

# Iwaya Sazanami's Views on Children's Literature and Education as Tools for Nation-Building

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## Abstract

Japan's father of children's literature, Iwaya Sazanami (1870-1933), was born at the beginning of the Meiji era, a period in which Japan aimed to redefine itself as a modern nation-state. Sazanami regarded children as "the nation's citizens of the future" and believed their education to be an important indicator of a country's level of civilization. He was convinced that school was not the only place where children should be educated; so were the home and society. Where did Sazanami position children's literature within this triad of education? This research sheds light on Sazanami's views on children's literature and its educational function during this time of nation-building. We examine his theoretical texts, as well as a practical application of his ideas: his series of readers for small children (*Yōnen Dokuhon*) on both Japan's and the world's history, geography, and important men, published around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. We find that Iwaya Sazanami believed children's "national education" should foster not only knowledge and morality, but also willpower. He based his ideas on Spencer's educational theory of intellectual, moral, and physical education, but adapted physical education to fit 1) the framework of children's literature and 2) Japan's need for nation-building. He considered willpower essential when striving for a place among the great powers.

**Key words:** Iwaya Sazanami, Japanese children's literature, education, Meiji period, modern nation-state

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## 1. Introduction

Iwaya Sazanami (1870-1933) is widely regarded as the father of Japanese children's literature. The genre was virtually non-existent before him. He wrote Japan's first original work for children entitled *Koganemaru* (1891), as well as a vast number of other stories.

Although Sazanami and his works have been studied at length, one question remains largely unanswered: what was his purpose? In other words, what did he try to accomplish with his children's literature? As this paper will uncover, part of the answer is *education*. Sazanami stressed the importance of children's education in general and also attributed an educational function to children's literature. Being a product of his time, i.e. the Meiji period, Sazanami linked this function to nation-building. To elaborate, after Commodore Perry's intimidating display of the US's military armament in 1853, Japan was forced to make a 180-degree turn and open its borders after some 250 years of near-isolation. During the period that followed, the Meiji period, becoming a modern nation-state in order to avoid colonisation was the most important task at hand for Japan. It was in this age of nation-building that Iwaya Sazanami was born, and as a writer of children's literature, he had his own views on how to accomplish this task.

Although Sazanami wrote in detail about this topic, not much research has been conducted on his views on or works for education. To give a rare example, recently (May 2019) a book entitled *Jidōbungaku no Seiritsu to Kagaiyomimono no Jidai* (The Advent of Children's Literature and Age of Extracurricular Readings) by researcher Meguro Tsuyoshi was published. It discusses adventurism and naval militarism in the children's magazine *Shōnen Sekai* (The Youth's World), and the so-called 'good wife and wise mother-

ism' in *Shōjo Sekai* (Girls' World). Sazanami wrote numerous stories for these two magazines, and as such Meguro's research covers these stories of his and the isms they teach. This is one of the few examples of previous research that addresses Iwaya Sazanami and education. However, it neither analyses Sazanami's theoretical views on children's literature and education, nor explores any of his works explicitly intended for education.

This paper will focus on this seemingly largely forgotten topic. Where did Sazanami position children's literature within his proposed triad of school, home and society education? And of the different kinds of education Sazanami discerns (intellectual, moral, and willpower), what kind of education should children's literature focus on most? This paper sheds light on Sazanami's views on children's literature and its educational function during this time of nation-building.

## 2. Theoretical views on children's literature and education

In 1916 Sazanami published a lengthy work called *Shinkatei* (New Homes). It consists of two volumes: one on women and one on children. The second volume includes a detailed account of his thoughts on children and "national education" (*kokumin kyōiku*). We will first take a look at Sazanami's theoretical approach to children and their education by examining this and other works.

In the foreword Sazanami says no family is whole without women and children, and no nation is whole without whole families (Iwaya 1916: foreword). Later in the book he stresses that "in civilised countries homes are child-centred" (Iwaya 1916: 196). In both instances Sazanami emphasises the link between developed countries and children. He even begins his second volume with the statement "a developed country is a country of children".

