and designed to build up the Greater East Asia Co- prosperity Sphere — the florid expression signifying Japan's quest for complete economic and political domination over ever-increasing areas in Asia.

Military subjects figure in 3 songs (5.6%) — *Giyū taishin gunka* ("Military Song of the Courageous Corps' Advance,". Nr.8); *Warera-wa wakaki giyū-gun* ("We are a young courageous Army," Nr.12); *Tsuchi-no senshi-no uta* ("Song of the Soil's Warrior," Nr.40).

Considering that development songs were regarded as the first priority for such a song collection, it is perhaps not surprising that only 2 songs (3%) are on purely political subjects — a song celebrating the founding of Manchukuo *Manshū kensetsu-no uta,* Nr.34) and a "Japan

Manchuria March" (*Nichi-Man kōshin-kyoku,* Nr.45), praising the relations between the two countries.

The remaining 6 songs (11%) are on less tendentious, more peaceful subjects related to the nature and environment of Manchuria, such as "Manchurian Spring" (*Manshū-no haru,* Nr.46), "Orchid Flower" (*Ran-no o-hana,* Nr.47), "The Horse Carriage goes on" (*Basha yuku yuku,* Nr.50) and some more.

Conclusion

The general tendencies of Japanese music education through school songs in Manchuria, as they emerge from all these rather minute details, now become clear. They manifest themselves on two levels: firstly, in official pronouncements such as songbook prefaces, and secondly, in the songs that represent the practical implementation of these pronouncements.

The songs, in turn, when examined from two different aspects — the textual and the musical — reveal similar tendencies in both regards. These tendencies, realized consistently on these two levels, indicate a nationalist policy. The generally prevailing attitude, in most pre-Manchukuo songs, of almost idyllic peacefulness and friendliness, coupled with affection and even admiration for Manchuria and its landscapes, respect for its religions, and beneficial intentions concerning its economic and cultural development before the establishment of Manchukuo can, on the authority of such a knowledgeable and influential personality as Gotō Shinpei, justifiably be understood as a civil guise for Japan's real, colonialist and imperialist intentions, which were the driving force behind all these modes of expression.

The benevolent and positive attitude toward the local population of Manchurians and Chinese at that time may, likewise, be interpreted as a policy of harmonious collaboration, motivated by Japan's own colonialist aspirations. All these concealed intentions notwithstanding, it should be emphasized that aggressive militarist policies, attitudes and behavior, so typical of the Japanese at the time of Manchukuo's establishment and later, not only there but wherever they ruled, are nowhere even so much as hinted at in these songs of the time preceding Manchukuo. This is all the more significant because the Japanese proved later to be veritable masters in the art of composing school songs that were full of gratingly nationalistic and militaristic incitement, up to the point of intensive and consistent brainwashing of the pupils in order to educate them to fight and die "for the country" (*Kuni-no tame*). In comparison with those later Japanese school songbooks,[32] discussed elsewhere in greater detail,[33] it becomes all the more obvious that the Japanese school songbooks of Manchuria before the establishment of Manchukuo represent a still distinctly different phase of colonization, based on the principle of peaceful means, before the militarists gained the upper hand in the Japanese government.

Only after the establishment of Manchukuo were Japanese colonialism and imperialism openly expressed in the songs used for the training of Japanese youths there. Songs became, in this later period, a skillfully manipulated tool for the consistent indoctrination of young

Japanese in Manchuria with the ideals and ambitions which had meanwhile become the declared policy of Japanese imperialism.

NOTES

1 South Manchuria Education Association, Publication Department, ed.: Manshū Shōka-shū, vol. 1-3, Dairen, 1924-27.

2 J. Young: *The Research Activities of the South Manchurian Railway Company 1907-1945,* New York, Columbia University Press, 1966, p. 3.

3 My italics. -U.E.

4 Anon.: "Educational Activities of the South Manchuria Railway Company," *Contemporary Manchuria,* 1 Nr.3 (1937); pp. 56, 60; South Manchuria Railway Company, Dairen.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., p. 68.

7 J.A. Fogel: *Life along the South Manchurian Railway — the memoirs of Itō Takeo,* New York, M.E. Sharpe, 1988, p. 5.

8 Fogel, Life, p. viii.

9 Anon.: "School Education in Manchukuo II — School Education Prior to the Inception of Manchukuo," *Contemporary Manchuria,* 3 Nr.1 (1939): p. 110; South Manchuria Railway Company, Dairen.

10 Anon.: Manchuria — Land of Opportunities, South Manchuria Railway Company, New York, 1922.

11 See Nr.4.

12 Takigawa, Seijirō, ed.: *Manshū Kenkoku Jū-nen-shi,* commissioned by the Manshū Imperial Government, Hara Shobo, Tokyo, 1969, p. 787.

