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WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN ST. LOUIS
Program in East Asian Studies

When a Woman Betrays the Nation: an Analysis of
Moto Hagio's *The Heart of Thomas*

by
Kaoru Tamura

A thesis presented to
The Graduate School
of Washington University in
partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts

May 2019
St. Louis, Missouri

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Kaoru Tamura

Washington University in St. Louis

April, 2019

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

When a Woman Betrays the Nation: an Analysis of
Moto Hagio's *The Heart of Thomas*

by
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Master of Arts in East Asian Studies
Washington University in St. Louis, 2019
Professor Rebecca Copeland, Advisor

This thesis discusses *The Heart of Thomas* (1974), the representative *shōjo* manga (girl's comic) of Moto Hagio, who is often called "The Magnificent Mother of *shōjo* manga" or "The Goddess of *shōjo* manga" and was the first *shōjo* manga creator to win a Medal of Honor for artistic achievement from the Japanese government. Although *The Heart* is highly regarded, even worshiped, by fans of manga, scholars have been slow to give it due consideration as an important document of social history, especially of women's social history. The following study takes a personal approach, attempting to analyze *The Heart* in the context of the author herself, both in terms of her biographical circumstances and inner psychology. The first section takes up Hagio's "outer world" and describes the formidable challenges she faced in composing *The Heart*, both from the world and from her own family. The second turns inwards and explores the ways in which the plot and characters of *The Heart* have a special, psychological resonance for Hagio, especially in the context of the psychoanalytic theories of Ronald Fairbairn. The third and final section pushes these theories even further and suggests that Hagio's characters are "split egos" of Hagio herself, redressing traumas in her real life. The conclusion ventures a few explanations for the massive popularity of *The Heart* and its full significance as a document of social history in a nationalist context.

Introduction

In 1967, one of the higher quality comic magazines, *Com*, ran a roundtable discussion about *shōjo* manga (girls' comic), attended mostly by young, female fans. A 39-year-old male literary critic also happened to be present and put a rather blunt question to the teenage readers: “why would anyone want to read such drivel?”¹ It was probably not that he was biased against manga as a genre, for Tezuka Osamu and Ishinomori Shotaro had been producing artistic, respected manga for some time already by then, but rather that most male critics of that era considered *shōjo manga* to be trivial fluff, all big eyes and flowers, as one comic writer, Masuyama Norie, author and producer of Takemiya Kaiko, later commented.² Thirty years later, however, in 1998, the journal *Kino Hyōron* held another roundtable discussion, entitled “How Literature Has Been Vanquished by Manga,” at which writers Takahashi Genichiro and Suzuki Takayuki mockingly belittled their craft and conceded the superior vitality and creativity of manga, including *shōjo manga*. One manga writer, Satonaka Machiko, declined to gloat and instead responded calmly: “despite what you say about literature being vanquished, I am fundamentally unsure what the definition of literature is.” Certainly it was a fair point. If manga is literature, how could it vanquish itself? Whatever the truth of the matter, the fact that such a question was even seriously considered shows how far manga had come in a generation, from the disrespected margins in 1967 to the honored mainstream in 1998.

Girls manga played a big part in this evolution of status, and also specifically in the discussion of what constitutes literature. Manga critics Otsuka Eiji and Sakakibara Go published an

¹See Moto Hagio's interview with M. Thorn, *Moto Hagio's A Drunken Dream and Other Stories* (Seattle: Fantagraphics, 2010), p. v, hereafter cited as Thorn.

²Masuyama Norie, “Masuyama Norie Interview,” *Manga Shin Hiyo Taikei* 4 (1978): 32–41, hereafter cited as Masuyama.

important study in 2001, *Kyōyō toshite no Manga, Anime (Manga and Anime as High Culture)*, in which Otsuka argues that the “Year 24 Group” of manga writers, which includes Hagio Moto (b. 1949), Takemiya Keiko (b. 1950) and Oshima Yumiko (b. 1947) as the most noted members, created a new technique to express the psychological interiority of their characters, thus dramatically raising the artistic standard of manga. He dubs this innovation *Naimen no Hakken* (the discovery of interiority), which not coincidentally shares a title with one of the chapters in *Origins of Japanese Modern Literature*, by literary critic Karatani Kojin. Clearly Otsuka would like to put Year 24 manga writers on par with various, revered Meiji authors, holding up their subtle “interiority” as a passport to full literary status. While Otsuka may be pushing his argument a little too far, there is no doubt that he is correct in perceiving a change in *shōjo manga* at the hands of the Year 24 Group. Indeed, these writers deliberately and explicitly set out to transform their genre, as Year-24-Group writer Takemiya Keiko has stated, recalling her ardent efforts in the 1970s to raise the aesthetic standard of *shōjo manga* to the level of literature.³ Interestingly, one of the artistic choices she made in this regard was to make all of her characters male, another innovation credited to the Year 24 Group. Girls comics with male protagonists and, in some cases, exclusively male characters throughout, might seem a strange choice at first – indeed it was taboo at its first appearance in the late 1960s – but it had an understandable rationale.⁴ As another Year 24 Group writer said, Hagio Moto, the subject of this essay, “the boy characters could say what I wanted to say so easily.”⁵ It is undoubtedly noteworthy that the expression of girls’ interiority required borrowing a boy’s voice.

³ See Ishida Minori, *Hisoyakana Kyōiku*, (Tokyo: Rakuho Shuppan, 2008), pp. 294-324, especially pp. 63-4, hereafter cited as Ishida.

⁴ See Masuyama, Norie, “Masuyama Norie Interview,” in *Manga Shin Hihyō Taikei* 4 (1978): 32–41, especially p. 36.

⁵ Thorn, p. xxvi.

Most studies of the Year 24 Group and their peculiar conventions, such as using all-male characters, have focused in one way or another on sexuality.⁶ Strangely, scholars have all but ignored their place in cultural history, nor have they attempted to offer any deeper analysis of what the manga might mean or why they earned such a loyal, cult-like following amongst young girls. What follows attempts to fill that gap in some measure. It will focus on one Year 24 writer in particular, Hagio Moto (b. 1949), and her representative work, *The Heart of Thomas* (1974), which would go on to have massive cultural influence in the decades following its publication.⁷ Despite the fact that *The Heart's* target audience was elementary-school girls, it is a dense and complicated work, full of allusions to somewhat unexpected works of literature, such as Herman Hesse's novel *Demian* (1917). Even the most cursory inspection of *The Heart* will note that there is a lot going on, both on the surface and underneath it. Taking *The Heart's* innovative interiority as a starting point, the following analysis will approach the work through the lens of Hagio herself, considering her own background and psychology. It will argue that, while there is much in Hagio's work that is artistically deliberate, an equal or greater amount springs subconsciously or semi-consciously from her experience as a Japanese girl and woman in the chaotic, post-war period in which she grew up. By analyzing *The Heart* as a personal, psychological statement, especially in connection with the psychoanalytic theories of Ronald Fairbairn, it will make a case for *The Heart* as an important document of social history, providing a new insight into such much-discussed phenomena as Japan's falling birthrate.

⁶ See, for instance, Mark McLelland, Kazumi Nagaïke, Katsuhiko Suganuma, and James Welker, *Boys Love Manga and Beyond : History, Culture, and Community in Japan* (Jackson, Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 2016), and Antonia Levi, Mark McHarry, and Dru Pagliassotti, *Boys' Love Manga: Essays on the Sexual Ambiguity and Cross-Cultural Fandom of the Genre* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2010).

⁷ Many artists of different kinds have been influenced by Hagio, including Yoshimoto Banana, Yumemakura Baku, Hashimoto Osamu, Nakajima Azusa, Mori Hiroshi, Onda Riku (writers,) as well as Takano Fumiko, Umino Chika (comic writers), Sato Shimako (film director). She is often called "The Magnificent Mother of *shōjo manga*" or "The Goddess of *shōjo manga*."

The essay will comprise three different sections, exploring both the inner and outer faces of *The Heart of Thomas*. The first will discuss Hagio's outer world, the harsh reality she faced at the time that she composed *The Heart*. This section will consider both her personal struggles and the wider discrimination in society against women and manga as a genre. The second section will turn from the outer world to Hagio's inner world, offering a close analysis of Hagio's construction of *The Heart of Thomas* in the context of her own personal struggles and the psychoanalytic ideas of Ronald Fairbairn. It will explore *The Heart's* main themes and the deep influence Hagio received from Herman Hesse's fictive and autobiographical writing, especially his novel *Demian*, which provides the setting and inspiration for *The Heart*. From this close analysis, the essay will turn in the third section even more fully inward, where it will argue that the characters of *The Heart of Thomas* be interpreted, according again to the theories of Fairbairn, as "split egos" of Hagio Moto, controllable avatars of herself who can obtain the freedom, success and love, especially maternal love, that she cannot in her real life. It will suggest (but not seriously pursue, for reasons of scope) that these psychological complexities are precisely the reason why so many young girls found solace and inspiration in *The Heart of Thomas*, even though they may not have been able to articulate that fact themselves.

Part One: Hagio's Outer World

A consideration of the world into which *The Heart of Thomas* was born should begin with some understanding of how difficult that birth was in the first place and how much Hagio had to struggle to achieve her dream. Although Hagio's massive success sets her apart as a comic writer and can lead one to imagine that her career was charmed from the beginning, in fact she endured the same setbacks all would-be *shōjo* manga writers of her era did. Indeed, she may have endured more than her fair share, in part because of her unyielding determination not to concede to editors' demands and sacrifice her autonomy. In 1981, Hagio wrote an essay recounting her battle to publish *The Heart of Thomas*.⁸ Among other revelations, she reveals how the publication of the comic very nearly did not happen, even after having been given the editorial green light. Somewhat surprisingly, it was an editor at Weekly Shōjo Komikku who solicited the serial from her rather than her pitching it him. He was overwhelmed by reading Ikeda Riyoko's *The Roses in Versailles* (Weekly Margaret, 1972-73) and slammed the book on his desk, Hagio recalls, at which point she interjected that "long form comic serials have to have attractive, solid characters...it's really hard." "Yes, yes," he replied, "it has to be dramatic, serious, romantic...Hagio-san, can you think of anything?" At first she declined, saying that all of her material is short-form and without well-developed characters. Only when he mentioned that he was thinking about a two or three-year time frame did she let it slip that actually "I do have one comic with developed characters...I have been working on it as a hobby for three years. I never intended to publish it, so it is a very strange story, but the characters are interesting...I have about

⁸ Hagio Moto, *Omoide Wo Kirinukutoki* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 2007), 11-21, hereafter Omoide.

two hundred pages.” The editor agreed to have look and, to Hagio’s great surprise, likes it, saying “very good! Let’s publish it for two or three years.” Hagio was shocked. “I was anxious,” she recalls, “since no readers knew me in the weekly magazine. It was such a minor and personal story and I doubted readers would take any interest in it. Wouldn’t a comedy be a lot better?”

It was at this point that harsh reality intervened. Only one week into the publication of the series, Hagio took another batch of her work to the publisher and found that “his complexion had changed to pale blue.” He asked her bluntly “so, when does *The Heart of Thomas* end?” “Excuse me,” she replied, “but you said it would continue for two or three years, didn’t you?” “Ah, well, can you wrap it up in four or five weeks?” he said, pushing her immediately into a defensive position. “Since you said it was to be for two or three years, I am writing the story with a long structure, with the real themes becoming apparent only at its completion. Four weeks is not enough time to achieve these themes.” He then explained that the problem was simply one of popularity. After only a week, only thirty readers out of three hundred had ranked *The Heart of Thomas* as their favorite.⁹ She pleaded with the editor for a temporary reprieve: if her comic was still unpopular after another month, she promised, she would bring it to a quick conclusion. He agreed and of course her gamble payed off. By the end of that summer, *The Heart of Thomas* had risen to fifth place in popularity and its full run was assured, although not without continued

⁹ Hagio later commented that “on paper the magazine (*Weekly Shōjo Komikku*) was supposed to be for elementary-school girls, so the editors always told me to make the stories easier to understand. And after it started, it was unpopular with readers, so they asked me to cut it short.” See Thorn, p. xxxiii. *The Heart of Thomas* is undoubtedly difficult for elementary school girls. *Weekly Shōnen Jump*, first published in 1968, adopted a poll system whereby post-card inserts asking for readers’ favorites could be sent back to the publisher. The editors would terminate the unpopular manga immediately, a policy which in fact increased sales tremendously. The other magazines soon followed the same system. At the same time, Uryū Yoshimitsu has pointed that it changed the feeling of the manga from “our manga” to something else. See Uryū Yoshinori, “Dokusha Kyōdōtai no Sōzō/Sōzō,” in *Karuchuraru poritikusu 1960/70* (Tokyo: Serika Shobō, 2005), pp. 114–34.

pleading on Hagio's part.¹⁰ "Going through such an ordeal, a comic writer gets tough," she pronounced in conclusion. It is easy to imagine what would have become of *The Heart of Thomas* if she had not been so "tough" and persistent.

In recounting of these struggles, Hagio aims her remarks not so much at future historians as her own, contemporary, up-and-coming comic writers, whose editors did not allow them to write what they wanted. Her advice: change magazines and find new editors.¹¹ This could not have been easy advice to follow. In a 1976 interview, for instance, she recalls how she fought with editors again and again until she finally said "let Hagio do whatever she wants."¹² Of course there was a strong element of sexism in this battle. In the 60's to early 70's, virtually all of the editors were men and they had little compunction about exerting their control over their female comic writers. Masuyama Norie, a mutual friend of Hagio's and rival comic writer Takemiya Keiko, also describes what was then a completely male-dominated power structure. Masuyama recalls how "when writers brought a manuscript to the editorial department, the editors would immediately open up Nishitani Yoshiko's book and demand 'draw like this!' 'look, she has no objects behind her characters, just white, and she does the characters' faces close up. What are you drawing? You have too many long shots!' That's how it was back then."¹³ Nishitani Yoshiko's characters, meanwhile, had big, glittering eyes with flowers in the background of the panels, which became the stereotype of *shōjo* manga, as mentioned earlier. Masuyama continues: "I saw many talented writers, even more talented than Hagio Moto and Takemiya Keiko, who,

¹⁰ One month after *The Heart of Thomas* started being published, 30,000 copies of a book-form edition of Hagio's *The Poe Clan* (originally published in a monthly magazine in 1972-3) were sold out in only three days. See Omoide, 11-21

¹¹ Omoide, 79-81.

¹² Moto Hagio, *Strawberry Fields* (Tokyo: Shinshokan, 1976), p. 86. She also commented that writers had to catch up with popular themes in order to keep their jobs, as *manga* trends rotated approximately every five years.