Here he refers to anthropologist Dr. Tsuboi's<sup>2</sup> theory that although children are cared for in every country, what this "care" entails, differs depending on the degree of civilisation. In "savage countries",<sup>3</sup> the care for children is no more than "the love animals have for their young", but in "civilised countries", the care is "rational". Sazanami believes countries that "consider children important" are "civilised" and those that don't are "savage". Considering children important means "setting the child apart from the adult correctly", and "understanding a child's nature and enlightening the child". He proposes toys for this purpose: toys for education, but not so-called "educational toys" for "anything that starts with the word educational" is made with an "adult mind" and therefore no good. Toys should be in harmony with the child's degree of knowledge (intelligence) (Iwaya 1916: 195-196). Besides toys, he also proposes written children's stories (*otogibanashi*) and children's theatre (*otogigeki*) as child-centred variations on novels and plays.

### 2.1 School education, society education, and home education

In this way Sazanami included toys, children's stories and children's theatre as tools to "enlighten" children. As this already suggests, Sazanami was convinced school was not the only place where children should be educated; so were the home and society. He divides "national education" into three categories: "school education", "society education" and "home education" (Iwaya 1916: 200).

Fathers and elder brothers should take the lead when it comes to home education, according to Sazanami. They should "stay in contact with school through guardian meetings and father-and-elder-brother meetings". Society education takes place in, for example, clubs for children, child-

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<sup>2</sup> Most likely Shōgorō Tsuboi (1863-1913), pioneer anthropologist and collector of children's toys.

<sup>3</sup> We use the original term for the sake of authenticity.

centred expositions and children's corners in libraries. The number of these places in society shows us how child-centred "society" is. In turn, how child-centred society is, indicates how much the country prioritises its children and thus determines the level of civilisation. Sazanami praises how far Japan has come these past years. The number of places for society education has risen considerably and places that were once solely meant for adults now also welcome children. All libraries in Japan now (i.e. 1916) have children's corners and there are even libraries dedicated entirely to children. This proves how Japan's society "does not neglect educating the national citizens that will lead society in the future" and this is "a matter for celebration for the nation-state" (Iwaya 1916: 197-200).

Where did Sazanami position children's literature within this triad of education? In *Shinkatei* Sazanami compares *otogibanashi* to candy, and the knowledge and reprimands children get from school textbooks and teachers to nutritious foods. Here *otogibanashi* and school textbooks are positioned opposite each other, so one could think *otogibanashi* are home education territory and not a part of school education. However, Sazanami also states "using *otogibanashi* for a good purpose" and helping children with their "mental development" is a father's, a big brother's and a teacher's "duty" (Iwaya 1916: 235-238). Furthermore, in his text on national textbooks and fairy tales, he applauds how school textbooks include more and more *otogibanashi* (Iwaya 1933).<sup>4</sup> Lastly, libraries and library corners dedicated to children are one of the main examples Sazanami gives of places for "society

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<sup>4</sup> Although Sazanami states he considers the inclusion of *otogibanashi* in school textbooks as something generally positive, he also expresses discontent with some elements such as "typical textbook language use". We will further analyse this on a different occasion.

education". We therefore conclude Sazanami considered children's education by means of *otogibanashi* to be a shared responsibility over all three levels.

## 2.2 Intellectual education, moral education, and willpower education

Next, we will discuss Sazanami's thoughts on children's education and nation-building. The following statement is a clear illustration of his stance:

*We grown-ups, who have reached civilisation one step ahead, have the duty to educate and guide the primitive children who came after us. If we neglect this duty and discard our children as soon as they are born, their bodies might grow, but their minds will remain savage. Now, in a time when the civilised countries of the world are making their power known to each other, that would make us a pitiful savage country, looked down upon by others.*

(Iwaya 1916: 210-211)

Sazanami is convinced educating our children is directly linked to becoming a civilised nation-state, respected by the other "civilised countries of the world". Neglecting our duty to educate them will lead to Japan being looked down upon as a pitiful savage country.

According to Sazanami, what the Japanese lack the most is willpower. Since Japan opened its borders some "50 years ago" (i.e. around the 1868 Meiji Revolution), it has continued to evolve and has now entered the "global stage". The only problem lies in how fast Japan is evolving. In the same 50 years, Germany and the US have evolved at a much higher speed. If Japan does not catch up, it will not be able to compete with the strong forces, and will be left behind. Sazanami believes the reason behind this difference in speed lies in "willpower". He says there is a "fundamental difference" between