13 Shirakawa, Kesaharu: "Manshū-no Kyōkasho," in *Manshū Shōgaku Shōka-shū,* Tokyo, Kenkōsha, 1973, pp. 4-6.

14 Ibid., p. 7.

15 Koizumi, Fumio: *Warabeuta-no Kenkyū v.1,* Warabeuta-no Kenkyū Kanko-kai, Tokyo, 1969, p. 114.

16 Ministry of Education, Music Investigation Committee, ed.: *Shōgaku Shōka-shū,* vol. 1-3, Tokyo, 1881.

17 Tamura, Torazō & Nassho, Benjirō: *Kyōka Tekiyō Yōnen Shōka* vol. 1-10, Tokyo, 1900.

18 Koizumi, Fumio: *Nihon Dentō Ongaku-no Kenkyū,* Ongaku-no Tomo-sha, Tokyo, 1958, pp. 127-188.

19 Yamada, Kōsaku, ed.: Manshū Kaitaku Kakyoku-shū, Tokyo, 1940.

20 Takigawa: *Manshū Kenkoku Jūnen-shi,* pp. 683-684.

21 Anon.: *Manshū Teikoku,* in *Asahi Nenkan,* Tokyo, 1937, p. 547.

22 Shimizu, Teruo: *Manshū-ni okeru Gakkō Kyōiku,* Minami Mantetsu Kaisha Kōho Shiryō [South Manchuria Railway Company Public Relations Data] Nr.60, Dairen, 1938, p. 18.

23 Takigawa: *Manshū Kenkoku Jūnen-shi,* p. 768.

24 Ibid., p. 771.

25 Ibid., p. 772.

26 Ibid., p. 787.

27 Changchun City Political and Consultative Historical Accounts Committee, ed.: *Manshūkoku-no Ongaku Shoshiki to sono Katsudō* edited and translated from Chinese into Japanese by Morikawa Kazuyo, *Kindai Nihon to Shokuminchi,* vol. 7, January 1993.

28 Ury Eppstein: School Songs before and after the war," *Monumenta Nipponica,* 42 Nr.4 (1987): pp. 431-447, Tokyo.

29 Joseph Rosenstock: Rosenstock Kaisōroku — Ongaku-wa Waga Inochi, Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, Tokyo, 1980, p. 80.

30 Yamada: Manshū Kaitaku Kakyoku-shū, p. 3.

31 Loc. cit. p. 3.

32 Ministry of Education: *Uta-no Hon,* vol. 1-2, Tokyo, 1941.
Ministry of Education: *Shotōka Ongaku,* vol. 1-4, Tokyo, 1942.

33 Ury Eppstein: "School songs before and after the war," *Monumenta Nipponica,* 42 Nr.4 (1987): P. 431-447, Tokyo

The author would like to thank Ms. Lin Shu-ji and Ms. Mori Setsuko, Nippon Kindai Ongakukan, Tokyo, for their kind help in obtaining materials for the present article.

Fig.1 In scala

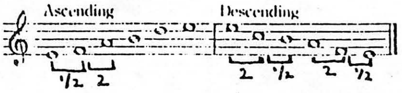
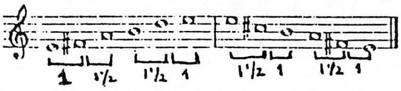