¹³ Masuyama, 33. Nishitani Yoshiko (b.1943-) occupies a place between Mizuno Hideko and the 24 year group in the history of *Shōjo manga*. She departed from Mizuno's fantasy and wrote *Gakuen mono* (School stories) in the Japanese school setting.

because of the editors' lack of consideration, gave up and quit writing comics entirely, saying 'its humiliating!' They had suppressed their identity for too long, doing whatever the editors said. If they didn't do it, the editors wouldn't publish their comics." As though this were not insult enough, Masuyama testifies also that the salaries and royalty percentages for female comic writers were lower than for their male counterparts.¹⁴

Of course this inequality and lack of respect for women's creativity was not restricted just to the manga industry. It was a factor in the literary scene at all levels. Natsume Kyōko, Sōseki's wife, recalled her famous husband's disapproval of women participating in the literary scene:

...Basically, he hated his daughters reading novels. Not reading novels was a strict prohibition, because he said that he could never stand it if his daughters grew up to discuss literature in a shallow way. Also, he said he would utterly loathe it if they grew up to be like the women writers who would often visit us at the house. It really was like a habitual saying for him, how much he hated his daughters reading novels.¹⁵

These memories of Soseki were recorded by her son in law, Matsuoka Yuzuru, in 1928. While "a strict prohibition" seems like a slight exaggeration, there can be no doubt that there was in Japan a widespread bias against women's participation in literature.¹⁶ Even when women writers were allowed to participate, there still often remained an expectation that they should write in a way somehow matching their sex and that, as Rebeca Copeland says of a roundtable on women's

¹⁴ See Masuyama, pp. 38-9.

¹⁵ Natsume Kyōko, *Sōseki no Omoide*, (Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1994), p. 318.

¹⁶ In some cases, it may have just been a matter of relevance. As Mari Nagase says in her dissertation, *Women Writers of Chinese Poetry in Late-Edo Period Japan* (UMI, 2007), p.5, "The Edo period's polite literature, having been written by respectable scholars or statesmen, was considered most appropriate for men in the Meiji academy to imitate, because of its writing style and content as well as the social status and moral attitude of the authors.... Literature by women, which purportedly was marked with the author's sex and gendered life experiences, was assumed to be irrelevant as a model for male students in the Meiji Academy."

writing in 1908, “women writers should aspire to ‘womanliness,’ that vague notion of female essence.” As for what this notion might be, Copeland continues: “and to be womanly meant to be first and foremost gentle. Gentleness gave rise to other subsidiary qualities such as modesty, altruism, and devotion to home and family and made the woman particularly susceptible to emotion and sensitive to beauty.”¹⁷

Female writers often suffered harsh criticism for lacking this dubious quality of “womanliness.” The term *atarashii onna* (new women), for instance, coined in an essay by writer and editor Hiratsuka Raichō (1886-1971), stands in opposition to the Victorian ideal of the perfect wife, “The Angel of the House,” which was imported to Japan and strongly influenced the notion of *katei* (family home). Writer and translator Wakamatsu Shizuko (1864-96), for example, believed that the creation of the ideal family home was a crucial part of building the new nation. For her, the ideal *katei* depended in large part on “the angels of the house.” Not only was it a place where their husbands, who work outside the home, could relax, but it was also an instructive, serene refuge for the children, also little angels, whose moral and ethical behavior contributed equally to the ideal *katei*. In her translations, such as *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, Wakamatsu uses the image of serene, innocent children as the manifestation of divinity.¹⁸ Sōseki also apparently disliked the female writers who were working in the commercial world, outside the *katei*, and failed to be either angels in the house and or to produce little angels. Needless, to say, female comic writers like Hagio also failed at being or bearing angels. Instead, they opted for the outside world, male territory, which was harsh and required them to be “tough,” as Hagio said. Although the angel-

¹⁷ Rebecca Copeland(ed.), *Woman Critiqued* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), p. 5.

¹⁸ Takahashi Osamu, “Katei no Tenshi toshiteno Kodomo: Wakamatsu Shizuko Yaku Shōkoshi no Jendā,” in *Shōnen no Poritikusu* (Tokyo: Seikyusha, 2009), pp. 50–56.

of-the-house concept had a Victorian origin, its apex in Japan came in the 1960s, probably because of its theoretical connection to the pressures of industrialization and a desire to strengthen the nuclear family. It would be fair to say that for *shōjo* manga writers like Hagio, the angel in the house became the ghost in the closet, haunting their aspirations and notions of self-worth.¹⁹

Yet not all of the obstacles Hagio and her cohort faced were so personally psychological and unquantifiable. Numerical statistics help paint the picture of Japan's rapidly changing society and economy of the 1960s. As Ueno Chizuko has said, Japan completed its modernization through the intense growth of the 1960s economy. Although this process of modernization started during the Meiji Restoration, up until the 1960s more than 50% of the population continued to identify themselves as self-employed, of which category more than half said they were farmers. This farming statistic, widely used as the benchmark for economic modernization, is fairly staggering even just half a century later. Along with agricultural labor, the other benchmark statistic is urban versus rural population distribution. Again, one can see a rapid trend towards urbanization in Japan in the 50s and 60s. Between 1950 and 1960, for instance, the urban percentage of the Japanese population increased from 37.5% to 63.5%, another fairly staggering figure.²⁰ Needless to say, this trend towards urbanization means a lot more than just geography and material. It means a changing culture. The burgeoning urban population of the 50s and 60s engaged in commercial behavior on an unprecedented scale. Their power as consumers and their thirst for entertainment created a boom in magazine publishing in the late 50s. Manga also be-

¹⁹ *Shōkōshi*, translated by Wakamatsu Shizuko, had an immense impact on Japanese juvenile literature, such as *Kaitei Gunkan* (*Battleship Submarine*, Oshikawa Shurō, 1900), which features a protagonist, Hideo, who clearly resembles Fauntleroy. See Takita Yoshiko, "Wakamatsu Shizuko and Little Lord Fauntleroy," *Comparative Literature Studies* 22, no. 1 (2015): 1–8.

²⁰ Ueno Chizuko, *Kafuchōsei to Shihonsei : Marukusu Shugi Feminizumu No Chihei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2009), p. 169, hereafter Ueno.

came extremely popular. The first *shōjo* manga magazine, *Shōjo Furendo* (Girls' Friend), appeared in 1963, satisfying a commercial demand and addressing itself to a social demographic that simply did not exist a generation before.

Despite the existence of sexist attitudes towards female readership and authorship, capitalist market forces worked to expand the production of *shōjo* manga. According to Ueno, “the market can be understood to act automatically. The market is irrelevant to the environment and the environment does not regulate the market. Therefore, if a particular product can sell in the market, that product will be supplied infinitely until the market is reaches a saturation point or falls below the profit line. The labor market worked by the same theory.”²¹ Thus, the market gave birth to the manga industry and created jobs for female writers. These developments happened quickly and with a sense of inevitability, since no single, deliberative agent was behind the urge to supply the market demand. At the start, for instance, in the early 60s, most *shōjo* manga writers were male, such as Chiba Tetsuya, Akatsuka Fujio, Ishinomori Shotaro, Matsumoto Reiji, et al., but they were soon transferred to boys' comic magazines, also obviously a growing industry. This created a gap for female writers to fill, which girls magazines tried to address as quickly as possible, establishing public manga contests to identify and nurture upcoming talent. Not only were the male writers needed for boys comics, but the market determined with its usual unbiased precision that the female writers were more popular and sold more magazines to their female readership. Money trumped sexism. “From then on,” Hagio recalls, “new female writers with energetic passion and talent established the world of girls' comics for girls, by girls. It was a singular phenomenon occurring before our very eyes, male writers disappearing one by one....”²²

²¹ Ueno, p. 20.

²² Omoide, p. 156.

In the rush to identify new talent and satisfy market demand, surprisingly young writers made an instant impact on the industry. In 1964, for instance, Hagio was shocked by the celebrated debut of sixteen-year-old Satonaka Machiko. According to Hagio, the second-place finisher after her, Aoike Yasuko, was also sixteen years old. Hagio was then only one year younger than they and naturally drew inspiration from their success. Publishing success for teenagers is an unusual event even today, but then, in the mid 60s, it was utterly astounding. One must also keep in mind that there were a few job opportunities for women at all during that period, regardless of age. Thanks to a sudden combination of market forces, however, comic writing became one of the few paths open to young women — and a fairly exciting and glamorous one too, with a potential for creative expression and autonomy. A few important statistics help flush out this fact. The postwar boom in urbanization had the effect of both paring down the extended family and emphasizing the nuclear family, entrenching the gender roles of men working outside and women being housewives. In the early 60's, for instance, 60.2% of families were just nuclear families, i.e. mother, father and children, without grandparents or other members. Additionally, the average size of this nuclear family dropped sharply over the course of the decade. In 1960, the average nuclear family size was 4.97 people; in 1970 it was 3.69.²³ The employment rate of women, meanwhile, dropped from 60.1% in 1950 to 50.6% in 1960 and then again to 46.1% in 1970.²⁴

Accompanying this demographic shift towards smaller nuclear families with more sharply defined gender roles, a marked sense of men's and women's spheres took hold in Japanese culture, a return of the notion of the “angel of the house.” Although it is hard to define or

²³ Ueno, p. 248.

²⁴ Bando Mariko, “Sengo kara Kokusai Fujinnen made no Jyosei Seisaku,” *Josei Bunka Kenkyujyo Kiyō*, no. 33 (2006): 65–75.

quantify the reach of this almost territorial outlook, one can find countless hints of it in the cultural products of the day, including in manga. In such an atmosphere of sex segregation, women had few career opportunities. The few they did have, furthermore, such as nurse, secretary, typist and telephone operator, were those that they had first filled on a replacement basis in the buildup to the war, when there was a shortage of male labor.²⁵ The feeling that women were just temporary stand-in's in these jobs lingered. This feeling even bled over into the early *shōjo* manga industry, when the first female writers were considered to be merely substitutes for male writers, entitled to less freedom and compensation. As illustrated earlier, exploitation by male publishers and editors was routine. In 1976, for instance, Hagio complained that her eyesight was no longer good, because the publishers had forced her to work such long hours that she damaged it. She had perfect eyesight before, she says, and could produce hundreds of pages a month, but by 1976 could only manage 40 pages a month.²⁶ Similarly, Masuyama has stated that in the 60's and early 70's female comic writers lasted only three years at the job, either due to physical damage, as in Hagio's case, or to the inability to cope with the harsh social conditions in the industry.²⁷ Some writers simply left the industry, like Okada Fumiko (1949-2005, career: 1967-72) and Oya Chiki (b. 1950, career: 1972-75); some died early, like Kai Yukiko (1954-80, only 26 years old) and Mihara Jun (1952-95, 42 years old).

According to Ueno, these harsh, exploitative forces were not only capitalistic but also expressly sexist and patriarchal. "Even though women made progress in the labor market," she ex-

²⁵ Ueno, p. 238

²⁶ Working conditions in the 50s, 60s and 70s were cruel. Fukui Eiichi, the author of the popular manga, *Igaguri Kun*, died at the age of 34. Sato Shio, a member of the Post Year 24 group, died at 58, and Yamada Murasaki at 60. There are others as well.

²⁷ Masuyama, p. 37.

plains, “if they do not own their own labor, they become slaves. It was common practice, for example, for parents to send their daughters to apprenticeships and borrow their daughter’s entire contract salary in advance, or for husbands to go to their wives’ workplaces and borrow her salary. Women were not autonomous or in charge of their own labor. In those few cases where women did own their own labor, the status of that work in the market was invariably inadequate and B-class.”²⁸ In the context of manga, Masuyama reports that female writers’ salaries and royalty percentages were significantly lower than those of their male colleagues in the early 70’s. She herself requested equal pay, because, she insisted, she and other writers, like Takemiya and Hagio, clearly wrote comics just as good as those of the male writers.²⁹ Manga writer Nishitani Yoshiko recalls that while her male editors had never explicitly refused her work, she was always told to “maintain popularity and get the top ranking in the readers’ poll.” Thus, as long as her comics were popular, she could write whatever she wanted, which of course is a rather limiting distinction for an artist. As a consequence, she produced only the most popular genres of comic in the weekly magazine, such as romantic comedies and school stories, and reserved her more experimental material for *Seventeen* (the “older sister” magazine of *Māgareto*). She did not like the narrow perspective of young girls, she says, and would have liked to write a different genre altogether. “Social barriers, the narrow perspectives of girls’ comics, the discourse of women, sexual harassment, etc.” weighed on her and she finally accepted her father’s advice to get married.³⁰ At the time of an interview she gave in 1988, she was taking a break from the comic industry, had become a housewife and was taking a class at the *Caruchā Sentā* (Cultural

²⁸ Ueno, p. 29.

²⁹ Ishida, pp. 306-7.

³⁰ See Yoshiko Nishitani Fan Club, “Nishitani Yoshiko Sensei Ni Kiku,” <http://www2.odn.ne.jp/~aah20450/report1.htm>. (accessed March 10, 2019).

Center, sort of an open college but organized by communities).³¹ Her experience and career path attest to difficulties of the 60s and 70s comic industry, where male editors exploited their female writers and, more generally, society opposed women's participating in the work force at all. It is little wonder that she finally followed her father's advice, married and became a stay-at-home mother. Getting married of course meant withdrawing from the workforce for a woman. As Hagio wrote in her 1998 essay, "many years ago, when I was young, it was commonly assumed that when a woman married, she had to quit her job and become a housewife. I became a comic writer, however, and I enjoyed my job, so I decided 'because I would not be able to deal with marriage life, I was not going to be married.'"³²

Female manga writers were not the only ones to face barriers, however. The entire genre of manga was the target of several protest campaigns in the course of the 1950's, such as *Akusho Tuihō Undō* (The Campaign of Elimination of Harmful Books), which did not escape the young Hagio. These groups protested that reading manga distracted children from studying and, not surprisingly, garnered a considerable following amongst concerned parents. In this period, it was not uncommon to see manga books being burned ceremonially in the school yard. Animator Masaki Mori (b. 1941) recalls that when he was in junior high school, "the Diet orchestrated the so-called *Akusho Tuihō Undō* and the representatives burned the manga of Tezuka and others in front of the Diet building. It was the top story in the newspapers. Then the education ministry ordered that children were prohibited from bringing manga to school."³³ This campaign established a lasting public animus: manga was harmful for children.

³¹ Bungei Shunju ed., *Shōjo manga Daizenshu*, (Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1988), p. 754.

³² Hagio Moto, *Isshun to Eien to* (Tokyo: Gengi Shobo, 2011), 110, hereafter Isshun. Few members of the Year 24 Group were married.

³³ Shimotsuki Takanaka, *Com : 40nenme no Shūkangō* (Asahi Shinbun Shuppan, 2011), p. 128. *Akusho Tuiho Undo* continued into the 1970's. Nagai Go's *Harenchi Gakuen* (Harenchi School, 1968-72) was attacked in 1970.

Hagio's parents also absorbed this propaganda and disliked manga, to the point that she has said repeatedly that she believes her parents were ashamed of her career "from the bottom of their hearts."³⁴ At frequent intervals, they strongly counseled her to give up writing manga, telling her that "comic writing was not creation but worthless rubbish, a fool's errand." Hagio internalized their criticisms and agreed in some way, even if she could not resist following a different course. "Something is wrong with me," she thought, "that I should write manga as a grown woman. I must be a bad person." After she published her first work in *Nakayoshi*, a girls' magazine, in 1969, she tried to publish more manga to establish her career. Many of the people around her, however, not only her parents, believed her ambitions were idiotic. A loyal and virtuous daughter, Hagio could not but side with her parents and other critics at some level and feel ashamed.³⁵ She was genuinely torn between her love and respect for her parents and her own professional ambitions. Ultimately, she decided that she could not quit manga, because "it had disentangled her heart and made her feel happy." Hagio rationalized it to herself: "even though manga may be worthless rubbish, this worthless rubbish makes me happy. Therefore it has some worth. I should be allowed to do it."³⁶ Yet Hagio was not completely free from the domination of her parents. As Ueno might point out, she did not completely own her own labor. Although she established her own company at the age of 28 with her then-retired father as a president, he attempted to control her work and her work habits. After just two years of this arrangement, she decided to take a break and close the company, later saying that she "never hated people as much

³⁴ Saito Tamaki, *Haha wa Musume no Jinsei o Shihaisuru: Naze Hahagoroshi wa Muzukashii noka* (Tōkyō : Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 2008), p. 58.