the willpower of foreigners and of the Japanese: the Japanese “lack the vigorous spirit that is willpower”. In order to become a true civilised state, an equal among the world leaders, Japan must strengthen its children’s willpower, and not just any kind. Sazanami divides willpower into two categories: 1) the will to conquer oneself and 2) the will to seize others. The first kind is a “self-denying spirit”, it is a “passive” kind of willpower and takes the form of “patience, endurance, and perseverance”. The second kind is a “bold spirit of enterprise”, an “active” kind of willpower that takes the form of “enterprise, bravery, and boldness”. Sazanami regrets that Japanese education tends to focus only on the first kind. According to him, the Japanese are “too considerate” and this weakens their willpower and thus position during diplomatic negotiations. In order to become a respected nation-state that can compete with the West, Japanese children must receive “willpower education” that strengthens the second kind of willpower; education that will transform Japan’s “unmanly and nervous citizens” into “composed and broad-minded citizens of a grand nation” (Iwaya 1916: 204-208).

In this way, Iwaya Sazanami believed that in order for Japan to become a respected nation-state, children’s “national education” should focus on willpower. Sazanami divided education into three categories: intellectual, moral, and willpower education. He says intellectual education teaches scientific and academic knowledge and its goal is to raise “smart people”; moral education aims to foster “good people” and uses poetic justice as a tool for this; and finally, willpower education aims to train children’s will and foster “strong people” (Iwaya 1916: 201). The basis of Sazanami’s ideas lies in Herbert Spencer’s (1820-1903) educational theory, which he wrote down in 4 Review-articles (1854-1859), later compiled into the book *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical* (1861) (Spencer 1861: 7). It was first introduced in Japan in

“British Spencer Education Excerpt” (1876) and in 1880 a full Japanese translation by Seki Shinpachi was published by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture. His influence as a Western thinker in Japan is said to have been unrivalled during the 1880s, with at least 32 Japanese translations of his works published between 1877 and 1900 (Nagai 1954: 55-64). Sazanami largely based his ideas concerning national education on Spencer's theory, but adapted the third kind of education, physical education, to fit 1) the framework of children's literature and 2) Japan's need for nation-building. Reading will not physically strengthen you, but it can foster willpower. It is exactly this willpower that Sazanami considers important when striving for a place among the great powers.

In an article published in the magazine *Fujin to Kodomo* in 1909 entitled “Otogibanashi o Yomaseru Ue no Chūi” (A Word of Advice on Letting Children Read Otogibanashi) Sazanami explains the influence *otogibanashi* like Momotarō have on “the nation's citizens of the future”. He states “children's stories in the West where princes marry princesses as a reward after defeating demons, instil a spirit of enterprise and raise children with strong spirits”, and continues that “the reason Western countries vigorously seize foreign countries is because the stories they read and listened to from a young age on were all like the story of Momotarō”.

Sazanami considers these stories to have a great influence on children's spirits, and believes Japan has to “break free from the conservative and temporising children's stories of the past” and should instead “stimulate a spirit of enterprise and a strong heart”. Writing stories like Momotarō is a way of “making Japan a prosperous and powerful nation” (Iwaya 1909: 13).

### 3. Practical application: *Yōnen Dokuhon*

So far, we have discussed Sazanami's theoretical stance on children's literature and national education. Next, we will consider how Sazanami put his theory into practice. To do this, we will look at one of his works explicitly meant for education: *Yōnen Dokuhon* (Readers for Small Children) (Iwaya 1899–1901). At the end of each of the readers the series is advertised as a series of readers for “small boys and girls that don't attend school yet”. The series aims to “provide general knowledge in between amusement” and is “not only a reader for at home”, but also a “textbook for the nation's citizens' education”. In the introductory remarks of the first reader in the series Sazanami presents it as targeting both “children that don't go to school yet” and “boys that already go to school”. In the first case it functions as “preparation”, in the second as a “supplementary book”. It is interesting to note how Sazanami uses the Chinese characters for “repair” (補修) instead of “supplement” (補習), thereby not only “supplementing” school education, but also “repairing” it. Whether the use of these homophonic characters was intentional or not is unclear; it might or might not have been accidental. What is clear, however, is how the series of readers was explicitly intended for the education of “the nation's citizens”. For this reason, we take this series as a starting point to unveil how Sazanami's theoretical stance on children's education and nation-building corresponds with his actual educational works.