Ascending
Descending
1/2 2
2 1/2 2 1/2

Fig.2 Yō scala


1 1½ 1½ 1
1½ 1 1½ 1

ユ ウ ヤ ケ

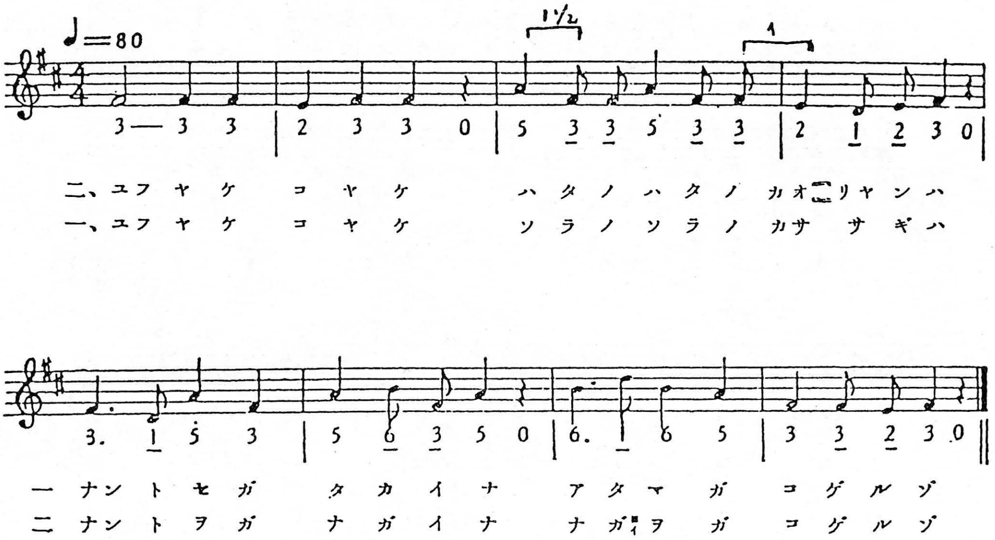

♩=80
1½
1
3— 3 3 | 2 3 3 0 | 5 3 3 5 3 3 | 2 1 2 3 0
二、ユフ ヤ ケ コ ヤ ケ ハ タ ノ ハ タ ノ カオ リ ヤ ン ハ
一、ユフ ヤ ケ コ ヤ ケ ソ ラ ノ ソ ラ ノ カサ サ ギ ハ
3. 1 5 3 | 5 6 3 5 0 | 6. 1 6 5 | 3 3 2 3 0
一 ナン ト セ ガ タ カ イ ナ ア タ マ ガ コ ゲ ル ゾ
二 ナン ト ヲ ガ ナ ガ イ ナ ナ ガ イ ヲ ガ コ ゲ ル ゾ

Fig.3 yūyake

ア キ

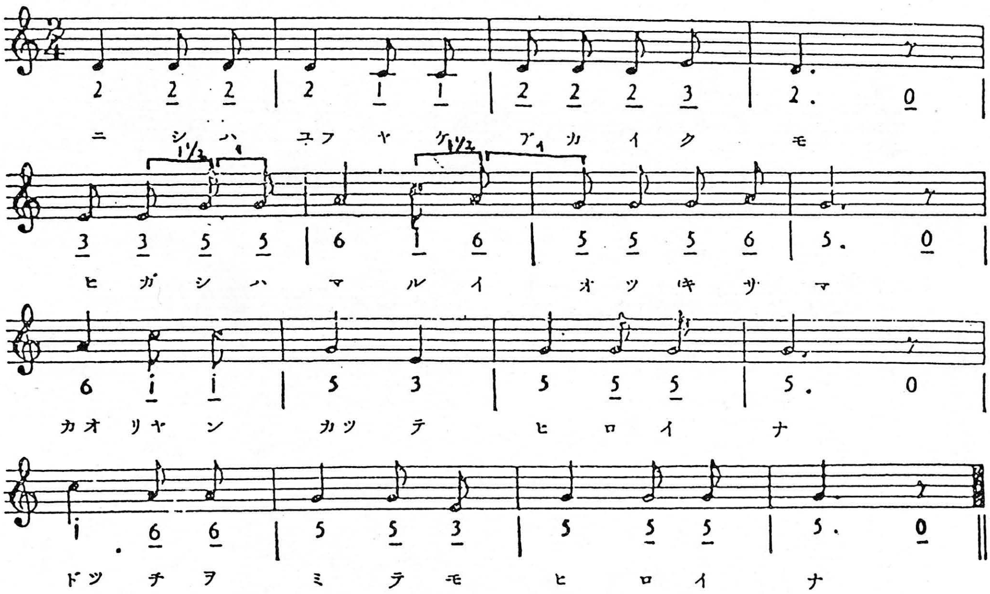

2 2 2 | 2 1 1 | 2 2 2 3 | 2. 0
ニ シ ハ ユフ ヤ ケ ア カ イ ク モ
1½ 1 1½ 1
3 3 5 5 | 6 1 6 | 5 5 5 6 | 5. 0
ヒ ガ シ ハ マ ル イ オ ツ キ サ マ
6 i i | 5 3 | 5 5 5 | 5. 0
カオ リ ヤ ン カツ テ ヒ ロ イ ナ
i 6 6 | 5 5 3 | 5 5 5 | 5. 0
ドツ チ ヲ ミ テ モ ヒ ロ イ ナ