³⁵ Isshun, p. 68.

³⁶ Isshun, p. 70.

as I did at that time.” She could have no doubt that her parents regarded it as a betrayal, as they explicitly told her “if you neglect your parents, quit writing manga.”³⁷

The protests against manga nevertheless had a galvanizing effect on writers and fans, who bonded together and tried to raise the artistic quality of manga even higher. One of the notable contests of the period was *Guracon*, an abbreviation of the “Grand Companion,” which was the title of a competition for amateur comic writers in the magazine *Com*.³⁸ Unlike other magazines’ contests, *Guracon* aimed to organize professional and amateur comic writers and fans nationwide. Not only did they have a chance to publish their works on *Com*, they could also connect with other like-minded artists and discuss their shared passion for manga. Hagio was a *Com* fan and a contributor to *Guracon*.³⁹ When Hagio debuted in *Nakayoshi*, Masuyama immediately noticed her talent and wrote her a fan letter. They quickly became friends. Shortly afterwards, an editor introduced Hagio to Takemiya and Hagio introduced Takemiya to Masuyama. All three became close friends, although Hagio and Takemiya later had a bitter falling out in 1973.⁴⁰ In fact, when Hagio moved from her hometown, Omuta City, to Tokyo, she initially lived with Takemiya in Oizumi Gakuen. Takemiya also introduced Hagio to Yamamoto Junya, editor of the

³⁷ See Shimazaki Kyoko, “Gendai no Shozo: Hagio Moto, Mangaka.” *Aera* 19, no. 21 (2006): 67–71, hereafter Shimazaki, and Watanabe Miwako, “Jidai wo Tsukuru Onna tachi: Hagio Moto,” *Fujin Koron* 96, no. 3 (2011): 120–25.

³⁸ *Com* was started by Tezuka Osamu in 1968. His goal was to publish manga that comic writers wanted to write. He also aimed to help manga writers grow, setting up a contest for amateur manga writers, *Guracon*.

³⁹ Her work, *A girl with a Puppy in the Porch*, was published in *Com* in 1969 and was sent to *Guracon* in 1969 and then published later in *Com* in 1970.

⁴⁰ Takemiya Keiko, *Shōnen no Naha Jirubēru* (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 2016), 162-9. Takemiya’s first work was published by *Com* in 1967.

girls' comic magazine *Shōjo Komikku*.⁴¹ Yamamoto bought four comics from Hagio that *Nakayoshi* rejected.⁴² Masuyama said later that Yamamoto presumably expected Hagio to appeal to a small but edgy market.⁴³

Masuyama worked to create a comic writers' "salon," imitating the salons of literati in 19th-century Paris. Participants of her salon dubbed it "Oizumi Salon." Sasaya Nanaeko, Yamada Mineko, Yamagishi Ryōko, Morita Jun, Kai Yukiko, Sato Shio, and Sakata Yasuko were among the many visitors.⁴⁴ They had lively discussions about how to raise the quality of girls' comics up to the level of Tezuka and Ishinomori's works. Their efforts paid off. In fact, even male fans of *shōjo* manga increased, to the point that one university had a *shōjo* manga club for exclusively male readers. Despite this growing popularity of *shōjo* manga, the magazine *Com* was terminated in 1973, due to the bankruptcy of Mushi publications, and *Guracōn* was also dissolved. This shocked quite a number of fans and acted as an impetus for the formation of the manga critic group *Meikyū* (Labyrinth). Its members included Aniwa Jun, Yonezawa Yoshihiro and Shimotsuki Takanaka, who had previously organized a Hagio fan club, *Moto no Tomo* (Friends of Hagio). They also organized the Comic Market, which was a convention devoted to the sale of personally published manga.⁴⁵ *Meikyū* members called themselves *Com Sedai* (the *Com* generation), differentiating themselves from *Zenkyōtō Sedai* (the *Zenkyōtō* generation).⁴⁶ According to Kan Satoko, what characterized the younger generation after *Zenkyōtō Sedai* was a

⁴¹ Shimazaki Kyoko, "Gendai No Shozo: Hagio Moto, Mangaka," *Aera* 19, no. 21 (2006): 67–71.

⁴² The four comics were: *Holy Night on Sailor Hill*, *The Fife of the White Boy in the White Forest*, *Maudlin*, *Poor Mama*. Yamamoto produced another member of the Year 24 group, Oshima Yumiko.

⁴³ Masuyama, p. 34.

⁴⁴ Thorn, p. xix.

⁴⁵ The Comic Market started in 1975. For details, see Shimotsuki, Takanaka, *Komikku Māketto Sōseiki* (Tōkyō: Asahi Shinbun Shuppan, 2008).

⁴⁶ About *Zenkyōtō*, see Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan from Tokugawa to the Present*. (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 281.

tendency to turn inwards and explore their own inner worlds.⁴⁷ The outer world, including politics, was less interesting to them. Indeed, Masuyama and Takemiya were also critical of the student movement.⁴⁸ Needless to say, the issue of the student movements was closely tied to *Anpo Tōsō*, the campaign against the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and the campaign against the Vietnam War.

Yet no amount of turning inwards could isolate Hagio totally from the pressures of the outside world. Beside *Anpo Tōsō* in 1960, there also occurred a significant upheaval in Hagio's home town, Omuta City, from 1959 to 1960, which was called the Miike Labor Dispute. Hagio had already graduated from a two-year business school with a degree in fashion design and was excluded from further education, so she was not entitled to participate in the student movement. The Miike Labor Dispute, however, gave her the chance to witness injustice and violence. The dispute pertained to the main industry of Omuta City, the Miike Coal Mine. The government changed its energy policy in the 1950s, shifting from coal to oil, which it could then import cheaply from the Middle East. As a consequence, the coal industry was forced to operate with extreme efficiency in order to be able to compete with lower-priced oil. Naturally this drive for efficiency meant layoffs. The Coal and Mining Council outlined the dismissal of 110,000 miners nationwide in 1959. Since the Mitsui Miike Coal Mine was the largest mine in Japan, that meant that a full 1,200 employees would be let go immediately. Protests ensued. A total of 500,000 policemen were mobilized and dispatched to the mine over the course of the conflict, costing the state a staggering one billion yen, three times as much as *Anpo Tōsō*. In the summer of 1960,

⁴⁷ Satoko Kan, "Everlasting Life, Everlasting Loneliness: The Genealogy of 'The Poe Clan,'" *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal*, no. 38 (2010), 43–58.

⁴⁸ See Ishida Minori, *Hisoyakana Kyoiku* (Tokyo: Rakuohoku Shuppan, 2008), p. 294 and Takemiya, p. 19.

about 10,000 policemen squared off against 20,000 union members at the Miike Mine.⁴⁹ Furthermore, in 1963, when Hagio was 14 years old, the coal mine had an explosion, which was the worst accident in the mining industry after WWII. 458 people died and 839 people were injured by the blast or from carbon monoxide poisoning, with many of the poisoned survivors suffering severe, permanent brain damage. Lawsuits related to the disaster continued until a 1998 verdict by the supreme court.

Hagio has never discussed the accident or the Miike labor dispute in great detail or taken any sides, either in her work or in interviews.⁵⁰ Considering that her father was working in a white collar position with Mitsui Miike Kōmusho, however, a subsidiary of the Mitsui Miike Coal Mine and its blue-collar workers, one can be sure that Hagio must have had quite complex feelings with regard to the strike.⁵¹ Occasionally she hints at her experience of class divisions, as when she mentions how her parents prohibited her from getting together with children who lived in the company row houses. As a manager, Hagio's father was given a detached house with a garden, while the miners received row houses. Hagio was pained by this seemingly irrational prohibition, yet she abided by it. Perhaps her judgement of her parents' snobberies was softened by her knowledge that her father was blocked from promotion by his not having a university degree.⁵²

Even if Hagio has preferred not to share with the public her complex emotions about these painful upheavals in her outside world, she has nevertheless been frank about how difficult

⁴⁹ Hirai Yoichi, *Miike Sōugi*, (Tokyo: Mineruba Shobo, 2000), 1-2, 207-8.

⁵⁰ The first time she ever mentioned it at all was in a 2010 interview, where she was unspecific, saying that "around the time of the Japan-Korea annexation, people were brought and some of them died..." See Yuko Anazawa, ed., *Hagio Moto : Sōtokushū Shōjo Mangakai no Idai Naru Haha* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2010), p. 32.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵² See Shimazaki Kyoko, "Gendai No Shōzō: Hagio Moto, Mangaka," *Aera* 19, no. 21 (2006): 67–71.

her childhood was, how intolerable, and how she thought continually of escape. In a 2005 interview, Hagio speaks explicitly about this pain and her desire to flee.

Hagio: I think the reason was that I grew up in a coal-mining town. At the time, there were these fierce labor disputes, so that the grownups were often fighting. Children were never hurt in these fights, but they saw these people screaming into microphones and running. And they were not spewing abstractions, like the fascists do in their sound-trucks. It was rough, raw stuff. It was terrifying.

Thorn (Interviewer): So that reality was just too...

Hagio: Yes, it was a reality of violence and poverty, and I wanted to escape from it. I wanted to move toward something more beautiful.

Thorn: So you are pursuing an ideal.

Hagio: No, just pursuing an escape. But, yes.⁵³

Hagio was not the only one who sought to flee from the outside world in her generation or the following one, whether or not it was “rough, raw, and terrifying.” The generation that followed *Com Sedai*, born between 1961 and 1970, are often called *shinjinrui*, “a new breed of humans,” who were noted for having unprecedented thoughts and feelings. This generation was highly involved with manga culture. One essayist, Ariyoshi Tamao (b. 1963), who is both a member of this generation and a fan of Hagio’s vampire story comic, *The Poe Clan*, has dubbed her generation, of which *shinjinrui* would be a subset, “the *shirake* generation,” or “the bored generation.” According to Ariyoshi, members of the *shirake* generation, in contrast to previous generations like *Zenkyoto*, which saw real upheavals, could not identify material problems in the “real world” and thus felt disconnected from society. Without strikes and the student movement to draw them into a wider consciousness, they simply drifted along in society and turned inwards. Their relative material comfort, she argues, bred a collective attitude of alienation, not out

⁵³ Thorn, p. xvi.

of misanthropy or a deliberate lack of concern for other people but rather because they lacked a mechanism to connect, join, and participate. She thinks this is why Hagio's *The Poe Clan* appealed so much to her and her fellow *shirake* members: the vampires of the *Poe Clan* were, by definition, alienated from human society.⁵⁴

It would seem then that at a turn inwards, either by way of escape or as a byproduct of alienation, marks successive generations of Japanese manga readers and writers. One psychologist and psychoanalyst, Okonogi Keigo, has linked this turning inward with the psychological stage between childhood and adulthood, termed *moratoriumu* (moratorium), when an individual has not yet associated mentally himself with the larger social group and so is in a period of preparation. Okonogi published several books about *moratoriumu*, including his translation of *Identity and the Life Cycle*, by Erik Homburger Erikson.⁵⁵ According to Okonogi, “the basic character of *moratoriumu* men is scant consciousness of the belonging to ‘the bigger than themselves,’ which is the existence of something larger than individuals, such as a nation, society or a stream of history (like an ideology or specific idea). Fundamentally, moratorium means a period of preparation and moratorium (a temporary prohibition of an activity) until they develop identity by uniting themselves with ‘the bigger than themselves, something beyond individuals.’”⁵⁶ Ariyoshi explicitly connects the concept of moratorium to her own *shirake* generation, cut adrift from society in a perpetual moratorium. One might also wonder how Hagio thought of herself in relation to “a nation, society and a stream of history,” growing up to the sight of policemen, who represent the power of the state, fighting against mine workers, her fellow townspeople. And it

⁵⁴ Her comments about *The Poe Clan* appear in a newspaper article. See Ariyoshi Tamao, “Waga Seishun No Hero Edoga Potsuneru,” *Asahi Evening News*, July 12, 1997.

⁵⁵ Okonogi Keigo (1930-2003) was a student of Kozawa Heisaku (1897-1968), who studied psychoanalysis under Sigmund Freud in the Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute in 1932-3.

⁵⁶ Okonogi Keigo, *Moratoriumu Ningen no Jidai* (Tokyo: Chūō Koronsha, 2010), p. 93.

deserves mention that the ugly history of the Miike Coal Mine extended further back in time too. Originally part of the Yanagawa and Miike feudal domain in the Edo period, the Meiji government took it into their control in 1873 and promptly sold it to *seishō* (merchants with political ties), Mitsui in 1876.⁵⁷ Throughout its history, it had many accidents and casualties, although the records were scattered or lost. For the Meiji to Showa periods, prisoners were used for labor in the mines, even though Mitsui lacked sufficient security measures.⁵⁸

The outer world of Hagio's childhood was thus very ugly and terrifying indeed. Her solution was to escape, "to move toward something more beautiful," which of course was no easy task in such troubled times in Japan, both for the state and for the individual. Beset on every side by turmoil and discrimination, Hagio turned inwards, like other people of moratorium. As Okonogi says, "men in moratorium can transform themselves into anything, anybody through their play and experiments. Simultaneously, they can be nobody. They find ideal images one after another and assimilate into them in their ceaseless pursuit of the question "who am I?" and "who should I be?"⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Kodama Kiyoomi, "Mitsui Tankō: Gijyutsu no Ashiato," *Nippon Enerugi Gakkai Shi*, v76, n6, 1997, 483. Additionally, 5517 Chinese workers were forced to work in the Mine before WWII. For details, see Matsuoka Hajime, "Chūgokujin Kyōsei Renko Kyōsei Rōdō Jiken Fukuoka Soshō Hanketsu," *Kikan Sensō Sekinin Kenkyu*, n. 37, (2002), 38–42.

⁵⁸ See Naga Satoru, *Heizan: Mitsui Miike Tankō 1889-1997* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1997).

⁵⁹ Okonogi Keigo, *Moratorium Ningen no Jidai*, (Tokyo: Chuo Koron, 2010), 95.