The topics covered in *Yōnen Dokuhon* are history, geography and “self-made men”. On each topic two readers were written: one on Japan and one on “the world”. The first four are simply advertised as teaching young children Japanese and global history and geography. The last two, however, are advertised as providing children with more than knowledge alone. “Nihon

Risshidan” (Self-Made Men of Japan) is advertised as a “good guide for children’s life goals”. In a similar fashion “Sekai Risshidan” (Self-Made Men of the World) also provides “role models for children”. The advertisement at the end of the readers says they hope that by “looking at the character and conduct of the world’s great men”, children will “break free from the Japanese style hero” and become “world-class heroes and extraordinary daring men”. While both Japanese and global heroes are presented as role models, according to the advertisement, the latter surpasses the former; children need to become “world-class” heroes. Since the need for Japanese children to grow up into adults that can enter the world stage is also stressed in Sazanami’s theoretical works, these two readers lend themselves to a comparison between Sazanami’s theory and practice.

### 3.1 Leaders

What kind of heroes did Sazanami try to raise with his diptych on self-made men? In the explanatory notes preceding the main body of the readers he categorises the self-made men as “heroes; extraordinary, daring men; scholars; and loyal retainers”. He also includes “dutiful sons” in the second reader.

Out of all 15 main characters in his stories of self-made men of the world 11 (73%) are leader figures: mostly generals (*taishō*), but also presidents, emperors, and kings. A similar percentage of the main characters in stories of self-made men of Japan are leader figures (14 out of 19, which translates to 74%); again, mostly generals, and also some emperors and kings. There are no presidents in Japan so Sazanami evidently did not include presidents, but rather chief military commanders (*shōgun*) and feudal lords (*daimyō*).

Let’s examine the necessary traits of a great leader, according to Iwaya Sazanami. One of the recurring elements in the description of great leaders is

their ability to conquer foreign countries and thereby expand their country's territory. For example, "Sekai Risshidan" begins with an anecdote about Alexander the Great of the ancient Greek kingdom of Macedonia. His father and predecessor Philip is described as a "true great leader" because he was "constantly conquering nearby countries and thereby expanding his territory" (Iwaya 1901: 1). The fact that Philip's conquering ability is the only element used to describe his great leadership, shows how this alone is enough to make a great leader in Sazanami's eyes. Alexander inherited his father's conquering spirit. As a child, he complained about his father's conquests, because "there would be no countries left for himself to conquer" and as he grew up he became smarter and stronger, to the extent that he "would never lose a battle against any country, close by or far away, and finally succeeded in even subjugating distant Egypt and India" (Iwaya 1901: 4). Alexander is the central character of the story, so it is safe to conclude he is the intended main role model. Starting the story with Alexander as a child makes it easier for young readers to identify with the character. Sazanami uses this technique numerous times in this series of readers. A conquering spirit was instilled in Alexander when he was only a child, and he grew up to be a fierce conqueror like his father before him. Sazanami presumably hoped his stories would have a similar effect on his child-readers: instilling a conquering spirit in them so they would grow up to be conquerors one day.

The story of Alexander the Great is but one example. In "Sekai Risshidan" all leaders are conquerors, with the exception of the two American presidents (although one could argue president Washington is a conqueror of sorts in the sense that he led the American War of Independence against the British). This alone shows how important Sazanami believed a conquering spirit was for great leaders. It is striking, however, to see how this reader contrasts with

its Japanese counterpart. Even though a similar percentage of the main characters in “Nihon Risshidan” are leader figures, only one of those leaders is described as a conqueror. Sazanami either had a hard time finding suitable Japanese conquerors for his collection of stories or he valued other virtues more. Either way, the fact that out of all the self-made men in the world Sazanami predominantly picked conquerors as role models for Japanese children, undoubtedly means he felt Japan could learn from the conquering spirit of foreign leaders.

In his work *Momotarōshugi no Kyōiku* (Momotarō-ist Education, 1915) Sazanami says it is not his aim to “encourage the adventurous spirit to conquer foreign countries as did Momotarō”; he “solely wants to point out how far-reaching Momotarō’s spirit of enterprise is” (Iwaya 1915: 259). Although in his diptych on self-made men Sazanami clearly does value conquering foreign countries for the sake of expanding the nation’s territory, he does indeed applaud the spirit in particular as well. He praises these conquerors’ strong willpower more than once.