Fig.4 Aki

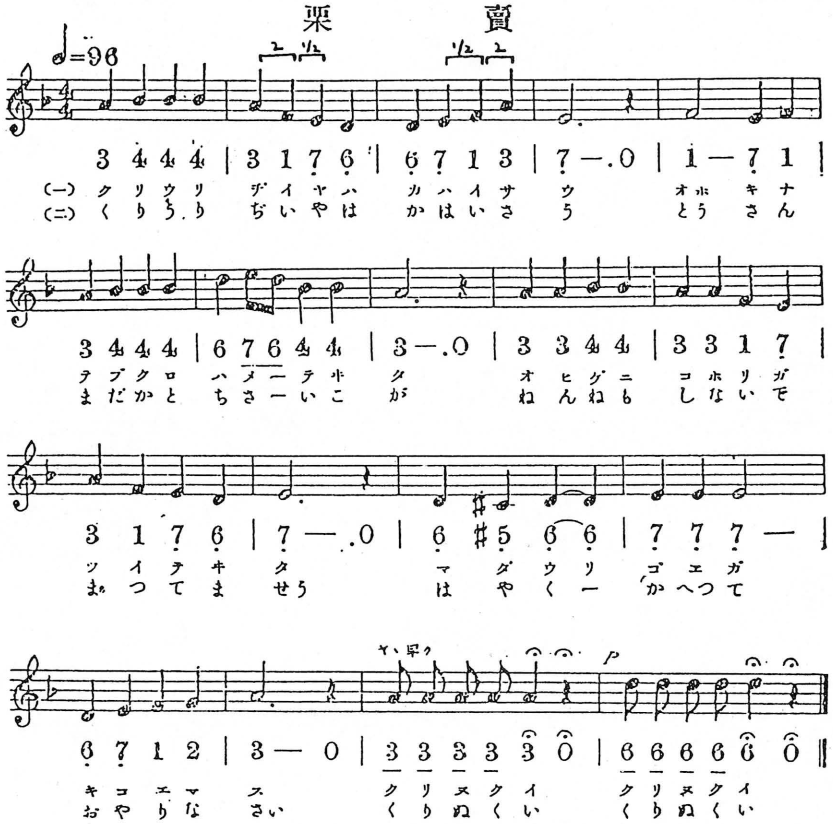

栗 賣
♩=96
3 4 4 4 | 3 1 7 6 | 6 7 1 3 | 7 — . 0 | 1 — 7 1 |
(一) クリウリ ヂイヤハ カハイサ ウ オホキナ
(二) くりうり ぢいやは かはいさ う とうさん
3 4 4 4 | 6 7 6 4 4 | 3 — . 0 | 3 3 4 4 | 3 3 1 7 |
テブクロ ハメーテオ タ オヒゲニ コホリガ
まだかと ちさーいこ が ねんねも しないで
3 1 7 6 | 7 — . 0 | 6 #5 6 6 | 7 7 7 — |
ツイテキ タ マダウリ ゴエガ
おつてま せう はやくー かへつて
やゝ早ク
p
6 7 1 2 | 3 — 0 | 3 3 3 3 3 0 | 6 6 6 6 6 0 ||
キコエマ ス クリヌクイ クリヌクイ
おやりな さい くりぬくい くりぬくい

Fig.5 Kutui-Uti

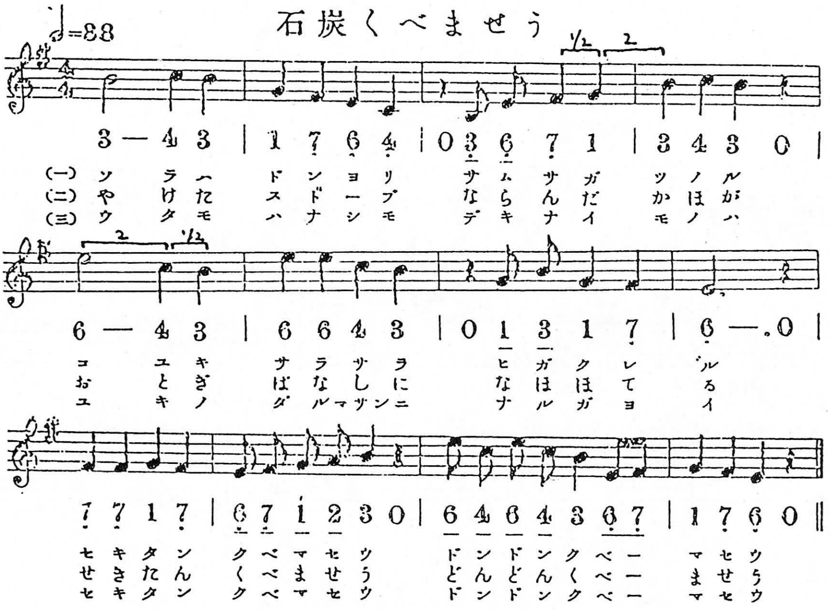
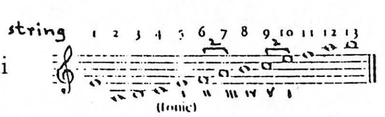