Part Two: Hagio's Inner World and Internal Objects

According to psychoanalyst Ronald Fairbairn, when a subject feels powerless to control his or her outer reality, the ego seeks to transfer that reality inside, where it can more easily be controlled and dealt with. This transference involves the creation of an idealized inner reality, whose components Fairbairn terms "internal objects." The concept of internal objects is one of the cornerstones of Fairbairn's psychological theory and appears frequently in his works, often discussed at great length and detail. One of his more succinct descriptions of the process is as follows:

Being a situation in outer reality, it is one which he finds himself impotent to control, and which, accordingly, he seeks to mitigate by such means as are at his disposal. The means at his disposal are limited; and the technique which he adopts is more or less dictated by this limitation. He accordingly follows the only path open to him and, since outer reality seems unyielding, he does his best to transfer the traumatic factor in the situation to the field of inner reality, within which he feels situations to be more under his own control.⁶⁰

As Fairbairn explains elsewhere, the appearance of the "traumatic factor" in its inner version can take many different forms, including those that are purely idealized. A child abused by his father, for instance, might create an ideal, perfect inner father, a foil for the real one, or, alternatively, an internal father whose abuse has an obvious and justified explanation, such as the subject's being mischievous and deserving the punishment, in contrast to the real abuse, which is capricious and driven by unknown motivations of the abusive father. For Fairbairn, internal objects vary in their

⁶⁰ W. Ronald D. Fairbairn, *Psychoanalytic Studies of the Personality* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 110. The first edition was published in 1952. Hereafter cited as Fairbairn.

features but share in common the key facts of their interiority and their purpose of mitigating, taming and confronting essentially uncontrollable factors of the outer world.

The following pages will make the case that Hagio's *The Heart of Thomas* can be viewed as a collection of internal objects, a private, inner world completely under Hagio's control where she can recast traumatic elements of her outer world in idealized, manageable form. That the comic was intensely personal for Hagio, a private hobby initially that she might never have published at all but for fortuitous circumstances and her own combative determination, we have already seen in the previous section of this essay. Understanding just how personal it is, however, requires a closer look at the text and its influences. Before proceeding to this closer look, one would do well to consider Hagio's own comments on the genesis of the *The Heart of Thomas*:

When I was a child, I was thinking “what is the purpose of life. For crying? For becoming happy? Is there anything other than that? Are there more beautiful and sublime reasons for existence? For praying?” While I was thinking about it, I produced *The Heart of Thomas* and *Hōmonsha (A Visitor)*. However, I could not find a certain answer there.⁶¹

Although Hagio's language here may not be as clinical as Fairbairn's, her descriptions of “praying” and seeking “a more beautiful and sublime reasons for the existence” while creating *The Heart of Thomas* sound like a model case study in internal objectification. She goes even further in an essay she wrote about one of her favorite manga works, Tezuka Osamu's *Shinsengumi*, expressing her isolation, loneliness and insecurity. *Sinsengumi* gave her what she could feel good about, she explains, what she might be able to depend upon.

Since I was a child, I have had dreams of anxiety. There is no one; there is nothing; fog surrounds the house; there is only fog. Does the world exist? Do I exist? As I was growing up, a feeling of loss haunted me. I felt I was losing something,

⁶¹ Isshun, p. 35.

like sand slipping between my fingers. Where does that feeling of loss come from? From the world? From my parents? Did the world close up on itself after the World War, containing the unknown — the unknown, which floats there yet cannot be verbalized, visualized, intellectualized. To me, *Shinsengumi* verbalized, visualized, intellectualized the unknown. The unknown is no longer abstract. *Shisengumi* made me conscious about anxiety. Anxiety emerged as physical anxiety.⁶²

Hagio's language is abstract and allusive but this essay presents a clear picture of how personally, psychologically significant *Shinsengumi* and, by extension, manga is for her. The plot of *Shinsengumi* is significant in this regard too. The protagonist, Fukakusa, is a samurai at the end of the Edo period, a tumultuous time when idealism and reality were torn in two. At the end, a hero of the Meiji Restoration, Sakamoto Ryōma, appears to Fukakusa and advises him "go to America." Immediately *Sinsengumi* pictures Fukakusa on the deck of a ship sailing to America. Then, in a surprising and marked gesture, he spits aggressively into the sea.⁶³ Hagio makes much of this episode. For her, Fukakusa's spitting is a rebuke to all of the values and ideals that drove him into a corner, a full rejection of his previous life under conventional beliefs like Confucianism and feudalism. The gesture is thus a positive, inspiring one for Hagio, since it opens the way for a new world beyond her sense of loss, "sand slipping between her fingers." The new world is one of "overcoming loss and despair, and eventually redeeming itself: the new world, the departure to new values." In traveling to this world, Hagio thinks "I do not have to lose anymore."⁶⁴ Clearly Hagio also feels hemmed in by traditional values and a need to escape for a new world, even if she could never quite summon the rebellious courage to spit at her oppressor. She leaves no doubt in the essay that she too would like to set sail and leave behind Confucian values like

⁶² Isshun, 162-3.

⁶³ Tazuka Osamu, *Shinsengumi* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1977), 226.

⁶⁴ Isshun, 163.

loyalty and filial piety, the oppressive notion of *sekentei* (public decency), which her parents cared so deeply about and which she herself followed dutifully for their sake.⁶⁵ Yet she cannot really set sail or even move to America or some other exotic place. As Fairbairn describes, her new world can only exist within.

Sinsengumi was not the only or even the most important glimpse for Hagio of this “new world, the departure to new values.” More important in this regard was the German/Swiss writer Hermann Hesse, whose works made a deep impression on Hagio. After her debut in *Nakayoshi* in 1969, while she was still living with her parents in Omuta city, a Hagio fan and a pen-pal of hers, Masuyama, sent her Hesse’s novel *Demian* as a gift. After *Demian*, she read *Gertrud* and *Peter Camenzind*. Hagio was mesmerized. For the following two years, any time Hagio went to a bookshop she would search for books by Hesse. Her own work was not going particularly well at the time. Although she had technically made her debut in *Nakayoshi*, the four subsequent works she sent to the publisher were all rejected, as well as her other plot ideas.⁶⁶ “(We want) an easier story, something more interesting and cheerful,” the editors told her.⁶⁷ Complying with their demands “required me to change my drawing techniques and genre,” she wrote. “It was like switching from the right hand to the left. I would have done it if I could, but I couldn’t.” Additionally, her parents hated manga and constantly pressured her to quit. Hagio wanted to move to Tokyo but her parents opposed that too. Beset by these troubles, Hagio turned to Hesse. She recounts the transformative sensation with strikingly psychological language.

⁶⁵ Saito, pp. 50–62. Ashamed that her daughter was writing manga, Hagio’s mother told her that she should be a children’s book writer instead because it sounds better.

⁶⁶ The rejected works were “Holy Night on Sailor Hill,” “The Fife of the White Boy in the White Forest,” “Maudlin” and “Poor Mama.” See Moto Hagio, *Moto Hagio’s A Drunken Dream and Other Stories* (Seattle: Fantagraphics, 2010), p. xix.

⁶⁷ Isshun, p. 69.

As I was reading *Demian*, *Gertrud* or *Peter Camenzind*, etc., invisible particles passed through my eye and filled my whole body profoundly.... Expression is the result of the creation of sensitivity. Whatever my thoughts and emotions are, expression cannot be stopped. If it is stopped, it is deposited and spoiled. It will eventually overflow. Hesse's book opened up one by one the dams that had stopped up the water ...I heard a voice saying "Yes, you can write. Yes, you can express yourself the way you like. Yes, you can exist. Even though if it is harmful and rubbish, it exists and its existence is allowed. You can like anything you want, think any way you want."⁶⁸

In this case, Hesse's inspiration was not merely motivational. It was also material, as Hagio sought to incorporate elements of Hesse's stories into her work. For *The Heart of Thomas*, she drew chiefly from his novel *Demian* (1917), employing its "bricolage of symbolism and allusions."⁶⁹ It is no exaggeration to say the *The Heart of Thomas* is a manga adaptation of *Demian*, although of course she adds a lot of other material, including elements from Hesse's other autobiographical works, such as *Beneath the Wheel* (*Unterm Rad*, 1906), which describes the time when he was a student at the Maulbronn cloister school in Swabia, Germany at the age of 13 to 14, from 1891 to 1892.⁷⁰

Although she adopts many elements from *Beneath the Wheel*, Hagio far preferred *Demian* and considered it to be her real inspiration. In any case, both works tell the story of protagonists on a journey of self-discovery. One biographer of Hesse, Ralph Freedman, wrote that "*Demian* was yet another spiritual autobiography. The story of a boy and young man, torn between the need for security of his home on the one hand and for freedom, sensuality, even crime outside the home the other, had been Hesse's perennial theme. It also happened to be the theme he shared with most concerned adolescents, especially at the time near the end of the war. With

⁶⁸ Isshun, p. 53.

⁶⁹ Barry Stephenson, *Veneration and Revolt : Hermann Hesse and Swabian Pietism* (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2009), p. 106, hereafter Stephenson.

⁷⁰ See Ralph Freeman, *Hermann Hesse: Pilgrim of Crisis*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978) : 41-4, hereafter Freeman.

an uncanny sense of identification with those trying to find themselves after the uncertainties of puberty, Hesse created from his life's arduous pilgrimage a symbolic biography that a whole generation in wartime Germany could make its own."⁷¹ Yet *Demian* was also quite different from Hesse's previous works. Among the different "ingredients," Freeman says, is its "turn toward the East as a way of ironically representing an interior world that changed the onward realism into apparently more obscure but compellingly accurate way of representing the psyche. The awareness of its hero, Emil Sinclair, for example, that Cain rather than Abel was the Elect, the man who can transcend the simple dichotomy of good and evil, or gnostic Abraxas myth in which good and evil are combined, propels the reader into an internal landscape in which conflicts can be apparently resolved."⁷² The appeal of such an "internal landscape" to Hagio was massive and irresistible, particularly for the resolution it promises.

This reading of *Demian* as personally transformative and therapeutic is hardly unique to Freeman. The story's spiritual, redemptive overtones are difficult to miss and have been widely commented on. To a large degree, these features are imbedded in the plot of the book. One scholar, Barry Stephenson, connects these elements to Hesse's religious upbringing. In his book, *Veneration and Revolt: Hermann Hesse and Swabian Pietism*, he argues that the particular strand of Pietism in Hesse's childhood Swabia was absorbed and developed "local interest in hermetic, mystical, speculative thought. Pietist penchant for mysticism, inwardness, and concentrated attentiveness to the movements and states of the soul contributed to a proliferation of spiritual biography, confessional writing, and scores of new hymnals and devotional books."⁷³ Additionally,

⁷¹ Freeman, p. 190.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 190.

⁷³ Stephenson, pp. 5-6.

“Chiliasm and apocalyptic tendencies within Swabian Pietism led to a strong sense of the importance of historical awareness and a proclivity to watch for the *Zeichen der Zeit*, the ‘signs of the time,’ that would allow one to discern the conjunction of historical events with divine revelations.”⁷⁴ Stephenson goes even further and discerns many of these tendencies in *Demian*. At the end of the story for instance, Sinclair and Demian go to World War One. The First World War is of course symbolic of the apocalypse and “Demian dies in the war and Sinclair is wounded, but lives, carrying with him the mark of Cain—he is one of the enlightened vanguards of a new humanity and a new culture.”⁷⁵ Demian is for Sinclair a kind of inner demon or self, through whose influence he becomes a whole individual, uniting dualistic elements of “light” and “dark.” He is reborn through the apocalyptic destruction he and Demian, another version of himself, experienced on the battlefields of the war. As Sinclair lies wounded in a hospital bed, the spirit of his friend Demian appears to him and, giving him a kiss, tells him that he must go away. At this moment Sinclair realizes that Demian is, and always was, inside him. Hesse ends *Demian* as follows:

... when I find the key and climb fully down into myself, where the images of destiny slumber in their dark mirror, I need only bend down over the black mirror and I see my own image, which now looks exactly like Him, Him, my friend and my guide.⁷⁶

In addition to the theme of overcoming inner fragmentation, it is also worth pointing out that *Demian* ends with the complete resolution of the protagonist’s inner conflict, unlike Hesse’s *Beneath the Wheel*. Sinclair is made whole, healed, sane. This is undoubtedly what draws Hagio to the novel and causes her to denigrate *Beneath the Wheel* as secondary in importance, even

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 6.

⁷⁵ Ibid, pp. 93-4.

⁷⁶ Hermann Hesse, *Demian*, (New York: Penguin books, 2013), p. 135, hereafter *Demian*.

though she borrows substantially from it in terms of plot elements. For Hagio, *Demian* shows her a “new world, the departure to new values.”

At its core, *The Heart of Thomas* adopts Hesse’s idea of rebirth through destruction. Unlike Hesse, however, Hagio chooses not to save the climax/epiphany for the end, instead reversing the chronology and making her final chapter a kind of beginning. Meanwhile, she begins with the end, since Thomas, the eponymous character of the comic, commits suicide on the third page. Yet the degree to which Thomas is really dead is highly debatable. He speaks emphatically from the grave on the page after his suicide, for instance, reciting in poetry:

They say a person dies twice: first comes the death of the self, then the death of
being forgotten by friends.
If that is always true,
I will never know that second death (even should he die, he will never forget me).
In this way,
I shall always live
On in his eyes

It is hard not to hear the ending of *Demian*, quoted above, in these first lines of Thomas. Yet Hagio borrows more than such lofty sentiments from Hesse. She also takes smaller practical details, such as settings. Although *The Heart of Thomas* apparently takes place after WWII, Hagio decides to set her story in Hesse’s Maulbronn cloister school, where he spent the years of 1890-1.⁷⁷ Thus, all of *The Heart*’s characters are students in a boarding school in Swabia, aged

⁷⁷ The date of *The Heart of Thomas* must be inferred from context and is somewhat confusing. One of the characters, Eric’s step father, has a car, which would seem not to be a Victorian product (v2:168). Similarly, Hagio shows girls in small-town Swabia wearing knee-length skirts, another anachronism if she intends a Victorian date (v1:154). On the other hand, Eric wears an Inverness coat, which was fashionable before WWII. *Hōmonsha*, however, a spinoff from *The Heart of Thomas*, is obviously set after WWII. Hashimoto Osamu has pointed out that Hagio sets many of her stories, such as *Kotori no Su* and *Golden Lilac*, in the 1950s of her childhood. See Hashimoto Osamu, *Hanasaku Otometachi no Kinpira Gobō* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2015).

13 to 15, just as in Hesse's *Beneath the Wheel*. Hagio's Thomas loves his friend Juli, the protagonist, her version of Demian. When Thomas realizes that Juli refuses to believe in love and trust and dwells in a state of isolation, he kills himself in an effort to show him that he is, in fact, loved. Thus, Thomas sacrifices himself to save Juli from a life of miserable cynicism. Thomas in turn is reincarnated as a sublimated figure, a god of love (*amūru*) in the image of an angel. Even this probably stems in some way from Hesse. Stephenson has noted that Pietistic apocalyptic literature often contains an elaborate angelology.⁷⁸ In angelic guise, Thomas continues to appear through the story, coaching Juli to accept love not only from his friends but also from god (*kami-sama*). At a later point in the story, Thomas's father recalls a conversation that he had with his son when he was very young, no taller than his shoulder, when they were on a walk many years before:

“Father, why did god (*kami-sama*) create people so lonely? So lonely that we can't live on our own?”

(Thomas's father thought) Perhaps he'd heard something at Sunday School.

“That is the sign that men are eternal.

The cosmos rotates.

This flower drops its seed.

Look! Look on the eternal, (looking up the sky) where the gods (*kami-sama*) live.

We shall unite with them and become one someday.”