### 3.2 Scholars

Aside from the many leaders, a few scholars and learned men are put forward in the diptych of stories of self-made men of Japan and the world. This is obvious when the main character is introduced as “a scholar”, but at times words like “education” and “study” in the title serve as a hint. We will examine these stories to determine which of the three types of education (intellectual, moral, and willpower) play a role in Sazanami’s stories and in what way they lead to success.

The sole character in “Sekai Risshidan” described as a scholar is Sōshi (Zhuangzi, c. 369 BC–c. 286 BC). He is summoned twice by Chinese kings in exchange for money, first a hundred and then a thousand *ryō* (a gold currency

unit). Both times he declines the offer. He tells the messenger an allegorical story that can be interpreted to mean his freedom is worth more to him than money. The story starts with an account of Sōshi's intellectual worth: the books he wrote are "read even today", more than 2000 years after his death, in "countries close by and far away", and he is valued by several kings for his intellect. However, the story values his willpower more than his intellectual feats: no matter how much money the kings offer him, his freedom cannot be bought. It is a different kind of willpower than in the stories about leader figures. It has nothing to do with bravery in battle, and it is the only example of its kind in the diptych. It also shows how loyalty cannot be bought with money. In Sazanami's stories loyalty is acquired by determination, respect, and rewards. For example, "Sekai Risshidan" ends with an anecdote about Kōmei (Zhuge Liang, 181–234), a "learned" man famous for his "skill in battle" and "intelligence". Here the warlord of one of the warring states during the Three Kingdom period in China visits Kōmei up to three times and respectfully asks for his assistance in the war. Kōmei becomes "extraordinarily loyal" to the warlord because he is "impressed by his determination".

In "Nihon Risshidan" two stories have a scholar as the main character: "Ogyū Sorai no Kingaku" (Ogyū Sorai's diligent studies) and "Hanawa Hokiichi no Gakumon" (Hanawa Hokiichi's study). The first story does not portray "diligent studies" as something (purely) positive. The only part you could interpret as positive is how Ogyū "did not waste any time" and studied from early dawn till after dark. However, the main part of the story is about one of his disciples visiting him to wish him a happy new year. The disciple gets caught up in Ogyū's talk about books and in the end, does not even get to say his wishes. Though this would make it a strange choice for a reader of stories of self-made men, it seems more like a reprimanding story or a story

of failure than a success story. If anything, the story seems to say everything must be done with moderation, including “diligent studies”. In *Shinkatei* Sazanami also advocates moderation, in this case reading *otogibanashi* with moderation, more specifically in the subsection where he compares *otogibanashi* to candy, and the knowledge and reprimands children get from school textbooks and teachers to nutritious foods. Children naturally long for something sweet and the home would become a “cardboard dry and tasteless”, dull place without any sweets. Nevertheless, children should not be given all the candy they ask for. They also need to review their school textbooks, so fathers and big brothers should only let them read *otogibanashi* (“give them candy”) with moderation. Here *otogibanashi* and school textbooks are positioned opposite each other and only the latter is “nutritious”, i.e. good for you (Iwaya 1916: 235-237). However, in combination with the story of Ogyū Sorai's diligent studies Sazanami appears to recommend moderation in both fields: neither reading too many *otogibanashi* nor “studying diligently” too much is good for you. Both should be done with moderation.

In the story of Hanawa Hokiichi's study the main character is a blind man who remembers every word of every book anyone has ever read to him. He studies under the guidance of many scholars and eventually opens his own school, climbs up to the highest rank for a blind man (the *kengyō* rank), and “assembles 3070 books he had read into the most voluminous book of all of Japan, called *Gunsho Ruijū*”. The description of Hokiichi's success in life stands in stark contrast to Ogyū's story. The biggest difference in their actions is that Ogyū spends his days merely absorbing knowledge, while Hokiichi uses the knowledge he gains from books to enlighten others, by giving lectures and writing books. In this way, his learning serves an active purpose. In *Momotarōshugi no Kyōiku* and “Meruhen ni Tsuite” (On Märchen) (Iwaya 1898)

as well as in several other texts, Sazanami praises “active” over “passive” behaviour; it seems this also applies to studies. As we saw earlier, when we discussed his word of advice on letting children read *otogibanashi*, Sazanami considers writing—on the right topic—a tool to make the country strong. In combination with writing being his own trade, this suggests he had a high regard for the writing profession.