石炭くべませう
♩=88
3 — 4 3 | 1 7 6 4 | 0 3 6 7 1 | 3 4 3 0 |
(一) ソラヘ ドンヨリ サムサガ ツノル
(二) やけた スドーブ ならんだ かほが
(三) ウタモ ハナシモ デキナイ モノハ
6 — 4 3 | 6 6 4 3 | 0 1 3 1 7 | 6 — . 0 |
コ ユキ サラサラ ヒガクレ ル
お とぎ ばなしに なほほて る
ユ キノ ダルマサンニ ナルガヨ イ
7 7 1 7 | 6 7 1 2 3 0 | 6 4 6 4 3 6 7 | 1 7 6 0 ||
セキタン クベマセウ ドンドンクベー マセウ
せきたん くべませう どんどんくべー ませう
セキタン クベマセウ ドンドンクベー マセウ

Fig.6 Sekitan Kubemashō

Fig.7 Hirajōshi


string 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
(Tonic)

ぶたの子

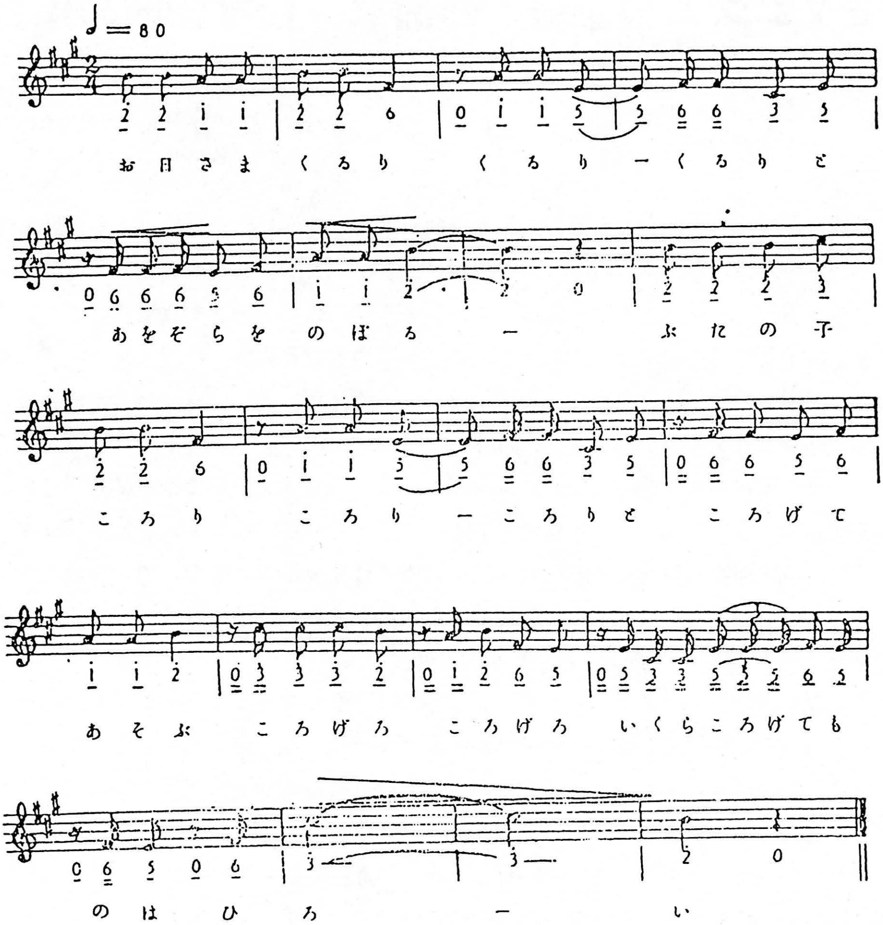

♩＝80
お日さま くるり くるり ーくるりと
おそらを のぼる ー ぶたの子
ころり ころり ーころりと ころげて
あそぶ ころげろ ころげろ いくらころげても
のはひろ ー い

Fig.8 Buta-no Ko

Fig.9 Taishikichō

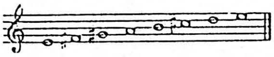


Fig.10 Taishikichō Koto Tuning

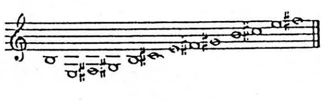
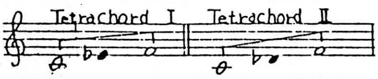


Fig.11


Tetrachord I
Tetrachord II