Someday we shall fly at that height. (v3:43)

Hagio inscribes these last lines of dialogue on the landscape rather than in a speaking balloon. They might appear to some readers to be coming from Thomas's father, while to others they might seem too far away from him, perhaps the voice of Thomas or some omniscient deity. Hagio uses this technique frequently, abstracting statements from the characters visually so that

⁷⁸ Stephenson, p. 99.

the voices seem to be echoing together in a kind of polyphony.⁷⁹ In this case, the voice, while disguised as a reply in a conversation, seems to belong to a supernatural deity. And coming so near the beginning of the story, it serves as perhaps the most refined statement of *The Heart of Thomas*' recurring theme of rebirth through unification. As further proof of how decisive this scene is, the visual element — Thomas and his father walking in a field, his father pointing his cane to the sky — appears also in the all-important opening pages of the comic, which, according to manga convention, serve as a kind of leading preview of the most significant events to come (v1:4-5, fig. 1).



Figure 1: *Kami-Sama*

⁷⁹ See Otsuka Eiji and Sakakibara Gō, *Kyōyō toshiteno Manga Anime* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2001), pp. 60-6.

The statement that “we shall fly to that height” also connects to another important motif in *The Heart of Thomas*, the notion of flying. This too seems to be taken over from *Demian*, where flying symbolizes both rebirth through destruction and the unification with a greater existence. In *Demian*, for instance, we find the following reference to a bird:

One day in class, after a break between lessons, I found a note stuck in the book on my desk. “The bird fights its way out of the egg. The egg is the world. Whoever wants to be born must destroy a world. The bird flies to god. The god is called Abraxas.”⁸⁰

Hesse seems here to be departing quite far from his Pietistic roots, invoking a strange, pagan-sounding god, Abraxas, yet the opposite may be true: by naming a foreign god and identifying him with *Demian*, Hesse frees himself to discuss god more freely without any charge of blasphemy. Similarly, Hagio has no compunction about using biblical stories, such as the binding of Isaac, and Christian images like churches and angels, even though she is not a Christian or even a monotheist. Abraxas, incidentally, is gnostic deity that Hesse adopted from Carl Gustav Jung’s *Seven Sermons to the Dead* (1916) during the time he was undergoing psychoanalytic counseling by one of Jung’s students, Josef B. Lang.⁸¹ In the context of *Demian*, the destruction of the egg clearly refers to the Great War and Abraxas to *Demian* himself, who unites the previously disjointed elements of existence — and through his own death no less, a possible allusion to Christ. Stephenson reads the image of the bird in *Demian* in a more strictly Jungian fashion, which is also persuasive: “The bird here refers to Sinclair’s soul (or Self) breaking through the enclosed world of convention, the dualistic worldview of his family and society. That the bird flies to this

⁸⁰ *Demian*, pp. 73-5.

⁸¹ Freeman, p. 184.

new-Gnostic Jungian God of totality is in keeping with Jung's notion that psychic (and religious) development proceeds through and is reflected in God images, which are themselves collective symbols representing various stage of psychological and spiritual development."⁸²

While Hagio may not be aware of the full, Jungian implications of flying in *Demian*, the notion of "breaking through" restrictive conventions of family and society certainly appeals to her. So too, apparently, does the possibility of personal apotheosis through destruction. In *The Heart of Thomas*, Thomas destroys his physical body but is revived as *Amūru, koi no kami* (Amor, a god of love), with wings. Juli's friend Oscar, speaking to his friend Eric, describes this mystery as follows:

Do you believe in *Amūru*? We used to call Thomas "fräulein" as joke but in fact everyone always liked him, because an *Amūru* dwelled within him, quite a high ranking one too. Anyone who touched him, he couldn't help but to become happy. (v1:163)

By destroying his body, Thomas released this *Amūru* into the sky and allowed it to assume its purest form. His action, moreover, was selfless. According to manga critic Aniwa Jun, Thomas's suicide was not motivated at all by an egotistical desire to win love for himself: "The meaning of Thomas's death was longing for super power, yearning for eternity, an affirmation and sublimation of life to a sacred level. Loneliness in life causes men to love and be gentle to others and to the world, yet it also causes them to die."⁸³

Loneliness and the longing for love certainly do play an important part in Hagio's story, where characters frequently make such complaints as "it is too lonely to live by myself."⁸⁴ Eric, a

⁸² Stephenson, p. 95.

⁸³ Aniwa Jun, *Aniwa Jun Taizen* (Tokyo: Meikyu 11, 2011), p. 47, hereafter Aniwa.

⁸⁴ Edgar, for instance, in *The Po Clan*, frequently makes statements of this sort. See Hagio Moto, *Po no Ichizoku* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2016).

new student who comes to the school and resembles Thomas, perhaps hinting at a kind of resurrection, falls in love with Juli but is rejected. He mourns to himself: “I have never felt any resistance against the feeling of love since I was small.... The subject of love is all the same: books, little birds, houses, and songs, all those are connected at root. The fact that men cannot help but to love, since they are lonely, comes from nature. But why can’t Juli understand that?” (v2:6) Thomas’ brand of love is both elemental and natural, yet also transcendent and utterly unselfish. Aniwa describes this fact in almost religious terms, stating that “Thomas tells us that life gets its meaning through the sharing of love. This is not only the act of being in love, but also that the breath of life happens through the communion of intertwined souls. Thomas (Hagio) seeks not man, not woman, not parent and child, but abstractly presented boys, who are ‘transparent.’ Their existence creates a setting in which utterly purified love can unfold. The boys are presented as an image of purified existence, analogous to angels.”⁸⁵ Despite his rather grandiose language, Aniwa is certainly right that Hagio strives to cast Thomas’ love as something elemental and spiritual, far beyond human jealousies and lusts. When Thomas returns in the story, she illustrates him as spirit (v.140), a part of natural landscapes (v2. 44, 58), or as an angel with wings (v1:163).

Aniwa also makes an interesting point by focusing on the word “transparent.” Indeed, Hagio frequently uses this word as a synonym for purity and innocence, as in the following poem:

Deep in his heart each has something hidden,
In childhood days that are yet transparent,
Admiration comes timidly, gently,
Romance visits timidly,
At the moment of

⁸⁵ Aniwa, p. 47.

First spring, unforgettable days
passingly fleetingly. (v2:22)

In another poem at the very beginning of the story, Thomas himself seems to add a little more specificity to the meaning of the word transparent:

I know who I am, a grown-up child,
So that my love now goes towards
Something transparent, which has no gender, no identity (v1: 8)

This reference to a lack of gender is particularly appropriate for *The Heart of Thomas*, where such issues are deliberately confused and amorphous, as represented also in the boys frequently calling Thomas “fraulein.” “No identity” is somewhat more confusing, yet again seems to point towards Hagio’s conception of Thomas’ love as something elemental, a part of nature and therefore omnipresent. Whereas Hesse’s *Demian* perhaps retains more of his individuality in his apotheosis, Thomas unifies with an all-encompassing, natural divinity. It tempting to attribute these subtly contrasting apotheoses to the difference between a Christian, monotheistic mentality and a Japanese, animistic, polytheistic one.

Hagio’s depiction of the boys of *The Heart of Thomas* as pure, innocent, “transparent” angels may have another source besides Hesse. Wakamatsu Shizuko’s immensely popular and influential translation of Frances Hodgson Burnett’s *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (*Shōkōshi*, 1886) almost certainly influenced Hagio, not least because her mother had always encouraged her to abandon comics and become a writer of children books instead. According to one scholar,

Takahashi Osamu, Wakamatsu's characterization of Shōkōshi borrows heavily from the late Victorian vogue of imaging the ideal woman as the "Angel in the House."⁸⁶ This model was not restricted just to the wife, the head angel of the house, Takahashi argues, but extended also to the children as well, who became little angels of the house. "The ideal women and the stereotype of children share many of the same traits.... pre-adolescent boys and girls contain many characteristics of angels."⁸⁷ In Wakamatsu's translation, little Lord Fauntleroy is "innocent, divinely pure," has a radiant beautiful "figure," abundant blond hair, large brown eyes with long eye lashes. His body is "sturdy and graceful," he has "a masculine, child's face" and "he walks courageously, raising his childlike face." Interestingly, his physical traits include both the masculine and the feminine, such as his long eyelashes. He also intermediates between the male and female in other ways: we read that his beauty not only charmed his grandfather, but also helped to reconcile his grandfather and his mother. Clearly, Hagio's boys overlap Fauntleroy in many striking ways. Given Hagio's mother's pressure on her to become a children's author, a career she apparently thought was more respectable than writing manga, it is plausible Hagio read *Shōkōshi*, absorbed its construction of angelic, childhood innocence, and then recycled that picture in *The Heart*, either deliberately or semi-consciously. Certainly the parallels between the boy angels of *The Heart* and *Little Lord Fauntleroy* are hard to dismiss. It is worth noting also in this regard that Hagio's use of Christian imagery mirrors *Shōkōshi* more than it springs from a deep, studied understanding of the Christian religion, which remained fairly foreign to Hagio. For example, despite Hagio's use of biblical symbols and accounts, winged angels saving people, Thomas' father still says at the beginning of the book "look on the eternal, (looking up the sky) where the gods

⁸⁶ Takahashi Osamu, "Katei no Tenshi toshiteno Kodomo," *Shōnen Shōjo no Poritikusu*, (Tokyo: Seikyū Sha, 2009), 61, hereafter Takahashi.

⁸⁷ Takahashi, p. 55.

(*kami gami*) live.” (v3;43) Needless to say, such polytheism does not appear in the works Hesse or Burnett, whose perspectives are decidedly Christian. The notion that there are “gods” in the sky is perfectly common in Japan, however, and needs no explanation. Thus, although Hagio employs many Christian symbols and even biblical stories (the binding of Isaac, the betrayal of Judas), we should not presume that she is a Christian herself or has a deep knowledge of how such elements are interpreted in a Christian context.

Just because Hagio is not a Christian, however, does not mean that she is unaware of the power of the metaphorical, Christian images she uses. At the climax of story, for instance, Eric, one of Juli’s classmates who is in love with him, offers his angel wings to Juli so that he can fly to heaven to be where Thomas is. (v.3:70) At this moment Juli finally realizes that he is loved, an epiphany that frees him from his shackles and enables him to join Thomas and other “transparent” beings in an ideal existence. Juli’s monologue includes unmistakable Christian references.

Always have I seen on the backs of my classmates
Pale rainbow-colored wings,
The wings, which allow one to pass through the narrow gates of Heaven.
Only I do not have them;
Only I am a betrayer (Judas);
Even though I am that, did you still love me, Thomas?
You would even risk your life for me—? (v3:81)

In Hagio’s illustration, these words overlap with Eric’s face as he gazes at Juli. According to Aniwa, at the moment of Eric’s gift and sacrifice, he and Thomas are united in a metaphysical, ideal existence, where Thomas, in his divine persona, has come to dwell inside of Eric. Thus, the power of Thomas, a god of love, transforms and redeems Juli.⁸⁸ In addition to Thomas and Eric, Juli also realizes that his friend Oscar has loved him, thinking back to when Oscar told him

⁸⁸ Aniwa, p. 49.

“what I wanted was that you or he (Oscar’s biological father) — would realize that I loved him.” (v3:89). Juli then admits that he has loved Thomas and decides to transfer into a theological seminary to become a priest. Hagio may not be a Christian herself, and Thomas might just be “a god,” but still in her work the Christian themes of love and redemption retain their force.

The reason that Juli imagines that he lost his wings, furthermore, also shows strong Christian overtones. Significantly, Hagio reserves this story of his fall from grace, why he refuses love, for the very last episode of the comic, the 33rd, giving it a special status in the plot. In this revelation, Juli confesses to Eric that a little over a year ago, while he was staying in the school over the Easter vacation, one of the senior boys, Siegfried, invited him to his room. Siegfried was a troublemaker in the school but Juli was attracted to him at the same time as he was to Thomas. When Juli entered Siegfried’s room, Siegfried’s friends forced him to the ground, beat him with cane, and forced him to “worship” Siegfried, who was the leader of a Satanist cult, and to abandon his Christian belief. It is implied that they also sexually abused Juli. Juli gave in to their demands and begged forgiveness of Siegfried, kneeling down to kiss his toe. From that time forward, Juli was convinced that he had no wings, which of course is to say that he is not “transparent,” innocent and pure. Out of fear that anyone learn his shame, he keeps his distance from everyone, saying that he does not believe in love, including the love of God, and that he trusts no one.

Not all of the scars inflicted by Siegfried on Juli are mental. In addition to the beating and possible rape, Siegfried leaves a permanent scar on Juli’s shoulder blade by burning him with a cigarette.⁸⁹ Hagio’s choice to add this detail to the story clearly draws from *Demian*, which

⁸⁹ In the early 70s, female high school gangs appeared in Japan. They were called *sukeban*. When they tortured an enemy or a betraying member, they notoriously always used a burning cigarette. This punishment was universally associated with *sukeban*, in contrast to physical beating, which was the male equivalent. The fact that the boys in

makes “the mark” an important plot element and connects it explicitly to the mark of Cain, which, according to the biblical account, he receives for the sin of killing his brother, Abel. For Hesse, though, the mark is more complicated than it is in the Bible. It can predate the sin, for instance. Demian tells Sinclair that “it’s simple! The mark comes first.... There once was a man with something on his face that frightens people.” Not only can the mark precede the crime, but the mark may not even be a bad thing at all. Demian also claims to Sinclair that Cain’s mark signified his special power, which people were afraid of. Cain was “marked,” Demian admits, but what was his crime when “a stronger man killed a weaker man. Maybe it was heroic, maybe not.”⁹⁰ People could interpret it as they liked. Demian even goes further and argues that Cain was a noble person, Abel a coward and the mark therefore a badge of honor. It would appear that Demian’s interpretation is an allegory for the destruction of WWI, which promises to bring about a rebirth.

In the context of this rather unusual interpretation of the Cain and Abel story in *Demian*, Juli’s mark can be read in a more nuanced manner as possibly not a scar, per se, or a clear wound or shame. Hagio does not go so far as to make Juli’s mark a positive thing, as Demian does of Cain’s, but she does at least give it a happy ending, since he eventually realizes, thanks to the love of Thomas, Eric and Oscar, that the mark does not prevent him from “the world of light,” where transparent boys have pale, rainbow-colored wings. At the same time, it must be admitted that there is a similar ambiguity in *Demian* even about who is Cain and who is Abel. Sinclair originally believes he must be Abel, since he is bullied by his classmates, but at the end of the story Demian says he found Sinclair because he had the mark, suggesting perhaps that Sinclair is

The Heart torture Juli with a cigarette shows that the boys are really girls and would have been understood in that way by female readers. See Maehara Daisuke, *Sukeban: Joshikōkōsei Banchō* (Tokyo: Futabasha, 1972), pp. 50-1.

⁹⁰ *Demian*, p. 22.

both Cain and Abel simultaneously, hero and coward, sinner and innocent. Indeed, Sinclair finds at the end of the story that Demian is within himself, a fact that perhaps nullifies the distinction in the first place.