Aside from these two stories with scholars as main characters, two other stories, one in each of the two readers, praise study for a particular outcome: becoming strong in battle, and training your willpower. In “Sekai Risshidan” a Chinese man named Chōryō (in a story with the same title), one of Emperor Gaozu of Han’s retainers, pours his soul into studying “Tactics”, a scroll on battle tactics and strategies. Because of his studies, he becomes “a great man”. This story connects the study of battle techniques directly to success in life. In “Go-Kōmyō Tennō no Gobenkyō” (Emperor Go-Kōmyō’s studies), the emperor is introduced as someone who “truly loves studying” and was “always inviting famous scholars” and “studying all sorts of books”. The main storyline, however, is about his fear of thunder. The emperor considers himself a “coward” with a “weak spirit” because of this fear. He thinks it is unacceptable that he is “not man enough at heart to overcome his weak spirit” and decides to get control over his fear by training his willpower. The story ends with a brief account of how the emperor was reprimanded by one of his retainers for drinking too much and how he then instantly stopped drinking. The title of the story suggests that Sazanami’s definition of “studies” was broader than merely reading books, and included training one’s willpower and listening to reprimands even if they come from your inferiors.

As mentioned before, in his series of stories of self-made men Sazanami included heroes; extraordinary, daring men; scholars; loyal retainers;

and dutiful sons. Although he does not make any mention of this, there is an apparent order of importance. Characters described as scholars only appear in 3 of the 33 stories, which is less than 10%. Furthermore, even if you include the story about Ogyū Sorai's diligent studies, which is arguably not even entirely positive about studying, only 3 stories praise study in its own right. Another two stories praise study for a particular outcome: becoming strong in battle, and training your willpower. By recounting historical events, the series as a whole serves as a means for intellectual education. Nevertheless, it seems Sazanami's focus in these two "textbooks for the nation's citizens' education" lies more on willpower education.

#### 4. Conclusion and prospects for further study

In the beginning of this paper, we asked ourselves two questions. Where did Sazanami position children's literature within his proposed educational triad of school, society, and the home? And of the different kinds of education Sazanami discerns (intellectual, moral, and willpower), what kind of education should children's literature focus on most?

In our research, we found that Sazanami considers children's literature an important tool to educate children over all three levels of education (at school, in society, and at home), and especially useful for willpower education. Sazanami links willpower education (by means of children's literature) to nation-building. He claims *otogibanashi* like Momotarō can stimulate children's "spirit of enterprise and strong heart" and writing such stories can contribute to making Japan a "prosperous and powerful nation".

Even though Sazanami's diptych on self-made men of Japan and the world, part of his series of readers for small children (*Yōnen Dokuhon*), was written some 15 years earlier than *Shinkatei*, we can already discern the same

orientation. Nearly all role models are military and political leaders, and many of them conquerors—self-made men that actively “seized others”. Furthermore, they are often described as having strong willpower. Even the scholars in the diptych are praised for their willpower. Studying is regarded as a tool to become strong in battle and train your willpower.

Finally, it may be concluded that Sazanami considered children’s literature as more than just entertainment. Rather, he believed it to be a powerful tool for education and nation-building. We have determined that this was not solely a theoretical stance of his, but also something he put into practice in some of his works for children.

We must note that not all of his works were written with an educational purpose. In one of the readers of the series *Yōnen Dokuhon*, namely the reader on Japanese history, Sazanami refers to stories he wrote previously, but at the time without an educational objective. The stories he refers to are part of his series *Nippon Mukashibanashi* (1894-1896) and *Nippon Otogibanashi* (1896-1898) and neither of these series were introduced as having an educational function (Iwaya 1894: preface; Iwaya 1896: preface). On the contrary, Sazanami warns his readers in the preface of *Nippon Otogibanashi* that the series does not consist of factual historical stories, but rather *otogibanashi*. The fact that he thereafter published *Yōnen Dokuhon* with its clear educational vision, and referred to these two series as supplementary reading material, indicates a change in attitude. What Sazanami first published either to preserve orally transmitted stories (Iwaya 1894: preface) or for the sake of “amusement” and “diversion” (Iwaya 1896: preface), he later considers supplementary reading material to his “textbook for the nation’s citizens’ education”. A closer look at the differences between these series (*Nippon Mukashibanashi* and *Nippon Otogibanashi* on the one hand and *Yōnen Dokuhon* on the other) will unveil

more about Sazanami's changing views on children's literature and education, but we will focus on this in another paper.

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