In *The Heart*, on the other hand, Hagio retains the generally negative associations of the mark as a symbol of vice or moral failing, yet shows that it can be overcome through love — that a person can be loved despite the mark. She also follows Hesse in the unification of her main characters. Just as Sinclair and Demian unite into one person, so too do Juli and Thomas at the end, as well as Eric and Thomas, albeit in a slightly different fashion. Oscar says of Juli at the end that “Thomas has already caught him (Juli)” (v.3:96). Having regained his wings (and about to transfer to the seminary), Juli metaphorically flies to the sky and joins Thomas in the spiritual realm; Thomas lives inside of Juli and Juli lives inside of Thomas. Juli’s final words in the comic leave no doubt that the agent of this transformation has been the love and forgiveness of Thomas:

From the moment Thomas told me he loved me, he had already forgiven all. It was never an issue of whether he knew my sin or not. He forgave me completely, whatever I did or did not do. (v3:110)

Several pages later, at the very end of the story, Eric and Oscar stand on the train platform, saying farewell to Juli as he heads for the seminary. The train departs, Eric and Oscar are left on the platform, and then they start the walk back to the school. (v3:116)

Ending with a departure scene invites some analysis, since it contrasts with *Demian*, where the end comes with Demian kissing Sinclair and his realizing that Demian is within him. By comparison, when Juli kisses Eric just before his departure, the kiss symbolizes their imminent separation (v3:110). One could say that Hagio’s final scene is also one of reunion/reunification, since it is that for Juli, but still that analysis is not quite satisfying, since it clearly is not a

reunion for Oscar and Eric, left behind on the platform. Aniwa has also found this ending somewhat mystifying. A possible explanation may actually come from the cover illustration of the last episode, which features the heads of Eric and Juli looking in opposite directions, and, underneath them in much smaller size, Eric standing in the school gate (fig. 2).⁹¹



Figure 2: The Gate

As Otsuka Eiji has pointed out, many school story comics end with the graduation ceremony. He asserts that the graduation is like other transitional rituals when girls become women, such as,

⁹¹ This cover illustration was cut from the original Japanese version but was restored in the English translation by Matt Thorn. See Moto Hagio, *The Heart of Thomas* (Seattle: Fantagraphics, 2012), p. 502, hereafter cited as *The Heart*. It can be viewed on p. 502 of the English translation.

notably, a wedding. Otsuka takes as an example 70s idol Yamaguchi Momoe (b. 1959), whose 1980 wedding was considered by society (and indeed was) synonymous with her retirement from public life. She left her girlhood behind at that moment and became a woman through marriage.⁹² In this same vein, Oshima Yumiko, one of Hagio's peers in manga writing, wrote numerous comics which conclude with a climactic wedding scene.⁹³ Hagio's comics, on the other hand, never end with wedding or graduation scenes. Could this final parting be a nod to such endings, a concession to the expectations of the genre (and thus also its appearance on the cover)? It seems possible, if not fully persuasive, since there is even more in *The Heart* that creates the opposite impression: of things never ending. Indeed, Eric and Oscar return to the school, where one might imagine they dwell forever, eternal angels. Their graduation does not happen, and it may never, to judge from the general atmosphere of the comic. Hagio's boys inhabit another, timeless realm, where they will never grow up or marry or engage in mundane activities, nor need they break the egg, as Hesse put it, in order to be reborn. Redemption need not be so hard, as in Juli's case, and others, such as Eric and Oscar, seem to require not rebirth at all, abiding forever in a euphoric, paradisiacal state.

There are other confusions as well. One of the biggest is certainly the almost total lack of girls in the comic, despite its being a *shōjo* manga. Aniwa has remarked on this absence of girls as well. Yet this is not quite true, as images of young girls appear mysteriously in the background of a number of panels that feature poetry, including the poem about youthful love cited earlier ("Deep in his heart..." p. 36 above, fig. 3). A second poem, which Juli recites when he is

⁹² Eiji Ōtsuka, *Shōjo Minzokugaku: Seikimatsu no Shinwa wo Tsumugu Miko no Matsuei* (Kōbunsha, 1997), 234-42, hereafter *Shōjo Minzokugaku*.

⁹³ See Hashimoto Osamu, *Hanasaku Otometachi no Kinpira Gobō* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2015).

speaking to Eric and introduces with the line “when I see you, I remember many gentle things that happened in the past,” explicitly refers to a girl:

The first girl I ever had a crush on,
A sympathetic person who cries for me,
Reminds me of all my gentlest memories,
On the morning my sister was born,
Fresh snow for Christmas (v3:99)

The presence of a girl in the background of this poem is perhaps understandable, but why the others, such as the following?

To Love
The way one loves a certain song
Or a certain bright view
A gentle memory
The way one cares
For something small (v2:130)

A closer look at the illustrations may supply some clues. In the background of the first poem (p. 36 above, fig. 3), three girls laugh happily. In the second (fig. 4), which explicitly refers to a girl, we see an image of the young girl Juli apparently liked, as well as an unknown woman who cries for him. In the third (fig. 5), a young girl reads books, possibly Juli’s little sister, while another unknown girl smiles at flowers in the field. Another girl, possibly a woman, appears supernaturally large in the sky and holds her hands around two boys, illustrated like tiny figures, happily walking together, almost as though they were her toys. She seems to be a kind of goddess or



Figure 3: Deep in his heart...



Figure 5: Girl Reading



Figure 4: The first girl....



Figure 6: Moira

guardian spirit. Thus, despite Aniwa's comments, Hagio's boys do not quite dwell in a euphoric, otherworldly state where there are no females. Girls and women do appear in a strange, supernatural guise, even when they are possibly real girls, as in the case of the reading girl, who is presumably Juli's younger sister, since pictures in a previous episode depict her as being sickly and spending most of her time in bed reading. Despite being sick, however, she has lustrous blue eyes and blond hair, symbols of goodness, innocence and beauty, like little lord Fauntleroy (fig. 5). Indeed, her sickness and neediness may play a part in her idealization, inasmuch as it pertains to the quintessential childhood quality of dependence on mother and father.

Most of the girls and women cannot be related to figures in the story, however. What to make of their presence and supernatural appearance? In addition to the apparent goddess in the sky in the second poem's panel (fig. 5), for instance, the cover illustration of the eighth episode also includes what seems to be a goddess, a girl holding a spool of yarn and wearing a sort of ancient toga (fig. 6).⁹⁴ Clearly, Hagio depicts in this cover illustration one of the mythological *moirai*, whom the ancients believed controlled people's fates, cutting their line of yarn at the time of their death. The other apparent goddesses are less explicit than this cover illustration, but we should probably assume they play a similar role of omnipotent guidance. Hagio's exact intentions with these figures remain somewhat inscrutable, especially as they have no identifiable precedent in *Demian* or in Hesse's other works. Ultimately, what they say about her own psychology may be more interesting than the part they play in the story of the *The Heart of*

⁹⁴ As before, this cover illustration was cut out of the Japanese version. See *The Heart*, p. 124.

Thomas. Psychoanalyst Melanie Klein has argued that the perpetuation of the phantasy of omnipotent control is a key feature of an individual's projecting outside her own internalization.⁹⁵ Omnipotent power, she says, is hypothetically the condition of pre-natality, when an infant receives all that she needs from her mother's uterus. The presence of these omnipotent figures in Hagio's work could therefore be considered an allusion to the abstract state of pre-natality.

Although Aniwa misses these girls in *The Heart*, has speculated about the psychological meaning of girls elsewhere in Hagio's work, suggesting that Hagio in fact imagines girls who reside within herself, dreams about them, chases them down. Hagio would like to lose herself in them, he says, and unite with them, not unlike the themes of unification/reunion in *Demian* and the *The Heart of Thomas*. The desire to unite with these girls is, he believes, the main impetus of Hagio's works. Aniwa's ideas do not come from *Heart of Thomas*, however, whose girls he seems not to notice, but rather from other works, such as *Violeta*, from which he quotes the poem:

—Girls, Girls, eternal admiration
Passing through my fingers, leaving me your smile,
Leaving longing gaze and dreams in my heart,
Leaving words at my lips,
Sweet breath at my ears, shadow-less
Running away, you are my song, Girls—Girls⁹⁶

It is not hard to see where Aniwa gets his argument. "Girls...leaving dreams in my heart" certainly does sound like an urge to blur the lines of identity and unite in some fashion with these girls. If the argument were pushed even further, Fairbairn would undoubtedly say that Hagio's

⁹⁵ Stephen A. Mitchell, "The Origin and Nature of the 'Object' in the Theories of Klein and Fairbairn," *Contemporary Psychoanalysis* 17, no. 3 (1981): 374–98.

⁹⁶ Aniwa's arguments here come from a 1975 article and thus should not be applied to Hagio's works after that time. See Aniwa, pp. 50-5.

girls are her separate identities (split self/ego), her internal objects, with which she yearns to unite. Also supporting such an analysis, Aniwa points out that Hagio's characters are almost always archetypal. Still, Aniwa might have a hard time applying his arguments to the girls in the *The Heart of Thomas*, whose infrequent, seemingly random appearance in the illustrations may not support such far-reaching psychological speculations. How could a handful of images of goddesses or angels really be Hagio's internal objects, versions of herself she sought to unite with? Despite the small number of these illustrations, however, there is a way to apply Aniwa's arguments to *The Heart of Thomas* as well. Hagio herself provides the crucial clue.

Not surprisingly, Hagio was asked many times why she wrote a work of *shōjo* manga with all male characters. Also not surprisingly, the answers go beyond simple assertions, such as "girls like boys" or "boys sell well." In one interview, Hagio gave the following answer:

Boys in *shōjo* manga are at their origin girls, girls wishing to become boys and, if they were boys, wanting to do this or do that. Being a boy is what the girls admire.⁹⁷

Thus, the boys of the *The Heart of Thomas* are, in Hagio's conception, girls in a different guise. Indeed, many adolescent readers of *The Heart* understand this fact intuitively, perceiving in the construction of the various characters, such as Juli, Eric and Thomas, distinctly and, arguably, exclusively female features. As Hagio suggests with her comment about the allure of "being a boy," the boys of *The Heart* are not the boys that female readers long to be with but rather the boys (or girls) that the readers long to be. They are angelically beautiful, for instance, and are universally loved for their beauty, a stereotypically female ambition. They are also essentially sexless, excepting Juli, who is almost ostracized from heaven for being so. This sexless quality is

⁹⁷ Aniwa, p. 43.

strikingly un-boy-like and responds to pressures placed on girls by society to be virginal and pure. Furthermore, the boys of *The Heart* all have close relationships with their mothers. Many different illustrations present the tight bonds between the characters and their mothers.⁹⁸ The main characters are especially loved by their mothers, such as Eric, who wears a ring symbolizing his “engagement” with his mother, who in turn calls him *le bébé*. Although closeness with one’s mother is clearly not an exclusively female trait, especially not in adolescence, the mother-daughter bond had a special significance for Hagio, who always felt her mother’s disapproval and lack of love. Just as girls (and perhaps Hagio herself) wanted to become boys and enjoy their freedom and adulation, so they want their mother’s love, particularly at a time of life when their relationships with their mothers might have been strained. One could perhaps push this argument even further into the territory of Fairbairn and suggest that this closeness with mothers — the nickname *le bébé* — represent an urge towards regression to absolute, infantile, even uterine unification with the mother. Reunification with mother would become then a kind of internal object, created to mitigate the opposite reality of increasing distance from mother, both through the natural process of maturation and, possibly, acute strains in the relationship, as in Hagio’s case.

In the context of a Fairbairnian analysis of Hagio’s boys as female internal objects, the inverted chronology of the story takes on added importance. In a more ordinary construction, Juli’s confession would come first, followed by Thomas’ love, Juli’s suffering and then, finally, Juli’s redemption. Instead, everything happens in reverse, moving towards a point of ultimate regression, when the characters would return to their origin, where they are both girls and united with their mothers. The inverted chronology also serves the fantasy of omnipotence, mentioned earlier, which Melanie Klein understood to be an important feature of internal objectification.

⁹⁸ See, instance, v2:86, as well as another cover illustration omitted from the Japanese version but found in the English translation, *The Heart*, p. 82.

Needless to say, this fantasy, like all internal objects, arises as a means to counter external realities that are traumatic and, very likely, unchangeable or inescapable by the individual. As much as Hagio, in a state of professional anxiety and emotional alienation from her family and society, may have wanted to escape to “a new world, new values,” she could not. Instead, she created an internal fantasy world where such escape was possible, where girls could be pure and transparent, engage in true love, have close relationships with their mothers and, perhaps mostly importantly, be loved completely and unconditionally, as Thomas loves Juli, despite his having fallen from grace. This analysis of *The Heart of Thomas* as a window into Hagio’s complicated personal psychology sets the stage for the final section of this thesis, which explores these themes and discusses the way Hagio projects her own desired identities into the characters of the story.

Part Three: Splitting The Ego

The gulf between Hagio and her parents on the issue of her pursuing a career stemmed not only from their personal opposition but also the hard facts of the 1950s generation gap. Just because the occupied government was spending great effort on democratic education (or re-education), that of course did not mean that the previous education, formed in wartime and before, suddenly vanished. How could a person like Hagio's mother, for instance, who grew up with the militaristic education of immediately pre-war times, who was instructed to become a *Kokoku no Shōjo* and *Gunkoku no Haha*, be expected to understand the sort of education Hagio was getting, both in school and in post-war Japan generally? Likewise, how could her father, who had dedicated himself to the nation by going to fight in Burma, hope to grasp the personal aspirations of his young daughter?⁹⁹ The gap between the two generations was massive, perhaps unbridgeable. One episode Hagio recounts illustrates the divide with particular clarity. Although her father never spoke about his experiences in Burma, which was a major defeat for the imperial army, one day Hagio asked him if it was true, as she had heard, that there were poor children in Japan who had to work in the daytime and attend school at night. His reply was instant and matter of fact: "Japan has compulsory education and there is no student who cannot go to junior high school."¹⁰⁰ Clearly his experiences in the war had done little to alter his absolute confidence in the state.

The conservative and old-fashioned story of how Hagio's parents met and married also shows this generation gap. They met through a marriage arrangement and intended to marry

⁹⁹ For *Kōkoku no Shōjo* and *Gunkoku no Haha*, see Okano Yukie and others, eds. *Onnatachi no Sensō Sekinin* (Tokyo: Tokyodō Shuppan, 2004), 206, 248.

¹⁰⁰ Saito, p. 57.

quickly but he was suddenly conscripted, so she waited for his return and they were married as they had planned, an uncommonly happy ending in a harsh period.¹⁰¹ There is also some evidence that Hagio's father in particular had ambitions of creating a perfect, ideal family (according to his own understanding of it, naturally), and that Hagio's mother, contrary perhaps to conventional assumptions, actually played a supportive rather than leading role in this project. Hagio's father had lost his parents when he was extremely young and was apparently trying to recapture the idealized youth he never had.¹⁰² Superficially at least, he succeeded: Hagio grew up in a stable, middle-class, nuclear family, the ideal social structure of post-war industrial society, as Ueno has described.¹⁰³ Inside this ideal family, however, Hagio could not bridge the cultural and education gap with her parents, whose insistence that she quit her job, marry and have children felt oppressive to her. In her parents' culture, *Kōkoku no Shōjo* aspired to become *Gunkoku no Haha*, who procreates and raises as many soldiers for the imperial army as possible. Marriage and children were mandatory for them, a patriotic obligation. Given their sense of national duty, it is little wonder that they took so much to heart "The Campaign for the Elimination of Harmful Books," which spread a discourse that manga was harmful and subversive, and thus never made any attempt to understand their daughter's passion. "Many years ago," Hagio later mourns, "when I was small, becoming a comic writer was an abnormal ambition like becoming a gangster."¹⁰⁴ As unreasonable and indeed impossible as she may have found her parents' commands, still she also felt guilty for not following them, for disappointing them. More than just a disappointment, she felt like a criminal, a "gangster."

¹⁰¹ Shimazaki Kyoko, "Gendai No Shōzō: Hagio Moto, Mangaka," *Aera* 19, no. 21 (2006): 67–71.

¹⁰² Thorn, p., xxvii.

¹⁰³ Ueno, p. 196.

¹⁰⁴ Terayama Shuji Hagio Moto, *Anisu Bisuketto Taimu* (Tokyo: Shinshokan, 1977), 192.

This painful context of self-blaming guilt returns us to the psychological theories of Ronald Fairbairn, which fit Hagio and her work particularly well. According to Fairbairn's object relations theory, when a caretaker cannot satisfy the needs of the dependent, the dependent becomes frustrated and dissatisfied but still cannot bring herself to hate the caretaker, or even fully to admit the flaws of the caretaker, since she still depends on the caretaker completely. Instead, the dependent channels her frustration by creating ideal, internal objects, whereby she can escape from her painful reality. As mentioned earlier in section two of this essay, *The Heart of Thomas* can be understood as an elaborate expression of Hagio's internal objects, an ideal girl living in an imaginary utopia. Yet, as Fairbairn explains, these internal objects need not be exclusively positive and utopian. They can split into bad and good halves. Such is especially the case for the "maternal object" :

... in his attempt to deal with the intolerable external situation with which he was originally faced his technique was to split the maternal object into two objects, (a) the 'good' and (b) the 'bad', and then proceed to internalize the bad object; and in his attempt to deal with the intolerable internal situation which subsequently arises he adopts a technique which is not altogether dissimilar. He splits the internal bad object into two objects—(a) the needed or exciting object and (b) the frustrating or rejecting object; and then he represses both these objects (employing aggression, of course, as the dynamic of repression).¹⁰⁵

In Hagio's case, her mother was, she says, like an active volcano, rumbling 365 days a year. She told one interviewer years later, in 2008, that her mother habitually took out her frustrations on her children (Hagio has two sisters and a brother).¹⁰⁶ Of course it is not easy for children to understand that such frustrations originate elsewhere and that they themselves are not to blame. In

¹⁰⁵ Fairbairn, pp. 111-2.

¹⁰⁶ Saito, p. 54.

such cases, children feel, in Fairbairn's words, "a sense of lack of love, and indeed emotional rejection on his mother's part.... This being so, the expression of hate toward her as a rejecting object becomes in his eyes a very dangerous procedure."¹⁰⁷ Put simply, a dependent needs care and love; if the caretaker fails to provide it, the dependent blames herself instead of admitting that it is a defect of the caretaker, internalizing the idea that she herself is defective. The guilt Hagio describes at failing to meet her parents' expectations – expectations, moreover, which her rational mind recognized as unjust – she comes very close to the process Fairbairn outlines. When she was living in Tokyo, for instance, her mother visited her and a friend noted with amazement how frightened Hagio was during the whole visit.¹⁰⁸ When the friend inquired why, Hagio replied that she was scared of her mother's anger, which, like the volcano's rumbling, required no clear provocation to spill over. If any cause could be found, it was in any case irreparable: it was Hagio herself, the "bad" child whose most basic wishes in life so displeased her parents. It is clear from this situation that Hagio always viewed her mother's anger as somehow her own fault, internalizing the fault, as Fairbairn describes, and thus protecting her mother's infallibility as a "good" caretaker.

Part of the process of internalizing the "bad" object, according to Fairbairn, is splitting it into two halves, a needed or "exciting" object, on the one hand, and a frustrating or "rejected" object on the other. Precisely this sort of bifurcation appears repeatedly in *The Heart of Thomas*, whose characters could hardly better epitomize Fairbairn's theory. Her **two** main characters, for instance, fall into perfectly opposing camps: one is good and loved by his mother (Eric), while the other is bad and unloved (Juli). Considering Juli first, we may observe that his badness extends beyond his conduct to his very nature. Hagio makes his father Greek, a minority despised

¹⁰⁷ Fairbairn, pp. 112-3.

¹⁰⁸ Saito, pp. 50-62.

and discriminated against by the German majority (at least in Hagio's conception). In one voice-over-like monologue of Juli's, he laments: "Saxons, Swabians, Bavarians, Frisians, Franks, Thuringians: the six races who constituted the German nation. My father does not belong to any of them." (v2: 91) His grandmother calls his father "an Arab," apparently on the sole basis of his non-Aryan looks. Juli also has black hair. As though this were not enough, Hagio creates even more hardship for Juli by making his father a failed businessmen who passes away and leaves a great deal of debt, after which his grandmother is forced to take care of his widowed mother, his little sister and himself. Juli does not like the situation and states that he would like to be a perfect man, "like his father" (showing his myopia), and pay off the debt his family owes to his grandmother. All the while, Juli tolerates his grandmother's racist comments against his father and, implicitly, himself, even as he sees her unconditional love for his sister, who not coincidentally has blond hair and blue eyes.¹⁰⁹

Yet applying Fairbairn's theory to Juli is not completely black and white. One might object, for instance, that Juli's mother in fact loves him. While the story does suggest this at different moments, the more important point is that his mother fails in her role as a caretaker, however much she may love him abstractly, and that, as a result, Juli is dependent upon his grandmother, who clearly does not love him. His real caretaker is his grandmother. Hagio seems to have a fascination with situations in which the mother or father is proven not to be the caretaker, or not to be the "real" parent at all. Another character in *The Heart of Thomas*, for example, Oscar, has a similarly complex story. His mother, Hera, desperately wanted a child and for some medical reason could not do so with her husband, Oscar's "father," so she secretly asked their mutual friend,

¹⁰⁹ See this essay's earlier comments about the significance of blond hair and blue eyes in *The Heart of Thomas*.

Müller, who was the principal of Schlotterbach, to have the child with her. Thus, Müller is Oscar's biological father even though he was raised by another man. When Hera's husband eventually proposes divorce and tells him that Müller is Oscar's biological father, he kills her and takes Oscar away for a year on the run. After he starts to lose his eyesight and can no longer take care of Oscar, he deposits the boy back in Schlotterbach, who is thus also abandoned by his caretaker, like Juli.¹¹⁰

If Juli (and secondarily, Oscar) are bad, “rejecting” objects, then clearly Eric and, by extension, his double (as I argue), Thomas, represent the needed, “exciting” object. These two characters (or really one, by my analysis), receive abundant and unreserved love from their mothers. Thomas's bereaved mother, for instance, begs to adopt Eric, explaining that Eric's father is her cousin and Eric is exactly like him. Eric refuses and she cries in front of him, clearly desperate at her son's death and unable to restrain her emotions, almost as though she were a child (v3:40). Indeed, Hagio gives the mother-son relationships of both Thomas and Eric a notably childish quality. Thomas and his mother have a close, emotional bond, despite the fact that Thomas is only 13 at the time of his death. Eric's case goes even further. He and his mother not only depend on each other physically but are also deeply entangled emotionally and psychologically, as Hagio illustrates in numerous episodes. When Eric's mother cries about her own mother's death, for example, she complains that Eric will one day abandon her, just like her mother. Of course Eric promises never to leave. As a testament to this promise, Eric wears an engagement ring in *The Heart of Thomas* that he cannot remove, a symbol of his unbreakable bond with his mother (v1:68-9). Like his mother, Hagio also gives Eric many childish qualities, like his inability throughout the story to express his true feelings. His nickname is *le bébé*. Needless

¹¹⁰ The full details of Oscar's background appear in Hagio's spin-off from *The Heart of Thomas*, entitled *Hōmonsha* (Tokyo: Shōgakkān, 1995), hereafter cited as *Hōmonsha*.

to say, a baby depends completely on its mother for the sustenance of its life, as Eric does on his mother. When Eric witnesses his mother's kissing his tutor, a clear intimation of greater intimacy, he responds by attempting to strangle himself and repeating "Iyada, iyada, iyada (No, no no)" (v1:143-7), perceiving her new romance and the potential of her "leaving" him as a kind of execution. Of course neither ultimately happens: his suicide attempt fails and she does not leave for the other man.

Death does eventually separate the two, however. Approximately half way through *The Heart of Thomas*, Eric's mother dies in a traffic accident, "leaving" him just as she feared he would her. This is a key turning point in the story, after which Eric begins to turn towards Juli, his "rejecting" counterpart. Upon his mother's death, Eric suddenly and strangely becomes obsessed with Juli. Previously, the two had been enemies. Juli despised Eric because he looks like Thomas (v.1:111) and even tried at one point to kill him (v2:39-40), while Eric called Juli a "liar" for pretending to be a good class president (v2:13). When Eric's mother dies, however, and he runs away from their boarding school to return to his hometown, Cologne, it is Juli who comes to pick him up. On their way back, Eric stays with Juli's family and sees his plight at home with his unloving grandmother, which gives Eric a different, better impression of his classmate. He suddenly feels Juli's pain and realizes that Juli has a gentle, wounded side. Symbolically, Eric's engagement ring falls off at this point in the story, illustrating the transference of the caretaker role from his departed mother to Juli. Eric, *le bébé*, cannot survive alone. It is interesting to note that Juli also plays a similarly parental role for Oscar when he loses his caretaker: when his father drops him off at the school after a year of wandering together, abandoning his dependent, Juli is the one to comfort him and soothe his tears.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ *Hōmonsha*, p. 102.

Of course the sexual element of these various relationships, especially the mother-son engagement ring, does not pass unnoticed. Hagio obviously cannot push sexual themes very far, given her publishers and readership, although she does strongly suggest certain things, such as Eric's mother's affair with the tutor or Juli's being raped by Siegfried. What Hagio can show, however, kissing, has a special significance in Fairbairn's thinking, as it does in Freudian thinking as well. Characters kiss frequently in *The Heart of Thomas*, including the various boys kissing each other. One may be tempted to dwell upon the homosexual nature of this kissing, noting how ubiquitous and apparently unproblematic it is for Hagio and her readers, but in fact it may make better sense to analyze kissing as an important facet of the mother-child relationship. The sensation of kissing mimics the sensation of a baby nursing, its lips meeting its mother's nipple. One cannot underestimate the importance of this oral stimulation, as Fairbairn says:

... the mouth is a chief organ of desire, the chief installment of activity, the chief medium of satisfaction and frustration, the chief channel of love and hate, and, most important of all, the first means of intimate social contact.¹¹²

Nursing, however, is not simply a comforting, nourishing act. While a baby may satisfy all of its physical and psychological needs in the act of nursing, it of course has no guarantee that it will receive its mother's breast wherever and whenever it wishes. Mothers are often busy and babies do display frustration. Indeed, the same exciting/rejecting paradigm can be applied just to the act of nursing. Accordingly, kissing in *The Heart of Thomas* can be divided into two categories: the good, exciting object of mother-child kissing, which illustrates intimacy, safety and sensuality, and the rejected, bad object of frustrated kissing, which only occurs between friends. When Eric desperately seeks Juli's attention, for instance, he threatens to reveal Juli's secret if he will not

¹¹² Fairbairn, p. 10.

kiss him. Juli's kisses him and then slaps his face. As tears run down Eric's face, he exclaims "Mother, (I did not know) a kiss could be so bitter..." (v.3:18-19).

Non-maternal kissing of this frustrating variety also clearly signifies separation from the mother, a dominant theme in *The Heart of Thomas*. The separation can go both ways. Eric's catching his mother kissing his tutor, for instance, strikes him as an omen of their impending "divorce." Likewise, he shares a bitter kiss with Juli, who also causes the loss of his engagement ring. The full sexual implications of such non-maternal kissing are hard to miss, even if Hagio is restricted in how much she can show. Juli's possible rape by Siegfried, for example, which occasions his fall from grace, obviously also serves as a separating factor, if not from his mother specifically at least from a more innocent, sheltered version of himself. He immediately lapses into depression and melancholy and confesses to Eric that he has a good "seed" and a bad seed in his heart: his good seed is Thomas, while his bad seed is his attraction to his abuser, Siegfried (v.3:103). Thus, his bad seed, his sexual desire, thrusts him into a state of alienation from his innocent, asexual self and, by extension, his mother. When at the end of the story he leaves the school for the seminary, he effectively frees himself from the potential of future sexual encounters and thus prevents his separation from his mother.

Also noteworthy is the frequency with which Hagio inserts kissing into scenes of violence and rejection, as above with Eric and Juli's bitter kiss. It is possible to read this phenomenon as yet another of Hagio's split egos, this one deriving from her repressed guilt regarding sexual desire. One must remember that the discourse surrounding sexual matters was still very much in a state of development and liberation in Japan in the 1970s. In the previous decade, for instance, Ogoshi Aiko commented that women's sexuality was restricted by the romantic-love-ide-

ology, i.e. that falling in love, getting married and having sex all had to happen simultaneously.¹¹³ Needless to say, there are problems with this chronology, particularly considering the fact that sexual desire arises at puberty, potentially a full four or five years before women are even allowed to get married by the Japanese constitution, which makes the age of consent 16. Otsuka has called the discrepancy between puberty and the age of consent the body's waiting for "Shiyō no Toki (the time to use)."¹¹⁴ In any case, even apart from the chronological impossibility of the "romantic-love-ideology," sexual desire and notions of feminine virtue conflict in a broader sense for women of Hagio's generation, as indeed they do for women of later generations. Thus, another bad internal object can arise.

If we look again at Juli's case in *The Heart of Thomas*, we note that Juli, Hagio's avatar, feels attraction, apparently sexual, to Siegfried, which then sets in motion Juli's abuse at the hands of his love interest and alienation from goodness, innocence and his mother. There can be no doubt that sexual desire serves here as a bad, rejecting object. Hagio presumably had no other way to deal with the apparent contradiction between her own desire and the prevailing social norms, which there is no reason to believe she seriously questioned, just as she felt deep down that her parents disapproval of her career choice was also somehow warranted. In response, she creates yet another rejecting object, unable either to approve of herself or negate her mother's disapproval. She splits her ego again. According to Fairbairn, the ego and the object have a libidinal attachment. When the object splits into the bad and good object, the ego also splits:

...in the process of repressing the resultant objects, the ego so to speak, develops pseudopodia by means of which it still maintains libidinal attachments to the objects undergoing

¹¹³ Miho Hotta, Aiko Oogoshi, *Gendai Bunka Sutadizu* (Kyoto: Kōyō Shobō, 2001), 106-121.

¹¹⁴ *Shōjo Minzokugaku*, p. 105.

repression.... It is in this way that the two subsidiary egos, the libidinal ego and the internal saboteur, come to be split off from the central ego, and that a multiplicity of egos arises.”¹¹⁵

In this model, Juli represents the internal saboteur, frustrated and rejected. His exercise of sexual desire ends with violence and rejection. Juli himself becomes abusive. Although he pretends to be a victim of violence, he is quite possibly a masochist. According to French philosopher Gilles Deleuze, masochism and sadism are not two sides of the same coin, symbiotic binaries that find and satisfy each other. Instead, the masochist often pursues and educates his abuser, in effect creating his own abuse.¹¹⁶ One might say, in fact, that he abuses himself, merely using the other person as an instrument. In this context, it is meaningful that Juli behaves abusively to Eric and Thomas. He knows they love him yet he coldly rejects and hurts them. Fairbairn might well analyze Juli as the internal saboteur, which disturbs Thomas and Eric, who themselves represent Hagio’s libidinal ego.

Yet there is a way out of these painful, split complexities: the negation of sexual desire completely. As mentioned earlier, Juli’s decision to enter the seminary can be interpreted along these lines as a neutering of his sexual self and thus an elimination of all its concomitant troubles, especially the loss of maternal love. Extending this idea even further, one could speculate that an even better and more complete negation of this sexual identity would be never reaching puberty in the first place – remaining in the innocent, childlike state before the dawn of sexual desire. If Eric never had the desire to kiss non-mothers, how much trouble he would avoid. Indeed Thomas does forgo this trouble through death, which removes him wholly from sexuality

¹¹⁵ Fairbairn, p. 112.

¹¹⁶ Gilles Deleuze and Leopold Sacher-Masoch, *Masochism. Coldness and Cruelty* (New York; Cambridge, Mass.: Zone Books ; Distributed by the MIT Press, 1991), 40-3.

and enshrines him in endless maternal love. The broader significance of this idea for *The Heart of Thomas* is obvious. One literary critic, Yoshimoto Takaaki, once commented to Hagio that the characters in *The Heart* all seem like girls.¹¹⁷ Many other readers have had the same impression. Although Hagio has repeatedly responded to this observation by stating that male characters appeal to her female readership because girls' freedom of action is severely limited (i.e. female characters doing what her male characters do would seem unrealistic), it is hard not to see in *The Heart of Thomas*, with its exclusively male cast of characters, some deeper rationale than mere realism. If Hagio's characters are internal objects, split from her own ego, and if union with perfect maternal love is the subconscious goal at all times, then stripping her female characters of puberty – indeed of their very femininity – would serve, like Juli's determination to enter the seminary, to bring them one step closer to the longed-for womb, where they enjoy limitless power and eternal happiness like Thomas. Free of sexual urges and capacity, they need never feel guilty or worry about being separated from their mothers.

¹¹⁷ Hagio Moto, *Kotoba no Anata, Manga no Watashi* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 2012), p. 23, hereafter cited as *Watashi*.

Conclusion:

This essay has focused on what *The Heart of Thomas* may have meant for its author, describing the conflicts in her family life, her career struggles in a sexist, anti-manga society and, finally, speculating on the ways in which the characters in her book reflect her own psyche. That Hagio's predominantly young, female readers sensed all of these features in her work, perhaps even subconsciously, and empathized deeply and cathartically, has several times been implied but not seriously pursued here, largely for constraints of length. By way of conclusion, however, I would offer a few remarks on the larger social context of *The Heart of Thomas*, both for Hagio and her readers. It is not just an internal work, after all, preoccupied with Hagio's personal psychology, but also an external, public statement, conscious or not, on the psychological and spiritual issues of contemporary Japan. An interview Hagio gave later in life points the way to this analysis and also, importantly, shows that Hagio herself need not have been fully conscious of this larger *zeitgeist*, as indeed is often the case with people. During this interview, she comments that she had always wondered, even when she was just an elementary school student, why people engage in war. Why did people not question the order to kill, she asks, and instead obey whatever *kuni* (nation) dictated? Her comments clearly imply a countercultural stance, a tacit assumption that if she had been alive in the years leading up to the war and during the war, she would not have been fooled by all the propaganda and false ideology. And yet in the same interview she admits that if she had been a child during that period, she would absolutely have become a *Gunkoku Shōjo* (military girl), because she would have wanted to be an honest and good girl.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ *Watashi*, p. 196.

Gunkoku Shōjo and *Gunkoku Shōnen* (military boy) were of course heavily dosed with government propaganda in the aim of mobilizing the youth for the war effort. They were expected to dedicate themselves fully to the national cause. Hagio's admission seems very believable indeed, given the way that she was never able to disregard her parents' unreasonable disapproval of her career and, if the preceding arguments are correct, addressed this conflict in the imaginary realm of her comic writing. From what we know of Hagio from her *Heart of Thomas*, it is far easier to imagine her as one of the crowd, a good girl serving the cause, than as a lone, countercultural voice of pacifism. If this is the case – if Hagio is one of the crowd, more mainstream than idiosyncratic, more preoccupied with parental and societal approval than willing to board a ship to America and spit in the sea – what does that say about *The Heart of Thomas*?

The psychological and spiritual letdown of the surrender is often underestimated, in part because the eclipsed ideologies were specifically proscribed in the post-war years. Like German *Kriegsschuld*, it is something people do not speak a great deal about. Hagio's parents, for instance, were raised in an atmosphere of intense nationalism, surrounded by potent ideas like *Hakkō Ichiu* (all the world under one roof) and *Daitōwa Kyōeiken* (Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere). SCAP put an immediate end to all of this, as it did even to the State Shinto religion, which had formed the basis of *Kyōiku Chokugo* (Imperial Rescript on Education) taught in *Shūshin* classes (moral training) in Japanese schools from 1880 to 1945.¹¹⁹ Regardless of how dangerous or perverse some of those ideologies may have been, there is no question that their sudden destruction left a vacuum in Japanese hearts and minds. The chaos of post-war society, furthermore, offered little to fill this vacuum. Some turned to Marxism, others indulged in the

¹¹⁹ *Encyclopedia Nipponica 2001* (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1994).

endless cycles of consumer consumption in the boom years of economic growth.¹²⁰ None of the ideologies satisfied Hagio, however, or, we may speculate, her readers. Instead, she found structure and comfort in the manga of Tezuka, as she later recalls:

Although Tezuka was often called a humanist, he himself denied it. In fact, when writing a story about righteousness, he killed many characters without hesitation in his manga I suppose he was holding onto some psychological conflict throughout his writing.... When I was small and manga was declared to be bad and worthless, I could not condemn it myself, being only an elementary school child. However, I did have a vague idea of Tezuka's manga: not only was it interesting, but it also showed a stance on justice different from the official one of adults. He wrote what no one else had written.¹²¹

Hagio clearly is not speaking just about entertainment or escape here. As a child, she found in Tezuka's imaginary world a sense of justice, a moral structure lacking in the chaotic free-for-all of postwar Japan. Perhaps she also found redemption when Fukakusa, the hero in Tezuka's *Shinsengimi*, left Japan for America, to join something superior. For Hagio and other children, Tezuka's plot lines offered not just another world but a definite spiritual order. Manga critic Yonezawa Yoshihiro describes Tezuka's manga in similarly religious language:

Why did Tezuka's manga capture children's enthusiasm so much after the devastation of WWII? Not only that, but many of those children became comic writers themselves. It is because his manga represents not human dramas but rather narratives of *sekai* (the world) depicted in them.¹²² The power of manga was not feeling empathy for the heroes or sensing reality of the life, but creating "the world" through imagination (fantasizing), forgetting the reality of life, playing in a parallel universe. Put simply, giving dream a concrete

¹²⁰ For the leftist pole, see H D Harootunian, "Visible Discourses/Invisible Ideologies," in Miyoshi Masao and H D Harootunian, Eds., *Postmodernism and Japan* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1989), 63–92. For the consumerist pole, see Ōtsuka Eiji, *Otaku no Seishinshi: 1980 nendairon* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2004), 127–8.

¹²¹ *Watashi*, p. 204.

¹²² Tezuka's "sekai" is perhaps developed from the influence of *sekai* in Kabuki. The concept of *sekai* in Kabuki and Jōruri includes not only the historical setting but also the characters and their relationships. For example, the *sekai* of *Kanatehon Chushingura* (Takeda Izumo, 1748), including its period and characters, is borrowed from *Taiheiki*, an historical epic written in the 14th century. See Hirotsue Tamotsu, Hattori Yukio, Tomita Tetsunosuke, *Kabuki Jiten* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2000). Ōtsuka Eishi writes about fan fiction borrowing its *sekai* from the original manga. See *Shōjo Minzokugaku*, p. 208.

shape, drawing dreams was the power of manga. Drawing manga is not the activity of an author disclosing himself but of creating who he should be, where he should be, in two-dimensional form. Although this contains some hatred for everyday life deep down, the pleasure of creating narratives of transformation for the gigantic universe is perhaps God-like. Certainly, the pleasure afforded to a trivial, minute individual by being able to create a world and tell stories about it was the impetus that produced so many comic writers.¹²³

Although Yonezawa gives great weight to the purely escapist function of manga, he also touches upon the “God-like” pleasure of mapping out a new world where, for instance, there exists order, justice and opportunity denied in real life. There can be no doubt that Hagio indulged in precisely the pleasure Yonezawa describes, fashioning her own, peculiar world in *The Heart of Thomas*. The scale and intricacy of this world should be apparent from the second section of this essay. Its full psychological meaning, furthermore, of returning to the mother’s womb and a state of power and love, is hinted at in section three. By splitting her ego into different characters, Hagio is able to create romance inside herself, where she can experience love unconditionally and erotic desire without guilt or open defiance of social norms. In effect, she provides inside herself what she longs for but cannot easily achieve in the real world: love, romance, sex and, simultaneously, freedom. Needless to say, she also provides these realistically unattainable luxuries to her repressed, young readers.

One might pose the question that if girls are free to engage in romance inside themselves, as *The Heart of Thomas* makes possible, do they even need to maintain their connection to society? Are they not able to withdraw, satisfied with themselves and with no need for others? Furthermore, what does it mean that they are glad to reject their physical development, to forgo puberty? Otsuka Eiji connected *shōjo* manga to the Japanese birth rate in his book in 1989. He predicts that the birth rate will increase after the manga *Hot Road* (by Tumugi Taku, published in

¹²³ Yonezawa Yoshihiro, *Tazuka Osamu Mangaron* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 2007), p. 295.

1986-7) officially sold seven million copies, since the heroine of *Hot Road*, unlike *The Heart*, has a boyfriend, Haruyama, and delivers the final monologue “I’d like to become the mother of Haruyama’s baby.”¹²⁴ Otsuka’s predication may seem a little farfetched, since he bases it purely on a comic, like *The Heart*, which features beautiful boys and themes of romance.¹²⁵ And indeed his prediction failed to come true, since the Japanese birth rate continued to decrease through the subsequent decades and hit its lowest figure, 1.24, in 2005.¹²⁶ In fact, though, he may not have been totally off the mark. Hagio’s generation, the baby boomers, including *Zenkyōtō Sedai* (*Zenkyōtō* generation), represent a cohort that restored the birthrate in the first half of 70s to over 2.00. However, *Shirake Sedai* (*Shirake* generation, born in the 50s) and *Shinjinrui* (born in the 60s), who grew up reading manga, fell back to a lower birth rate. The children of baby boomers, on the other hand, a group that theoretically includes the heroine of *Hot Road* (who is fourteen in the story and thus was born in 1972), has in fact raised the birthrate since 2005 to 1.43. Admittedly, that figure is still far below the baby boomers’ 2.0.

Despite Otsuka’s speculations, the relationship between *shōjo* manga and birth rate in Japan is hardly proven. Still, it is hard not to see in *The Heart of Thomas* and its like, alternate worlds with alternate moral schemes for young girls, something potentially subversive from a governmental point of view. Hagio makes this explicit with her comments about not idealizing or obeying the dictates of *kuni* (nation), something it is possible to do inside the imaginary world Hagio creates. And certainly the nation has a long history of trying to control women’s reproductive lives, at least since the early Meiji period. In 1880, for instance, the prohibition of abortion

¹²⁴ Tumugi Taku published *Hot Road* in 1986-7. See *Shōjo Minzokugaku*, p. 266 for Eiji’s prediction.

¹²⁵ *Shōjo Minzokugaku*, 206-24.

¹²⁶ The Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare has published the official statistics online. See: <https://www.mhlw.go.jp/toukei/saikin/hw/jinkou/geppo/nengai08/sankou1.html>.

was codified. In 1907, the penal code was revised and an even more severe punishment was imposed on abortion.¹²⁷ In 1941, the guidelines of the population policy settlement was approved by the cabinet, which sought for public institutions to interfere in the arrangement of marriage and for each marriage to produce at least five children.¹²⁸ Such population-increasing ambitions were quickly abandoned by the government and SCAP after the war due to food shortages. Going in the opposite direction, the Diet passed the Eugenic Protection Law in 1948, which legalized abortion. Similarly, in 1950s the government and family planning groups initiated the Family Planning Movement, which promoted contraception and bent the Eugenic Protection Law to make abortion available to more pregnant women.¹²⁹ The famous, catchy saying created by the Yamanouchi Pharmaceutical Co., “*Ichihime Nitarō San Sanshī* (bear a first daughter, a second son, and for the third, use *Sanshī*, a contraception jelly by Yamanoushi Pharmaceutical)” appeared in women’s magazines.¹³⁰ Not coincidentally, the birth rate declined following this movement. By 1989, however, it had gone down to 1.57, which shocked the government and caused it to reverse course yet again and promote the pro-birth “Enzeru Puran (Angel Plan)” in 1994, followed by the New Angel Plan in 1999. Unlike previous governmental interventions in this area, these later plans had no measurable effect on the declining birth rate.

Writer and critic, Hashimoto Osamu, has commented that absolute powers like the Japanese Emperor (in his pre-war status) helped people form individual identities, providing a reliable, psychological touchstone. When the emperor delivered the Humanity Declaration in 1946, however, he destroyed not only the Japanese Empire, Hashimoto observes, but also the entire

¹²⁷ See Tiana Norgren, *Abortion before Birth Control: The Politics of Reproduction in Postwar Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 22-3.

¹²⁸ Ogino Miho, “Shigenka Sareru Karada,” *Gakujutsu no Hōkō* 13, no. 4 (2008): 21–26.

¹²⁹ Norgren, p. 96.

¹³⁰ Tama Yasuko, *Boseiai to iu Seido: Kogoroshi to Chūzetsu no Poritikusu* (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 2001), 119.

Japanese conception of the world.¹³¹ An entire worldview collapsed, leaving people like Hagio's parents, steeped in that older reality, lost and confused. Even at a young age, Hagio could sense that something was not quite right, as when she found herself drawn to the moralistic cosmos of Tezuka's manga, "a stance on justice different from the official one of adults."¹³² As Hagio's parents might well have admitted, the official stance was on shaky ground in those postwar years, a farce propped up over a void of deliberate destruction. In this sense, when Hagio questions the wisdom of following the idealized *kuni*, she hardly seems very rebellious, especially when she simultaneously admits her desire to be a good girl and the probability that she would have been a *Gunkoku Shōjo* during the war years. Yet when we consider the alternate world Hagio maps out in *The Heart of Thomas*, filling the void of meaning, love and justice in her own psyche and in those of others, we must admit that she deserves far more credit as a revolutionary agent. Faced with a world of overwhelming uncertainty, she neither caved to the demands of her parents nor rushed to the panaceas of Marxism or consumerism. She fashioned a new universe for herself and for those struggling like her. As with Otsuka Eiji's speculations about future birth rates, the full consequences of Hagio's creation remain to be determined.

¹³¹ Hashimoto Osamu, *Hanasaku Otometachi no Kinpira Gobō* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2015), 87-90.

¹³² See note 121 above.

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